

tribes for whose benefit expenditures from public or tribal funds were made during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1940; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. PACE:

H. R. 10723 (by request). A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, for the purpose of regulating interstate and foreign commerce in peanuts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. PATRICK:

H. J. Res. 622. Joint resolution designating the first Thursday following the third Sunday in November of each year as Thanksgiving Day and declaring such day a legal holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### MEMORIALS

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

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Senate Joint Resolution No. 2, dated December 4, 1940, with reference to purchase of woolen material and products for national-defense program; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. KITCHENS introduced a bill (H. R. 10724) for the relief of Marvin C. Alder, which was referred to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

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

9405. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Disabled Philippine Constabulary Veterans of the Philippine Campaign, Lucena, Tayabas, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to pension and hospitalization; to the Committee on Pensions.

9406. Also petition of the Beaumont Trades and Labor Assembly, Beaumont, Tex., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to un-American activities; to the Committee on Rules.

9407. Also, petition of the Dallas Homing Pigeon Club, Dallas, Tex., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bill 7813, safeguarding homing pigeons; to the Committee on Agriculture.

## SENATE

MONDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1940

(Legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940)

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

The Chaplain, Rev. Z. Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou whose commandment is in all the earth, besetting us behind and before, from which there is no escape: Let it never be hidden from us, nor let us ever seek to hide ourselves from it; for our discernment of Thy will fills us with light, and our willing surrender to it brings us liberty. In these hazardous days, knowing that the wings of our life are plumed with death, that time hasteth and will not return, help us to realize that the sacred meaning of life is to be found not merely in the fulfillment of cherished dreams and aspirations, however lofty they may be, but in devotion to duty

and to the right, with morality revealed as valor in the battle of life.

So help us to be fine and strong in character that we may fitly serve our country, and bring to all mankind the knowledge of Thee and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MINTON, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day of Thursday, December 12, 1940, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

#### SENATOR FROM IDAHO—CREDENTIALS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the credentials of JOHN THOMAS, duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Idaho a Senator from that State for the unexpired term ending January 3, 1943, which were read and ordered to be filed.

#### SENATOR FROM RHODE ISLAND—CREDENTIALS

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, it gives me pleasure to present the certificate of reelection of my colleague, Hon. PETER GOELET GERRY, and ask that it be placed on file and noted in the RECORD.

The credentials of PETER G. GERRY, duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Rhode Island a Senator from that State for the term beginning January 3, 1941, were read and ordered to be filed.

#### TRANSPORTATION OF OFFICIALS IN MILITARY AND NAVAL AIRCRAFT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting information relative to the joint policy adopted by the Secretaries of War and the Navy in regard to transportation of Government officials in military and naval aircraft, which, with the accompanying paper, was ordered to lie on the table.

#### RELIEF OF DESTITUTION OF NATIVES OF ALASKA

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report covering expenditures made from the appropriation "Education of natives of Alaska, 1939-41," for the relief of destitution of natives of Alaska during the fiscal year 1940, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

#### RECONCENTRATION OR REWAREHOUSING OF COTTON

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture in relation to Senate Resolution 337, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,  
Washington, December 16, 1940.

The VICE PRESIDENT,  
United States Senate.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: Careful consideration has been given to Senate Resolution 337, of December 2, 1940, requesting that the competitive bids which the Commodity Credit Corporation has received for the storage of Government stocks of cotton not be accepted until there has been an opportunity for the Congress to consider the subject.

In order to conform to the request which is contained in Senate Resolution 337, announcement is being made today that the date for acceptance of the bids has been deferred from December 16, 1940, as set forth in the invitation for bids, to February 1, 1941. This action will afford all persons an adequate opportunity to obtain a consideration of their views by the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

CLAUDE R. WICKARD,  
Secretary.

#### PROMOTION OF SAFETY THROUGH USE OF COMMUNICATIONS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Chairman of the Federal Communications Com-

mission, reporting, in accordance with law, that the Commission is preparing, pursuant to the provisions of section 602 (e) of the Communications Act, as amended, its report following a special study of the radio requirements necessary or desirable for safety purposes for ships navigating the Great Lakes and inland waters of the United States, and also that, with the exception of the matter above referred to, the Commission has no specific recommendations to make at this time for new legislation with respect to the promotion of safety of life and property through the use of communications, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

#### PETITIONS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter in the nature of a petition from Nellie A. Hemer, of Los Angeles, Calif., praying for the extension of adequate aid to England and the hastening of national-defense preparations in the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution of Margaret Dunning Chapter, Daughters of American Colonists, Topeka, Kans., praying that a commemorative postage stamp be issued in honor of Mary Ball Washington, mother of George Washington and also that August 25 be set aside as Mary Ball, Mother of Washington Day, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

#### RESOLUTION OF AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION RELATIVE TO TAXATION

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD at this point and appropriately referred a short resolution relating to taxation adopted by voting delegates at the annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation on December 12, 1940, at Baltimore, Md.

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

#### FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION TO REPLACE LOCAL TAXES

Where Federal acquisition of privately owned land reduces the base of the general property tax sufficiently to create a serious fiscal problem, we recommend that equitable contribution be made to the local taxing units by the Federal Government for at least the period of readjustment.

#### EXTENSION OF CREDIT TO GREAT BRITAIN—PROTEST OF FARMERS' UNION OF RILEY COUNTY, KANS.

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred a protest from the Farmers' Union of Riley County, Kans.

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

RANDOLPH, KANS., November 29, 1940.

Hon. Senator CAPPER,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Whereas it is rumored in Congress that we might be called on to extend credit and loan money to Great Britain, we, the entire membership of the Farmers' Union, Local 1214, Grandview, Riley County, Kans., most vigorously protest against any such action of our Congress and appeal to you that you will use all your power and influence to stop any such move.

Sincerely,

Henry G. Nanninga, Leonardville, Kans.; L. D. Buss, Leonardville, Kans.; Clarence Larson, Stockdale, Kans.; Carl Valine, Randolph, Kans.; John L. Larson, Randolph, Kans.; Mrs. L. D. Buss, Leonardville, Kans.; Winston Buss, Leonardville, Kans.; Mrs. Ida Larson, Stockdale, Kans.; Mrs. Alma Nanninga, Leonardville, Kans.; Loyd Wickstrum, Stockdale, Kans.; Glen Wickstrum, Stockdale, Kans.

#### MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGES, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, from the Committee on Commerce, I report favorably, with amendments, House bill 9683, which is a bill simply in the usual form to extend the time for the construction of a bridge at St. Louis, and I submit a report (No. 2224) thereon. The committee has amended the bill to include an additional bridge at St. Louis. There seems to be no objection to either extension from any source—

and these are purely extensions—and at the request of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], I ask for the present consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H. R. 9683) to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near a point between Morgan and Wash Streets, in the city of St. Louis, Mo., and a point opposite thereto in the city of East St. Louis, Ill., and for other purposes.

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

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments, on page 2, after line 15, to insert the following:

SEC. 3. That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River, at or near a point on Broadway between Florida and Mullanphy Streets, in the city of St. Louis, Mo., and a point opposite thereto in the town of Stites, in the county of St. Clair, State of Illinois, and connecting with St. Clair Avenue extended in said town, authorized to be built by the county of St. Clair, Ill., by an act of Congress approved August 30, 1935, heretofore extended by acts of Congress approved May 1, 1936, June 9, 1937, June 29, 1938, and July 25, 1939, are hereby further extended 1 and 3 years, respectively, from August 30, 1940.

