

World War, 1939-

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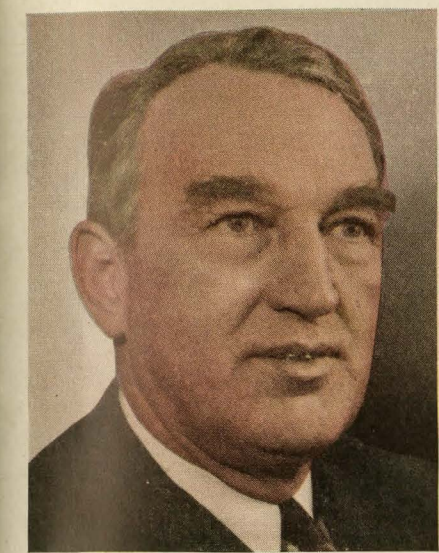
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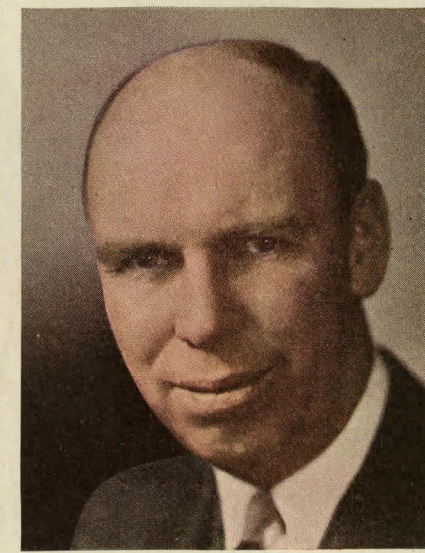
Senator Lodge



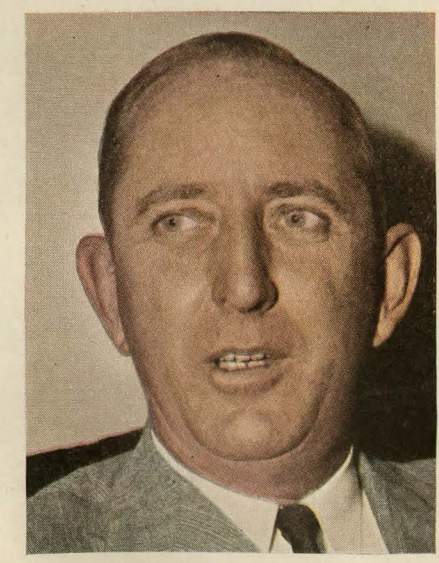
Senator Chandler



Senator Mead



Senator Brewster



Senator Russell
(CHAIRMAN)

FIVE SENATORS REPORT ON THE WAR

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Observations on a
45,000-mile trip
to the war areas

by

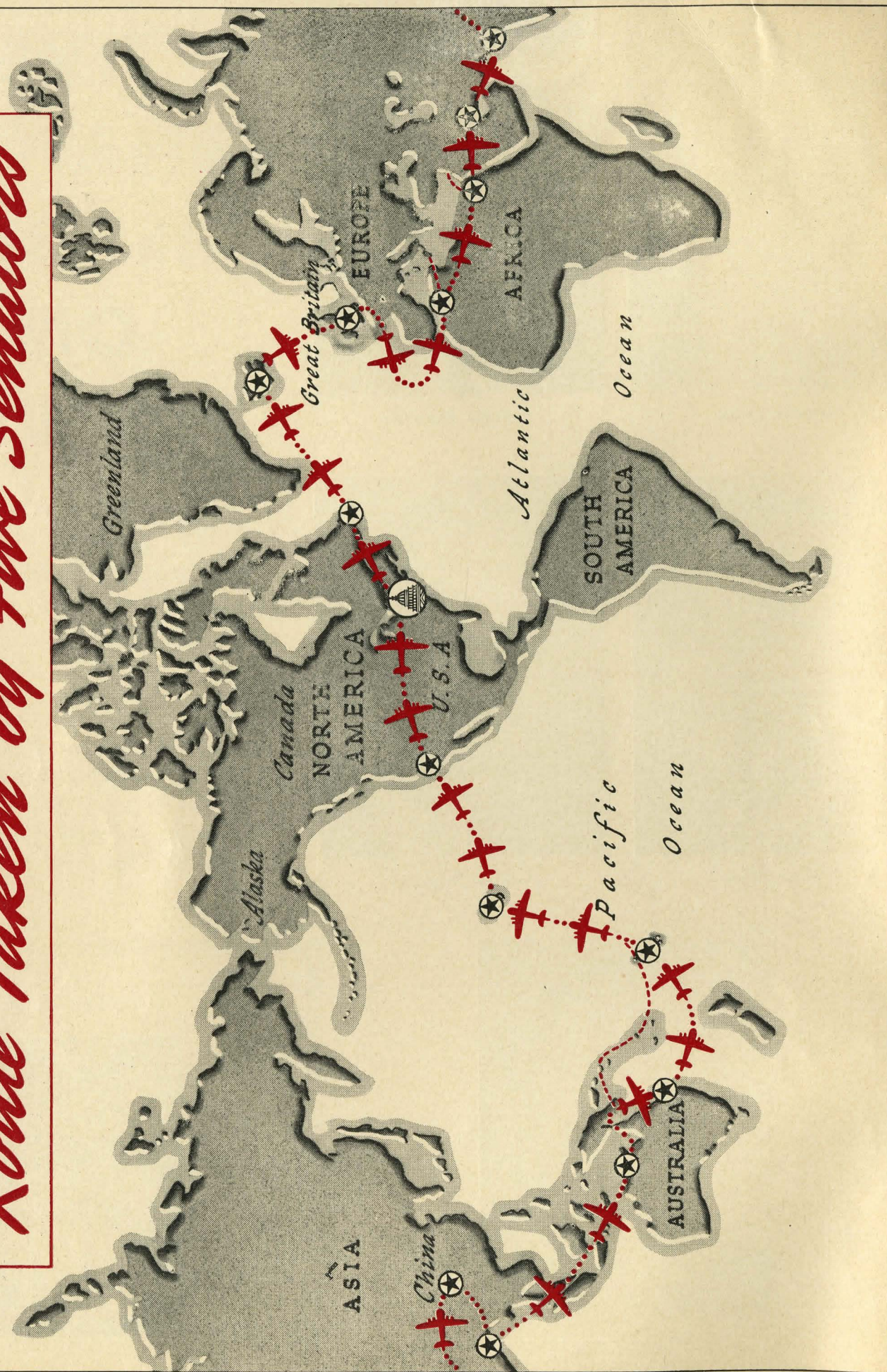
Senator Brewster of Maine
Senator Chandler of Kentucky
Senator Lodge of Massachusetts
Senator Mead of New York
Senator Russell of Georgia

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Route Taken by Five Senators



REPORT ON THE WAR

*Observations by five members of
the United States Senate on a
45,000-mile trip to the war areas*

From the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs:

Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia (Democrat)

From the Senate Committee on Military Affairs:

Senator Albert B. Chandler of Kentucky (Democrat)

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts (Republican)

*From the Special Senate Committee to Investigate the
National Defense Program (Truman Committee):*

Senator James M. Mead of New York (Democrat)

Senator Ralph O. Brewster of Maine (Republican)

*(Senators Russell, Mead and Lodge also are
members of the Committee on Appropriations.)*

Statement by the Honorable Alben W. Barkley, Majority Leader of the Senate, on the floor of the Senate, June 30, 1943:

Senators are familiar with the fact that there has been some discussion in the press and in the Senate, among Senators, regarding the suggestion that certain Senators from certain committees take a trip abroad for the purpose of carrying on a continuation of investigations of war-materials production and distribution and other matters pertaining to the war. The first I knew about the proposal was when I received a confidential letter from the President, dated March 23, transmitting a confidential memorandum to him by General Marshall, the Chief of Staff, regarding a suggestion which had been made by the Truman Committee as to the appointment of a subcommittee of that Committee to continue its investigation of the war activities outside the United States. Inasmuch as both communications were confidential, of course, I will not reveal them. Later, I discussed the matter with the President. . .

