

Chicago Times, which appears in the Appendix.]

MANPOWER—STATEMENT BY JAMES P. MITCHELL

[Mr. HILL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement on "Manpower," delivered by James P. Mitchell, Director of Industrial Personnel Division, A. S. F., on September 28, 1943, and a statement of Mr. Mitchell's background, which appear in the Appendix.]

DEFERMENT OF FATHERS FROM THE DRAFT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 763) exempting certain married men who have children from liability under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

[Mr. DOWNEY resumed the speech begun by him yesterday. After having spoken for about 1 hour and 10 minutes, he said:]

Mr. President, at this point in my address I desire to say that it will be my purpose to ask first to submit to the Senate a resolution, and to ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration. I hope the leaders on both sides will consent to the adoption of the resolution, but I should not like to present it and to proceed with respect to it in the absence of distinguished Senators who are not now present, so if any Senator wishes to suggest the absence of a quorum the suggestion will be gratefully received by me.

Thereupon, the following occurred:

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, it is the purpose of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to ask the Senator from California to yield so he may make a statement at this time. Does the Senator from California yield for that purpose? If so, I will suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. DOWNEY. I do not desire to yield the floor, I will say to the distinguished minority leader. I shall be very happy to have a quorum call and then to yield to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], who has a most important and interesting message for us all, if it may be understood that after the Senator from Massachusetts shall have completed his address I may then complete my address.

Mr. McNARY. That is very satisfactory.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I appreciate very much what the Senator from California has said.

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TUNNELL in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

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

Alken	Brooks	Clark, Mo.
Andrews	Buck	Connally
Austin	Bushfield	Danaher
Bailey	Butler	Davis
Ball	Byrd	Downey
Barbour	Capper	Eastland
Barkley	Caraway	Ellender
Brewster	Chavez	Ferguson
Bridges	Clark, Idaho	George

Gerry	Maloney	Taft
Green	Maybank	Thomas, Idaho
Guffey	Mead	Thomas, Okla.
Gurney	Millikin	Thomas, Utah
Hatch	Moore	Tobey
Hawkes	Murdock	Tunnell
Hayden	Murray	Tydings
Hill	O'Daniel	Vandenberg
Holman	O'Mahoney	Van Nuys
Johnson, Calif.	Overton	Wagner
Johnson, Colo.	Pepper	Wallgren
Kilgore	Radcliffe	Walsh
Langer	Reed	Wheeler
Lodge	Revercomb	Wherry
Lucas	Reynolds	White
McCarran	Robertson	Wiley
McClellan	Russell	Willis
McFarland	Scrugham	Wilson
McKellar	Shipstead	
McNary	Stewart	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eighty-five Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

REPORT ON VISIT TO THE FIGHTING FRONTS

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I am very much obliged to the Senator from California [Mr. DOWNEY] for yielding to me. As I think he knows, I left Honolulu Tuesday night and arrived in Washington this morning. I believe there is advantage to the Senate in hearing as promptly as possible a report of the kind which I propose to make.

As the Senate knows, I was one of the group of Senators who made a tour of the American war theaters. I shall first sketch the route which was followed, and then present various phases of the war situation. Because of considerations of military security, nine-tenths of the lessons which I learned cannot be discussed in public. I shall gladly talk these matters over with Senators individually, or with the Senate as a whole in executive session, if that should be desired.

I should like to be very careful to state at the outset that a rapid trip around the world does not make a man an expert. I do not pretend to speak as an authority. Luckily for me, I was a working newspaperman for many years, which has given me some training in asking questions, and my military service has given me a wide personal, first-name acquaintance with members of the Army. Being a Member of the Senate, of course, I had access to all the higher military leaders; and being a civilian and a public servant, I had access to the enlisted personnel on a more intimate and franker footing than an officer would usually have. I speak to the Senate today, therefore, as a reporter.

Upon my appointment as a member of the Senate group I decided to address myself primarily to the following matters:

First. The welfare of the troops, involving not only their food, clothing, equipment, medical care, and dependency allotments, but also the leadership which they were receiving, and, if possible, the fighting qualities which they displayed in combat and the obstacles which they had to overcome.

Second. The broad strategic problems in the various theaters, as they affect the conduct of the war and particularly as they point the way toward the problems which will face us after the war.

Third. Wherever time permitted, to look into the work of our civilian agencies abroad. I should say that this lat-

ter phase was especially and thoroughly studied by the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD] and the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER], who are members of the Truman committee, and I believe they have a report in preparation which will be of the most intense interest and value to the Senate.

It became evident to me that knowledge can be obtained from talking with the men on the spot which cannot be obtained anywhere else. That is because they are imbued with the problems of the areas in which they are serving to a degree which does not exist even here in the Capital. Those men are making life-and-death decisions, and consequently the area in which they live and the significance of it to them is something very real. I should say, of course, that no thorough survey was possible in the time available; and, of course, much time was consumed in transit. But I hope that one good result which may flow from this tour will be the many leads and suggestions which became apparent, and which might well be followed up by committees of the Senate.

