

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia:
H. R. 3937. A bill to repeal the War Labor Disputes Act and to abolish the National War Labor Board; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SPARKMAN:
H. R. 3938. A bill to continue veteran benefits previously granted by acts of the Congress to temporary members of the Army of the United States, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, including men inducted under the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. STEVENSON:
H. R. 3939. A bill authorizing an appropriation of \$500,000,000 for research with respect to the cause and cure of cancer and poliomyelitis; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TAYLOR:
H. R. 3940. A bill to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to Rensselaer and Saratoga Counties, N. Y., or to either of them, or any agency representing said counties, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Hudson River between the city of Mechanicville and Hemstreet Park in the town of Schaghticoke, N. Y.," approved April 2, 1941; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:
H. J. Res. 232. Joint resolution to repeal Public Law 421, Seventy-seventh Congress; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:
H. Con. Res. 69. Concurrent resolution to create a joint committee of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States to investigate the attack upon the Territory of Hawaii; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. TALLE:
H. Con. Res. 70. Concurrent resolution fixing the time for the return to standard time; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mrs. LUCE:
H. Con. Res. 71. Concurrent resolution urging the employment by private industry of physically handicapped veterans of World War II; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. HARNES of Indiana:
H. Con. Res. 72. Concurrent resolution to create a joint committee of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States to investigate the attack upon the Territory of Hawaii; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BROOKS:
H. Con. Res. 73. Concurrent resolution repealing the act of January 20, 1942, chapter 7 (56 Stat. 9), relating to daylight-saving time; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. POAGE:
H. Con. Res. 74. Concurrent resolution to repeal daylight-saving time; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:
H. Con. Res. 75. Concurrent resolution inviting the United Nations to locate seat of government in the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BROWN of Georgia:
H. Con. Res. 76. Concurrent resolution to provide for termination of the act of January 20, 1942, providing for daylight-saving time; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GROSS:
H. Con. Res. 77. Concurrent resolution to provide for termination of the act of January 20, 1942, providing for daylight-saving time; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LUDLOW:
H. Res. 336. Resolution urging action by the United Nations to ban the atomic bomb as an instrument of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

MEMORIALS

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

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to enact legislation clarifying the rights and privileges of returning veterans to their former positions of civilian employment; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, memorializing the Congress and the Navy to investigate the advantages of wintering naval craft at Marinette, Sturgeon Bay, and other Wisconsin ports on Lake Michigan; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to enact legislation requiring prompt deportation after the war of imported war prisoners, foreign labor battalions, and refugees and barring further immigration to the United States until our returning war veterans are afforded an opportunity for gainful employment and the number of our unemployed is reduced to a minimum; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to abolish the party convention system of nominating and the electoral college method of electing the President and Vice President of the United States and to enact law providing for nomination and election of the President and Vice President by popular vote; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to investigate the feasibility of converting the ordnance plant at Milwaukee into a veterans' hospital; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to direct the proper Federal agency to prescribe and recommend uniform traffic signals and other safety devices on the highways; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, requesting Harold L. Ickes, Solid Fuels Administrator for War, to relax the restriction on the sale of solid fuel imposed by SFAW Regulation 26; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. KNUTSON:
H. R. 3941. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon a certain claim of Joseph Lundborg and others against the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 3942. A bill for the relief of Anton Waytashek; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LARCADE:
H. R. 3943. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to award a Congressional Medal of Honor to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3944. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to award a special Congressional Medal of Honor to Gen. John J. Pershing, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3945. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to award a special Con-

gressional Medal of Honor to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3946. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to award a special Congressional Medal of Honor to Gen. Dwight David Eisenhower, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mrs. LUCE:
H. R. 3947. A bill to authorize the President of the United States to present the Congressional Medal of Honor to Jonathan M. Wainwright; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PRICE of Florida:
H. R. 3948. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Clifford W. Prevatt; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:
H. R. 3949. A bill granting a pension to Cora Arlena Ballard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 3950. A bill granting a pension to Elizabeth Lively; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

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

1116. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Wildon Lloyd, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of his resolution with reference to the impeachment of Judge George P. Barse of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1117. Also, petition of Wildon Lloyd, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of his resolution with reference to the impeachment of Judge Cayton of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1118. Also, petition of Branch 11, Boston, Workmen's Benefit Fund of America, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to their protest of any and all proposals for compulsory peacetime military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1119. Also, petition of the Board of Commissioners, city of Newark, N. J., concurring in the resolution adopted by the members of post, No. 273, of Newark, Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, relative to the chairmanship of the Veterans' Committee of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

SENATE

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1945

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

Our Father God, in the peaceful stillness of this Chamber of freedom where fateful decisions have molded the life of the Nation, we lift the cup of our grateful joy that o'er all the earth the cannon is muzzled, the planes are nested, the navies anchored, and the silence breaks to a bird's song, a child's laughter, and a mother's low cry.

As the assembly line turns from the products of death to the simple wares of peace and the bayonet is put away and the plowshare is lifted again, our hearts are singing, "This is the day which the Lord hath made"; this is the peace; this is the liberty; this is the freedom we have bought with tears and sweat and blood; this is the tomorrow of our anxious yesterdays; this is the good future now begun. By Thy kindly light lead

us in the paths of personal and national righteousness, for Thy name's sake. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, September 5, 1945, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

APPROVAL OF A BILL SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of August 1, 1945,

The Secretary of the Senate received a message from the President of the United States announcing that on July 31, 1945, he had approved and signed the act (S. 1270) relating to the payment of subsidies by the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT—ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Under authority of the order of the Senate of August 1, 1945,

The Secretary of the Senate received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that on August 4, 1945, the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

H. R. 122. An act to amend sections 2720 (a) and 3260 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code relating to the transfer tax, and the tax on manufacturers and dealers, in the case of certain small-game guns;

H. R. 699. An act to amend paragraph 682 of title 16 of the United States Code;

H. R. 2613. An act to authorize the War Food Administrator or the Secretary of Agriculture to adjust boundary disputes by settling claims to certain so-called Sebastian Martin grant lands, in the State of New Mexico;

H. R. 3239. An act to exempt certain mechanical pencils having precious metals as essential parts from the tax with respect to jewelry, etc.; and

H. J. Res. 23. Joint resolution to establish the first week in October of each year as National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. Hiram W. Johnson, late a Senator from the State of California.

INVESTIGATION OF THE JAPANESE ATTACK AT PEARL HARBOR

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, inasmuch as I shall be compelled to leave the Chamber shortly on an important matter and may not be present during the entire call of the morning hour's business, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted at this time to make a brief statement and, following that, to introduce a concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Kentucky may proceed.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor occurred on December 7, 1941.

On December 18, President Roosevelt appointed by Executive order a board or commission to ascertain and report the facts relating to the attack made by Japanese armed forces upon the Territory of Hawaii on December 7, 1941.

This commission was composed of Justice Owen J. Roberts, as chairman, Admiral William H. Standley, Admiral J. M. Reeves, Gen. Frank H. McCoy, and Gen. Joseph T. McNarney.

The commission made its report to the President on January 29, 1942, and this report was immediately made public.

In June 1944, by joint resolution approved June 13, Congress in effect directed the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to designate appropriate boards or courts of inquiry "to ascertain and report the facts relating to the attack made by Japanese armed forces upon the Territory of Hawaii on December 7, 1941, and to make such recommendations as it may deem proper."

The board appointed on behalf of the War Department was composed of Lt. Gen. George Grunert, as president, Maj. Gen. Henry D. Russell, and Maj. Gen. Walter H. Frank.

This board made its report to the Secretary of War on October 20, 1944, and the report was released to the public on Wednesday, August 29, 1945. The report consists of more than 300 pages of typewritten matter detailing the circumstances of the Pearl Harbor attack, indulges in criticisms of certain military and other officials, and makes no recommendations to the Secretary of War.

The board appointed on behalf of the Navy consisted of Admiral Orin G. Murfin, as president, Admiral Edward C. Kalbfus, and Vice Admiral Adolphus Andrews.

This board finished its inquiry on October 19, 1944, then adjourned to await the action of the convening authority.

The report of the Navy board went into some detail concerning the circumstances of the Pearl Harbor attack, and recommended that no further proceedings be had in the matter.

This report was also made public by the President on August 29, 1945.

Since these reports were made public, I have spent a large portion of my time studying them, and also, in connection with them, I have reread the report of the Roberts commission.

The official report of the board appointed by the Secretary of War, I have here, and, as I have said, it consists of 304 pages of typewritten matter on what we call legal size paper, not letter size. The report of the board appointed by the Secretary of the Navy contains various divisions, all of which add up to something like 100 pages of typewritten matter.

Reading these reports and studying them, insofar as I could in the limited time at my disposal, required my attention not only during the daytime since the reports were made public on last

Wednesday, but required practically all of two nights, in order that I might read not only the reports, but the statement or summary made by the Secretary of War based upon the report of the Army board and the statement made by the Secretary of the Navy based upon the report of the naval board of inquiry, as well as other documents pertaining thereto. I have not been away from the city of Washington during the entire adjournment since the first day of August, when the Senate adjourned.

Mr. President, I shall not at this time attempt to discuss these various reports in detail, but after studying them to the extent possible in the time at my disposal, I am convinced that a further searching inquiry should be made under the authority and by the direction of the Congress of the United States.

In forming this opinion, Mr. President, I cast no reflection upon the ability, the patriotism, the good faith, or the sincerity of the boards which have thus far investigated and reported upon the Pearl Harbor disaster, nor on any member of these various boards. They are all outstanding American citizens and officials, who have rendered signal service to their country over a long period of time in various capacities. That includes the members of the Roberts commission, the War Department board, and the Navy Department board, as well as all those officials who have commented upon these reports or are in any way involved in them.

But these reports, Mr. President, are confusing and conflicting when compared with one another, and to some extent contain contradictions and inconsistencies within themselves.

Under these circumstances, it is not strange that widespread confusion and suspicion prevail among the American people and among the Members of Congress.

In these several reports men in the armed services and in civilian positions of executive responsibility and authority are subjected to criticism, and the defenses are themselves inconsistent and contradictory. It would be easy now, if time allowed and if it were necessary, to point out these inconsistencies between the report made by the naval board and the report made by the Army board, and both of them as compared to the Roberts report. I do not deem it necessary to go into that at this time.

It is my belief, therefore, Mr. President, arrived at immediately upon the conclusion of my study of these reports, that under all the circumstances Congress itself should make its own thorough, impartial, and fearless inquiry into the facts and circumstances and conditions prevailing prior to and at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack, no matter how far back it may be necessary to go in order to appraise the situation which existed prior to and at the time of the attack.

This inquiry, Mr. President, should be of such dignity and authenticity as to convince the Congress and the country and the world that no effort has been made to shield any person who may have been directly or indirectly responsible for this disaster, or to condemn unfairly or

unjustly any person who was in authority, military, naval, or civilian, at the time or prior thereto.

Ever since the day of Pearl Harbor there have been discussions of courts-martial in the Army and in the Navy. We have here extended from time to time the Statute of Limitations pertaining to courts-martial. The report of neither the naval nor the military board of inquiry recommends any further proceedings in these matters. It is my understanding that the law is that in the Army no man has a legal right to demand that he be court-martialed. Charges must be filed against an Army officer or an enlisted man setting out the offense which he is alleged to have committed. He has no right, as I understand the law, to go into the War Department and demand that he be court-martialed upon any accusation or any charge of misconduct on his part.

I understand that in the Navy any officer or man who is charged with an offense that would constitute a violation of the Articles of War or Navy Regulations has the right to demand or request—I am not certain that he has the right to demand, but has the right to request, and it may be to demand—that he be given a court martial.

So that as it applies to any Army officer who may have been responsible prior to or at the time of this attack, as I understand, he has no right to demand that he be given a trial in order that he may be vindicated or that the facts may be brought out. Whether in the Navy formal request has been made by any naval officer for a court martial I am not in position to say, though the newspapers have carried stories that such a request has been made.

But if it were possible or appropriate, Mr. President, to subject high-ranking military or naval officers to courts martial, the trials might be conducted in secret, and would relate themselves principally, if not entirely, to the guilt or innocence of the person against whom the specific charges were leveled. I do not here feel called upon or competent to determine whether court martial should be inaugurated in any case involving any officer of the Army or Navy or any person in the armed forces.

But I am convinced that the Congress and the country desire an open, public investigation which will produce the facts, and all the facts, so far as it is humanly possible to produce them.

Such an investigation should be conducted as a public duty and a public service.

It should be conducted without partisanship or favoritism toward any responsible official, military, naval, or civilian, high or low, living or dead.

It should be conducted in an atmosphere of judicial responsibility, and it ought to be so complete and so fair that no person could doubt the good faith of the report and the findings made in it, or those who make it.

It ought not to be conducted or undertaken for the purpose or with the sole view of vindicating or aspersing any man now in office, or who has been in office during the period involved.

It ought not to be undertaken or conducted for the purpose of enhancing or retarding the welfare of any political party, or any person now in office, or any person who desires or aspires to hold public office.

It should not be conducted for the purpose of attempting to bedaub the escutcheon of any innocent man, high or low, living or dead, with the infamy of imputed wrong.

It should not be conducted with the purpose of gratifying the misanthropic hatreds of any person toward any present or past public servant, high or low, living or dead.

It should not be conducted for the purpose of casting aspersions upon the names and records of men who have rendered outstanding service to their country and to the world; nor should it be conducted for the purpose of whitewashing any person who may have been guilty of wrongdoing in connection with the whole affair.

Such an investigation should look solely to the ascertainment of the cold, unvarnished, indisputable facts so far as they are obtainable, not only for the purpose of fixing responsibility, whether that responsibility be upon an individual or a group of individuals, or upon a system under which they operated or cooperated, or failed to do either. It should be conducted with a view of ascertaining whether, in view of what happened at Pearl Harbor and prior thereto, or even subsequent thereto, it might be useful to us in legislating in regard to the operations of our military and naval forces and the executive departments having control of them, or which are supposed to work with them.

In my opinion this investigation should be a joint effort of the two Houses of Congress. If the two Houses should undertake separately to investigate, going their separate ways, the result might be divergent reports made by the two Houses, which would contribute to further confusion in the minds of the public, as well as in the minds of Members of Congress. Whatever the findings may be, they will carry more weight and bear greater authority if both Houses of Congress jointly and concurrently conduct the investigation.

For these reasons, Mr. President, acting in my capacity as a Member of the Senate and in my capacity as majority leader of this body, I am submitting a concurrent resolution directing such an investigation by a joint committee of the two Houses, consisting of five Members from each House, no more than three of whom shall be members of the majority party, to be appointed by the respective Presiding Officers of the two Houses, with all the authority they will need; and, in order that there may be no unnecessary delay in making the investigation and the report to Congress, directing that such report be made not later than January 3, 1946.

It is now nearly 4 years since the disaster occurred at Pearl Harbor. During the war, for certain military reasons, it was deemed inexpedient to do what I am now proposing. I believe that that decision on the part of the Congress and the Government as a whole was a wise decli-

sion. But the war is now over, and there is no military reason of which I am cognizant which would make it advisable any longer to delay a complete revelation of all the facts and circumstances leading up to this disaster, and the events which occurred while it was in progress.

Mr. President, I am submitting this resolution with the full knowledge and approval of the President of the United States. After I had studied the reports and made up my own mind as to what my duty was, I called upon the President and discussed the matter with him, because obviously I would not want to take such a step without discussing it with him, or at least letting him know what I had in mind and what I thought about it. He not only approved, but urged that I be not dissuaded for any reason from my purpose to submit the resolution calling for this investigation.

Also, since the preparation of the resolution, I have discussed the matter with the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and I have his assurance that if and when the Senate acts upon the concurrent resolution, it will receive prompt consideration by the House.

Mr. President, I express the earnest hope, which the President shares, that the two Houses may promptly agree to the resolution; that the investigation may proceed forthwith, without further delay; and that the Congress and the country may expect a full and impartial report, without regard to the consequences, within the time limit designated in the resolution. I send the resolution to the desk and ask that it be read and appropriately referred.

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

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I think it would be appropriate to ask that the concurrent resolution be immediately considered and agreed to.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is what I had in mind. I should like to ask that that be done. Under the rule, a resolution providing for an investigation and calling for the expenditure of funds is supposed to be referred to a standing committee, reported back, and then referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. Personally I should like to obviate those necessities, and I suppose it could be done by unanimous consent. I make the parliamentary inquiry now as to whether, notwithstanding the rule, the Senate could, by unanimous consent, proceed to consider and agree to the concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It could be done by unanimous consent.

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

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the concurrent resolution.

Mr. BARKLEY. I think it would be appropriate to read the resolution first, for the information of the Senate. If I could obtain unanimous consent for its present consideration, I should be extremely happy.

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

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 27) was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there is hereby established a joint committee on the investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack, to be composed of five Members of the Senate (not more than three of whom shall be members of the majority party), to be appointed by the President pro tempore, and five Members of the House of Representatives (not more than three of whom shall be members of the majority party), to be appointed by the Speaker of the House. Vacancies in the membership of the committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection. The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members.

SEC. 2. The committee shall make a full and complete investigation of the facts relating to the attack made by Japanese armed forces upon Pearl Harbor in the Territory of Hawaii on December 7, 1941, and shall report to the Senate and the House of Representatives not later than January 3, 1946, the results of its investigation, together with such recommendations as it may deem advisable.

SEC. 3. The testimony of any person in the armed services, and the fact that such person testified before the joint committee herein provided for, shall not be used against him in any court proceeding, or held against him in examining his military status for credits in the service to which he belongs.

SEC. 4. (a) The committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-ninth Congress (prior to January 3, 1946), to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words.

(b) The committee is empowered to appoint and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, and clerical and stenographic assistants as it deems necessary, but the compensation so fixed shall not exceed the compensation prescribed under the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, for comparable duties.

(c) The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed \$25,000, shall be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, upon vouchers signed by the chairman.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, in view of the Chair's ruling that the concurrent resolution may now be considered by unanimous consent, without reference to a committee, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the concurrent resolution and for its immediate adoption.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. WHITE, Mr. FERGUSON, and Mr. LUCAS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Kentucky yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from Maine. I have promised to yield

to the Senator from Michigan, and later I shall yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, in all ordinary circumstances I should be moved to object to such a request as has been made, for I think that by and large we progress most wisely if we observe the rules of the Senate as to procedure in this body. But I believe there is so nearly unanimous sentiment of approval in this Chamber in respect to a resolution similar, if not identical, to that offered by the Senator from Kentucky that I have no purpose to object.

I do wish to say, Mr. President, that I know of at least one resolution of similar purport prepared by a Senator upon this side of the aisle whose purpose it was to introduce it at some proper time, but I take it that the two resolutions are not dissimilar in their object. Their purpose is the same; and so far as I am concerned, I am not going to object to the request made by the Senator from Kentucky. I think the Senate overwhelmingly approves the purpose of his resolution and of his request.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator. Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President—
Mr. BARKLEY. I yield now to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I had prepared to offer a concurrent resolution nearly identical in terms to the concurrent resolution which is now before the Senate. I merely had in mind that probably seven Members from each House would be better because of the question of attendance, but I should like in the time of the Senator from Kentucky to say a few things now in relation to why I believe a resolution such as the one which has just been read should immediately be adopted.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me to do so, I should like to make a remark in regard to his attitude and situation. I appreciate his attitude and his cooperation. I did not know that he contemplated the introduction of a resolution until I saw mention of it in the newspapers last night. But in the meantime I had already prepared mine and, as I have said, I had conferred with the President and with others about it. So it was not prepared and offered in any way for the purpose of interfering with the introduction of any other resolution. But I felt that probably it should be offered and considered and, if possible, adopted immediately. So that the country will understand that the Senate, and, I am sure, the House of Representatives, feel that they owe a public duty to go into this whole matter; and I wish the Senator from Michigan and all other Senators to know that I deeply appreciate the cooperation which seems evident in regard to the matter.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I appreciate and I understand the situation. It is not a question as to who introduces or offers the resolution, but it is a matter of having the job done. I should like to make a few remarks at this time regarding why I believe such a resolution should be adopted.

At the very outset I want to make clear precisely what I think should be investigated. The question is why our Army

and Navy were not able either to avoid or to cope with the initial attack launched by the Japanese at Pearl Harbor. Everybody—those who opposed the war and those who favored it—was shocked at the swift liquidation of our Pacific naval strength; I am sure that everybody, men of every point of view—will agree that we ought to have the whole truth about this unfortunate event. The only question is as to how this inquiry should be made.

I am sure that no one will question that some inquiry is necessary. The President of the United States dispatched Secretary Knox to Hawaii immediately after the battle to investigate, because he felt the people ought to know the truth. In 5 days the Secretary of the Navy was back with his report. He said:

The United States services were not on the alert against the surprise air attack on Hawaii. This fact calls for a formal investigation which will be initiated immediately by the President. Further action is, of course, dependent on the facts and recommendations made by this investigating board. We are all entitled to know it if (a) there was any error of judgment which contributed to the surprise, (b) if there was any dereliction of duty prior to the attack.

Only a few days later, the President named a commission of five, headed by Justice Owen J. Roberts, to go to Hawaii and make a fuller investigation. However, the Executive order for the Roberts inquiry read as follows:

The purposes of the required inquiry and report are to provide bases for sound decisions whether any dereliction of duty or errors of judgment on the part of the United States Army or Navy personnel—

We in the Senate must note that it referred just to Army or Navy personnel—

contributed to such successes as were achieved by the enemy on the occasion mentioned; and, if so, what these derelictions or errors were, and who were responsible therefor.

That meant that the commission could go only into the question of dereliction of duty or error of judgment of the Army and Navy personnel.

The report of that commission became a subject of endless discussion and questioning.

The last report of the War Department said that their Board had made a careful review of the record and exhibits of the Roberts commission. It further said that the Board had been materially helped and enlightened by the report and record of the Roberts commission, and that—

we append to this report a section indicating the additional information and documents which have been made available as a result of our extended investigation, and which probably did not come to the attention of the Roberts commission; or, at least were not mentioned in either the testimony, documents, or report of the Roberts commission.

In June 1944 Congress by resolution directed the Army and Navy to proceed forthwith with an investigation into the facts surrounding the catastrophe of December 7, 1941. Under that authority the Army Pearl Harbor Board and the Navy

Court of Inquiry filed their reports in October 1944. That was 9 months ago. But the nature of their findings was not made known until last week. This delay in turn created the impression in many minds that something was being suppressed. I do not wish to make any criticism of this myself. It can be argued that it would have been unwise to publish these findings while we were still engaged in active warfare and when unity of purpose and spirit against the enemy was essential. Some persons even claimed military security was involved. Nevertheless, men—being what they are—had their curiosity and their suspicions whetted about the contents of these reports by the very act of withholding them.

I am sure the officers charged with the investigations have performed their duties with a full sense of their responsibilities. Now that they have made known their conclusions the whole situation remains more clouded than ever.

Returning to the Army report, it says further:

We have not had the opportunity, nor the organization, to comb personally and exhaustively the official files, but we have called for the pertinent letters, documents, and memoranda. We believe that practically all of them have been secured—

We note that they do not say that all have been secured, but that "practically" all have been secured—

although we have found a few files from which important and vital papers are missing. In many instances we found these documents elsewhere, or we were able to prove them through copies in other hands.

This quite clearly shows that the Army board felt the investigation was not complete. Neither the Secretary of the Navy nor the Secretary of War was satisfied with the report from the respective boards. When the Navy report was delivered to him last October, Secretary Forrestal said:

The Secretary is not satisfied that the investigation has gone to the point of exhaustion of all possible evidence. Accordingly, he has decided that his own investigation should be further continued until the testimony of every witness in possession of material facts can be obtained and all possible evidence exhausted.

Last October, when the Army report was delivered to him, the Secretary of War said:

In accordance with the opinion of the Judge Advocate General, I have decided that my own investigation should be further continued until all the facts are made as clear as possible, and until the testimony of every witness in possession of material fact can be obtained, and I have given the necessary directions to accomplish this result.

Thereafter the Army detailed Lieutenant Colonel Clausen of the United States Army to continue an ex parte investigation into the Pearl Harbor catastrophe, and the Navy Department detailed Vice Admiral Henry K. Hewitt to continue the Navy Department investigation as an ex parte investigation into the catastrophe.

While Admiral Kimmel was entitled to counsel and to take part in the proceedings before the Navy Board of Inquiry, General Short was entitled to counsel but had no right to take part in any of the

proceedings. These continued investigations made by the Secretaries of War and Navy have not been given to the public. There is no evidence that the continued investigations dispose of the conflict between the two reports and fix the responsibility on the basis of persuasive evidence. That being true, Congress must try to find out the facts for the public and for itself. The two boards are quite far from being in agreement, and the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy have each issued critical opinions of the findings of their own boards.

The last published findings have added to the list of the accused names which are still more eminent than those of Admiral Kimmel and General Short. As matters now stand Admiral Stark, who was Chief of Naval Operations at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack, and General Marshall, who led our armies through the great struggle just crowned with victory, and former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, have been held to share in the guilt of the defeat. The President of the United States has agreed with some of the findings and has disagreed with others.

Certainly no responsible statesman will quarrel with the curiosity of the people about this now badly confused episode. The curiosity of the people about their public affairs is the sole bulwark of a republican government. There are too few nations left in which there is a public opinion. This court of public opinion is a valuable institution in the United States, and must be able to function.

It is a citizen's duty to be curious. But it is also his right to have the whole truth about even small matters, and, of course, for a greater reason to have the whole truth about a subject which has cost so much in the blood of our sons, and the treasure of our people.

But there is still another force to be recognized here. I refer to the American's sense of fair play. It is a powerful feature of our national character. First, we had two distinguished officers who were accused of neglect of duty, and removed from their commands. Everyone expected they would be tried. But they have never been tried. And because they are officers of the armed services they are not at liberty to talk up with the same freedom possessed by an accused private citizen. They have not had a trial and they have not even had the opportunity of defending their honor in the public press. I do not want to enter into a discussion of the conditions which may have made this possible.

The only point I want to make is that our Government cannot behave in this way without creating in the minds of the masses of our people a feeling of sympathy for these men. Our Government cannot afford to do this sort of thing. To do so violates a fundamental principle of conduct which our boys and girls learn in the very first years of their schooling, namely, the great principle of American fair play. It violates the fundamental principle of the right of the accused to a fair trial with the opportunity of presenting his side in public.

Every consideration—the demands of public policy, the obligation of justice to the men who fell in the battle, the duty of fair play to those who have been accused—cries out for some form of inquiry which will bring to light the whole truth.

Here we have Cordell Hull, a distinguished former Member of this body, publicly and officially charged with a dereliction of duty, partly responsible for the loss of thousands of lives. We cannot subject him to a court martial, but we must not permit that stain to remain on his name without invoking all the powers of the Government to uncover all the facts. He is entitled to have those facts produced. He is entitled to more than mere conclusions based on part of the facts. All the facts cannot be produced by an Army court martial of General Short, or a naval court martial of Admiral Kimmel. The Pearl Harbor tragedy was a single great episode in which many services, such as the Army, the Navy, and the State Department participated. The controversy relating to the subject cannot be settled by a group of trials and inquiries in which each service will be the judge of its own actions. There is in the Government no agency capable of examining the whole chapter and compelling the production of all the facts, except the Congress of the United States.

What is true of Mr. Hull is true of General Marshall. He has presided over our military forces in the greatest war of our history, and has, in the public mind, managed that great task with courage and ability, and certainly with success. On the very day of final victory he is confronted with the judgment of an Army board that the catastrophe at Pearl Harbor, which began the war, was due in part to his failure to perform his duty. We cannot leave that slur upon the name of General Marshall without giving him the full benefit of a complete and unprejudiced publication of every fact. Here again we cannot do it in a court martial. General Marshall ought not to have to submit to a court martial. For if he escapes the judgment of any Army court martial he may run into a verdict of guilty against him in the eyes of the public by a Navy court martial of Admiral Kimmel, where he would have no right to defend himself.

All these men, Secretary Hull, General Marshall, Admiral Stark, Admiral Kimmel, and General Short, have an inescapable claim upon the conscience of the American people for a full and honest inquiry into the whole incident, and that such inquiry be conducted by a Congress which will proceed in the open, with full opportunity for every side to participate in the proceedings.

I do not see how Congress can ignore the things that are being said throughout the country about all this subject. Newspapers and magazines have offered their versions of this distressful event, and millions of people have read the accounts. Whether they are true or false is not the question here. Some of them are certainly not true, because the numerous versions themselves contradict each other quite as freely as do the official versions. But this subject is one

which must be set straight, and I can think of no way to do so except by a congressional investigation, and because it is so important, nothing less than a committee which represents both Houses of Congress should make the inquiry.

The reason why this inquiry is needed is as I have pointed out. The Roberts inquiry was limited by the Executive order. The Army report covers 304 pages, but when we reach page 241 it jumps suddenly to page 294. A whole chapter of 52 pages of the Army board's findings has been omitted by order of Secretary Stimson. The Navy report contains a clause which indicates that the Navy board of inquiry was directed to leave out certain testimony. In fact, the Navy board said:

The details of this information are not discussed or analyzed in these findings, the court having been informed that their disclosure would militate against the successful prosecution of the war.

This tells us plainly that the Army board of review and Navy court of inquiry left these details out not on their own motion but under orders from the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy. Let us concede that there may have been a reason for omitting this testimony during the war; there is certainly no reason for hiding it now. It is unthinkable that the Congress and the public shall not have access to this testimony in order to appraise justly the correctness of the findings of the Army board and Navy court of inquiry.

There are points of serious difference between the Army and Navy board reports. For example, one of them fixes the date when General Marshall and Admiral Stark petitioned the President that no ultimatum be issued to Japan as of November 5, the other as of November 27—a very vital difference.

A congressional investigation is the only means of producing all the facts. All we have now are the conclusions of the Roberts commission and the conclusions of the Army and Navy commissions, but the public has been denied all the facts and testimony on which these are based.

There is a feature of these reports which is certain to impair public confidence in them regardless of their internal soundness. In this whole episode not only the conduct of the leading commanders but of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of State is involved. The press has already caught the significance of who was responsible for appointing the Army board and the Navy court of inquiry. It has been noted that neither report makes any criticism of the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, but that the Army report goes out of its way to castigate the Secretary of State, who had no hand in appointing his judges. These are reasons why neither the Army, the Navy, nor the State Department, or any tribunals within them, should make the final investigations. It is also a reason why courts martial cannot properly determine all the facts of this case. Actually this is no longer a case where Kimmel and Short, Marshall and Stark, Stimson and Knox and Hull, along with various subordinate commanders of both

services, are on trial. Stated more correctly, the case brings in the responsibilities of so many that what we have on trial is the Army, the Navy, and the State Department, and only Congress has the authority to find all the facts.

