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SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

Congress preaches efficiency but by example teaches waste.—Wasted money by hundreds of millions annually.—Wasted time by weeks and months annually.—Congress functions in Government appropriations like an ancient flivver.—The remedy is a REAL national budget system.

SPEECH OF
HON. JAMES A. FREAR, OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, June 24, 1919.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer a few suggestions regarding a national budget and in doing so I wish to say that I hoped during this session to give this subject the time and effort it deserves, but having been unexpectedly drafted several days ago by the Speaker's appointment into the House War Department investigation, I can only offer a few observations and express hope that the tremendous importance of the national budget problem will be understood and its enactment will be urged vigorously by my colleagues. We must not delude ourselves through press reports into believing that an effective budget law is in sight. In my judgment, the struggle has hardly begun, the obstacles are many and the effort to get a comprehensive measure instead of a weak compromise make this battle the most important of all those who desire a real budget system.

Congress is constantly assailed in the press and by reputable business organizations throughout the country for extravagance and wasted time. Mistrusts are some time excusable, but we can not remain blind to merited criticism for extravagance and wasted time that results from premeditation or without excuse.

In no legislative body in the world is time of greater value than here. Time for consideration of national legislative policies, time for public discussion and the expression of the judgment of Members. Time for legislative investigations of administrative weaknesses that give publicity and invite penalties for evils found in all administrations. Time for government to prevail and time intelligently to legislate.

Every student of the subject knows that our Government's legislative policy invites waste of both public money and public time. Ours is the only Government in the world without a business-like budget system, and the only reason this Government was not adjudged bankrupt long ago is because of our ability and readiness to tax to the limit and to negotiate loans now quoted below par, which future generations are pledged to pay.

Endless increase in appropriations demands a national budget.

Apart from the enormous increase in appropriations annually reaching over 400 per cent in four years, and an increase in our bonded indebtedness of several thousand per cent within the same four years, we have contracted extravagant legislative habits with these lavish expenditures. Every locality and every special interest that can bring itself within a constantly broadening rule of Government aid is on the job. The doors are thrown open wider than ever before to Federal aid, and all opposition, constitutional or otherwise, is swept aside whenever a breach can be made in the Federal vaults. Worthy and unworthy projects knock at the Treasury doors, and in hand asking for help. Congress tries to recognize the rapidly increasing claims of many committees with varied interests and at the same time to press down the brakes, but the good and bad alike are linked together with bonds of mutual interest.

River and harbor improvements anywhere and everywhere; creeks, rills, and rivulets, good, bad, and indifferent, are bunched in the same bill. Public buildings for village crossings persistently ask for money. Irrigation ditches to cost hundreds of millions are to meet the demands of land barren dry communities, flood-control contributions from the Treasury to reclaim hundreds of millions of acres of private lands that still remain in the wet column, drainage schemes which go on regardless, reclamation of lands of no possible use and waste dollars to make nitrates, fertilizers, and incidentally to make millions of dollars for their promoters.

Highways that reach from nowhere to where to; Army commissaries that have removed the blue-sky limit on real estate purchases and beat Ruth Law's altitude record; new arsenals that turn out trayloads of munitions soon to be obsolete; aviation contracts that swell to heaven; Hog Island shipyards that were properly christened in wine, water, and waste; and scores of other activities directly financed or indirectly receiving help from the Federal Treasury in times of war and peace.

Millions for armies of idle employees, employees engaged in useless surveys and interminable researches gathering carloads of valueless statistics and perusing from Maine to Mexico and from Alabama to Alaska pursuant to instructions from new and old bureaus of the Government. Bulletins, pamphlets, and publications sufficient to cover the State of Texas only a small part of which are read and not 1 per cent digested. These so-called "activities," as they are called, have increased beyond all estimates within recent years.

Responsibility is fixed, because the different bureaus all work independently on the principle of grab jurisdiction and get all you can while you are getting. That is only a partial list of comparatively new fields of Government activities now engaged in helping individuals and localities which are financed by direct taxes, including 2 cents per dish on ice cream. Knocking at the doors of Congress every session there are these appropriations, these activities which now reach tremendous proportions. How do we meet them? How does Congress provide? How does it function?

PRESENT PATCHWORK APPROPRIATION BILLS AND METHODS.

Mr. Chairman, a dozen or more appropriation committees of the House annually grind out patchwork appropriation bills without relation to each other, without knowledge of the aggregate amount to be appropriated, without definite knowledge of sources of revenue to supply the money, with slight knowledge of the comparative needs of bureaus, and frequently by bills that mean indefensible legislative compromises. Members of committees are generally selected because they are interested in the development of some particular department or bureau or locality project. Few men would venture to serve a River and Harbor, Public Buildings, Public Lands, or other committees that may be named, excepting for the fact that they are primarily interested in some local or "improvement" project, the appropriations for hundreds of items are the price of the compromise bill. The papers back home, boards of trade, and influential committees advise their Representative or Senator that he is expected to bring home the bacon, and the price of failure in more than one case in this day and generation means political defeat. These potent influences are with Congress to-day in its appropriation bills. What unbiased judgment can be given by committee members under such conditions?

No other country in the world would endure this absurd and wasteful system that grows more menacing to the Federal Treasury every session. Ours, the most enlightened country, as we profess to believe, is the most backward and most unbusinesslike in its financial legislative methods. Individually, men in Congress to-day are as able, honest, and upright as any of their predecessors in past years, and arguments against extravagances and wasted time appeal to the average Representative. We are confronted with long-established practice that places over 200 members of the House on appropriation committees, on committees that enjoy influence and honors among those who come before them as suppliants for appropriations. Honors as precious as are earnings to the statesmen of Timbuctoo.

Chairmen who are pictured and featured in the press, who enjoy special privileges because of seniority, naturally will oppose changes in the present order of things, and this opposition must be overcome by argument and convincing proof that existing conditions can exist no longer. Everywhere in the world has some form of budget system excepting the United States. Here irresponsibility has built up vicious unbusinesslike methods which I have briefly described.
Mr. JONES of Texas. Will the gentleman yield? I would like to know how the budget system will help these matters.

Mr. McNary. If the gentleman will wait a few moments I will explain it to him. He is doing as Members of this House frequently do, interrupting a preliminary statement before it can be completed.

Your party is pledged in this matter, and your President has said you want it. Your party has given that same pledge. You ask me how a budget system will help matters. I will offer a few suggestions.

ALL POLITICAL PARTIES DEMAND A NATIONAL BUDGET SYSTEM.

Mr. Chairman, the Democratic, Progressive, and Republican party platforms have all demanded the enactment of a budget system. None has yet been seriously considered by the American Congress while proposed "investigations" postpone definite action for years to come unless public sentiment and congressional responsibility can be aroused to the situation. There is no pride in discovery of the necessity for budget legislation, nor for bills or resolutions proposed by Senators or Representatives. Let the credit go wherever it may, what this country wants is action and early action, and I hope the remarks to that end. Delay has been sought on every pretext since ex-President Taft started the agitation many years ago, and so-called budget bills that seek favors in delay are among the most dangerous methods of avoiding the issue.

Let me first briefly describe present legislative methods and how they will be changed under a budget plan. For years the different departments of Government have submitted to the Speaker annually an estimate of proposed expenditures for the next fiscal year. These requests are frequently increased, and the actual amount that the bureau or department expects to get or does get. When received, the department estimates are assigned by the Appropriations Committee to the appropriate appropriation committees of the House. These committees organize and then call before them the heads of departments and bureaus directly affected by the bill to be prepared by the particular committee. Hearings are had by every committee, generally reading hundreds of printed pages, with many thousands of pages of printed Appropriation Committee hearings in the aggregate. No individual Representatives intelligently read one-tenth part of the total hearings. If he had any desire to do so, and as a matter of procedure, only a handful of members can be kept in attendance in the committee, while efforts to prepare committee questions are notoriously hopeless. Dry details of appropriations are not inviting to the average Representative. Finally, the chairman of the committee proceeds to prepare a bill for expenditures for that particular department or bureau for the next fiscal year. Sometimes the chairman is aided by employees of the department, with such greater assurance as can be had. Committee members may help, but from the very nature of the work, which is frequently technical and always drudgery, the course of preparation is as indicated. The legislative appropriation bill is thus launched and started on its career without sails or rudder.

KONNITISE BID WORK HARRIES MUST END.

If the bill affects only particular localities, like the River and Harbor Committee bill, liberal appropriations in amount and distribution are sought to be equitably scattered, with the aid of bureau chiefs, who sometimes obtain from the custom the names of the winners, until, "irrespective of partisanship," enough votes are equitably distributed to pass the bill. The Public Building Committee bill, that only carries authorizations, is probably the most scientifically constructed pork barrel that ever comes before Congress, and therefore is the easiest to identify. It carries one or more buildings or sites for a safe majority of the Members, and it is an easy task. Generally all the way from 200 to 500 districts will be found to have been provided for in this bill. One is now pending before the committee that is above out of hiding, like a German submarine, trying to torpedo the Federal Treasury.

If submitted separately instead of in omnibus measures, not one-hundredth the amount would get to first base; but in unity there is legislative strength.

After the appropriation bills are reported to the House, number from a dozen to 15 or more every session, the recommendation on the floor of the House then occurs, and thereafter for months the attention of the House is occupied with these patchwork, loosely prepared, and hurriedly thrown together bills, many of them aggregating billions of dollars, and the dozen or more bills get before the House, ordinarily covering a period of 10 to 15 weeks or more for discussion, it becomes a question of time in the House. Frequently the number in attendance is less than a score, or under 5 per cent of the House membership. Other

committee hearings, other official duties, and primarily lack of interest in interminable appropriation details and in discussion thereof tends foreign to the bill before the House explains the situation.

Proposed amendments offered by Members to strike out or reduce items will fall nine times out of ten, because the committee is bound by an unwritten rule to stand together on every item in the bill, and the familiar appeal to "stand by the committee" is a continuous refrain in all the House, unless the item gets his friends on the floor when the committee is caught napping. If he fails in his effort to increase or insert in the House, trying to form, he takes his amendment and greets his Senator, where the result is brought about in committee or on the floor of the upper House and is put through in conference. It is a legislative barouses without statemanship accompaniment.

LEGISLATIVE FOOLY IN DEALING WITH FINANCIAL PROBLEMS.

Mr. Chairman, during the passage of the $800,000,000 military bill this month, when many items of the bill were subjected to severe criticism, the 25 members of the Ways and Means Committee, the Interstate Commerce Committee, and different appropriation committees, including our 200 Members, were in practically continuous committee sessions. No more than a corporal's guard at times was on hand in the House to consider an Army bill that was admittedly cut over $800,000,000 from the same bill passed by the House four months and then killed in the Senate, practically $100,000,000,000 each appeared in the military bill, covering scores of miscellaneous purposes, important and unimportant, great and little. In a bill covering $800,000,000 and carrying many doubtful items which had been attacked in the preceding session, only a small minority of the House was in attendance. That, I think, is legislative consideration of every appropriation bill, big and little. When the same bill gets to the Senate a little matter of seventy or eighty million dollars is reinstated just to show where real authority rests.