In many places I made what is known as a "spot" check regarding the food, post-exchange, and recreation facilities of the soldiers. I shall not burden the Senate with such details, important as they are to the individual concerned, but I have put this specific information at the disposal of the War Department, and I am advised that it will receive prompt attention.

All of us made visits to hospitals wherever it was possible to do so. In the course of the trip almost 2,000 soldiers, I think from every State in the Union, requested me, as they did other Senators, to write to their families and tell them that they were well.

Now for the route itself.

We left Washington on July 25, and went to the United Kingdom via the northern route. While military secrecy prevents me from giving the names of any of the places, I feel that the importance of this north country should be emphasized. It is, for example, possible for relatively small planes to cross the ocean by going from Maine to Newfoundland to Labrador to the west coast of Greenland, then to the east coast of Greenland, to Iceland, and to Scotland. The limiting factor is the weather, which is bad in the winter. This route is, of course, most advantageous to those who want to cross oceans, and disadvantageous to those who want to prevent such crossings.

Newfoundland is an area of especial significance to the North American Continent. When we left there our pilot said, "We have enough gas to get either to Prestwick in northern Scotland or to Marrakech in northern Morocco." That is approximately correct. They are the same distance.

The mercator projection of the world which most of us learned in school is very misleading as to the position of Newfoundland. Broadly speaking, Newfoundland and Bermuda in the Atlantic are comparable to Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands in the Pacific. Bermuda,

like the Hawaiian Islands, is closer to the American Continent than to any other.

The serious obstacle to flying in this northern country is the fog. Since the destroyer deal was made whereby we acquired a 99-year lease on the naval base of Argentina, fields have been discovered which are free from fog. American dollars have built huge runways in some of these places. It is absolutely indispensable that we have rights of access to those fields after the war.

The feature of the stay in the British Isles was the time spent with the fighting men of the Eighth Air Force and the courteous reception accorded us by British officials, for which I desire at this point to express my appreciation. It was a matter of real satisfaction to see the splendid way in which Lt. Gen. Jacob L. Devers was solving his many problems. He is a man of great energy and determination.

The Eighth Air Force can make the proud statement that never since it began operations has an American plane returned before completing its mission because of any action by the enemy. I wish I could convey something of the atmosphere in which they live. Some of it can be indicated by the notices which are posted in a routine manner on the walls of their buildings. One of these notices read, "Remember, when you bail out, don't give out information."

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

Mr. LODGE. I yield.

Mr. DOWNEY. Are we to understand that the effect of the statement which the Senator has just made is that, so far as his information is concerned, every American plane which had gone upon a mission had accomplished that mission before being destroyed or returning to its base? Is that the effect of the statement?

Mr. LODGE. The effect of it is that no American plane has ever been forced back by enemy action before completing its mission.

Mr. DOWNEY. Does the Senator mean to include in that statement the statement that no American plane has ever been destroyed before completing its mission?

Mr. LODGE. No; I do not include that statement.

Mr. DOWNEY. None has been forced back to the base by enemy action?

Mr. LODGE. None has been forced by enemy action to return to its base.

Due to the generous consideration of the other members of the group, it was my privilege to represent them in Sicily, where fighting was in progress on the north coastal road in the vicinity of Cape Orlando. The American Seventh Army, under the gallant leadership of Lt. Gen. George S. Patton and under the high direction of General Eisenhower, is a most formidable ground striking force. The gains of territory which this army made and the rapidity of their advance, which culminated in their entrance into Messina, constitute a brilliant page in our history. I flew to Palermo in a B-25 and went forward to the vicinity of Cape

Orlando along the northern road by automobile. This road is like a shelf cut out of the steep side of mountains with frequent bridges traversing dried up river beds. All bridges had been blown and the stream beds had been heavily mined. It is at all times in view of the sea, and the country was so rough that it was impossible to travel off the road with any type of vehicle. General Patton did not use any frontal attacks because of the tremendous losses which this tactic entails. Instead, he maintained a constant succession of flank attacks. If he wanted to go around the left flank, he used boats. He made three flank attacks from the sea. If he wanted to go around the right flank, he used mules, which he found in Sicily and on which he mounted American saddles which he had brought with him in November. The German troops were fighting hard, but General Patton never gave them a chance to rest or reorganize and these constant flank attacks proved to be deadly. It was a typical American way of fighting.

The operation was conducted on a large scale and with a momentum and drive which continued to the knock-out. General Patton's naval and air support were effective and complete and in every way cooperative.

Senators will also be interested in the fact that the ground in Sicily was most highly organized. There were mine fields on the beaches, barbed-wire entanglements at all the approaches, and a railroad running around the perimeter of the island, equipped with railroad artillery which could be brought to bear quickly at any point. There were pill-boxes of ferro-concrete construction, with walls and roofs one and a half feet thick, which dominated the defiles and principal crossings in the roads.

It may have taken at least 2 years to build those works, and I do not know how much money was expended in their construction. A determined enemy could have made a prolonged resistance. Yet none of these fortifications were used, except in the German-held northeastern corner of the island.