The only reason why I was called upon to take any action or render any decision in regard to the matter was because the Chief of Staff and, later the Secretary of War, suggested that, if such a trip were to be made, it should be made in coordination with the Senator from Oregon (Mr. McNary), as Minority Leader, and with me, as Majority Leader of the Senate.

I might say it was suggested that it was undesirable to have a series of committees of Congress traveling abroad at this time, in connection with the war; that is a single committee could be se-

lected, and if all members of the committee could go at the same time, occupying only one plane, the Army could provide facilities for the transportation of such a committee. . .

However, the upshot of it all is that, after these conferences have been held in an effort to compose the situation and do justice to the committees involved, the Senator from Oregon and I have agreed to sanction and recommend five members of the Senate to be at the disposal of the War Department for such facilities as the War Department has available, and at such time as the War Department has them available, and at such time and under such circumstances as will not interfere with the duties of our military commanders and our armed forces abroad, to make such a trip for the investigation of matters pertaining to the war.

Two of them are members of the Military Affairs Committee, designated by the chairman. Two of them are members of the Truman Committee, designated by the chairman. Three of them are members of the Appropriations Committee. Two of them are members of the Naval Committee, but not designated by the chairman. Of course, some of the Senators are members of more than one of the committees I have named. So both the committees representing the armed forces and the committee appropriating the money are represented in the selection of the five Senators.

Statement by Senator Harry S. Truman, chairman of Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, read on the floor of the Senate, July 5, 1943:

The Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program was charged by the Senate with the duty of checking on all phases of war production, for the purpose of making certain that we get to the fighting fronts as soon and as economically as possible the weapons, supplies and facilities needed by our armed forces.

The Congress has a clear duty, for which the people will hold it responsible, to see that results are obtained from the billions of dollars appropriated for the war effort. . .

Senator James M. Mead, of New York, and Senator Ralph O. Brewster, of Maine, are going abroad with a group of other Senators during the period when Congress expects to be in recess and most of its members are enjoying the first chance in several years to attend to their personal affairs. The Committee has directed Senators Mead and Brewster to obtain information—and, upon their return, to report to the Committee—on the foreign

aspects of the various questions which have been the subject of study by the Committee, including particularly:

1. Transportation and supply by sea, air, highway and rail;
2. Landing facilities in foreign areas developed by the United States and the rights of this country in those facilities now and in the postwar period;
3. Administrative activities in foreign fields outside military lines and particularly any confusion of function with respect thereto;
4. Arrangements for the distribution of American supplies among civilian populations;
5. Quality and condition of repair and replacement parts, including engines received from the United States, and quantity or percentage found unusable by reason of faulty manufacture;
6. The function of the Office of War Information.

Published reports of statements purporting to have been made in secret sessions of the Senate by individual members of the Senate Committee which recently visited the war theaters overseas have provoked much criticism and comment in recent weeks.

The summary of the findings of the Committee as a body, outlining opinions in regard to matters on which all of the Senators who participated in the trip were in complete agreement, was given to the press and printed in the *Congressional Record*. Very little has been said or published about those conclusions. Perhaps they were not spectacular enough.

The fragmentary handling by the press of the reporting by some Senator or Senators who saw fit to disregard the rules of the Senate applying secrecy to executive sessions caused a great deal of confusion and distortion in the accounts of what transpired appearing in the press and given over the radio. There is an undoubted natural tendency in most humans to emphasize critical statements and gloss over those that are commendatory.

The widespread publicity given the deliberations of a secret session reflects no credit on the Senate. It will probably be a long time before another executive session is held. It does seem that a member or members of this body who cannot resist the impulse to report secret proceedings to newsmen would at least make an attempt to present a more complete picture. It may well be that it was unwise to arrange an executive session in the first instance. I, personally, had no objection to making a general statement of my views and observations in public, but it was felt that an executive session would enable the members of the Committee to speak more freely on such matters as the numbers of troops and amount of equipment in each area, and other plans and details of the war which it would not be in the public interest to have available to our enemies.

I believed that, if the expedition was to prove of any value to the Senate and thereby to the country in dealing with war legislation or postwar problems, I should be perfectly frank in making my report. Nothing was further from my purpose than to engender any bitterness, either at home or between us and our allies, that would in the slightest degree adversely affect our united effort in the great struggle for life and freedom in which we are engaged, and I have no apologies to anyone for any statement that I made.

In view of the fragmentary and somewhat garbled reports which have been circulated and discussed, I have decided that, in order to clear the atmosphere and make plain my own views, to make in open session of the Senate the same report insofar as possible that I made in the executive session. I have omitted only facts which might be valuable to our enemies.

During the course of the sessions a number of questions were asked, and I, of course, cannot remember all of them or repeat my answers verbatim. I am, however, using the same notes and manuscript to which I referred in the executive session held October 7. I do not expect my colleagues to welcome the opportunity to hear the same statement twice, but, if any member of the Senate desires to repeat questions asked in the executive session,

I shall endeavor to answer such questions just as I did in the first place if my memory will permit.

Let me make it perfectly clear that I am not undertaking to speak for the Committee. This is not a Committee report in any sense of the word, but is a statement of my own individual views. As is natural in such a case, every individual who went on the trip returned with some ideas and opinions that differed from those held by his colleagues. All of us did not see and hear the same things, and there were instances where we placed different constructions upon what we did see and hear. Despite the fact that practically every statement made by any member of the Committee is consistently attributed to "the five Senators," there are a number of matters on which we disagree.

The Route Traveled

It may facilitate an understanding of the reports of the members of the Committee designated to visit the American war operations overseas to preface the discussion with a brief outline of the route traveled by the Committee in the course of its investigations.

Leaving Washington on July 25, we flew via Presque Isle, Maine, to an air base in Newfoundland; thence we proceeded to another airfield in Labrador. From this field in Labrador we flew across the awesome ice cap and peaks and glaciers of Greenland to Iceland. From Iceland we went to the United Kingdom, where we spent several days, much of the time being with our Eighth Air Force. From a gigantic airport in Southwest England we took off at midnight for Marrakech, in Morocco.

We spent more than a week in North Africa, and visited all of the important cities and troop concentrations on the Mediterranean, as well as the scene of the fighting there this spring. Leaving Cairo, we traveled across Arabia to Basra and Abadan on the Persian Gulf, where, in a climate so hot that the actual temperature recorded by thermometer defies belief, our men are assembling and delivering to the Russians vast quantities of war materiel under Lend-Lease.

From this theater we proceeded to Karachi, in India, and thence across India by New Delhi and Assam Province and over the Burma "Hump" into China, visiting Kunming and Chungking. Coming back out of China, we proceeded to Calcutta, and from Calcutta across the Bay of Bengal to Ceylon. From Ceylon we crossed the Indian Ocean to Carnarvon on the west coast of Australia. We were told that ours was the first land plane ever to make this flight across the Indian Ocean. We visited Port Darwin and Townsville, from which place we flew across the Coral Sea to General MacArthur's headquarters in New Guinea. Returning to Australia, we landed at Brisbane, from which city, after a visit to Sydney and Melbourne, we took off for New Caledonia. We came home across the Pacific, stopping at Fiji Islands, Samoa, Christmas Island and Hawaii on our way to Los Angeles.

This represents the route taken by the four-motored Liberator transport in which we left Washington. The party did not stay together throughout the entire trip,

but went to different places within each area visited in other planes. The large plane in which we left Washington flew nearly 37,000 miles, and members of the Committee traveled several thousand miles in other planes when visiting points where a four-motored plane could not land. About one-eighth of the total time of the trip was consumed in travel through the air. Most of the remaining seven-eighths was spent in an earnest effort to gather information.