Every Member is cognizant of the facts, but under the present lack of any system, he is powerless to act.

Let me give a few examples of legislative folly within the past few days that speak for themselves. It is a matter of recent history that eight appropriation bills, after many months' consideration last year in the House, were passed to the Senate, where they failed in the legislative discard last session. Then they aggregated over $3,000,000,000. Again hearings were held on this session on these same eight bills; again they were prepared and reported; and again attacked and defended on the floor in a series of attempts at economy—largely for political purposes. No money for the budget is in the appropriation acts, and no attempt to prepare or consider an appropriation bill in the usual way is unbusinesslike, wasteful, and a legislative farce.

SUBSEQUENT STATEMENSHIP ON A $12,000 BILL.

Take the Agricultural bill for illustration, which, after having been passed by the House and killed in the Senate last session, was again hastily prepared this session and again reported to the House carrying $52,000,000, a reduction of several scores of millions from the bill approved last session last session. This bill had to be passed by Congress before the 1st day of July, 1919, or the Agricultural Department would be stranded. About 30 legislative days remained when debate was begun in the House on this Agricultural bill on May 27, and debate on the bill ended on June 4, or 8 days, including 5 legislative working days. One amendment to reduce a $12,000 scrap item to $5,000 was vigorously debated and developed much latent statemanship, until finally Majority Leader Mondell was obliged to lecture the House for its unwarrantable, dilatory tactics. Hundreds of other items were discussed in the 5 days' debate on the Agricultural bill. At that rate of progress for 5 days for a $32,000,000 bill, the military bill carrying $800,000,000, $200,000,000,000, would consume about 80 out of the 25 remaining days prior to July 1, or 80 days out of 25, with other bills to follow. This bill is complicated by the fact that other matters sometimes have the right of way. After such conditions were untangled, the Senate also had to give intelligent consideration to the three interim bills which are more than folly; it is downright incompetency, for which we are accountable, and both branches of Congress must accept their full share of responsibility. This is done regularly under a system of confession and of 100 Members and at least

With several billion dollars in appropriations hanging fire, the Agricultural bill carrying less than 1 per cent of the total to
be appropriated was given one-sixth of the legislative time remaining for discussion in the Senate, and then it went to the Senate. That policy can not find an apostle in Congress, and yet we have been able to keep appropriation bills in Congress. On June 4, it carried less than $15,000,000, or one half of 1 per cent of the total appropriations to be passed in the remaining 26 days of session. This was the kind of discussion in the Senate. The Appropriation bill took four more legislative days of the precious time remaining before the end of the fiscal year, while the great military bills, carrying over $300,000,000, and containing many hundreds of items, received less than a week's consideration.

Let me call attention to other evidence of our display of collective legislative wisdom and business methods. Congress is required by present practices to give nearly 10 per cent of its legislative time to the District of Columbia. District day accounts are half the business of Congress. Why? Have we any more reason to discuss the appropriation bills? There are many members in Congress that a year ago said the District of Columbia was a closed shop and not subject to the government. Congress has not the time, the force, or the desire to master the details. It is a matter of simple and easily understood, matters of technical detail or relative values of the system are not important to this Congress, and the President has neither the time, the force, nor the desire to master such details. Briefly, an efficient budget system includes, first, a simple and logical method of classification, under the President or the administration acting through the Secretary of the Treasury or other agency. As the administration spends the money, it should know where it came from and where it goes. This statement of departmental estimates carefully prepared by one who will be held responsible for all the items and the total amount contained in the preliminary budget should be in the hands of the President and members of Congress. It is a matter of fiscal policy and sound practice.

When an intelligent report has been carefully compiled by the administration, the budget reaches the next stage. Second, the authorization to the Congress and proper appropriations in Congress. It is not the place to discuss this last stage of legislation. This is the stage of legislation with the President, and it is the stage where Congress receives the reports and gives whatever action it may be instructed by the President. This discussion of departmental estimates is required by the President to avoid the multiplication of bills. It is a matter of fiscal policy and sound practice. The President makes the report and he can name the heads of the departments. This is the stage where Congress receives the reports. The President makes the report and he can name the heads of the departments.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, the question is whether the President and Congress have agreed to a budget, and have they agreed to it in the Senate, and then to the House of Representatives? Mr. Chairman, the question is whether the President and Congress have agreed to a budget, and have they agreed to it in the Senate, and then to the House of Representatives? Mr. Chairman, the question is whether the President and Congress have agreed to a budget, and have they agreed to it in the Senate, and then to the House of Representatives? Mr. Chairman, the question is whether the President and Congress have agreed to a budget, and have they agreed to it in the Senate, and then to the House of Representatives?
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sility and not legislative pull would determine what waterways would be improved and what buildings erected. Buonicostumato men who sometimes have charge of such measures may flume and storm at this proposed" or legislative pull, but never is countermanded. The public business on business principles will welcome the reform.

From such sources as thrive on political pull, opposition will come as a natural thing. And no man will discount the strength of that opposition at both ends of the Capitol, but, like an aching tooth, present practices must be plucked out and replaced by something more certain, more efficacious, and more permanent, every year, every session, every time. It does meet such needs in all other countries of the world, and that is a safe test, whereas ours fails in all important contests.

Let me briefly discuss plans now before Congress, introduced at this session, and in doing so I call attention to the fact that a familiar method of legislative reform is to introduce measures that emasculate the substantive features of a proposed reform, and yet pretend to favor it. Oftentimes this is unconsciously aided by those unfamiliar with the ends to be reached or with the general subject.

The experience of other countries has brought the budget system into pronounced favor. For years it has been urged in this country; bills have been introduced, estimates, resolutions, and the like have been offered, and advocates of the budget have been urging it upon Congress in both House and Senate. I make no pretense of doctoral activity, but realize that the budget reform of a budget system to be in present inefficient extravagant methods, I have to the best of my ability since my first election to Congress openly opposed several peripheral bills that have made congressional legislative methods a by-word and a joke. In 1914 I opposed the river and harbor bill for several years on the floor of the House, opposing its waste, and these bills have been defeated. The bill was killed in the Senate. Every such bill offered since that time has been exposed, and a position on the committee for several years did not affect my course. Members of the Senate and the House still have in the committee that a decided improvement in bills has resulted, but I am frank to say that no bill prepared as such bills are prepared ever bear any semblance to a bill based on governmental necessities.

Opposition to the public-building extravagance is known to many Members and has been frequently expressed in debate. No one has in this bill has passed the House during the six years I have been a Member of this body, although it has been a constant battle. I take no special credit for that result, but, supported by leading members of the Democratic administration and by many members of my own party, I have tried on the floor and elsewhere to stop the noxious pork-barrel practice that is a stigma in the nostrils of the American public.

This was all preliminary to active work on a bill plan, which, to my mind, is the only effective way of ending such wastefulness in a realizable way. This year I have a bill ready for a year and a half. I have prepared a budget bill in the House and introduced resolutions urging its passage. Ever since that date I have had it, as have other Members of the House and Senate, in season and out, and this is the measure of the Senate at this time that should receive your consideration. These introduced by myself are House joint resolution 88, introduced May 30; House bill 4061, introduced May 30; House bill 3782, introduced May 28; and one or two other minor bills. House joint resolution 88 and bills 4061 and 3782 are all that directly affect the plan I submit. Other bills are designed to take from the Treasury Department and other governmental activities that should be undertaken by other departments and in order that the Treasury Department may be free to take on many important duties that would come to it under a budget system.

Bill No. 4061 provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall gather together all departmental estimates and the current budget estimates, which he shall furnish the President by November 15 of each year. No resolution or bill can compel specific action by the President, but every President will, in his bill, have to make a choice as to whether or not to follow the recommendation of the House. Bill No. 3782 provides for an auditor general, who shall be appointed by the President, and report to him and his corps of assistants from the control or influence of the administration of the person to be appointed by the Speaker of the House, in concert with the majority and minority leaders of the House. The budget is to reach such auditor general and his corps of assistants by November 15 every year, and by January 15 he is required to present it to the House.

The most important task for a joint committee to do under the budget, which is the most important link in the budget plan, provides for a change of rules in House and Senate so that, instead of a score of committees in the two Houses wasting months of legislative time, discussing bills with enormous financial waste, House joint resolution 83 provides one joint budget committee of both Houses will receive the budget reported by the auditor general and, as near such hearings as may be necessary, held in joint committee session, will report the approved budget to the House and Senate for discussion. So far as practicable, the plan is staged about by simple, direct methods for protecting the Federal Treasury from existing waste and insures a large saving of legislative time and of money.

The resolution and bills were introduced by me, but taken from other measures offered in the past, with such changes as might be desirable. No pride of authorship exists, nor are these bills or the resolution urged in the precise form of the Ways and Means bill, H.R. 1291, introduced by Representative Good in the House.

Senator McCormick has secured action by the Senate Rules Committee, creating a special Senate committee to investigate a budget system. The Senate may be in advance of the House, notwithstanding the House is the body in which all revenue bills and appropriation bills originate, and we should not be backward in advancing this reform. In my judgment, if the McCormick resolution and accompanying bills introduced last session become law, the American Congress will have a more efficient budget system than any country in the world.

I am free to say that that this plan does not provide for giving Congress a complete control over the Auditor General's appointment and activities and that it does not place the hands of one committee the entire control of the budget will fail to give needed relief.

The provision in the joint resolution, the joint resolution, the resolution, and the bills for the sake of securing a legislative center rush to put through the resolution, is a good move. House joint resolution 88, which I introduced, provides for a joint committee of both Houses, made up of members of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate, consisting of about the same number. This latter plan was proposed because for 70 years the Ways and Means Committee was the budget committee of the House, and since the organization of Congress it has been the committee charged with the duty of raising revenues. This duty, when performed by the budget committee, should be combined with controlling appropriations and expenditures. In addition to these reasons, I believe hearings on present bills might proceed more expeditiously; but I am free to say that that this plan or a special committee is selected, it will be hailed by every advocate of legislative economy as a great improvement over the present system.

The McCormick resolution, submitted in House Document No. 1006, Sixty-fifth Congress, second session, provides for a committee of 80 members, which, for purposes of this joint resolution, is not a budget system. House joint resolution 88, which I introduced, provides for a joint committee of both Houses, made up of members of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the House, and since the organization of Congress it has been the committee charged with the duty of raising revenues. This duty, when performed by the budget committee, should be combined with controlling appropriations and expenditures. In addition to these reasons, I believe hearings on present bills might proceed more expeditiously; but I am free to say that that this plan or a special committee is selected, it will be hailed by every advocate of legislative economy as a great improvement over the present system.