The explanation of this apparent paradox lies partly in the fact that the Italian troops did not have their heart in the struggle. It is also due to the pace, mass, and momentum of our landing. Due to our excellent amphibious equipment, it was possible to unload steamers at sea and carry the loads directly up to road junctions 8 to 10 miles inland. The steamships were loaded in Africa with 1½-ton loads. When the ships got off the shore these amphibious 2½-ton trucks, pictures of which Senators have undoubtedly seen, came alongside. A whole net full of material would be lowered down into the amphibious truck. The truck would go inland 8 or 10 miles, and there the unloading would begin. The movement from ship to shore approximated a movement from one ground point to another. No time was taken to stop and organize. Our boys plunged right in.

It was my privilege to be with one of our infantry companies early one morn-

ing in a small Sicilian village. The death and destruction which were everywhere close at hand are hard to describe. These men had been days and nights without adequate food or sleep. All of the smells and dirt which set ground fighting apart from air and sea fighting and the most gruesome sights of war were surrounding them. They were dead tired, but there was a grimness and determination about these boys which I cannot forget. One regiment marched 60 miles with full pack in 48 hours. Perhaps that will give some picture of the fortitude and determination of those boys.

The medical service even at these extreme forward points was excellent. Young doctors were at hand to administer opiates to our wounded and 10,000 casualties were evacuated to Africa by air, being ministered to on the way by our gallant flying nurses.

In north Africa I had the pleasure of a visit with Lt. Gen. Carl Spaatz, a sincere and effective leader. I also heard fine reports on the services rendered by Col. Elliott Roosevelt.

Another place of especial interest is Basrah, at the head of the Persian Gulf, where our soldiers are overcoming unbelievable obstacles in moving equipment up into Russia. There was a temperature of 162° in the sun on the day we landed, and of about 115° in the shade. Living conditions are among the worst I have ever seen. Yet the morale of the troops was high and the work was going forward at a tremendous rate under the able leadership of Maj. Gen. Donald H. Connally and his staff, who are typical of the high quality of performance which we have come to expect from our Army engineers.

From Basrah we flew to Karachi in northwestern India, which is a big port for the unloading of American supplies for the China-Burma-India theater which is commanded so faithfully by General Stilwell. Even at that distance there were air-raid shelters and a system for protection against bombing. This was due to the possibility, which at one time had seemed imminent, that the Germans would thrust through Persia and subject western India to bombardment. Karachi may therefore be called the easternmost limit of the German threat. Somewhere in India one passes into the area threatened by the Japanese.

From Karachi we proceeded to northeastern India at the foot of the southern end of the Himalaya Mountain Range. Some day the full story will be written of the many deeds of heroism which have been performed in making the flight over this route which is now the only method of transportation into China. Every drop of gasoline, every bomb, everything which our fighters use, has to be flown up over the hump as it is called, 20,000 feet into the air, requiring the use of oxygen in order that the men in the planes may breathe.

In southwestern China is located the headquarters of Maj. Gen. Claire Chennault, a great flying leader with an uncanny ability to read the Japanese mind. He is one of those unusual men who at

one and the same time are creative and brilliant, yet thorough and sound. The story of what he has accomplished with very limited means will also be told after the war, and should inspire every American who reads about it.

I shall not forget a visit to our most advanced airfield in China and the high spirit and energetic performance of our boys who were way out on the end of a limb, it might be said, if ever anyone was in such a position.

From China we went to southern India, passing through the famine-stricken area of Calcutta, which is indeed a city of abject misery. The human suffering in that city is undoubtedly on a par, if indeed it is not greater than, the sufferings of war. Famine, cholera, and death are omnipresent. From southern India we made the jump to Australia, 3,200 miles in length, which was an adventure for us but a tremendous achievement for our crew. I wish to pay my tribute to them. The crew consisted of Maj. Henry Myers, the captain, a wise, resourceful leader; his capable copilot, Lt. Elmer Smith; the phenomenally accurate navigator, Capt. T. J. Boselli; the radio operator, Sgt. Charles Horton; and the engineer, Sgt. Frederick Winslow. They measured up to the highest standards of the military profession. I also extend my appreciation to Brig. Gen. George Schulgen, and to Brig. Gen. Frederick Rankin, a fine doctor and a delightful traveling companion. My thanks also go to Capt. Stephen Leo, who had charge of the arrangements when the party was on the ground.

I ask Senators to reflect for a moment on the implications of such a flight which was made so easily and so smoothly. Certainly, if it is so simple to make such flights in the year 1943, it should be easier to fly even greater distances in the near future. The situation has implications for the future security of our country which no responsible American can ignore.

Another memorable episode was the visit to Gen. Douglas MacArthur's headquarters whence I was later privileged to visit some of the forward airfields which are being constructed so effectively by the Army engineers under incredibly difficult conditions.