Upon my appointment as chairman of the Committee, I announced that we were in no sense a committee on the conduct of the war, and that I did not consider it within our province to undertake to advise or interfere with Allied military and naval leaders in their direction of the strategy of the war. I did feel that the Committee could perform a very useful function for the Senate by securing firsthand information from the various theaters of operations as to the provisions being made for the health and well-being of our troops, as well as finding out what the men were thinking and talking about, the condition of their morale, the suitability of the tools of war being produced at such great effort and expense, and the general effectiveness with which the war is being prosecuted.

I also believed that the things heard and observed by such a Senate Committee would be helpful in dealing with the questions arising from our relations with the other allied powers, as well as in preparing for the many trying and complex issues whose solution must have final approval by the Senate after the war is over.

No one would claim that any person could become conversant with all phases of our far-flung activities in a trip of little more than two months' duration. All that one could hope to do was to get a fair idea of the general atmosphere prevailing in each of the theaters visited. This we endeavored to do by personal contact and observation.

We slept in palaces and in pup tents. We ate with those who are directing the destinies of nations, and with enlisted men at their mess. We conferred with high officials of every government visited, as well as with the commanding officers in every theater of operations. We had explanations of strategy, tactics, and objectives, illustrated by maps and in some cases by moving pictures. We talked to wounded men in hospitals who had just been brought in from the front, as well as with men of all ranks belonging to every branch of the service.

The Fifth Army

We spent days with the Fifth Army as they were undergoing the final phases of intensive training in amphibious operations preparatory to the invasion of Italy, as well as with Commando units and Marines training for jungle fighting in the South Pacific. We saw bomber and fighter squadrons briefed for attack and take off in their planes, both from England and in the Pacific theater. We visited men in their barracks, and chatted with them as they relaxed in Red Cross canteens. We attended the moving picture and the USO shows that the men in the more remote places look forward to so avidly.

The men who are actually fighting this war are thinking about postwar problems, as well as things at home and the conduct of the war. I wish that every member of the Senate could have been with me to share my discomfort during a two-hour grilling by several hundred serv-

ice men in a Red Cross canteen in New Delhi, which they have named "Duration Den." It would have required not only all of the powers of prophecy of the entire Senate, but full and frank replies from the heads of all the Allied powers to answer some of the questions propounded. Any idea that the men are only thinking about the end of the war and getting home would be disabused by a visit to any overseas station.

What I have seen and heard does not make me an expert on all things pertaining to the war, but I have a much clearer picture than I could possibly have gained by zealous attendance on committee hearings for twelve months. Not only is this war the greatest undertaking the American people have ever embarked upon, but, even after having visited all the theaters of operations, it is difficult to grasp the magnitude of the job to which the power and might of the United States and our allies have been harnessed all around the globe. It was a great experience to see first hand the difficulties and obstacles which are requiring such a tremendous expenditure of human energy and material resources, and which demand ingenuity, heroism, and a spirit of sacrifice on the part of millions of our boys and girls.

The over-all problem of transportation involved in this war is so great as to stagger the imagination. It taxes the resources of our nation and the human endurance of our people engaged in it to the limit. The most striking single difficulty is that involved in the effort to supply our forces in China and our Chinese allies. After having been brought thousands of miles by steamship into the harbor of Calcutta, every pound of supplies going to General Chennault's gallant air forces in China must now be loaded or unloaded nine different times, as well as being flown over the towering peaks of the Burma "Hump" before they can be utilized against the enemy.

The job of maintenance and repair in this mechanized war is an onerous one. Veritable factories must follow each army. American engineers and mechanics have built great machine shops at various places across the vast reaches of North Africa, on the scorching rim of the Persian Gulf, in Australia, and on the islands of the South Pacific, where planes, tanks, trucks and ships are either assembled or repaired. I never ceased to marvel at their efficiency. We saw production lines at these remote stations receive airplane engines that seemed to be completely wrecked. A few hours later they emerged wrapped in cellophane and as precisely tooled and efficient as a new engine coming from a plant in the United States.

One benefit we will derive from the enormous expenditures of this awful war lies in the training of large groups of the finest craftsmen and mechanics in the world. Both the Army and the Navy have accomplished wonders in this respect. Boys who twelve months ago were either unemployed or doing work requiring no skill are today repairing the most delicate instruments, such as radar and radio equipment, telephone exchanges, submarine periscopes, and are working with the countless finely balanced machines which are necessary in the operation of airplanes, submarines and other complicated mechanisms of war.

Every American may well be proud of the manner in which our armed forces have met the problem of maintenance and supply. Our difficulties have been so far solved that our troops are now unquestionably the best-fed, best-equipped, and best-provided armed forces that

the world has ever seen. In some of the remote areas the ration is not as tasty and varied as one would like, but all of our men have plenty of nourishing food and clothes adapted to the climate in which they serve and fight.

Treatment of Wounded

The completeness of the hospital facilities both in the field and at permanent stations and the speed with which the sick and wounded receive treatment are almost unbelievable. I do not think we failed to visit a hospital at a single place we stopped, and I talked with doctors, nurses and patients. Men are recovering from wounds in a few weeks in this war which would have proved fatal heretofore, and the use of the sulfa drugs, blood plasma and new methods of treatment are accomplishing miracles. Most of these hospital units moved to the front completely staffed with doctors and nurses from our leading hospitals in the States. The quality of medical treatment received by the sick and wounded in our armed forces is incomparably superior to the average treatment received by the civilian population at home.

All Senators have talked to eyewitnesses who have vividly portrayed some of the difficulties and obstacles with which our fighting men must contend in the course of operations, as well as the indomitable courage and resourcefulness of our boys who are engaged in actual combat. I shall not repeat them. All of us heard sagas of individual heroism and accomplishment which make the stories of the Knights of the Round Table pale in comparison. It was hard to believe that the quiet and modest chap you met in a hospital, cheerfully bearing three or four gaping wounds, was a hero who had either killed eleven Japs singlehandedly or who had flown through the hell of fire which greeted the men who struck the Ploesti oil refineries.

I shall never forget the emotions I experienced as I sat with fifty fighter pilots of the Eighth Air Force in England and heard a handsome blond squadron leader about 25 years old instruct his men on a mission across the Channel. He sounded as casual as if he were discussing the proper play to run in a football game.

Nor can I forget the fine-looking boy, a veteran of six months' jungle fighting at 19, who twelve hours before had received a bullet in his leg while fighting the Japs in the Solomons. It so happened that I knew his grandparents quite well. He was more interested in talking about conditions in Georgia than in New Georgia. After telling me that he hoped to be back in action within three weeks, he wound up by expressing concern about the people back home, saying, "Look after the folks at home, Senator, and we will take care of these Japs out here."

The fighting in Europe is against a determined, well-equipped and resourceful enemy. It does more or less follow the orthodox conception of war. The war in the Pacific is a battle to the death. Tales of incredible and shocking brutality in the treatment of our men, including the wounded, by the Japanese make it easy to understand why no quarter is now being asked or given. The Japs had the early advantage of training in jungle fighting. They are patient and cunning. A Japanese sniper will tie himself in a tree and remain there for three or four days. Another will spend several hours crawling as short a distance as a hundred yards for a shot at an American soldier or marine.



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

At a U. S. air base somewhere in England the five Senators get firsthand information on the operations of our air force

They have a great trick of slipping behind our lines and feigning death along a path on which reinforcements must travel and throwing a grenade into a detachment of our men. They had mastered all of the arts of camouflage in jungle fighting. The best illustration I can use to describe the jungle fighting in the islands of the South Pacific is to compare it with Indian warfare in early Colonial days, with the jungle more fearsome and difficult to penetrate than any primeval forest.

Our men have had to learn jungle fighting the hard way, but they have finally mastered it, and today they are beating the Jap at his own game.

