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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

# OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP

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**Remarks:** Let me know if you have any interest in this.

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A.W.D.

Do you have any interest?
2-4: Thanks, but have no way of seeing this person.
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5 April 1954

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. DULLES:

card

At the request of General Cabell, on 31 March I attempted to contact Ambassador Donovan at the State Department. He was not in his office and was not expected back until today, 5 April; therefore, I left a message to the effect that you were out of town on a short vacation but that you wanted to get in touch with him when you returned. He can be reached on Code 191, extension 3558 or 4026, Room 2172 New State Building.

RWF

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had conflict between opposing theories on this question again and again. Theodore Roosevelt himself, in his new nationalism, believed one must use Hamiltonian methods for Jeffersonian ends. The New Deal represented, as Mr. Adams has pointed out, an extension of the Federal power over new segments of American life, the assumption by the Federal Government of large new areas of social and economic responsibilities. Now, one may disagree or agree with this philosophy of government. Many have, but it is not a violation of the American tradition to propose or to succeed in obtaining it. The New York Times remarked in 1938 that the one thing the New Deal did do was to convince a good many people, irrespective of party lines, of the necessity of the Federal Government taking a larger share of responsibility. Now that, it seems to me, is in essence really the single distinguishing trait and real accomplishment of the New Deal. Its philosophy is arguable, of course, but that is what it aimed to do and did.

Mr. HAWKINS. You gentlemen have been, I think, explaining, if not defending, the New Deal from the conservative criticism. I wonder if I could turn the coin a moment and see what you would say in answer to what might be called the liberal or liberal-radical criticism that the New Deal was too much of a crisis philosophy—a temporary thing, makeshift, inconclusive. Indeed, it wasn't reform at all, but merely a stopgap program which came to terms too quickly with the opposition. You, Mr. Nye, talked about the progressive tradition. Well, after the New Deal was over, old Progressives told me that the 19th century enemies of progressivism were still with us—inequalities of real opportunity, monopolization, and despoliation of natural resources, to some degree yet the acceptance of large accumulations of wealth and great fortunes. They said the New Deal put too much stress on meeting the immediate problems of belly economics and not enough time to developing a continual, critical social philosophy upon which to build a real, deep reform program.

Mr. NYE. Some of the old progressives would agree at once. In the first place, the New Deal was supposed to be a great plan, but I think that there was less planning in it than we have assumed. Raymond Moley later complained, as did many of the so-called brain-trusters, that Roosevelt was sometimes inclined to jump the gun, to take half a loaf. His statement that the country needed "bold, persistent experimentation" sometimes meant "Let's try it and see if it will work." As a result there was some stopgap legislation in the New Deal that didn't work. Many of the older Liberals and Progressives resented this. They resented too that the New Deal sometimes made its points too aggressively—the "we know best" philosophy that older Progressives did not like at all. We should not think of the New Deal as a long-range plan, but perhaps more as a short-range plan with long-range objectives, a plan never completely or thoroughly realized.

Mr. HAWKINS. Do you accept this observation, Mr. Adams? You've been defending the New Deal, it seems to me.

Mr. ADAMS. Well, again I am one of those who does not hold any political policy to a standard of perfection. Clearly the New Deal moved in the right direction, even though it might not have moved far enough. If we look at it in perspective, the New Deal did carry us forward, especially when we consider the tremendous obstacles that were put in its way. I think you must also recognize that by 1938 Franklin Roosevelt, so far as domestic policy was concerned, was no longer in control of the United States Congress. The anti-New Deal coalition, which has persisted through the years took over in 1938 and has been in command ever since. This largely explains the lack of progress that was made on the domestic front toward liberal reform legislation.

Mr. NYE. Then any judgment on the New Deal, such as we have been trying to make, really depends on putting it in its perspective. We must see it in terms of its times, as well as of its objectives, and in terms of its opponents as well as of its adherents. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes; I think it is. I am well aware of the criticisms that have been made of the New Deal and its accomplishments. No less a personage than Supreme Court Justice Jackson had this to say in 1937: "The only criticism that can be made of the economic operations of the New Deal is that it set out a breakfast for the canary and let the cat steal it. The unvarnished truth is that the Government's recovery program has succeeded nowhere else as effectively as in restoring the profits of big business." In this connection we should also recognize that Roosevelt, until 1938, was not fully aware of the monopoly problem. He merely continued in the tradition of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover in ignoring monopoly, and through the NRA fostered further monopolization without fully realizing it.

Mr. HAWKINS. Well, I think it is important to remember that there is liberal and radical American criticism of the New Deal as well as conservative. We hear the conservative one so often that we never get a chance to hear the counterclaim that it didn't do enough.

But let me give you another criticism of the New Deal, one that is much more contemporary and one that deals with our present problem of communism. It is often said that the New Deal was responsible for allowing Communists to infiltrate its ranks and into some of the most important Federal agencies. We have testimony that indicates that there have been Communists in Government. As a mater of fact, as you know, a good deal of the last campaign was based on this theme of who let Communists in and who can get them out. What do you think of this problem, gentlemen?

Mr. NYE. It seems to me that communism in Government is a problem related not only to the New Deal but to any administration before it and to any administration after it. I don't see how that particular issue can be tied to the New Deal and the New Deal alone. I have a feeling that there probably were Communists in and out of Government in the 1920's, and perhaps there were Marxists or Socialists in Government jobs in the late 19th century. I think this is a problem that has nothing at all to do with party administrations.

Mr. ADAMS. I think we ought to turn the tables on Mr. Hawkins and address this question to him. What do you think of this, Carroll?

Mr. HAWKINS. Well, I'd say that there may have been some Communists in Government posts during the days of the New Deal. I'd agree to some carelessness on the part of the Government in the matter. But when I say the Government, I don't mean just the Democrats. I include the Republican critics of the New Deal. As a matter of fact, to interpret this properly, I would say that there was carelessness with regard to communism as a conspiracy displayed not only inside the Government during the New Deal by Democrats and by Republicans, but by Americans in general. We just didn't see communism as a conspiracy then. We thought of it more as a heresy. With regard to communism and the New Deal Government, it seems to me that the Republicans drew a dangerous analogy between New Dealers, who were revolutionists in an American sense, if at all, and Communists.

Mr. NYE. Pretty loose use of the word "revolutionary," I'd say, among other things.

Mr. HAWKINS. Do you agree, Mr. Adams?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes; I think the New Deal contributed the revolutionary thought that men must be free to pursue happiness, but they must have shoes to pursue happiness in. If that's the revolutionary aspect of the New Deal, I'm willing to buy it.

Mr. HAWKINS. That really, though, in one sense, is beside the point. We are talking about Communists getting in and the point I want to make here is that the opposition party as well as the Democrats obscured the issue. They made the question of communism in Government a partisan, playing-politics issue, which it is not. Then we must remember that the Communists fought the New Deal as hard as they did the old one.

Mr. NYE. The temper of the thirties was quite different from the temper of the forties or the fifties, we mustn't forget.

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes; and I certainly wish the people could look at it in some kind of perspective. The American people in the thirties were the enemies of Hitler, of rising nazism in Germany, and during most of those years the shifting Communist line happened also to be in opposition to Hitler. I could give instance after instance where the Communists bitterly and vehemently attacked the New Deal administration, which they regarded as their worst American enemy. But now what would you say in a final word about the New Deal's accomplishments? I know it's a lot to ask in a minute, but could you sum it up, Mr. Nye?

Mr. NYE. I should say that the New Deal accomplished this: It showed us that freedom is not incompatible with security; that the Government can and should assume responsibilities in new social and economic areas; that it is not the survival of the fittest that counts, but, as Roosevelt said, the fitting of as many human beings as possible into the scheme of surviving.

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## Address by Maj. Gen. William J. Donovan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, February 19, 1953*

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to place in the RECORD an address by Maj. Gen. William J. Donovan to the Navy League in New York on October 27, 1952.

Few people in the world have a more complete knowledge of what is termed "psychological warfare," both hot and cold varieties, than General Donovan. In his address it will be noted that the general makes specific recommendations as to guerrilla tactics which have been most successful in the past. I have personal knowledge of General Donovan's success in this field, having served under him in the Office of Strategic Services during World War II.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM J. DONOVAN, CHIEF OF OSS, WORLD WAR II, AT THE GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY DINNER OF THE NAVY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES, NEW YORK COUNCIL, HOTEL ASTOR, OCTOBER 27, 1952

Today the American Navy has the responsibility and the burden which the British Navy had for a century and a half.

We Americans are inclined to believe that the oceans are a barrier and a defense. In reality America is accessible from the sea which provides the avenues for invasions and for offensive action.

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What protects the United States is not the sea but the Navy on it—with its marines, its aviation, and its Naval Reserves. To command the sea, to keep open the sea lanes, the Navy must have support from our Nation's industrial plants, its factories, its seaports and its defenses.

I am sure that naval officers would be the first to deny that a navy could win a major war unaided. No single service is going to win a war without aid. Sea power can do its best job when, together with all of our armed services, it is part of a unified team. It is well for us to keep in mind in our discussions about Korea that it is only our possession of a navy and its command of the sea that we are able to keep troops in Korea at all.

Besides transporting the bulk of the Eighth Army with equipment and supplies to the battle area, and supporting it immediately after it went into battle service every since, the Navy has accomplished two major feats of arms:

1. The amphibious landing at Inchon which completely broke the back of the Communist offense at that point; and

2. The withdrawal of the X Corps at Hungnam which averted what might have been a real military disaster. Such disasters as occurred in the escape from Dunkirk, the British evacuation of Greece in World War II and the fate suffered by Rommel's army cornered in Tunis, could not be taken off by the Axis navies.

Thanks to the courtesy of Secretary Kimball, it was my privilege a few months ago to visit Korea and see for myself the gallantry and sustained courage of our marines and our infantry. Those of you here who were in World War I and remember the fixed positions and stabilized warfare of those days, can visualize the incessant night raids and constant artillery fire in that area. I saw there two of the operations of our Air Force in its support of advancing troops and in its pounding of the Red supply lines.

There also were the operations of the fast carrier task forces operating off Korea in all kinds of weather, at the end of a very long supply line. Employing at most three carriers, they have according to figures issued by the Chief of Naval Operations supplied 40 percent of the air effort which has been directed at the Communists in Korea. It was very heartening to see the teamwork of these services. We ask ourselves what has the Navy done between World War II and the present to prepare for its orthodox missions? I have learned that it has instituted and vigorously worked on a program of scientific development. It has concentrated in the fields of antisubmarine warfare, offensive action through the use of its carrier airpower and the development of guided missiles for fleet defense.

Stalin, too, has recognized that the world is in a new age of technology which has revolutionized atomic jet and electronic armaments. He appreciates, too, I am sure, that a direct result of that technological revolution is the capacity of nuclear energy for movement and for destruction. But in developing these weapons, the Soviets have not, as we have, ignored and neglected the use of new devices in the art of irregular warfare and in the war of maneuver by psychological means.