Allow me to describe the way in which warfare of this character is frequently conducted. When an American plane, usually of the type being used by the Allies, attempts to land in regions of this character, and contains small parties of engineers and infantry, it tries to pick out a place which is naturally flat. They try to pick out a place where the grass is fairly dry. It grows 10 feet high in this part of the country, and it is necessary to burn it before they land. They then come in and land in this unimproved place. The engineers get out of the plane, and the infantry deploy in the event there should be any Japanese lurking around. The engineers, with the small tools which they have brought along, carry on the important grading operations and get the rocks and other obstructions out of the way. Another plane comes in and brings a sec-

tion of a bulldozer. Another plane comes in and brings other sections until the bulldozer is complete and ready for operation. Before long the crew is at work and the bombing area is advanced that much farther. In a short time another fighter strip would be in operation against the enemy under the dynamic leadership of Lt. Gen. George Kenney.

Perhaps the most telling statement that can be made about General MacArthur's theater is that, although he was given the mission of holding Japan, he has actually cut off and pushed back the spreading tentacles of Japanese imperialism. This is an indication of what can be expected when the main effort swings to the Pacific. I might give a curbstone opinion and say that I think that effort is going to increase greatly very soon.

Another inspiring leader of men, with a strong fighting heart, is Admiral William H. Halsey. Like General Patton, he goes to the most forward areas, where the enemy positions can be seen with the naked eye. He is utterly indifferent to personal danger. He thinks nothing of racing through a narrow channel in a PT boat between two islands strongly held by the Japanese. He enabled me to get a view of warfare in the Solomon Islands which was entirely beyond anything I had imagined. The dangers and difficulties confronting our boys in those remote islands must be seen in order to be appreciated. Looking at the islands from a plane or from a boat, one is struck by their beauty and their rich green vegetation rising from white coral reefs, set in a clear and brilliantly colored sea.

Some of the islands are fairly flat and some are of volcanic origin. A purple haze rises over them, and in the white coral reefs are lagoons here and there in which the water is as clear as crystal. But when you go ashore and try to walk through that jungle you encounter not only physical problems but psychological dangers which only a strong effort of will can overcome. To fight on the ground in those islands is like trying to fight in a dark room. Thick foliage is always pressing in on you. No one knows where or when the blow is going to fall. There the soldier has not the comfort he usually has of knowing where his support on the right is and where his support on the left is. You can see nothing, and the chance of getting lost is very great. It takes a brave man to fight in such a country, and the foot soldiers who do it are entitled to the same praise which we properly accord to the boys in the ships and the planes and in the tanks, whose exploits are perhaps better known.

The problems of supply in that endless chain of islands are difficult in the extreme. Incessant flights by enemy bombers every night make consecutive sleep impossible. On one island the men of one of the Navy construction battalions were working 14 to 16 hours a day, clearing the jungle, building an airfield, and constructing all the utilities that must go into an air base, but they could never get more than 3 hours sleep a night. I hope everyone appreciates the fine work done by these construction

battalions, who are volunteers, recruited from the skilled trades of the United States, including carpenters, plumbers, electricians, road builders, and steam-shovel operators. They have established a record of which American labor and the whole American people must be forever proud.

I do not know why their work has not been made better known. I saw one flying field 6,000 feet long, 200 feet wide, with a surface as smooth and hard as a billiard table, which had been completed in 10 days. It was comparable to the finest landing strips at the National Airport, although it was built in a jungle, a coconut forest, where the trees had to be pulled up, and on coral rocks which frequently are so hard that it is necessary to use a drill. The boys told me that it had actually taken 9 days, because on the ninth day a plane crash-landed on the field, but the official count is 10 days to prepare and place in operation an airfield such as that.

It was also my privilege to go to sea on one of our PT boats. These boys live a dangerous life, operating at high speed at night in a sea full of reefs. Their self-assurance and competence makes one proud.

Our flyers are doing sensational things. At 3:30 on the morning of my departure from the Solomons, I witnessed one of the most spectacular sights of my life. A Japanese bomber was caught in the beams of five searchlights. He was at 20,000 feet, but stood out clearly against the vast inky blackness of the sky. An American P-38 went after him, firing 20-mm. tracer ammunition, which made a red chain of fire, which struck the Japanese and set his left engine on fire. The American made another pass. This time a huge sheet of flame came from the enemy plane. He remained airborne for 30 seconds and then started to fall. As he went down, the American fired another round of bullets into him, and he crashed to the ground. I learned later this was the third Japanese bomber that particular American boy had shot down during the night. That is the kind of boys we have out there.

I do not want to paint too discouraging a picture of the fighting in this theater. It creates a false impression, I believe, to talk about island-to-island fighting. It is more accurate to think of the war in this area as one which progresses from weak point to weak point, bypassing and containing the areas of enemy strength. Certainly the spirit of our men and the results achieved so far with comparatively slender resources gives ground for tremendous optimism, and for the belief that with increased resources it will be possible to make this bypassing operation on a larger scale and still more effective.