And on page 2, line 16, to change the section number from "3" to "4."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendments reported by the committee.

The amendments were agreed to.

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.

The title was amended so as to read: "An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near a point between Morgan and Wash Streets in the city of St. Louis, Mo., and a point opposite thereto in the city of East St. Louis, Ill., and to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River between St. Louis, Mo., and Stites, Ill."

#### POSTMASTER NOMINATIONS REPORTED AND CONFIRMED

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, I present the approved nominations of 17 postmasters to which the Senators concerned do not object. I ask, as in executive session, that the nominations be confirmed and the President notified.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? Without objection, as in executive session, the nominations will be confirmed and the President notified.

#### BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

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

By Mr. NEELY:

S. 4438. A bill authorizing the city of Wheeling, W. Va., to purchase and construct, maintain and operate bridges across the Ohio River located wholly or partly within said city; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. KING:

S. J. Res. 308. Joint resolution requesting the President to call a conference of representatives of the Federal and State Governments to consider certain questions relative to Federal and State taxation; to the Committee on Finance.

#### MARY JOSEPHINE WILLIAMS

Mr. HAYDEN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 338), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to



Mary Josephine Williams, widow of Ora Williams, late a laborer of the Senate under supervision of the Sergeant at Arms, a sum equal to 6 months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR M'NARY AT SALEM, OREG.

[Mr. AUSTIN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by Senator McNARY at Salem, Oreg., on November 4, 1940, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY SENATOR GIBSON ON NATIONAL UNITY

[Mr. GIBSON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Appendix an address delivered by him on the subject of national unity, on December 11, 1940, before the Chambers of Commerce of the Oranges and of Maplewood, N. J., in East Orange, N. J., which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM S. KNUDSEN ON THE NATIONAL-DEFENSE PROGRAM

[Mr. TAFT asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Appendix an address on the subject of the national-defense program delivered by Mr. William S. Knudsen at the annual dinner of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Congress of American Industry in New York City, Friday, December 13, 1940, which appears in the Appendix.]

NINETIETH BIRTHDAY OF "MOTHER BERRY"—LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

[Mr. HARRISON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter from President Roosevelt to Mrs. Modena Lowrey Berry, known as Mother Berry, on the occasion of her ninetieth birthday, which appears in the Appendix.]

LETTER TO SENATOR GUFFEY FROM GEORGE W. HENSEL

[Mr. GUFFEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter to him from George W. Hensel, Jr., of Quarryville, Pa., author of the column, Down Lancaster Way, which appears in the Appendix.]

FRENCH SPOILIATION CLAIMS—STATEMENT BY TUMULTY & TUMULTY

[Mr. BURKE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared by the law firm of Tumulty & Tumulty on the subject of the French spoliation claims, which appears in the Appendix.]

BRITISH INTERESTS IN AMERICAN BUSINESS

[Mr. HOLT asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD exhibits C and E of his speech delivered on December 9, as noted on page 13862 of the RECORD.]

ADDRESS BY W. L. BATT ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

[Mr. MINTON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Appendix an address on the subject of national defense, delivered by W. L. Batt, Deputy Commissioner, Industrial Materials Division, National Defense Advisory Commission, before the annual dinner of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in New York City, December 4, 1940, which appears in the Appendix.]

PAYMENTS TO SHORT-LINE RAILROADS

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that action on my motion concerning House bill 10098 be postponed until Thursday next.

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

ADVOCACY OF EMERGENCY DECREE BY PRINCETON EDUCATORS

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, when I woke up this morning I noticed in the Washington Post a headline, which said:

Emergency decree urged to speed arms efforts. Thirty Princeton scholars demand full mobilization to raise production.

Then I got the New York Times, which said:

Thirty-four educators urge full mobilization. Roosevelt asked to declare a state of emergency to speed defense program.

Naturally, I felt that that was a very important matter; and I read the articles with a great deal of interest, desiring

to find out who these educators were. The incident reminded me of a saying of my grandfather. He said you could dress up a monkey, but his tail would stick out. That is true of this outfit. This is the same old crowd of individuals who have been active to get us into war from the very start. They are the same monkeys with their tails sticking out.

Who are they? I will delay the Senate for just a few moments to describe them. Who are the backers of this movement and the other steps of war?

First, they are a group of Anglophiles, educated by Cecil Rhodes to carry out Rhodes' dream of world empire. I will name some of them in just a few moments. (See exhibit A.)

Second, they are a group of individuals who have consistently been under the control of international finance.

Third, they are a group of refugees. I want to get that straight. They are a group of refugees who came over here to get America to have a haven of peace, and who are now trying to get America into war. Let me say about those refugees that I am getting sick and tired of individuals coming over from Europe to enjoy peace in America and trying to instill war propaganda to get us into the war over there, while they remain free and safe in America. Incidentally, I note we have Secretary Ickes—"Old Ick" himself—trying to get us to bring more refugees in here to stir up more war propaganda and take the jobs of American citizens.

LIST OF ANGLOPHILES

Let us see who some of them are who signed this statement:

Frank Aydelotte. Who is Frank Aydelotte? Former president of Swarthmore, and head—get this, he is not just a member but he is secretary—of the Rhodes Trustees in America. He is the man who directs Rhodes' money in the United States of America; I have discussed Aydelotte before. You may remember that I put in the RECORD sometime ago what Rhodes' dream was, to get the United States back into the British Empire.

Who else? We find Walter Phelps Hall, whom I remember as the author of pro-Tory books about England. He has been a Tory at heart, and his writings will show it. He is more interested in the Tory regime of England than he is in the democracy of the United States.

Whom else do we find? We find J. Douglas Brown and Winfield W. Riefler. Who are those two individuals, J. Douglas Brown and Winfield W. Riefler? They are both men who signed the manifesto asking that the United States go to war with Germany in June of 1940. They were unsuccessful in that desire but now they just want us to slip into the war. That is Brown and Riefler. Brown is 42, and Riefler is 43. They are not much beyond military age. If they are so much interested in this matter and want a declaration of war, why do they not enlist in the forces of Great Britain instead of trying to send some American boys over there to fight their battles? It is interesting that both are married and have dependents.

(See exhibit B.)

Who else is in that list? Benjamin Merritt, who was a lecturer at Oxford, England, in 1935.

This is one of the groups that is telling America what to do, educated by Cecil Rhodes. The Round Table, London, has told its readers of the Rhodes scholar angle in American affairs. No one would say every Rhodes scholar was in that group, but many are—far more than the country realizes.

Next is Henry N. Russell, another Oxford student, and an instructor at Cambridge University, England.

Are these not nice Americans, telling us what to do? Of course, they have no interest at all. Rhodes knew that you could get some of them by scholarships and his fortune has done so.

Next I find the name of Oswald Veblen, who has an honorary degree from Oxford, and wrote a series of books for Oxford.

John B. Whitton, educated in France, who was assigned to the League of Nations, and in *Who's Who* he still gives his address at Geneva, Switzerland.

Let us see the refugees. Are they American citizens? One is John A. Mackey, born in Great Britain. I do not know whether he is an American citizen or not, but *Who's Who* for 1940 shows that he did not even think enough of his American citizenship—if he is an American—to state that he is an American citizen. Yet he, a man born in Great Britain, is telling America what to do.

Who was the other one of that group who signed? John von Neumann, who was born in Hungary, but got away from Europe when this trouble started, and *Who's Who* for 1940 does not show that Mr. von Neumann thought enough of the United States of America to show that he held citizenship here, or had ever received the rights of citizenship. But he is important enough to these editors to use his name in an effort to involve us and bring us just a little closer to war.