The Good bill is the only other measure that seems to have received special notice, and it is probable that Representative Goold would insist on limiting his plan to the powers contained in his bill. Otherwise, the changes would be made in a piecemeal way, and the vital elements that should compose a budget system. House bill No. 1201, known as the Good bill, suggests a different method of collecting data. The method is in a bill introduced by Representative Good, which is effective for the preparation of an administration budget. From that point, however, the plans differ, and the Good bill directs the agent of Congress to examine the administration bills as the agent of Congress. The weak point of this procedure is in a matter of such momentous importance required to be allowed in a plan to ensure that the Speaker and majority and minority

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leaders to appoint, as provided in the McCormick bill and in

The most needful link in an effective budget, a single budget, or appropriation committee is absent in the Good bill, which preserves the present House rules and leaves the administration of the House, audit by an official appointed by the President, divided among the 14 appropriation committees without any limit as to appropriations and no further semblance to a real budget. Another word, there is a budget with a name. A provision is inserted that a committee will be appointed to "investigate" what further legislation is needed. After many years of budget agitation, adoption by every party in a pledge for a budget reform, and after over two years' delay since the last national platforms were adopted, no more effective budget legislation could be devised than now provide for an "investigating" committee. The Republican Party can not go before the people with any such plan and call it a fulfillment of a specific pledge. I do not assume that the purpose of this bill, which preserves intact all the present appropriation committees, but its effect is to delay or destroy early budget legislation.

Since their friends ignored their platform pledge and also the request of the President for a single appropriation committee, passage of the Good bill would mean nothing tangible and perhaps contradictions of old, offered through powerful lobbyists, easy record. Mr. Sherley, former chairman of the Appropriation Committee, declared that the budget was opposed in the House by 200 members and every member was a member in one of the 14 appropriation committees. We must overcome those 200 old arguments by convincing Members that it is the right thing, the honest thing, to do; the square thing with the country and with our constituents. We can make good on an appropriation committee that deals in dry details can do better legislative service for his country and receive from his constituents when giving the energies to great national problems, which he will be permitted to do if appropriation committee drudgery is turned over to experienced budgetants. Then the only function of appropriation committees from the budget committee, will lie in legislative policies for the department represented.

Mr. Chairman, in these few remarks I have spoken with some frankness about present conditions, wasteful, and squandering methods of legislating on financial matters of the Federal Government. Members will realize that great moderation has been shown in the terms used and that any private business would be ruined in short order by methods we practice here. Many Senators and Representatives in past and present years have referred to some of our legislation in specific terms of "stealing," "looking the Treasury," and "criminal waste." These men have vainly talked against practices that are nearly as bad to-day as they have been in the past, and the last river and the carrying scores of vicious extravagant projects, with some items of war necessity, and the indefensible public-building pork barrel projects, which are introduced in a few days are testimonials to such bad practices.

DEMOCRACY ON ENTREANCHE WOULD CRUSH A BUDGET.

For six years the Republican side of the aise has vigorously charged the Democrats with extravagance, waste, and taking the "blood of the people" for their toll. To this our Democratic friends have retorted "Republicans are just as bad," and are equally responsible for the preparation and passage of appropriation bills that measure expenditures. Unprejudiced minds must admit both are on track, and until a thorough, genuine budget system is adopted it will continue to be a case of the pot calling the kettle black. On different occasions I have stated emphatically that individually and collectively, congressional standards are higher to-day than ever before, due in part, I believe, to direct primaries that bring direct responsibilities, while others in this Representatives and the carrying scores of vicious extravagant projects, with some items of war necessity, and the indefensible public-building pork barrel projects, which are introduced in a few days are testimonials to such bad practices.

Possibly no Member of this body has spoken more frankly in the recent past against congressional extravagance, or more vigorously denounced specific legislation than I have done; but my high regard for this great body, individually and collectively, has been repeatedly and the hypocrisy of our neighbors whose bigotry, ignorance, and malice, caused them to regard their own kind as supermen, whereas they were only types of the ecotistical ass that does not understand people in general. Congress is made up of able men in close touch with their fellow men, and, I believe, is representative of the best elements of citizenship throughout the country, but Congress, individually and collectively, will not respond to the hypocrisy, the unbusinesslike ways wherever political prestige is to be sacrificed, excepting through an upheaval that rarely occurs. CONGRESS MUST KEEP PLEDGES MADE BY ITS PLATFORMS AND LEADERS.

President Taft was enthusiastic about overturning present budgetary conditions, but a single budget bill has passed through both houses, and there is no evident desire of Congress to act. President Wilson made a direct appeal from the Clerk's desk of the House two years ago for a single appropriation committee, but nor one move has been made by Democrats or Republicans to bring about that single needed reform. All the political parties in their national platforms have demanded genuine budget legislation, but not one move has occurred to secure specific reform, excepting individual efforts to that end. Any real move will encounter blind Alleghany and legislative sidetracks by way of further "investigations." Congress does not care for all the resolutions and petitions in Christendom, whether issued by commercial or other organizations, because Congress has heard that men have immovably signed petitions to have themselves, and Congress ordinarily responds only to direct action.

Mr. Chairman, I have introduced a resolution to have a budget committee composed of 20 members, who will jointly and at the same time consider the auditor general's report. After they have made their examinations and changes, no report to the House, no member of this House will have the right to increase the appropriation. This budget committee presents the budget, and its consideration ought not to take over 30 days, compared with several months in the present methods, that is the heart of a real budget plan.

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. I want to consider this proposition, and I want to put my statement before you briefly, if I may. Otherwise I would gladly yield.

The budget committee has the preparation of the revenues and the expenditures of the revenues of the Government. That is the proper place for its consideration, the same as in other governments. Every government on the face of the earth has a budget system except ours, and in no other government is there so much carelessness and so much looseness in regard to appropriations. I do not say this is the only practical budget system, but I say that any good budget system that contains the resolutions I have mentioned will prove a great improvement over our present system. Of course, you will have to do away with your 14 appropriations committees, having control over 14 to 20 appropriation bills. That is a first and a hard proposal to accept.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I do not like to talk to you about the ex-Speaker.

Mr. FREAR. The gentleman will get some more time, but this is one of the most important questions that has been discussed since I have been here. Has the gentleman ever figured on these 14 appropriation bills coming from 7 appropriations committees? There are 21 Members on each committee and 7 times 21 is 147. You have 147 Members against you to start with.

Mr. FREAR. I appreciate that, and it is a far larger number than you have stated. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Sherley], when chairman of Appropriation Committee, said to me, You will have over 200 men now to start with. We are going to make the fight through public sentiment, and we must convince our own membership it is right.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes; of course, and I am in sympathy with getting up some kind of a scheme to induce Members to come here and attend to business.

Mr. FREAR. When we have one budget system, which I believe will come in several years, although the newspapers are claiming that it will be endorsed at this session, then we will find that the Members attend them in the hypocritical way that the ex-Speaker has mentioned, and I know the opposition to the project, and what is true here is true with respect
The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri requests unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Pesch) be extended 5 minutes, the same vest to be taken from the time as agreed upon for general debate. Is there objection?

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Chairman, I think that is an extremely bad precedent for us to set, and I very much regret to say that I feel compelled to object. I know that the gentleman from Wisconsin has made a study of the matter, but...

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

Mr. FREAR. I appreciate the force of the objection and also the generous purpose of the mover of the motion. I desire to say, Mr. Chairman, that this is the most important question before the House in regard to our legislative action. I feel I can give but little time to it. My work in the war-expenditures investigation is marked out, as I said at the outset, and I hope others will undertake the work I began several years ago in company with others to secure a real budget system. I must hurry, for my time is limited.

If we fail to give the country a budget system another Congress will keep the fear.

Mr. Chairman, some economies have been had through exposures of bills on the floor, but unless it is to be a matter of hope and promise early reform can only be reached by active efforts to secure individual pledges from the most conservative, holdfast body in the world—the American Congress. Self-interest is an argument that reaches close to the heart. In these days of national interest in conditions and the prestige in effecting direct action on the Public Treasury is by no means lost. The Democratic administration has no constituency to this country at large must emphasize the fact that the country will no longer tolerate delay or congressional inaction. A real budget will come. I am hopeful, but I am bound to say I do not give the reform another Congress will be returned that will.

Practical results will be secured by practical means, and a budget system will be had when public sentiment demands the reform.

Briefly, by way of summary, I have attempted to describe, first, the many influences that surround Congress seeking aid and tending to create legislative waste and extravagance in a monetary way.

Second, the absurd and unbusinesslike spectacle presented in handling administrative expenditures through 20 different appropriation committees of Congress, all of which hold separate hearings and pretend to prepare bills and make investigations that can be properly performed only by administration sources, then examined by experts on behalf of Congress, and the country at large, I must say the same thing to Congress as to every other body; Congress must be set up and the country at large must emphasize the fact that the country will no longer tolerate delay or congressional inaction. A real budget will come. I am hopeful, but I am bound to say I do not give the reform another Congress will be returned that will.

Third, I have given the general effect of an efficient budgetary policy, its purposes, and brief mention of some measures now before Congress.

In conclusion, I repeat what was said at the outset, a comprehensive budget would, in my judgment, save the Treasury perhaps of millions of dollars annually without injuring or affecting adversely a single legitimate public interest. It would save many weeks' time in the appropriations of Congress, and it would save years' time in the preparation of bills and make investigations that can be properly performed only by administration sources, then examined by experts on behalf of Congress, and the country at large, I must say the same thing to Congress as to every other body; Congress must be set up and the country at large must emphasize the fact that the country will no longer tolerate delay or congressional inaction. A real budget will come. I am hopeful, but I am bound to say I do not give the reform another Congress will be returned that will.

In other words, it would be a blessing to the individual Member, to the taxpayers who pay the bills, and, last and most important, to the country.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me say this is a work that was sought to finish, and Individual Members ought to study the whole proposition to bring it about; because, as I said at the outset, every political party has demanded it in its platform. Every country on the face of the globe has a budget system to-day except the United States. We know that it will save weeks and months of legislative time every year. If we will save probably hundreds of millions of dollars every year if it is adopted, and we must agree upon it. The obstacles against it consist of the haphazard, ill-organized, unprepared positions in the Capitol, high positions which they honestly treasure. Those positions are a matter of personal pride with them. But if we want to save a part of that time and if we want to become more efficient in our methods of legislation, it is our duty to pass a national budget system. [Applause.]
I am presenting brief data in connection with my remarks that is related to the general subject:

**Appropriation bills passed by the House at session ended Mar. 4, 1919, for the fiscal year 1919.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title of bill</th>
<th>Passed House</th>
<th>Approved.</th>
<th>Total Appropriation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>Dec. 11, 1918</td>
<td></td>
<td>$14,091,701.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rivers and Harbors</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1919</td>
<td>Feb. 22, 1919</td>
<td>$11,466,199.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>National Park</td>
<td>Jan. 16, 1919</td>
<td>Mar. 1, 1919</td>
<td>9,840,401.77</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1919</td>
<td>Feb. 16, 1919</td>
<td>9,841,601.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1919</td>
<td>Feb. 16, 1919</td>
<td>11,671,022.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Appropriation deficiency for 1919</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1919</td>
<td>Feb. 26, 1919</td>
<td>922,714,084.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Penitentiary</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1919</td>
<td>Feb. 16, 1919</td>
<td>1,245,690.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Military Academy</td>
<td>Jan. 14, 1919</td>
<td>Feb. 4, 1919</td>
<td>2,072,922.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>Feb. 5, 1919</td>
<td>Mar. 4, 1919</td>
<td>2,146,700.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Feb. 5, 1919</td>
<td>Mar. 4, 1919</td>
<td>1,050,229,086.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Railroads</td>
<td>Feb. 21, 1919</td>
<td>Mar. 4, 1919</td>
<td>729,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sunday civil</td>
<td>Feb. 26, 1919</td>
<td>Mar. 4, 1919</td>
<td>871,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>General deficiency</td>
<td>Mar. 4, 1919</td>
<td></td>
<td>26,607,256.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total appropriation passed by House</td>
<td>6,437,129,437.55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The following extract is taken from a speech I made in the House of December 14, 1917, on the same subject of budget legislation are added because of the data therein contained:

"The following countries have had budget assessments: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, France, German, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Montenegro, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Russia, Roumania, Rumania, Russia, Salvador, Serbia, Spain, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of South Africa, and Uruguay. The only great nation excepted from the foregoing list, a democracy that rigorously challenges the right of any country for its form of government, is the United States."