Our orthodox military forces are confronted then with the fact that the Soviets have two strings to their bow—the conventional where they meet us toe to toe and in the psychological field of war where we are nearly helpless.

The Navy which for our country has shown its diplomatic and political, as well as its fighting talents, should recognize the possibilities of this field of warfare.

The Mediterranean particularly the Adriatic, Aegean and western Mediterranean are ideally configured for covert operations from small boats and submarines. It is not unlike Sweden whose navy, Hanson Baldwin tells us, has gone underground on the Baltic coast to counter the Soviet threat.

Surely the Navy—which landed many OSS raiding parties on enemy coasts and many if not most of whose "frogmen" were OSS-trained—could be of great value in the war now being waged against us by the Soviet Union.

And the need for this kind of warfare becomes more pressing. We are only beginning to realize that when we try to contain an enemy our initiative is destroyed and we run the danger of being overrun by the forces we try to contain.

Stalin's speech to the closing session of the 19th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party a few days ago was merely a restatement of a basic principle of Soviet policy. There is nothing new in this. It means only that whatever adjective is used—"cold," "hot," "shooting"—that Stalin will continue by propaganda, subversion and division of peoples, including our own country, to seek to break our will to resist.

Let's face it: This country is at war with the Soviet Union today, and it is time we stopped talking about a "cold war" that is no more cold than the "phony war" of 1939 was phony. This is subversive war and if we win we will have the edge in a shooting war. If we win, we can prevent world war III.

We have failed to recognize this war because it is an unorthodox war. While we continue to play by the Marquis of Queensbury rules, the Soviets ignore all rules. While we build up our strength, the Soviets seize strategic areas by subversive means. It is a form of irregular warfare. A kind of war that has been waged since ancient times. The Byzantine Army boasted of their skill in stratagems and craftiness.

The British and French used its methods here in North America in colonial days. Gen. George Washington displayed exceptional skill in deceiving the enemy and employing secret agents to obtain information in our Revolutionary War. This kind of war is called by different names: Irregular, subversive, psychological. Like orthodox warfare, it seeks to break the will of an enemy to resist by all means moral and physical—and it is still war.

Hitler and Mussolini developed subversive and psychological methods, modernized propaganda and fifth column activities, but used them only to support their orthodox armies. The Nazis had only small groups of supporters in the democratic countries and their espionage operations were limited, but the Soviets make use of the fifth column and the Communist Party as an army of occupation.

But Stalin has perfected these techniques: In each target country, operations are directed by Moscow-trained leaders with a small but strategically well placed hard core Communist minority, ready to engage in sabotage and in partisan warfare. They infiltrate a target country, win a foothold in the channels of public information and seek to control the key labor unions, penetrate government agencies, and establish popular fronts. There are no declarations of war, no troops, no tanks, no planes. But this stealthy warfare plus the threat of the Red army, has given Stalin control over vast areas of territories and hundreds of thousands of people.

We have only just begun to grasp the special nature of Communist organization and methods. The real strength of the Soviets lies in their worldwide organization, highly developed techniques and communications, and in the discipline of leaders especially trained in the Lenin school in Moscow.

Only by our understanding of the manner in which the fight is carried to us will we be able to deal with it. We can't sit back and hope to be let alone. There is no place for complacency, or indifference, or fear—we can't buy our way out, nor should we be misled by seeming successes until we have totaled the score on a global scale.

So far, our efforts to counter Soviet subversive war have been piecemeal. We helped Greece stop Tito and Stalin in the so-called civil war. Our Berlin airlift forced the Soviets to quit their blockade. From a standing start, we have held their proxies in Korea. But we have not gone all-out. We can do this if we make a fist of all our resources—propaganda, deception, ideology, sabotage, guerrilla tactics, and military and economic help—so that every blow is a real punch.

And we did exactly this in World War II. From France to China, through such operations, the Office of Strategic Services gained for us the experience, the skill, and the knowledge we now need. They are not just theories—they are things we have done with profit and can do again.

Take the job that faces us in China. We must stop Stalin and his attempted consolidation—now. His conquest of China was a major defeat for our country. It made the Soviet Union the dominant power in Asia as it is in Europe. Once Asia is secured for the Kremlin, the Communist forces can be turned against Europe and America. It is a big, tough, complex job to upset that timetable, but it is our job and the outcome is life or death for America.

The manpower for that job can come from those countries whose forces could be American-trained and equipped. We must ask the question in Asia that we asked in Europe: "Are you Asians prepared to fight for your own liberties?" I believe with the proper exercise of our leadership, we can obtain the confidence of those Chinese who are prepared to take up the fight against Mao. We must realize that this is a two-ocean war. In the interest of common defense, we are obliged to work with the Asians as well as with the Europeans. The South Koreans, trained by American officers, have shown their quality in the recent fighting in Korea. The real task in Korea is to have a diversion by way of China—a diversion that can take some of the weight off our backs. That will take time and sustained effort.

But we know how to help people like the Chinese. In World War II we achieved similar results in north China, right up to the border of Tibet. We did it in north Burma. There, we armed and equipped Kachin and Karen tribes to fight, harass, and delay Japanese troops of occupation. To do this, we sent in specially trained Americans skilled in communications, sabotage, and secret intelligence. They operated behind Japanese lines and to support the tribal forces in Burma, we set up headquarters in Assam, on the Burma-India border. These Americans built up a native force of 12,000 fighting men, kept them in operation, and held them loyal to us throughout the war. We did it then and we can do it again.

The Chinese problem that faces us is not identical with the job we did in Burma, but our methods are flexible. In World War II, the Japanese had overrun Siam and it was essential that we establish sources of information in the heart of that country which has such a strategic position in southeast Asia. At the request of the Siamese Government we trained 40 Siamese in America in the various techniques of guerrilla warfare, dropped them with 40 Americans behind the Japanese lines into Siam, and from them gathered priceless information of enemy intention. The Siamese Prime Minister was skilled in this kind of warfare. He pretended to be pro-Japanese but was really on our side. In his own palace he gave shelter and protection for two OSS men and set up a radio transmitter by which they reported.

In every trouble spot the details of our problem were different—Indonesia, Indo-

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china, Greece, Norway, Yugoslavia, Italy, and the rest. But in essentials the objectives were always the same.

Now America's objective is to prevent Stalin from consolidating his gains in the Far East.

You don't measure the success of subversive warfare in terms of battles won and cities destroyed. You don't hope to meet and defeat a powerful enemy in the field. In guerrilla war the object is delay; the tactic hit-and-run; the targets the small enemy forces, the weak convoy; to breed in the mind of the individual enemy, the sense of isolation and the fear of capture.

Stalin's project is to extend his conquest of China throughout southeast Asia, down the path the Japanese followed through Indochina, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Siam, Malaya, Indonesia, and Burma—all the way to India. Six hundred million people—a quarter of all humanity—live in southeast Asia between India and Australia. This whole vast area is a single unit, a single theater of war.

Our immediate job is to bolster the countries on China's rim, to reveal the Kremlin's aims for what they are, to assure their peoples that they have not been left alone, to convince them that we do not oppose their awakening nationalism and to show them that their real and present danger is Soviet imperialism. Our task is not only to provide the weapons of war where that can be done, but the constructive, humanitarian aid that no one else in the world—certainly not Marshal Mao—can give them: Medicines, for example, and education in the cure of tropical disease. That is point 4 not in lofty aspirations for the future, but in terms of the present practical need for a pair of pants, a bowl of rice, and a chance for a healthy body. These things too are a part of psychological warfare.

And while we instruct them in the cure of their ills, we can teach them to defend themselves. We can bring them tough guerrilla fighters to teach them tough guerrilla fighting. We can provide the equipment, the arms, the radios, the printing presses, the teachers of new methods in industry, farming, and schooling. Without these, plans and blueprints will be wasted.

Today, while we sweat here to build up an orthodox fighting force, his agents seize strategic areas necessary for our defense.

Asia is one problem, pressing and immediate, but Asia is not all. The unorthodox war must be fought simultaneously in Europe on three levels—in the countries that stand in the Kremlin's path of expansion, in the satellite countries already enslaved, and inside the Soviet Union itself. And in all those categories, though the methods of fighting vary, the goal of the subversive war is the same: to prevent expansion and consolidation by the Soviet; to give moral and physical support to our allies and to keep the enemy off balance until we are strong enough to enforce the peace with orthodox military might.

This kind of war is a brave man's war and a poor man's war. It doesn't cost billions and it doesn't fill very large cemeteries, but its results can be incalculable. We can put our people into countries behind the iron curtain, but we can't equip armies there and we can't arouse peoples to revolt when they have no weapons. But we can foment unrest, discontent—and sustain hope.

The purges in Poland, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia are certain signs that the Kremlin fears those peoples have been dangerously aroused. In those places we have a very real chance for success, if we use the methods experience has taught us will make for success.

When Hitler wanted an agent, in say, Czechoslovakia, he had to buy a traitor. All we had to do was to find a patriot and give him a gun. During the war some French and British thought it was a dangerous liability that we have so many minority groups in America. We showed them that it was an asset. Americans of the racial origin and the language of the countries we sought to liberate helped build armies of resistance in those countries.

We learned another odd thing—that it's easier to reach and help people in an occupied country when they have been conscripted into the enemy's army than it is to reach those who have gone underground. It works like this: the patriot drafted into an invader's army is a patriot still; he is a source of information and even of arms to the underground forces.

Getting at the inside of the Soviet Union is a different matter. We know the Russian people want to reach the peoples on our side of the curtain. There is not yet enough strength and will for insurrection but there are tides of resentment and discontent. There are many Russians who would be glad to escape from the rule of the Kremlin and some who have done so have been willing to go back. Those are the ones who can tell their friends what is happening in the world outside Russia and how real our support of assistance would be. We made a serious mistake at the end of the war by receiving people who had escaped and sending them back under guard to concentration camps and death at the hands of the Kremlin. Part of our job is to convince the Russian people that they do have a chance in the world and we are with them.

We are with them and against their masters even to the point of unloading our whole store of atomic bombs where they will do the most good. It is fear of our bombs that has kept Stalin from total war so far, but he too is stockpiling bombs and there may come a time when he will feel that the odds against him have shortened. What he cannot shake off is the continuing fear of his own people. It is appropriate here to quote the Italian historian, Guglielmo Ferrero:

"Power is condemned to live in terror because, in order to govern, it employs violence and terror. Its subjects fear the arbitrary power which they must obey, while the power itself fears the subjects it commands. * * * It is the fear inherent in power, fear of revolt, a fear which from the very outset seizes upon all power that is founded on force."