It is also reassuring to observe that our men are well satisfied with the weapons they have received, that the food on the whole is as adequate as the tactical situation permits, and that the higher commanders function effectively. So far as food is concerned, of course, there are always exceptions, and I have told the War Department about the exceptions,

but I think that the food, on the whole, is good. I heard especially enthusiastic comments about the planes and the ordnance with which they were furnished. It is noteworthy that the light tank was employed very effectively on New Georgia, and of course our medium tank was used by the Second Armored Division when it went from the coast of Sicily to Palermo, and made an end run, so to speak, around the Germans in those areas.

So much for the chronological account of my trip. I would now like to mention a number of separate items which came to my attention and which are sufficiently important to justify careful investigation and study by the Congress. This information came to me from American sources which I believe to be reliable. It was obviously impossible to make a detailed survey of any one of these topics. They do, however, provide leads for further study.

First. The question of oil. It is a matter of common knowledge that we are exhausting our own domestic resources and that all of our people, particularly those on the eastern seaboard, are experiencing a shortage of petroleum. Yet the information was repeatedly conveyed to me that the United States with less than 25 percent of the oil resources of the world was furnishing over 60 percent of the oil being used to fight this war.

But in Algeria and Morocco, for instance, there is no system of rationing comparable to ours. There are many cases of civilians in these two areas who have more gasoline than civilians in our Eastern States. All the gasoline is American. I was advised that in the city of Algiers, for instance, civilian vehicles consumed 42,000 barrels a month. Surely the war has progressed far enough to justify our treating these civilians like civilians in other Allied countries. It is also noteworthy that at Abadan at the north end of the Persian Gulf is a vast refinery which produces 100-octane gasoline. Yet, I was told, and we were all told, this vast enterprise is only working at 60 percent of capacity. The layman finds it hard to understand why western Australia should not be supplied from this point instead of depending upon the distant and unfortunately dwindling oil resources of California.

Second. Wherever the opportunity presented itself I inquired into the overseas operations of the Office of War Information. I may say that the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD] and the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] have devoted even more time to it than have I, and will make a contribution more complete than mine. I mention it only because I think Senators will recall that last June I took the position that we should not reduce the amount of appropriations for the overseas operations of O. W. I. I did so on the ground that psychological warfare is an essential weapon of modern war.

Frankly, I now wonder whether I was right. The overseas operations of O. W. I. can be divided into two categories. The first is psychological warfare

against the enemy which is carried on in close conjunction with Army and Navy Intelligence. I understand that this is being well done and should continue unchanged. The second category consists of propaganda in friendly foreign countries. To my mind this is a very dubious undertaking, which was certainly never contemplated by Congress and for which no clear-cut executive policy exists. I found the men administering this activity to be sincere and honest administrators. But they were necessarily confused. In India, for example, propaganda is made available to the press in order to tell the people of India what the average American is like. That is the purpose of our propaganda. The people of India, of course, are interested in what the American thinks about India. How this type of propaganda contributes to the war effort is somewhat a mystery. In Australia mimeographed material is sent to editors to be used as background. Senators who have been working members of the press appreciate the limitless capacity of the editorial wastebasket for matter of this kind. I was told that in New Caledonia the O. W. I. distributes match boxes with the "four freedoms" printed on them but without any mention of the United States. These few instances speak for themselves. I also ask Senators to reflect on the reaction in these countries when the war comes to an end and these activities suddenly stop.

On the whole the personnel of our civilian agencies seemed to me to be of a high caliber and there was a harmony and teamwork among them which might well be emulated in Washington. I believe that more information would be useful on the Middle East supply center which operates in Cairo and allocates materials as well as export and import licenses for American supplies in that area. It is a joint American-British enterprise and its structure should be better understood at home than it is now.

Third. I was able to see the A. M. G. O. T. in operation in Palermo. Lt. Col. Charles Poletti is coping energetically with the many acute problems. I have here a specimen of the money put out by the A. M. G. O. T. This particular bill is for 500 lira and is supposed to be the equivalent of 5 American dollars. On its face it carries the words "500 lira," but contains no promise of any kind. On its reverse are the "four freedoms," printed in English, although this money circulates among Italians. What the face of this bill promises I do not know. I hope the reverse will not be construed as a promise which the already overburdened American people are neither rich enough or numerous enough to keep.

On so rapid a trip dependable information about foreign opinion is best secured by talking to Americans who have lived in the country a long time. Conversations with these persons lead me to believe that there is very little fear abroad that the United States will not discharge its international obligations or take advantage of its international opportunities. Insofar as foreign opinion about the United States is concerned,

there seem to be two impressions. One is an expectation of gifts and favors from the United States which are far beyond our capacity to confer. The other is a fear, which I think is unreasonable, of the expansion of our foreign trade and of our world-wide aviation. Again, I was impressed with the dangers of overstatement and of making promises which are impossible of fulfillment. I submit once again that a clear, frank statement of national aims, based on national interest and guided by justice, would accomplish more good for the world and would cause less hatred and disillusionment later on.