(See exhibit H for complete list.)

Also we find a group down south who is propagandizing for war, and who is that group? Of course, they have other names, but it is the same monkey. It is the Frances Miller group that asked for the declaration of war crowd. It is headed by Frances Miller, who was sent up to New York to generate war propaganda.

This Southern group asks for "all aid" to England. "All aid" means military aid and that means war.

#### WARD CHENEY—GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Who do you suppose paid Mr. Miller's expenses? I will tell you. Ward Cheney paid them. Who is Mr. Cheney? Mr. Cheney sells parachutes to the United States Government for its armed forces; so he has an interest in the war.

Whom did Ward Cheney marry? He married Frances Davison. Who is Frances Davison? She is a sister of Henry P. Davison, of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. So it is easy to see the interest, when we look behind the scenes. But the press does not tell that. It tells the story only as though it were these great patriotic American citizens wanting us to take an interest for an ideal.

Who else was in that group which met down there? There was James Boyd, a Rhodes scholar. Whom did James Boyd marry? You have heard the name Lamont. He married Katharine Lamont.

Let us see who else was in that group down there. There was Barry Bingham, son of the former Ambassador to Great Britain, who has been British to the core since his father's appointment.

(See exhibit E.)

Then there was R. Preston Brooks, an Oxford scholar, a member of the Rhodes Scholar Education Committee. He passes upon who goes over to England, whose expenses are to be paid from the Cecil Rhodes funds.

Then there was Mark Ethridge, one of Bingham's employees, who naturally carried out his ideas.

There was Frank P. Graham, who really wants a declaration of war, a member of the policy committee of the William Allen White Committee.

Who else was there? Poor, insignificant little Herbert Agar, who came out for a declaration of war some time ago. He signed this request to give the President immediate wartime power.

Then there was Francis P. Miller, head of the Miller group of which I spoke a moment ago.

(See exhibit C.)

None of these is of military-service age. (See exhibit D.)

(See exhibit H for list.)

Mr. President, I shall not detain the Senate to give more facts, which I have available, but I say that in this group will be found Anglophile interests, there will be found financial war interests, and there will be found refugee interests.

As part of my remarks I ask to be permitted to insert certain records about the individuals to whom I have been referring, more than I could compile just in the few moments I had after reading the paper this morning.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

#### WARTIME POWERS FOR PRESIDENT

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, these men to whom I have been referring want to give the President wartime power. Of course, so does William Allen White. But what did Mr. William Allen White think on the 19th day of October 1939 about the wartime powers of the President? Let me read from his *Emporia Daily Gazette*:

#### PRESIDENT'S WAR POWERS

The Constitution designated the President of the United States as the Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the country, but the Executive's war powers do not stop there. A generalissimo sitting in civilian clothes at the White House in case of a "national emergency," without additional authorization by Congress, may become a war dictator overnight.

Existing war powers vested in the President and other Government officials include:

1. Suspension of the 8-hour working day on Federal contracts.
2. Buying military supplies without advertising for bids.
3. Take over any or all transportation systems or commandeer American ships.

Under his emergency powers he has control of "any vessel, domestic or foreign, in the territorial waters of the United States" and has the right to "take possession" of such vessel. This was given in the wartime powers 23 years ago and remains on the statute books to be used by the President now.

That is what they want to do; they want to seize certain ships in the harbors of the United States and take them over so that they can let certain other ships go to a belligerent power. Mark that down, and see if that does not occur under the emergency powers. The editorial further states:

4. Assume control of utilities as generating plants, reservoirs, or conduits.
5. Suspend trading on security exchanges and control foreign exchange of gold and silver.
6. Regulate communication by radio and wire.
7. Suspend certain quota and production-control measures on agriculture.

Then the editorial says:

If war should come to America such emergency powers of the President would be only a hop-off to the consequences of "M" or mobilization day. The modern world has seen nothing of tyrannical dictatorship compared to what may come should Congress declare war and grant streamlined letters of "marque and reprisal."

I have been reading from Mr. William Allen White's paper of October 19, 1939. Now he wants the very thing that would set up dictatorship; and why? Because he is obsessed with this idea of getting America into the war, plunging her into it, to her destruction.

#### CONSCRIPTION OF LABOR

Mark this down as sure to happen if this continues. Already the drive is under way to get conscription of labor. I present for the RECORD as part of my remarks the statement I gave to the press on Saturday on that subject.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

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

A propaganda campaign is underway to discredit labor and finally to force its conscription. I raise my voice to oppose this hysteria that will deal a deathblow to the rights of organized labor.

Mark this prediction. If this campaign continues to gain ground, there will be conscription of labor. Some of us called attention to that danger when we started down the road of conscription—peace-time conscription of men.

The freedom and rights of labor appear to be a possible casualty of war hysteria. Labor faces a real challenge and they will find that some of their political friends in Congress have been just that. I have constantly feared that labor was creating a government Frankenstein which would finally turn on it, and have opposed moves I felt would create such a situation.



Talk about labor interfering with defense, why there were certain manufacturers who refused to take Government orders until they were assured large profits and certain tax legislation. But certain newspapers and officials who are now calling for a drive against labor never opened their mouths about that delay. Certain industrialists would not move until Congress gave them what they wanted and wiped out the law that limited profits to 7 percent. Mr. Eaton, counsel for Mr. Knudsen, appeared before the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate, of which I am a member, and opposed limitation of profit on defense orders.

Let's give the people the whole story.

#### SPADE WORK FOR WAR IN UNIONS

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, we have noticed that certain outstanding labor leaders are over here telling us how England is fighting for democracy in the war. Let us look back to 1914 and let me quote from a letter written to Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, copy of which I have:

One line to congratulate you on the success of your work. It is just splendid and the chief very pleased and satisfied.

Then, announcing the approach of J. A. Seddon, he said he is "going to do splendid spade work in the American trade unions."

#### SIR WALTER CITRINE

So they sent Mr. Seddon, a member of Parliament, to the United States in order to do spade work in the American union movement; and that is what they are doing today. That is what Sir Walter Citrine was doing here last week. They are doing spade work in the American union movement in order to get labor behind the war drive.

Now let me read what Sir Cecil Spring-Rice wrote to Lord Newton in another letter of which I have a copy:

Two labor members are over now—

Referring to the United States—

Two labor members are over now and are doing a good deal of useful talking in private lines \* \* \* none in public.

Get that. Here is a letter from Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador, to Lord Newton, about these labor members over here during the World War—that is, the war of 1914 to 1918:

Two labor members are over now and are doing a good deal of useful talking in private lines \* \* \* none in public.

(See exhibit G.)

Why do I take the floor of the Senate day after day in order to bring this before the American people? I do it because I want the facts to be known. I want the people to know that they are being taken into the war under subterfuge and dishonesty. Others may choose their course. I choose mine—to fight with all my power to keep my country at peace, to keep it out of the shambles of Europe, to preserve our democracy here.

#### GETTING READY FOR EUROPEAN WAR

What did Lieutenant General Drum say last Saturday? Did he say we were going to fight a war over here? No; he said they are training American boys to fight a foreign war whenever and wherever they are needed. He set up one reason to fight war, the protection of Anglo-American investments. Then think of telling the American people, "No American boys will fight on foreign soil. We are just going to declare war in order to scare Germany."