"President Wilson’s advice that has been ignored is also submitted at this point:

"It will be impossible to deal in any but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion, with the enormous appropriations of the public money which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication in the public service avoided. We favor this as a practicable first step in the budget avoided."

President Wilson vividly demands a fulfillment of that pledge.

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**PARTY PLATFORMS DEMAND A BUDGET SYSTEM.**

"The Democratic Party has demanded a change and pledged every member of the majority party to that change when in its platform in St. Louis in 1916 it declared: ‘The Republicans, at their last national convention, in the following language: ‘The increasing cost of the National Government and the need for the greatest economy of its receipts and expenditures are the determining factors in the selection of President. The protection of the people for government service call for the severest economy of the wasteful appropriation bills coming before Congress. The reduction of the national debt, the securing of the maximum return to the people for the expenditure of their money, are the objectives of a national budget system, to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances.’"

---

"In a clear, comprehensive work on the budget system, Collins says: ‘Congress has been given a situation without parallel in the world. Here we can not speak of a budget, but of separate and independent bills drawing on the Treasury. Those bills are controlled by about 14 independent committees of the House and of the Senate—20 separate committees, each with the independence of each other and of the executive branch of the Government. Ten of these House committees and 8 Senate committees report out all the bills carrying appropriations, but the other 31 (in the House and in the Senate) report out measures for revenue bills, and in other things carrying demands on the Treasury, which are met by bills from one or more other committees. Further, somehow else—the legislative branch of the Government actually prepares in detail every financial measure introduced.”"

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A great student of finance and public affairs, Mr. Fitzgerald, chairman of Appropriations Committee of the House, I have repeatedly urged that all the appropriation bills be consolidated into a single. When I made the statement I would willingly retire as head of the Committee on Appropriations and from the effects any real reform in this regard. I am glad that the President has made this recommendation. I believe it the most important reform that the House can adopt. No higher authority can be quoted than Mr. Wilson, who resigned from this body.

This is the committee of which Mr. Goon is chairman.

**REPUBLICAN AUTHORITY ON COMMITTEE EXTRAVAGANCES.**

James A. Towne, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, in 1919 gave a public statement on this general subject wherein he says:

"The difficulty in practice which the Committee on Appropriations has in making appropriations within the estimated revenue arises from the fact that when the several committees which have jurisdiction over the various parts of the work the appropriations for a particular object appropriation for expenditures out in the districts and States represented by members of the Senate and the House, the committee for which the appropriations are made can always rely upon the representatives in whose districts and States those appropriations are to be expended to support almost any demand the committee may make."

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"Taft, Wilson, Fitzgerald, Sherman, Tacony all demand a single budget committee in order to secure a real budget system. Will the country say to Congress ‘You asked for bread and you gave me a gold brick. What is our answer?’"

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A proposed real national budget system covered by two bills and one resolution is herewith submitted:

A bill (H. R. 4001) to provide for departmental budget estimates, and

**Be it enacted, etc.** That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, on or before the 15th day of November in each year, submit to Congress the following information: A revised statement in summary and in detail...
tall of the estimates of expenditures of the various branches of the Gov-
ernment, the said revision of the budget be made before the second fiscal
year to which the estimate is to be applicable, and the estimated revenue of the Government for the

8 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

same purpose of the accounts and approved, and such estimates shall be sub-
mit therewith recommendations of the auditor general, the amount, class, or
other accounts to which the accounts relate, and the manner in which he is to
submit the President to revise, to consolidate, to unify, to compile, to balance, to
approve, to revise, to consolidate, and to publish the annual regular annual
budgets, requiring any changes or additions to the annual budget or other
expenditures or accounts to be included therein in such manner as may be
necessary to effect economies and to prevent waste, extravagance, want,
abuse, delay, duplication and the parts of laws in conflict with the pro-
visions of this act are hereby repealed.

Sec. 4. That this act shall take effect at the beginning of the fiscal
year 1919.

A bill (H. R. 3738) to provide for an auditor general to act on behalf of
the internal revenue department to control the expenditures of the United
States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the offices of auditor general, assistant audi-
tors general, and departmental auditors, hereby created, shall be
be managed and controlled by a chief auditor general to be appointed by
the President, and for that purpose, to be a department of the Treasury
Department, in the same manner and to the same extent that the General
Auditor for the Treasury Department is now managed and controlled by
the Secretary of the Treasury.

Sec. 3. That the act may be cited for all purposes as the estimates
revision act, 1919.

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 5) to provide for a joint budget committee,
composed of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Represen-
atives and the Finance Committee of the Senate and for other purposes.

Rescinded, etc., That the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Repre-
sentatives and the Finance Committee of the Senate shall be a
joint committee of Congress on and after December 1, 1919, to consider
and report on the said estimate; that in the event any new bill shall be
introduced, in the Senate or House of Representatives, providing for
any supplemental deficiency or other estimates of expenditures for the
fiscal year 1920, such new bill shall be referred to the joint budget
committee, and that the joint budget committee shall report the
same to the Senate or House of Representatives.

Sec. 3. That it is hereby enacted that the said joint budget committee may call before it such
executive officers as it may see fit to examine in connection with the
said estimate.

Sec. 4. That said joint budget committee may propose amendments to
the said estimates by way of reducing the amount of any item or items of
the said estimates, and may be authorized to make any such amendments as
may be necessary to comply with any such amendments, and that the joint budget committee
shall not have power to make any such amendments except in the case of the
Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and that any new bill shall include the said estimates.

Sec. 5. That such joint bill, and the report, if any, shall be referred to the
Senate and the House of Representatives for consideration and re-
port, and if passed by both Houses, shall be presented to the President, to which bill the House
of Representatives shall concur by adding an amendment, and the
same shall be presented to the Senate, and if passed by the Senate, shall be presented to the
President, and if disapproved by the President, shall be presented to the Senate for its
consideration.

Sec. 6. That the joint budget committee shall have power to receive
direct information as to the said estimate, and that the joint budget committee
shall not have the power to make any amendments or other estimates of
the said bill.

Sec. 7. That the joint budget committee shall have power to receive
direct information as to the said estimate, and that the joint budget committee
shall not have the power to make any amendments or other estimates of
the said bill.

Sec. 8. That the joint budget committee shall have power to receive
direct information as to the said estimate, and that the joint budget committee
shall not have the power to make any amendments or other estimates of
the said bill.
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JULY 8, 1919.

Mr. McFadden introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

To amend an Act entitled "An Act to provide capital for agricultural development, to create standard forms of investment based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to create Government depositaries and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1916. (Session one, Chapter 245, page 360, Sixty-fourth Congress.)

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
3 That section 21 of "An Act to provide capital for agricul-
4 tural development, to create standard forms of investment
5 based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon
6 farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to
7 create Government depositaries and financial agents for the
United States and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1916 (session one, chapter 245, page 360, Sixty-fourth Congress), be amended to read as follows, to wit:

"Sec. 21. That each land bank shall be bound in all respects by the acts of its officers in signing and issuing farm loan bonds, and by the acts of the Federal Farm Loan Board in authorizing their issue.

"Every Federal land bank issuing farm loan bonds shall be primarily liable therefor, and shall also be liable, upon presentation of farm loan bond coupons, for interest payments due upon any farm loan bonds issue by other Federal land banks and remaining unpaid in consequence of the default of such other land banks; and every such bank shall likewise be liable for such portion of the principal of farm loan bonds so issued as shall not be paid after the assets of any such other land banks shall have been liquidated and distributed: Provided, That such losses, if any, either of interest or of principal, shall be assessed by the Federal Farm Loan Board against solvent land banks liable therefor in proportion to the amount of farm loan bonds which each may have outstanding at the time of such assessment.

"Every Federal land bank shall, by appropriate action of its board of directors, duly recorded in its minutes, obligate itself to become liable on farm loan bonds as provided in this section."
“Every farm loan bond issued by a Federal land bank shall be signed by its president and attested by its secretary, and shall contain in the face thereof a certificate signed by the Farm Loan Commissioner to the effect that it is issued under the authority of the Federal Farm Loan Act, has the approval in form and issue of the Federal Farm Loan Board, and is legal and regular in all respects; that it is issued against collateral security of United States Government bonds, or indorsed first mortgages on farm lands, at least equal in amount to the bonds issued; and that all Federal land banks are liable for the payment of each bond.”

Sec. 2. That section 26 of the Act entitled “An Act to provide capital for agricultural development, to create a standard form of investment based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to create Government depositaries and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes,” approved July 17, 1916, be amended to read as follows, to wit:

“Sec. 26. That every Federal land bank and every national farm loan association, including the capital and reserve or surplus therein and the income derived therefrom, shall be exempt from Federal, State, municipal, and local taxation, except taxes upon real estate held, purchased, or taken by said bank or association under the provisions of
2d section 11 and section 13 of this Act. The shares in any 3joint stock land bank may be included in the valuation of 4the personal property of the owner or holder of such shares, 5in assessing taxes imposed by authority of the State within 6which the bank is located; but such assessment and taxation 7shall be in manner and subject to the conditions and limita-

8tions contained in section 5219 of the Revised Statutes with 9reference to the shares of national banking associations. The 10real property of Federal and joint stock land banks and na-
11tional farm loan associations shall be subject to State, county, 12or municipal taxes, to the same extent, according to its value, 13as other real property.”

14Sec. 3. Nothing contained in this Act shall be con-
15strued as in any way affecting the validity, terms, conditions,
16nor immunities of any bonds issued by any Federal land bank
17prior to joint stock land bank prior to the passage of this Act.
18Sec. 4. All acts or parts of Acts inconsistent with this
19Act are hereby repealed and this Act shall take effect upon
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JULY 31, 1919.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A BILL

To provide for universal military, naval, and vocational training and for mobilization of the manhood of the Nation in a national emergency.

1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the National Service Act.

2. Sec. 2. That the President shall make all such regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, as may be necessary to carry out its purposes.

3. Sec. 3. That the military or naval training and any preparatory education therefor required by this Act shall be such as may be prescribed by regulation, and shall include vocational training in appropriate trades which may be
for, to be prescribed by regulation. For this purpose they
may be inducted into the service or not, as may be prescribed
by regulation. The preparatory educational period shall not
exceed three months.

Sec. 6. During the training period, and, if inducted
into the service, during the preparatory educational period,
each man shall receive pay at the rate of $5 a month, besides
transportation, clothing, laundry, shelter, subsistence, and
all necessary medical and dental attendance.