Naval Operations

As a member of the Naval Affairs Committee, I undertook to observe as many of the activities of our Navy in the areas visited as possible. I am frank to say that I believe the Navy is doing a disservice to many American heroes by overstressing its policy of remaining the "silent service." Sailors handled every one of the landing barges which took the troops and marines ashore in the South Pacific, as they did in North Africa, in Sicily and in Italy. They keep the noses of their ships, which are easy targets for bomb and shell, against the sands of the beaches until the last soldier and the last piece of equipment is ashore.

Ofttimes the guns of destroyers and cruisers blazed the path for our infantry and tanks. Due to the constant vigilance required to fend off attacks by airplanes and submarines, the men manning these ships often do not get more than two or three hours' sleep a day for as long as a week. In Sicily, one of our light cruisers broke up a tank attack by a regiment of the Hermann Goering Division just before it was apparently about to result in disaster to one of our divisions which had not had time to set up its heavy defense equipment.

In my judgment, the American people are entitled to know more about what the Navy has been doing in order that they may properly appreciate the sacrifices of the men who go down to the sea in ships.

It is inspiring to observe that, in both the Army and the Navy, morale seems to be higher where the hazard is greatest. This is particularly true of the men who man our "pig boats," or submarines. I had an opportunity to talk to the officers and men of many of our underwater craft who are carrying the war to the very shores of Japan. I asked a lad who was a member of the crew of a submarine in drydock at Pearl Harbor, where a huge dent caused by a depth charge was being ironed out, whether he would prefer service on a surface ship. His reply was: "Hell, no. It's safer down there than up above when those airplanes come in with their torpedoes and bombs."

China's Difficulties

Due to the great importance of China to the Allied cause, I regretted that our visit there was not long enough to enable us to have time to go more fully into the details of the situation there. We did, however, have ample opportunity to confer with Generals Stilwell and Chennault, and to visit with the Generalissimo and the leading figures of his Government at Chungking.

Some of the conditions noted in China were most disturbing. Such industries as the country possessed were largely in the area occupied by the Japanese. The country has been in an exhausting war for a number of years and they have suffered great losses. Chinese troops are poorly equipped and in their present state of affairs are confined to defensive action. To apply the word "army" to the forces of China is not to use that word in the same sense in which it is usually understood when referring to the armed forces of other leading Allied powers.

Their form of government lacks many of the elements of a democracy as this term is generally accepted in this country. The Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, is a great patriot. In him rests China's last best hope of salvation as a free and unified democratic state. If any one man in China can accomplish this, he will do it. He is confronted with great difficulties, the details of which I shall not relate.

Notwithstanding all of his handicaps, the Generalissimo refuses even to discuss peace overtures with the Japs, and the fact that China is still in the war as our ally requires the attention of fifteen or more Japanese divisions.

In my opinion, General Chennault is one of the most brilliant soldiers that this war has produced. With an incredibly small number of effective airplanes, he is contributing greatly to keeping China a factor in the war. Certainly no man has ever done more with so little. Considering the limitations upon him, General Stilwell is also rendering a great service to his country and the Allied cause.

It is requiring a superhuman effort to furnish General Chennault's air forces, but the maintenance of air bases in China is of such importance that we should attack the problem of supplying him with redoubled vigor.

On account of her proximity to Japan and her knowledge of the Japanese people, China has the most effective intelligence service on Japanese activities of any of the Allied powers.

We received information from the most reliable sources in China to the effect that we were still continuing to

underestimate the strength of Japan, particularly in the field of production. We were advised that, instead of the 500 planes generally estimated here, the Japs were making more than a thousand planes a month, and were producing twice as much shipping as they were before Pearl Harbor. This may be the answer to the amazement of our commanding officers in the South Pacific as to where the Japs get the planes to replace the large numbers that are shot down so rapidly there.

In addition to the ocean shipping, the Japanese are manufacturing large numbers of lightweight shallow-draft wooden ships powered by Diesel engines. They are using them for interisland transportation, and in some cases over considerable distances. Much timber is being taken from occupied China for that purpose, and we were also told that they had even used some of the trees from the Emperor's sacred forest in Japan for this construction.

I asked some of our submarine commanders about this, and they confirmed the reports that we had received in China. These ships constitute quite a problem to our submarines. Ofttimes sub commanders do not feel justified in expending priceless torpedoes sinking such small craft. They surface and sink them with gunfire. Practically all of these ships are armed, and we have undoubtedly sustained some losses in these actions.

One unit of the Chinese Army is fully trained and equipped. Our transport planes, which are flying equipment in to General Chennault, returned with a cargo of Chinese soldiers. Many thousands of these men who could not be armed and equipped in China have been brought out to a point where equipment could be provided, and are now fully armed, completely furnished with motorized transport, and have been thoroughly trained in all of the latest methods of warfare. Our officers are confident that they are first-class fighting men and will give a good account of themselves when they come to grips with the enemy.

Leave After Long Service

The first question asked by every enlisted man and junior officer who has been overseas any considerable length of time is: "When are we going to get some leave to go home?" All of the veterans realize the value of the experience they have acquired in actual combat, and practically none of them expects to be released from service until the job is done, but there is an overwhelming feeling on the part of those who have been overseas for many long months that arrangements should be made to give them a respite from their trials and dangers and a chance to see their families.

Every member of the Committee is agreed that the War Department should immediately adopt some policy of returning troops home for a leave or rest after certain services have been performed. This has worked well in the case of the crews of our airplanes, who are allowed a fixed period of rest after a certain number of sorties, which varies in different theaters of operations.

I believe it would be a great incentive to the men and would still further reinforce the fine morale that is now displayed if they had definite prospect of a visit home after the performance of a certain task or period of service for which they are assigned. For obvious reasons, this is a difficult matter on which to legislate, but the Com-

mittee has made strong recommendations to the War Department and the Navy Department that a fair policy of leaves be promulgated.

The one bright spot in many of the isolated places where our men are serving has been the American Red Cross and the USO troupes. There is no way to compute what these touches of home life have meant to boys who are working and fighting under almost impossible conditions. The girls in the Red Cross canteens have been worth their weight in gold, and the resourcefulness they have displayed in all conceivable circumstances has been amazing.

We met several of the USO troupes. Some of them were tired and worn, but they were still carrying on, and I am sure that none of them has ever played to more appreciative audiences. A report to the headquarters of our forces in the Middle East on the trials of a group of these entertainers whose stage was the burning sands of the deserts enabled us to have a better appreciation of what these stage people are doing. The report read:

"Attitude of troupe so far is very good. Tonight will play Basra and depart for Khorramshaar tomorrow. Accordion now useless as heat melted wax."

Men who live close to death think on the spiritual side of life. We attended church services at several places, and were much impressed by the manner in which the chaplains are carrying out their multifold duties. We likewise visited several cemeteries where rest those heroes who have made the supreme sacrifice. Even in the haste and confusion of war our honored dead have not been neglected. Those who have loved ones or friends who have fallen in battle would be comforted if they could see the well-kept cemeteries where they sleep and the solicitude of the chaplains in charge to have every grave properly marked amidst surroundings of appropriate dignity.

Any account of our observations without a word of praise to the Navy Seabees and the Army Engineers would be incomplete as well as unjust to some of the heroes of this war. From the frozen lava beds of Iceland to the blistering sands of the deserts, these men work as high as twenty hours some days constructing facilities that are essential to modern war. When the history of this war is written, their unselfish sacrifices and tireless labor should adorn one of its brightest pages. To date they have received far too little credit.

Expectations of Relief

I was very much concerned to note that for some reason many of the most recent of our allies and our late enemies have great expectations as to what they are to receive from the United States in rehabilitation. It is very unfortunate that their expectations are so high.