Of course, that would be so ridiculous, if it were not so tragic, that it would be laughable. If we are going into the war, we are going to send the American boys, as Lieutenant General Drum said, wherever and whenever they are needed, and American boys will shed their blood in France or elsewhere in Europe, in Asia, in a needless war, because this is a needless war so far as the United States of America is concerned, a war generated by finance, by blood money. I have given fact after fact to the Senate to show it, and what do I find? I find that certain individuals who have been active in this pro-war drive have in the last month received Government contracts from the Army and Navy. I have never made a statement yet which I could not prove. I can prove these.

I wish to say that America should know that this drive is generated by such groups as the ones I have discussed. But what does the press do? The press wants to put another front on it, to dress up the old scarecrow so that it will look like a new scarecrow, but it is the same old group, it is the same old monkey with the same old tail sticking out. It is the war crowd under a new front.

#### EXHIBIT A

##### RHODES—EMPIRE BUILDER

Sir Cecil Rhodes, English empire builder, wrote many wills. In one of these wills he sets out the objects of expenditure of his money in these words:

"The extension of British rule throughout the world; the colonization by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labor, and enterprise; and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates, the islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay archipelago, the seaboard of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire."

In his last will he sets out this:

"Whereas I consider that the education of young colonists at one of the universities in the United Kingdom is of great advantage to them for giving breadth to their views for their instruction in life and manners and for instilling into their minds the advantage to the colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire."

Rhodes was a Briton. He loved his country. He loved the British Empire. He always hoped for solidarity between England and the United States. His scholarships aided in that goal.

#### EXHIBIT B

##### WAR MANIFESTO SIGNERS

Statement made by Senator HOLT on floor of Senate, June 12, 1940, about those who signed war manifesto, part of whom are in the present group referred to in speech today:

"Speaking of the individuals who want us to go to war, the other day we saw a list of 30 of them in the newspapers. The headline was War on Reich Urged to Crush Threat to United States. Thirty of them were named. Let me give the ages of some of these men. Probably they are able-bodied men. Here are their ages:

"Mr. Stringfellow Barr is 43 years old. Any man with a name like that should frighten anybody. He is not beyond helping the Allies, if he wants to declare war.

"Who else? J. Douglas Brown is 42. He could serve a little while and not be worn out.

"Who else? George Watts Hill is 38. He is near the draft age. It will be noticed that none of them is within the draft limit of 35.

"Let us see who else. George Fort Milton is 45. He could serve 6 months over there without hurting himself.

"Herbert S. Agar is 42. He could serve a year or two without hurting himself.

"Of course Frank R. Kent is too old.

"Lewis Mumford is 44. Let us go down the line.

"Stacy May, director of the Rockefeller Foundation, is only 44.

"I did not get the ages of all of them.

"John Lloyd Balderston is 50.

"James F. Curtis is 62.

"Edwin F. Gay is 72.

"Marion H. Hedges is 51.

"Rt. Rev. Henry W. Hobson is 49.

"LeRoy Hodges is 51.

"Calvin B. Hoover, professor of economics at Duke University, is only 43. I am willing to let him serve 2 years over there if he wants to.

"Edwin P. Hubble is 50. He is a little too old, but he could stop a bullet just as quickly as could a boy of 18.

"Let us see who else. Walter Millis is 41. It might interest the Senate to know that when Walter Millis wrote his book, *The Road to War*, it was edited, and all uncomplimentary references to J. Pierpont Morgan were taken out before it was published. He is only 41. Of course, he is writing editorials in the *New York Herald Tribune*, saying that we should become a belligerent.

"Who else? Winfield W. Riefel is 43. That is a good name for war. I have no objection to his going.

"Whitney H. Shepardson is 49.

"Admiral Standley is 67.

"Those are the men who are telling American boys that they should go over and stop Hitler. If these individuals are interested in stopping Hitler I do not think there will be any objection by the Senate to their volunteering. But I wish to say that a man who advocates sending American boys to the battlefields of Europe, and who will not himself enlist, is a cowardly traitor to his country. If I had enough feeling about the matter, and believed that the situation is what the administration says it is, and the danger is what they say it is, I would have enough guts to offer my body to the same service for which I would send another American boy to his death.

"Oh, no; these individuals are armchair patriots, who sit back and tell others how to win the war and tell the boys, 'Stand your ground and meet the tanks. We will stand back and tell you what the tanks are going to do tomorrow.'"

## EXHIBIT C

## THE MILLER "WAR" GROUP

This southern conference move is one of those acts which can be traced to the Miller group, whose history is recorded below. It is one of the most belligerent of the pro-war groups and was very active in the destroyer deal, in the letters to the newspapers known as the Balderston letters, as well as coordinator of the different committees and organizations lined up in the war drive. Bingham, Agar, and Miller have tried to slip this one over as a new thing, but it is the same old crowd under a new front.

Where formed: On July 11, 1940, Lewis Douglas, president of the billion-dollar Mutual Life Insurance Co. (closely affiliated with J. P. Morgan & Co. interests) and former president of McGill University (Canada), as well as official of the American Cyanamid Co. (which had war contracts with Great Britain), was host to a group of individuals who were interested in getting us in the war, although they made no public statement of that purpose.

The purpose was to set up a central organization to aid the different groups who were friendly to the cause of our participation.

It was decided that Frances Miller, an organizer for the Council on Foreign Relations should direct the office. He was set up in New York City (11 West Forty-second Street) to direct the campaign. The biggest check for the cost came from Ward Cheney, manufacturer of silk parachutes who had sold his products to the armed forces of the United States and whose wife was Frances Davison, sister of H. P. Davison, present partner of Morgan. This was not his first or last contribution to the war cause. He was one of those who helped pay for the newspaper advertisements over the country sponsored by the William Allen White committee.

Two weeks later, a group met at the Century Club in New York to work out further plans. Those present were Robert S. Allen, of the Pearson and Allen column; Joseph Alsop, distant cousin of the President and well known for his desire to be in with the right social crowd as well as coauthor of the column attacked by Senator BARKLEY as a purveyor of malicious falsehoods; Ulric Bell, Washington correspondent of the pro-war Louisville Courier Journal (owned by the Bingham interests—the heirs of the former Ambassador to Great Britain); Barry Bingham, son of the ex-Ambassador and active in all pro-war organizations; Ward Cheney; Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, studied in Great Britain; Clark M. Eichelberger, executive director, William Allen White Committee, and secretary, League of Nations Association; Harold K. Guinsburg, contributor to William Allen White; George Watts Hill, advocate of declaration of war; Bishop Henry Hobson, also an advocate for declaration of war and one of the signers of the famous war manifesto; Ernest M. Hopkins, president of Dartmouth; Geoffrey Parsons, writer and director of New York Herald Tribune, whose editorial last summer called for intervention into the war; Frank L. Polk, assistant to Secretary of State Lansing during the World War and whose Lansing memoirs shows to be active for our participation in that war before 1917; Whitney Shepherdson, co-worker of Miller and one of the signers of the war manifesto on Council of Foreign Relations; Robert E. Sherwood, playwright and very active for America to enter the war, author of stop-Hitler advertisements and speaker for William Allen White Committee; Admiral William Standley, former Navy official who also signed war manifesto and active for war; and Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, educated in Great Britain and extremely pro-British, and Miller.