Sec. 7. The following shall be excepted from liability
to service for training purposes and from preparatory educa-
tion therefor, under such regulations as may be prescribed:
(a) Persons exempted or excepted from military or
naval service by treaty;
(b) Citizens or subjects of any country with which
the United States is at war or of any ally of such country;
(c) Persons in a status with respect to persons de-
dependent upon them for support which renders their exception
advisable, as may be prescribed by regulation: Provided, That
this exception shall not be applicable when suitable provi-
sion is made by law for the support of such dependents;
(d) Persons who are in the military or naval service
of the United States or who have served therein for a period
of six months, including, however, only such kinds of prior
service as may be prescribed by regulation;
(e) Persons mentally, morally, or physically incapable
of profiting by such training.

No exception shall continue when a cause therefor no
longer exists.

SEC. 8. Men who have honorably completed their train-
ing period may enlist in the Army or in the Marine Corps
if trained in the Army, or in the Navy if trained therein:

Provided, That the authorized numbers of the Army, Marine
Corps, or Navy shall not be exceeded thereby.

SEC. 9. In case voluntary enlistments shall be insuffi-
cient to maintain the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps
at the numbers from time to time required by law, then so
many men as may be necessary to maintain the Regular
Army, Navy, and Marine Corps at such numbers may be
selected, pursuant to regulation, from among the men com-
pleting their training period, and the men so selected shall
serve in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps for an additional
period of one year. The number so selected from each
State or Territory shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same
proportion to the whole number of men so selected as the
number of men from that State or Territory serving for
training purposes during the last preceding calendar year
bears to the whole number so serving during such calendar
year.
Sec. 10. Any person who qualifies pursuant to law and regulations as a cadet in the United States Military or Naval Academy or as a Regular or Reserve officer in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, while continuing to be such cadet or officer, shall not be required to perform military or naval service except in the grade which he holds at the time.

Sec. 11. A Reserve of the Army is hereby established. The enlisted personnel of such Reserve shall include, as may be required by regulation:

(a) All male persons who honorably served in the Army or Marine Corps at any time between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and who elect to become members of the Reserve. Their service in the Reserve shall continue for a period of five years beginning when this Act shall take effect, but not after they respectively reach the age of thirty years;

(b) All men not hereinafter excepted who may hereafter serve in the Army for any part of the training period prescribed by this Act. Their service shall continue for a period of ten years beginning immediately after the expiration of their training period.

Sec. 12. There shall be excepted from service as enlisted men in the Reserve of the Army, under such regulations as may be prescribed:
(a) Officers holding regular or reserve commissions in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, and men enlisted and serving therein; members of the Reserve of the Navy and officers and enlisted men of the Naval Militia recognized by the Navy Department, but not exceeding the numbers hereinafter specified in section 17;

(b) Men of any State, to the number of two hundred and fifty for each Senator and Member of the House of Representatives from such State, who are in active service as officers or enlisted men in organizations of the National Guard or active militia of such State recognized by the War Department;

(c) Men who have served as officers or enlisted men in such organizations of the National Guard or active militia, including the Naval Militia, for not less than three years, of which the first two shall have been in active service;

(d) Men in a status with respect to their families or other persons dependent upon them for support which renders advisable their exception from the reserve, while in such a status: Provided, That this exception shall not be applicable when suitable provision is made by law for the support of such dependents;

(e) Men the nature of whose occupations or whose residence is such as to render their exception from the reserve
advisable while remaining in such occupation or continuing in such residence;

(f) Federal, State, county, and municipal officers and employees the nature of whose official functions is such as to render their exception from the reserve advisable, including in this class a reasonable police force and police reserves in the several States and municipalities.

No exception from the reserve shall continue when a cause therefor no longer exists.

Sec. 13. That the members of the reserve during their first five years of service therein shall be subject to active military service for additional training in the respective organizations of the reserve to which they shall be assigned as may be provided by regulation for not exceeding three weeks in any one year and not exceeding nine weeks in all:

Provided, however, That members of the reserve who served in the Army or Marine Corps for not less than six months between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, or who may be honorably discharged from the Army or Marine Corps, after service therein for not less than six months, shall not be subject to further active military service for training except with their consent.

Sec. 14. That the territory of the United States, excluding the insular possessions and Alaska, shall be divided as may be prescribed by regulation, into not less than four
army areas and not less than twelve corps areas, each corps
area to contain at least one training division and one or more
reserve divisions. The reserve shall be organized, as may be
prescribed by regulation, into not less than four armies, one
for each army area, and into not less than twelve corps, one
for each corps area, and into such reserve units of Coast
Artillery as may be prescribed by regulation. Each corps
shall be organized, as may be prescribed by regulation, into
at least one training division and one or more reserve divi-
sions. In time of war training divisions may be detached
and used for training replacements. Each member of the
reserve shall be assigned to and serve in an organization of
the reserve established for the locality in which he lives, and,
as prescribed by regulation, may, upon change of residence,
be transferred to the appropriate organization of the reserve
for the locality of his new residence.

In organizing the reserve the names, numbers, and other
designations of the organizations that served in the World
War between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, shall
be preserved so far as practicable.

The reserve shall include such units, specially available
for immediate service at any time, as may be prescribed by
regulation.

Sec. 15. That in all arms and branches of the Army
and the reserve the numbers, composition, and organizations
1. Proof Army staffs and troops and corps staffs and troops, and
2. the numbers, composition, and organization of divisional and
3. other staffs and of armies, corps, and divisions and other
4. units, including Coast Artillery, shall be such as may be
5. prescribed by regulation.

6. In Sec. 16. That Army and corps commanders are author-
7. ized to assign Regular and Reserve officers on duty under
8. them to any temporary rank or duty, including general staff
9. duty, appropriate to any assignment to tactical units or to
10. Army, corps, or division staffs: Provided, however, That
11. such officers shall receive the pay and allowances of their
12. respective permanent grades, except that an officer assigned
13. to duty requiring him to be mounted shall be entitled to the
14. allowances appropriate to such duty in the permanent or
15. temporary grade then held by him. The officers and enlisted
16. men of any arm or branch of the Regular Army may, without
17. change of pay or allowances and without affecting their
18. grade or status, be assigned temporarily to duty in any other
19. arm or branch of the service. No officer, however, shall be
20. assigned to any command or duty until he shall have qualified
21. for such command or for the performance of such duty under
22. regulations to be prescribed.

23. Duty in an Army, corps, or division staff, or in the
24. training service shall be considered duty with the line within
25. the meaning of section 27 of the Act of Congress approved
February 2, 1901, section 5 of the Act of Congress approved
June 3, 1916, and section 3 of the Act of Congress approved
May 12, 1917.
Under regulations to be prescribed, any man who
honorably served in the Army of the United States between
April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, either as an officer
or enlisted man, and any man who has completed the training
period, and any other person specially qualified for any
technical branch of the service, may be commissioned as a
Reserve officer. Such commissions may be provisional or
for a specified period of time, not exceeding five years. Re-
serve officers may be commissioned with any rank, including
that of general officer, and may be assigned to any duty, in-
cluding general staff duty, without regard to age, except that
the laws and regulations concerning the relation between
age and retirement which apply to officers of the Regular
Army in active service shall also apply to Reserve officers.
Reserve officers shall be commissioned in the Army
generally and not in any arm, corps, department, or branch
thereof, and may be assigned to any duty for which they
are qualified, as may be provided by regulation. They shall
take rank, among themselves, according to the length of
active service performed by them in the permanent or tem-
porary grades in which they are serving. When called into
active service, a Reserve officer shall take rank, as between
1. In himself and any other officer, Regular or Reserve, according to the length of active service performed by each in the respective grades, whether permanent or temporary, in which they are serving at the time.

2. Selection and promotion of Reserve officers shall be according to merit as ascertained from service and experience in the world war, or after training, observation, and examination, as may be provided by regulation. Seniority shall have such effect upon promotion as may be prescribed by regulation.

3. Such line and staff and vocational schools, including correspondence schools, may be conducted for the instruction of Regular and Reserve officers and enlisted men, men in training and members of the Reserve as may be prescribed by regulation.

4. Sec. 17. That a Reserve of the Navy is hereby established. The enlisted personnel of such Reserve shall include: All male persons who served in the Navy of the United States at any time between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and who elect to become members of the Reserve; their service in the Reserve shall continue for a period of five years, beginning when this Act shall take effect, but not after they shall respectively reach the age of thirty years.
(b) All men who may hereafter serve in the Navy for any part of the training period prescribed by this Act.

Their service shall continue for a period of ten years beginning immediately after the expiration of their training period.

SEC. 18. That there shall be excepted from service as enlisted men in the Reserve of the Navy, under such regulations as may be prescribed:

(a) Officers holding Regular or Reserve commissions in the Navy and men enlisted therein;

(b) Men of any State, to the number of fifty for each Senator and Member of the House of Representatives from such State, who are serving as officers or enlisted men in organizations of the Naval Militia of such State recognized by the Navy Department;

(c) Men who have served as officers or enlisted men in such organizations of the Naval Militia for not less than three years, of which the first two shall have been in active service;

(d) The other classes of persons excepted from service in the Army Reserve by section 12, subdivisions (d), (e), and (f) of this Act.

No exception shall continue when a cause therefor no longer exists.
The members of the Reserve of the Navy, during the first five years of their service therein, shall be subject to active naval service for additional training, as may be provided by regulation, for not more than three weeks in any one year and not more than nine weeks in all: Provided, That members of the Reserve who served in the Navy of the United States for not less than six months between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and members of the Reserve who may be honorably discharged from the Navy after service therein for not less than six months shall not be subject to further active naval service for training except with their consent.

Sec. 19. That members of the Army and the Navy Reserves, in addition to being subject to call for active service for training as hereinbefore provided, may at any time, with their own consent and as may be prescribed by regulation, be called into active service for further training and instruction, to act as instructors, or to perform any other appropriate duty for which they may be qualified. All members of the Army and Navy Reserves may be required to make an annual report by mail or otherwise; to submit to an annual medical examination, and if necessary to receive medical treatment.

Sec. 20. That during the performance of any active service members of the Army and Navy Reserves shall
receive the pay and allowances of their corresponding grades
in the Regular Establishments, and transportation, clothing,
laundry, shelter, subsistence, and all necessary medical and
dental attendance.

SEC. 21. That Reserve officers of the Army or Marine
Corps with rank not above that of colonel, and of the Navy
with rank not above that of captain, shall be appointed by
the President alone, and Reserve officers above said grades
by the President by and with the advice and consent of the
Senate.

SEC. 22. That Reserve officers of the Army, Navy,
and Marine Corps shall be subject to call for active service
for training, as may be prescribed by regulation, for a period
not exceeding three weeks in any one year; with their con-
sent they may be called into active service at any time and
for any period, as may be prescribed by regulation, for
further training or instruction, to act as instructors, or to
perform any other appropriate duty for which they may be
qualified, including duty with the Regular Army, Navy,
Marine Corps, National Guard, active militia or Naval
Militia of the several States.