That fear rests heavily upon the Kremlin, and we can use it. We can turn the Soviet against itself. By helping his own people to help themselves, we can magnify Stalin's fear, give truth and force to his nightmare, and in the end prevent him from reaching his goal of world domination.

We see the Soviet's effort to seize the Middle East, not by open war but by subversion. Iran lies right across our sea and air lines of communication with the Eastern Hemisphere. It is the bridge between Asia and Africa. If the Kremlin controlled Iran, it would control not only Iran's oil, but it would very nearly control access to Africa and India. There can be no argument about the necessity of safeguarding British bases in the Middle East and our own interests in Saudi Arabia. The Soviet threat to India must be arrested if she is to remain a bulwark of freedom in Asia, and order must be restored in Burma. Otherwise, we would stand stripped and alone in the East. It is gallant to fight alone, but it is more gallant still and more prudent to fight beside allies.

We can't get out of Korea because we're too far in. And if we think of a future, we won't get out. We have begun slowly to realize that we will have to help those forces of Asia who recognize Stalin for what he is and who are prepared to fight for the liberation of China from foreign domination.

We have the machinery for a comprehensive psychological war, most of it scattered through various departments of the Government, but the whole task is not coordinated. These various agencies must be pulled together under central direction so that the Kremlin can be hit with all we've got.

There are people who are afraid any positive action we take would scare Stalin into world war III. They ought to know that if Stalin is determined to make war on the United States he will do so, no matter what we do. Meantime, unless we fight him with his own weapons, he will continue to cajole and maneuver us out of position, seize the bases we might one day need, and reduce us to a level he could attack at his own time and place.

This is our time of danger. Now, mobilizing our forces and manufacturing our weapons, we stand where England stood after Dunkerque, with her army in Libya and her homefront racing to arm and defend the Nation.

We know the Soviet intentions. We have seen the pattern of the Soviet tactics. We have come to understand the significance of the Soviet type of war by indirection.

Psychological warfare is here to stay for the duration and the sooner we recognize it, the better off we'll be. Anything this Nation must do it can do.

We are at war with an enemy who is alert, tenacious, and ruthless. His objective is world empire.

We must be as alert, as tenacious, as ruthless, for our objective is to live as freemen.

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## Father Hubbard for Alaska Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, February 19, 1953*

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, it is of real significance that the Reverend Bernard R. Hubbard, S. J., has publicly announced that he believes Alaska is ready for statehood now. Father Hubbard testified against immediate statehood when he appeared before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in May 1950. The progress made in Alaska since then has convinced him that territorial status should be ended and that statehood should be granted by the Congress.

An article stating Father Hubbard's present position appeared in the San Jose (Calif.) News on January 3, 1953. That article follows:

FATHER HUBBARD, ALASKA EXPERT, CHANGES VIEWS ON KEY STATEHOOD ISSUE

(By James D. Zellerbach, Jr.)

The Reverend Bernard R. Hubbard, S. J., the "glacier priest," has come to the conclusion that Alaska is now ready for statehood, a reversal of his often-reiterated previous stand that the Territory was not yet ready to become a State.

"Already this summer, before the election, I was beginning to observe that Alaska was on the threshold of great economic change and that many of the views I expressed before the Senate committee which was considering the statehood bill in 1950 in opposition to statehood at that time are no longer valid," Father Hubbard said.

"I also am informed that suggestions I made to the committee for provisions to be included in a statehood bill are now being considered for inclusion in a bill to be presented to the new 83d Congress," he said.

Father Hubbard explained that the bill he opposed would have granted Alaska control

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of less than 1 percent of its land and resources. He pointed out that at the time California was admitted to the Union the Federal Government controlled none of its land except that actually being used for military and other necessary Federal functions. The United States now controls 51 percent of California's land, he said.

He pointed out that, especially during the past 20 years under the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, the Federal Government has had an insatiable appetite for the control of land and natural resources, but that the new administration is pledged to lessen Federal control.

"Less Federal control and more local control would stimulate all kinds of industries in Alaska. Over 100 tons of tin a day are now being produced in the Seward Peninsula. A huge new aluminum plant is under construction. Coal is being mined in central Alaska, a large privately owned pulp mill is nearing completion, while other sites in southeastern Alaska are under serious consideration by pulp producers.

"There are indications that commercial steel producers are seriously interested in deposits of high-grade iron, the extent of which are being surveyed and the quality of which is already known," Father Hubbard said.

He explained that in his opinion the whole economic climate has changed.

"During the past 12 months or so private enterprise apparently has begun to sense that a swing to a more conservative and free enterprise minded administration was due and has begun to invest heavily in Alaska," Father Hubbard declared.

He said he believes defense efforts will aid the Alaskan economy, bringing large amounts of money into the area, but he said the probability that the new administration will lessen Federal land holdings and allow considerably more individual freedom in business and industry is the territory's best hope.

He said that should the price and purchase of gold be unfrozen by the Government, Alaskan gold mining, long dormant under Government monopoly, would begin to boom.

Japan, Father Hubbard said, is already interested in forest products and minerals from Alaska to replace its former sources in continental Asia, now controlled by the Communists.

"I feel that the general trend, with the Republican victory last November, is toward more freedom of enterprise and less Federal control and that policy will be reflected in Alaska. The year 1953 is going to be the most important period in Alaskan history as it marks the possible transition of Alaska from the status of a territory to that of statehood," Father Hubbard said.

"Alaska, in my opinion, is now ready for local control," the glacier priest concluded.

## Courage and Integrity Are the Monopoly of No Group

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, February 19, 1953*

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following fine editorial from the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass.:

BROTHERHOOD WEEK

The Item's beloved columnist, the Reverend William Wallace Rose, D. D., summed it up succinctly in his Thought for Today article last night when, in discussing Brotherhood Week, he said:

"The worst single thing in life today is group prejudice, the lumping together of whole groups or classes or religions and smearing them all with the imperfections of the iniquities of the few."

The average man or woman is, by nature, a friendly, social, gregarious individual. Whatever prejudices are built up within him in the course of a lifetime are not native to him but the product of artificial pressures, frequently in his own home in childhood, or from unthinking classmates and later in life by unpleasant experiences with a few individuals of a certain race or religion—or even political party.

There are good Jews and bad Jews. There are good Protestants and bad Protestants. There are good Catholics and bad Catholics. We suspect, too, there are good Hindus and bad Hindus, and good Mohammedans and bad Mohammedans.

But every last man of us is made in the image and likeness of a Creator Who loves all men. Who then are we to hold ourselves in judgment above the Almighty and say that a man is to be condemned, per se, because he belongs to the wrong group?

Every race, every creed has contributed its heroes to the advancement of mankind. Courage and integrity are the monopoly of no group. Every battlefield has had its grim corroboration of that truth as has every legislative assembly from the Roman Forum to the American Congress. Why are we prone to condemn races or creeds for trivial causes when there is so much greater opportunity to exalt them for their glorious achievements?

The simple and safe rule is to judge a man for himself—not on the color of his skin, the church he attends, or the language he speaks. Nobility is the common potential of all mankind. Why not seek the good and ignore the evil? After all, we are all in this great experience of human adventure together and we should strive to make the journey as pleasant as possible instead of a succession of petty hates and prejudices that wizen the soul and weight the heart.

## Clear Picture of Valley's Future Being Given People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, February 19, 1953*

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Florence (Ala.) Times of February 16, 1953:

CLEAR PICTURE OF VALLEY'S FUTURE BEING GIVEN PEOPLE

The crisis confronting the Muscle Shoals district and the Tennessee Valley section of the Southeast in the event the Eisenhower administration fails to provide sufficient funds with which to permit the Tennessee Valley Authority to continue to increase its power capacity is being pointed up these days in speeches by TVA Board members and engineers.

It was never made clearer than by Gordon Clapp, TVA Chairman, in an address before the western section of the Tennessee Valley Institute at Jackson, Tenn., the other day. The Chairman pointed out plainly that unless the additional power capacity is forthcoming, and on schedule, that the industrial growth of the Tennessee Valley will be frozen at current levels, and a ceiling placed upon our overall progress.

That the Eisenhower administration and the Congress will deny TVA sufficient funds with which to complete present construction projects and initiate new ones, in order that growing power demands throughout the valley may be met, is unthinkable. However, the people of the valley, knowing the power of the old guard elements of the Republican Party, and also knowing of the powerful position of the Power Trust in Washington today, might well take heed. They must make their wishes known in this matter in no uncertain terms. It is their own fate which is on the chopping block.

The fact that TVA has been returning a profit of 4.3 percent on its power investment since its creation on May 18, 1933, a rate that was stepped up to 4.7 percent in 1952, means nothing unless this story is gotten over to the people of the valley and the Nation. Most of all it must be made crystal clear to Congress and the Eisenhower administration that we are paying our own way and strengthening the Nation. All we want from Washington is cooperation.

Let us hope that the people of the Tennessee Valley will employ that period of time between now and May 18, 1953, TVA's 20th birthday, to inform the American people and their representatives in the Congress of what has been done, is being done, and what must be done in the foreseeable future if we are to continue to progress and help bear the Nation's burdens, and if the multimillions already invested by the taxpayers in the valley are to be protected and enhanced in value as the years go on.

## Morristown, N. J., Public Housing Project Blueprints Rehabilitation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, February 19, 1953*

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article by Mr. John A. Kervick, director, New York field office, Public Housing Administration, entitled "A Public Housing Project Blueprints Rehabilitation." The article is as follows:

A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT BLUEPRINTS REHABILITATION

(By John A. Kervick, director, New York field office, Public Housing Administration)

With the dedication September 18, 1952, of its first low-rent public housing project, the Housing Authority of the Town of Morristown, N. J.—1950 population 17,124—completed the opening phase of its slum elimination, housing, rehabilitation, and redevelopment program which had its genesis in April 1938, following closely upon the enactment of the United States Housing Act of 1937.

The authority did not apply forthwith to the United States Housing Authority for assistance in developing a low-rent, public-housing program. On the contrary, it began a study of the functions of such an authority, the relation of its statutory objectives to their community as of the day, and its potentials for the future, with respect to rehabilitation of substandard and blighted dwellings and blighted areas, and the re-use or redevelopment of any slum areas that might be adversely affecting the economic and competitive position of the community with other communities in the State.

The authority early made a decision that any physical improvement it might under-

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Russians out of Europe. We can make it quite clear that we mean to keep arguing that the Russians do not belong in Europe, and that they should leave Europe, and that while we shall take into account their own vital interests as well as our own, we shall keep pressing continuously for the negotiations which will induce the Russians to leave Europe. A policy of this kind pursued with energy and imagination would enlist immense and growing popular support in Europe and throughout the world, and it would become increasingly difficult for the Soviet armies to stay. For we should be asking only what the captive peoples—even the Communist leaders among them—want, namely, national independence from the Muscovite Empire.