Although not present, many advisers were called into the discussion from time to time. A few were: Dean Acheson, close friend of the President and the author of the letter advocating transfer of destroyers, and whose law firm represents interests affected by war; Dr. James R. Angell; Hamilton Fish Armstrong, known for his collective security writings; John L. Balderston, who was the liaison man between the British Embassy and the war groups and who has a home in London, England, as well as employee of Public Information Bureau to Great Britain; Dr. James B. Conant, whose record has been discussed before as active as a Morgan spokesman and who the Harvard Crimson said was trying to "build a superhighway straight to Armageddon"; Col. William Donovan, flying emissary of Colonel Knox, active in pro-war circles; Lewis Douglas, who called the first meeting; Allen Dulles, of the law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, who represents many foreign interests; Henry R. Luce, owner of Time and very pro-war, whose start is tied with Thomas Lamont, of J. P. Morgan & Co.; Henry Pringle, advocate of breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany; Walter Wanger, financial supporter of the William Allen White committee.

It was decided to "put heat" on Washington.

Herbert Agar, Ward Cheney, Miller, and Eichelberger were sent to talk to the "powers." They conferred with the President, Vice President-Elect Henry Wallace, and Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, about transfer of the destroyers. A press campaign was to be directed by Alsop, Allen, Balderston, as well as the others who would be "all O. K. when we talk to them," as one well-known financier said.

It will be recalled that this was part of the trick which William Allen White spoke about in his blundering speech in New York.

This was a part of the smart trick to get public support. It was aided by the radio and press campaign. In this campaign the services of Colonel Donovan in his speech from Chicago, Admiral Standley (war advocate), and Maury Maverick were called into action.

It is a known fact that Archibald McLeish, Librarian of Congress, broached the work of the committee with Russell Davenport, adviser of Wendell Willkie, as to the attitude of Willkie because of the fear by the President that if it were brought into the campaign that it would be too dangerous. MacLeish has been the go-between many times in that capacity.

The destroyer deal was put over. Now, the Miller influence is seen cropping out in this conference at Southern Pines, N. C. The present drive is to get convoy service for American ships into and through the war zones which can mean nothing else than war. That is its purpose.

The Miller group is financed by those who are making "blood money" out of the war. The southern conference move is part of his engineered work.

## EXHIBIT D

## ARE THEY OF MILITARY AGE?

A hurried check of those whose names are listed in press stories referred to in speech shows that none are eligible for military service. Practically all are far beyond the age limit and those under 50 are married with dependents. The list follows:

Burt Struthers, 58.  
James Derieux, 49 (married with children).  
Mark Ethridge, 44 (married with children).  
Frank P. Graham, 54.  
William T. Hodges, 59.  
Ernest Ives, 53.  
Louis Jaffe, 52.  
Frank Aydelotte, 60.  
Edward Earle, 46 (married with child).  
Frank A. Fetter, 77.  
Herbert S. Langfeld, 61.  
John N. Northrup, 49 (married with children).  
Robert K. Root, 63.  
Edward Sampson, 49 (children as dependents).  
Carl TenBroeck, 55.  
John B. Whitton, 48 (married with child).  
Robert P. Brooks, 59.  
H. G. Cochran, 55.  
George A. Dreyfous, 46.  
Sidney Garrison, 53.  
Luther Eisenhart, 64.  
Christian Gauss, 62.  
George W. Hill, 39 (married with children).  
Calvin B. Hoover, 43 (married with children).  
Virgilius Dabney, 39 (married with children).  
J. Douglas Brown, 42 (married with children).  
Walter P. Hall, 56.  
John A. Mackay, 51.  
Marston Morse, 48 (married with children).  
Winfield Reifler, 43 (married with children).  
Henry N. Russell, 63.  
Duane Stuart, 67.  
Oswald Veblen, 60.  
Thomas J. Wertenbaker, 61.

## EXHIBIT G

## PROPAGANDA FOR WAR IN LABOR GROUPS

Mr. J. A. Seddon, chairman of the general council of the British Workers' League, was the individual referred to by Cecil Spring-Rice, British Ambassador. In his letters to Lord Newton and to Sir Edward Grey he refers to the work of Seddon in the trade-unions in the United States. Lord Tyrrell wrote to Sir Cecil praising this work.

Mr. Seddon spoke in the United States for the National Security League, the infamous pro-war organization of the last World War and somewhat of a counterpart to the William Allen White committee in this one. His work was, as Sir Cecil said, "to do spadework" with the unions. If anyone would read his speeches and compare them with the speeches of Sir Walter Citrine, who is over here now doing the same sort of "spadework," they could hardly tell the difference. For instance, these are references to one of his speeches:

"Today British labor wholeheartedly supports the war against Germany. We have learned that Prussian militarism must be destroyed (the word Hitlerism is now substituted). \* \* \* Germany started the war. England and her allies did their best to avoid it. \* \* \* I saw that there had been a deliberate conspiracy of the Kaiser's (now Hitler's) government that had stretched over a number of years to plunge the world in war. The idea of 'Deutschland uber alles' dominated the minds of the German leaders. \* \* \* Germany's purpose was to secure world domination (that has been lifted bodily in the present speeches). \* \* \* We realize that Prussianism and freedom cannot exist side by side (refer to speech at New Orleans except substitute Hitlerism). \* \* \* We found that the Prussian Army in Belgium were so terrible that



they could only be whispered from man to man. We found that the reign of terror in the conquered territory—the burning of villages, the shooting of peaceful priests, schoolmasters and doctors as hostages, the outraging of young girls and married women, and the wholesale destruction of homes was the systematic and deliberate policy of the German Government. \* \* \* It was in those days that British labor made up its mind that no sacrifice was too great, no struggle too long, no effort too mighty to settle this menace of the world (refer to speech of last week in Washington) \* \* \* and so on and so on. Almost duplicate to the speeches of 1940.

Practically all of the propaganda moves of 1914-17 that aided in plunging the United States into the World War are again being used, some identical, others being changed slightly to avoid detection.

At the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor, it is the usual thing for delegates from the British Trades Union Congress to meet with representatives of the federation. But during the World War (before our entrance), in their place was sent Mr. James Seddon (discussed above) and Mr. Albert Bellamy. They attacked German propaganda in America and spoke of the worldwide machination of German influence but the delegates at the convention did not know that they had been sent specifically at the request of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice to propagandize or as he said "to do spadework" in the American trade-union movement for war. Is Sir William Citrine's mission the same?

#### EXHIBIT H

##### LIST OF NAMES NOTED IN NEWSPAPERS

"SOUTHERNERS ASK ALL AID TO BRITAIN—REGIONAL CONFERENCE CALLS FOR 'CAPACITY MOBILIZATION' TO 'CHECK TOTALITARIAN THREAT'—FACING 'COMMON ENEMY'—POLICY, ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS, DEMANDS A QUICK DECISION IN 'CRISIS'

"SOUTHERN PINES, N. C., December 15.—Declaring that the United States is facing a crisis 'almost impossible to exaggerate,' members of the southern regional conference, at an annual meeting called by the southern policy committee, issued a statement tonight, directed to President Roosevelt and Members of the Congress, calling for 'immediate full-capacity mobilization of all necessary resources.'

"The conference held that, wherever required, every activity should be subordinated to this move, if democracy is expected to survive the mounting threat from totalitarian conquerors. Then, declaring that the British 'cannot be expected to win by what we are able to sell them,' the conference called for 'all assistance necessary to check the menace.'

##### "MEMBERS AT POLICY SESSION

"Members of the Southern Regional Conference attending the policy session which began Friday and ended today, included the following:

"Noel R. Beddow, director of the steel workers' organizing committee (C. I. O.), Birmingham, Ala.; Barry Bingham, publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal; James Boyd, author, Southern Pines; R. Preston Brooks, economist, University of Georgia; Struthers Burt, author, Southern Pines; Judge H. G. Cochran, Norfolk, Va.; W. T. Couch, publisher, University of North Carolina Press; Yelveton Cowherd, labor leader, Birmingham, Ala.