SEC. 23. That during the performance of any active
service Reserve officers of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps
shall receive the pay and allowances of their corresponding
grades in the Regular Establishments.
Sec. 24. That the National Guard, active militia, and Naval Militia of the several States may be called forth by the President only to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections or repel invasions, and shall not be required to serve outside of the territorial limits of the United States or for more than three months in any one year. No call into Federal Service of the National Guard, active militia or Naval Militia, shall operate to discharge the officers or men thereof from the militia when the period of such call shall have expired. The numbers of officers and enlisted men therein shall not be required to be greater than the numbers required by the laws of the several States. The land and naval forces of the militia of the several States shall be organized and trained in such manner as may be prescribed by the laws or regulations of the several States, subject to such general regulations as may be prescribed by the President. Under regulations to be prescribed the land forces of such militia may be attached for training purposes to the reserve corps of the several corps areas in which the several States are respectively located and may participate in training maneuvers of the Regular Army and Army Reserve. No State shall receive any benefit of any Federal appropriation for militia purposes in respect of any organization of militia except such as shall have
been inspected and approved by the War or Navy Depart-
ment, as the case may be.

SEC. 25. That the uniform of the officers and enlisted
men of the Reserves of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps
shall be the same as the uniform of the corresponding
grades in the regular establishments, with such distinctive
insignia, if any, as may be prescribed by regulation. The
uniform of the officers and enlisted men of the National
Guard, active militia, and Naval Militia of the several
States may be similar to the uniform of the corresponding
grades in the Regular Army and Navy, but shall include
some distinctive insignia bearing the name, at length or
in abbreviated form, or the arms, or both, of the respective
States.

SEC. 26. That whenever the President shall declare
that a national emergency exists:

(a) The members of the Reserves of the Army and
Navy and all Reserve officers of the Army, Navy, or Marine
Corps shall be subject to call for immediate military or
naval service during the period of the emergency, under
such regulations as may be prescribed;

(b) All other male citizens of the United States (ex-
cept officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, Navy,
or Marine Corps and officers and enlisted men of the Na-
tional Guard, active militia and Naval Militia recognized
by the War or Navy Department) between the ages of
eighteen and forty-five, both inclusive, and all other male
persons between such ages residing in the United States
(including Alaska and the insular possessions) who have
within seven years prior to the call declared their intention
to become citizens, except, however, persons excepted in
section 7, subdivisions (a) and (b), hereof, shall be subject
to call for immediate military or naval service, as may be
provided by regulation, and the order in which they shall
be inducted into such service shall be determined by their
classification as provided in the next succeeding section.

Sec. 27. That in determining the order in which per-
sons subject to service under the next preceding section
hereof shall be inducted into service, their classification
shall be provided for by regulation, as follows:

(a) So as to place in a special class an adequate
number of men available for immediate service at any time;

(b) So as to constitute such other special classes as
may be prescribed by regulation;

(c) So as to place in a deferred class those who are
needed in occupations of importance in the maintenance of
the national interest during the emergency, so long as they
regularly and in good faith continue in such occupations;
(d) So as to place in a deferred class those upon whose families and dependents the hardships would be greatest by reason of their induction;

(e) So as to provide the military and naval establishments with persons having special qualifications, whose services are required therein;

(f) So as to except from service any person who claims exception, or on whose behalf a claim for exception is made by an interested party, as and when prescribed by regulation and who is:

(1) A regularly ordained minister of religion;

(2) A member of a well-recognized religious sect or organization which has been in existence for at least five years prior to the approval of this Act and whose declared creed or principles during such period forbid its members to participate in war in any form and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed or principles of such sect or organization, but no person so excepted shall be excepted from service in any capacity that by regulation shall be declared to be non-combatant;

(3) A Federal, State, county, or municipal officer or employee, the nature of whose official functions is such as to render his exception advisable, including in this class a
reasonable police force and police reserves in the several
States and municipalities.

No exception or deferred classification shall continue
when a cause therefore no longer exists.

Sec. 28. That in order to carry out the provisions of
this Act, the President is authorized to require at any time
the registration of all or any class of male citizens or resi-
dents, or both, but no person shall be required, except in a
national emergency proclaimed by the President, to register
more than once in a calendar year: Provided, That the fol-
lowing persons shall be excepted from registration:

(1) Officers and enlisted men in the Regular Army,
Navy, and Marine Corps, and Reserve officers and enlisted
men in the several reserves duly enrolled as such;

(2) Diplomatic representatives, technical attachés of
foreign embassies and legations, consuls general, consuls,
vice consuls, and consular agents of foreign countries, and
such other representatives and officers of foreign govern-
ments as may be excepted by regulation.

Registration shall be at such times and places as may
be prescribed by proclamation or other public notice given
by the President, and all persons required to register shall
register as required therein. Registrants may be required
to state, under oath, or otherwise, such facts as relate to
their qualifications for and liability to military service, and
1. among other facts (without limiting the facts that may be
2. required to be stated) those relating to age, residence, occu-
3. pation, claims for exemption or exception, and number of
4. and relationship to dependents, and members of family.
5. 21. All male citizens, and all male residents of the United
6. States (except Alaska and the insular possessions) not ex-
7. empted or excepted by treaty, shall be required to register
8. with such local board as may be prescribed by regulation
9. within three months after attaining the age of seventeen
10. years, to the end that they may be called for training as
11. soon as practicable after attaining the age of eighteen years,
12. or within such deferred period, not exceeding two years,
13. as they may elect. Any person so registering, who may
14. require preparatory education under section 5 of this Act,
15. may be required to receive it at any time after registra-
16. tion. Any person so registering, who is subject to or eligible
17. for military training under this Act, and who is physically
18. qualified therefor, may, with his consent, be inducted into
19. the service at any time after registration, and before attain-
20. ing the age of eighteen years.

21. Sec. 29. That exclusive jurisdiction to determine what
22. persons are subject to military service and all claims for
23. exception or exemption from military service, and all claims
24. to be excepted from the reserves, and all claims for deferred
25. classification and all claims of nonliability to military
service by reason of age, or on any ground provided in this
Act, both in the case of those who may from time to time be
registered and those who should have registered and have
not done so, shall be in the local boards, district boards, and
the National Board of Appeals hereinafter provided for,
which are hereby declared to be administrative and not
judicial bodies. The failure to present any claim of any
nature whatsoever, relating to nonliability to or exception
or exemption from military service or exception from the
Reserves, or for deferred classification, may, if and when
so provided by regulation, constitute a waiver of such claim.

Sec. 30. That local boards shall be organized. Such
boards shall consist of not less than three nor more than
seven members. Their term of office shall be three years.
The members of the boards shall be appointed by the
military administrator (hereinafter provided for) for the
State or Territory comprising the locality over which the
board has jurisdiction, and may be removed by him at
will. Each such board shall have jurisdiction over a ter-
ritory prescribed by regulation having a population as
nearly as may be of fifty thousand inhabitants and over all
persons whose registration records are or under regulations
should be in its possession. Such board shall have original
jurisdiction to determine the matters set forth in the last
preceding section. At least two members of the board
shall sit to consider and determine any matter within its jurisdiction. A determination by a majority of the members of the board sitting to consider any matter shall be the determination of the board. The members of the local boards shall receive such compensation for their services and such allowance for their expenses as may be prescribed by regulation. Each board shall have such salaried medical examiners, clerks, and assistants as may be provided by regulation. Members of a local board and its chief clerk may administer oaths in all matters within the jurisdiction of the board.

Sec. 31. That there shall be attached to each local board a Government appeal agent, who shall act as legal adviser to the board and shall take appeals on behalf of the United States or on behalf of registrants from the determinations of the board, without prejudice to the right of any person interested in any decision to take an appeal upon his or her own behalf. Government appeal agents shall receive only such compensation for their services from the Government or from any other person as may be provided by regulation. They shall be appointed by the military administrator for the State or Territory comprising the locality over which the local board to which they are respectively attached has jurisdiction. They shall have power
to administer oaths in all matters arising under this Act
and the regulations made in pursuance hereof.

Sec. 32. That for each local board there may be such
public advisers as may be appointed by the military ad-
ministrator. They shall serve at his pleasure, and shall
advise persons of their rights and duties under this Act and
the regulations thereunder without compensation, and they
shall have power to administer oaths in all matters arising
under such Act and regulations.

Sec. 33. That district boards shall be organized. Such
boards shall consist of not less than nine nor more than
thirty-five members. Their term of office shall be five years,
and the members thereof shall be divided as nearly as pos-
sible into five equal classes, and the term of office of the
members in one such class shall expire in each year. The
members shall be appointed by the President alone and
may be removed by him at will. Each district board shall
have jurisdiction to review on appeal determinations of
local boards within such district as may be prescribed
by regulation. The right to appeal to a district board
shall exist only in such cases as may be prescribed by regu-
lation. At least three members of the district board shall
sit to consider and determine any appeal. A determination
by a majority of the members of the board sitting to con-
sider any appeal shall be the determination of the board.
The members of the district boards shall receive such compensation for their services and allowance for their expenses as may be prescribed by regulation. Each district board shall have such salaried medical examiners, clerks, and assistants as may be provided by regulation. Members of district boards and their chief clerks may administer oaths in all matters within the jurisdiction of their respective boards.

Sec. 34. That a National Board of Appeals shall be organized. Such board shall consist of such number of members, not less than fifteen, as may be prescribed by regulation. Their term of office shall be five years and the members thereof shall be divided as nearly as possible into five equal classes, and the term of office of the members in one such class shall expire in each year. The members shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and may be removed by him at will. Such board shall have jurisdiction to review on appeal the determinations of any district board. The right to appeal to the national board shall exist only in such cases as may be prescribed by regulation. At least five members of the national board shall sit to consider and determine any appeal. A determination by a majority of the members of the board sitting to consider any appeal shall be the deter-
omination of the board. Each member of the national board
shall receive compensation at the rate of $7,500 per annum.

The national board shall have such salaried medical exam-
iners, clerks, and assistants as may by regulation be pro-
vided. The members of the board and such clerks attached
thereto as may be prescribed by regulation may administer
oaths in all matters within the jurisdiction of the board.

Sec. 35. That there shall be a National Military Ad-
ministrator, and one or more military administrators for each
State or Territory of the United States (including the insular
possessions and Alaska only when the President shall declare
that an emergency exists), each of whom shall have such
deputies, assistants, inspectors, aids, and clerks, salaried or
otherwise, as may by regulation be provided. The National
Military Administrator, under the direction of the Secretary
of War, shall have administrative control over the whole
system of registration and induction into the service. The
military administrator for each State, Territory, possession,
or locality shall have administrative control in such respects
subject, to the national administrator, over the State, Terri-

tory, possession, or locality for which he is appointed. No
military administrator, including the national administrator,
shall have power to determine any claim for exception,
exemption, or deferred classification. Military administra-
tors, including the national administrator, may be officers
of the United States Army or Navy, regular or reserve. The national administrator and the administrators of the several States, Territories, and possessions shall be appointed by the President, and shall hold office at his pleasure, provided that the appointment of the National Military Administrator shall be with the advice and consent of the Senate. The national administrator shall receive a salary of $7,500 per annum and the administrator for each State, Territory, or possession or part thereof shall receive a salary of $6,000 per annum: Provided, That in the case of a Regular or Reserve Army or Navy officer, he shall receive no more than the pay and allowances of his permanent grade and rank. Each national and other military administrator, and such of their deputies, assistants, and aids as may be prescribed by regulation, shall have power to administer oaths in all matters arising under this Act and the regulations made in pursuance hereof. Medical examiners for the local and district boards and the national board shall be appointed in such manner as may be prescribed by regulation.