This brings me to my fourth point. There is much real dissatisfaction among our men abroad with what they conceive to be the censorship and propaganda policy of the Government. What appears to them to be unwillingness to put out information which is not favorable and laudatory is completely out of tune with the realistic attitude which our young men have toward this war. When they come out of a situation in which they have been pushed around a bit, it can be imagined how they feel when they get the reports which make no mention of the possibility of their being normal human beings. Comments which I heard range all the way from criticism of the cigarette advertisements which always portray field soldiers as clean-shaven and neatly pressed, to disagreement with the practice of portraying all our allies as being perfect. Our boys know that we are not perfect; that no one is perfect and that our allies are not perfect either. The good cooperation achieved between the Allies to date can only be evaluated at its true worth if it is realized that there are frequent, and natural, differences of opinion. The dangerous results of sugary and overdrawn propaganda should be apparent to us all. Look back for a moment over some of the hallucinations which have been widespread. Do you remember the generally accepted statement that the French Army was unbeatable? Do you remember the belief that the Russians would collapse in 6 weeks? Do you remember the statements that the Japanese Navy was made of cardboard? We must not perpetrate any more of these false notions. We invite ultimate cynicism, disillusionment, and even hatred of our allies if we do so.

I have seen small signs of this already. Many of our young men, for example, come to China imbued with the idea that China is a great modern democracy with millions of men fighting with their backs to the wall. Upon arrival they find this is not the case. With the impetuosity of youth they thereupon go to the other extreme. They overlook the industry, good humor, and democratic attitude of the individual Chinese once they have discovered that the Central Government is not like ours. They overlook the fact that due to the Chinese Army 15 Japanese divisions are in China, in spite of the fact that the Chinese Army, to put it mildly, is not comparable to ours. They overlook the advantage to America in having a strong China. It would be

better for China and for us if a true picture were given to the American people. When Oliver Cromwell had his portrait painted he said to the artist, "Paint me as I am, the wart and all." The truth about China is in many ways inspiring, and China as she now stands is a real military asset to the United States. Her achievements can be more accurately measured if her difficulties are more clearly realized. It is written that "the truth is mighty and shall prevail." It will prevail in this case. I do not want to see a wave of cynicism and disillusionment following in its train.

Fifth. The question of a post-war military policy will some day be before the Senate and I thought it of great interest to see the lessons which were being learned in the white heat of actual combat experience. The fact which is most striking is the close integration of forces in land, sea, and air. None can exist without the other. At General MacArthur's headquarters, land, sea, and air are separate entities under general headquarters. In Admiral Halsey's theater, Army, Navy, and Marine officers are so intermingled that it is difficult to know to what service a man belongs. One outfit in this theater is commanded by a major general of the Army with a captain in the Navy as chief of staff, and a Marine Corps colonel as operations officer. All three, it should be noted, are flyers. Senior officers of both the Army and the Navy are deeply impressed with the need for unity of the services when our new military policy is framed. There is a surprising amount of sentiment among these older men for a single department of war, with autonomous land, sea, and air services coordinated at the top by a joint staff, with each branch free to pursue its own personnel and matériel policies. There is a strong feeling that it would be unwise to build up a large Reserve Corps in our Air Force because of the necessity of having such a large number of men between the ages of 18 and 25 in this particular arm. It is thought that a college training program which keeps a man in the Air Force until the age of 25 would assure us a steady supply of youthful flyers. There is also much talk about having the same commissioned officers' insignia for all men who fight for the United States.

Sixth. Perhaps one of the most striking physical phenomena to a modern world traveler are the huge airfields which have been constructed with American money and American labor, at the farthest corners of the earth. Most of these have not been constructed in territory belonging to the United States, and military secrecy forbids my stating just where they are. Estimates of the amounts expended on these airfields run as high as \$500,000,000. So far as I could learn we have no post-war rights of access to any of them. We do not seek dominance; we abhor imperialistic domination over native people; all we want is an even break. But in the islands of the Pacific and in other places there are many points which are essential to the military security of our country in this new air age. As we conquer the island possessions of Japan

there will be more. We want no dominance over other peoples or races. The places I have in mind can be secured for us without violation of this principle, because they are all so sparsely populated. I should not say can be secured for us. We will secure them in this war, because that is an American theater. American blood has been shed to get these places. American boys are buried there now. Some of these places must remain in American hands. I devoutly hope for effective international cooperation to keep the peace. I shall do everything I can to that end. We cannot, however, assume that this relieves us of the responsibility of maintaining an adequate, a model, and a forward-looking military establishment.

Seventh. The question of international communications is of the first importance. There are large areas of the world where our British allies have complete control of the cable system. I do not know how many of our higher commanders overseas spoke to me on the need for parity in this matter and suggested that it seems like a fitting subject for reverse lend-lease. I talked with high British officials about it, and was pleased to find that they thought it was definitely a subject for negotiation.