"Also James C. Derieux, editor, Columbia (S. C.) State; George A. Dreyfous, lawyer, New Orleans; William Mitch, labor leader, Birmingham, Ala.; Warner Moss, professor of political science, College of William and Mary; Reed Dunn, Jr., Delta Council, Stoneville, Miss.; Mark Ethridge, editor, the Louisville Courier-Journal; C. Garrison, president of George Peabody for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

"Also Judge Blanton Fortson, Athens, Ga.; Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; George Watts Hill, industrialist, Durham, N. C.; W. T. Hodges, dean of Norfolk Division of William and Mary College; Calvin B. Hoover, economist, Duke University; Ernest Ives, retired from Foreign Service, Southern Pines; Miss Gwinn Nixon, social worker, Augusta, Ga.; Herbert Agar, editor, the Louisville Courier-Journal.

"Also Paul D. Williams, of the Catholic Conference of the South, Richmond, Va.; Katherine Newland Burt, editor, Southern Pines; W. H. Stovall, farmer, Stovall, Miss.; Mark Friedlaender, educator, Women's College, Greensboro, N. C.; Francis P. Miller, legislator, Fairfax, Va.; Louis E. Jaffe, editor of the Virginian Pilot, Norfolk, Va.; Virginius Dabney, editor of the Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va."

"THIRTY-FOUR EDUCATORS URGE FULL MOBILIZATION—ROOSEVELT ASKED TO DECLARE A STATE OF EMERGENCY TO SPEED DEFENSE PROGRAM

"PRINCETON, N. J., December 15.—Acceleration of the national-defense program by a declaration of a state of emergency and the enactment of legislation that 'will be equivalent to full industrial, military, and naval mobilization' is advocated in a statement issued today by 34 educators and research scientists of institutions here.

"The signers are:

"Frank Aydelotte, director of the Institute for Advanced Study.  
"Elmer A. Beller, associate professor of history, Princeton University.

"J. Douglas Brown, professor of economics and director of the industrial relations section, Princeton University, and former chairman of the Federal Advisory Council on Social Security.

"Hadley Cantril, associate professor of psychology and director of the Princeton Public Opinion Research Project, Princeton University.

"Harwood L. Childs, associate professor of politics and chairman of the Public Opinion Quarterly, Princeton University.

"Kenneth H. Condit, dean of the School of Engineering, Princeton University.

"Edward M. Earle, professor, Institute for Advanced Study.

"Luther P. Eisenhart, dean of the Graduate School and Dod Professor of Mathematics, Princeton University.

"Frank A. Fetter, professor of political economy, emeritus, Princeton University, and past president of the American Economics Association.

"Christian Gauss, dean of the college and class of 1900, professor of modern languages, Princeton University.

"Frank D. Graham, professor of economics and social institutions, Princeton University.

"Walter P. Hall, Dodge professor of history, Princeton University.

"Herbert S. Langfeld, chairman of the department of psychology, Princeton University.

"John A. Mackay, president of the Princeton Theological Seminary.

"Benjamin D. Meritt, professor, Institute for Advanced Study and chairman of the Princeton chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

"Marston Morse, professor, Institute for Advanced Study and chairman of the war preparedness committee of the American Mathematical Society and the Mathematical Association of America.

"John N. Northrup, general physiologist, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

"Louise Pearce, pathologist, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

"Winfield W. Riefler, professor Institute for Advanced Study.

"Howard P. Robertson, professor of mathematical physics, Princeton University.

"Robert K. Root, dean of the faculty and Woodrow Wilson professor of literature, Princeton University.

"Henry N. Russell, young professor of astronomy, Princeton University, and former president of the American Philosophical Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

"Edward Sampson, professor of geology, Princeton University.

"E. Baldwin Smith, Butler Memorial professor of the history of architecture, Princeton University.

"Henry D. Smyth, professor of physics and chairman of the physics department, Princeton University.

"Wendell M. Stanley, chemist, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

"Duane R. Stuart, Kennedy professor of Latin, languages, and literature, Princeton University.

"Carl Ten Broeck, bacteriologist, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

"Louis A. Turner, associate professor of physics, Princeton University.

"Oswald Veblen, professor, Institute for Advanced Study.

"John von Neumann, professor, Institute for Advanced Study, and member of the War Department's Scientific Advisory Board to the Ballistics Research Laboratory at Aberdeen Proving Ground.

"Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Edwards professor of American history, Princeton University.

"John B. Whitton, associate professor of politics, and chairman of the Princeton Listening Center, Princeton University."

##### THE LOTUS EATERS OF 1940—EDITORIAL IN LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. President, I am neither a European refugee nor do I consider myself to be a monkey merely because some newspapers may have mentioned the position I have taken with respect to certain matters; but when listening to the remarks of the Senator from West Virginia I could not help thinking of certain remarks about labor made a few days ago in a speech delivered by Mr. Hitler, in which he said he was going to dominate the world and conquer the world by using labor as gold. The only way I know of that anyone can do that is by making labor slave labor. I do not believe the people of this country or that labor of this country will tolerate being considered as gold. Those who labor are human beings, and do not consider themselves as slaves, and I hope they never will.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point as part of my remarks an editorial published in the Louisville Courier-Journal of November 17, 1940, entitled "The Lotus Eaters of 1940."

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

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal of November 17, 1940]

THE LOTUS EATERS OF 1940

It is 10 days since election. America has had time to recover from her descents into the opium dens of politics. But she seems to have caught the drug habit; she shrinks from returning to the cold ugliness of life.

It was fun to turn our backs on the world blizzard, to behave for a time as if nothing mattered but the fairy-tale wickedness of Roosevelt or of Willkie. But during our days of indulgence the blizzard grew more severe and now it is not fun to face again into that freezing wind. Like the lotus eaters of old we weakly cry:

"Let us alone. Time driveth onward fast,  
And in a little while our lips are dumb.  
Let us alone. What is it that will last?  
All things are taken from us, and become  
Portions and parcels of the dreadful past.  
Let us alone. What pleasure can we have  
To war with evil? Is there any peace  
In ever climbing up the climbing wave?  
All things have rest, and ripen toward the grave  
In silence—ripen, fall, and cease:  
Give us long rest or death, dark death, or dreamful ease."

There is no rest for anyone who faces reality today, no peace, no abiding pleasure. Those who cry for peace when peace is impossible are the modern lotus eaters, the peace mongers who may yet succeed in drenching our land in blood. There is no reason why war need come to these shores, but the peace mongers are doing their best to bring it here, the silly lotus eaters who dream that all is well because our last allies have not yet bled to death.

Fate gave us the chance to protect America thousands of miles away, on the cold North Sea and in the mist above the British Isles. Fate offered us as allies a noble people. But our peace-mongers ask only for "long rest or death, dark death, or dreamful ease." In the world of Adolf Hitler "dreamful ease" cannot be had for the asking. "Dark death" is the one drink for the lotus eaters of 1940; it is the potion they are preparing for their betrayed country.

This is all the more discouraging because the winged victory herself is wooing us today, offering her favors cheap, but for the last time. If we reject these advances, we shall not see her face again until we too have known the toll and tears and sweat of Churchill's England. Freedom and peace can be had today at the cost of a little courage, a little breadth of mind and spirit. Tomorrow the cost may be years of total effort on two oceans and across the two Americas. Tomorrow the cost may be so great that we of little faith refuse to pay it, preferring retreat and frustration to such prolonged pain.