## Presidential Primary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 24, 1953*

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include Legislative Resolution 6 of the Nebraska State Legislature, now in session. I have introduced House bill 3182, which, if passed, would establish a presidential primary—the object of the resolution.

Nebraska has had a presidential primary for some time, like many other States, but they have found it not completely to their liking and have sought to change it. They realize the basic idea is excellent, but whenever you start legislation on virgin ground you sometimes need to change it in order to meet the new problems which confront you.

I am sure my colleagues will want to read this resolution so that it might help to guide them when the bill is brought to the floor.

"Whereas the various States have enacted primary election laws that vary in the method of obtaining an advisory vote on presidential candidates; and

"Whereas it would be more representative of the people if the advisory vote obtained before the national conventions was uniform: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the members of the Nebraska Legislature in 65th session assembled—*

"1. That the Congress of the United States enact a law establishing a uniform election procedure for obtaining an advisory vote for presidential candidates.

"2. That copies of this resolution, suitably engrossed, be transmitted by the clerk of the legislature to the Vice President of the United States as Presiding Officer of the Senate of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member from Nebraska in the Congress of the United States."

CHARLES J. WARNER,
*President of the Legislature.*

I, Hugo F. Srb, hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of Legislative Resolution 6, which was passed by the Legislature of Nebraska in 65th regular session on the 16th day of February 1953.

HUGO F. SRB,
*Clerk of the Legislature.*

## Resolution of Bluefield Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM C. WAMPLER

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 24, 1953*

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BLUEFIELD CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, BLUEFIELD, W. VA., FEBRUARY 10, 1953

Whereas during the last several years heavy importations of residual fuel oil from foreign countries has adverserly and seriously affected the economy of West Virginia and Virginia, especially the bituminous coal industry of southern West Virginia and southwest Virginia. The situation has steadily grown worse and the bituminous coal industry of southern West Virginia and southwest Virginia is now in a critical condition. Coal mining provides employment for thousands of miners and railroaders living in Bluefield, W. Va., and vicinity, and is the economic life-blood of southern West Virginia and southwest Virginia. The importation of foreign residual fuel oil has thrown out of employment thousands of coal miners and railroad employees and has adversely and seriously affected many small enterprises wholly dependent for their prosperity upon the production and sale of coal; and

Whereas a few years ago New England consumed between 17,000,000 and 18,000,000 tons of southern coal annually, mostly low volatile, which is mined in the Bluefield, W. Va., area, but during the last several years the flood of foreign residual fuel oil has replaced nearly two-thirds of the southern coal which was formerly shipped to the New England States, said foreign oil being dumped in New England at prices with which southern coal could not possibly compete. Due to these importations of foreign oil and other economic conditions many mines in southern West Virginia and southwest Virginia have closed down and it is anticipated that during the year 1953 many other mines will close, causing incalculable damage to the coal miners, railroad employees, business enterprises and the residents of this community: Therefore be it

*Resolved,* That the Bluefield Chamber of Commerce—

First. Deplores and condemns the continued importations of foreign residual fuel oil at prices with which the bituminous coal industry of West Virginia and Virginia cannot compete and urges each individual member of this chamber to exercise his influence in any way possible to relieve this situation.

Second. That a copy of this resolution shall be sent to each member of the West Virginia and Virginia delegations in the United States Congress with the request that proper legislation be enacted to relieve these deplorable conditions; that copies of said resolution shall also be sent to the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Interior and the Tariff Commission of the United States, with the request that steps be taken immediately to remedy the situation and bring an end to the unfair competition brought about by the importation of cheap foreign residual fuel oil.

Third. That a copy of this resolution be sent to the State chamber of commerce and to the various local chambers and boards of trade throughout West Virginia.

## India's "TVA" Modeled After the Tennesseee Valley Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 24, 1953*

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I spoke of the significance and importance of the opening of the multipurpose power and river development program in India. In this connection I desire to extend my remarks by including two reports from the wires of the Associated Press. The articles follow:

INDIA'S "TVA" SYSTEM TO BE OPENED TODAY

NEW DELHI, INDIA, February 21.—Prime Minister Nehru will throw switches today and Saturday to inaugurate the first units of India's $140 million multipurpose power system, modeled after the Tennessee Valley Authority. Involved are the Bokara steam power plant, the largest of its kind in Asia, and one of the series of dams in the gigantic irrigation, power, and flood-control project covering the 330-mile-long Damodar Valley in eastern India.

The Indian Government, the World Bank—which lent $38 million—and a group of American and Indian engineers all shared in the development. India's parliament started the ball rolling in 1948 by creating the Damodar Valley Corp., modeled directly on the TVA.

WILL END FLOODS

The program, when completed, will end disastrous floods in the thickly populated valley, supply water from eight major storage dams for irrigation of more than a million acres and furnish nearly 500,000 kilowatts of hydro and steam electrical power for eastern India's industries.

Two states most directly involved, Bihar and West Bengal, helped in supplying capital for this venture, one of a half-dozen major river valley projects fitted into India's overall 5-year plan of economic development.

Designed and constructed by the Kuljian Corp., of Philadelphia, Pa., the $35 million Bokara power station is not only the largest in Asia but the first major high-pressure steam plant in the Far East. Its four 60,000-kilowatt generating units will operate at steam pressures of 900 pounds per square inch.

INVOLVES THREE PARTS

The Bokara project involves three parts: The steam power station itself; the Konar Dam, 12 miles from the plant, to furnish cooling water; and a total of 447 miles of transmission lines and substations. An aerial ropeway will supply coal at the rate of 700,000 tons annually from the nearby Bermo strip coal fields.

Only the first 4 units will go into operation now. The remainder will follow at 3-month intervals. Operation will be in the hands of 11 Indian engineers who trained at some of the largest power stations in the United States.

NEHRU OPENS POWER PROJECT

NEW DELHI, INDIA, February 21.—Prime Minister Nehru today inaugurated in Bihar State, the first units of India's $140 million Damodar River Valley power system, modeled after America's Tennessee Valley Authority.

He said "a new India is being born in this valley * * * schemes like these alone can stop helpless dependence on the vagaries of

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nature and our agriculture need no more be a mere gamble in rains."

Referring to Communist criticism of the presence of American technicians, Nehru said: "We are thankful to these foreign technicians who helped us to raise these monumental structures for the national benefit. Whether American or Indian technicians built this, it belongs to the common man of India."

The Indian Government, the World Bank—which lent $38 million—and a group of American and Indian engineers shared in the development, which dates back to 1948.

The $35 million Bokara power station of the project is the largest in Asia and the first major high-pressure steam plant in the Far East.

## Our Propaganda in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Monday, February 23, 1953*

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Our Propaganda in Asia," written by Mrs. Fleur Cowles and published in the Atlantic Monthly. I think this article is very informative, and for that reason I am asking that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

OUR PROPAGANDA IN ASIA

(By Fleur Cowles)

I

I travel outside the United States of America quite a lot: In the last 2 years I've been twice to South America, three times to Europe and recently to the Far East. I see and talk to government leaders and interesting personalities wherever I go; I also talk to anyone at hand. And I wince when I think how little the world thinks of us. Why don't we do a better selling job?

It is in the Orient that I find the most embarrassing form of polite fear and contempt for our size. It glares at you. I admit that even in such a worldly place as France, the propaganda job is still so sticky I have yet to discover one farmer who knows the truth about Marshall aid, mutual aid, or the offshore purchases—or how any one of these can possibly affect his life. Yet I think the misunderstandings in the Far East are far more critical. Despite the fact that most of the misconceptions about us are concentrated there, the area gets eye-dropper attention in the matter of public relations with the United States of America. This is pure folly since the Far East is really the one last big testing ground left between democracy and communism. And all the world watches.

I'd like to state promptly that my journey this year to Asia was brief. I have only the most personal impressions—backed by direct inquiry as to what our American foreign service people are doing about information and propaganda. Even a 6-week journey is long enough to blot up intuitively what a country's feeling is for the United States of America. As a matter of fact, I came away wishing that the administration would make the same 6-week visit.

My journey to the Orient took me through the front lines in Korea and up to the Truce Conference. I sat in on off-the-record sessions in Japan. I flew to Formosa to hear at first hand the Chiang side of the story. I went to Hong Kong, that tense city on the islands and rocks in one of the world's most spectacular harbors, a British colony perched like a mouse under the paws of a Chinese dragon. In Calcutta, the dying man on the street still dies without a passing glance in a world too terribly unchanged. Communist swords and scabbards are hidden in many corners of this starving dung-ridden city—ready for action. In Siam lies the most tempting loot of all for the Communists, because Siam is fat with rice. As a food-surplus country, she trembles at her own potentially lush value to the Reds.

In the Philippine Islands I discussed the food problem and agrarian reform with President Quirino. I also got to know the intrepid Magsaysay, their Secretary of Defense, who is slowly killing off the Communist Huks right in the very jungles which once were their refuge. I saw Magsaysay twice again when he was in New York recently, and had long talks with him about enforcing land reform. Magsaysay knows this would remove the political teeth from the Huks' bite—they couldn't even hold their ranks together without this propaganda weapon. And he is helping to accomplish this by the bold stroke of giving land to the captured Communist Huks.

Magsaysay's meeting of war veterans from the Philippine Islands' neighbors was an extraordinary cultural and propaganda attack against the Communists. He invited delegates from North Borneo, Thailand, the Malay States, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Indochina to come to this secretly planned session at Baguio to pool their experiences in psychological as well as military warfare in dealing with the Communists. To keep this conference from being snarled by politics and government, Magsaysay called it in the name of veterans of the last war. Yet, in four instances, the veterans' organizations sent defense ministers as well as chiefs of staff. This is the kind of cold war propaganda setting the Russians' stage so well. I am pleased to see the technique introduced and adopted by our side.

Magsaysay told me one of his unsung armies is the schoolteacher corps all over the Islands. They teach the principles of democracy to children and their parents (at the little village level as well as in the cities). They are spreading the fact that Magsaysay has the gun poised against corruption, that he intends to force political bosses to give way to honest elections (a prospect that once seemed to most Filipinos to require a miracle). He promises that land reform will be increasingly enforced. There, in a mass of thousands of dedicated schoolteachers, is a propaganda corps our information experts ought to embrace. I hope we do.

II

A good many years of my life were spent in advertising before I entered publishing. I respect its power and salesmanship and its influence on our lives. Therefore, I looked with an advertising woman's as well as an editor's eye on our propaganda efforts in Asia. I was disappointed to see our familiar advertising devices used there, where they neither fit nor fare well against the Asian backdrop. I want to see our advertising talent harnessed to meet the needs of the cold propaganda war, but I seriously question transplanting our sophisticated approaches.

Comic books sell many products and have explained many an idea to Americans (including such diverse items as Christianity and space cadets), but what can we expect to accomplish when we distribute comic strips in India? Another instance of transplanting rather than reinterpreting for the market is the use of American-made films in backward places in the interior. We should be using native films with native actors who not only speak the language of the localities but look familiar to their audiences.