The Army report puts blame on General Marshall and Secretary Hull. The Secretary of War criticizes the findings of his own board and disagrees with the verdict against General Marshall. The President of the United States approved the verdict in part and criticized it in part. He dissented from the criticism of Secretary Hull and General Marshall. As disclosed by the Army report, Mr. Stimson furnished most of the testimony against Secretary Hull. Secretary Stimson declares that Hull gave the Japanese an ultimatum on November 26, while Secretary Hull stoutly denies this.

Whatever point there may be in these differences, which are merely samples which come to mind, the fact remains that a great deal of information which has been withheld because the war was raging at top height 9 months ago must now be made public.

If we, the Congress, do not do this, history will do it, and will also appraise our neglect.

Mr. LUCAS and Mr. WHITE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Kentucky yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I should like to make an inquiry with respect to the concurrent resolution. In section 2 I find the following:

The committee shall make a full and complete investigation of the facts relating to the attack made by Japanese armed forces upon Pearl Harbor in the Territory of Hawaii on December 7, 1941.

I should like to ask the able majority leader whether or not he considers that under this resolution the committee would have the power to investigate, let us say, what took place at Wake Island on the morning of the 7th of December 1941, or what took place in the Philippines on December 7, 1941, or the following day. In other words, are we going into the investigation of what transpired in the Pacific on December 7, 1941, or does the concurrent resolution confine the investigation solely to what happened at Pearl Harbor? Would the committee be able to make further investigation as to what happened in the Pacific at that time?

Mr. BARKLEY. In answer to the question propounded by the Senator, in my opinion the language of the concurrent resolution is broad enough to permit the committee to investigate anything which happened prior to the attack at Pearl Harbor, or led up to it, the circumstances which produced it, as well as the consequences of the attack. I realize that it would be impossible to include in a single resolution reference to all the islands in the Pacific which were attacked either concurrently with the attack on Pearl Harbor or shortly thereafter. The attack on Pearl Harbor was the attack which precipitated the war, which brought us into the war, and all

the controversy has revolved around the attack on Pearl Harbor. But I use the language "relating to the attack" so as to make it possible for the committee to investigate anything which took place prior to it, or any of the consequences which may have flowed from the attack. The Philippine attack, the Guam attack, and the Wake Island attack were all within a radius of a few hours, and they were related to the attack on Pearl Harbor. So I think the language is sufficiently broad to cover those attacks.

Mr. WHITE. What the Senator from Kentucky has just said about the language "relating to the attack made by Japanese armed forces upon Pearl Harbor" in part answers the question I had in mind. The language "relating to the attack made by Japanese armed forces upon Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941," is in itself rather restricting. But the Senator has said it is his intention, and he thinks it is within the authority of the resolution, to have an investigation of all the facts and all the circumstances and all the events preceding the day of the attack upon Pearl Harbor which had any relation to that tragic day's events, and also anything which may have happened subsequent thereto which throws any light upon the occurrences preceding December 7 and happening on that day.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Maine is absolutely correct. Anything which relates itself to the attack, whether it occurred prior to the attack or whether it grew out of the attack, all has to do with the attack, because without that attack presumably we would not at that time have been involved in the war, we would not have declared war on the following day. The attack on Pearl Harbor was the key attack of the Japanese armed forces in that area, and these other attacks were incidental to it. So I think they all relate to the attack on Pearl Harbor, whether they happened prior to it or after that attack.

Mr. WHITE. And the resolution gives practically plenary powers of investigation with respect to all matters which occurred before the time of Pearl Harbor or thereafter, which relate in any way to the occurrence of the attack?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes. Whether those things happened in Washington, or whether they happened in the Philippine Islands, or whether they happened in Japan, or whether they happened anywhere else in the world—if they relate themselves, prior to or subsequently, to the attack, the committee can go into them. I think the language is broad enough to permit that.

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

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I have some doubt whether the resolution should not be amended to be somewhat broader, to include the Philippines; to include, so to speak, the Japanese attack on the United States. I assume that the Senator's remarks, however, will be brought to the attention of the House of Representatives when it considers the resolution, and if the language is too narrow that his remarks may have the effect of broadening it.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, the Senator realizes I have no pride of language.

I consulted with our experts in the framing of the resolution, and it was thought that its terms were broad enough to cover anything that had any connection with Pearl Harbor. Inasmuch as the attack on Pearl Harbor constituted the key event or episode around which all this investigation revolves, it seems to me that the committee would have plenary authority to go into any matter anywhere in the world that had anything to do with it. But if anyone can offer better language I certainly would not stand in opposition to it. I think, however, the language is broad enough. If we name Wake Island, the Philippines, and some other place, we run a risk, by naming more than the Pearl Harbor incident, of by inference excluding other things that the committee would undoubtedly want to go into.

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

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes.

Mr. TAFT. Does the Senator consider that the language is broad enough to go back to the beginning of the war, that is, I mean to the general policy, the application of the Neutrality Act, the shipment of scrap, and so forth?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes. I think it is broad enough to go back to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria or to any other period in past history that can in any way be connected with or related to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, since the Senator is the author of the concurrent resolution, and since that is his interpretation of it, I am willing to accept that interpretation.

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

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. The language I had prepared was that "the committee shall make a full and complete investigation of the facts surrounding the attack and the events and circumstances leading to the attack made by the Japanese armed forces on the Territory of Hawaii December 7, 1941." But I am glad to have the explanation of the able majority leader that his language is intended to cover this entire field. I think that the battles of the Philippines and of Guam and elsewhere were merely battles in our war.

Mr. BARKLEY. We were practically at war when those things happened.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; that is right. The spark was ignited, or the button was pushed, as was said in the report, by the attack at Pearl Harbor.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is correct.

Mr. FERGUSON. That was the initial attack.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes.

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

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. I wish to associate myself completely with what the Senator from Kentucky has stated today, and I think he has rendered a very great public service to his country. I do not mean to intimate any doubt as to the concurrent resolution containing language properly calculated to implement what the Senator has said.

I recognize, however, the very great importance of what we are doing, and that, under well-settled rules of parlia-

mentary construction, the language of the concurrent resolution, if unambiguous, must control, irrespective of the very illuminating discussions here, and of anything which the Senator himself may have said.

I do feel that, having delayed 4 years the consideration of this matter by the Congress, certainly the public interest will not be seriously prejudiced if we should delay 24 hours, and send the concurrent resolution to an appropriate standing committee which may consider this whole question as to whether or not the language is calculated to carry out what is obviously the unanimous desire of the Senate.

I hesitate to be the only member who apparently is concerned, but I frankly do feel that this matter should go to the appropriate standing committee.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator that I hope nothing will happen today in the Senate which will create the impression that we are quibbling over the adoption of the concurrent resolution. If any broadening or any change might have to be made to the language, since the measure must go to the House, I myself will take the responsibility of conferring with the Members of the House who will be interested in the matter, with the view of broadening the language as may seem necessary; and I hope the Senator, under those circumstances, will not object to the present consideration of the concurrent resolution.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I frankly do not possess the agility of mind which is possessed by the 95 other Members of the Senate to render an opinion from the very hasty consideration given this matter on the floor of the Senate today, as to whether or not this concurrent resolution implements the marvelously adequate speech of the Senator from Kentucky. I do think that not only his interest but that of the country and of the Senate will be served by at least pausing to consider whether or not this concurrent resolution is well calculated to carry out what is obviously our unanimous purpose. I think the suggestion that the 24 hours delay, which is all that would be required to send the matter to an appropriate standing committee, cannot have great weight.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course I do not know how long it would take a standing committee to meet and deliberate about the matter.

Mr. BREWSTER. To which committee does the Senator from Kentucky consider the matter should go?

Mr. BARKLEY. It would go, according to the advice I have received from the Parliamentarian, to the Committee on Naval Affairs. It might go to either the Committee on Military Affairs or to the Committee on Naval Affairs, but inasmuch as Pearl Harbor was a naval base, and the greater proportion of the damage was done to the Navy, it has seemed appropriate that it go to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. BREWSTER. Well, I feel that certainly that committee could meet quickly—

Mr. BARKLEY. There is another matter involved. If the concurrent reso-

lution is sent to the Committee on Naval Affairs under the rule and comes back to the Senate it must then go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, which would involve further delay. I think no substantial loss, either in the matter of broadening the resolution, or anything connected with it, would be incurred by allowing it to be adopted now without having to go through the routine of two committees before we can secure action.

Mr. BREWSTER. What I anticipate will almost inevitably occur, if the proposed action is taken, is that when it goes to the House the scope of the resolution will there be broadened, and I will much prefer that the Senate should now undertake to place in the concurrent resolution language which will carry out what is obviously now the unanimous desire of the Senate, rather than to rely on the House to amend language which may be deemed as not entirely clear, particularly as the Members of the House will not have the benefit of the very splendid explanation made by the Senator from Kentucky as to what he intends by the resolution.

Mr. BARKLEY. I entertain no jealousy on my part toward the House in the matter of amending anything the Senate may adopt. We frequently exercise that right in the Senate. If the House should see fit to broaden the language, unless it, by broadening the language, thinned it out and watered it down, I certainly would have no objection. But I think it important that we get to work on this job at once without creating the impression that we are seeking to cause delay, through any technicalities, or through any effort of evasion, or in any other way.

Mr. BREWSTER. I certainly share the desire of the Senator from Kentucky for expedition, but as I said before, having waited 4 years, I am certain that we can safely wait 4 days more, and I think the country will be much more impressed with the deliberateness of our consideration if that course is taken.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not think the country will have any doubt about our deliberateness. We have been talking about this matter ever since it occurred. We have debated it on the floor of the Senate time and time again in connection with the extension of the Statute of Limitations. I do not think that any impression of hasty action on our part, can be gotten from the adoption of the concurrent resolution now. I think it would be a wholesome example to the country and to every one concerned if we could handle it in the way now proposed.

Mr. BREWSTER. There is one thing about the language which gives me concern, and which I should certainly like to consider. The language is, "the facts relating to the attack by Japanese armed forces upon Pearl Harbor in the Territory of Hawaii." As I understand, a very intimate part of that attack involved two silk-hatted gentlemen who spent the time during the attack with Secretary Hull. Whether they were a part of the armed forces may perhaps be a matter of debate. I believe that what occurred in connection with all those events is

very intimately concerned with the attack, and I should not want any language to be calculated to limit our inquiry.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator is too good a parliamentarian and too good a draftsman to assume that the language ought to be amended so as to mention specifically the silk-hatted gentlemen to whom he has reference.

Mr. BREWSTER. But I do not like to exclude them by saying "Japanese armed forces."

Mr. BARKLEY. They are not excluded.

Mr. BREWSTER. They are certainly not included in that language.

Mr. BARKLEY. The attack on Pearl Harbor occurred while they were here carrying on negotiations with the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State received notice of the attack while they were in his office. Certainly that circumstance is related to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Mr. BREWSTER. I think it might well be a debatable question as to whether they are included within the term "Japanese armed forces."

Mr. BARKLEY. These things are all related to that attack. Whether they were members of the armed forces or not is not very important, because they certainly did not themselves make the attack in person when they were conferring with the Secretary of State in Washington.

Mr. BREWSTER. I should say that they were a most essential element.

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

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The language contained in the resolution submitted by the able junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] was given very careful consideration, and from our point of view it has had the sort of study which the Senator from Maine has indicated. I am sure the language fully meets the purpose of the Senator from Kentucky. Would there be any objection to changing the first sentence in section 2, which now reads, "The committee shall make a full and complete investigation of the facts relating to the attack made by Japanese armed forces upon Pearl Harbor in the Territory of Hawaii" so as to read "The committee shall make a full and complete investigation of the facts surrounding the attack and the events and circumstances leading up to the attack made by Japanese armed forces upon Pearl Harbor in the Territory of Hawaii"?

Mr. BARKLEY. I see no substantial difference between the words "relating to" and the word "surrounding." However, I have no objection to the remainder of that language. I believe that the words "relating to" are more appropriate than the word "surrounding", but I certainly would have no objection to including the phrase "leading up to," which could be inserted after the words "relating to."

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

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I was somewhat concerned as to whether to use the words

"relating to" or the word "surrounding." I think they mean the same thing in relation to this event. If the able senior Senator from Michigan would use the words "relating to," and then add the words "the events and circumstances," I think that would cover the objection of the Senator from Maine.

Mr. BARKLEY. I had in mind also the question as to whether additional language, which would specifically apply to previous events leading up to the attack, should be included; but I did not include it for the reason, as I have explained, that I thought the words "relating to" covered it fully, and included events both prior to and subsequent to the attack. However, I have no objection to inserting, after the words "relating to," the language suggested by the Senator from Michigan.

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

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The language would then read:

The committee shall make a full and complete investigation of the facts relating to the events and circumstances leading up to the attack made by Japanese armed forces on Pearl Harbor in the Territory of Hawaii.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no objection to that language.

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

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. May I ask whether or not that language would prevent us from investigating anything subsequent to the attack? We talk about everything leading up to the attack.

Mr. VANDENBERG. And subsequent. Mr. LUCAS. The word "subsequent" is not in there.

Mr. BARKLEY. We can say "leading up to or following the attack."

Mr. VANDENBERG. I believe that would cover it.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no desire to cut off the investigation at any particular date if it has any relationship to this attack, or the consequences of it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator has the right to modify his concurrent resolution.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I will modify the concurrent resolution by inserting after the words "relating to," the words "the events and circumstances leading up to or following."

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

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. Before the vote is taken on the resolution, which I hope will be unanimous, I wish to take occasion to compliment the distinguished majority leader upon the magnificent and generous manner in which he has responded to the overwhelming popular sentiment of the country. He has not only done that, but he has relieved us all of many hours of anxiety, lifted this question above partisanship, and make an appeal for what the country wants—a high-minded, clean, judicial investigation of all the facts connected with the Pearl Harbor disaster. I wish to say to him that he has exercised statesmanlike judgment on many occasions in the past, but never of a loftier character than today. He has

never rendered a better public service. He has not only rendered a service by responding to the public demand, but he has removed all doubts or questions as to the sincerity of our present Government and of the Navy Department in their willingness to have the whole story told truthfully and candidly. As chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, before which this problem has been pending by reason of petitions filed with us, I wish to compliment the Senator from Kentucky and thank him for the service which he has rendered the country.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I deeply appreciate the remarks of the Senator.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky that the concurrent resolution, as modified, be immediately considered, without reference to a committee? The Chair hears none.

The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution, as modified.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 27), as modified, was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there is hereby established a joint committee on the investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack, to be composed of five Members of the Senate (not more than three of whom shall be members of the majority party), to be appointed by the President pro tempore, and five Members of the House of Representatives (not more than three of whom shall be members of the majority party), to be appointed by the Speaker of the House. Vacancies in the membership of the committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection. The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members.

SEC. 2. The committee shall make a full and complete investigation of the facts relating to the events and circumstances leading up to or following the attack made by Japanese armed forces upon Pearl Harbor in the Territory of Hawaii on December 7, 1941, and shall report to the Senate and the House of Representatives not later than January 3, 1946, the results of its investigation, together with such recommendations as it may deem advisable.

SEC. 3. The testimony of any person in the armed services, and the fact that such person testified before the joint committee herein provided for, shall not be used against him in any court proceeding, or held against him in examining his military status for credits in the service to which he belongs.

SEC. 4. (a) The committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-ninth Congress (prior to January 3, 1946), to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words.

(b) The committee is empowered to appoint and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, and clerical and stenographic assistants as it deems necessary, but the compensation so fixed shall not exceed the compensation prescribed under the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, for comparable duties.

(c) The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed \$25,000, shall be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, upon vouchers signed by the chairman.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I did not intend, at the outset, to take so much time at this hour, but I hope it has been well spent.

NOMINATION OF GEN. JONATHAN MAYHEW WAINWRIGHT

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, as in executive session, from the Committee on Military Affairs, I report favorably the nomination of Lt. Gen. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright to be a general in the Army of the United States, and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration. I do so at this time because I understand that the Senate will not be in session again until next week. For the first time in the history of the Military Affairs Committee since I have been chairman, I have polled the committee, on the nomination of General Wainwright. I know that it is the sense of the Senate that when he comes to Washington next Monday and is greeted by the President of the United States, he should be greeted as a full general. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the nomination.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Lt. Gen. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright (major general, U. S. Army) to be a general in the Army of the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the nomination, as in executive session? The Chair hears none. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I ask that the President be immediately notified.

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

THE FULL-EMPLOYMENT BILL AND OPINIONS REGARDING DEPRESSIONS

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President the recent hearings before the Banking and Currency Committee on the full-employment bill (S. 380) have revealed that the great majority of the American people are convinced that we can get and can keep full employment in a free competitive economy.

Unfortunately, we still have a small but powerful minority in this country who are against full employment. They prefer a floating pool of unemployed, to keep wages down or to maintain labor discipline. They are eager to enjoy the temporary profits that can be reaped during a wild inflationary boom, even though the inevitable result may be mass unemployment.

To the ordinary men and women of America, it may seem inconceivable that any Americans might entertain such reactionary ideas. Accordingly, I should like to call attention to an article entitled, "We Need Those Depressions," which has just been published in the August 25 issues of the University of

Illinois bulletin, Opinion and Comment. This article was written by Mr. Ralph B. Blodgett, who is head of an advertising agency in Des Moines, Iowa.

Mr. Blodgett states that—

It is to be hoped that depressions are never abolished, for they have many desirable features. Those who learn to ride the business cycle can find as many advantages in depressions as in booms—personal as well as business advantages. Smart folks take advantage of the boom * * * they are then ready for depression-time bargains, bargains in every conceivable thing from a suit of clothes to a railroad.

Mr. Blodgett then points out that some of the best business bargains have been obtained in times of depressions. He refers specifically to the Union Pacific Railroad, which, during the financial panic that started in 1893, was bought for only \$81,000,000, less than half the original cost.

He also points out that "enforced unemployment presents a chance to get some real enjoyment out of life," but not for everybody, merely "for those who have harvested a crop of canceled debts and cash in bank."

Mr. Blodgett concludes with the following paragraph:

There is a big job to be done—the job of showing all America that the miscalculated depressions offer as wide a range of rich opportunities and human benefits as a prosperity season or any other part of the business cycle. We ought to show all the people that we need those "depressions."

Mr. President, at a time when the Senate is preparing to consider legislation recognizing the Government's responsibility to assure sustained full employment, it is important that we recognize the fact that there are people in this country who are against full employment. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article We Need Those Depressions be printed at this point in the RECORD, together with my remarks.

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

WE NEED THOSE DEPRESSIONS

(By Ralph B. Blodgett)

Roger Babson once told how the business cycle has been rolling for 5,000 years—50 centuries. He told how the really smart men of many ages have tried to get rid of depressions with no success at all. We millions who try to buck the cycle are crushed. The few who get on and ride the cycle might well call it the gravy wagon.

It is to be hoped that depressions are never abolished, for they have many desirable features. Those who learn to "ride the business cycle" can find as many advantages in depressions as in booms—personal, as well as business advantages. Smart folks take advantage of the boom. They save what they can and keep their savings liquid. They are then ready for depression-time bargains, bargains in every conceivable thing from a suit of clothes to a railroad. Many even welcome unemployment as a chance to relax and to use spare time in various profitable ways. Those who live on fixed incomes, such as insurance benefits, welcome the depression-time drop in living costs. From time to time the whole price structure—and the economic set-up—needs readjustments, such as come with depressions.

That very name "depression" is inappropriate. It horribly maligns those great periods so full of splendid opportunities and

human benefits. Let us keep those periods but abolish only the name. Let us use some other name. "Business recess" suggests an interval of leisure for rest and perhaps play, which such a period always brings. Perhaps "economic winter" would describe it more completely and accurately. Some economic research foundation might well offer prizes for suitable names, and select the best one.

THE FOUR ECONOMIC SEASONS

The four seasons of the business cycle closely parallel the four seasons of the year. In economic spring, or recovery, we see new businesses springing up everywhere, and the sap rising in old ones whereby they spring into new and vigorous life. We also note the wrecks of dead enterprises that could not survive the winter. The rate of growth accelerates until economic summer, which we now call boom time. Growth then slows down and stops. A ripening harvest of high wages, profits, and investment yields calls for some reapers who will save much, cancel debts, and store their surplus in the granaries called banks, at low interest rates. Beware, now, of the temptation to plant new crops of industrial enterprise or promising investments. Beware of the spirit of free-spending extravagance. Beware, too, of speculative fever.

Economic fall, or the slump season, will soon bring a falling off of business and employment, and a freezing of all credit fields. Wise operators will now harvest late "corn crops," from some continuing high wages and profits. A few will sow their winter wheat or rye in the form of sporting goods or recreational enterprises, or take cuttings from old established enterprises to be transplanted at new distribution centers. But mostly they will quietly work and wait, and take pleasure in their stored-up harvest. They will relax more and enjoy their hunting trips, football games, or what have you?

Economic winter brings a long period of low temperatures in business and employment, low prices and wages. Soon after winter sets in, a universal vacation interval is to be noted, somewhat comparable to a Christmas vacation. Roger Babson pointed out in an article published in World's Work in 1931, that nearly every so-called depression brings with it a new recreational fad and revives a lot of old ones. Thus baseball got its start in the slump after the Civil War. Tennis, ping pong, bicycle riding, golf, and miniature golf either were introduced or received a great impetus in periods of depression.

This tendency reflects a great human need for relaxation after the tremendous exertion of boom time. Unemployment brings needed rest to millions, whether they are ready for it or not.

POTENTIAL CATASTROPHES

Every winter would be a national catastrophe if all we did was to hope that we would never have another one, and never turn a hand to prepare for one. Then we could malign it also with a derogatory name, such as "suffering season," for most of us would freeze or starve or wreck our health from exposure.

But no. We build warm dwellings and make warm clothing. We manufacture heating plants and produce all kinds of fuel. We thrive on the business and employment of preparations for winter. To top it all off, we produce a great variety of winter sporting goods, and get a lot of enjoyment out of this potential catastrophe called winter. We give the kids a week or two of Christmas vacation and turn them loose to enjoy the fun.

But because we blind our eyes to many years of history and refuse to prepare for the next business recess, we make of it a great national catastrophe. Yet it is a perfectly natural, normal, and wholly desirable rest period, overflowing with rich benefits.

There is always a sprinkling of common laborers, industrial giants, school teachers,

doctors, farmers, and storekeepers who get ready to enjoy those benefits. In boom times, when most people are spending freely, going in debt or speculating, these persons quietly pay off their debts, economize, save up cash, and keep it liquid, at low rates of return. Just ahead they see bargains in every conceivable thing from a railroad to a suit of clothes.

A RAILROAD AT A BARGAIN

The financial panic of 1893, virtually stopped the development of the West, especially that of the great western plains. It forced 54 railroads, with a total capitalization of \$2,500,000,000 into bankruptcy.

The Union Pacific represented an investment of nearly \$200,000,000. In 1895 the banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. bought it for \$81,000,000, less than half the original cost. Probably that was all it was worth in its run-down condition, but in terms of its tremendous possibilities, it was a great depression-time bargain.

One man saw those possibilities, the bold, fearless, colorful Edward H. Harriman. By maneuvering, he first became a member of the board of directors, next of the executive committee, and then obtained the chairmanship of the latter. In 1918 he had a train made up backward, observation car in front, next the train, and last the engine. Out in front he went over every mile of all that road in daylight, to complete his minute and scrutinizing study of it.

He saw the lingering 5-year depression of the western ghost towns, with the people entirely gone, and other towns from which half the settlers had drifted back east. He saw idleness and poverty and despair.

But beyond all that, he plainly saw the end of the depression, which would bring returning prosperity and rising prices. He boldly asked his bankers for the huge sum of \$25,000,000 wherewith to ballast roadbeds, straighten out curves, halve the pitch of all steep grades, and put in heavier rolling stock. He urged the spending of this sum while prices of labor and materials were low. He could thus get much more improvement for the money. Incidentally he put many thousands of idle men to work at what was then a fair living wage, for living costs were also low.

Not only was the whole Union Pacific Railroad bought as a depression-time bargain, but it was also rebuilt and revitalized at a bargain. In a few years it raised wages, reduced freight rates, paid off its debts, began paying dividends, and made possible the doubling and trebling of farm land values in whole States, as well as the expansion of manufactures.

In these days a million people may have to ride the business cycle to do as much for recovery as Harriman's one railroad did.

OTHER BARGAINS IN SEASON

These business-recess bargains are not confined to large operations. One man got bargains in two suits of clothes and then a hardware store in the slump of 1922. He had always been careful with money, and was never moved by the spirit of gambling and extravagance of boom times. When business and profits and personal earnings fell off, he was attracted to two good suits at a bargain price of 50 percent off. Later, he moved to another city and found a little neighborhood hardware store for sale at a bargain price. He bought it and made his living there until his retirement 2 years ago at the age of 81.

Anyone who would like to see the wide range of depression-time bargains can go back to old files of newspapers dated in the depths of any business recess or economic winter. In the want ads can be seen every conceivable article offered for sale at ridiculously low bargain prices: building lots, bungalows, mansions, summer cottages, motor boats, farms, pure-bred bulls, fur coats, jewelry, retail stores, factories, used cars, trucks, and home furnishings. In the gen-

eral advertising there can be found a great variety of new merchandise for sale at greatly reduced prices: clothing, furniture, rugs, gas stoves, electric equipment, etc. And on the stock market opportunities are offered to buy up a controlling interest in small or large corporations, or perhaps even a railroad, whose stock has gone begging.

Most people succumb to boom-time speculative fever and extravagance. When the slump comes, they have no quick assets to tide them over the hard times. They may even be in debt. Whatever they have bought with their high earnings they are forced to sell at a huge sacrifice. They sorely need the cash and are greatly helped by the bargain-hunting cycle riders.

WE ALL NEED REST

There is more to riding the business cycle than mere financial operations, however. Roger Babson pointed out that every boom exhausts us all. The rush of business, the long hours of overtime, the nervous tension—all make us act like tired people. The efficiency of both labor and capital goes steadily downward. As we lose our judgment and sense of values we speculate crazily. Our jangled nerves make us irritable until we have strikes and lock-outs—labor troubles with both sides vilifying each other. Finally we get so full of fear that prices collapse and few people have clear enough vision to see the possibilities ahead and work them out.

This reveals another great human benefit of a business recess, a chance to make it a real recess in the school of life, a chance to relax and play and rest. When millions of us instinctively satisfy that need, another recreational fad breaks out. But along with it, we have a great heaviness of heart, we worry about our recent losses, our unemployment, and our black-out future prospects, because we have not prepared for such a crisis.

Of even more value than the rich bargains previously referred to is the opportunity for unworried rest and relaxation—for those who have harvested a crop of canceled debts and cash in bank. For them enforced unemployment brings a chance to get some real enjoyment out of life. Once out of the treadmill of a daily job, one can afford to travel cheaply, develop a long-cherished hobby, catch up on reading, go to a trade or business school, or even to college. This unworried shift to entirely new scenes or new occupations will soon revive one's self-confidence, vision, efficiency, and value as a profitable employee. It will restore his employability and the health and fighting spirit wherewith he can go after a new job and hold it.

Our returning servicemen will be thoroughly exhausted, many so nervous and jittery they will not be good for much for months to come. The provision for granting them \$300 discharge pay is excellent. For many of them it will be enough to give a relaxation period and sufficient time to get tuned up again. For the rest it will help a good deal.

The stresses and strains of wartime wear us all down far worse than an ordinary business boom. But a strange thing happens after major wars. After the Civil War and after World War I we had short recesses of a year or two. Then we caught our second wind and had 6 years of busy reconstruction, until finally the real postwar recession hit us, lasting 6 years in the 70's and 9 years in the 30's.

One serious factor made the last depression last longer than it might have otherwise. If you and I try to charge more for our goods and services than the people feel in the mood to pay, we won't get much business. And because, on a national scale, we tried so hard to keep up wages and prices, we got so little business as to give us a chronic standing army of 10,000,000 unemployed. Had we allowed both wages and prices to seek their natural

level, we should have come out of the depression sooner.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT

What, then, can we do about these times we call "depressions," which are so full of rich human benefits?

Why not set out to sell 10,000,000 people on the ways of riding the business cycle? Let newspaper, magazine, and radio reporters write true stories about people who have ridden the cycle and found it to be profitable. Let them find the story of the clerk who harvested cheap dollars in a boom, lost his job in the slump, then rode his photography hobby that finally placed him with a portrait studio as a retoucher and tinter. Let them tell the story of the banker who was let out through a merger, took a trip to Alaska, came back with new courage and vision, and became an executive in an aircraft plant.

Let this be the start of a great campaign to teach America how to ride the business cycle. Then let economic research foundations and other proper agencies publicize true stories and experiences on this subject.

One man may have had the cash to build a home at bargain costs for labor and material after the slump of 1923; another was all set to take it easy and travel at excursion rates when times were bad in 1907; a woman restocked her whole wardrobe and linen supply once when business slowed up and prices were slashed. On the other hand, someone may have failed to take advantage of such a period and now sees clearly that he should have ridden the cycle. Such a program would set tens of thousands of individuals to thinking of ways to ride the business cycle. Several million readers would see the printed stories.

A second campaign, suggesting suitable postwar plans for railroad conductors, stenographers, doctors' wives, teachers, storekeepers, and even high executives, should interest more thousands of writers and more millions of readers in postwar planning for themselves.

What would happen if 10,000,000 people would learn to ride the present cycle?

By keeping several billions of savings off a booming speculative market, they would depress the boom peaks. By cleaning up their debts, they would curb the crazy credit expansion to some extent. Later on, by spending more freely for hobbies, travel, schooling, relaxation, and all the rich harvest of bargains, they would tend to fill up the deep gorges in the valley now misnamed depression. By spending their saved billions they would put idle persons to work and greatly relieve the situation for the many who would be both idle and broke.

There is a big job to be done, the job of showing all America that the mis-called "depressions" offer as wide a range of rich opportunities and human benefits as a prosperity season or any other part of the business cycle. We ought to show all the people that we need those "depressions."

ARMY MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS—LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO SENATOR THOMAS OF UTAH

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks a letter dated August 27, 1945, from President Truman, addressed to me, dealing with the subject of Army manpower requirements.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, August 27, 1945.

HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS,
Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR THOMAS: It occurs to me that it would be helpful to your committee in

planning its legislative program to have my views on the matters which will be under your consideration. As you know, coincident with Japan's acceptance of our surrender terms, two important steps were taken to adjust Army manpower requirements: A world-wide campaign to obtain the maximum number of volunteers was initiated and selective-service calls were reduced from 80,000 to 50,000 men a month.