Today we need only admit a total emergency, an uncompromising intention to see the war won, and the game is ours. Tomorrow it may be forever too late to win the easy way, or to win at all.

The bravest men alive are on our side today, prepared to do almost all the fighting and take almost all the loss. By summer they may be gone, as France is gone, leaving us alone in a contemptuous world. Our caution will have landed us in the old dilemma; either defeat, or victory at the cost of rivers of blood. It is our peacemongers who are driving us to that awful choice.

All winter the resources of the continent of Europe will be used, 24 hours of every day, to prepare the machinery for the murder of England. The enemy is relentless, untiring, filled with a vicious zeal. He owns Europe and most of Africa, and his friends have the upper hand in Asia. What he began in the spring of 1940 he intends to finish in the spring of 1941. We alone can surely stop him, but we cannot be certain of success unless we go "all out" at once.

The American people decided long ago that they would like Britain to win. That decision, with the small results that have followed from it, is not enough. We must now decide that we insist on a British victory, come what may. If we reach that pitch of determination today, Hitler's game is ended. If we reach it in 2 or 3 months, we may be too late.

But what can we do, say the lotus eaters, that we are not already doing? Haven't we appropriated a lot of money? Haven't we told the Germans that we don't like them? Haven't we traded 50 destroyers to the British? Those who are not yet weakened with "the yellow lotus dust," not yet ripe for peacemongering, know there is much we can do.

1. We can repeal the Neutrality Act, a law which looks more silly with every day's experience. It has become a disgrace, an admission that we do not mean business in opposing Hitler.

2. We can repeal the Johnson Act, a law which was passed on the lying assumption that we got into the last war to recover our debts, and which is preserved on the outrageous hope that only love of cash could move us to strong action today.

With those laws out of the way, our chances to help Britain would be increased manifold. We could begin giving (not selling) the goods with which Britishers are helping to save our world. We could begin using American ships to take to the British Isles the machines without which the war must go against us in the spring.

3. We could use American warships to convoy boats across the full extent of our declared neutrality zone. Or we could convoy all the way to British ports.

4. We can make easy the enlistment in the armies of the British Empire of large numbers of American aviators and mechanics. Twenty thousand such volunteers in Britain or the Near East by next spring might turn the tide of war and save our world from years of agony.

5. We can promote some form of understanding among the English-speaking peoples, an alliance or a union looking toward a peace of justice in which all free men can share equally. We shall not conquer the satanic daring of Hitler until we lift our imaginations to an equivalent daring in the service of man.

All these are actions that can still be described as "short of war," if we insist on clinging to that ambiguous, unworthy phrase. Most of us know that war, in the modern Hitlerian sense, is being waged against America, and that America must fight back or be ruined. Whom are we afraid of that we dare not say these things out loud, unambiguously, and at once? Instead of the soft song of the appealing lotus eaters, America needs a voice like John Milton's to cry unceasingly:

"Awake, arise, or be forever fallen."

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. GIBSON. I yield.

Mr. HOLT. Was that editorial written by Herbert Agar, who has asked for our entrance into the war?

Mr. GIBSON. No; I am sorry to inform the Senator that editorial was not written by Herbert Agar.

Mr. HOLT. Does the Senator know who wrote it?

Mr. GIBSON. I believe it was written by Ulric Bell.

Mr. HOLT. Does not Mr. Agar dominate the policy of the Louisville Courier-Journal?

Mr. GIBSON. No. I think it is dominated by the gentleman the Senator spoke of, Mr. Bingham.

Mr. HOLT. He is the owner of the Courier-Journal.

Mr. GIBSON. Yes; and Mr. Bingham, I believe, directs the editorial policy of the newspaper. Of course, he may be an Anglophile, but I do not think that is a very terrible curse.

Mr. HOLT. I wish to say to the Senator, and I say it in all friendliness, as he knows, that I agree thoroughly with him that it would be a terrific calamity if the philosophy of labor being used for the purpose he described, to weaken or to depress the markets of the world, became widespread. I agree with the Senator thoroughly in that respect, but I do not see the need of conscripting men over here under the present circumstances in the hope of trying to correct the evils resulting from European power politics, which have caused Europe to be engaged in war for 400 years.

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. President, I do not know that I have heard anyone anywhere suggest that we conscript labor. On the contrary, I believe that labor can better serve our country in this time of need under a democracy, with short hours and good working conditions than by being driven under the whiplash. And certainly, if I interpreted Mr. Hitler's speech correctly, he said he was going to use labor as gold.

Mr. HOLT. I wish to say to the Senator from Vermont that I do not believe in Hitlerism in Europe nor do I believe in Hitlerism in America.

Mr. GIBSON. I am glad the Senator from West Virginia and I agree in that respect.

USE OF CERTAIN PARTS OF PUBLIC DOMAIN

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair takes the opportunity to say that next Thursday he will move that the Senate take up for consideration House bill 9705, Calendar No. 2238, to make more effective use of certain parts of the public domain, and for other purposes.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, as in executive session, on behalf of the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs [Mr. WALSH], I report favorably the nomination of Maj. Gen. Thomas Holcomb to be the major general commandant of the Marine Corps for a period of 4 years from the first day of December 1940. As in executive session, I ask for the present consideration of the nomination.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the nomination? The Chair hears none. The nomination will be read.



The legislative clerk read the nomination of Maj. Gen. Thomas Holcomb to be the major general commandant of the Marine Corps for a period of 4 years from the 1st day of December 1940.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. MINTON. I ask that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nomination.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the President will be notified.

#### THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, as we approach this day of days—glad Christmas Day—it is our fervent hope that liberty and peace shall again prevail throughout the world. Let us keep the light of good will shining in our eyes, our hearts, our hearths, our schools, our churches, our voluntary, fraternal, and civic institutions in order that the light of liberty shall never die out in us.

I presume that every Senator has received a letter from Bernarr Macfadden, such as has come to me, in which he said:

Last year at this time Liberty magazine asked Americans to answer Europe's blackout by making every home, every office building, every factory bright with light on Christmas Eve.

Once again he makes this timely suggestion, which reminds me of an address I made at the vocational school at Mooseheart, Ill., which I repeat in part:

Many years ago, out in the Orient, an English school teacher wrote a few lines of verse. Years passed. Then the King, in Buckingham palace, read those lines, and when the next Christmas came he repeated them over the radio. This is what he read:

"I said to a man at the gate of the years, 'Give me a light, that I may tread safely into the unknown,' and he replied, 'Go out into the darkness and place your hand into the hand of God. That shall be to you better than a light and safer than a known way.'"

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker pro tempore had affixed his signature to the enrolled joint resolution (S. J. Res. 302) authorizing the President to invite foreign countries to participate in the Pan American Cotton Congress, and it was signed by the President pro tempore.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore, as in executive session, laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

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

#### RECESS TO THURSDAY

Mr. MINTON. I move that the Senate take a recess until Thursday next at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Thursday, December 19, 1940, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

*Executive nominations received by the Senate December 16 (legislative day of November 19), 1940*

#### UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Passed Asst. Dental Surg. David Cooper to be dental surgeon in the United States Public Health Service, to rank as such from November 24, 1940.

#### COAST GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES

Harold C. White to be a chief boatswain in the Coast Guard of the United States, to take effect from date of oath.

#### APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY

##### TO COAST ARTILLERY CORPS

Lt. Col. Roy Samuel Gibson, Infantry, with rank from August 7, 1940.