Eighth. I now come to a topic of great delicacy but of such importance to the American people that, having seen some of the sad sights I have seen, I feel I must mention it. I refer to the questions raised by Russia's relation with Japan. Certainly all of us who have admired the courage of the Russian people in fighting a dangerous enemy to the death can understand her unwillingness to open a war on other fronts. Certainly no one is more deeply interested than the parents of our American boys in the success of Russian arms over Germany. But it is also true that the whole character of the Pacific war would change if the United States had access to the Pacific coastal area of Russia. For reasons of security I shall not say how many American lives would be spared if we receive this aid. I can say that it is a major factor in the whole Pacific picture. It is one of the biggest military facts staring us in the face.

Ninth. Wherever we went we found a demand for a definite policy of relieving men overseas after they have served a certain length of time. In some of our smaller islands and in certain Air Force units such a policy exists already. There is no doubt that after a man spends a certain amount of time in an overseas theater his efficiency decreases. Shipping problems and the danger of submarine attack have made it impracticable to send men home. I hope that as the situation improves a dependable policy for the relief of troops overseas can be worked out.

Before I close I wish to pay my tribute to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the chairman of our group. He was always considerate and courteous, made a most intelligent contribution to our work, and on many occasions represented the Senate with dignity and force. The Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD]

worked indefatigably in the performance of his labors for the Truman committee, and was serene, fair, and genial under all circumstances. My colleague of the Military Affairs Committee, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], with his interest in military matters, brought his cheer and personality to American boys in camps and hospitals and made many friends wherever he went. The Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] expended his apparently inexhaustible energy and used his quick discerning mind to gather information which will be of great value to the Senate. They were all delightful traveling companions and I look back on my fellowship with them with lasting satisfaction.

Mr. President, it is a matter of interest to the Senate, I think, to be told that one of our former Members, Senator Gibson, of Vermont, is a lieutenant colonel in the Army. I saw him in New Georgia. He had been struck in the head by a shell fragment, and if it had gone a little bit farther he would have been killed. As it was he escaped with a scar.

I saw the brother of our friend the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY], who is in the Army.

I also saw the brother of the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE].

One word with respect to the work which women have done in the war theater. It has a priceless value. The Red Cross workers have done more for the happiness and good spirits of our soldiers than I can describe. They endure the heat and dust of Africa and the cold of Iceland. They work long hours and are always cheerful. The accomplishment of our Army and Navy nurses should always be remembered. They have saved many lives and unselfishly and tirelessly perform their errands of mercy.

I also saw certain colored units which had rendered conspicuously distinguished service. I hope that some time the names of these units will be published.

In a voyage of this rapidity and magnitude, impressions are so numerous and so various that it might seem hard to single out any one impression as the major one. My most lasting impressions were formed in the field and in the hospitals, where I saw the kind of boy America produces.

I think of one boy in Sicily whose back was broken and who had just been placed in a plaster cast which reached up over his chin. Steel clamps were in his skull in order to exert traction on his spinal column. He was destined to lie this way for 6 months and then his recovery was not sure, but when I spoke to that boy he answered me with a joke. I think of another one whose face was horribly burned—there are a great many horrible burns in this gasoline war—whose eyelids had to be lifted up for him by a nurse and who only had a hole for a mouth. But out of that hole came the strong voice of courage.

I think of a Lieutenant Miller, of Alabama, who was washed up on a beach in the South Seas. He felt so weak from the explosion of the ship he had been

on that he could hold nothing in his stomach, and thought he was going to die. So he took off his shoes and gave them and his equipment to brother officers, thinking that they might need them to save their own lives. He lay down on the beach. In the morning he drank some rain water and he found he could hold it in his stomach. He concluded he was not going to die. He stripped a Japanese corpse that was washed up on the beach and, gathering some Japanese hand grenades, made a camp for himself in some thick bushes on the island. When a Japanese party sought him out he destroyed them with the grenades and armed himself with their pistols. After 42 days he was found, but declined to leave the island until his captured Japanese documents, which he felt were necessary for the Naval Intelligence, as well as the weapons, had been safely removed. That is the kind of boy I think of.

I think of Lt. Jack Kennedy, of Massachusetts, son of our former Ambassador to Great Britain, whose PT boat was cut in two by a destroyer, who drifted for 18 hours on the hull, and finally reached a small island. Every night that young man would swim out to the channel, and, supported by his life preserver, would signal with a flashlight all through the night to attract the attention of an American boat. He finally succeeded in doing so; and thus, by means of his brave conduct, the other members of his crew were rescued.

I think of a gunner in a B-24, a boy from Pennsylvania, whom I saw in Port Moresby. His whole right side was a mass of gunshot wounds. He had been wounded at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. I saw him at 10 o'clock the next morning. He had lost his right eye. We know what happens to a man in civilian life who loses an eye. He is seriously weakened, if not prostrated in both mind and spirit. But when I spoke to that boy, his voice came back as strong as mine is now, and he said, "The thing that bothers me is that they probably won't let me fly any more."