The widespread idea that we are preparing to look after all of the needs of the world and to restore the destruction wrought by this war has caused me seriously to question the wisdom of delegating to a civilian agency the responsibility of handling relief and rehabilitation abroad. The establishment of a large civilian agency with widespread activities is likely either to generate unnecessary bitterness by failing to fulfill hopes that are excessive or else prove to be a more expensive under-

taking than the American people should be compelled to finance.

I believe it would be much better for all concerned if the people of North Africa and Italy, particularly, were frankly given to understand now that, while willing to assist to a reasonable extent, we do not consider it the responsibility of the United States to rebuild destroyed cities or embark upon any long-time program of relief. Let them know that, in the last analysis, they will be compelled to work out their own destiny and restore the destruction of war by their own efforts.

Such necessary relief can be handled by the Army, even if a unit has to be established for that purpose. The Army can supply rations in the areas that have suffered most severely and thereby prevent actual starvation. In no case should relief or rehabilitation assume such proportions that the recipients will have reason to expect or depend on American bounty for any long period of time.

I hope that I do not sound callous when I say that in my opinion this relief should be on a temporary basis, and, so far as adults are concerned, should be confined to the very minimum, a sufficiency for a short period to maintain life, but kept so small that it will not stifle a desire to supplement the ration received from us through other efforts. We should be very careful not to publicize or embark upon a policy which will either lead to greater misunderstanding or result in stupendous charges against the Treasury that our people should not be called upon to meet.

Our British Allies

Wherever we went we were most courteously received by the officials of the British Empire. I was much impressed by their frankness in discussing not only the conduct of the war, but postwar problems. The people of England have made great sacrifices in this war and have displayed a fortitude in the face of constant danger which we might well emulate. Many of their cities have been heavily bombed. The food in England was scarcer than in any other spot we visited. All clothing is strictly rationed. Civilians have practically no gasoline, and are converting their cars and trucks to charcoal burners.

The British people have hospitably received the American soldiers who are stationed in their midst. From a military standpoint, they have displayed every quality that one could ask in an ally. The British Tommy is a first-class soldier. Wherever I had an opportunity to visit with our Navy, both enlisted men and officers spoke in glowing terms of the skill and seamanship and the courage of the British tar. The Royal Navy is still living up to its finest traditions. The heroic exploits of the Royal Air Force already belong to the legends of this war. As fighting men, they are good partners to have in a scrap.

We had some opportunity to observe the operation of the British Government, not only at home, but throughout the Empire. I came home with a healthy respect bordering on envy for the efficiency of the British in administration and in the handling of their relations with other nations and in their own vast dominion. The British have a definite foreign policy with respect to every corner of the globe. Every civil servant and every officer of any rank is apparently fully acquainted with Empire policy as it applies either militarily, diplomatically or

commercially. Every action of the responsible officials of Government is designed to promote that policy.

If our nation has a definite policy which extends longer than six months after the conclusion of the war in any of the far-flung lands in which American troops are fighting and American dollars are being spent, I was unable to find anyone among our officers abroad who could define it.

We cannot afford to rely upon even so splendid an ally as the United Kingdom to protect all our interests or there will be inevitable conflict and confusion after the war. Our civil agencies abroad are numerous, but too often they are either working at cross purposes or, worse to relate, in some cases have no apparent purpose. Our postwar interests are being neglected and we stand to get very little or no return from our immense expenditures.

In places, our representation abroad was apparently weak. Too many of our representatives still appear to

rely upon ancient protocol and the easy ways and flowery terms which have been in vogue in the past. This is a day of realism, as might be expected when great peoples are fighting for their very lives. Realists are directing this war in the field as well as in places of power, not only in enemy lands, but among our allies. We would do well to assume a more realistic attitude.

In my opinion, all of our civilian agencies operating outside of the United States should be co-ordinated in the hands of some two-fisted American who has an understanding of American interests in all international matters. The old type of kid-glove diplomacy, including high-flown but vague phraseology, does not have any place in today's international dealings. Everyone can understand men like Admiral Standley, who bluntly speak their minds, and, whatever may have been his other qualifications, I believe that representatives of his type will create more respect and genuine good will for the United States throughout the world than many of the men and most of the methods we are now employing.

We should keep closer check on the expensive tools of war that we are dealing out on such a gigantic scale under Lend-Lease arrangements. In the Mediterranean area and the Middle East, our British Allies have stressed the fact that they have given large quantities of war supplies to Turkey as very effective propaganda to gain the good will of the 250,000,000 Mohammedans of the world. Much of this military equipment transferred by England to Turkey is American-made and American-financed equipment, and was transferred to England under Lend-Lease.

Every sensible person realizes that we will not be paid in full for all of the material of war which we have advanced to our allies under Lend-Lease. No one really expects it. In my judgment, however, it is a very poor policy to permit Lend-Lease equipment, paid for by the people of the United States, to be used to buy good will even for our closest friend when good will is such an important commodity. If it is good business for England to get credit with Turkey and the friends of Turkey for helping that nation in time of danger, it would seem to me to be worth something to the United States.

In like manner, some of the equipment which is included in the British transfers to Russia is American-made or American-bought. American food handled on a Lend-Lease basis has likewise been used by the British Food Commission to feed refugees and other hungry peoples of the earth, and I doubt that the recipient is always aware of the fact that the United States was the true benefactor.

I would be the last to do or say anything which would cause any breach between our country and our British allies. I believe that the future peace of the world largely depends upon a complete understanding between us. However, matters of this kind can surely be adjusted without disturbing good relations. No people are perfect, including our own, and I feel that there will be a better understanding and more mutual respect between us and less possibility of feeling which might prevent or postpone a complete accord after the war if such matters are worked out as we go along.

One source of irritation to our men who are serving in that large portion of the world which is under the aegis of that great news agency, Reuter's, is the paucity of news as to the American war effort. After having traveled

for practically a month in that area, I can understand how they feel. On some days it would have been difficult from reading the papers to know that the United States was participating in the war at all. National pride, of course, colors our own news, and we are not slow to boast about the accomplishments of our armed forces.

However, it seems to me that on the whole our press has been much fairer with our allies in reporting the war than they have been with us. I could give many illustrations, but this excerpt from a leading paper in Australia illustrates what I am talking about. The article was written on the day that Italy surrendered. Despite the kindness with which our troops have been received in Australia, it is disturbing to an American soldier there to read:

"There is great joy in Britain that Italy's downfall should so largely be a British Empire affair. Empire forces were responsible for 90 per cent of the battles from the first battle in East Africa right to the final landing on the Italian mainland."

All in all, the morale of our troops in India appeared to be lower than in any other theater. India is in many respects a very depressing place for troops to be stationed. This great country of three hundred fifty million souls is a land of contrasts—of great wealth of the few and indescribable poverty and filth of the many. A great famine is sweeping some of the provinces, causing unspeakable suffering and many deaths from starvation.

Any investigation of the complex problem posed by the conflicts between castes and creeds, Indian Nationalists and British Government, ancient ingrained habit and today's civilization, was not within the scope of our duties. The few days that I spent in India, however, did confirm me in the belief that it would require unrelenting investigation over many years to even faintly understand the so-called Indian problem, and that those who have never been there but have a five-minute solution are extremely foolhardy.

There was much comment on the part of our troops on the very apparent lethargy of the British war effort in that area. This lethargy has undoubtedly affected morale. I have no knowledge of what should be implied from the appointment of Lord Mountbatten to command the large forces assembled in this theater, but I have reason to hope that it means that the period of inactivity is about to be ended.

I met Lord Mountbatten in London. Any opinion formed on such a brief meeting may well be erroneous, but I am strongly impressed that Mountbatten is not the type of man who will permit the Japs to continue to occupy Burma and to strengthen their hold on Malaya and the Indies without annoyance. He struck me as being a man of action who will not be content with a moribund policy of defense.