The first of these steps will require legislative assistance. Present laws place a ceiling of 280,000 on the number of enlistments which can be accepted; only men now in the service or those who have been discharged for less than 90 days can be enlisted directly; and there are some legal uncertainties regarding reenlistment bonuses, grades, mustering-out pay, and other benefits under the GI bill of rights. These matters should be clarified as rapidly as may be to the end that there will be no legal impediments to the maximum procurement of volunteers. In addition the Congress will wish to consider what more can be done in the way of furnishing inducements which will stimulate voluntary enlistments. The more men who can be secured by this means, the fewer it will be necessary to induct into or continue in the service.

The continuance of inductions through the medium of selective service will be one of your most critical problems. From many standpoints, I wish it were possible for me to recommend that the drafting of men be stopped altogether and at once. But, sharing the deep feeling of our people that those veterans who have given long and arduous service must be returned to their homes with all possible speed and with the certainty that world conditions will require us during the transition period to settled peace to maintain a real measure of our military strength, I cannot so recommend. The situation in the Pacific continues to have many elements of danger, and war-torn and disorganized Europe is facing a difficult winter season with scarcities of food, fuel, and clothing. Our occupation forces in those areas must be held at safe levels, determined largely by General MacArthur and General Eisenhower, who are on the ground and familiar with the situation. We cannot stop the certain inflow of replacements into the armed forces without necessitating prolonged service of veteran soldiers.

My great concern at the present moment is for those now in the armed forces whose war service has separated them from their homes and loved ones for extended periods. An unforgivable discrimination would result, if we should favor those who have had no military service by suspending their induction at the cost of requiring further sacrifice from those who have already done their part.

Based on the present unsettled conditions in Europe, the uncertainties of the Pacific, and decent consideration for all the men in the service who have borne the burden of the past years, I have approved continuation of inductions until such time as the Congress shall establish the broad national policies to govern full demobilization, occupation, and world security.

While the question of how to provide adequate military forces and at the same time to restore veterans to their homes is a matter for determination by the Congress, it appears clear to me that we dare not depend solely on volunteers. The continuation of inductions through Selective Service at a rate depending upon the rate of volunteering is the only safe and acceptable solution. However, it is my view that these inductions should be for a 2-year period unless sooner discharged and should consist of men in the age group 18 to 25, inclusive.

It is my firm conviction, which I believe is shared by the majority in this country, that war veterans who do not volunteer to remain in the service should be discharged

as soon as it is practicable to do so. This means that we must start at once to obtain personnel exclusive of these veterans to carry the burden of the occupational period. Volunteers should be procured in maximum numbers and the remainder of whatever strength is required obtained by post VJ-day inductions through Selective Service.

The War Department is stressing the procurement of volunteers to the utmost. How many will be obtained is problematical but from past experience and the most recent studies 300,000 appears to be the maximum to be expected by July next. Inductions, if continued at the present reduced rate, for the same period would produce approximately 500,000 men. On this basis there will be not more than 800,000 nonveterans and volunteers in the Army next July.

It is certain that 800,000 men will be insufficient to meet over-all requirements next July. General Eisenhower's and General MacArthur's estimates alone total 1,200,000, exclusive of the numbers required for supporting troops in the United States and other areas. The difference between the 800,000 nonveterans and volunteers and whatever total strength is required must be made up by holding additional numbers of veterans in the service. It is evident that any curtailment in the number of Selective Service replacements will only accentuate the number of veterans who must be retained in the service. While it will not be possible to discharge all of them even under the proposed system as soon as we would like, we will have the satisfaction of knowing that the program will give them the best opportunity we can provide for their early return to civil life.

One other matter which deserves the immediate consideration of your committee is the question of when the "emergency" or "war" should be officially terminated. I must emphasize the danger that lies in a too early unqualified formal termination. Tragic conditions would result if we were to allow the period of military service to expire by operation of law while a substantial portion of our forces had not yet been returned from overseas. I am confident that the Congress will take no action which would place the armed forces in such a position.

Sincerely,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONNECTION WITH JAPANESE SURRENDER

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, on the occasion of the signing of the articles of surrender by Japan, the proceedings on the battleship *Missouri* were to me very impressive. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the body of the RECORD at this point, in full-sized type, the articles of surrender which were signed by Japan, the remarks of General MacArthur in connection therewith, the remarks of Admiral Nimitz in connection therewith, and the addresses delivered by the President of the United States, not only in connection with those proceedings, but on the following night to the armed forces of the United States.

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

THE SURRENDER INSTRUMENT

(1) We, acting by command of and in behalf of the Emperor of Japan, the Japanese Government, and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters, hereby accept provisions in the declaration issued by the heads of the Governments of the United States, China, and Great Britain July 26, 1945, at Potsdam, and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which four

powers are hereafter referred to as the Allied Powers.

(2) We hereby proclaim the unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters and of all Japanese armed forces and all armed forces under Japanese control wherever situated.

(3) We hereby command all Japanese forces, wherever situated, and the Japanese people to cease hostilities forthwith, to preserve and save from damage all ships, aircraft, and military and civil property and to comply with all requirements which may be imposed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or by agencies of the Japanese Government at his direction.

(4) We hereby command the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters to issue at once orders to the commanders of all Japanese forces and all forces under Japanese control, wherever situated, to surrender unconditionally themselves and all forces under their control.

OFFICIALS TO STAY AT POSTS

(5) We hereby command all civil, military, and naval officials to obey and enforce all proclamations, orders, and directives, deemed by the supreme commander for the Allied Powers to be proper to effectuate this surrender and issued by him or under his authority, and we direct all such officials to remain at their posts and to continue to perform their noncombat duties unless specifically relieved by him or under his authority.

(6) We hereby undertake for the Emperor, the Japanese Government, and their successors to carry out the provisions of the Potsdam declaration in good faith, and to issue whatever orders and take whatever action may be required by the supreme commander for the Allied Powers or by any other designated representative of the Allied Powers for the purpose of giving effect to that declaration.

(7) We hereby command the Japanese Imperial Government and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters at once to liberate all Allied prisoners of war and civilian internees now under Japanese control and to provide for their protection, care, maintenance, and immediate transportation to places as directed.

(8) The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the state shall be subject to the supreme commander for the Allied Powers, who will take such steps as he deems proper to effectuate these terms of surrender.

HIROHITO'S PROCLAMATION

Accepting the terms set forth in the declaration issued by the heads of the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and China on July 26, 1945, at Potsdam and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have commanded the Japanese Imperial Government and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters to sign on my behalf the instrument of surrender presented by the supreme commander for the Allied Powers and to issue general orders to the military and naval forces in accordance with the direction of the supreme commander of the Allied Powers.

I command all my people forthwith to cease hostilities, to lay down their arms and faithfully to carry out all the provisions of the instrument of surrender and the general orders issued by the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters hereunder.

MACARTHUR'S REMARKS

We are gathered here, representative of the major warring powers, to conclude a solemn agreement whereby peace may be restored. The issues, involving divergent ideals and ideologies, have been determined on the battlefields of the world and hence are not

for our discussion or debate. Nor is it for us here to meet, representing as we do a majority of the peoples of the earth, in a spirit of distrust, malice, or hatred. But rather it is for us, both victors and vanquished, to rise to that higher dignity which alone benefits the sacred purposes we are about to serve, committing all of our peoples unreservedly to faithful compliance with the undertakings they are here formally to assume.

It is my earnest hope and indeed the hope of all mankind that from this solemn occasion a better world shall emerge out of the blood and carnage of the past—a world founded upon faith and understanding—a world dedicated to the dignity of man and the fulfillment of his most cherished wish—for freedom, tolerance, and justice.

The terms and conditions upon which the surrender of the Japanese Imperial forces is here to be given and accepted are contained in the instrument of surrender now before you.

PROMISES FULL JUSTICE

As Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, I announce it my firm purpose, in the tradition of the countries I represent, to proceed in the discharge of my responsibilities with justice and tolerance, while taking all necessary dispositions to insure that the terms of surrender are fully, promptly, and faithfully complied with.

I now invite the representatives of the Emperor of Japan and the Japanese Government and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters to sign the instrument of surrender at the places indicated.

The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers will now sign on behalf of the nations at war with Japan.

The representatives of the United States of America will sign now.

The representative of the Republic of China will now sign.

The representative of the United Kingdom will now sign.

The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will now sign.

The representative of Australia will now sign.

The representative of Canada will now sign.

The representative of France will now sign.

The representative of the Netherlands will now sign.

The representative of New Zealand will now sign.

Let us pray that peace be now restored to the world, and that God will preserve it always. These proceedings are closed.

NIMITZ'S REMARKS

On board all vessels at sea and in port, and at our many island bases in the Pacific, there is rejoicing and thanksgiving. The long and bitter struggle, which Japan started so treacherously on the 7th of December 1941, is at an end.

I take great pride in the American forces which have helped to win this victory. America can be proud of them. The officers and men of the United States Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and merchant marine who fought in the Pacific have written heroic new chapters in this Nation's military history. I have infinite respect for their courage, resourcefulness, and devotion to duty. We also acknowledge the great contribution to this victory made by our valiant Allies. United we fought and united we prevail.

The port of Tokyo, which was first opened by Commodore Perry in 1853, is now crowded with United States men-of-war. The process of bringing Japan into the family of civilized nations, which was interrupted when Japan launched her program of conquest, will soon begin again.

PAYS TRIBUTE TO THE DEAD

Today all freedom-loving peoples of the world rejoice in the victory and feel pride in the accomplishments of our combined forces. We also pay tribute to those who defended our freedom at the cost of their lives.

On Guam is a military cemetery in a green valley not far from my headquarters. The ordered rows of white crosses stand as reminders of the heavy cost we have paid for victory. On these crosses are the names of American soldiers, sailors and marines—Culpepper, Tomaino, Sweeney, Bromberg, Depew, Melloy, Ponziani—names that are a cross-section of democracy. They fought together side by side. To them we have a solemn obligation—the obligation to insure that their sacrifice will help to make this a better and safer world in which to live.

To achieve this it will be necessary for the United Nations to enforce rigidly the peace terms that will be imposed upon Japan. It will also be necessary to maintain our national strength at a level which will discourage future acts of aggression aimed at the destruction of our way of life.

Now we turn to the great tasks of reconstruction and restoration. I am confident that we will be able to apply the same skill, resourcefulness, and keen thinking to these problems as were applied to the problems of winning the victory.

MACARTHUR'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS

My fellow countrymen, today the guns are silent. A great tragedy has ended. A great victory has been won. The skies no longer rain death—the seas bear only commerce—men everywhere walk upright in the sunlight. The entire world is quietly at peace. The holy mission has been completed, and in reporting this to you, the people, I speak for the thousands of silent lips, forever stilled among the jungles and the beaches and in the deep waters of the Pacific which marked the way. I speak for the unnamed brave millions homeward bound to take up the challenge of that future which they did so much to salvage from the brink of disaster.

As I look back on the long, tortuous trail from those grim days of Bataan and Corregidor, when an entire world lived in fear; when democracy was on the defensive everywhere, when modern civilization trembled in the balance, I thank a merciful God that He has given us the faith, the courage, and the power from which to mold victory.

We have known the bitterness of defeat and the exultation of triumph, and from both we have learned there can be no turning back. We must go forward to preserve in peace what we won in war.

"LAST CHANCE" FOR PEACE

A new era is upon us. Even the lesson of victory itself brings with it profound concern, both for our future security and the survival of civilization. The destructiveness of the war potential, through progressive advances in scientific discovery, has in fact now reached a point which revises the traditional concept of war.

Men since the beginning of time have sought peace. Various methods through the ages have attempted to devise an international process to prevent or settle disputes between nations. From the very start workable methods were found insofar as individual citizens were concerned, but the mechanics of an instrumentality of larger international scope have never been successful. Military alliance, balances of power, League of Nations all in turn failed, leaving the only path to be by way of the crucible of war.

The utter destructiveness of war now blots out this alternative. We have had our last chance. If we do not now devise some greater and more equitable system Armageddon will be at our door. The problem basi-

cally is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advance in science, art, literature, and all material and cultural developments of the past 2,000 years. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh.

We stand in Tokyo today reminiscent of our countryman, Commodore Perry, 92 years ago. His purpose was to bring to Japan an era of enlightenment and progress by lifting the veil of isolation to the friendship, trade, and commerce of the world. But alas the knowledge thereby gained of western science was forged into an instrument of oppression and human enslavement. Freedom of expression, freedom of action, even freedom of thought were denied through suppression of liberal education, through appeal to superstition, and through the application of force.

HOPES TO EDUCATE JAPANESE

We are committed by the Potsdam Declaration of Principles to see that the Japanese people are liberated from this condition of slavery. It is my purpose to implement this commitment just as rapidly as the armed forces are demobilized and other essential steps taken to neutralize the war potential. The energy of the Japanese race, if properly directed, will enable expansion vertically rather than horizontally. If the talents of the race are turned into constructive channels, the country can lift itself from its present deplorable state into a position of dignity.

To the Pacific basin has come the vista of a new emancipated world. Today, freedom is on the offensive, democracy is on the march. Today, in Asia as well as in Europe, unshackled peoples are tasting the full sweetness of liberty, the relief from fear.

In the Philippines, America has evolved a model for this new free world of Asia. In the Philippines, America has demonstrated that peoples of the East and peoples of the West may walk side by side in mutual respect and with mutual benefit. The history of our sovereignty there has now the full confidence of the East.

And so, my fellow-countrymen, today I report to you that your sons and daughters have served you well and faithfully with the calm, deliberate, determined fighting spirit of the American soldier and sailor. Based upon a tradition of historical trait, as against the fanaticism of any enemy supported only by mythological fiction, their spiritual strength and power has brought us through to victory. They are homeward bound—take care of them.

TEXT OF JAPANESE ORDER

(1) The Imperial General Headquarters by direction of the Emperor, and pursuant to the surrender to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers of all Japanese armed forces by the Emperor, hereby orders all of its commanders in Japan and abroad to cause the Japanese armed forces and Japanese-controlled forces under their command to cease hostilities at once, to lay down their arms, to remain in their present locations and to surrender unconditionally to commanders acting on behalf of the United States, the Republic of China, the United Kingdom and the British Empire, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as indicated hereafter or as may be further directed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

Immediate contact will be made with the indicated commanders, or their designated representatives, subject to any changes in detail prescribed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and their instructions will be completely and immediately carried out.

(a) The senior Japanese commanders and all ground, sea, air, and auxiliary forces

within China (excluding Manchuria), Formosa, and French Indochina north of 16 degrees north latitude shall surrender to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

(b) The senior Japanese commanders and all ground, sea, air, and auxiliary forces within Manchuria, Korea north of 28 degrees north latitude and Karafuto shall surrender to the commander in chief of Soviet forces in the Far East.

(c) The senior Japanese commanders and all ground, sea, air, and auxiliary forces within the Andamans, Nicobars, Burma, Thailand, French Indo-China south of 16 degrees north latitude, Malaya, Borneo, Netherlands Indies, New Guinea, Bismarcks, and the Solomons, shall surrender to the Supreme Allied Commander, South East Asia Command, or the commanding general, Australians, to be arranged between them, and the details of this paragraph then prepared by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

(d) The senior Japanese commanders and all ground, sea, air, and auxiliary forces in the Japanese-mandated islands, Ryukyus, Bonins, and other Pacific islands shall surrender to the Commander in Chief, United States Pacific Fleet.

(e) The Imperial General Headquarters, its senior commanders, and all ground, sea, air, and auxiliary forces in the main islands of Japan, minor islands adjacent thereto, Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude, and the Philippines shall surrender to the commander in chief, United States Army Forces in the Pacific.

(f) The above indicated commanders are the only representatives of the Allied Powers empowered to accept surrender, and all surrenders of Japanese forces shall be made only to them or to their representatives.

The Japanese Imperial General Headquarters further orders its commanders in Japan and abroad to disarm completely all forces of Japan or under Japanese control, wherever they may be situated, and to deliver intact and in safe and good condition all weapons and equipment at such time and at such places as may be prescribed by the Allied commanders indicated above.

Pending further instructions, the Japanese police force in the main islands of Japan will be exempt from this disarmament provision.

The police force will remain at their posts and shall be held responsible for the preservation of law and order. The strength and arms of such a police force will be prescribed.

MUST LIST ALL HOLDINGS

(2) The Japanese Imperial General Headquarters shall furnish to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers within (time limit) of receipt of this order complete information with respect to Japan and all areas under Japanese control as follows:

(a) Lists of all land, air, and anti-aircraft units showing locations and strengths in officers and men.

(b) Lists of all aircraft, military, naval and civil, giving complete information as to the number, type, location, and condition of such aircraft.

(c) Lists of all Japanese and Japanese-controlled naval vessels, surface and submarine and auxiliary naval craft in or out of commission and under construction, giving their position, condition, and movement.

(d) Lists of all Japanese and Japanese-controlled merchant ships of over 100 gross tons in or out of commission and under construction, including merchant ships formerly belonging to any of the United Nations now in Japanese hands, giving position, condition, and movement.

(e) Complete and detailed information, accompanied by maps showing locations and layouts of all mines, mine fields, and other obstacles to movement by land, sea, and air and the safety lanes in connection therewith.

(f) Locations and descriptions of all military installations and establishments, includ-

ing airfields, seaplane bases, anti-aircraft defenses, ports and naval bases, storage depots, permanent and temporary land and coast fortifications, fortresses and other fortified areas.

(g) Locations of all camps and other places of detention of United Nations prisoners of war and civilian internees.

PLANES ORDERED GROUNDED

(3) Japanese armed forces and civil aviation authorities will insure that all Japanese military and naval and civil aircraft remain on the ground, the water, or aboard ship until further notification on the disposition to be made of them.

(4) Japanese or Japanese-controlled naval or merchant vessels of all types will be maintained without damage and will undertake no movement pending instructions from the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Vessels at sea will remove explosives of all types to safe storage ashore.

(5) Responsible Japanese or Japanese-controlled military and civil authorities will insure that:

(a) All Japanese mines, mine fields, and other obstacles to movement by land, sea, and air wherever located be removed according to instructions of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

(b) All aids to navigation be reestablished at once.

(c) All safety lanes be kept open and clearly marked pending accomplishment of (a) above.

(6) Responsible Japanese and Japanese-controlled military and civil authorities will hold intact and in good condition pending further instructions from the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers the following:

(a) All arms, ammunitions, explosives, military equipment, stores and supplies, and other implements of war of all kinds and all other war material (except as specifically prescribed in section 4 of this order).

(b) All land, water, and air transportation, and communication facilities and equipment.

(c) All military installations and establishments including airfields, seaplane bases, anti-aircraft defenses, ports and naval bases, storage depots, permanent and temporary land and coast fortifications, fortresses and other fortified areas together with plans and drawings of all such fortifications, installations and establishments.

ARMS PLANTS TO BE KEPT INTACT

(d) All factories, plants, shops, research institutions, laboratories, testing stations, technical data, patents, plans, drawings and inventions designed or intended to produce or to facilitate the production or use of all implements of war and other material and property used or intended for use by any military or part-military organization in connection with its operations.

(7) The Japanese Imperial General Headquarters shall furnish to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers within (time limit) of receipt of this order complete lists of all the items specified in paragraphs a, b, and d of section 6 above, indicating the numbers, types, and locations of each.

(8) The manufacture and distribution of all arms, ammunition, and implements of war will cease forthwith.

(9) With respect to United Nations prisoners-of-war and civilian internees in the hands of Japanese or Japanese-controlled authorities:

(a) The safety and well-being of all United Nations prisoners-of-war and civilian internees will be scrupulously preserved to include the administrative and supply service essential to provide adequate food, shelter, clothing, and medical care until such responsibility is undertaken by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

(b) Each camp or other place of detention of United Nations prisoners of war and

civilian internees together with its equipment, stores, records, arms, and ammunition will be delivered immediately to the command of the senior officer designated representative of the prisoners of war and civilian internees.

(c) As directed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, prisoners of war and civilian internees will be transported to places of safety where they can be accepted by Allied authorities.

(d) The Japanese Imperial General Headquarters will furnish to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers within (time limit) of the receipt of this order complete lists of all United Nations prisoners of war and civilian internees indicating their location.

(10) All Japanese and Japanese-controlled military and civil authorities shall aid and assist the occupation of Japan and Japanese-controlled areas by forces of the Allied Powers.

(11) The Japanese Imperial General Headquarters and appropriate Japanese officials shall be prepared on instructions from Allied occupation commanders to collect and deliver all arms in the possession of the Japanese civilian population.

(12) This and all subsequent instructions issued by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Forces or of other Allied military authorities will be scrupulously and promptly obeyed by Japanese and Japanese-controlled military and civil officials and private persons.

Any delay or failure to comply with the provisions of this or subsequent orders, and any action which the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers determines to be detrimental to the Allied Powers, will incur drastic and summary punishment at the hands of the Allied military authorities and the Japanese Government.

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN PROCLAIMING VJ-DAY

My fellow Americans, the thoughts and hopes of all America—indeed of all the civilized world—are centered tonight on the battleship *Missouri*. There on that small piece of American soil anchored in Tokyo Harbor the Japanese have just officially laid down their arms. They have signed terms of unconditional surrender.

Four years ago the thoughts and fears of the whole civilized world were centered on another piece of American soil—Pearl Harbor. The mighty threat to civilization which began there is now laid at rest. It was a long road to Tokyo—and a bloody one.

We shall not forget Pearl Harbor. The Japanese militarists will not forget the U. S. S. *Missouri*.

The evil done by the Japanese war lords can never be repaired or forgotten. But their power to destroy and kill has been taken from them. Their armies and what is left of their navy is now impotent.

To all of us there comes first a sense of gratitude to Almighty God who sustained us and our Allies in the dark days of grave danger, who made us to grow from weakness into the strongest fighting force in history, and who now has seen us overcome the forces of tyranny that sought to destroy His civilization.

God grant that in our pride of the hour we may not forget the hard tasks that are still before us; that we may approach these with the same courage, zeal, and patience with which we faced the trials and problems of the past 4 years.

"NO VICTORY" CAN REPAIR LOSS

Our first thoughts, of course—thoughts of gratefulness and deep obligation—go out to those of our loved ones who have been killed or maimed in this terrible war. On land and sea and in the air American men and women have given their lives so that this day of ultimate victory might come and assure the

survival of a civilized world. No victory can make good their loss.

We think of those whom death in this war has hurt, taking from them husbands, sons, brothers, and sisters whom they loved. No victory can bring back the faces they long to see.

Only the knowledge that the victory, which these sacrifices have made possible, will be wisely used, can give them any comfort. It is our responsibility—ours, the living—to see to it that this victory shall be a monument worthy of the dead who died to win it.

We think of all the millions of men and women in our armed forces and merchant marine all over the world who, after years of sacrifice and hardship and peril, have been spared by providence from harm.

We think of all the men and women and children who during these years have carried on at home, in loneliness and anxiety and fear.

Our thoughts go out to the millions of American workers and businessmen, to our farmers and miners—to all those who have built up this country's fighting strength and, who have shipped to our allies the means to resist and overcome the enemy.

Our thoughts go out to our civil servants and to the thousands of Americans who, at personal sacrifice, have come to serve in our Government during these trying years; to the members of the selective-service boards and ration boards; to the civilian defense and Red Cross workers; to the men and women in the USO and in the entertainment world—to all those who have helped in this cooperative struggle to preserve liberty and decency in the world.

ACCLAIMS ROOSEVELT

We think of our departed gallant leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt, defender of democracy, architect of world peace and cooperation.

And our thoughts go out to our gallant allies in this war; to those who resisted the invaders; to enough to hold out but who nevertheless kept the fires of resistance alive within the souls of their people; to those who stood up against great odds and held the line until the United Nations together were able to supply the arms and the men with which to overcome the forces of evil.

This is a victory of more than arms alone. This is a victory of liberty over tyranny.

From our war plants rolled the tanks and planes which blasted their way to the heart of our enemy; from our shipyards sprang the ships which bridged all the oceans of the world for our weapons and supplies; from our farms came the food and fiber for our armies and navies and for all our allies in all the corners of the earth; from our mines and factories came the raw materials and the finished products which gave us the equipment to overcome our enemies.

But back of it all was the will and spirit and determination of a free people—who know what freedom is, and who know that it is worth whatever price they had to pay to preserve it.

It was the spirit of liberty which gave us our armed strength and which made our men invincible in battle. We now know that that spirit of liberty, the freedom of the individual and the personal dignity of man are the strongest and toughest and most enduring forces in all the world.

And so on VJ-day, we take renewed faith and pride in our own way of life. We have had our day of rejoicing over this victory. We had our day of prayer and devotion. Now let us set aside VJ-day as one of renewed consecration to the principles which have made us the strongest Nation on earth and which, in this war, we have striven so mightily to preserve.

POINTS TO BURDEN AHEAD

Those principles provide the faith, the hope, and the opportunity which helped men to improve themselves and their lot. Liberty does not make all men perfect nor all so-

ciety secure. But it has provided more solid progress and happiness and decency for more people than any other philosophy of government in history. And this day has shown again that it provides the greatest strength and the greatest power which man has ever reached.

We know that under it we can meet the hard problems of peace which have come upon us. A free people with free allies, who can develop an atomic bomb, can use the same skill and energy and determination to overcome all the difficulties ahead.

Victory always has its burdens and its responsibilities as well as its rejoicing.

But we face the future and all its dangers with great confidence and great hope. America can build for itself a future of employment and security. Together with the United Nations it can build a world of peace founded on justice and fair dealing and tolerance.

As President of the United States I proclaim Sunday, September 2, 1945, to be VJ-day—the day of formal surrender by Japan. It is not yet the day for the formal proclamation of the end of the war or of the cessation of hostilities. But it is a day which we Americans shall always remember as a day of retribution—as we remember that other day, the day of infamy.

From this day we move forward. We move toward a new era of security at home. With the other United Nations we move toward a new and better world of peace and international good will and cooperation.

God's help has brought us to this day of victory. With His help we will attain that peace and prosperity for ourselves and all the world in the years ahead.

TEXT OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S ADDRESS TO THE ARMED FORCES

I am speaking to you, the armed forces of the United States, as I did after V-day in Europe, at a high moment of history. The war, to which we have devoted all the resources and all the energy of our country for more than three and a half years, has now produced total victory over all our enemies.

This is a time for great rejoicing and a time for solemn contemplation. With the destructive force of war removed from the world, we can turn now to the grave tasks of preserving the peace which you gallant men and women have won.

It is a task which requires our most urgent attention. It is one in which we must collaborate with our allies and the other nations of the world. They are as determined as we are that war must be abolished from the earth if the earth, as we know it, is to remain. Civilization cannot survive another total war.

I think you know what is in the hearts of your countrymen on this night. They are thousands of miles away from most of you. Yet they are close to you in deep gratitude and in a solemn sense of obligation. They remember—and I know they will never forget—those who have gone from among you, those who are maimed, those who, thank God, are still safe after years of fighting and suffering and danger.

And I know that in this hour of victory their thoughts—like yours—are with your departed Commander in Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt. This is the hour for which he so gallantly fought and so bravely died.

I think I know the American soldier and sailor. He does not want gratitude or sympathy. He had a job to do. He did not like it. But he did it. And how he did it!

Now, he wants to come back home and start again the life he loves—a life of peace and quiet, the life of the civilian.

But he wants to know that he can come back to a good life. He wants to know that his children will not have to go back to the life of the fox hole and the bomber, the battleship and the submarine.

I speak in behalf of all your countrymen when I pledge you that we shall do every-

thing in our power to make those wishes come true.

For some of you, I am sorry to say, military service must continue for a time. We must keep an occupation force in the Pacific to clean out the militarism of Japan, just as we are cleaning out the militarism of Germany. The United Nations are determined that never again shall either of those countries be able to attack its peaceful neighbors.

But the great majority of you will be returned to civilian life as soon as the ships and planes can get you here. The task of moving so many men and women thousands of miles to their homes is a gigantic one. It will take months to accomplish.

You have my pledge that we will do everything possible to speed it up. We want you back with us to make your contribution to our country's welfare and to a new world of peace.

The high tide of victory will carry us forward to great achievements in the era which lies ahead. But we can perform them only in a world which is free from the threat of war. We depend on you who have known war in all its horror to keep this nation aware that only through cooperation among all nations can any nation remain wholly secure.

On this night of total victory, we salute you of the armed forces of the United States—wherever you may be. What a job you have done!

We are all waiting for the day when you will be home with us again.

Good luck and God bless you!

LABOR'S UNFINISHED BUSINESS—ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF LABOR

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a very able radio address delivered last Monday night by a former Member of this body, now the Secretary of Labor, Hon. Lewis B. Schwellenbach.

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

Someone has said that democracy is unfinished business. It is. The roadway of democracy stretches far into the future—farther than the mind of man can see. The road is difficult. It is beset by the pitfalls and roadblocks of selfishness and greed—which are inherent in our human natures. But it is well marked for the sincere and determined traveler, by the true love of our fellow men, by self-help and by cooperation. It is a road worth traveling. Its ultimate destination is a more perfect society.

It has been difficult to attain the degree of democracy we now possess. Our land is marked with the graves of heroes who died in its defense, and of patriots who devoted their lives to its development. Our democracy will be equally difficult to retain. But, difficult as the task may be, the pursuit of democracy will continue as long as the spirit or soul of man endures. To build a home in which mankind may live in peace and abundance, and to dwell therein with our fellow men—that is a worth-while job for all.

I am grateful to the Mutual Broadcasting System for the opportunity to talk with you on this Labor Day. I want to make use of every minute of my time to talk over this matter of our unfinished business with all of our wage earners, but particularly on Labor Day with those who are members of organized labor.

When I became Secretary of Labor, I assumed the obligation imposed upon that office by the congressional charter of the Department—to labor for the welfare of all those who must earn their bread by the sale of their strength or talents for wages. That includes most of us. My obligation requires that I furnish wage earners with information necessary to their progress, that I en-

force those Federal laws designed to promote their well-being and to protect them from harm and exploitation. It also includes, I believe, a duty to counsel with them upon the role they have to play in our democratic progress as a Nation. I would not have accepted my present advocacy of the cause of wage earners if I had not felt that this right to counsel was inherent in the post.

The wage earners of our country have come a long way since that first Monday in September 1882 when Peter J. McGuire, of the Carpenters' International Union, in New York City, organized the first Labor Day celebration. And the wage earners of his day had come a long way from the days of 1827, when the carpenters had struck against the "sun-up to sun-down" work day. Perhaps the present position of labor is better understood when we recall that just a short time before Congress gave official status to Labor Day in 1894, Peter McGuire had been imprisoned for daring to exercise the legitimate functions of a union member.