We should use each country's own techniques (improving them as we do) to repeat and repeat our attitude toward the problems which beset the wretched millions who are prey to Communist promises. The first job in using each country's familiar symbols must be to make it clear we want to see land reforms take place, and promptly. The sooner we do this, the more effective we shall be in preventing a disproportionate share of farmers' efforts from falling into the hands of landlords.

Everywhere I went, I got the impression that the eastern world mistakes our interest as a new imperialism which has merely shifted from old power to new power. The conflict is tense between the desperate need of us and the fear of us—the suspicion of our motives. To overcome this, deeds are the finest form of propaganda.

In addition to land reform, the other big propaganda need is to make it clear that we Americans can, and will, support the Asiatics' own efforts to produce more for themselves. We can show the peoples of the Far East how to help themselves, but we must show them how in their own terms. I repeat: we've got to start using their media instead of "shotgunning" our misunderstood ones. The Asiatics have fascinating propaganda instruments; they love their shadow play, storytellers, and mythical soothsayers. Even if we are not enthusiastic about them, we should employ them; and we should use their local artists instead of our unfamiliar ones. Wherever we can we should teach illiterates to read simple truths in their own devices and dialects.

In Asia, where the color question makes the population look on all whites with suspicion, we must learn to give our help a better complexion. We must work with people, and not give any impression of seeming to order them to graft our technological efficiency upon their culture from the outside. Our technical assistance must be proffered without the slightest condescension. With it must be linked patient, long-range projects like universities, laboratories, hospitals, plans for exchange students. We must promote vocational training to turn out teachers for the millions who cannot earn a living. We must make reference material available to those who can read (320 millions out of a billion in the Orient cannot). And all this help must be so firmly planned as not to collapse with each new problem, which it now tends to do.

The Indians, by the way, have demonstrated, in one dramatic example in Faridabad, that they can make their own rehabilitation programs work. Faridabad borrowed $5 million from the central government and turned a desolate rural village of poverty and squalor outside New Delhi into a suburban industrial center in 4 years—a quite perfect modern town for 50,000 penniless refugees. They now live and work there with social and productive amenities of the sort to which most of Western Europe would aspire. And they're repaying the government already.

We should continue to back this sort of thing—do it jointly and as cheaply as possible, so that the Asians can maintain for themselves what we help them to start. These projects should be duplicated (and then skillfully exploited) in other pivotal communities—to let productive democracy be openly measured against communism.

We have succeeded in our efforts on the island of Formosa (or Taiwan, as the natives prefer it be called). I came away convinced we were at least getting credit among the Taiwanese for the reversal in their welfare. Land reform (helped by the warm breath of the American Joint Commission down the backs of island officials) gave the Formosan

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farmer 62.5 percent of his crop. He formerly got about 30 percent. American fertilizer was distributed to make the land more productive. We also helped to rehabilitate the island's war-ravaged fertilizer plants. The result is the largest crop in Formosa's history.

Somehow we must make it clear all over Asia that this is our idea of justice—that we are not supporting policies in Asia which we disapprove of for ourselves. Otherwise, the Reds will continue to class us as silent partners of the ghosts of the former empires, which still haunt the people of Asia.

III

Recently Dr. Wilson M. Compton, Staff Director of the State Department's Advisory Commission on Information, wrote me that he considered his job in terms of good distribution. He meant getting the right product to the right place at the right time. To him, that product is truth—the truth about Americans. I hope he succeeds, for each time he does, he cuts down the disbelief and even the fear many backward people have for us.

I think we can do this only if we stop distributing big phrases about the specific wonders of our capitalistic world as against their peonage—and abandon the dream of transplanting, overnight, any glorified notion of our 20th century civilization. The one thing hungry millions yearn for is the certainly of their next meal, and we must stop talking about the distant golden wheat fields of Kansas and tall corn of Iowa as if they were any immediate answer.

Do we really expect a deeply wounded and hungry mass of people, living in dirt-floor shacks, to cheer about our skyscrapers or our giant tractors or our toilets, soft drinks, chewing gum, cars, and telephones, none of which they have ever seen?

In one Indian community no one had ever seen our common garden-variety hoe until we gave a bundle of them to some farmers who had been using primitive sticks. Hoes promptly raised the crop output. Imagine what motorized tractors would do. If India can raise her production just 10 percent she can eat.

Instead of vast projects based on our own needs and standards, we ought to continue with simple tools like those hoes, with crop-rotation aids, new roads, and practiced agricultural demonstrations of better techniques and new practices. And they ought to be carried on by a foreign-service infantry force really willing to dirty their hands.

Everywhere I found the Communists working "close to the soil." They scatter and distribute leaflets, canvass peasants' houses, penetrate inoffensively into unions and religious societies, meet the common people in everyday situations. They play down any obvious politics and are less under suspicion and less irritating as a result, and more dangerous.

The Soviets have also launched a giant "book campaign." All over India, the Communists use party membership as a distribution chain to pass out literature which emanates from Moscow. The books sell for less than they cost. They are cleverly printed—by Indian standards. They are given over to the glorification of Russia and of the blessings of communism, and they are written on an almost childishly readable level. The very nature of their contents makes it difficult for Indian government officials to ban the books, since they cannot term the material subversive.

Even in Japan, Soviet-published books written in Japanese flood the bookstalls in the vulnerable student university areas. I visited shop after shop in Tokyo where brand-new bargain books were selling like hot cakes at two-thirds off their list price. Biographies of Uncle Joe were best sellers.

Not all the cultural offense is waged through books; the Soviets have unleashed a flood of films, too; the Fall of Berlin is the most notable one. And the most diabolic success of all has been their leaflet penetration of Asia. We really stand convicted today on the germ warfare we never conducted. Cultural missions are constantly invited to China, to tour and see for themselves the contagious renaissance there (as they put); to see the so-called agrarian reform and proof of the so-called benevolent yearning for peace among Chinese Communists. These they are expected to dramatize when they return to off-Communist bases. And they do dramatize them so effectively that many natives ask themselves which type of democracy, the western or the eastern type, they prefer.

The Reds are skillful in other ways. They train their agents to eat the same food, talk the same language, wear the same clothes, and endure the same hardships as the people they promise to rescue. We, on the other hand, attempt to permeate Asiatic countries with ideas we think important by using Americans who don't know the country they're in, can't speak the language, and never leave the major cities. This difference symbolizes the truth of our comparative failure. I found our information people too often using psychologically unsound, beautifully elaborate brochures to make arguments above the ken of the natives.

I am sorry to sound so critical. So many of our propaganda efforts are carried out by dedicated young men who really deserve our applause for their efforts. They live (with their long-suffering wives and often their children) under conditions which the average American would find cruelly primitive and difficult. Their will and willingness and their ardor are beyond question; but the direction they are given is quite another thing.

Propaganda and information should be two-way streets. I think we are far too prone to want to make the world over in our own image; and most of the world resents it. When we learn to have genuine respect for and appreciation of many other cultures (and, may I add, when these people know we do) we will understand how to carry on information and propaganda programs which will be effective.

## Price Decontrol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DON MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 24, 1953*

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

SPOKANE, WASH., *February 17, 1953.*

Hon. DON MAGNUSON,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: We do not like the results of price decontrol in this area.

Please inform your colleagues in the House that the folks back home are starting to kick.

We working people are being squeezed, and we want the President to know we don't like it.

Hope the Washington delegation will do it's utmost to put a stop to this unwarranted profiteering, and price gouging.

Very truly yours,

RALPH E. SNOW.

## Anti-Semitic and Racial Discrimination in Communist Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 24, 1953*

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, on January 26, 1953, I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 25, condemning the surge of anti-Semitism in Soviet Russia and her satellites; and at this time I wish to have printed in the RECORD the resolution on the subject adopted by the board of commissioners of the city of Newark.

Recalling that there was no official censure when Hitler started his persecution of the Jews, it is encouraging that the recent manifestations of Soviet anti-Semitism have aroused the free world to the need for prompt action to avert disaster. The following resolution adopted by the board of commissioners of the city of Newark ably expresses the sentiments of all decent people who are filled with foreboding at the rise of anti-Semitism in Russia and the satellite states of Eastern Europe:

Whereas the religious intolerance of communism is again being manifested and Jewish citizens of Russia and other communistic countries are being discriminated against because of their racial culture and Jewish faith and their deep profound love for the moral law, which has brought down upon them the hostility of the Kremlin leaders and their anti-Semitic policy with its sinister appeal to racial and religious prejudices; and

Whereas we, citizens of these United States, abhorring intolerance and discrimination because of race and religion, do deem it our public duty to give some expression of our protest against the acts of the Soviet leaders and their satellites by their anti-Semitic policy, their false accusations, arrests, and trials of physicians and leaders of Jewish faith; the Soviet diplomatic break with the State of Israel; and the threat thereof to the 2,500,000 citizens of Jewish culture and faith in the Soviet-controlled countries: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Newark, N. J.*, That we, for and in behalf of the citizens of Newark, do hereby give voice to our protests against the religious intolerance and racial discrimination and the anti-Semitic policy of the Soviet and its satellites, and express to the oppressed men and women thereof our most sincere sympathy, our love, our devotion, our prayers, and our hopes, that they may soon be released from the bondage of their oppression; that the Star of David may lead them to a better day and days, which will bring back to them the enjoyment of religious liberty ordained for all free men and women; and be it further

*Resolved*, That we do hereby convey to his Excellency, the Governor, and the members of the State legislature, our request that they memorialize the President and the Congress of the United States to protest the anti-Semitic and the racial discrimination and religious intolerance of the communistic countries; that our representatives to the United Nations shall make proper representations upon behalf of this Nation and of its citizens against the Soviet and its satellite countries for their acts of racial and religious intolerance and discrimination and

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their policy of anti-Semitism; and be it further

*Resolved,* That copies of this resolution shall be forwarded by the city clerk to the Governor, members of the State legislature, and to the Senators and Congressmen from New Jersey.

RALPH A. VILLANI,
STEPHEN J. MORAN,
JOHN B. KEENAN,
M. ELLENSTEIN,
LEO P. CARLIN,
*Board of Commissioners of the City of Newark, N. J.*

## The Social Security Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. AIME J. FORAND

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 24, 1953*

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, there has been so much misinformation given to the public with regard to the social-security fund that it is refreshing to read an editorial in the Boston Herald of Monday, February 9, 1953.

In the hope of bringing it to the attention of the general public, and under leave to extend my remarks, already granted me, I offer the editorial for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It follows:

SOCIAL SECURITY FUND EXISTS

This is one of the most prevalent errors of the day, the idea that the old-age insurance tax is spent by the Government as soon as it is received. It is an error shared in by distinguished persons and agencies, including the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Small Business Men's Association.