Petroleum

This war of mechanized transport, involving millions of vehicles, from huge ocean liners to the innumerable jeeps which have become so indispensable, is consuming petroleum products in staggering amounts. Up to now, we have been depleting our petroleum stocks at a ruinous rate, supplying not only our own forces but those of our allies. It is now time to utilize the petroleum deposits of

other parts of the world. Otherwise, the end of the war will find our own deposits practically exhausted.

The President's statement that plans are being made to accomplish this is highly gratifying. There have been sound reasons heretofore for not more widely employing the huge deposits of the Persian Gulf. These reasons were based upon difficulties of transportation. With the opening of the Mediterranean and the great increase in construction of shipping, there is no longer any valid reason for not giving our oil deposits a rest and tapping those of other areas.

At one time we were shipping high-octane gasoline to Russia, which has great petroleum reserves, but lacked refineries. Refineries have now been supplied Russia. We should no longer be compelled to draw on our dwindling petroleum reserves for use in most of the foreign theaters of operation.

Postwar Air Rights

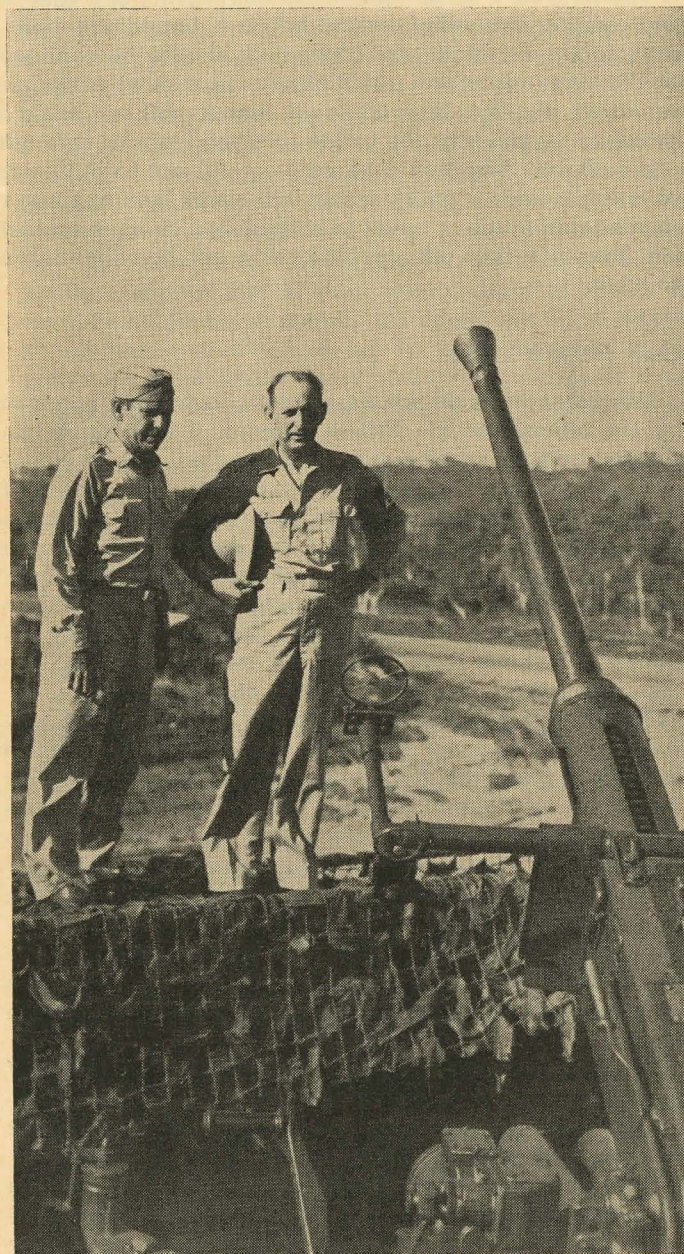
All of us are concerned about American rights in air bases and air facilities which have been constructed at our expense all over the world. There should be no delay in having some definite understanding and agreement as to the postwar rights of commercial aviation. Certainly we occupy a better position to negotiate such understandings now than we will after the war is over. We cannot expect to have sovereignty over all bases that we have constructed for military purposes, but we should assure to American enterprise an equal chance with others in these bases we have paid for, and the right to operate in all parts of the world.

Air power is the decisive factor in this war. With the great developments being made daily in aviation, the peace of the world and the outcome of any future wars will depend directly upon air power. Planes must have bases from which to operate. We should begin now to plan for the postwar period, both to assure the future defense of the United States and to assist in maintaining world peace on a basis of justice and equality.

Many of our close off-shore bases are built on lands under foreign flags. I have never been satisfied with the 99-year lease given the United States in the destroyer deal negotiated by this country before we entered the war. This is not any 99-year country. Where would we be today if Jefferson had handled the Louisiana Purchase on any such basis, or if our rights in the Florida or even the Alaska Purchase had been subjected to any such limitation? If we can be trusted for 99 years to occupy and develop defenses on the lands of our allies essential to our defense, there is no reason why future generations, who will still be paying for this war, should be denied the protection that these bases afford.

Time can bring remarkable changes. War will move much faster in the future than it has even in this day of blitz. With the tide of Lend-Lease running high from our shores, future generations of Americans should not be subjected to the danger of having these bases, built and maintained by American dollars, used against them 100 years from now. It should be possible to work out some arrangements which will give us permanently such protection as these bases may afford.

There are many other important spots on the globe which have been fortified and developed with American money and sweat which will become increasingly im-



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

Senator Russell (right) viewing a U. S. anti-aircraft emplacement at one of our outposts in the Mediterranean area

portant to the defense of the United States with the rapid improvement of air and sea transportation. The smaller the world becomes, the closer are these bases to our shores.

I invite your attention to the importance of some arrangement with the Government of Iceland in the post-war period which will permit us to use the very expensive facilities we have constructed on that Island. A glance at the map will show that heavy bombers and submarines based on Iceland can close all of the shipping lanes of the North Atlantic. In any future war, control of Iceland means control of the North Atlantic Ocean.

We are now in Iceland at the invitation of the Icelandic Government issued before Pearl Harbor. Our British allies, appreciating the significance and importance of Iceland, had moved in some time before. It was a very fortunate thing that they did, because, if Germany had beaten the British to Iceland, it could have prolonged this war by years, and undoubtedly would have enormously increased the losses of the Allied nations.

Iceland, with 120,000 people, occupying an area of 40,000 square miles, manifestly cannot defend itself against aggression. A strong enemy in Iceland would ever be a great menace to the security of the United States. We should endeavor to protect the millions of dollars and the tremendous effort that we have spent to secure our northern flank and sea lanes by building fields and bases in Iceland. If we should have another war in the future, it would cost the lives of many American boys and the expenditure of even greater sums to restore our present position.

Dakar, on the West Coast of Africa, occupies the same position in relation to the South Atlantic as Iceland does to the North Atlantic. As a matter of self-defense, we should see to it that we either have some rights in Dakar or that it does not fall into unfriendly hands, or is not committed to the hands of those who are unable to defend this vital base which can dominate the South Atlantic and threaten all South America.

The Pacific Islands

In the Pacific, our boys are already fighting and dying over and around the islands that were mandated to Japan after the last World War. Much more precious blood will be shed before the Japs are finally rooted out. Certainly, as a result of the sacrifices of these men, and to prevent the further killing of the boys of the second or third generation moving back into these islands in some future war, we should have some definite policy with respect to the future status of these islands that will assure the defense of the United States as well as contribute to the peace of the world. We have rights in these islands that are being purchased today with the blood of American boys.

I spent several days on the island of New Caledonia, one of the westernmost of the Pacific islands. This is a French possession. In order to assure an open sea route to Australia and the bases of operations against the Japs in the islands of the Pacific, we have spent many millions of dollars fortifying this island. It has a fine natural land-locked harbor. We have built wharves and docks, seaplane bases, airfields, and roads, barracks, and hospitals, and placed heavy defense artillery to beat off the strongest Japanese attack.