There is no need to trace here the history of organized labor from the earliest guilds through the birth and development of our industrial economy. Our Nation is young in the family of the world, but its early workers knew the deadening fatigue of "sun-up to sun-down"; the minds of many of its children were dulled and their bodies stunted by 15 to 17 hours a day in the mills; the fingers of many were sacrificed to the spindles which spun out pretty threads for the dresses of the more fortunate; and the prophets and producers of industrial democracy were subject to the political and brute forces of employers. It is a history of suffering and misery, and of a constant battle to establish the dignity of labor and the rights of those who must win their bread in wages.

Today, the wage earner is protected by law in his right to join with his fellows in labor unions and to bargain collectively for their mutual welfare. This right is a natural right; it should have needed no sanction by government. But when those who paid the worker his wages persisted in denying that right, the Government was forced to insure it by law. The power of the obstructors was great, and organized labor was the final weight in the scales of victory and justice. By that accomplishment alone, organized labor has been justified. The reaffirmation of that natural right was a marked service for the common good. It was a step necessary alike to the dignity of labor and the stabilization of our industrial and political life. Because of it men and management can meet as equals at the bargaining table.

Legal recognition of the right to organize and to bargain collectively marks the completion of one important piece of business for labor. But there is much business still to be finished. Every right has its responsibilities. Like the right itself, these responsibilities stem from no man-made law, but from the very nature of man and society. The security, progress, and welfare of one group is measured finally in the security, progress, and welfare of all mankind. These goals of men are indivisible, just as peace is indivisible, and democracy is indivisible. As a friend of organized labor, as one who endeavored to assist organized labor, and as one who is now charged with responsibility for the welfare of all who labor, I urge you members and leaders of unions throughout the country to be constantly aware of your obligations and your opportunities in achieving a fuller measure of democracy. Develop within yourself, and inspire within your fellow unionists, an increasingly sensitive interest in the responsibility of labor to the common good.

On this day we pay reverent homage to the memory of those leaders of labor who sacrificed personal gain and gave their lives to the cause of industrial democracy. In honor-

ing their persons, let us not forget their cause. We are their trustees. Ours is the freedom of choice—to be honorable in our trust, or to be indifferent to our obligations. If we would have peace in our hearts and souls, we must maintain faith. In our human selfishness we may betray our trust for 30 pieces of silver. But for us, as for Judas, there must be the halter of remorse.

"Responsibility," said the late Justice Brandeis, "is the great developer." He spoke as a great advocate of democracy and of the rights of organized labor. In accepting the responsibility of its position, labor surrenders nothing; it assumes a greater dignity; it seizes a broader opportunity. Labor has its feet planted firmly upon the solid ground of legal rights. It is now time to look to the future.

There is much talk today about the new world, the new era, and the new economy. I cannot talk of such things—I have not the gift of prophecy. I agree with Congressman JERRY VOORHIS when he said, "An old world began to die all around us in 1929." I think that world met its flaming end in the furnace of a great conflict. I think that out of the smoldering ruins of the old, there has arisen a vision of a new and better world. But I know that there will be no such world, except as you and I fashion it.

We talk much of full employment. That means, to my mind, an opportunity to work for every man and woman who wants to work. But we cannot have full employment unless we have full production of goods and services. And we cannot have full production unless we have full consumption. And we will have none of these—full employment, full production, or full consumption—if our productive machine is stalled and our power to consume diminished as a result of chaotic industrial relations.

There is a principle of philosophy which calls upon the fundamental and primary groups of our society to assume, and to insist upon the right to assume, every function which they can properly carry out themselves. Thus, the family should not surrender to the State the function of raising and educating its children. Vocational groups, such as labor unions, should not surrender to the Government those aims which they can achieve alone. And the town or city should not surrender to the State, nor the State to the Federal Government, those functions which it can perform itself. Of course, there are functions which can be adequately and efficiently performed only by the Federal Government or other secondary groups. But democracy and the dignity of man demand that each of us carry his own burdens well and faithfully if we wish to be independent and free.

Tom Paine stated a profound truth when he remarked that "Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence." And, allowing for the basic necessity of some governing force, it is a badge of lost responsibility. We get another traffic policeman when we forget our responsibilities and insist on violating traffic regulations.

I will be very happy if on next Labor Day I can report that organized labor has made a real start on some of its unfinished business. I will be most happy to report that organized labor has put all of its energies into an educational program for adult workers. I wish that organized labor would inspire and encourage study groups throughout the country. I wish that union members would participate in them. I can think of no better immediate subject for study than the problems of industrial relationship. Where have we failed in our past efforts to solve them? What must we do if we are to succeed in the future? Labor has the right, even the obligation, to call for assistance upon educational groups throughout the country. It is well enough for physical scientists to concentrate on splitting the atom.

It ill behooves social scientists to ignore problems which can split apart our democratic society. And these problems must be handled by individuals, small groups, and local communities. They are not going to be solved by a few people in Washington. Here general principles may be agreed upon. Here general policies may be enunciated. Here the legislation must be enacted. But the day-to-day problems of industrial relations arise in the plants and the communities in which people work and live. It is there that the real answers to our industrial problems must be found. They are going to be found only when all of us pool our individual efforts. And labor can inspire these efforts.

Since management is an inseparable partner of labor, I may be pardoned for pointing to the story of management as a warning to labor. Management had the opportunity, and an almost unlimited opportunity, to assume its responsibilities to the common good throughout much of the last hundred years and even before that time. But management surrendered its right and its opportunity by practices which brought on the demand for Government regulation, and "little by little and much by much," to quote Jefferson, the Government was forced to assume authority. Labor now has the opportunity to solve its problems and to make certain that the common good is not transgressed. And I plead with labor to assume this responsibility, knowing that unless it does, the Government will be invited and even compelled to assume the responsibility.

Labor and management, all Americans, have a tremendous challenge and a great opportunity. As Secretary of Labor I pledge to all citizens, and especially to our wage earners, the full support of my individual effort and the services of my coworkers in the Department, in meeting that challenge and making the most of that opportunity. We cannot do the job for you—not in a democracy. Yours is the opportunity. Yours is the responsibility.

A little while back I disclaimed any gift of prophecy. But I think I know organized labor well enough, I think I know management well enough, I think I know Americans well enough, to venture the suggestion that next Labor Day will find us much further down the long road of democracy. The destination, a more perfect society, can be ours if we but want it and work for it.

THE MOST IMPORTANT EQUATION IN THE WORLD

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the most important equation in the world today is this: Atomic force plus the lesson of Pearl Harbor — constant alertness — equals world security. Change that equation, to wit: Atomic force minus the lesson of Pearl Harbor, and you get world insecurity.

When Copernicus, Galileo, and Isaac Newton, in their day and generation, discovered and gave to the world new, world-shaking ideas, the learned and the wise of their generation would not heed them. It took generations before the peoples grasped the truths they taught. The world slept on, unheeding of the significance of their discoveries. Only a few minds were alert.

Why was this so? Because the human mind was in a groove, a rut, mortised in by the past, unawake to a moving world, unconscious of the fact that the law of growth in the race was being manifested.

With the discovery and the utilization of atomic force, this is the hour for straight thinking and vigilance. We

possess now a different concept of omnipotence than we had before. We are told that within every atom there is a universe.

The destructive force in the atom is of such a character that this generation cannot sleep on, as the generation before us did. The lesson of Pearl Harbor must not be required to be learned again. Alertness, constant alertness, in this atomic age is what must be impressed upon the minds of this people.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed at this point in the RECORD a statement which I released yesterday relative to the subjects of Pearl Harbor and atomic force.

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

SENATOR WILEY URGES PEARL HARBOR INVESTIGATION, ARMY-NAVY MERCER, AND A "WEST POINT OF SCIENCE"

I urge that there be immediately instituted open court-martial proceedings against Admiral Kimmel and General Short. (These courts martial were promised flatly by the War and Navy Departments on February 26, 1942, when the public interest and safety would permit.)

Failing such proceedings, I urge that Congress immediately order its own nonpartisan investigation to bust wide open the story of the Pearl Harbor disaster. In any case, I implore the administration to cease its cover-up activities and allow the lid to be completely taken off the whole stench-ridden, bungling mess of December 1941.

Only by courts martial can the following ends be served:

(a) The two high-ranking officers, Admiral Kimmel and General Short, who have been living under a cloud of suspicion through the war years, may be given their American opportunity to defend and vindicate themselves. A similar opportunity may be given the other high-ranking officers who were criticized in the Army and Navy reports.

(b) The whole truth about the disaster may be cleared of the mass of shadows still hovering over that event, the mass of unanswered questions, the mass of unexplained details. The whole truth could not possibly have been gained in time of war.

(c) The official policy of hush-hush, of concealment, of suspicion may be given a swift and deserved kick in the teeth.

(d) The true blame for the unnecessary deaths of 3,300 boys at Pearl Harbor and of countless other boys in later "come-back operations" may be placed upon the proper shoulders.

The blame, I am certain, neither rests on the American people nor on Congress.

On this score I must regretfully differ with President Truman, who, without his usual good judgment and fairness, has, in effect, whitewashed our late President and unduly criticized Congress and the people. I differ with President Truman on the following bases:

(a) Between 1935 and 1941 President Roosevelt's Bureau of the Budget slashed Army and Navy appropriations every single year. Congress restored more than 43 percent of the cuts.

(b) Neither Congress nor the people were ever advised as to the true situation in the Far East or as to the imminence of war. In February 1941, 10 months before Pearl Harbor, I introduced in the Senate a resolution asking the Secretary of State to report to the Senate in closed executive session on the danger in the Pacific; I asked at that time what condition our fleet air arm was in. Again in March 1941, speaking on the resolution which asked the Secretary to report to the Senate on the status of our forces in the Far East, I asked in the Senate:

"What is the condition of our fleet, especially its coordinating air arm? Is it like the Russian fleet was in the Japanese war?"

My questions went unanswered, and my resolution was quashed by the administration.

(c) The direct defense job at Pearl Harbor was neither Congress' nor the American people's job. It was the job of our military officials there. They failed. The blame lies there and in the hierarchy of military and civilian officials back home.

Our high officials had wantonly precipitated us into violation after violation of international law. Yet, with closed, isolated minds, they, like the commanders in Hawaii, failed to learn the lesson of history, of the Jap's sneak attack on Port Arthur. They failed to learn the lesson of Hitler's aerial Blitzkrieg on Poland, Norway, Holland, and Belgium.

We want the Pearl Harbor investigation to be constructive; we want it to enable us to rid ourselves forever of the blind Pearl Harbor mentality.

We want to be able to translate the lessons of Pearl Harbor into the new atomic age.

Part of that lesson, I believe, is this:

1. We must not share the secrets of the atomic bomb at this time any more than we would place a stick of dynamite with a lighted fuse into the hands of a child or a lunatic. The world is not yet ready to be vested with our secrets.

What would happen if one enemy atomic bomb were to explode now in Tokyo Bay with our huge fleet there, caught as in a rat-hole?

The utilization of atomic force has, of course, in one full stroke revolutionized warfare. When one bomb can destroy 100,000 human lives and the area of a city almost as large as Washington, we civilians may well ask, Have huge armies and ocean battlewagons been outmoded? Is the atomic bomb the answer to the cry for peacetime military conscription?

2. We must never again risk the kind of army-navy suspicion, disagreement, and envy which apparently has characterized our services in the past, in spite of their magnificent war record of cooperation.

In April 1942, I urged that there be created a single Cabinet department of national defense with under secretaries for the Army, Navy, and aviation.

Today, I urge that we proceed in the steps necessary to realize that goal. But one additional under secretary might be added to the department—an under secretary of research.

Under him would come all research into instruments of warfare useful in the air, on land and on sea. His combined unit would prevent the kind of bad feeling which is reported to have developed over the Army's exclusive control of the atomic bomb.

3. Under the under secretary for research there should be created a "West Point of Science" and a permanent corps of researchers. This corps would consist of young scientists and technicians in the uniform of our country who would undergo scientific training at a higher institution of learning at Government expense. They would then pursue careers as officers in our armed services assigned to military, naval and aeronautical research.

We must forevermore heed the lesson of Pearl Harbor—a lesson of vigilance, preparedness, and adequacy for every future military contingency.

CONGRATULATIONS ON TERMINATION OF WAR IN FAR EAST

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate telegrams from Abdulhalik Renda, President of the Grand Assembly of Turkey, Ankara, Turkey, and Mohammed Hussein Haykal, President of the Egyptian Senate, Cairo, Egypt, which were referred to the Committee on

Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Translation]

ANKARA, TURKEY.

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D. C.:

I have the honor to request Your Excellency to bring to the attention of the Senate the following resolution which the Grand National Assembly of Turkey agreed to unanimously in its session of August 15, 1945, on the occasion of the unconditional surrender of Japan. It is with great joy that we have learned the news of unconditional surrender of Japan, putting an end to the war which for years past has ravaged the world and cost the life of millions of human beings. We feel a profound admiration for those who have sacrificed their lives in the struggle against the aggressor and we share sincerely the great grief of their families. Our admiration is boundless for those who, to reach this result, have given brilliant proof of the power of man in different fields of action.

ABDULHALIK RENDA,

President of the Grand Assembly.

CAIRO, August 17, 1945.

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D. C.:

On the occasion of the cessation of hostilities in the Far East by the surrender of Japan and the victory of the United Nations, I convey on behalf of the Egyptian Senate and myself the expression of our heartfelt congratulations to your lordship and your esteemed assembly. The dawning of an era of peace throughout the whole world creates in me high hopes in the capacity of democracy in the United Nations in the establishment of the structure of the new-born world peace on a basis of full liberty enjoyed by all nations, smaller and bigger alike. Under the aegis of that liberty the nations of the world can cooperate freely and sincerely in the erection of a world that can afford for every human being scope to live a free dignified life purified from the evils of the world, those evils which victory has freed from the evil consequences thereof. Only then can the United Nations be said to have realized their war aims after the sacrifice of all that was dear to them and only thus can the United Nations be deserving of the most sincere congratulations for their success in the birth of a new world and a new civilization befitting human dignity.

MOHAMMED HUSSEIN HAYKAL,

President of the Egyptian Senate.

REPORTS AND COMMUNICATIONS FILED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE SENATE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair has been informed by the Secretary of the Senate that, pursuant to law, the following reports were filed with him during the adjournment of the Senate, namely:

A report on lend-lease operations for the period ended June 30, 1945, transmitted by the President of the United States;

A report of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the month of May 1945; and

A report of the Attorney General transmitting a report of certificates filed by the Chairman of the War Production Board concerning suspensions of the antitrust laws in certain instances.

Without objection, these reports will be taken from the files and referred to the appropriate committees, and the message of the President will be printed in the RECORD.

REPORT ON LEND-LEASE OPERATIONS

The letter of transmittal from the President of the United States with the accompanying report filed with the Secretary of the Senate on August 30, 1945, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I am transmitting herewith the twentieth report of operations under the Lend-Lease Act for the period ending June 30, 1945.

The costliest, and most destructive war in history has resulted in victory for the cause of decency. All peace-loving men are resolved and determined that the peace and freedom we have won at such tremendous sacrifices shall be preserved.

With the defeat of the Axis Powers, whose ruthless plan for world conquest and enslavement came so close to succeeding, the United States has realized the major objective for which lend-lease aid has been extended. That objective, like the objective of our war effort as a whole, was the speeding of victory and the saving of American and other allied lives. Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease helped to unite in a mighty and victorious fighting partnership the separate efforts of the combination of nations resisting the Axis aggressors. Each of our principal fighting partners has contributed to the pool of armed might in accordance with its full abilities and capacities.

The great task of lend-lease has now ended. The programs of lend-lease to our allies are being terminated in an expeditious and orderly manner, subject to military needs for the movement of troops or for occupation purposes.

The United States is assisting in the relief and reconstruction of the war-torn areas of our allies and in the establishment of world trade on the high level necessary to insure full and useful employment and production at home and abroad.

To win the lasting peace for which we and our allies have so bitterly and bloodily fought, we and the other United Nations are firmly resolved to establish in concert the political and economic conditions which are the foundation of freedom and welfare among the nations of the earth.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, August 30, 1945.

REPORT OF RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

A letter from the Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a confidential report of that Corporation for the month of May 1945 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT OF ATTORNEY GENERAL ON CERTIFICATES FILED WITH HIM REQUISITE TO THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR

A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, the tenth report of certain certificates filed with him by the Chairman of the War Production Board for the period April 10 to August 1, 1945, as to the doing of any act or thing, or the omission to do any act or thing, requisite to the prosecution of the war by any person or persons for which no prosecution or civil action

shall be commenced under the antitrust laws or the Federal Trade Commission Act (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

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

RESCISSIONS OF PORTIONS OF SEVERAL WAR-RELATED APPROPRIATIONS

A communication from the President of the United States transmitting proposed rescissions of portions of several war-related appropriations available for the fiscal year 1946 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

ADJUSTMENT OF DEVIATIONS IN STANDARD OF INGOTS AND WEIGHT OF SILVER COINS

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend sections 3533 and 3536 of the Revised Statutes with respect to deviations in standard of ingots and weight of silver coins (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

SETTLEMENT ON ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN CURRENCY DESTROYED AT FORT MILLS, P. I.

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the making of settlement on account of certain currency destroyed at Fort Mills, P. I., and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT OF CERTAIN PERSONS COMMISSIONED IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

A letter from the Acting Secretary of War, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report showing the name, age, legal residence, rank, branch of service, with special qualifications therefor, of each person commissioned in the Army of the United States, without prior commissioned military service, for the period June 1 to July 31, 1945 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

REPORT OF PAYMENTS OF CLAIMS FOR DAMAGE CAUSED BY VESSELS OF THE NAVY AND THE COAST GUARD

A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of claims paid by him during the fiscal year 1945, for damage caused by vessels of the Navy and the Coast Guard or for towage or salvage services (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

DISPOSITION OF PUBLIC LANDS IN STATE OF OKLAHOMA

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation relative to the disposition of public lands of the United States situated in the State of Oklahoma between the Cimarron base line and the north boundary of the State of Texas (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

SALARY OF SOLICITOR, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to fix the salary of the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations.

LAWS PASSED BY MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF ST. CROIX AND MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF ST. THOMAS AND ST. JOHN, V. I.

Two letters from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of laws passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix and the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John, V. I., respectively (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

REPORT ON HEART MOUNTAIN POWER DEVELOPMENT, WYOMING

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, his report on the Heart Mountain power development, Shoshone Federal reclamation project, in Wyoming (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY

A letter from the Comptroller of the Currency, transmitting, pursuant to law, his annual report for the year ended December 31, 1944 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT OF THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL UNDER CONTRACT SETTLEMENT ACT

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of the activities of the General Accounting Office under section 16 of the Contract Settlement Act of 1944 (Public Law 395, approved July 1, 1944) (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

REPORT OF PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

A letter from the Chairman of the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of its proceedings and financial and statistical data of the several public utilities for the year ended December 31, 1944 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORT OF NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

A letter from the President of the National Academy of Sciences, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the academy for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1944 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Library.

SMALLER WAR PLANTS CORPORATION

A letter from the Chairman of the War Production Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, the nineteenth bimonthly report of his operations under the Smaller War Plants Corporation Act, for the period June 1 to July 31, 1945, submitted to him by the Chairman of the Board of that Corporation (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

TERMINATION OF WAR TIME

A letter from the Chairman of the War Production Board relative to the termination of war time; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES DEFERRED FROM MILITARY SERVICE FOR OCCUPATIONAL REASONS

A letter from the Director of the Selective Service System, transmitting, pursuant to law, lists of registrants deferred for occupational reasons because of their employment in or under the Federal Government on April 1, 1945 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

ESTIMATES OF PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS OF A DEPARTMENT AND AGENCIES OF THE GOVERNMENT

Estimates of personnel requirements, for the quarter ending September 30, 1945, transmitted, pursuant to law, by two agencies of the Government, a revised estimate for the same quarter by an agency of the Government, and a revised estimate for the quarter ended June 30, 1945, by a department (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Civil Service.

ACTS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PHILIPPINES

A letter from the Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of acts passed by the First Congress of the Philippines, in its first special session (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, lists of papers and documents on the files of several departments and agencies of the Government which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking to their disposition (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

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

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Finance:

"Joint resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation clarifying the rights and privileges of returning veterans to their former positions of civilian employment

"Whereas it has been reported that War Mobilizer James F. Byrnes, in his report to Congress, declared he is 'convinced the section of the Selective Training and Service Act which provides reemployment rights for veterans will require some clarification'; and

"Whereas Mr. Byrnes has been 'told by representatives of management and labor that provisions of an absolute job guaranty to those veterans who do have reemployment rights may create serious industrial relations problems unless certain principles are fully agreed upon beforehand'; and

"Whereas the two major labor organizations have requested a reexamination and reinterpretation of such reemployment provisions and that there be a continuing council of representatives of management, labor, veterans' organizations, and the interested governmental agencies to develop sound employment policies and practices; and

"Whereas there are many problems and questions arising as to the specific application of such law for certain situations which are vexatious and productive of disrupting and disturbing labor forces; and

"Whereas it is respectfully requested that in view of the disastrous consequences that may be afforded to veterans by breaking faith on a guaranty of reemployment, and to industry and labor by forcing upon them an unworkable and unintelligible act, that the welfare and well-being of all parties and the general public will be substantially promoted by clarifying such law to specifically interpret the rights and privileges of all parties involved: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That this Legislature of the State of Wisconsin memorialize the Congress of the United States to enact further legislation that will clarify the rights and privileges of returning veterans to their former positions of civil employment with such degree of conciseness that the right of labor, of industry, of veterans groups, and of Government will be adequately and properly safeguarded; and be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, Fred M. Vinson, and Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, the President, and to both Houses of Congress, and to each Wisconsin Member thereof."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Immigration:

"Joint resolution memorializing Congress to enact legislation requiring prompt deportation after the war of imported war prisoners, foreign labor battalions, and refugees and barring further immigration to the United States until our returning war veterans are afforded an opportunity for gainful employment and the number of our unemployed is reduced to a minimum.

"Whereas our returning war veterans and other American citizens should at all times be afforded the opportunity for gainful employment; and

"Whereas if foreign labor battalions, refugees, and imported war prisoners are not promptly returned to the lands of their origin and immigration to this country is not abated after the war, opportunity for gainful employment of our citizenry will be seriously jeopardized: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That this legislature memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact legislation which in substance shall provide:

"1. That any foreign-born resident who avoids the obligation of military service or who fails to declare his intention to become a citizen of the United States within 3 years from the date of his entry into this country shall be automatically subject to deportation;

"2. That immigrants shall be barred from this country from and after the date of cessation of hostilities of the present war until such time as (a) the number of unemployed in the United States is reduced to less than 1,000,000; (b) all war veterans have been afforded the opportunity of gainful employment; (c) members of imported foreign labor battalions, refugees, war prisoners, and those given temporary sanctuary, employment or haven during the present war, are returned to the lands of their origin; and be it further

Resolved, That it is the sense of this legislature that such legislation should not apply to the foreign-born spouse or children of any person who served in the armed forces of the United States while at war or performed services for or on behalf of the United States in connection with the prosecution of the war; and be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to both Houses of Congress and to each Wisconsin Member thereof."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

"Joint resolution memorializing Congress to abolish the party convention system of nominating and the electoral college method of electing the President and Vice President of the United States and to enact law providing for nomination and election of the President and Vice President by popular vote.

"Whereas our present party convention system of nominating and electoral college method of electing the President and Vice President of the United States was intended by the framers of the Constitution to provide a means of selection by deliberative bodies of able representatives of the people, which in fact has never been the case since 1800; and

"Whereas the electoral college is unfair and unjust as a method of election in that smaller States are overrepresented; large doubtful States are given undue importance; public interest in Presidential campaigns in

many States is discouraged; and the popular will is thereby frequently thwarted; and

"Whereas in 1824 Jackson had a popular plurality of 50 percent over his nearest opponent yet was defeated when the election was decided by the House of Representatives; in 1876 Hayes was declared elected although Tilden had a popular plurality of over 250,000 and an actual majority of over 78,000 votes; in 1888 Harrison was elected although Cleveland had a plurality of almost 100,000; and in about half of the elections in the past 50 years a minority of the popular votes have elected the President and Vice President; and the minority vote in each State is entirely disregarded and cast away; and

"Whereas nomination and election of the President and Vice President by direct popular vote is in accord with modern ideas of popular government, will remove the useless incumbrance between voters and the election, will make a substantial saving in the cost of elections, will make such nominations and elections truly representative and fair and will lead to the election of more able Presidents and Vice Presidents and render them more responsible to the people; and

"Whereas there is now pending before the Congress two proposed amendments to the Constitution, the Langer proposal to elect the President by direct numerical vote, and the Celler-Guffey proposal to divide the electoral vote in each State in proportion to the popular vote cast for each candidate: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That this legislature respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to take necessary steps to abolish the convention system of nominating the President and to adopt either the proposed Langer amendment or the proposed Celler-Guffey amendment to the Constitution; and be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be transmitted to each House of Congress and to each Wisconsin Member thereof."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Naval Affairs:

"Joint resolution memorializing the Congress and the Navy to investigate the advantages of wintering naval craft at Marinette, Sturgeon Bay, and other Wisconsin ports on Lake Michigan

"Whereas after the war the United States Navy intends to winter a large number of naval craft of the PT, SC, PC, and other small types at ports on Lake Michigan; and

"Whereas it is understood that Lake Michigan ports south of the Wisconsin State line are being given consideration for this purpose; and

"Whereas the cities of Marinette and Sturgeon Bay offer completely sheltered harbors with year-round open channels, drydocks, dock storage facilities, repair equipment, and adequate low-cost housing facilities for naval personnel; and

"Whereas Wisconsin lake ports have already demonstrated their year-round usefulness by the fact that winter deliveries have been made by them every year since the war shipbuilding program was inaugurated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That this legislature hereby memorializes the Congress and the Navy Department to investigate the advantages offered by Marinette, Sturgeon Bay, and other Wisconsin ports on Lake Michigan for the wintering of small naval craft; be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be forwarded to the clerk of each house of the Congress, to each Wisconsin member thereof, and to the Secretary of the Navy."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads:

"Joint resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to direct the proper Federal agency to prescribe and recommend uniform traffic signals and other safety devices on the highways

"Whereas there is a lack of uniformity in the laws of the various States pertaining to rural and urban highway marking, traffic signals, and codes, highway engineering with reference to the facilitation of traffic and promotion of safety, and the establishment of uniform markings, signals, and appliances; and

"Whereas such lack of uniformity and uncertainty of regulation and application has been productive of hazards to all the users of the highways; and

"Whereas this lack of uniformity of traffic signals, markings, and other safety codes and regulations of the States is restrictive of free movement and productive of hazards to the safety of the traveling public; and

"Whereas there is a universal need and demand that such difficulties be eliminated by the establishment of uniform traffic markings, signals, safety devices, and codes for all highways to be prescribed and recommended by the Congress of the United States to direct the proper Federal agency thereof: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That this legislature respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to direct the proper Federal agency thereof, to prescribe and recommend uniform traffic signals, markings, codes, and safety devices for the highways of the United States; be it further

"Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, both houses of Congress and to each Wisconsin Member thereof."

Two joint resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on Military Affairs:

"Joint resolution requesting Harold L. Ickes, Solid Fuels Administrator for War, to relax the restriction on the sale of solid fuel imposed by SFAW Regulation 26

"Whereas on March 14, 1945, Solid Fuels Administrator for War, Harold L. Ickes, issued a directive April 1, 1945, providing among other things that consumers be allotted only 80 percent of their normal annual yearly requirements of scarcer solid fuel from April 1, 1945, to March 31, 1946; that the retail dealer cannot deliver to a consumer more than 50 percent of his annual yearly normal requirements of solid fuel before August 31, 1945; that solid fuel dealers shall be required by the regulation to verify consumers' normal annual requirements of solid fuel; and that retail solid fuel dealers are frozen to old contracts which they previously served and are not permitted to accept any new business with schools, municipal buildings, Government agencies, and farmers; and

"Whereas 80 percent of the consumers' normal annual requirements is not sufficient solid fuel to properly insure sufficient heat and to assure healthful conditions during the long winter months encountered in Wisconsin, particularly in view of the fact that firewood is not available in sufficient quantities which can be used for heating purposes due to the fact that pulpwood is selling at such a price; that labor is exceedingly scarce so that the usual supply of firewood cannot be cut and as a result more farmers are demanding coal for fuel; and

"Whereas because of the severity of the weather conditions in the State of Wisconsin causing bad road conditions due to snow, storm, and blockade, which prohibit winter-time delivering and because of the necessity

of providing fuel to the farms, rural schools, industry, and homes, a sufficient stock must be on hand to provide enough fuel to supply this area and therefore the restriction that the retail dealer cannot deliver to a consumer more than 50 percent of his annual yearly normal requirements of solid fuel before August 31, 1945, is not only impractical but is bound to cause severe hardship; and

"Whereas the provision contained in SFAW Regulation 26 prohibits dealers from contracting to supply new patrons during the heating season from April 1, 1945, to March 31, 1946, is unconstitutional and by the provisions of the regulation creates an abnormal distribution of solid fuels in the State of Wisconsin and places certain consumers in a position where they may not be able to obtain solid fuels without great inconvenience and unnecessary delay, and whereas the provisions contained in the regulation have been given serious study and consideration. It appears to those who are acquainted with the weather conditions in Wisconsin, the manpower shortage, the lack of equipment and other burdensome wartime delivery restrictions will make the regulation impossible of performance without creating great hardship and suffering on the part of the people. Compliance with SFAW Regulation 26 will create a shortage which will result in severe hardship on the consuming public and retail coal dealers, creating a backlog of solid fuels orders during the winter months: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That this legislature respectfully memorializes Harold L. Ickes, Solid Fuels Administrator for War, to relax the provisions of SFAW Regulation 26 so as to permit greater amounts of coal to flow into rural areas of Wisconsin, to eliminate the provision pertaining to limiting the fuel supply allocated to the coal-consuming public to 80 percent, and to eliminate the restriction providing that only 50 percent of the consumer normal annual requirements can be delivered before August 31, 1945; and be it further

"Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President, to the Honorable Harold L. Ickes, to the clerk of each house of the Congress and to each Wisconsin Member thereof."