Sec. 36. That the several members of the local and district boards and the national board and the national and other military administrators and their deputies thereunto duly authorized by them, shall have power to summon any person residing or found within the State, Territory, or possession, within any part of which such board or admin-
istrator or deputy has jurisdiction, to appear at a time and
place stated in the summons and give testimony and answer
under oath such questions as may be required respecting
matters relating to the enforcement of this Act and the
regulations made hereunder.

Such summons shall in all cases be served by a person
over the age of twenty-one years, thereunto authorized in
writing by the official issuing the summons, and a copy
thereof shall be delivered to the person to whom it is directed
or left at his last and usual place of abode, allowing such
person at least one day for each twenty-five miles he may be
required to travel, computed from the place of service to the
place of examination, together with such witness fee and
allowance for mileage as may be prescribed by regulation.
A certificate of service made by the person who served the
summons shall be evidence of the facts stated therein on
the hearing of an application for an attachment.

Whenever any person summoned as herein authorized
neglects or refuses to obey such summons, or to give testi-
mony or to answer questions as required, the official by
whom the summons is issued may apply to any district or
circuit judge of the United States or to any United States
commissioner for the district within which the person so
summoned resides or is found, for an attachment against
him as for a contempt. It shall be the duty of the judge or
1 the commissioner to hear the application, and, if satisfactory
2 proof is made, to issue an attachment, directed to some
3 proper officer, for the arrest of such person, and upon his
4 being brought before him to proceed to a hearing of the
5 case; and upon such hearing the judge or commissioner
6 shall have power to adjudge such person in contempt and
7 to make such order as he shall deem proper, not incon-
8 sistent with existing laws for the punishment of contempts.
9 to enforce obedience to the requirements of the summons
10 and to punish such person for his default or disobedience.

Sec. 37. That each member of the National Appeal
Board, the district boards, and the local boards, each military
administrator and deputy or assistant administrator, each
inspector and aide of the administrators, each chief clerk
of local and district boards, and each Government appeal
agent and public adviser shall qualify by taking an oath to
support the Constitution of the United States and honestly
and impartially and without fear or favor to execute the
duties of his office.

Sec. 38. That the standard or standards of physical
fitness for military service shall be fixed by regulation, and
different standards may be fixed for different classes of
service. No person shall have a right to exception by reason
of being physically unfit, and appropriate measures may
be taken as may be prescribed by regulation for the de-
1. Development of persons below the standards fixed by regulation who are capable of such development. The question
2. whether any person is within such standards shall be determined by medical examiners of the local boards or
3. other boards as may be provided by regulation, and their
4. decision shall be final and conclusive.
5. Sec. 39. That no person subject to military service
6. hereunder shall be permitted or allowed to furnish a sub-
7. stitute for such service, nor shall any such substitute be
8. inducted, received, or enrolled in the military or naval
9. service. No such person shall be permitted to avoid such
10. service or to be discharged therefrom prior to the expiration
11. of his term of service by the payment of money or any
12. other valuable thing whatsoever as consideration for his
13. release from military or naval service or liability thereto.
14. Sec. 40. That failure to register as required by this
15. Act and the regulations made in pursuance hereof shall
16. be punished by a fine of not exceeding $10,000 or by im-
17. prisonment for not exceeding two years or both. Failure to
18. appear for physical examination shall be punished by a
19. fine of not exceeding $1,000 or by imprisonment for not
20. more than four months, or both. Any person who know-
21. ingly makes or is a party to the making of any false state-
22. ment, false certificate, or false claim relating to—
The liability of any person or persons to service hereunder;

(b) The exception or exemption of any person or persons from service hereunder;

(c) The classification of any person or persons for service hereunder;

(d) The physical fitness of any person or persons for service hereunder; and any person who evades or attempts to evade or aids or abets another to evade service hereunder shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $10,000 or imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both. Any person who shall be appointed to fill any position provided in this Act or in the regulations made in pursuance hereof who shall willfully neglect or fail to perform the duties of his office, or who shall accept compensation contrary to or when not provided for by the provisions of this Act, or of such regulations, shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $10,000 or by imprisonment for not exceeding five years, or both. Any employer who shall discharge or discriminate against any employee by reason of his performance of any required military or naval training service shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding $1,000 or imprisonment for not exceeding four months, or both. Exclusive jurisdiction of offenses committed in violation of this Act and the regulations made in pursuance hereof shall be in the District
Courts of the United States, except that any person subject
to military law shall be tried by court-martial and suffer
such punishment as such court may direct.
SEC. 41. That in order to promote a military force to
meet national requirements pending the organization of the
Army Reserve provided for hereby, the President is hereby
authorized to maintain, for a period not exceeding two
years after the ratification and proclamation of a treaty of
peace terminating the present war, an Army of not to
exceed five thousand enlisted men, to be raised by voluntary enlist-
ment and to be organized as the President may direct. The
President is hereby further authorized to retain in active
service with their present or any other rank for the same
period, with their own consent, not to exceed five thousand Reserve
or temporary officers, and, in the event that a sufficient number of officers can not be obtained in this manner,
to appoint, for the same period or such part thereof as may
be necessary, such additional temporary officers as may be
required, in the manner prescribed by the Act of Congress
approved May 18, 1917.

SEC. 42. That the maximum peace strength of the Regular
Army of the United States, after the expiration of the
period of two years provided for by the next preceding section,
his hereby fixed at the maximum authorized by the National
Defense Act, approved June 3, 1916. The President is
hereby authorized to change the organization of the Regular
Army as now prescribed by law, to transfer officers and
enlisted men from any arm, department or corps to any
other arm, department or corps, as the interests of the serv-
vice may require, and to increase or decrease the number of
officers and enlisted men in any grade, arm, department or
corps: Provided, That the total cost for pay and allowances
shall not be greater than that of the maximum peace strength
of the Regular Army as authorized by said Act approved
June 3, 1916: And provided further, That no officer shall be
assigned to any command or duty until he shall have qualifi-
ced for such command or for the performance of such duty
under regulations to be prescribed: And provided further,
That no officer shall be separated from the service except as
otherwise provided by law.

Sec. 43. That all Acts and parts of Acts inconsistent
herewith are hereby repealed.

S. 2691—3
A BILL

S. 2691.

66th CONGRESS.

foreseen, and for mobilization of the avail of naval forces, under the jurisdiction of the
Emergency.
the nineteen hundred and make provision for the training and for mobilization of the
the Nineteenth Amendment (Art. 19). that the national defense. It is to be enacted as a

Approved May 13, 1917.

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the Nineteenth Amendment (Art. 19). that the national defense. It is to be enacted as a

Approved May 13, 1917.

Sec. 2. That the same may be done for the

It is hereby declared and provided that the

That the same may be done for the

the bill to be passed into law. The President is

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the Nineteenth Amendment (Art. 19). that the national defense. It is to be enacted as a

Approved May 13, 1917.
Dr. Harry Pratt Judson,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Dr. Judson:

The American Legion are preparing a bill for Universal Training. I believe it will be a sensible measure that we can all get back of. We are in touch with the situation and are making suggestions as to what the bill should contain, and when it is introduced and found satisfactory, I would like to flood the country with ten millions of circulars like the enclosed with such changes as will identify the bill and make the request specific.

We have three men in the field and I would like to put two more out but we are up against the question of funds. If this campaign can be carried through, it will do more to stabilize conditions, and insure democracy than any other single thing. We have a little money in sight, but we need $25,000 more. With that I am morally sure we can put this thing over. Without it there is a big question mark.

I am wondering whether Dr. Vincent of the Rockefeller Foundation, if he had the real conditions put before him, would not favor a contribution by the Foundation to carry on this work. I am advised they made a substantial contribution to another organization that had great enthusiasm and a fine opportunity, but got in bad and lost its influence.

Nine years of this work leads our people to believe that the League is still worth backing.

I wish you would let me know the best way to take this matter up and whether it would have your support if it were done. Some of our people will be glad to talk it over with you if there is anything to be gained by doing so.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

President.
WHY UNIVERSAL TRAINING
for
CITIZENSHIP, HEALTH AND NATIONAL
DEFENSE IS NEEDED

Because We Know
IT WILL build up our health and strength.
IT WILL unify our citizenship and wipe out the red flag.
IT WILL instill respect, courtesy and consideration for others.
IT WILL teach hygiene, care of the body and clean living.
IT WILL infuse a new patriotism and love of country.
IT WILL broaden the vision and clear the mentality.
IT WILL Americanize our diverse foreign element.
IT WILL produce higher types of citizens.
IT WILL, authorities say, reduce crime 50 per cent.
IT WILL bring understanding, tolerance and co-operation.
IT WILL practically double our man-power.
IT WILL promote industry and increase production.
IT WILL lengthen and strengthen life and add to efficiency.
IT WILL make us safe with a smaller standing army.
IT IS the only fair, square deal—equal opportunity and equal obligation.
IT TRAINS for service, but no service can be required except by act
of Congress in case of war.

We have the cantonments and equipment.
The country needs it.
The people are ready and the boys are eager for it.
Prompt action by Congress is necessary from every viewpoint.

Make the Cantonments Great National Training Schools Through
the Co-operation of the Drill Master and the School Master.

WHY NOT?

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE
HOWARD H. GROSS, President
FRANK G. LOGAN, Chairman Ex. Com.
JOHN J. MITCHELL, Treasurer
CHICAGO, ILL.
December 16, 1919

Dear Mr. Gross;

Dr. Harry Pratt Judson,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.

Yours of the 16th is at hand. I think it extremely unlikely that the Foundation would make an appropriation for the League. They have a bill for Universal Military Training and are making suggestions as to what the bill should contain, and are being asked whether they would like an appropriation toward Propaganda, and especially to support propaganda leading to legislation. The only procedure would be to write directly to Dr. Vincent and lay the matter before him.

I am wondering whether Dr. Vincent of the Rockefeller Foundation, if he had had no organization but before him, would not favor a contribution to this Foundation to carry on this work. I am advised they made a substantial contribution to another organization that had great enthusiasm and a fine opportunity, but got in bad and lost its influence.

Nineteen years of this work leads out people to believe that the League is still worth backing.

I wish you would let me know the best way to take this matter up and whether it would have your support if it were done. Some of our people will be glad to talk it over with you if there is anything to be gained by doing so.