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

Senators Lodge and Russell at a Southwest Pacific base

We have in operation at our bases there some of the finest repair and machine shops that I saw anywhere. In brief, New Caledonia has been transformed by American dollars and American sweat and sacrifice into an all but impregnable fortress. So long as it is in friendly hands and we have any considerable naval and air power, no enemy from the west can with safety attack either North or South America without reducing it first.

In the past we have heard a great deal about the fortification of Guam. I do not know what future plans or program for the fortification of Guam the American Congress will be compelled to pass upon. I do believe, however, that if we could obtain rights in New Caledonia and utilize the fortifications and facilities already existing, it would save much of the expense of fortifying Guam. It seems to me that negotiations should be entered into at the earliest possible date looking to the acquisition, by fair and just arrangements, either of title to all of New Caledonia or perpetual rights in and to the bases and facilities we have constructed.

I know that there are those who will hurl the charge of imperialism at such suggestions and claim that they are in derogation to the terms of the Atlantic Charter. I do not think that there is anything imperialistic about it. Call it what you will, it is a realistic step to prevent another generation of Americans, who will undoubtedly still be paying for the present war, from being compelled to pay again in blood and treasure taking these islands back from enemies who may obtain them if we follow the policy of take-and-abandon after this war is over.

American boys will soon be dying to free the soil of France from a foreign invader. We are now equipping many French divisions in North Africa with American arms in order that they may join in the fight for the liberation of France. We are supplying the French people in North Africa with petroleum, clothing and many other articles through Lend-Lease. When the motherland of France is freed from the German invader, we will undoubtedly spend huge sums for relief and rehabilitation in France. It is not too much to ask that, for the sake of the future defense of America we be given some rights in

an island which means nothing to the defense of France, but may be vital to our own defense.

Overconfidence a Great Danger

Nothing that I saw in the course of my travels would justify any confidence that the war is nearly over. Indeed I believe that over-optimism is one of the enemies which the American people must constantly fight, day and night. The German Army, though extended to the limit, is still a most formidable military organization. Their first-line troops are still the equal of any in skill and fanatical bravery.

While in North Africa, we were told of an incident in Sicily where a company of parachute troops were posted in an olive grove with orders to delay the American advance for twelve hours at any cost. When the grove was finally stormed and captured, over 200 of the 250 men stationed there were dead, and the remainder, with four or five exceptions, were wounded. One of the unwounded leaped at his American captor and bit him entirely through the hand. The Germans are giving ground in Russia and in Italy, but discipline is still strong, and their retreats are still orderly. They are falling back to ever-stronger defenses, and it is always well to bear in mind that, up to the time of the Armistice in 1918, the German Army was carrying out orders and was still a strong and organized fighting force.

Any hope for an early defeat of Germany must depend upon the collapse of the Army due to shortage of fighting equipment or to breakdown of civilian morale and revolution within. They are taking a terrific pounding by day and by night from our gallant airmen and the RAF. We will soon be in a position to increase substantially the bombing of Germany from bases in Italy as well as from England, and the number of German factories destroyed and families driven from their homes will greatly increase.

But all of this is not done without loss. The Germans have turned from the production of bombers to fighter planes in the effort to stop the destruction of their homeland from the air. They are devising new methods such as the rocket guns and small parachute bombs dropped from the air in the effort to destroy our air forces. While our military authorities say the price we are paying is not excessive in comparison with the destruction our air forces are causing, we must frankly face the fact that the increasing tempo of bombing likewise brings about increasingly severe losses of our own in men and equipment.

In the Pacific, we have only whipped the Japanese in the outposts of their ill-gotten empire. The bulk of their Army and the major units of their Navy have not yet been brought into action. We have a long, hard, bloody job before us, and I fear that the sacrifices, shocks and losses we must yet endure are much greater than the average American citizen anticipates.

Conclusions

In summation of my observations, I would say:

1. American production has justified our proudest boasts by turning out tools of war of high quality in huge quantities. The men in the field are satisfied with the weapons issued them. We are making great strides in assembling the facilities of transportation necessary to

fight a war on every continent and every sea of the globe. This stupendous effort constitutes a great drain upon our natural resources. We should pay more attention to the utilization of raw materials of other lands lest the end of the war find those resources virtually untapped and our own exhausted. We should be more careful in the distribution of the products of American industry financed by American taxpayers.

2. Our lack of a postwar policy and stronger representation abroad in some key positions is likely to cost us dearly in the postwar period. All agencies having to do with any phase of the war effort abroad should be co-ordinated.

3. We must constantly combat any tendency to underestimate our enemies or to delude ourselves with optimism. The slightest relaxation in the national war effort at home will be paid in the blood of American boys fighting overseas.

4. The American Army, Navy and Marine Corps are well fed, well equipped and every reasonable provision has been made for their health, comfort and welfare. No armed force in history has ever been so well supplied. Command and staff work have been of the highest caliber. Our leaders have to date accomplished all that the American people could have reasonably expected of them.

5. The general conduct of our troops in action has been good. Their discipline is satisfactory and they are daily becoming more efficient in the grim business of war. Combat experience is forging our Army, Navy and Marine Corps into the toughest and most efficient fighting machine the world has ever seen. No one who has ever had any contact with troops would contend that every man is a fearless hero, who craves contact with the enemy, but, as organizations, our men have displayed courage and a willingness to fight and sacrifice which measures up to or surpasses the finest traditions of our armed services.

The number of individuals who have performed remarkable feats of heroism, requiring resourcefulness and great personal bravery, is unusually high. The men in uniform have made up their minds to see this thing through to victory, whatever it may take. If our civilian population gives them unstinted support, they will win the total victory over our enemies, perhaps sooner than we have any right to expect.

Attitude Toward Britain

That is the record, Mr. President, as complete as I can make it, of my remarks in the executive session of the Senate. It has not been altered materially in either form or substance. I tried to be factual and speak as objectively as possible.

We are told that what was said here has caused a great deal of bitterness and resentment in the United Kingdom. If this be true in my own case, my high opinion of the British people would cause me to believe that the accounts they received of what was said must have been distorted even worse than by our own press. Not a word of my statement was intended as an attack on Great Britain.

If any official of the British Empire or the British press or people is offended, it is regrettable, for no offense is intended, but I would not have this statement construed

anywhere as an apology for my position. If offense be found, I must say in all candor that our British allies have become unduly sensitive if an American citizen and Senator cannot discuss the operations and policies of his own Government, of which I am a part, without raising a storm of furor and resentment throughout the United Kingdom and the Empire.

My admiration for the British people is almost extravagant, but it must be remembered that I think and speak as a citizen and a Senator of the United States. What I saw was through American eyes. I weighed, observed, and reported as an American who properly holds the future welfare of these United States above any other consideration. I would regret if any word of mine should cause dissension or ill feeling between the United States and any of our allies, but if such word be necessary to protect our legitimate interests, either during this war or in the postwar world, I would still feel duty-bound to speak.

The chain which binds the United Nations together is frail indeed if there are links which cannot stand the strain of expression of opinion made in good faith in the parliamentary bodies of a democracy. To those few who hold the opinion that it is impertinent for an American to discuss the part played by the British in this war, I would point to the restraint and poise shown by the American people when officials of the British Empire tell us what is expected of us as a proper standard of conduct.

Only a few days ago that pillar of Empire and great world figure, General Smuts, in a speech which was widely publicized throughout the world as an expression of official British opinion, told the people of the United States very frankly that we were expected to furnish in large measure the men who will make the bloody assault to breach Hitler's fortress of Europe.

Few Americans failed to grasp all of the implications of General Smuts's statement. The lives of American boys are infinitely more precious to us than all of the material which will ever be handled under Lend-Lease. Nevertheless, General Smuts's statement did not evoke any great public resentment and outcry in the United States.