"Joint resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to investigate the feasibility of converting the ordnance plant at Milwaukee into a veterans' hospital

"Whereas there will be a great need for veterans' hospitals after World War II; and

"Whereas the Federal Government owns an ordnance plant in the city of Milwaukee, being used during the war by the Signal Battery Co., which will be vacant and unused soon after the cessation of hostilities; and

"Whereas said plant together with its spacious grounds is ideally suited and well located for use as a veterans' hospital: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That the Legislature of Wisconsin memorialize the Congress of the United States, and especially the Wisconsin Members thereof, to investigate the feasibility of transferring said ordnance plant to the State of Wisconsin to be converted into a hospital for veterans of World War II under the supervision of the veterans' recognition board; be it further

"Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be transmitted to the clerk of each House of Congress and to each Wisconsin Member thereof."

A telegram, in the nature of a petition, from J. Norman Irving, chairman, Riverside County Farm Production Committee; James I. Easley, chairman, Coachella Valley Farm Bureau; J. E. Farrar, director, Hemet Valley Growers Association; and E. H. Knapp, president, Riverside Arlington Heights Fruit Ex-

change, Riverside, Calif., praying for a gradual tapering off of the Mexican national program relating to farm workers during the next 2 years; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The petition of Thomas P. Leonard, of Balboa, Panama, C. Z., praying for the enactment of the bill (S. 380) to establish a national policy and program for assuring continuing full employment in a free competitive economy, through the concerted efforts of industry, agriculture, labor, State and local governments, and the Federal Government; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A letter from Julian Harold Wilson, of Honolulu, T. H., relating to his application to practice before the Treasury Department (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A resolution adopted by the Common Council of the city of Hammond, Ind., urging the President and the Congress to adopt and put into operation a definite statement of a national wage policy in the reconversion period designed to maintain and increase workers' purchasing power, a program for setting prices on goods, a schedule for public works, a plan for orderly resumption of civilian production, and praying for the enactment of the so-called Murray-Wagner full-employment bill; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A letter from P. F. English, secretary, the Wild Life Society, State College, Pa., and a resolution adopted by the council of the Wild Life Society, urging the Civil Service Commission and Congress to so clarify section 5, of Public Law No. 359, Seventy-eighth Congress, of the Veterans Preference Act, to permit the retention of adequate minimum educational requirements to protect the rights of returning trained veterans and to insure adequate standards in American professional endeavors; to the Committee on Civil Service.

The petition of Nella Dutcher, of New York, N. Y., praying that all salaries be raised to not less than \$50 a week; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A resolution adopted by the City Council of Oakland, Calif., favoring the enactment of legislation to continue child care centers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A petition of sundry members of the armed forces of the various States on Tinian Island, praying for an investigation of the recent Army policy relating to discharge of officer personnel; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A resolution adopted by the Board of Water Commissioners of Denver, Colo., protesting against the enactment of House bill 555, relating to the water resources of the State of Colorado and particularly the South Platte River; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

A resolution adopted by Branch 11 of the Workmen's Benefit Fund of America, Dorchester, Mass., protesting against the enactment of legislation providing for compulsory peacetime military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The petitions of J. A. Spencer, of Seattle, Wash., and Dorothy G. Durkee, of Stroudsburg, Pa., praying for the prompt discharge and sending home of certain members of the armed forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The petition of Mrs. Louis Douber, Jr., praying for the prompt discharge from the Navy of pre-Pearl Harbor fathers; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

The petition of Douglas O. Paterson, a citizen of the United States, relating to England's monetary system; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A petition of sundry citizens of the United States, praying that Congress reconvene for the purpose of enacting legislation to provide full employment, prosperity, and world peace; ordered to lie on the table.

A resolution adopted by the Supreme Council, Order Sons of Italy in America, Boston, Mass., favoring the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A resolution adopted by the Supreme Council, Order Sons of Italy in America, Boston, Mass., endorsing the President's policies for world peace and economic reconstruction and rehabilitation of war-torn countries; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A resolution adopted by the Supreme Council, Order Sons of Italy in America, Boston, Mass., petitioning the President of the United States to use his good offices so that the terms of the Atlantic Charter are applied for the benefit of the people of Italy in all questions of territorial integrity; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A resolution of the Supreme Council, Order Sons of Italy in America, Boston, Mass., petitioning the President of the United States to use his good offices to terminate the state of war declared to exist between Italy and the United States so that Italy may become a signatory to the United Nations Charter; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A resolution adopted by the Supreme Council, Order Sons of Italy in America, Boston, Mass., favoring the enactment of the bill (H. R. 511) to amend the Nationality Act of 1940; to the Committee on Immigration.

A telegram from Senator Kamokila Campbell, Hawaii, T. H., praying for the postponement of Statehood for Hawaii; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

The memorial of James J. Chapman, Washington, D. C., remonstrating against the seating of WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND as a Senator from the State of California; to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A petition of sundry citizens of Baltimore, Md., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages in periodicals, newspapers, radio, motion pictures, or any other form of advertising; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. McCLELLAN:

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas; to the Committee on Commerce.

"Senate Concurrent Resolution 12

"Whereas, authorization for the construction of a dam across the Narrows of Little Missouri River in Pike County, Ark., has been made by the Congress of the United States; and

"Whereas, the construction of such dam is the culmination of the dreams and diligent

AUGUST 1, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

efforts of M. W. Greeson, Prescott, Ark., and Garrett Whiteside, Nashville, Ark., who worked incessantly for such authorization for many years; and

"Whereas, House Resolution No. 1821 has been introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, which provides that the said dam be named 'Whiteside Dam' and the lake which will be formed as a result of the construction of said dam be named 'Lake Greeson,' thereby honoring the two men who so diligently worked for the construction of this dam: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas (the House concurring herein), That it is the wish of the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas and of the people of the State that said Resolution No. 1821 by CRAVENS, of Arkansas, be given favorable consideration, and we hereby petition the passage of said resolution by the Congress of the United States and its approval by the President, identifying the dam and lake as above set out: Be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the Honorable WILL M. WHITTINGTON, chairman of the Committee on Flood Control, in the United States House of Representatives, a copy be given to the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and a copy be given to Hon. Garrett Whiteside, also Hon. M. W. Greeson."

**FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT—
LETTER FROM BROTHERHOOD OF
RAILROAD TRAINMEN**

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference and ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter I have received from W. E. Childress, State legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, of Fort Scott, Kans., setting forth opposition to S. 1171, the so-called Federal Industrial Relations Act.

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

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD
TRAINMEN, STATE OF KANSAS,
Fort Scott, Kans., August 1, 1945.

ARTHUR CAPPER,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In behalf of our 4,000 members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and their wives, all of the State of Kansas, we

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

name of a person employed by the committee who is not a full-time employee of the Senate or of the committee for the month of July 1945, in compliance with the terms of

most respectfully register our opposition to the Federal Industrial Relations Act, S. 1171.

You perhaps already know that the railroad brotherhoods at this time or at any future period contemplate no action whatever of strife or turmoil. However, it is true that because of the unfairness and the misunderstanding contained in the legislation we are convinced that without doubt it is a labor-shackling measure that will sooner or later wipe away many of the hard-won gains of the past 50 years.

First, we believe it deprives us of our strongest economic weapon, the right to strike, which surely must never be taken away from free labor. Second, unquestionably it limits the area of collective bargaining; this, too, we most sacredly hold as one of our American rights. Third, it will cause endless confusion because of the overlapping jurisdiction of Federal and State authorities. And last, but not least, we believe it would again call for the historic antilabor tactics of "government by injunction." We firmly believe that as good American citizens and workers of this country that this legislation will only increase to serve as a matter of confusion, leading to a chaos of uncertainty in the field of labor relations. Clearly, to us it is absolutely against all democratic government as we have learned to know and understand. We sincerely hope that you as representatives of the people will find it possible to understand with us our serious opposition to bill S. 1171.

We sincerely hope that you will see fit to oppose this legislation, and would you be so kind as to advise me of your attitude so that I may respectfully carry your answer to the railroad labor of Kansas, whom I have the honor to represent. Will you please let us hear from you on this.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. CHILDRRESS,
State Legislative Representative.

**PERSONS EMPLOYED BY COMMITTEES
WHO ARE NOT FULL-TIME SENATE OR
COMMITTEE EMPLOYEES**

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate reports for the months of July and August 1945 from the acting chairman and chairmen of certain committees, in response to Senate Resolution 318, Seventy-eighth Congress, relative to persons employed by committees who are not full-time employees of the Senate or any committee thereof, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Helen Gauntlett ¹	1634 I St. N.W., Washington, D. C.	Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.	\$4,300

¹ On loan to the committee since July 17, 1945.

JAMES E. MURRAY, Chairman.

AUGUST 1, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

name of a person employed by the committee who is not a full-time employee of the Senate or of the committee for the month of July 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Mrs. Alma B. Kidwell	113 Park Blvd. SE	Federal Communications Commission	\$1,800

B. K. WHEELER, Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS

AUGUST 2, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

name of a person employed by the committee who is not a full-time employee of the Senate or of the committee for the month of July 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Louis J. Meyerle	612 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md.	Veterans' Administration	\$5,600

JAMES M. TUNNELL,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

JULY 31, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

names of persons employed by the committee who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the committee for the month of July 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Capt. James A. Saunders, USN (retired).	4105 Oliver St., Chevy Chase, Md.	Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.	\$6,000
Yeoman Second Class Erbert S. Atkinson (AA) USNR.	2405 Fennington Rd., Trenton, N. J.	do.	1,588

DAVID I. WALSH, Chairman.

SENATE NAVY LIAISON OFFICE

JULY 31, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned office hereby submits the following report showing the

names of persons employed by the office who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the office for the month of July 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Lt. Frederick A. McLaughlin, USNR.	317 Lynn Dr., Chevy Chase, Md.	Bureau of Naval Personnel, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.	\$2,400
Lt. Joseph G. Feeney, USNR.	2745 29th St., Washington, D. C.	do.	2,400
Yeoman Second Class Eleanor W. St. Clair, USNR.	2134 R St. NW., Washington, D. C.	do.	1,152
Yeoman Second Class Loretto F. Jochman, USNR.	do.	do.	1,152

The above employees are representatives of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Navy Department, to assist Senators on naval personnel matters.

DAVID I. WALSH.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY AND SURVEY PROBLEMS OF SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

AUGUST 1, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

names of persons employed by the committee who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the committee for the month of July 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Alice M. Allen	2000 16th St. NW., Washington, D. C.	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.	\$2,320
Agnes E. Crivella	1408 Buchanan St. NW., Washington, D. C.	do.	3,080
Emerald G. Devitt	2425 27th St., South Arlington, Va.	do.	2,430
Parley P. Eccles	4408 First Pl. NW., Washington, D. C.	Foreign Economics Administration, Washington, D. C.	7,175
Herman Edelsberg	2141 Suitland Terrace SE., Washington, D. C.	do.	7,175
Harry J. Evans	3010 Gainesville St. SE., Washington, D. C.	Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington, D. C.	7,175
F. Preston Forbes	502 Four Mile Rd., Alexandria, Va.	Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.	5,180
Carol M. Fuller	2101 S St. NW., Washington, D. C.	Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C.	2,430
Scott K. Gray, Jr.	119 Joliet St. SW., Washington, D. C.	Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington, D. C.	5,180
Stella J. Groeper	1127 Branch Ave. SE., Washington, D. C.	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.	2,980
Elizabeth P. Lucas	1730 North Quincy St., Arlington, Va.	do.	2,166
John W. Nelson	The Delano Apartments, Washington, D. C.	do.	6,230
Vernice M. O'Mullane	Alcott Hall, Washington, D. C.	do.	1,968
Martha G. Ray	5909 32d St. NW., Washington, D. C.	do.	2,430
Lt. George H. Soule	4020 Beecher St. NW., Washington, D. C.	Navy Department, Washington, D. C.	2,400
L. Evelyn Spicer	1708 Kilbourne Pl. NW., Washington, D. C.	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.	2,980
Frederick W. Steckman	4000 Cathedral Ave. NW., Washington, D. C.	Maritime Commission, Washington, D. C.	5,600
Margie L. Strubel	4632 12th St. NE., Washington, D. C.	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.	2,320
Allen G. Thurman	210 East Shepherd St., Chevy Chase, Md.	Maritime Commission, Washington, D. C.	6,500
Alfred J. Van Tassel	1622 Mount Eagle Pl., Alexandria, Va.	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.	7,175

JAMES E. MURRAY, Chairman.

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

SEPTEMBER 4, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

names of persons employed by the committee who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the committee for the month of August 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Harold E. Merrick.....	906 Aspen St. NW.....	General Accounting Office, Washington, D. C.....	\$6,230
Mrs. Mamie L. Mizen.....	1434 Saratoga Ave.....	District of Columbia government.....	3,970

KENNETH MCKELLAR, *Acting Chairman.*

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE

SEPTEMBER 4, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

name of a person employed by the committee who is not a full-time employee of the Senate or of the committee for the month of August 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Mrs. Alma B. Kidwell.....	113 Park Blvd. SE.....	Federal Communications Commission.....	\$1,800

B. K. WHEELER, *Chairman.*

COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS

AUGUST 31, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

name of a person employed by the committee who is not a full-time employee of the Senate or of the committee for the month of August 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Louis J. Meyerle.....	612 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md.....	Veterans' Administration.....	\$5,600

JAMES M. TUNNELL, *Chairman.*

SUBCOMMITTEE ON WARTIME HEALTH AND EDUCATION

SEPTEMBER 1, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

names of persons employed by the committee who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the committee for the month of August 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Lauretta April.....	2714 Quarry Rd. NW., Washington, D. C.....	War Production Board, 3d and Independence Ave., SW.....	\$4,300
Groff Conklin.....	514 2d St. NW., Washington, D. C.....	do.....	6,230
Phillip C. Curtis.....	4303 Russell Ave., Mount Ranier, Md.....	Navy Department, 18th and Constitution Ave. NW.....	4,600
Richard P. Daniels.....	1743 Columbia Rd. NW., Washington, D. C.....	Federal Public Housing Authority, 1201 Connecticut Ave. NW.....	1,704
Manson Dillon.....	3659 Minnesota Ave. SE., Washington, D. C.....	Navy Department, 18th and Constitution Ave. NW.....	3,200
Rose Gerber.....	2513 14th St. NE., Washington, D. C.....	do.....	2,000
Joseph McMurray.....	129 C St. NE., Washington, D. C.....	Department of Labor, 14th and Constitution Ave. NW.....	5,180
Carl Malmberg.....	1813 F St. NW., Washington, D. C.....	Federal Security Agency, 1825 H St. NW.....	7,175
Love Morgenstein.....	1607 18th St. SE., Washington, D. C.....	Veterans' Administration, Vermont Ave. and I St. NW.....	2,320
Dolores B. Raschella.....	3022 Rodman St. NW., Washington, D. C.....	do.....	2,980
Lt. Leslie Falk, M. C., AUS.....	3028 Wisconsin Ave. NW., Washington, D. C.....	Federal Public Housing Authority, 1201 Connecticut Ave. NW.....	2,320
Lt. Comdr. John B. Truslow, M. C., USNR.....	2804 Terrace Rd. SE., Washington, D. C.....	U. S. Army, Pentagon Building.....	2,000
	2007 Peabody St., West Hyattsville, Md.....	U. S. Navy, 18th and Constitution Ave. NW.....	3,000

CLAUDE PEPPER, *Chairman.*

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY AND SURVEY PROBLEMS OF SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

SEPTEMBER 1, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

names of persons employed by the committee who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the committee for the month of August 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Alice M. Allen.....	2000 16th St. NW., Washington, D. C.....	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.....	\$2,320
Emerald G. Devitt.....	2425 27th St. South, Arlington, Va.....	do.....	2,430
Parley F. Eccles.....	4408 1st Pl. NE., Washington, D. C.....	Foreign Economics Administration, Washington, D. C.....	7,175
Herman Edelsberg.....	2141 Sutherland Terrace SE., Washington, D. C.....	do.....	7,175
Harry J. Evans.....	3910 Gainesville St. SE., Washington, D. C.....	Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington, D. C.....	7,175
F. Preston Forbes.....	502 Four Mile Road, Alexandria, Va.....	Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.....	5,180
Scott K. Gray, Jr.....	119 Joliet St. SW., Washington, D. C.....	Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington, D. C.....	5,180
Stella J. Groeper.....	1127 Branch Ave. SE., Washington, D. C.....	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.....	2,980
John W. Nelson.....	The Delano Apartments, Washington, D. C.....	do.....	6,230
Martha G. Ray.....	5909 32d St. NW., Washington, D. C.....	do.....	2,430
Lt. George H. Soule.....	4020 Beecher St. NW., Washington, D. C.....	Navy Department, Washington, D. C.....	2,400
L. Evelyn Spicer.....	1708 Kilbourne Pl. NW., Washington, D. C.....	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.....	2,980
Frederick W. Steckman.....	4000 Cathedral Ave. NW., Washington, D. C.....	Maritime Commission, Washington, D. C.....	5,600
Margie L. Strubel.....	4632 12th St. NE., Washington, D. C.....	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.....	2,320
Allen G. Thurman.....	9729 Pexhill Dr., Rock Creek Hills, Md.....	Maritime Commission, Washington, D. C.....	6,500
Alfred J. Van Tassel.....	1622 Mount Eagle Pl., Alexandria, Va.....	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.....	7,175

JAMES E. MURRAY, *Chairman.*

SENATE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON WAR MOBILIZATION

AUGUST 31, 1945.

names of persons employed by the committee who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the committee for the months of July and August 1945, in compliance with the

terms of Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Ann S. Gertler	3721 30th St. N.W., Washington, D. C.	Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.	\$2,980.00
Hope C. Heslep	2 East Maple St., Alexandria, Va.	War Manpower Commission, Washington, D. C.	2,320.00
Joan P. Karasik	1919 19th St. N.W., Washington, D. C.	Foreign Economic Administration, Washington, D. C.	4,300.00
C. Theodore Larson	3917 North 5th St., Arlington, Va.	National Housing Agency, Washington, D. C.	6,230.00
Fritzie P. Manuel	1621 T St. N.W., Washington, D. C.	War Manpower Commission, Washington, D. C.	5,180.00
Darel McConkey	509 Fontaine St., Alexandria, Va.	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.	2,320.00
Cora L. Moen	5327 16th St. N.W., Washington, D. C.	Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C.	3,090.00
Elizabeth H. Oleksy	1620 Fuller St. N.W., Washington, D. C.	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.	2,100.00
Mary Jane Olivefo	500 B St. N.E., Washington, D. C.	National Housing Agency, Washington, D. C.	5,180.00
Francis C. Rosenberger	5814 64th Ave., East Riverdale, Md.	Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C.	9,012.50
Herbert Schimmel	3604 Minnesota Ave. S.E., Washington, D. C.	War Production Board, Washington, D. C.	3,640.00
Marjorie J. Tillis	211 Delaware Ave. S.W., Washington, D. C.	Foreign Economic Administration, Washington, D. C.	

H. M. KILGORE, Chairman.

AUGUST 31, 1945.

names of persons employed by the committee who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the committee for the month of August 1945, in compliance with the terms

of Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Capt. James A. Saunders, USN (retired)	4105 Oliver St., Chevy Chase, Md.	Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.	\$6,000
Chief Yeoman Herbert S. Atkinson (AA) USNR.	2405 Pennington Rd., Trenton, N. J.	do.	1,588

DAVID I. WALSH, Chairman.

AUGUST 31, 1945.

names of persons employed by the office who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the office for the month of August 1945, in compliance with the terms of

Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned office hereby submits the following report showing the

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Lt. Frederick A. McLaughlin, USNR.	317 Lynn Dr., Chevy Chase, Md.	Bureau of Naval Personnel, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.	\$2,400
Lt. Joseph G. Feeney, USNR.	2745 29th St. N.W., Washington, D. C.	do.	2,400
Yeoman Second Class Eleanor W. St. Clair, USNR.	2134 R St. N.W., Washington, D. C.	do.	1,152
Yeoman Second Class Loretto F. Jochman, USNR.	do.	do.	1,152

The above employees are representatives of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Navy Department, to assist Senators on naval personnel matters.

DAVID I. WALSH.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

SEPTEMBER 5, 1945.

names of persons employed by the committee who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the committee for the month of August 1945, in compliance with the terms

of Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Helen Gauntlett	1634 I St., N.W., Washington, D. C.	Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.	\$4,300
Virginia Kreamer ¹	3918 10th St. N.E., Washington, D. C.	do.	2,760

¹ On loan to committee since Aug. 6, 1945.

JAMES E. MURRAY, Chairman.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS,
July 31, 1945.

HON. KENNETH MCKELLAR,
President, United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Pursuant to Senate

Resolution 319, I am transmitting herewith a list of employees of the Surplus Property Subcommittee (S. Res. 129) of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs who are not full-time employees of the Senate. Included with this list is the name and address of each such employee, the name and address of the

Department paying the salary of such employee, and the annual rate of compensation for each such employee.

Respectfully yours,
JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,
Chairman, Surplus Property Subcommittee.

SURPLUS PROPERTY SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

JULY 31, 1945.

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Kurt Borchardt	6007 34th Pl. N.W., Washington, D. C.	Smaller War Plants Corporation, Washington, D. C.	\$6,230
Mabel Graham	1474 Columbia Rd. N.W., Washington, D. C.	do.	2,320
Bertram M. Gross	613 South Quincy St., Arlington, Va.	Navy Department, Washington, D. C.	8,750
Hilda Hamilton	705 18th St. N.W., Washington, D. C.	Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington, D. C.	2,640
Doris Phippen	40 Plattsburgh Court N.W., Washington, D. C.	Navy Department, Washington, D. C.	2,650

REDUCTION OF NONESSENTIAL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES—CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, with the cessation of hostilities in Japan, employment in the Federal Government should be cut approximately to the pre-war total of less than a million employees. According to Bureau of the Budget reports more than 1,500,000 employees of the Government have been engaged in war work. The liquidation of the war agencies plus the elimination of unnecessary activities should cut Federal personnel from the present 3,000,000 mark to a postwar 1,000,000 with a consequent saving in pay roll alone of upward to \$5,000,000,000 annually. This calls for an immediate elimination of all unnecessary jobs, with the war workers themselves being given every aid possible in placing them in positions outside the Government once war veterans are provided for.

Despite the fact that the war in Europe had ended 2 months previous and that we were no longer fighting two wars, Government employment during the month of July 1945 was still increasing at a rate of 11,598 employees per month. Eight war agencies showed increases in personnel and 23 other departments and agencies showed similar increases. Nineteen of these departments and agencies which showed increases were establishments essentially engaged in peacetime functions of government. The largest of these increases occurred in Agriculture, which lists 7,051 seasonal employees not previously reported; Interior, 503 new employees; Labor, 211; Post Office, 5,400; State, 436; Treasury, 639; Federal Security, 294; Federal Works, 150; General Accounting Office, 200; Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 546. Departments and agencies must be made to realize that the war workers are to be encouraged to find jobs in private enterprise, and not to be absorbed in continuing Government agencies. Many of them evidently have thus far failed to realize this.

Of the 63 departments and agencies reporting to the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures in July, only 28 have succeeded in reducing personnel by 13,711 while 31 have increased personnel by 25,309. This increase added to the 126,130 additional employees reported in the previous month shows that the alarming upward trend is still continuing.

I emphasized in my statement of July 26, 1945, the necessity of a reduction in civilian employment in the Federal Government. This present report indicates that many departments and agencies instead of reducing pay rolls have shown that they have no intention whatsoever of eliminating personnel in order to rid the taxpayers on nonessential Federal expenditures.

The President has shown praiseworthy speed in liquidating the Office of War Information, the Office of Censorship, and the Office of Civilian Defense already. The President together with the Congress should bend every effort toward immediate elimination of all other war and nonessential activities so that the Nation can return to normal peace-

time economy. It will be a welcome indication to the American taxpayer that his hard-earned money is being spent by an economy-minded Congress on debt-reduction and the essentialities of government.

I ask unanimous consent that the report I now present may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report presented by Mr. BYRD was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REDUCTION IN NONESSENTIAL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

Civilian employment in the executive branch of the Federal Government by departments and agencies for the months of June and July 1945, showing increases and decreases in number of employees

Departments or agencies	Jun.	July	Increase	Decrease
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT				
Bureau of the Budget	578	591	13	
DEPARTMENTS				
Agriculture Department	84,573	91,624	7,051	
Commerce Department	35,735	35,243		492
Interior Department	44,354	44,857	503	
Justice Department	27,178	27,129		49
Labor Department	6,593	6,804	211	
Navy Department	752,886	758,119	5,233	
Post Office Department	378,849	384,249	5,400	
State Department	10,944	11,380	436	
Treasury Department	96,493	97,132	639	
War Department	1,147,400	1,138,450		8,950
NATIONAL WAR AGENCIES				
Committee on Fair Employment Practice	133	124		9
Foreign Economic Administration	6,410	6,512	102	
National War Labor Board	3,871	3,711		160
Office of Alien Property Custodian	751	753	2	
Office of Censorship	6,433	5,807		626
Office of Contract Settlement	72	76	4	
Office of Defense Transportation	3,351	3,191		160
Office of Economic Stabilization	19	19		
Office of Inter-American Affairs	1,262	1,292	30	
Office of Price Administration	64,722	64,818	96	
Office of Scientific Research and Development	1,344	1,362	18	
Office of Strategic Services	2,536	2,350		186
Office of War Information	9,951	9,127		824
Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion	255	294	39	
Petroleum Administration for War	992	986		6
Selective Service System	18,802	18,598		204
Smaller War Plants Corporation	1,892	1,843		49
War Manpower Commission	28,465	28,234		231
War Production Board	12,363	12,002		361
War Shipping Administration	5,403	5,554	151	
INDEPENDENT AGENCIES				
American Battle Monuments Commission	1	1		
Civil Aeronautics Board	344	343		1
Civil Service Commission	7,411	7,014		397
Employees' Compensation Commission	502	515	13	
Export-Import Bank of Washington	60	62	2	

¹ Increases due to students substituting for the summer as clerks and carriers.
² Does not include 539,222 employees stationed outside continental United States.

Civilian employment in the executive branch of the Federal Government—Continued

Departments or agencies	June	July	Increase	Decrease
INDEPENDENT AGENCIES—continued				
Federal Communications Commission	1,520	1,494		26
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	1,378	1,222		156
Federal Power Commission	636	651	15	
Federal Security Agency	33,124	33,418	294	
Federal Trade Commission	436	453	17	
Federal Works Agency	20,309	20,459	150	
General Accounting Office	13,836	14,036	200	
Government Printing Office	6,922	6,957	35	
Interstate Commerce Commission	2,015	2,030	15	
Maritime Commission	10,770	10,494		276
National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	6,740	6,706		34
National Archives	337	348	11	
National Capital Housing Authority	221	221		
National Capital Park and Planning	16	17	1	
National Gallery of Art	264	270	6	
National Housing Agency	15,593	15,418		175
National Labor Relations Board	843	807		36
National Mediation Board	106	98		8
Panama Canal	30,595	31,391	796	
Railroad Retirement Board	1,809	1,784		25
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	12,645	13,191	546	
Securities and Exchange Commission	1,151	1,151		
Smithsonian Institution	411	406		5
Tariff Commission	298	296		2
Tax Court	121	118		3
Tennessee Valley Authority	12,069	12,349	280	
Veterans' Administration	66,471	69,751	3,280	
Total	3,004,104	3,015,762	25,309	13,711
Net increase			11,598	
War Department	539,222	539,222		
Grand total	3,543,326	3,554,924		

³ Includes employees stationed outside continental United States as reported by various departments and agencies excepting the War Department totals; June, 119,815; and July, 120,075.

⁴ Employees stationed outside continental United States reported quarterly as of Mar. 31, 1945.

NOTE.—Employment figures now reported to the committee include dollar-per-annum employees, and without-compensation employees of the consultant-expert type who are authorized to receive per diem in lieu of subsistence.

BILLS INTRODUCED

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

(Mr. McCARRAN introduced Senate bills 1351 and 1352, which were referred to the Committee on Civil Service, and appear under separate headings.)

By Mr. THOMAS of Utah:

S. 1353. A bill to provide for administration of the Surplus Property Act of 1944 by a Surplus Property Administrator;

S. 1354. A bill to authorize the permanent appointment in the grades of General of the Army and Fleet Admiral of the United States Navy, respectively, of certain individuals who have served in such grades during the Second World War; and

S. 1355. A bill to provide for the speedy return of veterans to civilian life, for the immediate military needs of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HILL:

S. 1356. A bill to continue veteran benefits previously granted by acts of the Congress to

temporary members of the Army of the United States, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, including men inducted under the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAYBANK:

S. 1357. A bill to increase the pay of certain personnel of the military and naval forces while on sea duty or duty beyond the continental limits of the United States or in Alaska; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BYRD:

S. 1358. A bill to provide for returning to the use of standard time; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. McMAHON:

S. 1359. A bill to conserve and restrict the use of atomic energy for the national defense, to prohibit its private exploitation, and to preserve the secret and confidential character of information concerning the use and application of atomic energy; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 1360. A bill to compensate Benali El Oukili Boucheta, an inhabitant of French Morocco, for the wrongful death of his son, Mohammed Ben Boucheta Ben Ali El Oukili, near Marnia, Algeria, on September 30, 1944;

S. 1361. A bill to compensate Clement Euziere, an inhabitant of French Morocco, for personal injuries caused by a naval vehicle near Oran, Algeria, on September 21, 1943;

S. 1362. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to transfer land for resettlement in Guam, and for other purposes;

S. 1363. A bill to reimburse certain Navy and Marine Corps personnel and former Navy and Marine Corps personnel for personal property lost or destroyed as the result of water damage occurring at certain naval and Marine Corps shore activities; and

S. 1364. A bill to provide for the compromise and settlement by the Secretary of the Navy of certain claims for damage to property under the jurisdiction of the Navy Department, to provide for the execution of releases by the Secretary of the Navy upon payment of such claims, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CONNALLY:

S. 1365. A bill to amend section 35 of the Bankruptcy Act to permit the appointment of supervising conciliation commissioners as referees in bankruptcy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 1366. A bill to authorize the State of Tennessee to convey a railroad right-of-way through Montgomery Bell Park (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. BAILEY:

S. 1367. A bill to provide for the appointment of three additional Assistant Secretaries of Commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. ANDREWS:

S. 1368. A bill to repeal the act entitled "An act to promote the national security and defense by establishing daylight saving time," approved January 20, 1942; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

THIRTY-HOUR WEEK FOR CIVILIAN OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I send to the desk a bill for appropriate reference, to provide for a 30-hour week for civilian officers or employees under the executive branch of the Government. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a very brief statement by way of explanation; and also that the bill, which is rather short, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 1351) to provide for a 30-hour week for civilian officers and employees in or under the executive branch of the Government, was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Civil Service, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the "Thirty-Hour Week Act of 1945."