Sincerely yours,

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

President.
WHY UNIVERSAL TRAINING
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CITIZENSHIP, HEALTH AND NATIONAL
DEFENSE IS NEEDED

Because We Know

IT WILL build up our health and stamina.
IT WILL unify our citizenship and wipe out the red flag.
IT WILL instill respect, courtesy and consideration for others.
IT WILL make the lazier and weaker fit for the body and clean living.
IT WILL infuse a new patriotism and love of country.
IT WILL make us better citizens in the community.
IT WILL Americanize our diverse foreign element.
IT WILL preserve the dignity of citizenship.
IT WILL, authorities say, reduce crime 50 per cent.
IT WILL bring understanding, tolerance and co-operation.
IT WILL promote industry and increase production.
IT WILL decentralize, and strengthen the community.
IT WILL make us safe with a smaller standing army.
IT IS the only fair, square deal, equal opportunity and rated obligation.
IT TAKES the A.M.A. for service, but no service can be required except by act of Congress in case of war.

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JOHN J. MITCHELL. Treasurer
CHICAGO, ILL.
Dr. Harry Pratt Judson,  
University of Chicago,  
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Sir:

I just returned from Washington where an extended conference was held between the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, the legislative committee of the American Legion, representatives of the National Guard, the Military Training Camps Association, the College Presidents' Association and the Universal Military Training League, going over the details of the bill for army re-organization and Universal Military and Vocational Training.

The period of training is four months with an option that may be exercised by the young man in training to remain for a further period of two months to continue his training and educational work. Those trained are not required to perform any military service whatever after training except in case of war when called out by an act of Congress. Those boys who were trained for the great world's war are exempt from further training. The training consists of the standard military training of the United States plus training in citizenship, health and elective short courses in agriculture, chemistry, mechanics, etc; the plan to be worked out and carried into effect by a committee of military experts and a like number of civilians representing the medical profession, education and the industries. It is a good bill. It is known as Senate Bill 3688 introduced by Senator Wadsworth January 9th. We must all get back of this bill and put it across and the most effective way to do that is to flood Washington with personal letters requesting action.

Mr. Victor F. Lawson, one of our directors and publisher of the Chicago Daily News, is writing 2500 original, personal letters to as many of his friends signing them himself - urging them to not only write their Members of Congress but to get some of their friends to do the same thing. This is being duplicated by Col. Henry M. Bylesby with 1200 letters and others of our organization are writing from 50 to 100 letters.

I am enclosing you herewith ten leaflets. Will you not do your part to help this campaign along? Write your Congressman and Senators yourself, urging support of this measure, and will you not write to ten of your friends in various parts of the country enclosing a leaflet and asking them to do the same thing and pass it along? We feel that our very civilization is at stake. Is there anything more important? Will you do this? Let me know, please. The outlook is good but we must work and work hard to get it through.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

president.
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UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE
HOWARD H. GROSS, President
FRANK G. LOGAN, Chairman Ex. Co.
JOHN J. MITCHELL, Treasurer
CHICAGO, ILL.
The Rotary Clubs of the Country Are Working With Us

VERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

SUITE 1322 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG., CHICAGO

TELEPHONE CENTRAL 6039

January 19, 1920

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
FRANK E. LOGAN, CHAIRMAN
CLARENCE E. PORK, VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM WRIGHT, JR.
CHARLES O. CURTIS
HENRY W. MILLER
WM. H. CHILD
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WILLIAM W. WRIGHT
WM. H. CHILD
HOWARD M. GROSS

Howard H. Gross
President

John J. Mitchell
Treasurer

Dear Mr. Gross:

Dr. Harry Pratt Jud, in your favor of the 13th came while I was out of town last week. I was out of Chicago, Illinois, for the city. I will write to members of Congress.

My dear Sir, myself, but confess that I am not in sympathy with the chain letter problems Committee of the Senate, the legislative committee of the American Legion, the National Guard, the Military Training Camps Association, the College Presidents’ Association and the Universal Military Training League, going over the details of the bill for army re-organization and Universal Military and Vocational Training.

The period of Mr. H. M. Cross, a month or two, with an option that may be exercised by the young 1322 First National Bank Bldg. for a further period of two months to continue his higher and educational work. Those trained are not required to perform any military service whatever after training except in case of war when called out by an act of Congress. Those boys who were trained for the great world’s war are exempt from further training. The training consists of the standard military training of the United States plus training in citizenship, health and elective short courses in agriculture, chemistry, mechanics, etc.; the plan to be worked out and carried into effect by a committee of military experts and a like number of civilians representing the medical profession, education and the industries. It is a good bill. It is known as Senate Bill 5689 introduced by Senator Widaworth January 9th. We must all get back of this bill and put it across and the most effective way to do that is to flood Washington with personal letters requesting action.

Mr. Victor F. Lawson, one of our directors and publisher of the Chicago Daily News, is writing 2500 original, personal letters to as many of his friends signing them himself — urging them to not only write their Members of Congress but to get some of their friends to do the same thing. This is being duplicated by Col. Henry M. Elylesby with 1200 letters and others of our organization are writing from 50 to 100 letters.

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President.
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UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

HOwARD H. GROSS, President
FRANK G. LOGAN, Chairman Ex. Gen.
JOHN J. MITCHELL, Treasurer

CHICAGO, ILL.
March 24, 1920

Pres. Harry Pratt Judson,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear President:

I am preparing a brief Handbook on Universal Military Training and in one chapter I want to include endorsements from a number of distinguished Americans.

Knowing how heartily you are in favor of this policy I feel the less hesitation in asking you to take time to dictate a brief paragraph, which I may include.

Thanking you for your kindly consideration,

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Educational Secretary
Dear Mr. James:

Your favor of the 26th

I believe that universal military service is important not merely for national defense but a matter not merely of emergency but a matter of principle.

Love,

[Signature]
March 26, 1920

Dear Mr. James:

Your favor of the 24th instant is received. I believe that universal military training is extremely important not merely for national defense, but for national intelligence. Loyalty to the nation should be a matter not merely of emotion but of understanding.

Very truly yours,

Mr. George F. James,
210 Mallers Bldg.
Chicago, Ill.

HPJ:JN
May 30, 1930

Dear Mr. James:

Your letter of the 28th instant is received.

I believe that every possible assistance should be given to the "General Intelligence" party to see that they have a majority of votes. This is not merely a matter of principle, it is of vital importance to the nation at this time.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Mr. George E. James
310 Wabash Place
Ottawa, Ill.
Dr. Harry Pratt Judson,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Sir:

The suggestion has been made that we change the name of our organization by dropping the word "Military" and substituting "Citizenship" therefor. The new name would be "Universal Citizenship Training League," or some modification of it.

There is widespread prejudice against the words "Military Training." Many regard them as equivalent to militarism or Prussianism. Because there is no substantial ground for this prejudice does not alter the fact.

The change of name would not change, but would enlarge, the purpose of the League. The new name would be more comprehensive.

So far Directors Logan, Dawson, Mathews, McCormick, Patterson, Byllesby, Perry and Keefe favor the change. As yet no one has opposed it. After full consideration, the writer recommends that the change be made. Will you let me know, please, your opinion as to the advisability of doing this, and reply at once?

Very truly yours,

P.S. - Those of us who have kept in close touch with the situation believe there is an excellent chance of getting the enactment we want at the next session of Congress.
May 18, 1920

Dear Mr. Gross:

Your favor of the 11th instant is received.

I confess that the suggestion in question does not appeal to me. It seems like an attempt to conceal the main purpose for which the League was formed. It is an attempt which will not succeed because everybody knows that the League was founded to provide for military training. The other name simply dissipates the whole thing into the air.

Very truly yours,

Mr. H. H. Gross,
Universal Military Training League,
1322 First National Bank Bldg.
Chicago.

HPJ: JN
May 18, 1930

Dear Mr. Green,

Upon receipt of the five thousand dollars you have requested,
I assure you that the reception in question goes not unappreciated.
It seems to me that it seems like a natural course to consider the main
purpose for which the passage was composed. It is an attempt
which will not succeed because everybody knows that the
reception was intended to bring to this million-dollar financial
plan some simple illustrations of the whole scheme into the art.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Mr. H. Green,

University Military Training camp
1555 Lake University Park Drive
Opiceco.
Dr. Harry Pratt Judson,
University of Chicago,
C h i c a g o.

My dear Dr. Judson:

Yours of the 13th came after my departure for a ten days’ trip to Arizona. I returned this morning and find a number of letters dealing with the matter of the proposed name of the League.

I do not quite agree with you, nor do the others from whom I have heard, that changing the name is not advisable. We shall make no attempt, so far as I am concerned, to minimize Universal Military Training. The original thought was the preparation of young men to be soldiers. Before proceeding far, I came to the conclusion that the important thing was to train young men for citizenship, which includes training for the defense of the country, and to show them that it was quite as necessary to live for one’s country by day, to meet the duties and responsibilities, as it was to be prepared to defend the country with one’s life.

We are endeavoring to broaden the scope of the work, including vocational and citizenship training and to use the more comprehensive term "Citizenship Training," instead of "Military Training," for the very good reason that the term "Military Training" is misunderstood by the great mass of the people, who regard this as the beginning of a great military establishment, the logical effect of which would be to Prussianize the country and establish militarism of a dangerous type; notwithstanding there are no substantial grounds for this apprehension. We believe the elimination of the word "Military" will remove a lot of objection that we find to the general proposition.

A leading labor man said to me: "Take out the word 'Military,' call it 'Training for Preparedness and National Defense,' or anything else, but the word 'Military' is like a red rag to a bull to a very large percentage of our citizens." We have heard from about 25 of our friends and all but two are satisfied to have the change made, and I believe if you consider it
The Hiram Clarke, a Foreman at the Wabash Railroad.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEADER

SOUTHERN DISTRICT NATIONAL BANK, W. C., ILLINOIS

Telegram of August 20, 1930.

Mr. Hiram Clarke,

Engineer of Chicago.

I am at the 15th mile after my departure.

For a few minutes I had to stop to attend to the engine of the train.

I am glad to know that you are in good health and your family is well.

I hope to return home to the engine.

I want to express my appreciation for your kind letter.

I hope to return as soon as possible.

Respectfully,

J. M. McCallister

Assistant Engineer.
from the viewpoint of expediency, you will find less objection to it.

Sincerely yours,

President.
Dear Mr. Gross:

May 27, 1920.

Yours of the 27th is received. I note your suggestion on the matter but confess that I should wish to give it careful consideration.

Very truly yours,

My dear Dr. Judson:

Yours of the 13th came after my departure for a ten days' trip to Arizona. I returned this morning and find a number of letters dealing with the matter of the proposal.

Mr. H. H. Gross,
1322, First National Bank Bldg.
Chicago.

We are quite unanimous here, nor do the others from whom I have heard, that changing the name is not advisable. We shall make no attempt, so far as I am concerned, to minimize Universal Military Training. The original thought was the preparation of young men to be soldiers. Before proceeding far, I came to the conclusion that the important thing was to train men for citizenship, which includes training for the defense of the country, and to show them that it was quite as necessary to live for one's country day by day, to meet the duties and responsibilities, as it was to be prepared to defend the country with one's life.

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May 9th, 1930

Dear Mr. Green:

You are at the very top of my list of persons to whom I am going to send my congratulations on the occasion of your birthday. I am going to write to him, and I am going to write to you, and I am going to write to all of you who are on my list.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Mr. H. E. Green.

1355 Park Avenue

Chicago.