The chamber, for instance, says, "No one questions the ability of the Government's Social Security System to pay benefits when due, but the ability of the system to pay these benefits rests not on the invested assets of the trust fund but solely on future taxable capacity."

And the president of the small businessmen's association asserts that those who have paid once for their old-age pensions will have to pay again, which means paying twice for one benefit, which is crooked and a fraud.

But just for accuracy's sake, let's see what happens.

The old-age tax last year brought in about $2 billion more than was spent in benefits. This $2 was invested in Government securities; that is, the Government at once borrowed the $2 billion and spent it.

But these were not new securities issued by the Government just to absorb this $2 billion. The transaction did not increase the national debt one cent. If these securities had not been taken by the social security reserve fund, they would have had to be sold elsewhere.

No one will ever be taxed a second time for social-security benefits under this system. The money to pay these securities will, of course, have to be raised sometime by taxes, but the money would have to be raised just the same if the securities had been sole elsewhere than to the fund. If the reserve fund were kept in cash, exactly as much money would have to be raised by taxation to meet Government bond obligations as under the present system. The only difference would be that the fund would not gain the interest that it now collects on its Government bond holdings.

As a matter of practical fact, it would be impossible to hold $16,000,000,000 in cash, the present level of the fund, for it would upset the currency balance.

It happens that the private life insurance companies hold about $11,000,000,000 in United States Government securities. This was money collected from premiums paid. When the insurance companies come to cash their Government bonds, the Government will have to raise the money by taxation. Does this mean that the policy holders will pay twice—once as premium and once as tax?

Of course it doesn't, for these bonds would have to be paid for out of taxes no matter who held them, and it makes no difference whether it is the insurance companies or a lot of individuals. The Social Security investment in Government securities is no different.

The amount of money that has to be borrowed by the Government is determined by the annual deficit. The deficit is determined by the excess of spending over revenue. The Government does not spend any more because it can borrow easily from the Social Security fund. The fund does not increase the national debt.

What else could be done with the fund than invest it in Government securities? Cash is impracticable and would deprive the fund of some $300,000,000 in annual interest. Bank deposits for an inactive reserve are absurd. Investment in private industry would be a questionable practice for the Government.

It is hard to see how a reserve could be made any more real. Yet, the United States Chamber, which is advancing a pay-as-you-go for social security, is disposed to dismiss the trust fund as it if were a fictional piece of bookkeeping.

There are arguments for putting old age and survivors insurance on a basis of collecting each year the amount necessary to pay the benefits of that year, although this paper does not believe this is a safe policy. But to offer as an argument for that policy the notion that the present reserve fund is a phony is to confuse the issue badly.

## At 81 an Indispensable Servant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 24, 1953*

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I always have had deep respect for the public servants who toil usually for inadequate pay in the offices of our municipal, States, and Federal Governments.

We hear so much in criticism, stemming from the derelictions of the few, so little of appreciation of the worth of the many, that it is refreshing and heartening to read in the Chicago Sun-Times of February 23, 1953, the following news article which I am extending my remarks to include:

Edward J. Kenealy is beginning his 82d year with a continuing enthusiasm for his job, one of the most complicated in Cook County.

Kenealy, a lean, sprightly man, for 24 years has been assistant chief clerk and supervisor of the tax extension division of the county clerk's office.

He and John Crane, chief clerk and tax commissioner for the county clerk, are the mathematical wizards who figure all county tax rates.

The complex job involves computing valuations and determining rates for each of 457 taxing divisions in the county.

Kenealy, who observed his 81st birthday last Monday, has no intention of retiring—not for a time at least.

After being graduated from St. Patrick Academy, he was a traveling auditor for various business firms. He then went with the United States Treasury Department.

In 1929 Robert M. Schweitzer, then county clerk and a former classmate of Kenealy's at St. Patrick, hired him for his present job.

The present county clerk, Richard J. Daley, is more than content to leave Kenealy and Crane in charge of a fair share of the county's tax fixing problems.

"They know more about taxes and the entire tax situation than any other two men in Cook County," noted Daley.

How much are they paid for all this brain work?

Kenealy gets $4,200 a year and Crane, who has been with the department since 1920, receives $5,100 annually.

## The Religious Significance of George Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

### HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 24, 1953*

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to say that on the 22d of February, Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, the pastor of the National Presbyterian Church, city of Washington, delivered a very interesting and instructive address on the subject, The Religious Significance of George Washington.

This address was delivered in the Department of the Interior Auditorium and is as follows:

When you travel west on Highway 40, sometimes referred to as the National Highway, as you are proceeding through the high mountains of western Pennsylvania, some 11 miles east of the Monongahela River you will see on the left side of the highway old Fort Necessity and hard by on the right you will visit a mound which is the present resting place of General Braddock.

Had you been present on that day, July 9, 1755, when the British general fell mortally wounded, you would have witnessed a 23-year-old colonel of the Virginia militia in No. 11 boots, standing 6 feet 2, hurrying about giving precise commands, weighing carefully every direction, making disposition of the shattered army as he organized and commanded the rear guard which withheld the slaughtering French and Indian troops so that the remnants of the dispirited Redcoated forces might escape. On that sweltering July morning you would also have seen Colonel Washington, standing over the blanket-shrouded body of General Braddock and draw from his tunic a copy of the Anglican Prayer Book, and, since the chaplain was severely wounded, you would have heard this youth say, "I am the resurrection and the life" as he conducted the burial rites of the church.

Then when the young officer had commended the soul of the late general to his

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4. What effect will actions of this type have upon the availability of credit to farmers, businessmen, home owners, and other possible borrowers?

5. What portion of the marketable public debt now outstanding will have to be refinanced during the rest of 1953, during 1954, during 1955, during 1956?

Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

JAMES E. MURRAY.

## ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. FLANDERS obtained the floor.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President——

Mr. FLANDERS. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, is the morning hour concluded?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUSH in the chair). The morning hour has not been concluded.

Mr. TAFT. I am waiting for that.

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, I, too, was waiting for the conclusion of the morning hour.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there are no further bills, joint resolutions, or other routine matters to be presented, the morning hour is concluded.

## INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION—NOMINATION OF GEORGE M. HUMPHREY

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, there is but one nomination on the Executive Calendar, that of George M. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury, to be United States Governor of the International Monetary Fund, United States Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. As in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that the nomination be confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, as in executive session, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. TAFT. I ask that the President be immediately notified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nomination.

## EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUSH 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 COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

Samuel Wilder King, of Hawaii, to be Governor of the Territory of Hawaii.

By Mr. SALTONSTALL, from the Committee on Armed Services:

Allen Welsh Dulles, of New York, to be Director of Central Intelligence.

By Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

Lloyd A. Mashburn, of California, to be Under Secretary of Labor.

By Mr. WILEY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, Ernest A. Gross, of New York, and James J. Wadsworth, of New York, to be representatives to the second part of the Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations; and

William Sanders, of Virginia, to be alternate representative to the second part of the Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

## CONSIDERATION OF SENATE RESOLUTIONS ON THE CALENDAR

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider in proper order calendar Nos. 28 to 40, both inclusive, all of which are Senate resolutions reported by the Committee on Rules and Administration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, I suggest that the first of the resolutions be stated.

## JANE E. HENDERSON

The resolution (S. Res. 72) to pay a gratuity to Jane E. Henderson was announced as first in order.

## ANNIVERSARY OF EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, this afternoon I should like to take a few moments of the Senate's time to speak about the Employment Act of 1946. When the Employment Act was approved February 20, 1946, exactly 7 years ago today, it was heralded as the most significant legislation for guiding public policy since establishment of the Federal budget system a quarter of a century earlier.

It will be recalled that this act was passed unanimously by the Senate and by an overwhelming majority of the House of Representatives after lengthy hearings in both Houses during the summer and fall of 1945. The act was passed when there was much doubt as to the ability of our economy to weather a transition from World War II to a peacetime economy. Its declaration of policy states:

> The Congress hereby declares that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to use all practicable means consistent with its needs and obligations and other essential considerations of national policy, with the assistance and cooperation of industry, agriculture, labor, and State and local governments, to coordinate and utilize all its plans, functions, and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining, in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare, conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing, and seeking to work, and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.

In the past 7 years we have witnessed prosperous conditions. In the past 2 years we have been forced to build up our military strength to meet aggression in Asia and threatened aggression in Europe. These programs have maintained employment and production at record levels.

While I believed that the Employment Act has served a useful purpose in coordinating Federal economic policies in the interest of economic stability, the real test of its usefulness remains ahead of us. Unless the international situation worsens, we will be faced in the next 2 years with a transition from high levels of defense expenditures to a lower and more sustainable level. This transition will require adjustments in our economy. It will present a real challenge to private business as well as to Government.

We must prevent this adjustment from causing undue unemployment, or from setting off a spiraling deflation.

Mr. President, I submit that all the arguments so eloquently advanced by the economic interest groups, and by the Congress on both sides of the aisle in 1945 and in early 1946 in favor of passage of the Employment Act hold equal meaning today. Therefore, Mr. President, on this, its seventh anniversary, I wish to urge the Congress and the administration, to take stock and to make certain that we do not weaken the machinery porvided in that important act.

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

Mr. FLANDERS. I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, first I desire to compliment the able and distinguished Senator from Vermont upon taking up this discussion today, on the seventh anniversary of the adoption of the Employment Act of 1946. No one is better qualified to do that than is the Senator from Vermont, who is the senior Member from the Senate on the Joint Committee on the Economic Report which was provided for by that act. If I recall correctly, the Senator from Vermont has been on the committee since its inception, soon after passage of the act.

I am delighted the Senator from Vermont is bringing up these points today. It is my opinion that much good has resulted from the functioning of the two principal setups created under the Employment Act, namely, the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, which is composed of Members of the House and Senate. It has been my pleasure to serve on that committee since the beginning of the 80th Congress in 1947, and to serve alongside the Senator from Vermont. I hope the Senator from Vermont will, in the course of his remarks, discuss some of the work of that committee. I may say that I am imposing upon the Senator at this time only because I have another appointment, to which I must go immediately.

Mr. President, if I may, I should like to ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the remarks of the dis-

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should be allowed corporations and individuals as ordinary deductions against current income.

3. We point out to our Federal, State, and local tax-spending agencies that the limit of taxation has been reached. The American taxpayer cannot pay more. We urge that any further moneys required by governments must, in the future, come from the savings to be had from more economic and efficient government, and not from new or increased taxation.

4. We heartily commend the sliding scale stabilization import duty on lead and zinc adopted by the National Lead and Zinc Committee in Denver, Colo., on February 11, 1953. For the salvation of our lead and zinc mining industry, we respectfully urge the Congress immediately to adopt such duty.

5. We point out that many mines producing critical and strategic ores are without markets for such ores. We urge the immediate establishment of stockpiling depots, strategically located, to provide these markets particularly for the small miner. We urge that the prices paid for such ores by these depots be realistic and in keeping with the costs of producing such ores.