SEC. 2. The Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945, approved June 30, 1945, is hereby amended as follows:

(1) By striking out the word "forty" where it appears in section 201, in subsection (b) of section 202, and in subsections (a) and (d) of section 604 and inserting in lieu thereof the word "thirty";

(2) By striking out the words "forty-eight" in subsection (a) of section 202 and inserting in lieu thereof the word "forty"; and

(3) By striking out the words "two thousand and eighty" where they appear in subsection (a) of section 201 and in subsections (a) and (b) of section 203, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "one thousand five hundred sixty."

SEC. 3. Sections 26b and 26c of title 5 of the United States Code, being, respectively, (1) section 11, title II, chapter 212 of the act of March 3, 1933 (47 Stat. 1516); and (2) section 1, chapter 359 of the act of June 16, 1937 (50 Stat. 269), are hereby repealed.

SEC. 4. The Civil Service Commission is hereby authorized and directed to issue, within 3 months after the date of enactment of this act, and subject to the approval of the President, such regulations as may be necessary for the administration of the provisions of this act insofar as this act affects officers and employees in or under the executive branch of the Government.

The explanatory statement submitted by Mr. McCARRAN was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I have today introduced a bill to provide for a 30-hour week for Federal employees.

Several considerations have been of particular importance in prompting me to sponsor this legislation.

There is already a demand from labor for a general increase in wage levels, and demands of this nature will grow more pressing in the near future.

In the case of Government employees, there is ample justification for such an increase, in view of the sharply increased cost of living since the prewar period, and the prospect of a further increase before prices level off.

An increase in wage levels by reduction in the basic workweek will do more to improve the working conditions of Government employees than would a bill providing increased annual compensation on the basis of the present workweek. Furthermore, such a reduction in the workweek is in keeping with the American trend of providing workers with greater leisure. Another consideration in this regard is that a bill for Government pay raises would be a highly complicated measure under which there would be likely to arise a great deal of dispute; whereas the bill I have introduced presents a single issue and presents it cleanly and in such form that the Congress can reach a determination with regard to it without becoming involved in controversy over such questions as the interrelation of pay scales among the different Government departments and agencies.

Under the terms of my bill, all civilian officers and employees in the executive branch of the Federal Government would work a 6-hour, 5-day week, receiving overtime for all work in excess of 30 hours during any 1 week.

It would be possible under the bill to operate Government departments on a 6-day

basis, by assigning different working days to different groups of employees. If this should be done, the workday on Saturday would be 6 hours in length, the same as any other workday. I believe this would eliminate a great deal of waste motion which necessarily accompanies operations on a half-day basis.

Overtime under my bill would be computed on the same basis as provided in the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945, with straight time-and-one-half for employees receiving basic compensation at a rate less than \$2,980 per year, and with overtime for employees having higher basic compensation computed on the basis of the same proportions as provided in that act.

I believe the philosophy of this bill is in line with the historic policy of our Government in dealing with its employees, and I believe some legislation of this nature is required to do justice to the vast army of civilian Federal workers who have rendered such efficient and effective service throughout the war years.

VACATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I send to the desk a bill to amend an act approved March 14, 1936, entitled "An act to provide vacations for Government employees and for other purposes," and ask that it be printed in the RECORD. I also ask that a brief statement by way of explanation be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

The bill (S. 1352) to amend an act approved March 14, 1936, entitled "An act to provide for vacations for Government employees, and for other purposes," as amended, was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Civil Service, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the second proviso of the first sentence in section 1 of the act of March 14, 1936 (49 Stat. 1161), as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows: "Provided further, That during the national emergency declared by the President of the United States on September 8, 1939, the leave unused by the employees of the departments, independent establishments, and agencies, not in other form commuted or compensated, shall be accumulated for succeeding years until it totals not exceeding 90 days, and such leave so accumulated shall not thereafter be lost by reason of the ending of such emergency or otherwise."

The explanatory statement submitted by Mr. McCARRAN is as follows:

I have introduced the foregoing bill to protect leave accumulated by Federal employees in excess of 60 days under provisions of the act approved December 17, 1942.

The purpose of this bill is to insure that leave so accumulated shall not be lost by reason of the termination of the present emergency.

The background of this bill is as follows: In connection with a study of the termination provisions of emergency and wartime legislation, which I have been making for the past several months, I found that the language of the act of December 17, 1942, while not necessarily ambiguous, is not explicit on the point of whether the additional 30 days of leave which an employee may accrue under that act can be retained after the end of the emergency, or must be used during the emergency.

I checked informally with officials of the Civil Service Commission and the General

Accounting Office, in an attempt to find out whether the act in question had been construed; and if not, how it might be construed.

I learned that the act has not been construed; that the Civil Service Commission is likely to take the position that it has no jurisdiction to construe the act; and that there is a strong possibility that the General Accounting Office might construe the act as requiring that the extra leave accrued in excess of 60 days be used, if at all, before the expiration of the period of national emergency declared by the President on September 8, 1939.

An examination of the history of the act of December 17, 1942, discloses no record of an expression, prior to enactment of the legislation, of the will of Congress with regard to this point.

I am firmly convinced that it was the will of Congress, in enacting the legislation in question, that leave in excess of 60 days and not exceeding 90 days, accrued by Federal employees during the period of emergency, should remain available after the termination of the emergency. Any other holding would require that Federal employees who have accrued such leave would have to use it between now and the end of the emergency, a date which may be no more than 6 months away. Not only would such a requirement be most unfair to the many thousands of Government employees who have accumulated such leave by foregoing vacations during the emergency period; it would also be extremely likely to create a rush to take leave which might leave many Government agencies seriously short-handed at a time when it is important they should function at peak efficiency.

The bill I have introduced today is designed to make clear the will of Congress, as I am confident it exists. I feel sure this bill will be enacted promptly.

SALE OF CERTAIN GOVERNMENT-OWNED MERCHANT VESSELS—AMENDMENT

Mr. BAILEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 292) to provide for the sale of certain Government-owned merchant vessels, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce and ordered to be printed.

FUNERAL EXPENSES OF THE LATE SENATOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON

Mr. DOWNEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 170), 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 the actual and necessary expenses incurred by the committee appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate in arranging for and attending the funeral of Hon. Hiram W. Johnson, late a Senator from the State of California, upon vouchers to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Subsequently,

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, the senior Senator from California [Mr. Downey] has submitted a resolution which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. The resolution deals with the necessary expenses incurred in connection with the death of our late colleague, Hon. Hiram W. Johnson, of California. I now report the resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 170) was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

INVESTIGATION WITH RESPECT TO REEMPLOYMENT IN THE MINING INDUSTRY

Mr. CARVILLE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 171), which was referred to the Committee on Mines and Mining:

Resolved, That the Committee on Mines and Mining, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized and directed to make a full and complete investigation with respect to reemployment in the mining industry, including existing labor requirements, rates of pay, and other related matters, with a view to increasing the number of job opportunities in such industry and expanding its operations beyond the present low levels. The committee shall report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date the results of its investigation, together with such recommendations as to any necessary legislation as it may deem desirable.

For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-ninth Congress, to employ such clerical and other assistants, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, and to make such expenditures, as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$10,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, since August 1, events of profound and world-shaking significance have occurred. The end of the war with the Japs, which looked to be headed for another sad year's duration, has come to its victorious conclusion.

Many factors contributed to this glorious result. The heroism and valor of our armed forces and the superiority in numbers and quality of our weapons drew the noose ever more tightly on Japan. The entry of our Russian allies into the war brought a new crisis to the beleaguered Japs. But I do not doubt, Mr. President, that the war was brought to an end—Japan brought to her knees—by the use of the atomic bomb.

When that bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a new era opened up, and the waging of war basically, fundamentally, and completely changed.

We must not delay in dealing with the problems which were created by the explosion of a few ounces of uranium on Hiroshima.

Archimedes said: "Give me a lever and a fulcrum big enough and I will move the world." Give to another Hitler a few ounces of uranium and the secret of releasing its power, and he would destroy the world. Airplanes, battleships, aircraft carriers, and tanks may well be on their way to extinction.

Obviously, no sensible person would advocate the turning over of this new development to individuals or to corpora-

tions for private profit and exploitation without suitable and carefully worked out safeguards.

I do not pretend to know how soon, if ever, atomic energy will be used and harnessed for peacetime use. But if it is so developed, it is obvious that its unregulated use could disarrange our economy to its destruction.

I have provided, therefore, in the bill which I have introduced, for a board composed of high Government officials to have charge of this monster, and to supervise and license its development, research and use. I have also proposed that certain powers be given to this board and to our delegate to the Security Council of the United Nations, subject to approval by the Congress, to supply information bearing on this development to the Security Council.

I have proposed, too, for its use by the Security Council in preserving collective security, in exchange for an agreement by all other nations, to place in a common pool, controlled by the Council, all their respective scientific knowledge and secrets bearing upon the production and use of armaments and weapons of war.

I have also suggested that any such agreement shall provide for the free, untrammelled and complete right of access and inspection by the Security Council of all of the plants, laboratories, and operations relating to research, development, manufacture, and production of armaments and munitions of war. This would be a far-reaching and vital decision for our Nation. The cataclysmic development of the atomic bomb requires bold thinking.

Have we any choice, Mr. President? I believe it can readily be demonstrated that we have not. What are the alternatives?

Let us assume that we should, figuratively speaking, lock up this secret in the national safe. To those who have no confidence in collective security, this might appeal as an answer.

The first thing wrong with this approach is that it will not work because other nations are not and will not stand still. They, too, have research scientists. They, too, will discover the secret in a few short years at most.

Does anyone believe that our people will be satisfied to suppress this potential creator of peacetime wealth and prosperity? How could such future widespread peacetime use be made without this secret being published to the world?

We now know that Germany raced with us for the discovery of the atomic bomb. General Eisenhower was fully aware of the decisive importance of winning the race, for in February of this year, with the German armies in confusion and retreat, he stated that Germany was done for if some new and secret weapon were not unleashed upon us. Undoubtedly he had good reason to believe that if Germany discovered the secret, the whole course of the war might be disastrously changed.

Mr. President, we plighted our troth at San Francisco. We declared to the world our faith in collective security. We either meant what we said, or we did not.

Obviously, a Security Council without the means or power to secure a peace is an empty shell. With atomic bombs, any nation could wreak its will on all mankind.

But moral obligations aside, what I propose is to our own selfish interest. To do otherwise would encourage the very distrust, jealousy, and suspicion which breed war. To run such a risk in the face of the certainty that other nations will discover this secret would be shortsighted and foolhardy, and might prove fatal.

It is uranium today, Senators. Who can say that it will not be steel, or copper, or coal that will be the base material of tomorrow? History demonstrates examples by the score of inventions being almost simultaneously achieved in different parts of the globe.

One of the greatest obstacles to independent discovery of our secret was dissipated when our research proved that the discovery was possible.

Mr. President, no living person can say with certainty that man has not at last brought into being a power which could be used for the complete and final destruction of civilization.

Since all large nations will eventually have such power, common sense dictates that we not delay in forging the predicate for its sensible control.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I wish to commend the able Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON] for having given such constructive attention to the desperate problem of the atomic bomb which he has indicated by submitting his proposal. During the past few days I have been dealing with the matter in my own thinking, and I wish to suggest a slightly different approach to the same subject. However, I wholly join with the able Senator from Connecticut in his belief that the question involved cannot be left in suspended animation, but must be conclusively handled at once.

The President of the United States has indicated that the executive branch of the Government is giving the matter attention. The State Department has indicated that it is studying the matter. I am not quite sure that Congress itself can best approach the problem through the consideration of a specific bill. I am not clear that we have yet reached the point when such an approach would be the logical one to make. Nevertheless, I again say to the Senator from Connecticut that I most heartily commend him for the attention he has given to the problem.

As an alternative approach—and the Senate committees can decide for themselves which approach they prefer—I am submitting, Mr. President, a concurrent resolution which would create a joint congressional committee composed of six Members of the Senate, and six Members of the House of Representatives, to make a full and complete study and investigation with respect to the development and control of the atomic bomb.

Since the problem is now so utterly fundamental in the life of everyone it seems to me that it is one which rises to the same high parliamentary level of consideration as does the problem of the Pearl Harbor investigation which we took care of a few minutes ago. It seems

to me that the approach should be at the top parliamentary level through a joint congressional committee, which can inquire into every phase of the matter in respect both to the development of the atomic bomb at home and to its control abroad.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, out of order, to submit the concurrent resolution to which I have referred. I am frank to say that I cannot figure out in my own mind to what Senate committee the concurrent resolution should be referred. May I ask the Senator from Connecticut to what committee he requested his bill to be referred?

Mr. McMAHON. I did not make any specific request. I realized that it would seem to come within the scope of two committees, namely, the Committee on Interstate Commerce, because of the national aspect of the subject matter of the bill, and the Foreign Relations Committee, on account of the foreign impact of the bill.

Mr. VANDENBERG. How would it be if we should request that both measures be referred in the first instance to the Foreign Relations Committee with the understanding that they can go later to the Interstate Commerce Committee?

Mr. McMAHON. That would be thoroughly agreeable to me.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I suggest that for the time being both proposals be referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 28), submitted by Mr. VANDENBERG, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there is hereby created a joint congressional committee to be composed of six members of the Senate to be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate and six members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The joint committee shall select a chairman from among its members. A vacancy in the membership of the joint committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the joint committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original appointment.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the joint committee to make a full and complete study and investigation with respect to the development and control of the atomic bomb, with a view to assisting the Congress in dealing with the problems presented by its development and control. The joint committee shall report to the Senate and House of Representatives, at the earliest practicable date, the results of its study and investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

Sec. 3. For the purposes of this resolution, the joint committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-ninth Congress, to employ such clerical and other assistants, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, and to make such expenditures, as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25

cents per hundred words. The expenses of the joint committee, which shall not exceed \$50,000, shall be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate, and one-half from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the joint committee.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, I take occasion to thank the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] for his commendation for what I have contributed, if anything, to the thought on this subject. I have no pride of authorship, and I look forward to cooperating with the able Senator from Michigan and other Members of this body in dealing with what the Senator from Michigan has truly described as a desperate problem which involves what I have chosen to call a monster having potentially, at least, the power to destroy us.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE — RADIO BROADCASTS TO JAPAN BY SENATOR THOMAS OF UTAH

[Mr. THOMAS of Utah asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a number of radio broadcasts to Japan, made by him during the month of August 1945, together with a press release from the Office of War Information dealing with psychological warfare, which appear in the Appendix.]

NAZI ATROCITIES—ARTICLE BY SENATOR THOMAS OF UTAH

[Mr. THOMAS of Utah asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "The Biggest Lie of All," written by him and published in the August 1945 issue of the Reader's Scope, which appears in the Appendix.]

LET'S KEEP AMERICA AMERICAN—ARTICLE BY SENATOR WILEY

[Mr. GURNEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Let's Keep America American," prepared by Senator WILEY and printed in the National Republic for September 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

LABOR DAY SERMON BY REV. BENJAMIN L. MASSE

[Mr. WAGNER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a Labor Day sermon by the Reverend Benjamin L. Masse, S. J., associate editor of America and executive editor of the Catholic Mind, delivered at a Labor Day mass held at St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, which appears in the Appendix.]

RESOLUTION OF ITALIAN-AMERICAN CITIZENS' LEAGUE

[Mr. BURTON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Italian-American Citizens' League, of Warren, Ohio, relative to Senator Bilbo's position regarding the FEPC, which appears in the Appendix.]

CARLOADINGS OF GRAIN AND GRAIN PRODUCTS—RELEASE BY OFFICE OF DEFENSE TRANSPORTATION

[Mr. LUCAS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a release issued by the Office of Defense Transportation relative to carloadings of grain and grain products, which appears in the Appendix.]

PEARL HARBOR QUESTIONS—ARTICLE BY ARTHUR KROCK

[Mr. BYRD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Pearl Harbor Questions," written by Arthur Krock and published in the New York Times of September 4, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

**MARSHALL CRITICS CALLED UNJUST—
ARTICLE BY MAJ. GEORGE FIELDING
ELIOT**

[Mr. WILEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article by Maj. George Fielding Eliot entitled "Marshall Critics Called Unjust," published in a recent issue of the Washington (D. C.) Post, which appears in the Appendix.]

**THIS IS THE VICTORY—ARTICLE BY
DR. FREDERICK B. HARRIS**

[Mr. WILEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "This Is the Victory," by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate, published in the Washington Evening Star for August 27, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

**LABOR DAY SERMON BY BISHOP MICHAEL
J. READY**

[Mr. MURRAY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a Labor Day sermon delivered on September 3, 1945, at St. Joseph's Cathedral by the Most Reverend Michael J. Ready, D. D., Bishop of Columbus, which appears in the Appendix.]

**OPA AND AGRICULTURE—EDITORIAL
FROM THE PRAIRIE FARMER**

[Mr. LUCAS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "OPA and Agriculture," printed in the Prairie Farmer for August 18, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

**THE FEPC—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN
SENATOR BILBO AND MISS FLORA J.
COOKE**

[Mr. LUCAS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article dealing with correspondence between Senator Bilbo and Miss Flora J. Cooke, of Chicago, relative to the FEPC, which appears in the Appendix.]

**THE DRAFT AND THE MANPOWER SITUATION—EDITORIALS BY HON. JOSEPHUS
DANIELS**

[Mr. HOEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD two editorials, one entitled "Enough Is Enough" and the other entitled "Waste of Manpower," by Hon. Josephus Daniels, published in the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer of August 28, 1945, which appear in the Appendix.]

**REPORT OF NATIONAL PATENT PLANNING
COMMISSION**

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McFARLAND in the chair) laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee on Patents:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the third report of the National Patent Planning Commission.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, September 6, 1945.

CALL OF THE ROLL

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McFARLAND in the chair). The morning business is concluded.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Alken	Bailey	Brewster
Andrews	Barkley	Briggs
Austin	Bilbo	Brooks

Buck	Hill	Revercomb
Burton	Hoey	Robertson
Byrd	Johnston, S. C.	Russell
Capehart	Knowland	Saitonstall
Capper	La Follette	Smith
Carville	Lucas	Stewart
Connally	McCarran	Taft
Donnell	McClellan	Taylor
Downey	McFarland	Thomas, Utah
Ellender	McKellar	Tunnell
Ferguson	McMahon	Tydings
Fulbright	Magnuson	Vandenberg
George	Maybank	Wagner
Gerry	Millikin	Walsh
Guffey	Moore	White
Gurney	Murray	Wiley
Hatch	Myers	Young
Hawkes	O'Daniel	
Hayden	Overton	

Mr. HILL. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND] and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] are detained from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MITCHELL], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MURDOCK], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. RADCLIFFE], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] are absent attending to public business.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] is absent on official business.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. BUSHFIELD] and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] are absent because of illness.

The following Senators are necessarily absent:

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BALL], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HART], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILLIS], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. WILSON].

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

**RECONVERSION FROM WAR TO
PEACETIME ECONOMY**

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read by the Chief Clerk, and, with the accompanying reports, ordered to lie on the table and to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I regret that you have been compelled to cut short your recess period. I know, however, that you have been just as eager as any of us to meet the problems which naturally have crowded down upon us with the surrender of the Japanese.

You have cut short a well-merited vacation in order to do so. I hope that the American people realize as fully as I do, that from the very first days of the emergency, the Congress has most energetically and patriotically devoted its time, energies, and capabilities to the immediate problems of war and to the long-range problems of peace. The legislative branch of the Government is entitled to its full share of credit and glory for the victory of the Allied armies. I wish to take this opportunity on behalf of the Nation to congratulate you on the great victory which has been won—in which you played so important a part.

The Congress reconvenes at a time of great emergency. It is an emergency about which, however, we need have no undue fear if we exercise the same energy, foresight, and wisdom as we did in carrying on the war and winning this victory.

The sudden surrender of the Japanese has not caught us unawares. President Roosevelt, as early as the Fall of 1943, began to set up machinery which he foresaw would become necessary to meet the reconversion period. The Congress in its wisdom has adopted some of that machinery by statute, and has improved and added to it. As a result, Government agencies, for some time, have been able to plan for the immediate and long-range steps which now have to be taken.

As the Congress has undoubtedly noticed, many steps were taken immediately after the surrender of the Japanese. Many more have been taken since.

The process of reconversion will be a complicated and difficult one. The general line of approach to the problem is to achieve as full peacetime production and employment as possible in the most efficient and speedy manner. The following policies have been laid down and will be followed:

- (1) Demobilize as soon as possible the armed forces no longer needed.
- (2) Cancel and settle war contracts as quickly as possible.
- (3) Clear the war plants so as to permit contractors to proceed with peacetime production.
- (4) Hold the line on prices and rents until fair competition can operate to prevent inflation and undue hardship on consumers.
- (5) Hold wages in line where their increase would cause inflationary price rises. Where price ceilings would not be endangered, collective bargaining should be restored.
- (6) Remove all possible wartime government controls in order to speed and encourage reconversion and expansion.
- (7) Keep only those controls which are necessary to help reconversion and expansion by preventing bottlenecks, shortages of material, and inflation.
- (8) Prevent rapid decrease of wage incomes or purchasing power.

The major objective, of course, is to reestablish an expanded peacetime industry, trade, and agriculture, and to do it as quickly as possible.

Obviously during this process there will be a great deal of inevitable unemployment. What we must do is to assist industry to reconvert to peacetime production as quickly and effectively as possible

so that the number of unemployed will be swiftly and substantially reduced as industry and business and agriculture get into high production.

The Government is now doing what it can to hurry this reconversion process.

Through contract termination procedures it is providing quick payment to contractors.

It has released controls on practically all materials which are necessary for peacetime production, reserving only those few in which there is still a critical shortage.

It has made arrangements for credit facilities for industry.

By plant and surplus property disposal, it is helping private enterprise to get started again.

In the consumer field the Government has released controls over articles which were needed for the war in such large quantities that civilians had to go without.

For the information of the Congress, I am submitting as an appendix to this message a report by the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion showing what has already been done by the Federal Government in reconversion.

There is much that the Congress can do to help this process and to tide over the period between now and the time when reconversion is completed and civilian jobs are plentiful in a stable economy that provides full production, full employment, and a high standard of living.

1. UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

The end of the war came more swiftly than most of us anticipated. Widespread cut-backs in war orders followed promptly. As a result, there has already been a considerable number of workers who are between jobs as war industries convert to peace. Other workers are returning to a 40-hour week and are faced with a corresponding reduction in take-home pay.

This has led to a natural feeling of uneasiness among the rank and file of our people. Let me emphasize that there will be no reason for undue timidity. A vast backlog of orders may soon make possible the greatest peacetime industrial activity that we have ever seen. But this can happen only if the Congress and the administration move vigorously and courageously to deal with the economic problems which peace has created. Then there need be no reason to fear either the immediate future or the years that lie ahead of us.

Determined action now will create the atmosphere of confidence which is so vital to a rapid reconversion with a minimum of unemployment and hardship.

No matter how rapidly reconversion proceeds, however, no amount of effort or planning will be able immediately to provide a job for everyone displaced from war work. Obviously, displaced war workers cannot find jobs until industry has been regeared and made ready to produce peacetime goods. During this lag the Government should provide help. The cost of this transition from war to peace is as much a part of the cost of war as the transition from peace to war—and we should so consider it.

This course is recommended not only as a matter of justice and humanity, but also as a matter of sound business. Nothing would be more harmful to our economy than to have every displaced war worker stop buying consumer goods. And nothing would be more conducive to a large-scale cessation of buying than the feeling on the part of displaced war workers that all their income had stopped and that their remaining financial resources had to be hoarded.

For one group of those who may become unemployed in the near future—the demobilized veterans—the Congress has already made special provision. Any veteran who has satisfactorily completed 90 days of service is now entitled by law to a weekly unemployment allowance of \$20 for as much as 52 weeks depending on the length of his service.

By contrast, there are more than 15,000,000 workers not protected under our present unemployment insurance laws. There are many millions more for whom protection is inadequate. Many of these have been unable to accumulate adequate savings.

On May 28, 1945, I recommended to the Congress that the Federal Government immediately supplement the unemployment insurance benefits now provided by the several States. That is the only feasible way to provide at least a subsistence payment in all parts of the United States during this coming unemployment period.

As I pointed out then, the existing State laws relative to unemployment insurance are inadequate in three respects:

(1) Only about 30,000,000 of our 43,000,000 nonagricultural workers are protected by unemployment insurance. Federal Government employees, for example, such as Federal shipyard and arsenal workers, are not covered. Nor are employees of small businesses and small industrial establishments. Nor are the officers and men of the merchant marine who have braved enemy torpedoes and bombs to deliver supplies and the implements of war to our armed services and our allies.

(2) The weekly benefit payments under many of the State laws are now far too low to provide subsistence and purchasing power for the workers and their families. Almost half of the States have the clearly inadequate maximum of \$15 to \$18 a week.

(3) Many of the States pay benefits for too short a period. In more than one-third of the States, for example, 18 weeks is the maximum.

I recommended then, and I urgently renew my recommendation now, that the Congress take immediate action to make good these deficiencies for the present emergency period of reconversion.

Specifically, coverage should be extended to include Federal employees, maritime workers, and other workers not now insured. This additional compensation during the present emergency will have to be financed entirely by the Federal Government, but the benefits should appropriately be administered by the States.

I also recommended, and I now repeat that recommendation, that the Congress provide, through supplementary Federal

emergency benefit payments, additional unemployment benefits so as to bring them up to adequate standards in all the States. All payments, however, should be made through the existing unemployment compensation machinery of the several States.

During this emergency every eligible worker should be entitled to 26 weeks of unemployment benefits in any one year. The maximum weekly payment for those workers whose previous earnings were high enough, should be not less than \$25 per week.

If the Congress decides to take this very necessary step, it will also wish to reconsider and increase the unemployment allowance provided for veterans.

There has been so much misrepresentation about this temporary proposal that I think I should categorically state what the bill does not do.

It does not give everyone \$25 a week. Under it, an applicant must be ready, willing, and able to work and must have earned wages high enough so that the percentage rate will yield this maximum figure.

It does not federalize the unemployment compensation system. It leaves it with the States.

It is not intended to take the place of the permanent amendments to the unemployment compensation system which are now being studied by the Congress. It is an emergency measure designed to expand the present system without changing its principles. It is designed only to meet the immediate pressing human problems of reconversion.

This recommendation is not to be confused with the broader question of extending, expanding, and improving our entire social security program of which unemployment insurance is only a part. I expect to communicate with the Congress on this subject at a later date. But I sincerely urge that we do not wait for consideration of such a complex question before enacting this much needed emergency legislation.

2. FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

In addition to those workers who will temporarily lose their jobs, there will be millions of others whose incomes will fall sharply with the end of war production. These will be added to the several million wage earners who even now have hourly earnings much below what is necessary for a decent standard of living.

The inadequacy of these wages, in many cases, has been temporarily concealed by wartime increases in take-home pay resulting from overtime work. As these props to income are removed, however, low-wage earners will be hard pressed to feed, clothe, and house their families. This flies in the face of a sound public policy. Failure to correct this situation will slow down, if it will not actually stop, our drive toward an expanding market for business and agriculture.

The foundations of a healthy national economy cannot be secure so long as any large section of our working people receive substandard wages. The existence of substandard wage levels sharply curtails the national purchasing power

and narrows the market for the products of our farms and factories.

In the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the Congress adopted a program intended to provide a minimum wage standard for a large number of American workers.

In that statute, the Congress declared it to be our national policy to eliminate, from interstate industry, wage levels detrimental to the maintenance of minimum standards of living. The establishment then of a minimum wage of 25 cents per hour represented a first step toward the realization of that policy. The goal of 40 cents per hour, which under the act was to be made effective by 1945, was actually made fully effective more than a year ago by the voluntary action of the industry committees.

I believed that the goal of a 40-cent minimum was inadequate when established. It has now become obsolete.

Increases in the cost of living since 1938 and changes in our national wage structure, require an immediate and substantial upward revision of this minimum. Only in that way can the objectives of the Fair Labor Standards Act be realized, the national purchasing power protected, and an economy of full production and abundance preserved and maintained for the American people.

The high prosperity which we seek in the postwar years will not be meaningful for all our people if any large proportion of our industrial wage earners receive wages as low as the minimum now sanctioned by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

I therefore recommend that the Congress amend the Fair Labor Standards Act by substantially increasing the minimum wage specified therein to a level which will eliminate substandards of living, and assure the maintenance of the health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers.

The scope of the Fair Labor Standards Act also should be clarified and extended. In view of changes which have occurred since 1938, I believe it is no longer necessary to exclude from the minimum wage program the large number of workers engaged in agricultural processing who are now excluded. There now exists a twilight zone in which some workers are covered, and others, doing similar work, are not. Extension of coverage would benefit both workers and employers, by removing competitive inequities.

Our achievements in this field during the last seven years of establishing minimum wages have been gratifying; but we must continue to move forward, step by step.

I urge that the Congress act promptly. The wage structure on which business men may make future plans should be settled quickly.

3. WARTIME CONTROLS

One of the outstanding achievements of the war has been the success of the Government in holding the line against inflation. This is the first time in any major war that the United States has been able substantially to stabilize its economy.

That fact now permits us to enter into the difficult period of readjustment without the threat of a disastrous price collapse.

For this result much credit is due to the Congress, which in the face of great insistence from many interested pressure groups refused steadfastly to take the easy way.

Great credit is due to the Office of Economic Stabilization, the War Labor Board, the Office of Price Administration, the War Food Administration, the War Production Board, and the other stabilization agencies. Despite great pressure and often unjust abuse, they continued to hold the line for the benefit of the great mass of Americans.

And above all, great credit is due to the people of the United States, the great body of average citizens, who, for four difficult years and with only a few exceptions, subordinated their personal interest to the long-range interest of the Nation as a whole.

Many of the demands of the war for commodities have now decreased. They will decrease further during the initial period of unemployment which will come with the cancellation of war contracts. As a result, prices of some commodities are bound to soften. But if that happens in the next few months, we cannot allow ourselves to be misled. We must keep in mind the experience of the period immediately after the first World War. After a lull of a few months following the Armistice of 1918, prices turned upward, scrambling for inventories started, and prices soon got completely out of hand. We found ourselves in one of the worst inflations in our history, culminating in the crash of 1920 and the disastrous deflation of 1920 and 1921.