I think of Lionel Pelletier, of Fall River, who was a member of the crew of a plane from Iceland which came down in Greenland, and of all the places in the World, Greenland is the most appalling one. He was the only boy in the party who did not drink salt water, and he was the only one who lived. The crew escaped in a rubber boat. Of the eight members of the crew, seven died. He was found with one dead body which he had been too weak to throw overboard. Because of his self-discipline and his self-control, he survived. When I saw him at the hospital he had complete mental and emotional self-control—an astonishing thing, considering what he had gone through.

I think of Bernt Balchen, a great aviator, who went up in a plane and made a search for the crew of another plane which had been forced down on the Greenland ice cap. When he finally located them, they were in a very remote spot, and it was obvious that immediate rescue was necessary if their lives were

to be saved. At that time Bernt Balchen was flying a seaplane. The only place where he could possibly land was in a slight depression in the ice cap where the ice had melted just enough to form a thin film of water. Of course, any aviator would realize that in landing in such a spot the chances were that the plane would crash and possibly the aviator would be killed and, furthermore, even if a successful landing could be made, it was obvious that there was only the slightest chance of being able to take off again from such a small area of melted ice. Nevertheless, without hesitation, he landed his seaplane there, and kept circling it on the surface of the water so that the plane would not stick in the slush ice which lay immediately below the few inches of water. Each time he went past the group of marooned men he reached over the side of his plane and pulled in one of them. Only his extraordinary strength enabled him to perform the feat of pulling into his plane, while it was in motion, men who were so weakened that they could not help themselves. One by one, he pulled all of them into his plane, and, by the exercise of his great skill, was able to lift the plane off the water, and fly the men back to the base.

I think of a party of newspapermen whose plane crashed in Burma, leaving a number of them severely injured, and I think of the Army doctor, Colonel Flickinger, of California, who, with two Medical Corps enlisted men, took off in a plane, flew over the spot where the other plane had crashed, and parachuted down, in order to take care of the men who had been injured.

I could speak of many other instances of similar heroic conduct.

How can one explain such bravery? Those boys do not die with any slogans on their lips, the way the Japs and Nazis do. They are freemen who do not need any infusion of political oratory. They fight and die so superbly for something much deeper than any catchwords. Their courage springs from individual self-respect; and it can occur only in a country where the individual is the master of his Government. It is far more powerful than any urge instilled by propaganda. A country which produces individuals of that type is indeed worthy of a mighty struggle. Today those boys do not take America for granted. When they come home they will have as much civic consciousness as any other group of citizens we have ever had. They will never again be apathetic about their country. War is horrible, but war also brings out heroism and bravery which are magnificent. We can see the justification of the United States in the men it sends into battle. Their conduct is a peremptory command to us to leave no stone unturned in order to be worthy of their sacrifice. [Applause.]

DEFERMENT OF FATHERS FROM THE DRAFT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 763) exempting certain married men who have children from

liability under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended.

Mr. DOWNEY. Mr. President, I deem it a rare honor that I have had the opportunity to yield the floor to the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I have not heard in the Senate any address more inspiring, more important, and more valuable to us than the one which just now was delivered by the Senator from Massachusetts, and I hope we shall have an opportunity in the reasonably near future to hear from the other Senators who were on the same trip.

I have sent to the desk a resolution which I should like to have read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution will be read.

The CHIEF CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 182) authorizing the Committees on Naval Affairs and Military Affairs to hold joint hearings with respect to the use and effect of Allied air power against Germany and Japan, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate Committees on Naval Affairs and Military Affairs are authorized and directed to meet in a joint session or sessions and to hold hearings as quickly as possible to investigate, and to determine and report back to the Senate as rapidly as possible upon, the following questions:

(1) What is the present and potential air-power production of the Allied and Axis Nations?

(2) To what extent does the continued building of a larger land army tend to curtail the production of aircraft and their supplies and auxiliaries?

(3) How much airplane bombing will be required to destroy the cities, railroads, utilities, and production centers of Germany and Japan?

(4) How long would it probably take with whatever bombers are available to force the surrender of Germany?

(5) What will be the effect upon our present and potential injury to Germany by air power if new combat areas are opened and large invasions of Europe are begun by the Allied forces?

(6) What will probably be the Allied casualties if Germany is conquered by air power, and what will probably be the casualties if there is a further invasion of the European continent and the actual destruction of the German Army and fortresses?

The Committees on Naval and Military Affairs of the House of Representatives are hereby invited to attend and participate in such hearings. At the hearings the committees shall call for advice and information from such governmental officials and military experts as they shall deem advisable and shall request the advice and judgment of General Arnold and General Kennedy, if it is possible to have their presence without injury to our war effort; and if they are unable to be present, then the committees shall secure the appearance of such senior air-power officers as may be available. So far as possible the hearings shall be open and only if it clearly appears that the publication of any information would be opposed to public interest shall it be considered confidential.

Upon the passage of this resolution, the bill S. 763 shall be laid aside and shall be made a special order of business for further consideration by the Senate at noon of the second calendar day upon which the Senate is in session after a report has been made pursuant to this resolution. The author of the bill S. 763 shall be invited to attend and participate in any meetings or hearings held pursuant to this resolution.