The President did not send a message to Congress commenting with thinly veiled sarcasm on advice from abroad. I have not seen in the American press caricatures of General Smuts, denouncing him for making a public statement as to what he considered the obligation of America in the performance of its duty to the common effort. I have not heard of any member of Congress becoming unduly excited.

Every patriotic American expects our country to do its full part in this war, but I do not believe that doing our part requires us to so keep our light under a bushel that, where permitted to think, we are expected to speak in whispers of the value of the contribution of our own country to the cause of Allied victory.

I, therefore, am not greatly disturbed by that portion of the American press or officialdom which see ghosts every time any person in American public life has the temerity to suggest that it is proper for our allies to appreciate the extent of our efforts and sacrifices in this war as we appreciate their efforts and sacrifices. We have come to a pretty pass if a citizen of the United States cannot support with wholehearted devotion the cause of his own country without subjecting himself to the charge that he is anti-British or anti-Russian.

Recently, a man who has spent his life in the service of the United States was pilloried in some quarters because he publicly stated that the people of Russia were not fully aware of the assistance given them by this country. Russian armies and Russian people have won the undying gratitude of the American people for the heroism and spirit of sacrifice with which they have met the onslaught of the brutal hordes of Nazi Germany.

Too much praise cannot be given their heroism, and, with rare exceptions, that praise has been spread with lavish hand in every public forum in the United States and through press and pulpit. It does not detract one jot or tittle from the valor of the Russian armies or the sacrifices of the Russian people to mention in public the fact that the United States, and indeed Great Britain as well, has made a stupendous effort to furnish equipment to those armies, and that the equipment given contributed to the victories won.

The American people have before them each day the achievements of the Russian armies. The Russian Government has not hesitated to complain frequently and publicly of our failure to open a second front when and where Russia wants it instead of when and where our own military experts think advisable. The American people have expressed no resentment of this criticism, and it is inexplicable to me that a suggestion that the masses of the Russian people should have knowledge of our efforts to aid them is likely to cause disunity between comrades in a fight involving the fate and freedom of both the people of the United States and of Russia.

I yield to no one in the fervor of my desire for the closest unity between the Allied nations to achieve the victory over our common enemies. I am as anxious as any man for the United States to co-operate with Russia, England, China, and the other Allied powers in maintaining peace in the years to follow that victory. I believe that the keystone of any lasting world peace depends upon a complete understanding between the United States and the British Empire.

But, Mr. President, this co-operation and understanding cannot be had except upon a basis of equality and frank and fair dealings. If such matters as I have dealt with in this report cannot be publicly discussed and fairly adjusted, even in time of war, it does not augur well for the harmonious relations the American people so earnestly desire in the postwar period, for victory over our enemies will not settle all world problems.

For my own part, I have too great a faith in the common sense and ingrained fairness of the average citizen of all of the United Nations, wherever he may live, to believe that harm can result from fully publicizing the true facts as to the contribution of every nation engaged in this great common enterprise, whether it be military operations on land and sea or in the operations of Lend-Lease, either direct or reverse.

Frank discussion will always dissipate the clouds of suspicion. It will promote a better understanding between all of the Allied nations in the trying days ahead of us after the victory is won. It will pave the way for the necessary sense of appreciation of sacrifices in a common cause which begets good will between peoples. On such good will and understanding any permanent peace for this stricken world must depend.

(Text of an address delivered on the floor of the Senate Oct. 28, 1943.)

AT NO. 10 DOWNING STREET



—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

Ambassador Winant, Senators Brewster, Lodge, Russell, Chandler and Mead photographed in front of the Prime Minister's residence after a private conference with Mr. Churchill



The five Senators at a Red Cross field station . . . part of a world-wide system of club rooms and community centers . . . where servicemen relax when not in combat

—U. S. Army Signal Corps Photo

Senator Brewster:

"Men in Motion" came happily to hand as we were leaving Washington on our global tour and became the "Book of the Trip" in the little library we accumulated for the hours we spent aloft. Young America is probably in no way surprised at our traveling around the earth in sixty-five days. An older generation, however, brought up on the fantastic tale of "Around the World in Eighty Days," may well ponder how much time we spent with our feet upon the ground.

Nine days of actual flying time left us with fifty-six days for firsthand contact with some of the realities of global war.

To those of our critics who have thought our experience may have left us still somewhat in the air, it will be reassuring to know how our necessarily limited time was actually distributed.

One emerges with a profound impression of the way in which aviation has annihilated space. A thousand miles between breakfast and lunch was an ordinary morning's run, with opportunity en route to compile and dictate a report on the observations of the preceding day and to go over the very full memoranda with which we were supplied by the various executive departments on the American installations and personnel at our next landing.

The afternoons were then available for inspections on the ground and the evenings for conferences with the various officials and civilian agencies with whom we were in contact.

Complete and cordial co-operation in all the areas visited was the order of the day, and advance notice of our arrival made possible the designation of informed officials to expedite our inspections without interruption of their activities.

Any concern as to distraction of those immediately responsible for the war effort in the various theaters was always obviated by the insistence of Senator Russell, as the very competent and personable chairman of the Committee, that our time with the commander in chief and his immediate associates should be limited to a minimum.

Purposes of Trip

With hundreds of thousands of American boys overseas and more thousands spreading out to every quarter of the globe with every passing day, and with American installations and equipment overseas running into billions of dollars and constantly increasing, there very naturally developed in Washington the idea that some members of the Senate associated with the Committee concerned with the war effort might prudently see things at first hand as civilian observers of the progress of the winning of the war.

The desirability of adequate information for the American people on the course of the war and of American activities overseas had been long since recognized in the very generous allocation of American press correspondents to every quarter of the globe. Their observations and reports, however, must necessarily be of a somewhat different character and approach than may be the case with a senatorial committee.

The pros and cons of such a trip and its possible values to the Senate and the country were discussed for many months both among the members of the Senate and with the executive departments immediately concerned and the Majority and Minority Leaders in the Senate were finally asked to designate a committee to make the trip.

Truman Committee

Senator Mead of New York and I were nominated by Senator Truman as a subcommittee of the so-called Truman Committee created by the Senate to investigate defense expenditures.

From the inception of this Committee, its membership under the leadership of its chairman have been constantly conscious of the peril of conceiving of our Committee as concerned with the conduct of the war in the field of strategy or tactics.

Congressional experience with such a committee in 1863 has been repeatedly cited in the Committee discussions as furnishing an example to be avoided under a proper appreciation of our constitutional processes and responsibilities.

Senator Truman, as chairman of the Committee, has thoroughly although tactfully disciplined his associates as to our lack of concern or responsibility for global strategy or any other kind of strategy, planned or otherwise.

Before leaving Washington, Senator Mead and I were furnished by Senator Truman, as chairman, with an outline of matters to which he wished us to give particular attention. (Text of Senator Truman's statement on page 21.)

Subsequently Senator Mead made a statement on July 26, 1943, prior to his departure. (Text of Senator Mead's statement on page 22.)

In order to be properly prepared for the trip, Senator Mead, as chairman of the subcommittee, in co-operation with the staff of the Truman Committee arranged executive sessions with all the various agencies concerned, securing comprehensive data on activities overseas with which we should be concerned.

The War and Navy departments and the State Department co-operated in the arrangement of the itinerary, and all the various civilian agencies concerned with the war effort overseas were consulted both as to the policies that were current and in contemplation as to the methods of handling the problems of both personnel and material.

The Truman Committee has also never had any illusions as to its exclusive responsibility for an investigation. Various legislative and appropriation committees of the Congress have primary responsibility in these fields and very great care has always been taken to avoid overlapping or duplication. Comity has been the order of the day and still continues to be the firm concern of the Committee in order that Congress shall exemplify that co-ordination in its functioning that it seeks constantly to inculcate in its contacts with executive departments.

This practice of division of responsibility was of very great assistance in the functioning of the Committee of five members from the Senate in the very limited time at