We must be sure this time not to repeat that bitter mistake. When reconversion really gets under way, and men go back to work, and payrolls increase, and the pent-up demands of the war years at home and abroad for peacetime products begin to make themselves felt, we shall face the same scramble for goods, the same speculative excesses that developed in 1919. We must be in a position to overcome that danger if we expect to achieve an orderly transition to peacetime levels of full production and full employment. However, we must not allow inflationary dangers to obscure our vision of the possibilities of lower incomes and widespread unemployment. Our policy must guard against both contingencies.

Immediately after the Japanese decision to surrender, the Office of Price Administration moved promptly to eliminate rationing on gasoline, fuel oil, stoves, and processed foods.

During the transition period the Price Administrator, of course, will eliminate rationing and price controls on one commodity after another just as soon as supply comes into balance with demand. At the same time he will make whatever price adjustments are required to facilitate rapid reconversion and reemployment.

However, it will be necessary for him to continue to resist unreasonable pressures for higher prices on some commodities, just as he has resisted them all through the war. In resisting these pressures and in carrying out his difficult responsibilities, I must state clearly

that he has both my backing and my confidence.

It will similarly be necessary for the Government to resist pressures for increases in wage rates which would imperil price ceilings.

Without some general stabilization the consumer cannot be protected. Without stabilization, reconversion cannot proceed as rapidly as it should; for stability of cost is indispensable to sound business planning.

The price control and stabilization program has received the backing of the great majority of businessmen throughout the war period. With few exceptions, business groups have realized clearly their own personal stake and the stake of our basic economy in the success of the anti-inflation program.

During the months that lie ahead, however, some groups in business may be tempted to substitute for this long-range wartime thinking, a short-range policy designed to secure prices high enough to provide immediate profits over and above their temporarily high costs of production due to their initial low volume.

These pressures must be resisted. Prices must be held firmly on reconversion items as well as on cost of living items during the coming months.

The American people are entitled to a firm assurance not only on the part of the Administration, but from the Congress itself, that rents and the prices of clothing, food, and other essentials will be held in line. They are also entitled to buy washing machines, vacuum cleaners, automobiles and other products at prices based on our traditional system of high output and low unit costs.

The promise of good profits for businessmen must not be based on small initial volume. It must be based on the full all-out production which it is my belief that American industry will rapidly achieve.

Because of heavy wartime needs, it has been necessary to allocate available supplies of many foods among various claimants within this country, and among other countries. It has been necessary to set aside large blocks of specified commodities in order to make these commodities available for military and other essential needs. Rationing of food for consumers has been necessary in the interest of fair distribution.

Many of these controls have already been eliminated and all remaining allocations, set-asides, and rationing will be removed as rapidly as the supply situation will permit.

However, supplies of some of our principal foods will continue beyond the end of 1945 to be too small for the demand.

For example, the world will be short of requirements for fats and oils and sugar for some months, and allocations and rationing will probably have to be continued into 1946. We must not move so rapidly as to endanger the orderly distribution of goods on which we have based our living during the emergency.

Let me add that in no case should rationing controls be removed if by so doing we should jeopardize our relief shipments to Europe and other dis-

tressed war areas. We have a moral obligation to the people of these liberated areas. More than that, our own enlightened self-interest tells us that hungry people are rarely advocates of democracy. The rehabilitation of these countries, and indeed the removal of American occupational troops, may be unnecessarily delayed if we fail to meet these responsibilities during the next few months.

During the reconversion period and as long as shortages in certain materials other than food continue, the War Production Board will have to support the stabilization program as it has done during the past 4 years.

It must be in a position to take action where necessary, to increase scarce materials and facilities, break bottlenecks, channel production to meet essential needs, safeguard the opportunities for small business concerns, and, above all, to control inventories so as to prevent speculative hoarding and unbalanced distribution.

As the Congress knows, the War Production Board has already removed a great majority of the controls which were in force during the war, and many more will be removed during the next few months.

I trust that the Congress will agree, however, that the controls which still remain and which are still considered necessary by the agency charged with responsibility should not be removed until the need for them disappears. The need to control a few critical materials which the war has caused to be in short supply will continue for some time until adequate supplies are again available. Foremost among these materials are tin and crude rubber.

It will also be necessary for some period to prevent the hoarding of items now badly needed and in great demand for the civilian economy. Many critical shortages can be avoided by the extension of general inventory controls which would prevent the accumulation of unreasonably large stocks in the hands of a few. This will speed the reconversion program and will also greatly assist in avoiding inflation of the price structure.

The extension of one further type of control should have consideration at this time. In the national interest, this Government has made and should continue to make agreements for securing our fair share of materials from certain foreign sources and also agreements for supplying various materials and products abroad. The Government should have authority to assure the carrying out of such commitments.

These production and inventory controls, as well as the allocations of food, set-asides of commodities, and rationing among consumers have been set up under the Second War Powers Act.

Most of the provisions of this act expire on December 31, 1945.

I am convinced that an orderly transition to a peacetime economy will require the use of some of these controls after the first of the year.

I request the Congress, therefore, to extend the provisions of the Second War Powers Act, either in its present form or

with appropriate limitations, preserving the powers necessary to achieve the objectives I have outlined.

The Congress has my definite assurance that none of these war powers will be exercised by the executive branch of the Government unless they are deemed essential to the attainment of the objective of an orderly stabilized reconversion. The Congress should, of course, if it extends the statute, reserve the right to terminate it by legislation at any time it deems necessary.

I hope that the Congress will not delay the extension of this authority. Delay would retard reconversion by creating uncertainty on the part of business as to whether necessary controls will be retained or not. Businessmen, in planning for next year's activities, will be assisted greatly by knowing in advance whether or not the Government is going to keep a firm hand at the brakes to prevent inflation.

The termination of the wartime food subsidies, for which a total of \$1,798,000,000 has been authorized for the current year, is one of the important problems in reconversion. Agencies dealing directly with this problem are now meeting jointly to determine in what order and at what time these food subsidies may be eliminated without an undue disturbance to farm income or living costs.

Subsidies for purposes other than food are also being reviewed by the agencies concerned, who are collecting the necessary data for an orderly liquidation at the earliest date compatible with the stabilization program.

Those subsidies which were designed originally to stimulate increased production should not be removed at a time or in a manner to incite inflation and upset our economy.

I have directed that early reports be made on this important problem.

4. WAR POWERS AND EXECUTIVE AGENCIES REORGANIZATION

I should like to bring to the attention of the Congress the legal difficulties that will arise unless care is taken in the drafting of legislation terminating wartime controls and wartime agencies.

I have asked the Attorney General to prepare a report on the principal statutes that confer wartime powers and on the various wartime agencies, with particular reference to the circumstances under which each terminates.

A copy of this memorandum is attached for the information of the Congress. It is an able and comprehensive summary of the applicable laws.

Your attention is particularly called to the statement in the opinion of the Attorney General to the effect that the broad basis of governmental power on which the existing emergency and wartime statutes rest has not been terminated by the unconditional surrender of our enemies.

Certain of the wartime statutes which have been made effective "in time of war," "during the present war," or "for the duration of the war" continue to be effective until a formal state of peace has been restored, or until some earlier termination date is made applicable by ap-

propriate governmental action. Another group of statutes which by their provisions terminate "upon the cessation of hostilities" or "upon termination of the war," will in fact and in law terminate only by a formal proclamation to that effect by the President or by appropriate congressional action.

From time to time action will be taken with respect to these agencies, with the general objective of streamlining the Government into a peacetime organization as quickly as possible.

The time has not yet arrived, however, for the proclamation of the cessation of hostilities, much less the termination of the war. Needless to say, such proclamations will be made as soon as circumstances permit.

It has been necessary during the course of the war to make numerous important redistributions of functions among executive agencies.

This has been accomplished by the President under the authority of title I of the First War Powers Act. This act expires six months after the termination of the war, or at such earlier time as may be designated by appropriate governmental action.

If the Congress or the President were formally to declare the present war terminated, it would automatically cause all the steps taken under the First War Powers Act with respect to the war agencies to expire, and would have the Government revert automatically to its preexisting status six months after the declaration.

If this were to occur, it would cause great confusion and chaos in the Government.

It is the policy of this administration not to exercise wartime powers beyond the point at which it is necessary to exercise them.

Similarly, the wartime agencies of the Government will not be allowed to continue to perform functions not required by present conditions.

Those functions of the wartime agencies which must be retained during part or all of the period of reconversion should be transferred as promptly as practicable to the permanent departments and agencies of the Government. The remaining functions, appropriate only to the crisis through which we have passed, should be terminated in an orderly, systematic fashion as soon as possible.

A program of winding up wartime agencies and distributing their functions on a peacetime basis is now being pursued under the powers vested in the President by title I of the First War Powers Act.

Therefore, I urge that the Congress do not yet adopt a resolution proclaiming the termination of the war or the termination of the emergency or the cessation of hostilities. Such a resolution would automatically cause the death of many war powers and wartime agencies before we are ready.

At the same time I recognize that the Congress may wish to repeal certain specific wartime statutes. If this is to be done, the repeal should be on a selective basis, through the adoption of specific statutes dealing with each wartime agency

which the Congress decides should be terminated.

In my message dated May 24, 1945, it was recommended that permanent legislation be enacted which would authorize the President to submit to the Congress, from time to time, plans providing for the reorganization of executive agencies, each such plan to become effective unless the Congress should reject it by concurrent resolution.

This type of joint action by the Congress and the President has produced, and will produce, far better results than can be achieved by the usual legislative process in the field of executive reorganization. If proper progress is to be made, it is necessary to permit the President to lay out the machinery for carrying out his responsibility for the conduct of the executive branch, subject to rejection by the two Houses of Congress. Executive initiative, subject to congressional veto, is an effective approach to governmental reorganization.

The responsibility of conducting the executive branch rests upon the President. It is fair and efficient to permit him to lay out the machinery for carrying out that responsibility.

The means for doing this should be generally along the lines of the Reorganization Act of 1939, which gives the initiative to the President, but reserves power to the Congress by a majority vote to nullify any action of the President which does not meet with its approval.

Considerable progress was made in efficiency of government under this Reorganization Act of 1939. I recommend that such powers be made of permanent duration and that the legislation be sufficiently flexible to permit any kind of adjustment for which necessity may arise.

It is clear to all of us that the Government has a difficult and important task in the years which lie ahead. Our Government belongs to the people and the people have a right to expect from their Government the greatest possible efficiency in carrying out its task.

Our Government has never been as efficient as we should like to see it. To some degree this may be charged to the size of some of the tasks assigned to it. To some extent, it is also due to the lack of trained Government personnel and the low salaries paid to Government officials.

There is no question that the war has taught us a great deal about Government administration. There is still, however, much room for improvement.

I have undertaken directly through the members of the Cabinet and also through the Directors of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion and the Bureau of the Budget to emphasize the need for more efficient operation in all the executive branches of the Government. I have requested them to examine administrative procedures, and to speed up and simplify their operations to the maximum practical degree.

I have also requested the Bureau of the Budget to examine closely with each department and agency head, the actual needs of his office following the surrender of Japan. They have been asked to reduce budgets promptly and fully where

ever cuts are indicated. The Bureau of the Budget is now completing studies which will result in reductions of millions of dollars in the expense of operating our Government.

We must continue relentlessly this program for increased Government efficiency. The Congress can depend upon the Executive to push this program with the utmost vigor.

5. FULL EMPLOYMENT

I am confident that, with the cooperation of American industry, labor, and agriculture, we can bridge the gap between war and peace.

When we have reconverted our economy to a peacetime basis, however, we shall not be satisfied with merely our prewar economy. The American people have set high goals for their own future. They have set these goals high because they have seen how great can be the productive capacity of our country.

The levels of production and income reached during the war years have given our citizens an appreciation of what a full production peacetime economy can be.

They are not interested in boom prosperity—for that only too often leads to panic and depression. But they are interested in providing opportunity for work and for ultimate security.

Government must do its part and assist industry and labor to get over the line from war to peace.

That is why I have asked for unemployment compensation legislation.

That is why I now ask for full-employment legislation.

The objectives for our domestic economy which we seek in our long-range plans were summarized by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt over a year and a half ago in the form of an economic bill of rights. Let us make the attainment of those rights the essence of postwar American economic life.

I repeat the statement of President Roosevelt:

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second bill of rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the Nation.

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation.

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living.

The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad.

The right of every family to a decent home.

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health.

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment.

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these

and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

I shall from time to time communicate with the Congress on some of the subjects included in this enumeration of economic rights.

Most of them, in the last analysis, depend upon full production and full employment at decent wages.

There has been much discussion about the necessity of continuing full employment after the war if we hope to continue in substantial degree the prosperity which came with the war years. The time has come for action along these lines.

To provide jobs we must look first and foremost to private enterprise—to industry, agriculture, and labor. Government must inspire enterprise with confidence. That confidence must come mainly through deeds, not words.

But it is clear that confidence will be promoted by certain assurances given by the Government:

Assurance that all the facts about full employment and opportunity will be gathered periodically for the use of all.

Assurance of stability and consistency in public policy, so that enterprise can plan better by knowing what the Government intends to do.

Assurance that every governmental policy and program will be pointed to promote maximum production and employment in private enterprise.

Assurance that priority will be given to doing those things first which stimulate normal employment most.

A national reassertion of the right to work for every American citizen able and willing to work—a declaration of the ultimate duty of Government to use its own resources if all other methods should fail to prevent prolonged unemployment—these will help to avert fear and establish full employment. The prompt and firm acceptance of this bedrock public responsibility will reduce the need for its exercise.

I ask that full employment legislation to provide these vital assurances be speedily enacted. Such legislation should also provide machinery for a continuous full-employment policy—to be developed and pursued in cooperation among industry, agriculture, and labor, between the Congress and the Chief Executive, between the people and their Government.

Full employment means full opportunity for all under the American economic system—nothing more and nothing less.

In human terms, full employment means opportunity to get a good peacetime job for every worker who is ready, able, and willing to take one. It does not mean made work, or making people work.

In economic terms, full employment means full production and the opportunity to sell goods—all the goods that industry and agriculture can produce.

In Government terms, full employment means opportunity to reduce the ratio of public spending to private investment without sacrificing essential services.

In world-wide terms, full employment in America means greater economic security and more opportunity for lasting peace throughout the world.

These goals and the machinery to carry them out are set forth in legislation now pending before the Congress on which extensive public hearings have been held. The country justifiably expects early action along these lines.

6. FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE

During the years of war production we made substantial progress in overcoming many of the prejudices which had resulted in discriminations against minority groups.

Many of the injustices based upon considerations of race, religion, and color were removed. Many were prevented. Perfection was not reached, of course, but substantial progress was made.

In the reconversion period and thereafter, we should make every effort to continue this American ideal. It is one of the fundamentals of our political philosophy, and it should be an integral part of our economy.

The Fair Employment Practice Committee is continuing during the transition period. I have already requested that legislation be enacted placing the Fair Employment Practice Committee on a permanent basis. I repeat that recommendation.

7. LABOR DISPUTES AND WAGE STABILIZATION

Our national welfare requires that during the reconversion period production of civilian goods and services—as full production as possible—go forward without interruption, and that labor and industry cooperate to keep strikes and lock-outs at a minimum.

Those who have the responsibility of labor relations must recognize that responsibility. This is not the time for short-sighted management to seize upon the chance to reduce wages and try to injure labor unions. Equally it is not the time for labor leaders to shirk their responsibility and permit widespread industrial strife.

With this objective in view, I shall shortly convene a conference of representatives of organized labor and industry for the purpose of working out by agreement means to minimize labor disputes.

In the interim period, pending the convening of the conference, I have called upon the representatives of organized labor and industry to continue their adherence to the no-strike, no-lock-out policy. During this interim period, labor disputes which threaten a substantial interference with the transition to a peacetime economy should be submitted to the War Labor Board. They would there be handled by the Board under existing procedures. The country will expect parties to any such disputes to comply voluntarily with the determinations of the War Labor Board.

The threat of inflationary bidding-up of wage rates by competition in a short labor market has disappeared. Therefore the War Labor Board has removed the necessity of approving proposed voluntary wage increases, so long as they will not be used to obtain an increase in price ceilings.

I have conferred upon the War Labor Board adequate authority to correct maladjustments and inequities in wage rates arising in the reconversion period which will tend to interfere with the effective transition to a peacetime economy.

The Board should be terminated as soon as the conclusion of the forthcoming industry-labor conference as the orderly disposition of the work of the Board and the provisions of the War Labor Disputes Act permit, and after facilities have been provided to take care of the wage-stabilization functions under the act of October 2, 1942.

Meanwhile, plans for strengthening the Department of Labor, and bringing under it functions properly belonging to it, are going forward. With the return to a peacetime economy and the elimination of the present temporary wartime agencies and procedures, we must look to collective bargaining, aided and supplemented by a truly effective system of conciliation and voluntary arbitration, as the best and most democratic method of maintaining sound industrial relations.

8. UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE EXTENSION

Placing demobilized veterans and displaced war workers in new peacetime jobs is the major human problem of our country's reconversion to a peacetime economy. It is imperative that this work be done swiftly and efficiently, and that men and women lose a minimum amount of time between jobs.

The next few months are crucial. What we do now will affect our American way of life for decades to come.

The United States Employment Service has an important responsibility in the performance of this task.

At present, this agency operates as a national and centralized system with a free flow of information among its offices. Under the 1946 appropriation act, the offices are to be turned back to the 48 States within 90 days after the cessation of hostilities.

Shortly after the declaration of war, the Government realized that the manpower of the Nation could be mobilized more efficiently if the United States Employment Service were centralized under Federal control. Hundreds of thousands of workers had to be recruited from all parts of the country. Often, they were wanted in regions far from their homes. Certain areas had surpluses of labor; others were desperately in need of more workers. This situation could be met only through a centrally operated employment service that covered the entire Nation.

Now we are faced with this problem in reverse. Hundreds of thousands of men and women will want to seek jobs in towns and cities other than those in which they worked during the war. They may want to return home, or they may want to strike out in search of new opportunities in new surroundings. Millions of veterans also will be coming back in search of peacetime jobs. They will want to know where such jobs can be found, not only in their own areas, but also in other parts of the land.

The task of helping this vast army of job seekers to fit themselves into peacetime economy is fully as difficult as the mobilization of manpower for war. To make any decided change in the machinery to handle this problem now would cause unnecessary hardship to workers and veterans. It would slow down the entire process of reconversion.

I urgently recommend that the Congress do not yet return the Employment Service to the States. Ultimately it should be so returned. However, it should be continued under Federal control at least until the expiration of the War Mobilization Act—June 30, 1947.

I also recommend that its appropriation be increased by \$10,000,000 for the current fiscal year. Prompt action on this matter is especially important since personnel and facilities must be quickly enlarged to handle the rising tide of veterans and war workers who will be seeking jobs.

9. AGRICULTURE

One of the most magnificent production jobs in the war has been done by the farmers of the United States. They have met the unprecedented demands of the war, and, at the same time, have provided our civilian population with more food per capita than during the 1935-39 prewar period.

No other group in America labored longer or harder to meet the war demands put upon them. Food production last year reached a peak more than a third above the prewar years despite the fact that farm population has declined by about five million since 1940.

Fortunately, farmers were aided by better-than-average weather conditions over the country. We cannot, however, count on continuance of better-than-average weather. Therefore, because of the great demands for food that exist in this country and for relief abroad, the Department of Agriculture is planning for another year of full production. This does not mean the same volume of production for each individual crop, because the surrender of Japan has brought changes in the demand pattern. But the total acreage needed for next year will not be greatly different from this year.

The Government now must be prepared to carry out the Nation's responsibility to aid farmers in making their necessary readjustments from a wartime to a peacetime basis. The Congress already has provided postwar supports against price collapse for many farm products. This was a provision of wisdom and foresight.

After the First World War farm prices dropped more than 50 percent from the spring of 1920 to the spring of 1921. We do not intend to permit a repetition of the disaster that followed the First World War. The Secretary of Agriculture has assured me that he will use all means now authorized by the Congress to carry out the price-support commitments.

But there is need for additional measures to strengthen the machinery for carrying out price-support commitments, and for laying the basis for broader peacetime markets for agricultural products.

The Congress already has provided for one such postwar measure that needs now to be adapted to our changed situation. Recognizing that the lend-lease program required greatly increased production and that this increase could not be suddenly discontinued when the program stopped, the Congress wisely set aside \$500,000,000 of lend-lease funds for price support of farm commodities. This money is now available for the purpose for which it was intended, but in order that it may be used most effectively whenever the need arises, I recommend early legislation which would make those funds available to the Commodity Credit Corporation on a continuing basis. Such action would reaffirm the specific intent of the Congress as to the use of this money in safeguarding farm prices.

Strengthening the machinery for carrying out price-support commitments is one measure necessary to safeguard farm prices. Stimulation of the export of farm commodities is another. More food is needed in the war-ravaged areas of the world. In the process of meeting relief requirements abroad, we have the opportunity of developing export markets for the future.

The farmer has always faced certain specific problems which are peculiar to his occupation. His crops are at the mercy of the weather.

The factory owner and the worker at the machine have available to them insurance programs which protect them from losses. Our farmers have the right to the same kind of protection. Strengthening and further development of crop insurance for farmers, organized and backed by the Federal Government, can give them this protection. A well-rounded crop-insurance program, together with the assurance of reasonable and stable farm prices, will go a long way toward meeting basic problems which have plagued farmers in the past.

Much that has been accomplished during the war was made possible by the wise national program in support of scientific research in agriculture and forestry, and by the program for the conservation and improvement of our soil and forest resources. These policies have paid large dividends during the war. We ought to continue and strengthen them.

Within recent years the Congress has enacted various measures which have done much to improve the economic status of this country's farmers and to make rural living more attractive. In enacting individual pieces of legislation it has not been possible to make adjustments in existing measures in keeping with the changing pattern of needs. The Secretary of Agriculture is now re-examining existing agricultural programs in the light of peacetime needs in order that they may make the fullest contribution to the welfare of farmers and the people as a whole. I hope that the Congress also, through its appropriate committees, will give careful consideration to this problem with a view to making such adjustments as are necessary to strengthen the effectiveness of these various measures.

10. SELECTIVE SERVICE

While the cruel lessons of war are fresh in every mind, it is fitting that we now undertake appropriate measures for the future security of the United States.

The times call for a broad and realistic appraisal of our military needs and obligations. This Nation, and the other members of the family of nations, are facing the hazardous transition to a peace economy in a world grown acutely sensitive to power.

We have charted the course to a stable world peace, but that course still remains to be sailed.

We must, of course, plan for the immediate needs of this year and the next. But we would break faith with those who won for us the victory, if we should fail at the same time to adopt an integrated and long-range program for the national security.

As a sovereign nation, we must continue to be ready to defend our national integrity by maintaining and manning adequate defense establishments within this continent, at the Panama Canal, and at all our bases overseas. As a member of the Security Council of the United Nations, we have an immediate obligation to bear a share, commensurate with our national standing, in safeguarding the future security of all peace-loving nations. As a victor in the greatest war of history, we are committed now to an armed occupation of the lands of our defeated enemies until it is assured that the principles for which we fought shall prevail in the reconstruction of those lands.

To meet these immediate obligations will require the maintenance for some time of a real measure of our present land, sea, and air power.

And in this first year after victory our people have another obligation, one which is felt in almost every American home. We owe it to those now in the armed forces that they be returned to civilian life with all possible speed.

To provide the personnel necessary to meet these immediate obligations we must obtain replacements for those veterans who have already rendered long and arduous service.

We shall make every effort to raise these replacements by recruiting volunteers. To that end I ask that the Congress consider ways and means to assure the maximum success of the recruiting campaigns which have already been authorized. I suggest that legislation be enacted to remove the present restriction on eligibility for voluntary enlistment and to allow the armed forces to enlist a larger number of volunteers than is now authorized. It is further recommended that, in order to enable the armed forces satisfactorily to compete in the procurement of personnel, the Congress provide suitable inducements for volunteer service in the Army and Navy.

However, in view of our extensive national commitments, I am certain, as are the War and Navy Departments, that we cannot rely on voluntary recruitment as

the sole method of procuring the necessary replacements.

I, therefore, urge that the Congress continue inductions to assure replacements for these veterans, in such numbers as are not supplied by volunteers.

An unforgivable discrimination would result if, by suspending inductions now, we should favor those who have had no military service at the cost of requiring continued sacrifice from those who have already done their part.

Our first concern should be for those who have been in the armed forces for several years. They have been separated from their homes and from their loved ones. Many of them have been under constant fire and continuous danger for months and even years. We should try to avoid imposing further service upon them.

The only way that this can be done is to continue the induction of young men who as yet have not served a tour of active duty in the armed services. Only when we find that we are able to obtain a sufficient number of volunteers to fill the necessary quotas for our occupational needs, can we discontinue the Selective Service System.

Of course it is entirely up to the Congress to choose the means by which we will provide and maintain the necessary strength to meet our commitments. The alternatives presented are very simple. There are no others. Either we retain men now in the service for a further indefinite period, or we provide replacements by further inductions.

As you know, I have already directed the Selective Service to cut down the number of inductions from 80,000 to 50,000 per month, and to limit them to the age group of 18 through 25.

It would seem reasonable to limit inductions hereafter to men between the ages of 18 and 25, inclusive, and fix their maximum term of service at two years.

Under the existing statute, inductees can be legally retained only for the duration of the war and a period of six months thereafter. I trust that, in any event, the Congress will not pass a resolution to the effect that the war has terminated for the purposes of this statute. To do so would give to all inducted men and temporary officers of the Army now on active duty the right to civilian status, and would create an impossible demobilization situation.

These are the military steps which it is apparent must be taken at once to meet the needs of the transition from war to peace. First things necessarily come first.

But the full needs of our national security run far beyond this immediate period of transition. We should make timely preparation for the Nation's long-range security, while we are still mindful of what it has cost us in this war to have been unprepared.

It is, therefore, my intention to communicate with the Congress from time to time during the current session with respect to a comprehensive and continuous program of national security, including a universal training program, unification

of the armed services, and the use and control of atomic energy.

11. HOUSING

The largest single opportunity for the rapid postwar expansion of private investment and employment lies in the field of housing, both urban and rural. The present shortage of decent homes and the enforced widespread use of substandard housing indicate vital unfulfilled needs of the Nation. These needs will become more marked as veterans begin to come back and look for places to live.

There is wide agreement that, over the next ten years, there should be built in the United States an average of from a million to a million and a half homes a year.

Such a program would provide an opportunity for private capital to invest from six to seven billion dollars annually. Private enterprise in this field could provide employment for several million workers each year. A housing program of this realistic size would, in turn, stimulate a vast amount of business and employment in industries which make house furnishings and equipment of every kind, and in the industries which supply the materials for them. It would provide an impetus for new products, and would develop new markets for a variety of manufactured articles to be made by private enterprise.

Housing is high on the list of matters calling for decisive Congressional action. This is reflected in recommendations contained in reports recently issued by the postwar committees of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. While differing opinions may be held as to detail, these proposals for action already developed in the Congress appear to me sound and essential.

I urgently recommend that the Congress, at an early date, enact broad and comprehensive housing legislation.

The cardinal principle underlying such legislation should be that house construction and financing for the overwhelming majority of our citizens should be done by private enterprise.

We should retain and improve upon the present excellent Government facilities which permit the savings of the people to be channeled voluntarily into private house construction on financing terms that will serve the needs of home owners of moderate income.

The present principles of insurance of housing investment—now tested by years of experience—should be retained and extended, so as to encourage direct investment in housing by private financing institutions.

The Government, in addition to providing these facilities to help private enterprise and private capital build homes, should take effective measures to stimulate research in methods and materials of housing construction. In this way, better and cheaper methods may be developed to build homes.

In addition to this type of research, the Government might well undertake to assist communities in making recurrent community studies in matters relating to housing and real estate generally. Such a program would contribute in great degree to the progress of private initiative

and private capital investment in housing.

We must go on. We must widen our horizon even further. We must consider the redevelopment of large areas of the blighted and slum sections of our cities so that in the truly American way they may be remade to accommodate families not only of low-income groups as heretofore, but of every income group. We must make it possible for private enterprise to do the major part of this job. In most cases, it is now impossible for private enterprise to contemplate rebuilding slum areas without public assistance. The land cost generally is too high.

The time has come for the Government to begin to undertake a program of Federal aid to stimulate and promote the redevelopment of these deteriorating areas. Such Federal aid should be extended only to those communities which are willing to bear a fair part of the cost of clearing their blighted city areas and preparing them for redevelopment and rebuilding.

The rebuilding of these areas should conform to broad city plans, provide adequately for displaced families and make maximum use of private capital. Here lies another road toward establishing a better standard of city living, toward increasing business activity and providing jobs.

This Nation has recognized the need of using public funds to clear slums and to provide homes for those families who could not otherwise enjoy adequate housing because of the difference between their present earning power and the cost or rental of a decent home. We cannot, and we will not, recede from these purposes.

For those low-income groups, representing but a small portion of the total housing need, our prewar program of Federal aid to communities for low-rent housing should be resumed. Only in that way can we make progress toward our ultimate goal laid down in the economic bill of rights of a decent home for every American family.

I recommend, also, that we quicken our rate of progress in rural housing. As a general rule, housing conditions on farms and in rural areas are relatively worse than in our cities. In housing, as well as in other benefits of the American system, farm families should enjoy equality with city dwellers.

A decent standard of housing for all is one of the irreducible obligations of modern civilization. The housing challenge is now squarely before us. The people of the United States, so far ahead in wealth and productive capacity, deserve to be the best housed people in the world. We must begin to meet that challenge at once.

12. RESEARCH

Progress in scientific research and development is an indispensable condition to the future welfare and security of the Nation. The events of the past few years are both proof and prophecy of what science can do.

Science in this war has worked through thousands of men and women who labored selflessly and, for the most part,

anonymously in the laboratories, pilot plants, and proving grounds of the Nation.

Through them, science, always pushing forward the frontiers of knowledge, forged the new weapons that shortened the war.

Progress in science cannot depend alone upon brilliant inspiration or sudden flights of genius. We have recently had a dramatic demonstration of this truth. In peace and in war, progress comes slowly in small new bits, from the unremitting day-by-day labors of thousands of men and women.

No nation can maintain a position of leadership in the world of today unless it develops to the full its scientific and technological resources. No government adequately meets its responsibilities unless it generously and intelligently supports and encourages the work of science in university, industry, and in its own laboratories.

During the war we have learned much about the methods of organizing science, and about the ways of encouraging and supporting its activities.

The development of atomic energy is a clear-cut indication of what can be accomplished by our universities, industry, and Government working together. Vast scientific fields remain to be conquered in the same way.