Capt. Andrew Suter Gamble, Infantry, with rank from August 1, 1935.

##### TO AIR CORPS

Second Lt. Neil David Van Sickle, Cavalry (first lieutenant, Army of the United States), with rank from June 14, 1938.

#### PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

*To be colonel with rank from December 1, 1940*

Lt. Col. Andrew Goolsby Gardner, Infantry (colonel, Army of the United States).

Lt. Col. Albert Simon Kuegle, Infantry (colonel, Army of the United States).

Lt. Col. Claude Killian Rhinehart, Field Artillery (colonel, Army of the United States).

Lt. Col. Levin Hicks Campbell, Jr., Ordnance Department (brigadier general, Army of the United States).

Lt. Col. Follett Bradley, Air Corps (brigadier general, Army of the United States; temporary colonel, Air Corps).

Lt. Col. Jonathan Waverly Anderson, Field Artillery (colonel, Army of the United States).

Lt. Col. Serafin Manuel Montesinos, Infantry (colonel, Army of the United States).

Lt. Col. John Absalom Baird, Chemical Warfare Service (colonel, Army of the United States).

Lt. Col. Philip Guillon Blackmore, Ordnance Department (colonel, Army of the United States).

Lt. Col. Henry Clarence Davis, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (colonel, Army of the United States).

Lt. Col. Octave De Carré, Coast Artillery Corps (colonel, Army of the United States).

Lt. Col. Claude Martin Thiele, Coast Artillery Corps (colonel, Army of the United States).

#### DENTAL CORPS

*To be first lieutenants with rank from date of appointment*

Jack Menefee Messner Robert Leonard Walsh

George Henry Parrot, Jr. Eugene Hamilton Wood

Kenneth Cheney DeGon Hubert Bernard Palmer

#### PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

Capt. Felix X. Gygax to be a rear admiral in the Navy from the 1st day of December 1940.

Commander Theodore D. Ruddock, Jr., to be a captain in the Navy from the 1st day of July 1940.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Norman S. Ives, July 1, 1940.

George H. De Baum, October 1, 1940.

Bern Anderson, December 1, 1940.

Charles F. Erck, December 1, 1940.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Benjamin May 2d, June 1, 1940.

Walter C. Stahl, July 1, 1940.

Spencer A. Carlson, July 1, 1940.

Thomas F. Halloran, July 1, 1940.

John P. Fitzsimmons, August 1, 1940.

John H. Simpson, August 16, 1940.

James E. Leeper, September 1, 1940.

Hilan Ebert, September 1, 1940.

Robert R. Johnson, October 1, 1940.

Edward L. B. Weimer, November 1, 1940.

Ralph S. Clarke, November 23, 1940.

Gordon Campbell, December 1, 1940.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Salem A. Van Every, Jr., December 8, 1939.  
 Reynolds C. Smith, February 1, 1940.  
 Dennis S. Crowley, May 1, 1940.  
 Gilbert H. Richards, Jr., July 1, 1940.  
 Willard R. Laughon, July 1, 1940.  
 Kenneth Loveland, July 1, 1940.  
 Lester C. Conwell, November 23, 1940.  
 Joseph W. Williams, Jr., November 23, 1940.  
 Frederick L. Ashworth, November 23, 1940.  
 Antone R. Gallaher, November 23, 1940.  
 Paul W. Burton, November 23, 1940.  
 Harry C. Maynard, December 1, 1940.  
 Warren B. Christie, December 1, 1940.  
 Joseph F. Enright, December 1, 1940.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy to rank from the 3d day of June 1940:

Edward G. De Long.  
 William R. Crenshaw.

The following-named passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant commander, to rank from the 26th day of June 1940:

Emory E. Walter.  
 Fred Harbert.  
 Bishop L. Malpass.

Assistant Paymaster James S. Dietz to be a passed assistant paymaster in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant, to rank from the 1st day of July 1940.

The following-named boatswains to be chief boatswains in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the date stated opposite their names:

Frank H. Watts, June 15, 1939.  
 Carter Garthright, October 20, 1940.

Machinist Otis C. Oliver to be a chief machinist in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 20th day of October 1940.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names, to correct the date of rank as previously nominated and confirmed:

William Miller, Jr., July 1, 1940.  
 William R. Smedberg 3d, July 13, 1940.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names, to correct the date of rank as previously nominated and confirmed:

John P. Lunger, February 1, 1940.  
 Brooks J. Harral, February 1, 1940.  
 Robert E. Coombs, Jr., February 12, 1940.  
 John W. Ramey, February 20, 1940.  
 Albert E. Gates, Jr., February 20, 1940.  
 George L. Bellinger, April 1, 1940.  
 Edmond G. Konrad, April 1, 1940.  
 George L. Hutchinson, May 1, 1940.  
 Ennis W. Taylor, May 1, 1940.  
 Clare B. Smiley, June 1, 1940.  
 Frank R. Arnold, July 1, 1940.  
 John A. Tyree, Jr., August 1, 1940.  
 Carter L. Bennett, August 1, 1940.  
 Albert L. Shepherd, September 1, 1940.

Paymaster Reed T. Roberts to be a paymaster in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, to rank from the 23d day of June 1938, to correct the date of rank as previously nominated and confirmed.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Francis L. Busey, August 1, 1940.  
 Claude W. Haman, September 1, 1940.

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The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy, to rank from the date stated opposite their names:

Richard Lane, July 1, 1940.  
 Murray Hanson, December 1, 1940.

Passed Assistant Paymaster Bion B. Bierer, Jr., to be a paymaster in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant commander, to rank from the 1st day of July 1940.

Boatswain Charles A. Parsons to be a chief boatswain in the Navy, to rank with but after ensign, from the 1st day of November 1940.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

*Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate December 16 (legislative day of November 19), 1940*

#### APPOINTMENT IN THE NAVY

##### MARINE CORPS

Maj. Gen. Thomas Holcomb to be the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps.

##### POSTMASTERS

##### FLORIDA

William T. Gary, Ocala.

##### ILLINOIS

William Harry Bruns, Camp Point.  
 John A. Miller, Nameoki.  
 Lawrence P. Luby, Rockford.

##### WISCONSIN

Adolph H. Meinert, Albany.  
 Lawrence C. Porter, Cambridge.  
 Mae I. Swann, Cascade.  
 Mary E. Meade, Montreal.  
 Jessie I. Sweney, Endeavor.  
 Edward E. Bengs, Greendale.  
 Harris Gilbert Hanson, Iola.  
 Clarence L. Peck, Kennan.  
 Rudolph H. Wirth, Lake Tomahawk.  
 Margaret F. McGonigle, Sun Prairie.  
 Richard M. Grimsrud, Westby.  
 H. Shirley Smith, Holmen.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1940

The House met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. McCORMACK.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our blessed Father in Heaven, infinite in wisdom, power, and goodness, we pause at the altar of prayer. We thank Thee for the Christ, who is the divine heartthrob from the dawn of time. We pray Thee to bring all men into the kingdom of love, which forever flames beyond the bounds of sense. From the simplest to the wisest, draw us nearer that epoch and epic when we shall behold the glorified cross and understand that the enchanted pursuit of life is brotherly love, deep and strong, and which is the measure of man's greatness. O God, humanity, grown so very weary by its long, long tramp down through the ages, bewildered and indicted because of its unbrotherly hatreds and unfilial relations, we humbly beseech Thee to let its darkness be dissolved in the foreglow of Mary's holy child. In our Redeemer's name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, December 12, 1940, was read and approved.