We extend our warmest appreciation to the Honorable ED. C. JOHNSON, United States Senator from Colorado, for introducing in the United States Senate a bill to establish a Metals Credit Corporation in order to provide a stable market for and a ready supply of strategic metals and minerals in the United States; and we respectfully and urgently request the adoption of this measure by the Congress of the United States.

6. We strenuously advocate the restoration of the gold standard based on a price for gold in keeping with its cost of production and the free convertibility of gold with other moneys. This step will halt inflation and relieve world-wide economic distress. The International Monetary Fund and all foreign exchange and monetary agreements in conflict with the gold standard, unlimited convertibility, and free exchange of gold and silver coins, must be abrogated.

We extend to the Honorable EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, United States Senator from Colorado, our deep appreciation for his vigilant and untiring efforts to protect and advance the just cause of the American metal miner.

7. We oppose any repeal of the present Silver Purchase Laws of the United States. We point out that the practice of inducing nations to demonetize their silver money and to dump that demonetized silver on world markets to break the price of silver still prevails. The demonetization of silver has been largely responsible for the economic and political upheavals in China, India, and other nations.

8. We urge the establishment of a Federal Department of Mines, presided over by a secretary with a seat in the President's Cabinet. In this connection, we urgently request that any such Secretary of Mining, as well as those officials who now preside over the various agencies relating to metal mining or who have any voice in the policy-making of such agencies, be men of known devotion to the cause of our domestic metal mining industry, including the little miner.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I wish to read two specific resolutions in connection with the Colorado Mining Association's convention:

We extend our warmest appreciation to the Honorable ED. C. JOHNSON, United States Senator from Colorado, for introducing in the United States Senate a bill to establish a Metals Credit Corporation in order to provide a stable market for and a ready supply of strategic metals and minerals in the United States; and we respectfully and urgently request the adoption of this measure by the Congress of the United States.

Also the following resolution:

We heartily commend the sliding scale stabilization import duty on lead and zinc adopted by the National Lead and Zinc Committee in Denver, Colo., on February 11, 1953. For the salvation of our lead and zinc mining industry, we respectfully urge the Congress immediately to adopt such duty.

Mr. President, the Colorado Mining Association and, I believe, the mining industries throughout the United States prefer the latter method of meeting a very critical situation, namely, by means of the imposition of import duties on lead and zinc. I believe they prefer that method, as opposed to the method provided by the bill I have introduced. However, the reason why I have introduced the bill is that I realize how difficult it is in these days to obtain the enactment of any sort of tariff bill or to have any sort of import duty or other duty placed on any commodity which can be imported from other parts of the world. The sentiment is strongly against increased tariffs; the sentiment is strongly against import duties. I have no quarrel whatever with that method of meeting the situation, and I shall give my full support to that proposed solution, if the mining industry decide that is the way they wish to proceed. Such a bill would, of course, have to be introduced in the House of Representatives, because it would be a revenue measure, and the Senate would not be able to act upon the bill until the House had passed it.

Mr. President, I do not like to put a wet blanket or throw cold water on anyone's proposal; but I believe the mining industry should be told very frankly, and I am standing here today to tell them, that their chances of having any kind of import duty imposed and their chances of having any kind of increased tariff placed on importations into the United States are indeed very dim and very slim. I believe they would be better advised if they were to adopt the plan provided for in the bill I have introduced in the Senate, by means of which metals of all kinds, coming from all sources, could enter the United States to supply the domestic demands of our industries for those metals; and our domestic metals, especially our strategic and critical metals, would be purchased by a Metals Credit Corporation and held in stockpiles. I believe that by means of that method we could keep alive in the United States our mining industry.

So I recommend to the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs that he give consideration to holding a hearing and taking favorable action on the Metals Credit Corporation bill I have introduced.

## CREDIT RESTRICTIONS

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, many Members of the Senate have expressed concern over the administration's policy of tightening up on credit. Coming at a time when farm prices and farm incomes have been falling, increases in interest rates and other restrictions on credit can have an exceedingly unfortunate impact upon American agriculture.

I am particularly concerned over interest-rate increases which necessitate additional spending to service the public debt. Just last week the Treasury Department shifted almost $9 billion of the public debt from securities paying 1⅞ percent in interest to securities paying 2¼ percent in interest. Preliminary calculations would seem to indicate that this increase in interest rates will cost the Federal Government about $34 million a year—or $136 million over the next 4 years. This new expenditure to which the Treasury Department has committed itself amounts to twice as much as would be needed to finance for the next 6 years all the new medical education required in this country.

In view of the importance of this matter, I have written to the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. George H. Humphrey, and asked for his official calculations on the additional cost to the Treasury resulting from the increased interest rate. I have also asked what effect this type of action would have upon the cost and availability of credit to farmers, businessmen, homeowners, and others.

I ask unanimous consent to have a copy of my letter to Secretary Humphrey printed at this point in the RECORD, in connection with my remarks.

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

FEBRUARY 12, 1953.

The Honorable GEORGE M. HUMPHREY,
*Secretary of the Treasury.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Many Members of the Senate have been extremely concerned over the published reports about the terms upon which the Treasury Department has just refinanced nearly $9 billion in certificates of indebtedness.

As a result of this operation, it would seem that your policy of higher interest rates has raised interest charges on this portion of the public debt by at least $34 million a year.

In other words, instead of paying 1⅞ percent of the total sum, you now worked out a plan whereby you are committed to pay 2¼ percent on most of it and 2½ percent on the remainder, an increase ranging from three-eighths to five-eights of 1 percent. This would seem to be a total interest payment of $197 million a year as contrasted with $163 million previously—in other words, an increase of $34 million or 20 percent.

This is a rather surprising action in the direction of unnecessary spending on the part of an administration which has promised to cut down expenses.

Over the next 4 years it would seem that this one refinancing venture alone would cost the taxpayers $136 million. This extra and totally unnecessary payment to the bankers would by itself amount to twice as much money as would be needed to finance for the next 6 years all the new medical education required in this country.

In view of the importance of this matter, I would therefore greatly appreciate it if you could supply me with the answers to the following questions:

1. What is the Treasury Department's calculation as to the additional interest payments that will be required by this recent refinancing action?

2. Over the course of the next 4 years, what is your estimate as to the total cost of the handling of this portion of the public debt?

3. What effect will actions of this type have upon increasing the cost of credit to farmers, businessmen, home owners, and other possible borrowers?

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*Names of persons who have served as State governors, United States Representatives, and United States Senators, 1789–1953*—Continued

| Name | State | Governor [1] | Senator [1] | Representative [1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stanley, Augustus O | Kentucky | 1915–1919 | 1919–1925 | 1903–1915 |
| Stevenson, John W | do | 1867–1871 | 1871–1877 | 1857–1861 |
| Stewart, John W | Vermont | 1870–1872 | 1908 | 1883–1891 |
| Stone, David | North Carolina | 1808–1810 | 1801–1807<br>1813–1814 | 1799–1801 |
| Stone, William J | Missouri | 1893–1897 | 1903–1918 | 1885–1891 |
| Swanson, Claude A | Virginia | 1906–1910 | 1910–1933 | 1893–1906 |
| Taylor, John | South Carolina | 1826–1828 | 1810–1816 | 1807–1810 |
| Taylor, Robert L | Tennessee | 1887–1891<br>1897–1899 | 1907–1912 | 1879–1881 |
| Tobey, Charles W | New Hampshire | 1929–1930 | 1939 | 1933–1939 |
| Tomlinson, Gideon | Connecticut | 1827–1831 | 1831–1837 | 1819–1827 |
| Troup, George M | Georgia | 1823–1837 | 1816–1818<br>1829–1833 | 1807–1815 |
| Trumbull, Jonathan | Connecticut | 1797–1809 | 1795–1796 | 1789–1795 |
| Tyler, John | Virginia | 1825–1827 | 1827–1836 | 1817–1821 |
| Vance, Zebulon B | North Carolina | 1862–1866<br>1876–1878 | 1879–1894 | 1858–1861 |
| Wallgren, Monrad C | Washington | 1945–1949 | 1940–1945 | 1933–1940 |
| Washburn, William B | Massachusetts | 1872–1874 | 1874–1875 | 1863–1871 |
| Weller, John B | California | 1858–1860 | 1852–1857 | |
| | Ohio | | | 1839–1845 |
| Williams, Jared W | New Hampshire | 1847–1849 | 1853–1854 | 1837–1841 |
| Willis, Frank B | Ohio | 1915–1917 | 1921–1928 | 1911–1915 |
| Wright, Joseph A | Indiana | 1849–1857 | 1862–1863 | 1843–1845 |
| Wright, Robert | Maryland | 1806–1809 | 1801–1806 | 1810–1817<br>1821–1823 |
| Wright, Silas, Jr | New York | 1844–1846 | 1833–1844 | 1827–1829 |
| Yates, Richard | Illinois | 1861–1865 | 1865–1871 | 1851–1855 |

[1] Because of the lack of complete information in the biographies taken from the source, certain discrepancies may be apparent in the dates given as years of service. The lack of space and the desire for uniformity have necessitated the omission of months and days, and the dates shown more accurately refer to the term of office rather than the exact period of service.

Sources: Biographical directory of the American Congress, 1927–49; Congressional directories, 81st and 82d Congs.

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

Mr. CARLSON. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. MARTIN. I think it might be interesting also to state for the RECORD that after having served almost nine terms in the House of Representatives, a former President of the United States, James A. Garfield, of Ohio, was elected a Member of the Senate on January 13, 1880, for the term beginning March 4, 1881, but it was necessary for him to decline that office because in November 1880 he was elected President of the United States.

Mr. CARLSON. I appreciate very much that interesting comment, which was not developed in this study, and I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania.

## ANNUAL WALLOW OF THE MILITARY ORDER OF THE CARABAO—INSTALLATION OF DR. GEORGE W. CALVER AS GRAND PARAMOUNT CARABAO

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Pennsylvania may proceed for 2 minutes.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, memories of military service on foreign soil more than 50 years ago were revived at a reunion held Saturday evening in this city. The occasion was the annual wallow of the Military Order of the Carabao, composed of officers who served in the Philippines.

This organization, with the possible exception of the Army and Navy Legion of Valor, is the most exclusive military organization of our country. Saturday night's wallow was the 53d gathering since the Order of the Carabao was organized at Manila in November 1900.

I know it will be of real interest to my colleagues to learn that our good friend and the attending physician to Congress, Real Adm. George W. Calver, was installed as Grand Paramount Carabao. It is a great pleasure to congratulate Dr. Calver on this honor conferred upon him by his comrades. We know he will lead this distinctive organization during a fine year of patriotism and good fellowship.

## ADJOURNMENT TO WEDNESDAY

Mr. KNOWLAND. I move that the Senate adjourn until Wednesday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Wednesday, February 25, 1953, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 23, 1953:

### UNITED NATIONS

TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SECOND PART OF THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts.
Ernest A. Gross, of New York.
James J. Wadsworth, of New York.

TO BE ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SECOND PART OF THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

William Sanders, of Virginia.

### DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

Allen Welsh Dulles, of New York, to be Director of Central Intelligence.

### DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Lloyd A. Mashburn, of California, to be Under Secretary of Labor.

### GOVERNOR OF TERRITORY OF HAWAII

Samuel Wilder King, of Hawaii, to be Governor of the Territory of Hawaii.

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branches of the Congress and as governors of their States. This statement rather intrigued me and I requested the legislative branch of the Congressional Library to assist me in research on this matter.

As the junior Senator from Kansas has had the privilege of serving as Governor of the State of Kansas, in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives, I thought it might be of interest to Congress to have the information that I have obtained.

I find in checking the records, that 89 men have had the privilege of serving in these positions since our Nation adopted its Constitution in 1789.

In addition to the junior Senator from Kansas, there are five other Members of the United States Senate who have served as governors of their States, in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives. They are the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CLEMENTS], the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY], the distinguished Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HOEY], the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY], and the distinguished Senator from Wyoming [Mr. BARRETT].

It is interesting to note that of the list of 89 Members, 2 of them became President of the United States, namely, Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson, both of them from the State of Tennessee.

In checking the list further, I find that there are 13 States in which no person has served in all three places. They are as follows: Arizona, Delaware, Idaho, Iowa, Michigan, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Utah.

There are 16 States, including my home State of Kansas, which have had one person who has served in the three positions. Those States are Arkansas, California, Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

There are 5 States that have had 2 persons serve in the 3 capacities—Alabama, Florida, Indiana, Mississippi, and Vermont.

There are 4 States that had 3 persons who have served in these capacities—Louisiana, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Ohio.

There are 3 States that had 4 serving in these various capacities—Maine, Maryland, and New York.

There are 2 States which had 5 persons serving in the 3 positions—Connecticut and Georgia—and 4 States had 6—North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Of all the States of the Union, Kentucky has had the largest number of persons priviliged to serve in these 3 places, namely, 9.

Another interesting sidelight on the men who had such service is that 4 of them, including Andrew Jackson, who became President of the United States, did not render their service from the same State for all 3 positions. Andrew Jackson served in the House and Senate from Tennessee and as Governor of the State of Florida.

Samuel Houston of Tennessee, served as a Member of the House of Representative from the State of Tennessee, and as Governor of that State, but he also served as Governor of Texas and as United States Senator from that State.

John Branch of North Carolina, served as Governor of North Carolina and as Senator and Representative from that State and also as Governor of Florida.

John B. Weller of California, served as Governor of California and as a Senator from that State, but he also served as a Representative from the State of Ohio.

I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the RECORD the names of those who have served in these capacities, together with the names of the States and the date of service.

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

*Names of persons who have served as State governors, United States Representatives, and United States Senators, 1789–1953*

| Name | State | Governor [1] | Senator [1] | Representative [1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adair, John | Kentucky | 1820–1824 | 1805–1806 | 1831–1833 |
| Barrett, Frank A | Wyoming | 1950–1952 | 1953– | 1942–1950 |
| Bibb, William W | Virginia | 1817–1820 | 1813–1816 | 1807–1813 |
| Bingham, Kinsley Scott | New York | 1854–1858 | 1859–1861 | 1847–1851 |
| Blanchard, Newton Crain | Louisiana | 1904–1908 | 1894–1897 | 1881–1894 |
| Branch, John | North Carolina | 1817–1820 | 1823–1829 | 1831–1833 |
| | Florida | 1844–1845 | | |
| Brewster, Ralph O | Maine | 1925–1929 | 1941– | 1935–1941 |
| Burleigh, Edwin Chick | do | 1889–1892 | 1913–1916 | 1897–1911 |
| Byrnes, James F | South Carolina | 1951–1955 | 1931–1941 | 1911–1925 |
| Carlson, Frank | Kansas | 1947–1950 | 1950– | 1935–1947 |
| Claiborne, William C. C | Tennessee | | | 1797–1801 |
| | Louisiana | 1812–1816 | 1817 | |
| Clements, Earle C | Kentucky | 1947–1950 | 1950– | 1944–1947 |
| Corwin, Thomas | do | 1840–1842 | 1845–1850 | 1831–1840 |
| | | | | 1859–1861 |
| Crafts, Samuel C | Vermont | 1828–1831 | 1842–1843 | 1817–1825 |
| Crittenden, John J | Kentucky | 1848–1850 | 1817–1819 | |
| | | | 1835–1841 | |
| | | | 1842–1848 | |
| | | | 1855–1861 | 1861–1863 |
| Davis, John | Massachusetts | 1834–1835 | 1835–1841 | 1825–1834 |
| | | 1841–1843 | 1845–1853 | |
| Dixon, Joseph M | Montana | 1921–1925 | 1907–1913 | 1903–1907 |
| English, James Edward | Connecticut | 1867, 1868, 1870 | 1875–1876 | 1861–1865 |
| Fairfield, John | Maine | 1839–1843 | 1843–1847 | 1835–1838 |
| Fenton, Reuben E | New York | 1865–1868 | 1869–1875 | 1853–1855 |
| | | | | 1857–1864 |
| Fish, Hamilton | do | 1849–1850 | 1851–1857 | 1843–1845 |
| Foote, Samuel A | Connecticut | 1834–1835 | 1827–1833 | 1819–1821 |
| | | | | 1823–1825 |
| | | | | 1833–1834 |
| Forsyth, John | Georgia | 1827–1829 | 1818–1819 | 1813–1818 |
| | | | 1829–1834 | 1823–1827 |
| Franklin, Jesse | North Carolina | 1820–1821 | 1799–1805 | 1795–1797 |
| | | | 1807–1813 | |
| Giles, William B | Virginia | 1827–1830 | 1803–1815 | 1790–1798 |
| | | | | 1801–1803 |
| Grover, LaFayette | Oregon | 1870–1877 | 1877–1883 | 1859 |
| Hamilton, William Thomas | Maryland | 1879–1883 | 1869–1975 | 1849–1855 |
| Hamlin, Hannibal | Maine | 1857 | 1848–1857 | 1843–1847 |
| | | | 1857–1861 | |
| | | | 1869–1881 | |
| Hammond, James Henry | South Carolina | 1842–1844 | 1857–1860 | 1835–1836 |
| Hardwick, Thomas W | Georgia | 1921–1923 | 1914–1919 | 1903–1906 |
| Harris, Isham Green | Tennessee | 1857–1862 | 1877–1897 | 1849–1853 |
| Hoey, Clyde R | North Carolina | 1937–1941 | 1945– | 1919–1921 |
| Houston, George S | Alabama | 1874–1878 | 1879 | 1841–1849 |
| | | | | 1851–1861 |
| Houston, Samuel | Tennessee | 1827–1829 | | 1823–1827 |
| | Texas | 1859–1861 | 1846–1859 | |
| Hubbard, Henry | New Hampshire | 1841–1843 | 1835–1841 | 1829–1835 |
| Jackson, Andrew | Tennessee | | 1797 | 1796–1797 |
| | | | 1823–1825 | |
| | Florida | 1821 | | |
| Jackson, James | Georgia | 1798–1801 | 1793–1795 | 1789–1791 |
| | | | 1801–1806 | |
| Johnson, Andrew | Tennessee | 1853–1857 | 1857–1862 | 1843–1853 |
| | | | 1875 | |
| Johnson, Henry | Louisiana | 1824–1828 | 1818–1824 | 1834–1839 |
| | | | 1844–1849 | |
| Kellogg, William P | do | 1873–1877 | 1868–1872 | 1883–1885 |
| | | | 1877–1883 | |
| Kent, Joseph | Maryland | 1826–1829 | 1833–1837 | 1811–1815 |
| | | | | 1819–1826 |
| La Follette, Robert M | Wisconsin | 1901–1906 | 1906–1925 | 1885–1891 |
| Lambert, John | New Jersey | 1802–1803 | 1809–1815 | 1805–1809 |
| Lane, Henry S | Indiana | 1861 | 1861–1867 | 1840–1843 |
| McCreary, James B | Kentucky | 1875–1879 | 1903–1909 | 1885–1897 |
| | | 1912–1916 | | |
| McRae, John J | Mississippi | 1854–1858 | 1851–1852 | 1858–1861 |
| Metcalfe, Thomas | Kentucky | 1829–1833 | 1848–1849 | 1819–1828 |
| Milledge, John | Georgia | 1802–1806 | 1806–1809 | 1792–1793 |
| | | | | 1795–1799 |
| | | | | 1801–1802 |
| Miller, Stephen Decatur | South Carolina | 1828–1830 | 1831–1833 | 1817–1819 |
| Moore, Gabriel | Alabama | 1829–1831 | 1831–1837 | 1821–1829 |
| Morrison, Cameron A | North Carolina | 1921–1925 | 1930–1932 | 1943–1945 |
| Morrow, Jeremiah | Ohio | 1822–1826 | 1813–1819 | 1803–1813 |
| | | | | 1840–1843 |
| Neely, Matthew | West Virginia | 1941–1945 | 1923–1929 | 1913–1921 |
| | | | 1931–1941 | 1945–1947 |
| | | | 1949 | |
| Nelson, Knute | Minnesota | 1893–1895 | 1895–1923 | 1883–1889 |
| Nicholas, Wilson C | Virginia | 1814–1817 | 1799–1804 | 1807–1809 |
| Parris, Albion K | Massachusetts | | | 1815–1818 |
| | Maine | 1822–1827 | 1827–1828 | |
| Pinckney, Charles | South Carolina | 1789–1792 | 1798–1801 | 1819–1821 |
| | | 1796–1798 | | |
| | | 1806–1808 | | |
| Pleasants, James | Virginia | 1822–1825 | 1819–1822 | 1811–1819 |
| Poindexter, George | Mississippi | 1819–1821 | 1830–1835 | 1817–1819 |
| Pope, John | Kentucky | 1829–1835 | 1807–1813 | 1837–1843 |
| Reid, David S | North Carolina | 1850–1853 | 1853–1859 | 1843–1847 |
| Robinson, Joseph T | Arkansas | 1913 | 1913–1937 | 1903–1913 |
| Shafroth, John F | Colorado | 1908–1912 | 1913–1919 | 1895–1904 |
| Smith, Israel | Connecticut | 1807–1808 | 1803–1807 | 1801–1803 |
| Smith, John Walter | Maryland | 1900–1904 | 1908–1921 | 1899–1900 |
| Sprague, William | Rhode Island | 1838–1839 | 1842–1844 | 1835–1837 |

Footnote at end of table.

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