In order to derive the full profit in the future from what we have learned, I urge upon the Congress the early adoption of legislation for the establishment of a single Federal research agency which would discharge the following functions:

1. Promote and support fundamental research and development projects in all matters pertaining to the defense and security of the Nation.
2. Promote and support research in the basic sciences and in the social sciences.
3. Promote and support research in medicine, public health, and allied fields.
4. Provide financial assistance in the form of scholarships and grants for young men and women of proved scientific ability.
5. Coordinate and control diverse scientific activities now conducted by the several departments and agencies of the Federal Government.
6. Make fully, freely, and publicly available to commerce, industry, agriculture, and academic institutions, the fruits of research financed by Federal funds.

Scientific knowledge and scientific research are a complex and interrelated structure. Technological advances in one field may have great significance for another apparently unrelated. Accordingly, I urge upon the Congress the desirability of centralizing these functions in a single agency.

Although science can be coordinated and encouraged, it cannot be dictated to or regimented. Science cannot progress unless founded on the free intelligence of the scientist. I stress the fact that the Federal research agency here proposed should in no way impair that freedom.

Even if the Congress promptly adopts the legislation I have recommended, some months must elapse before the

newly established agency could commence its operations. To fill what I hope will be only a temporary gap, I have asked the Office of Scientific Research and Development and the Research Board for National Security to continue their work.

Our economic and industrial strength, the physical well-being of our people, the achievement of full employment and full production, the future of our security, and the preservation of our principles will be determined by the extent to which we give full and sincere support to the works of science.

It is with these works that we can build the highroads to the future.

13. TRANSITION TAX REVISION

Taxes will play a vital role in attaining a prosperous peace.

I recommend that a transitional tax bill be enacted as soon as possible to provide limited tax reductions for the calendar year 1946. Like the Tax Adjustment Act of 1945, the new bill should aim principally at removing barriers to speedy reconversion and to the expansion of our peacetime economy.

This matter has been under study jointly by congressional and Treasury tax staffs. I am assured that a program will be ready for early consideration by the Congress.

We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that room for tax reduction at this time is limited. A total war effort cannot be liquidated overnight.

It is estimated that war expenditures in the current fiscal year will drop 40 billion dollars below last year, but that they will still amount to 50 billion dollars out of total expenditures of 66 billion dollars. With current receipts estimated at 36 billion dollars, we face an estimated deficit of 30 billion dollars in the current fiscal year. Expenditures, although further reduced, will necessarily continue at high levels in the fiscal year 1947.

In considering tax reductions for 1946 we must not lose sight of the budgetary situation and our obligations to 85,000,000 bondholders.

After passage of the transitional bill, I hope that the Congress will give careful consideration to the modernization of the Federal tax structure. A major objective of this modernization should be the encouragement of business incentives and expansion, and of consumer purchasing power. In this connection consideration of further tax reductions should have due regard to the level of governmental expenditures and the health and stability of our economy.

14. SURPLUS-PROPERTY DISPOSAL

On July 17 I recommended that the Congress enact legislation creating a single Surplus Property Administrator in place of the board of three which was provided in the statute enacted last year.

I realize that this recommendation came too late to be dealt with prior to your recess, but I strongly urge that you act on it now.

A single administrator can do much to obviate the confusion which still exists in this field, and will be able to expedite the disposal of the many billions of dollars of surplus property.

The disposition of plants and equipment is of particular urgency. They should be disposed of promptly by sale or lease on a basis that is fair to the Government and to industry. Our objectives should be to provide early and continuous employment, and through private production, to supply hungry markets and check inflationary tendencies. Leases may often enable the Government and the operator to determine actual value by actual experience. The sooner we can put plants and equipment to work, the sooner we can discard our wartime controls in the transition from war to peace.

15. SMALL BUSINESS

During the war special attention was paid to small business. The American small business is the backbone of our free-enterprise system. The efforts of the Congress in protecting small business during the war paid high dividends, not only in protecting small business enterprise, but also in speeding victory. In spite of the fact, however, that many businesses were helped and saved, it is true that many thousands of them were obliged to close up because of lack of materials or manpower or inability to get into war production.

It is very important to the economy of the United States that these small businesses and many more of them be given opportunity to become a part of American trade and industry. To do this, assistance should be given to small businesses to enable them to obtain adequate materials, private financing, technological improvements, and surplus property.

While some special facilities for small business are required, the greatest help to it will come from the maintenance of general prosperity and full employment. It is much more difficult for small business to survive the hazards which come from trade recessions and widespread unemployment. What small business needs chiefly is a steady supply of customers with stable purchasing power.

I am sure that the Congress will see to it that in its legislation adequate protection and encouragement will be given to the small business of the Nation.

16. VETERANS

It has been a fundamental objective of the Congress and of the administration to make generous provision for those who have served the Nation in its armed forces, and for the dependents of those who have died in their country's cause.

Although a full list of what has been done toward this objective would be entirely too long to enumerate here, it might be well to list some of the major steps already taken:

(1) Adoption of a National Service Life Insurance Act under which about 17½ million insurance applications have been approved, resulting in insurance coverage of more than \$135,000,000,000.

(2) Provision of increased compensation or pension for disabled veterans.

(3) Extension and expansion of hospital benefits.

(4) Vocational education and training for veterans having a service-connected disability constituting a vocational handicap.

(5) Mustering-out pay ranging from \$100 to \$300 dependent upon length of service and rate of pay.

(6) Education or training for any veteran whose education or training was interrupted by entrance into the service.

(7) Guarantee of loans to veterans for the purchase of a home, a farm, or a business.

(8) Legislation to protect the veteran's right to reemployment in his preservice job, if desired.

(9) Provision of unemployment allowances for veterans who become unemployed at any time within two years after discharge, of \$20 per week for not to exceed 52 weeks.

(10) Civil-service laws to insure preference to veterans in governmental service.

(11) There has also been instituted in each State pursuant to law an efficient system whereby the counseling and placement needs of veterans will be the responsibility of veterans appointed for that special work.

The transition of veterans from military to civilian activities cannot be accomplished satisfactorily by the Federal Government alone or the States alone, or, indeed, by both. Government can help chiefly through organization and over-all planning. But the real work must be done in each community, through cooperation of the industrial, labor, and civic organizations interested in the welfare of the community and of the veterans.

There have been established information centers in all the field activities of the Selective Service System, United States Employment Service, and Veterans Administration totaling more than 8,000. Veterans may there obtain information on any question of interest to them.

Also, the Retraining and Reemployment Administration in cooperation with the leadership of local communities has established approximately 1,450 community information centers. There are therefore 9,000 information centers of all types throughout the country available to veterans for information purposes. With respect to agricultural interests, use has been made of county committees.

Broad and generous as this legislation for veterans has been, there will be need of amendments and improvements. I recommend that the Congress give prompt consideration to the recommendations which have been made by the Veterans' Administration for the purpose of clarifying and liberalizing the provisions relative to hospital and medical care, to vocational training under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, and to education and training under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act. I also urge consideration of the suggestions made by the Veterans' Administration with respect to the loan guarantee features of the latter Act, to amendments clarifying and liberalizing the National Service Life Insurance Act, and those which would increase the rates of compensation for specific injuries including multiple amputations.

I have recommended that the Selective Training and Service Act be continued;

but if the Congress determines to the contrary, I urgently recommend that it clarify the provisions thereof which specifically deal with the right of re-employment.

Favorable consideration should be given by the Congress to Federal reclamation projects as outstanding opportunities for returning veterans. The great Columbia Basin project in the Northwest, the projects in the Missouri River Basin, and others of equal significance will bring into existence many thousands of new family-size farms upon which returning veterans can secure a livelihood for themselves and their families and create new wealth for the Nation. A number of farms can be made ready for veterans rapidly if legislation now pending is enacted without delay. This legislation would authorize necessary and proper assistance to veterans who seek to develop farm homes on irrigated lands in Federal reclamation project areas.

I also recommend that the Congress expedite legislation giving veterans social-security coverage credit for the period of their service in the armed services.

The latest available statistics in the Veterans' Administration shows that pension payments in varying amounts are now going forward each month to approximately 600,000 veterans of World War II and to the dependents of more than 100,000 deceased veterans of World War II.

Insurance claims under the National Service Life Insurance Act have been allowed in a total of 361,000 cases involving insurance of approximately 2½ billion dollars.

More than 200,000 World War II veterans have already been afforded hospital care in Veterans' Administration facilities.

At the time of Pearl Harbor, the Veterans' Administration and the Federal Board of Hospitalization had under way a hospital-building program which by 1949, the estimated peak of needs for World War I veterans, would have provided a total of 100,000 beds for hospital and domiciliary care. Since Pearl Harbor the hospital-building program has been expedited.

The Veterans' Administration now has approximately 82,000 hospital and 14,000 domiciliary beds. Thirteen thousand beds are now under construction, and funds are available for 15,000 more.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act authorizes appropriations to the extent of \$500,000,000 for the construction of veterans' hospitals and also the transfer to the Veterans' Administration of suitable facilities of the Army and Navy after the end of the war, when surplus to their needs. The program of the Veterans' Administration and the Federal Board of Hospitalization contemplates keeping abreast of developing needs through such transfers and additional construction. To this end a plan has just been approved for construction of 29,000 additional beds.

Since World War I there have been more than 3,000,000 hospital admissions in veterans' facilities—and most of them since 1925. Considering that the total number of veterans of World War I and

all living veterans of prior wars did not exceed one-third the number of the veterans of World War II, it can readily be seen how important it is to provide hospital privilege. The subject is one which should receive the most careful consideration from the point of view of the extent and quality of facilities to be provided and maintained.

In the last analysis, if we can insure the proper economic conditions, we may be sure that the genius and initiative of Americans who met successfully all demands of the greatest war in history, both on the fighting front and on the production front, will make certain the reintegration of veterans into an expanding civilian economy. Anything less would not meet the country's obligations to its veterans.

17. PUBLIC WORKS AND NATIONAL RESOURCES

During the war years we have expended our resources—both human and natural—without stint. We have thrown into the battle for freedom everything we had.

Thousands of our finest young men—our best human resources—have given their lives. Additional thousands have been injured so that they may not be able to realize their full promise. The education of millions of young men and young women has been disrupted. At best, the Nation will be deprived of the full benefit of their services as scientists, doctors, technicians, lawyers, and educators for 3 to 5 years, or even longer, while they complete the preparation which the necessities of war interrupted.

The depletion of our natural resources is even more startling. We have torn from the earth copper, petroleum, iron ore, tungsten, and every other mineral required to fight a war, without regard to our future supplies. We have taken what we needed. We were not able to, and we did not, take account of tomorrow.

At the same time, our splendid prewar program to build up our national resources was sharply halted. The diligent and constant search for additional deposits of minerals was almost abandoned in favor of a frantic effort to discover and make possible the production of the materials of war.

The long-range programs to conserve the precious inches of topsoil which, in many parts of the country, lie between plenty and poverty were necessarily interrupted. We had neither the manpower nor the materials to spare for projects to prevent the ravages of floods which constantly despoil our land. We had neither the men nor the facilities to continue a large-scale program of reclaiming land and of bringing new land into cultivation.

With a few exceptions, we were forced to suspend the program to which this Nation is committed of harnessing the waters of our great rivers so that they may become vehicles of commerce, beneficent producers of cheap electric power, and servants of the Nation instead of instruments of destruction.

In brief, although during this war this Nation has reached the apex of its power—a peak of greatness and might which the world had never seen—our national capital account has greatly suffered.

We must proceed with all possible diligence not merely to restore these depleted resources to their prewar standards but to make them greater and richer than ever before.

We must make a diligent effort to discover new deposits of the precious and indispensable minerals upon which our national life is founded.

We must develop for the use of industry new technologies so that the vast deposits of low-grade ores that have not heretofore been considered usable may be put to work for the good of all of us.

We should build and improve our roads—the arteries of commerce; we must harness our streams for the general welfare; we must rebuild and reclaim our land; we must protect and restore our forests.

This is not only to provide men and women with work, it is to assure to the Nation the very basis of its life. It is to play the part of a good businessman who insists carefully on maintaining and rebuilding his plant and machinery.

We know that by the investment of Federal funds we can, within the limits of our own Nation, provide for our citizens new frontiers—new territories for the development of industry, agriculture, and commerce.

We have before us the example of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which has inspired regional resource development throughout the entire world.

We know that we have programs, carefully considered and extensively debated, for regional development of the Columbia River in the great Northwest, the Missouri River, the Central Valley of California, and the Arkansas River.

In the Columbia Valley the first major step has been completed for the reclamation of barren land and the production of enormous quantities of power. The waters of the Missouri and the Arkansas and the rivers of California can be put to work to serve the national interest in a similar fashion.

If these rivers remain scourges of our Nation, it is only because we do not have the prudence to harness them for the benefit of our people. If there are among us for any period of time farmers who do not farm because there is no suitable land available to them; workers who do not work because there is no labor for their hands, we have only ourselves to blame so long as we fail to make available to them the opportunities before our very eyes.

I hope that the Congress will proceed as rapidly as possible to authorize regional development of the national resources of our great river valleys.

It should be unnecessary to say that the conservation and development of the national plant must proceed according to an intelligent and coordinated design. The watersheds of this Nation are not utterly independent, one of the other; our irreplaceable wealth of minerals, land, and timber is not composed of segments which can effectively be dealt with separately. Any program of public works must have as its unifying purpose the greatest possible contribution to the wealth of the Nation and to the wealth-producing capability of the Nation.

It is necessary that we proceed as speedily as possible to set up machinery to make an inventory of our national wealth and our basic resources, and to test the suitability of plans and proposals for public works in light of this purpose. An agency of this sort could provide us with consistent direction toward the goal of rehabilitation and improvement of our basic national resources.

Shortages of materials and manpower made it necessary in the interests of the war effort to suspend many public works which might otherwise have been undertaken. Now that materials and manpower will become more plentiful, we should be prepared to undertake a program of useful public works, not only to improve the physical plant of the United States but to provide employment to great masses of our citizens when private industry cannot do so. Only such public works should now be undertaken, however, as will not compete with the use of materials and manpower by private industry. Plans for other public works should be perfected and put in reserve.

In this connection I have several recommendations:

(1) During the war the construction of Federal public works has been restricted to those necessary for national defense and the prosecution of the war. Projects which normally would have been constructed were deferred, and a large backlog of needed construction has accumulated. Plans for some of these projects—specifically those relating to reclamation, rivers and harbors, flood control, and the conservation of our natural resources—are now ready, and their construction can go forward when funds are provided and materials and manpower are available without competing with private industry. Plans for other Federal projects are being prepared through the use of funds wisely appropriated by the Congress for advance preparation. Additional funds are needed for this purpose, and I urge that the Congress provide them.

(2) I recommend that the Congress enact legislation authorizing additional construction of certain Federal buildings. A portion of this program has already been authorized but has been held up by reason of cost limits imposed upon the buildings which cannot now be met because of increased needs and costs.

(3) I recommend that the Congress release the funds for the highway program authorized under the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944 (Public Law 521, 78th Cong.). Under this act \$500,000,000 has been authorized for the first year and \$500,000,000 for each of the two succeeding years, making a total authorization of one and one-half billion. With the States' share of the cost included, this would provide a total highway construction program of \$3,000,000,000 for a 3-year period.

(4) I recommend that the Congress appropriate \$25,000,000 to continue the construction of the Inter-American Highway through the Central American Republics to the Canal Zone.

(5) I recommend that the Congress enact legislation to provide the necessary airports and airport facilities to

serve the great needs of an expanded postwar air transportation and commerce. A well-planned airport program would improve transportation, amplify the usefulness of the airplane, and contribute to a healthy aircraft manufacturing industry.

The Congress now has before it a survey of the present and future needs for airports in the United States prepared by the Secretary of Commerce. This report indicates the necessity for approximately 3,000 new airports and for improvements to more than half of the existing 3,000 airports. The report recommends that the program be spread over a period of 10 years and that the cost be shared equally between Federal and non-Federal governmental agencies. I recommend passage of appropriate legislation to implement this program.

(6) State and local governments should be encouraged to construct useful public works of the types that must necessarily supplement and go along with the private construction of homes and industrial facilities. If private construction is to move forward at a rapid rate, it is vitally important that local governments promptly proceed with the construction of such facilities as streets, sewers, water supply, hospitals, airports, schools, and other necessary public facilities. Such projects should be undertaken at this time where they supplement and encourage private construction, not where they compete with it for manpower and materials.

The Congress has already authorized under title V of the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944 appropriations for advances of Federal funds to State and local governments to assist them in the preparation of detailed drawings and specifications for their public works. The appropriation thus far made is entirely inadequate and I shall request additional funds in order to speed up this important activity during the reconversion period.

The majority of State and local governments are awaiting a decision concerning Federal assistance. In order to get needed public facilities started promptly which do not compete with private construction, I recommend that the Congress give early consideration to grants for such public works under conditions that will insure that each level of government, Federal, State, and local, shall make its appropriate contribution.

(7) The Congress has also been giving consideration to legislation with respect to the construction of hospitals and health centers throughout the country. During the war the Government, through the Federal Works Agency and the Public Health Service, has assisted State and local governments and nonprofit organizations in the construction of such facilities. The beneficial results of this program are well known. The Federal Government must continue to recognize its obligation to maintain and improve the health of the Nation by providing Federal grants where necessary for the construction of hospital and health centers.

Programs of internal improvements of a public character—Federal, State, and local—must preserve competitive bidding, guarantee collective bargaining and good wages for labor, utilize the skills of

our returned veterans to the fullest extent, and effectively prevent discrimination because of race, creed, or color.

18. LEND-LEASE AND POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION

With the arrival of VJ-day lend-lease aid has practically come to an end. It was always understood that it would come to an end at that time. Immediately after Japan accepted the terms of unconditional surrender, I instructed the Foreign Economic Administrator to advise promptly all governments that deliveries of supplies under lend-lease would cease on VJ-day.

I also directed the Administrator in advance of the actual termination of lend-lease deliveries on VJ-day to enter into immediate negotiations with the receiving governments for the purchase of all goods in the pipe line or in storage. These negotiations are proceeding satisfactorily.

In due time we must consider the settlement of the lend-lease obligations which have been incurred during the course of the war. We must recognize that it will not be possible for our Allies to pay us dollars for the overwhelming portion of the lend-lease obligations which they have incurred. But this does not mean that all lend-lease obligations are to be canceled. We shall seek under the procedure prescribed in the Lend-Lease Act and in subsequent agreements with other governments to achieve settlements of our wartime lend-lease relations which will permit generally a sound world-wide economy and will contribute to international peace and our own national security.

We must turn from economic cooperation in war to economic cooperation in peace. We have taken steps to carry out the Bretton Woods proposals for an international monetary fund and an International Bank. We are preparing to extend the operations of the Export-Import Bank. Our objective is to enable the peace-loving nations of the world to become self-supporting in a world of expanding freedom and rising standards of living.

Further legislation is also necessary. If we are to avoid the maintenance of governmental monopoly of international credit, the Johnson Act must be repealed. Private loans on a sane basis are an essential adjunct to the operations of the Export-Import and International Bank operations.

I am directing the executive agencies to give full weight to foreign requirements in determining the need for maintaining domestic and export controls and priorities.

We have already solemnly stated that we will do all that is reasonably possible to help war-torn countries to get back on their feet. I am sure that the Congress will wish the Government to live up to that pledge.

Further legislative action is needed in connection with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. I recommended that the Congress fulfill the commitment already made by appropriating the remaining \$550,000,000 granted by the Congress for United States participation.

The Council Meeting of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has just been brought to a successful conclusion. At that meeting our delegate found the need for an additional contribution from all participating countries, to enable the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to complete its work in Europe and Asia. On his motion, the Council voted to recommend to member countries a further contribution. Our own share will amount to approximately \$1,350,000,000. I am confident that you will find this request for an additional authorization and appropriation fully justified, and I ask for prompt examination and consideration of the request.

In meeting the needs of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, surplus military and lend-lease goods will be used to the fullest possible extent.

Finally, I foresee the need for additional interim lending power to insure a rapid and successful transition to peacetime world trade. Appropriate recommendations will be made to the Congress on this matter when we have completed the exploratory conversations already begun with our associates. We wish to maintain the flow of supplies without interruption. Accordingly, I have directed the executive agencies to complete their conversations and studies at the earliest possible moment. I ask the Congress for speedy consideration of the recommendations when they are made.

19. CONGRESSIONAL SALARIES

Now that restrictions on voluntary salary increases have been removed, I hope that the Congress will take action soon on the salaries of its Members.

My experience as a Member of the Senate has given me a very keen appreciation of the quantity and quality of the work of the Members of the Congress. They are called upon to carry great responsibility and make important decisions in a multitude of matters involving the welfare of the Nation and of the world. Their tasks continue day in and day out. They have increased in number and in importance year by year.

There is no doubt in the mind of any thinking American that Members of the Congress are grossly underpaid and have been for many years. I think that they are entitled—and have already so expressed myself—to a salary anywhere from fifteen to twenty-five thousand dollars a year. I recommend that the Congress enact legislation providing that the salaries of its Members be increased to twenty thousand dollars per year.

At the same time I recommend the repeal of the provision now applicable to the House of Representatives for an additional expense allowance. There should be a straight, out-and-out salary increase for all Members. We should make service in the Congress of the United States available without hardship to ordinary citizens who have to look to the salary for their sole support. I also recommend that an adequate retirement system should be provided for the Members of the Congress who have served for a long period of years.

This should be the first step in creating a decent salary scale for all Federal Government employees—executive, legislative, and judicial.

The most important impediment to obtaining efficient administrative officials in the Federal Government has been the pitiful wage scale. During the war many able and experienced men were obtained for Federal service on purely patriotic grounds. Some of these men who are unable to continue at the present salary scales would be willing to remain at adequate salaries.

In most of the various classifications of Federal employees, the wage scales, with few exceptions, are obsolete and inadequate. This is particularly true of the Federal judiciary.

I sincerely hope that the Congress will take early steps to provide decent wage scales for its Members and for the executive and judicial branches of the Government.

20. SALE OF SHIPS

Prompt resumption of the normal operation of our merchant marine to expedite the reestablishment of our foreign trade is a major part of general reconversion from a wartime to a peacetime economy. The Maritime Commission has already received numerous inquiries and applications from potential purchasers of ships at home and abroad for private ownership and operation.

It is recommended that suitable legislation to permit such sales be expedited so that the uncertainty about the disposal of our large surplus tonnage may be removed. In this way, American shipping companies may undertake commercial operation as rapidly as ships can be released from Government control, and the foreign market can also be used for selling those vessels which are in excess of the needs of our postwar American merchant marine and national defense.

21. STOCK PILING OF STRATEGIC MATERIAL

One of the costliest lessons of our unpreparedness for this war was the great danger involved in depending upon foreign sources for supplies of raw materials necessary in times of national emergency. The United States should never again permit itself to be placed in a position where its defense may be jeopardized by the fact that it has been cut off from the source of strategic raw materials.

I recommend that the Congress enact legislation to bring about the acquisition and retention of stock piles of materials in which we are naturally deficient but which are necessary to supply the needs of the Nation for its defense.

I shall shortly communicate with the Congress recommending a national health program to provide adequate medical care for all Americans and to protect them from financial loss and hardships resulting from illness and accident. I shall also communicate with the Congress with respect to expanding our social-security system, and improving our program of education for our citizens.

In this hour of victory over our enemies abroad, let us now resolve to use all our efforts and energies to build a better life here at home and a better world for generations to come.

The Congress has played its full part in shaping the domestic and foreign policies which have won this victory and started us on the road to lasting peace.

The Congress, I know, will continue to play its patriotic part in the difficult years ahead. We face the future together with confidence—that the job, the full job, can and will be done.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, September 6, 1945.

RETURN OF VOLUNTARY ENLISTMENT BASIS FOR THE ARMED FORCES

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, the change of this country from war to peace has begun. Many problems confront us. It is the time which, through the anxious days of war, we all hoped and prayed would come; and with all the burdens this change may bring, we are glad it is here.

There are many particular problems presented. One of those for immediate attention is the reduction of our armed forces and the return to peacetime lives of those who, under enforced draft, were called into the service of the country. Already the discharge of men from the services is under way. It must continue as rapidly as it may be done. Both the Army and the Navy must be reduced and placed upon a basis necessary only to meet the needs of the era after war.

In carrying out this plan I feel that first consideration should be given to the men who have long served, who have served in battle, and who are weary with battle fatigue. As much for the general welfare of the country as in fair consideration of the men themselves, return should be expedited of those who have dependents to support. Those men are not only faced with the duty of earning a living for those dependent upon them from day to day, but of establishing through their productive years a business or a trade that will assure to their growing families the support and comforts to which they are entitled.

The Army and the Navy should be placed immediately upon a voluntary basis of enlistment. It is my suggestion that volunteers be enlisted for 1 year, with the right of the Government to terminate the service earlier if no longer needed.

Induction under selective service should end as promptly as enlistments are sufficient to meet the needs of the service. This does not mean that battleworn men or men with long service during this war should be delayed in their return home through suspension of induction; but it does mean that voluntary enlistments should be accepted immediately for both the Army and the Navy.

It is clear that the needs of the service will not be as great as was once thought for an occupation army of 3,000,000 men. On August 31, 1945, General Eisenhower announced that, contrary to previous estimated figures, not more than 400,000 men would be needed for the European Occupation Army. This, in my opinion, is a top figure and doubtless can be lowered. This estimate comes just a little more than 3 months after occupation of the captured territory of Europe. Certainly no greater number of men will be needed for the

occupation of Japan, as soon as the arms and the armaments of that country have been seized.

The Transportation Corps of the Army announced on July 31 of this year that 432,258 men had been brought back from Europe between May 12, 1945, and July 13, 1945—that is, within 60 days. Public-press reports stated that 1,000,000 men had been brought back to the country between May 8 and August 8, 1945—that is, within 90 days. So we will see that these men can be demobilized and returned quickly.

It may be of interest to the people to know that in the first part of June this year the Congress by statute directed the Army to open up enlistments to volunteers in the Regular Army up to the maximum peacetime strength Army of 280,000, the figure fixed as a maximum some years ago. These enlistments are to be for 3 years, just as in peacetime.

For some reason which has not yet been explained, the Army waited until August 15, 1945, to open up enlistments even for the Regular Army. This was a delay of 2½ months after the approval of the law, and indicates a reluctance on the part of the War Department to deal with the subject of voluntary enlistment.

It therefore becomes the duty of the Congress to deal with the subject of enlistments in the Army and Navy for their needs during the immediate post-war era; and, as I have stated, such enlistments should be for a period of 1 year.

Induction and the forced draft of men into the armed service were justifiable in time of war, but now that peace has come, and this being a country which finds its progress and achievement as a peaceful nation, we must return to a voluntary basis in the armed services if our people are to remain free and have the choice of such service.

All these things cannot be brought about immediately. That is, they cannot be brought about tomorrow or next week. It will take several months to get such a plan under way and to obtain results sufficient to end the draft. But I do not believe that it is going to take 2 years or more of inductions under Selective Service, nor do I believe that such inductions should be made or limited to 2 years' service, as advocated by the President and the War Department.

We should proceed at once to establish the armed services through personnel of volunteers. In doing so there is no reason whatsoever to delay the return of those who now have seen long service in the armed forces.

If it is found necessary to continue inductions for a matter of months longer until the result of the volunteer service can be ascertained, that can be done; but we should start at once without delay to have a volunteer Army and Navy. The time has come for forced draft and inductions to be considered for the purpose of ending them, not for the purpose of continuing them indefinitely.

Let the young men and the boys of this country have an opportunity to take up again their lives of peace. Permit

them to enjoy the real values of a free people. Reduce armaments to the minimum needed. Sustain our forces through those who choose to join them. The war has ended. Let the people live and choose to live as a peaceful people have the right to do.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McFARLAND in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

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

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session, The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. WAGNER, from the Committee on Banking and Currency:

Leo T. Crowley, of Wisconsin, and Phillips Lee Goldsborough, of Maryland, for appointment as members of the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for a term of 6 years from September 6, 1945.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, if there be no further business, I move that the Senate adjourn until next Monday at 12 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 16 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, September 10, 1945, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 6, 1945:

HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Paul V. McNutt, of Indiana, to be United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Corps of the United States Public Health Service:

Assistant surgeons to be passed assistant surgeons, effective dates indicated:

Robert V. Holman, July 1, 1944.
James R. Hurley, September 12, 1945.
James F. Maddux, July 1, 1945.
Wardell H. Mills, September 14, 1945.
Willoughby J. Rothrock, Jr., September 4, 1945.

Richard C. Siders, July 1, 1945.
Surgeons to be temporary senior surgeons, effective August 1, 1945:

Llewellyn L. Ashburn	Hollis U. Maness
Bert R. Boone	Thomas B. McKneely
Don S. Cameron	Carroll E. Palmer
Kenneth E. Gamm	Donald W. Patrick
Alfred B. Geyer	Thurman H. Rose
Clifton K. Himmelsbach	George G. VanDyke
Marion K. King	Victor H. Vogel
Benton O. Lewis	Oliver C. Williams
	William G. Workman

Dental surgeons to be temporary senior dental surgeons, effective dates indicated:

Leonard R. Etzenhouser, May 1, 1945.
Mark E. Bowers, August 1, 1945.
Gordon G. Braendle, August 1, 1945.
John M. Francis, August 1, 1945.
Charles B. Galt, August 1, 1945.
Frank E. Law, August 1, 1945.
Robert H. Moore, August 1, 1945.
Walter J. Pelton, August 1, 1945.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate September 6, 1945:

IN THE ARMY

TEMPORARY APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright to be general.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1945

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

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

All praise and glory be unto Thee, O God. Love and mercy never pass by the boundaries of Thy heart. As we tread the crowded pathways of life, lead us, we pray Thee, and convert us to humility, to unflinching kindness, and to the love that casteth out fear. Persuade us that the finest type of manhood and womanhood lies not in outward glory and honor but in the hidden soul. No achievement is so great or so high as the creation of character; all else is dim and stationary.

Almighty God, judge of all men, be with the whole race of humankind; cleanse its dark and forbidding passages, bind up its wounds and stop its anguished cries. O come to our own country, to our President, to this Congress; make us abundantly equal to every emergency. Help us to quench the smoldering fires of war with that courage and power that lifts humanity above all wrath and revenge. Put Thy hand upon us, our abilities, and our time, and say to us: "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof the world and they that dwell therein." In the name of the Prince of Peace. Amen.

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

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had adopted the following resolution (S. Res. 169):

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, late a Senator from the State of California.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That at the conclusion of its session today, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do adjourn.

The message also announced that the President pro tempore has appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain