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*Investigation of Starvation
Conditions in Europe*
and
*The Report of the Emergency
Economic Committee for Europe*

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Speeches of
Hon. Kenneth S. Wherry
of Nebraska
in the
Senate of the United States
January 29, February 1 and 7, 1946

*Not printed
at Government
expense*

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1946

SPEECHES

OF

HON. KENNETH S. WHERRY

January 29, 1946

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit a concurrent resolution sponsored jointly by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILLIS], and myself; and I extend to all other Members of the Senate an invitation to add their names as co-sponsors of the resolution.

I now ask unanimous consent that the resolution be read.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Con. Res. 51) was received, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and read, as follows:

Whereas reports reaching the United States from both Europe and Asia now indicate that the policies of the victor powers are subjecting millions to mass starvation; and

Whereas the United States has been a party to the commitments and agreements reached among the victor powers which have led to these conditions; and

Whereas the Congress has been bypassed and the American people have been ignored in the formulation and implementation of these policies; and

Whereas it is essential that the Congress of the United States should obtain the necessary information to enact legislation and to request the President to take executive action designed to eliminate the starvation conditions resulting from the policies for

which this Government is directly responsible: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That a joint congressional group to be composed of six Members of the Senate (three from the majority party and three from the minority parties) appointed by the President of the Senate and six Members of the House of Representatives (three from the majority party and three from the minority parties) appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives is authorized and directed to make an official visit to Germany and such other places in Europe as may be necessary for the purpose of enabling it to make studies and obtain information with respect to existing conditions in Germany and action which may be taken by the President or the Congress to improve such conditions. The joint congressional group shall make a report to the Congress at the earliest practicable date but not later than 1 month after the adoption of this resolution with respect to such conditions and its recommendations for legislative or other action designed to improve such conditions. For the purpose of this resolution, the joint congressional group is authorized to employ and pay the expenses of such experts, and such clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, to sit and act, to hold such hearings, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, and to make such expenditures, at such times and places within or outside the United States, as it deems advisable. The expenses incurred under this resolution shall not exceed \$25,000, and shall be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the group.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I think a word of explanation should be made of the resolution which has just been

read at the desk. The resolution is really self-explanatory, but I wish to say that I feel that no proposed legislation now pending before any committee of the Senate should receive more prompt or immediate attention than this resolution should receive at the hands of the committee to which it has been referred and from the Members of the Senate of the United States. Because of the business pending before the Senate and particularly because of the part I have played in attempting to bring the pending measure before the Senate, it is with some hesitation that I have arisen this afternoon to take a few minutes to explain the resolution. Yet I feel that the subject of the resolution is important, and that I should at least explain what is attempted to be done by means of the resolution. I hope the Members of the Senate will agree with me that after the resolution has been considered by the Foreign Relations Committee and has been reported to the Senate, it should be promptly approved by the Senate.

I repeat that I should be glad to have any Member of the Senate who cares to do so sign the resolution as co-sponsor. The resolution is at the desk.

Mr. President, much has been said, and little has been done relative to opening the mails to Germany, and providing sufficient food to prevent mass starvation in Germany, Austria, Italy, and other countries of Europe. Terrifying reports are filtering through the British, French and American occupied zones, and even more gruesome reports from the Russian occupied zone, revealing a horrifying picture of deliberate and wholesale starvation.

The administration, and the personal advisors and investigators of the Presi-

dent, concur in the judgment, that a major tragedy is rapidly developing in Europe. But in answer to a rising chorus of pleas for intercession and action, the administration has excused its "do nothing" policy on the following grounds:

A. The President told me that UNRRA was doing the job. But I am assured by Government authorities that UNRRA is feeding only the displaced persons in Germany and Austria. Governor Lehman has recently admitted that, with all the billions of dollars we have appropriated for UNRRA, mass starvation cannot be averted this winter in Europe.

B. Time and again the administration has advanced the excuse that transportation facilities were lacking, but for months scores of ships have been lying idle in both eastern and European ports. So it is not a question of the lack of ships.

Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of GI's in Europe are apparently sentenced to enforced idleness for want of something to do. Millions of dollars' worth of surplus trucks and jeeps are falling apart in their open-air garages in Europe.

Such trucks and jeeps assure adequate transportation if the administration would only give the word.

C. The argument has been advanced that we have reached the capacity of our ability to help, but the truth is that there are thousands upon thousands of tons of military rations in our surplus stock piles that have been spoiling right in the midst of starving populations.

D. The administration has attempted to justify its deliberate starvation policy in Germany by asserting:

First. That Germany's standard of living must be kept this first winter be-

low the standard of living of every other Allied country in Europe.

Second. That the United States has solemnly pledged herself not to move a man, or an ounce of food, or medicine, or clothing without the specific consent of our alleged peace-loving allies.

Mr. President, I submit that these last two excuses serve only to darken the horror of the over-all picture in Europe. If Germany has been deliberately starved, merely to keep her standard of living below that of other European countries, the whole European situation must have by now become a frightful nightmare.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator referred to UNRRA. Is the Senator discussing the plight of the displaced people in Germany or of the German nationals?

Mr. WHERRY. I may say to the distinguished Senator from Georgia that I am discussing the plight of the German nationals who live not only in the zone occupied by our military forces, but also in the zones occupied by the military forces of our allies. I did not, however, mention UNRRA because, as I was told by the President of the United States, UNRRA has been feeding the German nationals in the occupied zones.

I may say further that I have been reliably informed—and I thought I knew, because I was in Europe for a while—that if UNRRA is feeding anyone it is not the German nationals in the occupied zones.

Mr. RUSSELL. I happened to be present at a meeting of the Appropriations

Committee when Governor Lehman, the head of UNRRA, appeared before the committee and stated that it would be illegal for UNRRA to give as much as one crumb to any one of the German nationals.

Mr. WHERRY. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Governor Lehman said that he would be allowed to feed displaced persons in Germany, but it would be contrary to the constitution of UNRRA and contrary to law to extend any aid at all to German nationals.

Mr. WHERRY. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Inasmuch as the head of UNRRA was advocating large expenditures of the funds of UNRRA in order to provide for Italian nationals, Italy having been one of our enemies, as was Germany, in the recent great war, I asked him why it was that he could take care of the needs of sick persons, babies, and mothers in Italy but was powerless to do so in respect to the people in Germany. He, or at least one of the representatives of UNRRA, stated that it was because the council of UNRRA had adopted a resolution to the effect that UNRRA would extend aid to Italy, a country which, as I recall, declared war on us on the same day that Germany declared war on us, but that it was utterly powerless to render any aid to the German nationals.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the distinguished Senator from Georgia for his contribution. I may say that I happen to be a member of the Appropriations Committee. I heard the statement to which the Senator has referred. It was difficult for me to understand why we were feeding through UNRRA people in Italy, Italy having been an enemy of ours

during the early period of the war, and at the same time denying aid to the women and children of Germany who were starving by the thousands.

One of the reasons why I wish to bring this matter before the attention of the Senate is that somehow or other the people of this country have the idea that UNRRA is feeding German nationals. Not all of them believe so, but I have received many letters to the effect that the writers of the letters felt that the German nationals were being fed, and urging that Congress vote additional appropriations in order that UNRRA may continue to take care of the situation. However, UNRRA is not feeding German nationals. UNRRA does not reach them. I appeal to the Senate to vote for an increase in the calories to be given the people of Europe. Moreover, I may say that there are thousands of Americans who wish to send food and clothing to German nationals in the occupied zone, but have been denied the right of doing so because the mails have not been opened up even though the war terminated many months ago.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. When Governor Lehman was present before the committee he told us that under the United Nations Organization UNRRA was not permitted to give anything to the German people.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I am informed that to some extent the British are furnishing aid, but I do not know to what extent.

Mr. WHERRY. The British have broadened their policy, and they are now feeding in their own zone—at least I have been so informed—some of the persons about whom we are speaking. But I believe that once and for all the American people should understand distinctly that UNRRA is not feeding German nationals within the American occupied zone, and that it is not being done because of the basis upon which UNRRA was founded.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, assuming that the international relief organization known as UNRRA has taken the unusual position which has been indicated through its Council, and is feeding one of our late enemies while denying food to the other who was no greater an enemy, and both of whom had to be conquered—assuming that such an incongruous situation exists, is there still any reason why this Government cannot, through its military occupation forces, take care of those who are actually starving in any area over which our occupation forces have jurisdiction?

Mr. WHERRY. There is no reason of which I know why the American military forces in the occupied zone cannot distribute food, providing that to do so would be in keeping with the policies of the administration. That would be my answer to the Senator from Oregon. But UNRRA, of course, could not do that unless some directive were issued or some action were taken by Congress to permit the legal feeding of German nationals through UNRRA agencies.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I merely wish to say to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska that it is not the policy of this Government to feed German nationals at the present time. I have just sent to my office, after hearing the Senator's preliminary remarks, for a letter from President Truman to me in response to a very definite appeal I made to him to help keep the women, babies, and children and the old men and women of Germany from starving. I have the President's letter, and I have a letter also, for which I have sent, from Mr. Brunot, who has charge of American relief, and both the President and Mr. Brunot tell me the same thing, that we cannot feed the nationals of Germany or of other countries which were opposed to us in the war, and that it would not be compatible to do so under the conditions and in view of the requirements and the available food-stuffs.

I think I had better let the letters speak for themselves, but the general tenor of them—and that is what the Senator is looking for—is that the policy of the United States today is not to feed German nationals, and certainly if it is the policy of the President of the United States, and those in authority in these important organizations, it must be the policy of the Army.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I wish to thank the distinguished Senator from New Jersey, and if he would like to have the letters in the RECORD, I should be glad to have them placed in the RECORD.

I yield now to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. I cannot agree with what has just been said, because under international law it is the duty of occupying armies to assume responsibility for the feeding of the nationals in the occupied areas. I happen to know that we have been feeding the Austrians in the occupied area of Austria, because only a month or so ago we had a general before us who had been in charge of it.

In his recent message the President said that \$600,000,000 of the money requested for the Army was for the purpose of feeding the populations of occupied areas. So I think there must be some misunderstanding about the duties assumed. I think there must be some action on our part, which is being taken.

Mr. WHERRY. I wish to thank the distinguished Senator from Ohio for his remarks. The desirability of what I am seeking to have brought about by the Senate is proved by the fact that there are so many conflicting reports. What I should like to see is a visit to Europe by a nonpartisan committee of the Senate and the House, to make an investigation on the ground, and ascertain what is going on and what is needed. That is the purpose of the resolution.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. EASTLAND. The Senator from Ohio stated that we were feeding German nationals in the zone occupied by the American Army. That is true in a sense, but we attempt to maintain a diet of only 1,550 calories a day, which is a starvation diet, and because of which thousands of people will starve to death.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator from Mississippi. I shall make a state-

ment later in my remarks as to the feeding and the calories, and I think the facts will be brought out clearly.

Mr. EASTLAND. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. EASTLAND. I may say further that Mr. Morgenthau, who is a leader in a program which I think is aimed at the destruction of the German people, even takes the position that the women and children of Germany should be fed, and be fed by us. I cannot understand the policy of our Government which would permit widespread starvation and malnutrition in Germany.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield to the distinguished Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I read a news item in the press last week in which the statement was made that we had sent to Germany 600,000 tons of food. Does the Senator know anything about that?

Mr. WHERRY. I am not informed about that statement. A published report came out, which I shall mention in my remarks, which showed that some provision for clothing for aged people, some additional supplies for women, and for children under the age of 10, had been made. To my knowledge I have not seen the article referred to by the Senator from South Dakota.

This situation in Europe, Mr. President, means a terrible burden and responsibility has been placed squarely on our shoulders for the very policies which this Government has pursued since the war ended. England cannot feed Europe. She can barely keep herself alive. France

has just been compelled to cut her own bread ration. Italy is starving to death. In Russia, from twenty-five to fifty million people are starving. The Russian Army in central and eastern Europe is compelled to forage off the land for its subsistence, if reports coming to us are true. The worst drought in 50 years has cut Europe's indigenous food supplies in half. All Europe now turns to America for help. Certainly the least we can do is open up the mails and let the people of this country, who would like to extend charity to the peoples of Europe, be permitted to do so. That can be done without expense to the Government at least for the purchase of the food and the clothing.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I have been looking into a number of phases of this matter, and I am told that at the present time there is a committee representing many charitable organizations in this country which is conducting an investigation in Europe, with the end object, if it can be accomplished, of allowing the religious and philanthropical and other organizations in this country to channel through some kind of organization into Germany and other countries of Europe the relief which may be donated, and to see that it is fairly distributed over there. It strikes me as a shocking thing, if the food is available, and we can take care of those who fought with us, and then pursue the very policy of starvation for which we condemn this conquered enemy. We do not have to ape our enemy to complete his long term defeat.

Mr. WHERRY. I am in total agreement with the distinguished Senator from Colorado. I think he has given the whole message in just one sentence, and I appreciate it very much.

I should like to say, in response to the statement about the organizations which have gone to Europe, and are being sent there, that this has taken place over a period of months. Some are over there and some are going. The fact is that while they are making investigation, conflicting reports are coming back, and I feel that the time has arrived when the Congress of the United States—because it is its responsibility—should have a non-partisan committee go to Europe and make an investigation on the ground, and report, so that the Senate can determine what is needed and take appropriate action.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield again.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I should like to emphasize the very thing the Senator is saying. I have conveyed to interested people of my State the information about the calories that are supposed to be given to the people of the occupied countries. My mail is a series of affirmations and denials. At this moment I cannot make up my mind whether we are maintaining those people over there on a maintenance diet or on a starvation diet, because the evidence is so conflicting.

Mr. WHERRY. What the Senator has said I know to be true of most of the Senators who are receiving mail on this subject.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. EASTLAND. We have tried and condemned to death Germans for committing atrocities, some of which involved starvation. I think we justly did that. Does not the Senator think we are guilty of an atrocity ourselves when we permit mass starvation, or when we permit the starvation of our conquered enemy?

Mr. WHERRY. Certainly; and I thank the Senator for his question.

In presenting this resolution, Mr. President, I have in mind a congressional commission which went to Europe to investigate political prisoner camps in Germany, and other congressional committees which have gone to Europe, one of them including the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND] who made a thorough investigation of the subject which the congressional commission of which he was a member was charged to investigate.

Mr. President, I have one particular committee in mind. It will be remembered that on April 22, 1945, conflicting stories were coming through of the atrocities which had been and were being committed. Some said they were being practiced against our own men. I think one of the greatest things General Eisenhower did was to send a request to the President to see to it that an impartial congressional committee went to Europe to investigate atrocities which were alleged to have been committed.

With the 11 other members of that committee I inspected the atrocity camps in Europe. We visited Buchenwald, we visited Dachau, we visited Camp Dora. We went on the ground and made a personal investigation and brought back a report. I need not repeat what has

been said on so many other occasions, of the horror and revulsion experienced as we viewed the scenes of human degradation and bestiality. The report drawn up by the committee under the chairmanship of the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] unanimously recommended the trial and punishment of everyone directly responsible for these crimes.

This report was not only unanimously offered, it was unanimously received by the Congress and the American people.

I think that committee rendered a real service, not only to the Congress but to General Eisenhower, the President, and to the American people, by the information it brought back.

I never dreamed that I would see the day when my own Government—as has been done this afternoon—would be accused of similar crimes against humanity. I never dreamed of such a thing.

For long months now a rising torrent of incriminating evidence and data has been pouring into America which marks this administration as the party responsible for directives and policies which have brought a world catastrophe hard upon us.

The terrifying truth is that if this evidence even approximates the truth, the American people have been made accomplices in the crime of mass starvation. The American conscience, when aroused by the full knowledge of the facts, cannot and will not rest until it compels our elected servants, from the President down, to redeem this country's honor through a complete reinterpretation of American principles, both in policy and in practice. The heart of America, whatever else this administration

and its inner circle of advisers may think, is not rotten.

II. THE RECORD

Has not the President been sufficiently warned of the terrible mistakes involved in the policies he was and is pursuing? As far back as 1942 a bitter rivalry between Mr. Morgenthau's henchmen in the Treasury Department and representatives in the War and State Departments ought to have been sufficient warning to the President there was something wrong with Mr. Morgenthau's grossly inaccurate and savage plan for the pastoralization of Germany.

Surely the knowledge that Mr. Morgenthau finally won his battle in March 1945 and forced the incorporation of his plan into the now infamous document C. J. S. 1067, despite the repeated warnings and violent opposition of Mr. Stimson and of many high officials in the State Department, was available to President Truman. This knowledge ought to have prepared him for at least the possibility of the break-down of the Morgenthau plan. At least, such violent opposition ought to have compelled the creation of adequate safeguards should the Morgenthau plan collapse.

Furthermore, President Truman failed at Potsdam to win British and Russian acceptance of the Morgenthau plan as a basis of a unified policy for the whole of Germany. That is most significant. But in the face of this he went ahead even though he was warned time and time again by expert authorities and advisors of the utter impracticability and absurdity of the Morgenthau plan.

A. CRITICISMS OF THE POLICIES

Last September a group of American economists under the direction of Mr.

Calvin Hoover made a detailed analysis of the potential effect of Mr. Morgenthau's directives on the German people. This report was delivered to Brig. Gen. Lucius Clay during last September and has not yet been released to the American people. I have read that report, and while I am still prohibited from giving its findings to the American people, it is within the bounds of propriety for me here to assert that these findings would frighten anyone, even the President, into a realization of the consequences that were sure to follow.

On October 28 Prime Minister Ernest Bevin stirred the House of Parliament in one of the most moving debates ever there recorded. In the midst of the savage destruction wrought by V-bombs in the heart of a nation which for 5 years had sacrificed, suffered, and died to repel and finally to conquer a ruthless enemy, Mr. Bevin pleaded in the name of humanity for Russia and America to change their policies and their practices and to minister immediately to the staggering human needs in Germany. Said Mr. Bevin, in speaking of this spectacle of human misery which he had just gazed upon personally:

As I watched I felt, my God, that is the price of man's stupidity and war. It was the most awful sight you could possibly see.

On November 12 Gen. Bernard L. Montgomery in charge of the British zone repeated his warning of October 2, namely, that:

I am not prepared to see widespread famine and disease spread through Europe as it will if we permit hundreds of thousands of Germans to die.

General Montgomery warned the whole world:

It is impossible to estimate what will be the effect of the shortage of food and fuel under the rigorous conditions of the central European winter.

On November 12 Felix Morley and Frank Hanighen revealed in Human Events a few of the terrifying facts and figures that had been compiled by American economic experts, who in their report stated that less than 50 percent of Germany is now self-sufficient and imports of food are negligible. The report states:

In short, Germans and other inhabitants of occupied zones will take to banditry in order to obtain food. General Eisenhower's warning on this subject was designed to relieve the Army of responsibility for the results of Potsdam and the Morgenthau plan.

In the same week a report on Germany signed by all 18 members of a House committee, which had visited Europe under the chairmanship of Representative COLMER, Democrat of Mississippi, contained the following ultimatum to the President:

If a hard peace requires the elimination of 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 Germans, it would be much more humane to eliminate them at once. The committee cannot refrain from asking the simple question, "What incentive under this plan exists for Germany to turn to democratic ways?"

Mr. President, I agree with that statement. Some Senators, including myself, who witnessed starvation conditions in Europe, so devastating in their effect that we saw adult human beings who did not weigh even 60 pounds, have some idea of the results of the long days of suffering people go through over there now.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I have in my hand a copy of an article published in the New York Times of November 18. The article was written by Mr. Sulzberger, manager of the New York Times, on the basis of a dispatch from Europe. With the Senator's permission I should like to read a portion of the dispatch.

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I read:

Europe faces one of its bleakest winters since the chaos of the Thirty Years' War. More than 20,000,000 homeless and desperate persons are now milling east and west, north and south across the Continent.

Germans, Poles, and Czechs pour into the devastated Reich to escape the slavery of the Russians in the occupied section of Germany. Hungarians trudge into the Pannonian Plain. Hundreds and hundreds of thousands of former Nazi slaves crowd into freight cars and trucks and rusty ships on uncertain voyages to their uneasy homes. The Apocalyptic Horsemen are once again trampling Europe whose vital energies alone have saved it time and again from their deadly hoofprints.

I quote further from the same dispatch:

The freedom for which so many nations fought is far from evident. Dictatorships succeed dictatorship. In great areas faith has disappeared but nothing new arises to fill the vacuum.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the distinguished Senator from Minnesota for his contribution.

I continue with the record of policy. I am going through the record of policy.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I have sent for the letter from President Truman to me, which is dated December 21, 1945, and I

am going to ask unanimous consent to have the letter in its entirety printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, because I believe it belongs there. I wish to show Senators that the statement I made a few moments ago is absolutely correct, by reading the last two paragraphs of the letter:

While we have no desire to be unduly cruel to Germany—

The use of the word "unduly" would leave the impression that we might be a little cruel; how cruel it does not say—I cannot feel any great sympathy for those who caused the death of so many human beings by starvation, disease, and outright murder, in addition to all the regular destruction and death of war.

I should like to interject there on my own behalf that no right-thinking American can feel any great sympathy for those who caused starvation, disease, and outright murder. But there are millions of people in Germany who had no more to do with what Hitler did than I have had to do with what the New Deal has done in the United States of America.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I should like to suggest to the senior Senator from New Jersey that it is not a question of having sympathy with the Germans; it is a question of having sympathy with our own civilized principles.

Mr. HAWKES. And with humanity. I proceed with the reading:

Perhaps eventually a decent government can be established in Germany so that Germany can again take its place in the family of nations. I think that in the meantime no one should be called upon to pay for

Germany's misfortunes except Germany itself.

Until the misfortunes of those whom Germany oppressed and tortured are obliterated, it does not seem right to divert our efforts to Germany itself. I admit that there are, of course, many innocent people in Germany who had little to do with Nazi terror. However, the administrative burden of trying to locate those people and treat them differently from the rest is one which is almost insuperable.

I leave it to the Senate whether that substantiates what I said earlier in my remarks.

Mr. President, I ask that the letter from the President may be printed in full at this point.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, December 21, 1945.

HON. ALBERT W. HAWKES,

The United States Senate,

Washington.

DEAR SENATOR HAWKES: Thank you for your letter of December 14.

I am sure you understand that the postal system and the communication and transportation systems of Germany are in the state of total collapse. It has so far been impossible to set up any general integrated postal system for the whole of Germany.

While the situation in this respect in the American zone is better than in other zones, there is as yet no possibility of making deliveries of individual packages in Germany. No date has been set as to when the controlling Allied authorities will be able to permit the resumption of mail service to Germany.

Our efforts have been directed particularly toward taking care of those who fought with us rather than against us—Norwegians, Bel-

gians, the Dutch, the Greeks, the Poles, the French. Eventually the enemy countries will be given some attention.

While we have no desire to be unduly cruel to Germany, I cannot feel any great sympathy for those who caused the death of so many human beings by starvation, disease, and outright murder, in addition to all the regular destruction and death of war. Perhaps eventually a decent government can be established in Germany so that Germany can again take its place in the family of nations. I think that in the meantime no one should be called upon to pay for Germany's misfortunes except Germany itself.

Until the misfortunes of those whom Germany oppressed and tortured are obliterated, it does not seem right to divert our efforts to Germany itself. I admit that there are, of course, many innocent people in Germany who had little to do with Nazi terror. However, the administrative burden of trying to locate those people and treat them differently from the rest is one which is almost insuperable.

Very sincerely,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this place in the RECORD, with the consent of the Senator from Nebraska, a letter dated December 18, 1945, from James Brunot, Executive Director, the President's War Relief Control Board, Washington.

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

MY DEAR SENATOR HAWKES: I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of December 14.

I should make clear the fact that the question of opening the mails to Central Europe for letters and parcels is one with which this office has no direct concern.

The aspect of the German relief situation which is within our responsibility is that involving the solicitation of contributions for German relief by private relief agencies. On this aspect of the question there are several developments about which you may have been informed.

On December 5 the Department of State forwarded the following statement to us:

"The Department of State has recently reconsidered its policy with respect to private relief activity on behalf of German civilians and is now prepared, in principle, to approve such activities provided United States military authorities in Germany find it possible to make available the facilities necessary to the reception and distribution of relief supplies collected in the United States and shipped to Germany. If United States military authorities in Germany inform us that such arrangements can be made, the President's War Relief Control Board will presumably be able to entertain applications from private relief agencies in this country to engage in this type of relief activity."

At a meeting in the Department of State on December 6 with representatives of the War Department as well as this Board, it was agreed that a delegation representing the American relief agencies interested in Germany would be permitted to go immediately to the American zone to explore and plan relief services in coordination with military government and indigenous agencies in Germany. The relief agencies concerned, which include most of the church-sponsored war relief organizations registered with this Board, have nominated a delegation of three persons to be joined in Germany by four others who already are there working with displaced persons. It is our understanding that the Department of State and the War Department expect this delegation to go forward immediately.

Meanwhile, a legal question has been raised as to the status of relief activities in Germany under the terms of the Trading With

the Enemy Act. The President's War Relief Control Board has requested an opinion from the Attorney General as to the propriety of authorizing relief activities for Germany in view of the provisions of that statute.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES BRUNOT,
Executive Director.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, I call attention to the fact that what they are trying to do there is to see to it that opportunity is afforded Americans of German extraction in this country to collect funds and clothing and food and medicine, and then be permitted to send the money and other articles over there to relieve their families, relatives, and friends in Germany.

He goes on to say that the question whether these things can be sent to Germany is being reconsidered. He concludes the letter by saying:

Meanwhile, a legal question has been raised as to the status of relief activities in Germany under the terms of the Trading With the Enemy Act. The President's War Relief Control Board has requested an opinion from the Attorney General as to the propriety of authorizing relief activities for Germany in view of the provisions of that statute.

This question is being discussed all over the United States, while in Germany children, old men, and women are dying of starvation and being buried. What good will it do for the Attorney General to give an opinion next August on whether we can feed these people in the month of January 1946? That is what the distinguished Senator is talking about.

Mr. WHERRY. That is correct.

Mr. HAWKES. I say now, as I said in the Senate 60 days ago when I wrote these letters, that if we do not do the humane, decent thing which lies within

our power, there will be a stigma and blemish on our national escutcheon for all time.

Mr. WHERRY. That is correct.

Mr. HAWKES. I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the distinguished Senator from New Jersey for bringing these arguments to the attention of Members of the Senate, and for the contribution which he has made personally relative to his feelings in the matter.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. As to the legal inquiry which is being made, I suggest that the distinguished senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. TART] announced the controlling doctrine. When we go into occupation in a country we become a trustee for maintaining the human decencies of occupation, and that overrides every technicality.

Mr. HAWKES. Otherwise there would be no objective in decent people going into the territory of another nation.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Under what theory can we set ourselves up as competent to control others if we are not willing to see that they can secure enough food upon which to live?

Mr. HAWKES. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. MILLIKIN. The converse is that we become efficient occupiers in the degree that we become efficient starvationists.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

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Mr. HAWKES. I agree with the distinguished Senator from Colorado. I should like to make this comment: As the Senator from Nebraska knows, I flew across the ocean and spent approximately 29 days going through war territories in France, Germany, Italy, Greece, and other countries. The best information I could obtain from the generals in command over there was that at that particular time for the feeding of Germans they had reduced the number of calories per person to 750 a day. No one can live on that kind of a diet anywhere in the world. While we were there it was changed to 950 calories a day.

We in the Senate talk as though we were giving the Germans this food. We took the food they had, and we limited them in the use of the food they had. If they had a surplus of a certain food, we took it, and, of course, our Army in turn replaced it with something else. I take it that what the Senator is talking about is what I am thinking about. What are we going to add to the whole picture in trying to save humanity and save our own reputation?

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator indulge me once more?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I realize that a difficult problem is involved. Perhaps there is a limited amount of food which must be spread over many places, including our own Allied countries. I would not for one moment say that we should reduce our own allies to a starvation basis in order to lift a former enemy beyond that basis. I believe that that should be said to keep the matter in proper perspective. It may be that

we shall have to get more food. It may be that we shall have to have a special campaign to increase the over-all amount of food available for the whole purpose. But wherever we have our hand we should exercise a just and decent control, and bring our policies into agreement with the humane sentiments which have always characterized this country.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment, so that I may not be misunderstood?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I am thoroughly in accord with everything the Senator says. All I have in my mind and heart is that we should do the things we can do without depriving ourselves of too much, and without inflicting any wrong on our allies. We should do what we can well, and do it on time, because time is of the essence of everything.

I wish to make one further observation. I have previously made this statement in the Senate. I could be bitter. My only son is buried at Milne Bay in New Guinea, and I am helping to rear his two little children. I could be bitter. No one can accuse me of not hating the leaders of the German people. No one can accuse me of not wanting them to have the punishment which is justly theirs. I am trying to be human, and I am trying not to carry through to the wrong person any vengeance or bitterness.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I know how the Senator from New Jersey feels about our relationship to the countries which we have engaged as enemies at war. I wish to say to him that in my fellowship with him here for the last 3 years he has indelibly stamped upon my

heart the sincerity of the words which he has just spoken. I know that he wishes to go as far as he possibly can in relieving the situation in Germany. He believes in American decency, which is in keeping with the life which he has lived. I thank him for the statement which he made a few moments ago.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Colorado.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I believe that the thing which is at the bottom of our inquiries and our worries is whether we are following a starvation policy. That is the basic thing. I do not believe that we should follow such a policy and I am sure the American people do not intend that we should follow it.

I believe that the second thing of importance is that that which is available shall not result in a starvation policy through incompetent administration.

Thirdly, if there is not enough, under efficient management, to keep us in step with humane policies, perhaps we shall have to consider measures to produce more.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the distinguished Senator from Colorado once again for his very timely suggestions.

The next thing which I should like to mention in connection with the record of policies which are being maintained by the administration is the matter of the number of calories.

On November 28, Byron Price, upon returning from a trip to Germany after a special study mission for President Truman, issued a grim warning that the United States faced possible failure in its effort to help rebuild a peaceful Germany.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. EASTLAND. Has the entire Byron Price report been printed?

Mr. WHERRY. Not so far as I know. Has the Senator seen it?

Mr. EASTLAND. The reason I ask is that I read in a magazine yesterday that the entire report had not been printed, although excerpts from it had been. I wished to know whether the Senator had any information on the subject.

Mr. WHERRY. I shall read an excerpt from a report which was handed to me. However, I have not seen the entire report of Mr. Price.

Mr. Price urged the immediate raising of the ration level in the American zone from 1,550 to 2,000 calories a day. I know about the 750 calories and the 900 calories. The Senator from Mississippi knows, as does the Senator from New Jersey, that people cannot be properly fed on 1,550 calories, especially with the food available in Germany. They cannot survive. Mr. Price suggested that the ration level in the American zone be raised from 1,550 to 2,000 calories a day. He also warned:

The next few months will determine whether the American Government in its first large-scale attempt at governing a conquered people is to succeed or fail or to abandon the effort.

On the same day General Eisenhower's final monthly report as the American Military Governor of Germany, warned that the general economic condition of Germany was "unsatisfactory" and that the food situation will be even worse this winter than anticipated.

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Mr. President, again I say that the conditions that have resulted from the President's stubborn refusal to alter the cruel absurdities of his policy toward Germany cannot possibly be for lack of warning, or of conclusive proof of the consequences.

Yet in spite of these official warnings and indictments, on December 12, Secretary Byrnes deliberately reaffirmed the same policy toward Germany which President Truman knew had already implicated the American people against their will in the crime of mass starvation. Mr. Byrnes restated as America's policy the imposition of a daily diet of 1,550 calories a day, which he admitted "is not sufficient to sustain in health a population over a long period of time."

Mr. Byrnes did attempt to mitigate the restatement of such a policy by stating that he was going to prevent mass starvation in Germany. But Mr. Byrnes also stated:

In terms of world supply and of food shipments from the United States, liberated areas must enjoy a higher priority than Germany throughout this first postwar winter.

What about the consequences of these policies? Mr. President, President Truman knows perfectly well that an imposed diet of 1,550 calories subjects any people to mass starvation and the ravages of disease and death.

The truth is there is already such an overwhelming mass of direct information and evidence of the savage consequences of Mr. Truman's policies that an earthquake of public opinion is now necessary to avert the additional tragedies which will follow if this administration is permitted to attempt to get out from under

through the feeble application of a few face-saving formulas.

The only concession that this administration has made to the American people on this issue—and it was mentioned a moment ago—was announced in an Associated Press dispatch January 27 in the New York Herald Tribune. According to this dispatch, the administration has given permission to the American council of voluntary agencies to send relief to "special categories" of German civilians. According to the dispatch, Lt. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, commanding the American military government, authorized the American council to ship medical and sanitary supplies, soap, cod liver oil, and infants' food. The shipment of clothing is now permitted for the aged, the young children, pregnant women, nursing mothers, and the ill.

February 1, 1946

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President—

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, if the Senator from New Mexico will bear with me, I wish to correct a statement I made in the RECORD. During a speech I made in the Senate on January 29, I made the following statement which is to be found on page 532 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

The only concession that this administration has made to the American people on this issue—

That is the question of giving aid to German nationals in the zone in Germany occupied by us— was announced in an Associated Press dispatch January 27 in the New York Herald Tribune. According to this dispatch, the administration has given permission to the American council of voluntary agencies to

send relief to "special categories" of German civilians. According to the dispatch, Lt. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, commanding the American military government, authorized the American council to ship medical and sanitary supplies, soap, cod liver oil, and infants' food. The shipment of clothing is now permitted for the aged, the young children, pregnant women, nursing mothers, and the ill.

Mr. President, I called the secretary of the President's War Relief Control Board in Washington to check on whether or not that order had been placed in effect, and he told me it had not been; that it was merely a suggested plan. So the correction I want to make is that there is no relief of any kind, medical or otherwise, being given to any of the German nationals in the American-occupied zone in Germany at this time.

January 29, 1946

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEY in the chair). Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. EASTLAND. Such shipments are now permitted only into the American zone, are they not?

Mr. WHERRY. That is true.

Mr. EASTLAND. Does not the Senator think our Government should negotiate with the Russians, the French, and the British to see whether private relief agencies can go into all four zones of Germany and send food and clothing there?

Mr. WHERRY. Certainly, and I appreciate that suggestion. I shall take it

up later in my remarks, but I say to the Senator now that it is one of the most pertinent suggestions which could be made relative to the need for such a Congressional investigating committee as I have proposed.

Mr. EASTLAND. Then does not the Senator think that it is absolutely horrible for us to refuse to permit our own people or our own agencies which desire to send food and clothing to friends and relatives in Germany to do so?

Mr. WHERRY. I certainly think it is. The correspondence we receive demonstrates that conclusively. I wish all Members of the Senate could read some of the letters I have received from people who for more than 4 years have not heard from their relatives in Germany. Why cannot they have the right to send food and clothing to them?

Mr. President, according to General Clay, the military government has reserved the right to supervise distribution of relief—the bare necessities of life—which in the American zone is to be made through existing German welfare agencies. Certainly the details have not been worked out for distribution in the British, French, and Russian zones, as has been brought to the attention of the Senate by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND].

But, as the following testimony will reveal, this one gesture on the part of this administration is only a drop of relief in an ocean of human misery, and our official policies remain unchanged. This tragic situation in Europe resulting from President Truman's insistence becomes more hideous by the hour. For long months the President's refusal to alleviate these conditions has only in-

tensified the human needs to which we must minister. We must now deal with the ghastly consequences of an enforced starvation diet which has been imposed on helpless millions, the innocent and the guilty alike, since the war ended.

The population of Germany at best could only have maintained the physical condition which was described by the National Research Council in a reply to a question asked of it by our Foreign Economic Administration last June.

The question was:

Assuming that a man in reasonably good physical condition to start with were placed on a daily diet consisting of 42 grams of fats, 28 grams of animal protein, a reasonable intermediate quantity of vegetables characteristic of Germany, cereals, potatoes, total caloric content 1,200, what would the effect of such food rations distributed in occupied Germany be?

The answer was as follows:

The best evidence available to the Board would indicate that the effects of semistarvation should receive consideration under three headings, namely: Capacity for work, psychological effects, vulnerability to infectious and other nutritional diseases. The judgment of the Board, based on evidence available, is that adult European males reduced to an intake on the average of 1,400–1,700 calories for a period of 6 months will suffer: (1) Reduction of capacity for work (endurance) to the point where only very light work can be performed effectively, moderate heavy work, and heavy work not at all. (2) Loss of power of mental concentration associated with apathy, depression, and a high level of irritability. (3) Increased susceptibility to infectious and contagious diseases. It is appropriate to point out the broader implications of the foregoing conclusions: In the first place, the ability of a population to maintain or increase its own com-

munity production of food, not to speak of other goods, would be diminished. In the second place, there would be less hope of establishing acceptable community and political organization. In the third place, a population subjected to such a low level of food supply might be expected to develop epidemics which might spread to other nations and consequently represent a hazard to the entire world. It is reasonable to suppose that if the average food intake per adult male is less than 1,400-1,700 calories, the effects described above would be exaggerated and also that an increasing number of persons would lose ability to support themselves and thereby greatly add to the burden of the occupying authorities.

Mr. President, again I say that last May, when the war ended, the frightful conditions existing throughout the whole of Europe must have caused everyone in public office to cringe before the prospect of the rehabilitation that was needed. This report of the National Research Council states objectively the best that Mr. Truman and his advisers could possibly have hoped for in regard to the physical condition of the German people at the end of 6 months of an enforced starvation policy.

It is now 9 months since that policy was put into effect, and the story of what has actually resulted proves that even the conditions described by the National Research Council, tragic as they were, have not even been remotely approached.

Mr. Truman must have known all these things. Yet Mr. Truman has defied not only American but world opinion by refusing to yield to the heart-rending pleas for intercession and mercy that have come from all over the globe.

The magazine *Politics* carries the following story, which has been compiled

from three sources: a world-wide press report of October 24; the *News Letter* No. 43, by Paul Sifton, of the Union for Democratic Action; and a statement from one who was present at the interview with President Truman on September 17, 1945. A delegation representing 48 national organizations, headed by Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, chairman of the Food for Freedom organization, had secured an appointment with the President to urge more generous overseas relief for Europe. Among the more than 40 organizations included were the CIO, the A. F. of L., the Federal Council of Churches, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Farmers Union. According to the magazine *Politics*—

Mrs. Morrow was the spokesman of the delegation. Truman's attitude was bristling, hostile; he interrupted her twice in her first sentence. When she spoke of "starvation" in Europe this winter, he cut her short in order to express annoyance with the alleged lack of self-respect and initiative of the people of Europe, who "didn't do things for themselves but just sat around and waited like birds to be fed." Later, he agreed that Congress should appropriate more funds for UNRRA, but said, inaccurately, the United States of America was reaching the limit of its capacity to help. At the same time, with the callousness which only well-fed heads of states and such dehumanized characters display, he admitted that, even if all the UNRRA funds and other credits his Administration is now requesting should be granted in full, Europe's food supplies would still "remain below the minimum level of subsistence." When Mrs. Morrow mentioned "our" promises to feed the liberated nations after the war, Truman again interrupted: "We didn't promise them anything." Mrs. Morrow: "But President Roosevelt said——" Truman (interrupting): "Well, I didn't promise."

It is perfectly obvious, Mr. President, that the delegation represented the slow awakening of the American people to the terrible tragedy and crime against humanity to which President Truman had committed them at Potsdam. The record will clearly show that the real news of the tragedies that are taking place broke first through the British press. On August 24, the London News Chronicle carried the following story:

The Allies have made no effort to render relief or even give the Berlin Social Welfare Organization any assistance whatsoever. Here in Berlin we are living under this shadow, not just of hunger and want, but of death, and epidemics on a scale the world has not seen in recorded history.

On September 15, Hans Albrecht, leading German Quaker, reported to the British Friends Ambulance Unit, in Berlin:

No child born in Germany this year will survive the coming winter. Only half the children aged less than 3 years will survive.

These are only samples of what the British press has been reporting for weeks, while the American press remained gagged. Strangely enough, it was PM's foreign correspondent, Eld Johnson,—Mr. President, I am now bringing to the attention of the Senate an article from PM, if you please—who helped to bring home to the American people the horrible story of what was going on, when on October 3, he wrote:

Germans are going to die like flies this winter—so say the United States public health officers here. . . . The infant mortality rate in Berlin is 16 times as high today as it was in 1943. A German Red Cross official predicts an infant mortality rate of 80 to 90 percent during the coming winter.

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There is going to be a definite age group elimination of the German population. Most children under 10 and people over 60 cannot survive the coming winter. The inevitable influenza will fill the gutters with German dead—and I am still quoting the public health officers with whom I have had rather close associations during the past few days.

From that time on, these terrifying stories have been shouted from the housetops.

On October 4 a British major is quoted in the London Daily Mirror, as follows:

The greatest horror in modern history is taking place in eastern Germany. Many millions of German people have been ejected onto the roads * * * are dying by the thousand on the roads from starvation, dysentery, and exhaustion. Even a cursory visit to the hospitals in Berlin * * * is an experience which would make the sights in the concentration camps appear normal.

Mr. President, one would think that President Truman would have foreseen that if these conditions prevailed, even through the late summer and early fall, a continuation of his policy could not help but lead to disaster.

On October 12 Probst Gruber, a former inmate of a concentration camp, wrote in the Friend, published in London:

In the forest around Berlin, countless dead are hanging from the trees. One becomes indifferent to death. Mothers see their children die and bury them by the wayside, apparently with none of that pain which usually tears a mother's heart apart. * * * If this misery cannot be checked, it is no exaggeration to reckon on a figure of 20,000,000 dead this winter.

On October 28 the London Observer stated that not only Germany but also "Europe is threatened by a catastrophe

which has no precedent since the Black Death of 1348."

On November 13 the New York Times issued a special report on the general European food situation, warned of the terrible threat confronting civilization, and specifically stated concerning Germany:

Here in Berlin the Germans are losing weight and showing signs of malnutrition, but they are not dying of starvation. However, the death rate among the very old and the very young is high and growing because of the lowered resistance to disease.

Since then, Mr. President, one by one the leaders of the American people and of their institutions have become aroused until clear across this country passionate protests have been delivered to President Truman from men and women representing a complete cross section of American life.

On November 14, the Christian Century carried the following plea which had been issued by a joint committee of the World Council of Churches, the International Red Cross, the World Jewish Congress, and the Save the Children International Union and Catholic Charities:

Children by the millions are in imminent danger of starving and freezing as winter comes to Europe unless immediate help comes. Helpless children cannot survive much longer unless there is a united effort to save them.

The Christian Century continued:

It is time for the Christian conscience to cry, Stop, stop this torture of helpless war victims. * * * The policy being followed in central Europe is ghastly. It is unnecessary. It is a repudiation of Christian charity and a defiance of Christian morality.

On November 28, the Christian Century made the further charge:

Silent concurrence by the churches in murder by starvation makes the church an accessory to the crime. As a result of the Potsdam decisions, millions of Germans are starving now.

On December 1, the American Friends Service Committee placed a plea entitled: "If Thine Enemy Hunger, Feed Him" in the New York Times, the Chicago Sun, the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, the Chicago Tribune, and the Washington Post. This committee received more than 20,000 statements of approval. It received \$23,000 in unsolicited contributions, and only 30-some protests, most of which were unsigned. Since then, requests for mats of this statement have been received from more than 70 other American communities.

In the November issue of the Lutheran Outlook the following protest was recorded:

Inhumanity and even brutality are being practiced in a manner that is shocking to the Christian conscience. Millions of human beings are on the verge of starvation, and yet, in America at least, there appears to be no official cognizance of the fact. The American people are being kept strangely in ignorance of the awful catastrophe that has befallen a large part of the world's population. * * * We raise a voice in solemn protest against the inhumanity which today is being practiced by the victor nations against the German people and we do plead for pity and mercy for the millions of innocent children who are now become the chief victims of the judgment which has fallen.

On December 9, even Mr. Morgenthau warned of the danger of chaos in Europe by saying:

Hundreds of thousands of Europeans will die this winter unnecessarily because of our failure to act. The very existence of demo-

cratic government on the Continent is threatened because we have not moved fast enough.

Mr. Morgenthau further charged:

The administration has not been thinking hard enough, has not been working consistently on this job.

On December 11, a delegation of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America returned from an investigation of conditions in Germany. They warned that expulsion of millions of Germans from their homes had caused unspeakable hardship, and that the persons who were trying to get into the Reich were without food, shelter, clothing, or medical supplies. They voiced an urgent appeal for aid to the German people.

On December 15, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee received a communication from the Peace Campaign of Mount Vernon, N. Y., containing a petition for a Christian peace, fit for men born free and equal in pursuit of happiness, which had been signed by more than 900 Protestant pastors and Catholic prelates and priests. The communication goes on to say:

While we are not authorized to interpret their feelings, they seem deeply perturbed over the things Stalin and Truman are doing in Europe. When millions of humble folks are driven from their ancestral homes, driven from the fields in which their lives were rooted, away from the graves of fathers and mothers and all they loved, when men are carried away into slavery from which there is no return, when Christians are deported for their faith, rape and plunder are within the law, and common decency becomes a crime, then something is radically wrong. And so it is when the American colonel administering Berlin allots to his charges some of their own food "not because we like to

feed the Germans but because we don't want their rotten corpses to infect our troops." What kind of talk is this, anyway?

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

Mr. WHERRY. I will yield for a question and an observation, but I will not be taken off my feet.

Mr. SMITH. Following the First World War I had the privilege of becoming a member of the American Legion. The Senator from Ohio was also a member of that organization. Our policy was to afford relief to the suffering peoples of the world, including our enemies. I say to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska that I welcome his speech. It is a valuable contribution, and sounds a very important note. The organization to which I have referred developed a system of handling food packages so that people in this country who had relatives abroad were enabled to send to them relief and food.

I thank the Senator for bringing this subject to the attention of the Senate. I have received a great deal of correspondence in regard to the matter, and I hope that we may do something about it.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from New Jersey for his very timely remarks.

On December 15, 34 Senators, representing all parties and shades of opinion, sent the following petition to President Truman:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We, the undersigned Members of the United States Senate, hereby appeal to you as the Commander in Chief of our armed forces to take immediate steps toward relieving the appalling famine in Germany and Austria.

The people of these countries are today facing starvation on a scale never before experienced in western civilization. War has destroyed most of their houses and factories. Millions of their men are dead. Many millions more are working as forced labor in foreign lands, thus unable to give aid to their wives and children. Millions of totally destitute deportees are milling aimlessly about the country. These people desperately need food, clothes, fuel, medicine, and shelter. The most appalling situation exists in the Russian zone due to the almost total loss of crops and livestock.

War has utterly destroyed Germany's war-making power. Surveillance and control are sufficient to insure our future safety. We did not fight the war to exterminate the German people, but to destroy forever the criminal Nazi leadership and their war machine.

Now the war is over. The German people must be offered the opportunity to work their way back into the community of nations. The American people do not want to be responsible for having permitted a catastrophe which cannot but drag all Europe into ruin and chaos. We in the United States have granaries overflowing with wheat. If properly used, our surpluses are sufficient to keep alive all needy people in the lands of our allies as well as our former enemies.

We, therefore, appeal to you, Mr. President:

1. To give orders at once to our armed forces in Germany and Austria to raise food rations above the present starvation level in the United States zone of occupation and restore immediately mail and postage service.

2. To start negotiations at once with the head of the Russian state with the object of gaining his permission to send American food supplies into the Russian zone of occupation in order at least to diminish the appalling daily death toll.

3. To give permission now to private relief organizations to start operations in Germany and Austria, in order to support the efforts of our occupation forces.

4. And, Mr. President, because we believe that the conditions in Germany and Austria are so desperate that even the above steps if taken immediately will not suffice, we further appeal to you to authorize and create an independent American Relief Mission to avert this impending disaster of wholesale starvation and pestilence now threatening Europe, even beyond the assistance now being furnished by UNRRA.

The following are the signatures arranged in alphabetical order and with State and political party indicated:

STYLES BRIDGES, Republican, New Hampshire; C. DOUGLASS BUCK, Republican, Delaware; HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD, Republican, South Dakota; HUGH BUTLER, Republican, Nebraska; HOMER E. CAPEHART, Republican, Indiana; ARTHUR CAPPER, Republican, Kansas; E. P. CARVILLE, Democrat, Nevada; SHERIDAN DOWNEY, Democrat, California; JAMES O. EASTLAND, Democrat, Mississippi; ALLEN J. ELLENDER, Democrat, Louisiana; JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, Democrat, Pennsylvania; ALBERT HAWKES, Republican, New Jersey; B. B. HICKENLOOPER, Republican, Iowa; CLYDE R. HOEY, Democrat, North Carolina; EDWIN C. JOHNSON, Democrat, Colorado; ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr., Progressive, Wisconsin; WILLIAM LANGER, Republican, North Dakota; E. H. MOORE, Republican, Oklahoma; ABE MURDOCK, Democrat, Utah; JAMES MURRAY, Democrat, Montana; JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, Democrat, Wyoming; GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, Democrat, Maryland; LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican, Massachusetts; HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, Republican, Minnesota; H. ALEXANDER SMITH, Republican, New Jersey; W. A. STANFILL, Republican, Kentucky; GLEN H. TAYLOR, Democrat, Idaho; CHARLES W. TOBEY, Republican, New Hampshire; DAVID I. WALSH, Demo-

crat, Massachusetts; BURTON K. WHEELER, Democrat, Montana; KENNETH S. WHERRY, Republican, Nebraska; ALEXANDER WILBY, Republican, Wisconsin; RAYMOND E. WILLIS, Republican, Indiana; MILTON R. YOUNG, Republican, North Dakota.

I have been reliably informed, because that was the week just prior to the Christmas vacation, that if some of the other Senators who were then absent had been present, they would have been glad to sign the petition.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I wish to say I am very sorry that, although I was present that week, I did not know of the petition, because the Senator has made it necessary for me to answer a great deal of mail from constituents wanting to know why my name did not appear on it. I very kindly suggest that I think that when such a round robin is being circulated, it would be very helpful if all of us who are here might have notice of it, so that we could either agree or disagree to be parties to the petition. Had the petition been presented to me, I would have signed it. I repeat, I think it is only fair that such petitions be circulated to all Members of the Senate, because in this particular instance the impression is created that because my name did not appear upon it, I was not in favor of it.

Mr. WHERRY. Whenever I circulate a petition I certainly do invite each and every Senator to sign it. I did not circulate this one. I happened to be a signer. The Senator will notice that my name is about the thirty-second or the thirty-

third on the petition. If I had circulated it, I certainly would have had the Senator from Oregon sign it, and, with the explanation just given by the distinguished Senator, I say now that it is too bad his name was not on the petition. If there is any way to get his name on it, even as late as today, I should like to see it go on, as well as the name of any other Senator.

I say to the Senator from Oregon that if he did not hear my remarks at the beginning of my reference to the resolution I have tendered, the resolution is at the desk, and I have invited each and every Member of the Senate to put his name on it before it is sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. MORSE. I am very sorry that I was not in the Chamber during most of the Senator's remarks, but I have just come from a committee meeting, and I shall read the Senator's resolution, and I shall certainly give him word tomorrow what my position will be.

Mr. WHERRY. I wish to thank the Senator even for his consideration of the matter.

Mr. President, on December 24, a release was given to the American press which I ask to have incorporated at this point in my remarks, since the signers of this petition include a representative cross section of America's leading churchmen and laymen.

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

AMERICAN CHRISTIANS FROM ALL CHURCHES
ISSUE POWERFUL CHRISTMAS APPEAL

Leading churchmen and laymen, of all the American Christian churches from Unitarians to Catholics, issued on Christmas Eve an ap-

peal, in the name of Jesus Christ on His birthday, to the American people in behalf of the starving children of Europe.

The appeal, based on official reports and on the information received by the various religious relief organizations from their distribution centers abroad, paints a picture of conditions reminiscent of the Black Death of the Middle Ages, which depopulated Europe.

The appeal is headed by the New Testament quotation: "Whosoever shall offend one of the least of these my little ones, it were better that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he cast into the sea."

It proceeds as follows:

"Tomorrow we celebrate with gifts and tinsel and luxurious meals the birthday of the Child who came into the world to found the earth on peace and love.

"The weak and fallible, the strong and arrogant have scorned His commandments. And the earth has been drenched with blood.

"Hatred and fear, grief and revenge, fury and despair corrode the souls of men, though the war is over.

"And the children, whose innocence is the symbol of Christ, are the victims.

"The children of Europe are condemned to die—to die in masses in this first year of peace.

"Driven from their homes in eastern Europe, millions of children have neither food, clothing, nor shelter. They wander, foraging in already famished countrysides. Their dead bodies starved and frozen lie on the roads.

"All children are innocent of this war. America knows no enemy children.

"Millions of Europe's children live in heatless rooms, often without windows, with leaking roofs, and sometimes open to the winter sky. Their food must also fuel their bodies with heat. The children, except in the best provided areas, are condemned to ever-gnawing hunger, stunted growth, tuberculosis, rickets, and immediate prostration and death

before the onslaught of respiratory diseases and other epidemics. In parts of Germany mothers bearing children from famished bodies cannot nourish them, and the infant mortality is at least 50 percent of births.

"In long-underfed Britain, Christian men and women are cutting their own meager rations to save even the children of their late enemies.

"But in America the restaurants are full to overflowing, rations are off, and never in history was the people's expenditure for food so high.

"In the name of Jesus Christ, our Saviour, we appeal on this Christmas eve to the people of America:

"Petition your Senators and Congressman for the opening of all Europe, including Axis countries, to relief.

"Join with us to start a movement for American families to sacrifice the equivalent of one meal per week for the salvation of Europe's children, regardless of race, nationality, or creed.

"Send your name and address to Mr. Josiah Marvel below. Circulate this appeal and obtain other adherents.

"Our future peace can only be built by those who are children today. Upon our merciful love toward them will depend their faith in the social, political, and religious principles we profess to serve.

"This appeal issued by men and women of all the faiths and creeds of American Christendom—in tribute to our Saviour, who taught us to pray: 'Give us this day our daily bread.'

"May the peace and love of God enter our hearts on this Christmas, and direct us to do His will."

Among the 50 signatories of the appeal are persons prominent in the American Friends Service Committee, the Committee for Overseas Relief of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Lutheran World Action, the War Relief Services of the

National Catholic Welfare Council, and the Unitarian Service Committee, as well as the presidents of both big trade-union movements. They include:

Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Dr. P. O. Bersell, Clement Biddle, J. Henry Cadbury, Msgr. Howard G. Carroll, Henry Clifford, Dr. Frederick Mann Elliot, William Emerson, Dr. Paul C. Emple, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Stephen H. Fritchman, George J. Gillespie, Ellis Gimbel, Mrs. Vincent Greene, William Green, the Rt. Rev. Henry Wise Hobson, Herbert Hoover, Hannah Clothier Hall, Robert M. Hutchins, Rufus M. Jones, the Rev. John Lafarge, Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, Mrs. James Marshall, Harold McKinnon, Dr. Louis D. Moorehead, Elizabeth Morrow, Dr. Leslie B. Moss, Carl Murphy, Philip Murray, the Rt. Rev. Msgr. P. A. O'Boyle, the Rev. William A. O'Connor, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, James G. Patton, C. G. Paulding, Clarence E. Pickett, Gifford Pinchot, A. Philip Randolph, John Rich, Mrs. A. B. Ritchie, Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, Louis J. Taber, Dorothy Thompson, the Rt. Rev. St. George Tucker, Dr. Henry Pitney Van Dusen, Alfred F. Whitman, Matthew Woll, D. R. Yarnall.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, on December 23 the National Planning Association issued a completely objective report on food conditions in Europe, in which it is stated:

In Germany the food problems of urban consumers are already serious. Lack of fuel, shortage of clothing, and inadequate housing further aggravate the situation. * * *

To insure 2,000 calories per day for the nonfarm consumers in the zones occupied by the Western Allies and in the British-American zone of Berlin will require imports of about 4,750,000 tons of wheat.

On January 11 Lewis C. Schenk, a member of the New York staff of the National Lutheran Council charged this

Government with the sole responsibility of holding up aid to Germany.

On January 12 Rev. Edward E. Swannstrom, assistant executive director of war relief services of the National Catholic Welfare Council, after returning from a 5 months' trip through Europe, stated:

I have heard it said that American public opinion would not stand for a program of private relief to German civilians, but I do not believe it. If Americans could see, as I have, innocent children and the aged literally dying on the street from starvation in the large German cities, I am sure they would feel as I do—that they, too, come under the mantle of our Christian charity. * * * If we are to win the peace and are anxious to see a stable civilization in Europe, we must continue to strengthen American relief programs abroad.

On January 14 the Progressive carried the story of Dr. Baeck, chief rabbi of Germany, now in this country, who, according to the Progressive, has—horrified the hate cult in this country by calling on his Jewish colleagues to join with him in demanding relief feeding for Germany just as for the other countries of Europe.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I did not understand from what periodical the Senator was reading.

Mr. WHERRY. I was reading from the Progressive. On January 14 the Progressive carried the story of Dr. Baeck, chief rabbi of Germany.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is that the newspaper that is published under the auspices of a distinguished Member of this body?

Mr. WHERRY. Yes. It is published by the senior Senator from Wisconsin Mr. LA FOLLETTE. By the way, I read that newspaper. It comes to my home.

I want to say that some of the most forceful editorials I have read are contained in that publication. I am quoting from the Progressive the statement of Dr. Baeck, chief rabbi of Germany, who is now in this country, as follows:

Horried the hate cult in this country by calling on his Jewish colleagues to join with him in demanding relief feeding for Germany just as for the other countries of Europe.

In the January issue of the Commentary, a Jewish review, the American Jewish Committee published a criticism of the Morgenthau plan by Guenter Reimann, who concluded with the following warning against the very spirit that motivated Mr. Morgenthau's plan for Germany by saying:

Let us Jews above all be given pause by this delenda est. Perhaps better than any others we know that an eye for an eye has never solved anything. And from history we have learned that poverty and frustration and denial of human dignity, not inborn evil, make up the soil that nurtures the hatred of man against man.

Mr. President, on January 8, four Senators made a personal appeal to the President to take immediate steps to permit the American people to enter into this terrible problem of relieving human suffering directly. More Senators would have gone, but few Senators were in Washington at the time.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL. I think the Senator should state that the Senate did not reconvene until January 14, and a great many Senators were at their homes.

Mr. WHERRY. That is what I in-

tended to say. Perhaps I did not make myself clear. More Senators would have gone to the White House if they had been here. Those of us who did not go home for the Christmas holidays decided that the situation was so acute that we should make a personal presentation of the matter to the President of the United States, and four Senators made a personal appeal to the President that an effort be made to solve this terrible problem of relieving human suffering, and that steps be taken to permit the people of America to render such assistance as they could. Mr. President, I gave a statement to the press immediately following that meeting, which I ask to have incorporated in the RECORD at this point.

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

In company with Senators McCARRAN, LA FOLLETTE, and EASTLAND, I have just conferred with the President on the recommendations signed by 34 Members of the United States Senate, Democrats, Republicans, and Progressives alike, on December 15, which particularly requested that the United States raise its own starvation diet of 1,500 calories and restore mail and package service within the American zone of occupation in Germany and Austria.

These services have been restored in Austria. But two fundamental reasons why they have not been restored in Germany were presented. First was the lack of transportation. Secondly, I learned for the first time that these services cannot be restored until unanimous agreement is reached within the Allied Control Commission.

The American people should know once and for all that as a result of this Government's official policy they are being made the un-

willing accomplices in the crime of mass starvation.

The refusal of this Government to restore mail and package service to the German people singles out helpless millions of women and children in Germany for this treatment. Such a refusal denies to millions of loyal American citizens of German extraction the chance to send immediate relief in the form of money, food, clothing, and medicine, and without any expense to this Government.

The American people also ought to know what our official starvation policy of 1,500 calories really means. The State Department has ordered an increase in the diet of over one million Berliners to prevent the spread of plague.

General MacArthur has just requested 3,000,000 metric tons of foodstuffs for Japan to prevent mass starvation by raising the minimum diet to 2,000 calories a day.

Governor Lehman has just announced that all the billions that have been furnished UNRRA cannot possibly avert mass starvation in Europe.

Our own American officers in Germany are compelled to violate the directives we have issued just to prevent uncontrollable chaos in the American zone.

All of which means that Germany has been singled out for the following treatment:

Germany is the only nation where UNRRA is not permitted to feed its nationals. Germany is the only nation subjected to a deliberate starvation policy of 1,500 calories a day. And as for mail and package services, they have been restored within the American zone, between the four zones, and they have been extended to certain privileged individuals and groups accredited by UNRRA and the Red Cross within Germany. The German people alone are being denied the chance to correspond with or receive aid from the outside world.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, on January 17, I received a communication

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from 21 GI's and officers who have served both in the European and Asiatic theaters. I should like to impress this matter upon the minds of Senators. The young man who brought this letter to me comes from Falls City, Nebr., which is 40 miles from my home town. I know his father. I know the boy, and I know something of the family background of this pioneer family and of other pioneer Nebraska families who helped to build that State. He is typical of the philosophy of that pioneer people, of that Christian doctrine in which we in Nebraska as well as the people of other States of the Union believe. This pioneer family and his people are thoroughgoing Christians. Twenty-one GI's signed this letter to me, dated January 17, 1946, which is as follows:

JANUARY 17, 1946.

DEAR SENATOR WHERRY: We have recently returned from the European and Asiatic theaters. It has been a shock to come suddenly into a country where cities are untouched by bombs or shells and where people are comparatively well fed and clothed. For months we have been living in countries of gutted cities and ragged, starving people. We have watched the hungry children of Europe and Asia, knowing that thousands of them would not survive the winter.

Why hasn't America given more aid to these countries? It isn't because the American people don't know of these conditions or aren't able to help. A number of magazines have described these conditions and given statistics such as the following: America's per capita calorie consumption of 3,300 is above the prewar level. England has 2,900 or less. Russia is near the subsistence level with 2,000. France has a starvation diet of 1,500. The American zone in Germany has only 1,400; Italy 1,000; and so on. We don't think the failure to act is due to unwilling-

ness of the American people to give more help. But for some reason enough help has not been provided.

We had hoped that out of this war would come peace and the resurgence of democracy. But we have seen countries where people are driven to crime and lawlessness by cold and hunger; countries where black markets are so widespread that they involve almost everyone. Where, in fact, it is officially admitted that the authorized rations cannot support life unless supplemented by black-market purchases. No adequate official relief organizations have been set up to cope with these conditions. Private relief organizations are willing to help, but such organizations are not permitted to work in the defeated countries. Conditions are appalling even in the Allied countries. There is widespread resentment toward America, increasing distrust of our aims and growing cynicism toward our claims of the benefits of democracy.

We believe that the future of democracy and of world peace alike depend largely upon immediate action to provide adequate relief to the starving in Europe and Asia. The winter has already begun; unless relief is provided before many weeks pass irreparable damage will have been done. We urge Congress to take action and to take it before it is too late.

The first signer of the letter is Staff Sgt. Amos Yoder, the son of Elaine Yoder, whom I have known for many years.

I ask unanimous consent that the remainder of the signatures may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

Corp. Emory M. Davis, Capt. Richard S. Hawley, Sgt. E. Allen Robinson, Pfc Harrison A. Price, Sgt. O. W. Perimutter, Lt. Alan B. Smith, Lt. Philip J. Farley, Lt. (jg) Roger Pineau, Lt. (jg) Charles S. Holmes, Lt. Har-

old E. Fassbey, Lt. Charles H. Schmidt, Lt. William M. Edwards, Staff Sgt. James A. Wilson, Corp. C. P. McEvoy, Corp. B. W. Flinder, Pfc B. F. Jakpruner, Sgt. Bernard Miller, Corp. Louis C. Smedhup, Lt. Richard I. Perry, Sgt. James E. Theis.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, on January 19 a cablegram from Geneva was addressed to the Commission for World Council Service in New York signed by H. Hutchinson Cockburn, former moderator of the Church of Scotland and now director of the World Council of Churches Reconstruction Department in Geneva; S. C. Michelfelder, American representative and director of the council in Geneva; and Paul Neff Garber, European Bishop of the Methodists, who is associated with the reconstruction program, which stated:

The chief problem in Germany is the displaced, wandering, starving, diseased millions of refugees from east of the Oder, Czechoslovakia, and the Danubian countries.

The cable also cited "especially cruel conditions for children" in Europe and said the 1,550 calories of food supplied in the American-occupied zone were "not sufficient for many hundreds of thousands living in leaking, unheated ruins and cellars."

On January 23 the Christian Century carried one of the most angry and inspired editorials on this whole tragic situation that I have ever read. This editorial is so moving that I feel the last paragraph ought to be read into the RECORD:

There is not a day to be lost. By far too much time has been lost already. February is almost here. When that short month has swiftly passed, then the days will be upon us when the cumulative effects of months of

near-starvation, lack of decent shelter and family care will turn loose the terrors of epidemic disease on the children of Europe. With every day the opportunity grows less to make real to the people of Germany the Christian testimony to mercy and brotherhood. With every day that Christian love is thwarted by shortsighted and vengeful government policies, the prospect for a future catastrophe grows. It is time that a united demand went up from all American churches and church organizations for an end to the armed barriers which now keep Christian charity from our late enemies. It is time to let Washington know that American Christians will no longer acquiesce in the Potsdam outrage.

Mr. President, the issue before us is not political; it is not a question of a hard or a soft peace; it is not a question of transportation; it is not a question of fawning before the veto power of Russia or France or Britain; it is a question of America's honor, and the basic humanitarian impulses of the American people, as to whether they intend longer to submit to the browbeating of a man, who no longer speaks for, or represents, the American heart, mind, and conscience, in these matters. I am not speaking now for any one group of people. I am convinced that the pleas for intercession on the part of the American people do not represent any one particular group or set of conditions. America's concern for humanity cuts clear across racial, political, religious, and national lines. I am now pleading for humanity, and I do not want another day to pass before America repudiates these policies which have plunged the whole world into chaos. Humanity cries out for the healing and

creative touch of the cultured, civilized, and Christian world.

With this end in view and motivated by these high purposes I ask the compassionate consideration by my colleagues of the resolution I have submitted.

Mr. President, I hope the resolution will receive immediate action and that the President will agree with the Congress that a nonpartisan commission should be sent to Europe, there upon the ground to make an immediate investigation, and bring back recommendations upon which the Congress can act, in order that we may keep faith with the principles of Christianity, and with the teachings and the doctrines of the Divine One.

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

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I should like to suggest that such a committee be accompanied by an outstanding dietitian, by an outstanding public health man, and by an outstanding medical man; that it go to Europe technically qualified within itself, without having to take from others information which may or may not be correct, and thus be in position to come back here and give us the answers.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the distinguished Senator from Colorado. I am quite satisfied that the resolution is broad enough and the appropriation called for is sufficient to do that.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I should like to add that the technical staff going with such a committee should include some great religious leader who is acceptable to all

denominations and to all faiths, and a representative of the charitable organizations of the country.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

February 7, 1946

Mr. WHERRY. I hold in my hand an article published in the New York Times. It is under the date line of Washington, February 6. The headline is: "One hundred and forty million in Europe get only 2,000 calories a day."

The article states that according to estimates made in a report made by the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, which is an intergovernmental body under the chairmanship of Philip Noel-Baker of Great Britain, and members of which are Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States, more than 140,000,000 persons in Europe will have to live on an average total diet of 2,000 calories a day for the next few months, and that about 100,000,000 will be receiving an average of 1,500 calories or less per person. The report certainly is convincing evidence of the truth of the statements which have been made on the floor by nearly a dozen Senators who are interested in having food furnished to the starving people of Europe, that millions face starvation in Europe this winter.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article from the New York Times printed

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in the RECORD at this point, as a part of my remarks.

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

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY MILLION IN EUROPE
TO GET ONLY 2,000 CALORIES A DAY—ECONOMIC
COMMITTEE REPORTS 100,000,000 WILL
HAVE TO LIVE ON 1,500 UNITS OR LESS—
HIGHER DIETS EXPECTED FOR BRITAIN

WASHINGTON, February 6.—More than 140,000,000 persons will have to live on an average total diet of 2,000 calories a day in Europe for the next few months and about 100,000,000 will be receiving an average of 1,500 calories or less per person, according to estimates made in a report made tonight by the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe.

An average of 2,000 calories is regarded as a minimum for safety. The estimates take into account all home-grown and imported food supplies available or in sight.

While the study upon which the estimates were made covered only calories, adequate supplies of other nutritional elements, such as proteins, fats, vitamins, and minerals which are also essential, are even a less satisfactory prospect than are calories.

It was pointed out that an average diet of 2,650 calories in addition to necessary quantities of other nutritional elements has been recommended by the UNRRA Food Committee as necessary for full health and efficiency. The report warned:

"A serious gap between food supplies and minimum requirements remains for many millions of people in Europe."

The Emergency Committee is an intergovernmental body under the chairmanship of Phillip Noel-Baker of Great Britain. Members are Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

TEXT OF THE REPORT

Following is the text of the report of the committee:

"The Emergency Economic Committee for Europe has reviewed such information as is available to it about the levels of food consumption in European countries, with the object of estimating the diet in terms of calories which an average person in each country might expect to receive in the course of the next few months.

"The information on which this study is based is incomplete. In some cases it has been necessary to use information obtained through nonofficial channels.

"In all cases the future position has been forecast in terms of prospects as they appeared early in January so that changes in the food outlook which may have taken place since then are not taken into account. Thus, much of the information on which the forecasts have been based is subject to an appreciable margin of error.

"Nevertheless, the committee considers that its review presents a substantially correct broad picture of the prospective food position in the countries covered.

ONE HUNDRED MILLION AT ONE THOUSAND FIVE
HUNDRED CALORIES

"The broad picture that emerges after taking into account all home-grown and imported food supplies available or in sight, is that over the next few months over 140,000,000 people in the European countries reviewed will have to continue to live on a diet which provides an average of less than 2,000 calories a day. (See footnote 1.)

"Specifically the committee has found that:

"(A) About 100,000,000 people in the following groups will probably be receiving an average total diet of 1,500 calories per person per day or less:

"(1) The nonfarm population of Austria (74 percent); (see footnote 2), (The nonfarm population in the United States and United

Kingdom zones and in Vienna are currently receiving somewhat over 1,500 calories, but most recent information indicates that rations may have to be reduced, thereby bringing the diet of the nonfarm population in all zones of Austria under 1,500 calories.)

"(II) The farm populations of tobacco growing regions in Bulgaria (9 percent).

"(III) German residents in Czechoslovakia (insofar as they do not qualify for Czechoslovak citizenship) (16 percent).

"(IV) The nonfarm population of eastern Slovakia (3 percent).

"(V) The nonfarm population of Finland (43 percent).

"(VI) The nonfarm population of Germany (75 percent). (The nonfarm population in the United States and United Kingdom zones, in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic zones with certain groups excepted, and in Berlin are currently receiving somewhat over 1,500 calories, but most recent information indicates that rations may have to be reduced, thereby bringing the diet of the nonfarm population in all zones under 1,500 calories.)

"(VII) The nonfarm population of Hungary; especially Budapest (50 percent).

FOR ITALY 59 PERCENT

"(VIII) The nonfarm population of Italy (59 percent).

"(IX) The nonfarm population of Rumania (30 percent).

"(X) The nonfarm population of Spain (40 percent) may also be in this category.

"(B) A further 40,000,000 people will probably be receiving an average total diet of over 1,500 but less than 2,000 calories including:

"(I) The nonfarm population of France (65 percent) (see footnote 2).

"(II) The nonfarm population of Bohemia and Moravia and western Slovakia (50 percent).

"(III) The nonfarm population of Greece (47 percent).

"(IV) The farm and nonfarm population of certain districts of Yugoslavia (33 percent).

"(C) An average of a bare 2,000 calories per day appears to be in prospect for the nonfarm population of Luxembourg and possibly Portugal. Somewhat higher diets still under 2,500 calories may be anticipated for the nonfarm populations of Belgium, Bulgaria, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland (with certain groups at lower levels), and Yugoslavia.

"(D) Average diets of over 2,500 calories will be available only for the nonfarm populations of Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom and farm populations of all countries except where otherwise noted above.

"It should be noted that the above classification excludes entirely Albania, Eire, Turkey, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for which no definite information on the food situation was available to the committee.

"While this study is in terms of calories only, as a convenient indicator of the level of food supply, adequate supplies of other nutritional elements—proteins, fats, vitamins, and minerals—are also essential.

"In general, current and prospective European diets are even less satisfactory in other nutritional elements and in palatability than they are in calories.

"As a guide to the possible nutritional and economic effects of the diet levels described in this review, it may be noted that a diet containing an average of about 2,650 calories per day, in addition to necessary quantities of other nutritional elements, has been recommended by the UNRRA Food Committee as the amount of food sufficient to maintain full health and efficiency in a population with

a normal distribution according to sex, age, and occupation.

"Prewar diets in some countries in southern and eastern Europe did not reach this level, however, while diets in northwestern European countries were generally at levels somewhat above this standard.

"An average diet of around 2,000 calories has been generally recognized in military and civilian relief planning as a minimum level below which there would be marked effects on ability to work and danger of the development of disease and unrest associated with food shortage.

"These effects become progressively more serious as the diet is reduced down to and below 1,500 calories and the period of low diet is prolonged.

SERIOUS GAP FOR MILLIONS

"Thus a serious gap between food supplies and minimum requirements remains for many millions of people in Europe even after the vigorous efforts to alleviate the position which have been, and are being, made by the governments and international agencies concerned have been taken into account."

Footnote 1. It is emphasized that the division of various groups of the population of Europe into broad diet categories is based on the estimated prospective average level of the total diet of the group concerned. Within any group the actual consumption of different individuals may vary from starvation to fully adequate levels.

Footnote 2. The percentage figures shown in parenthesis are an estimate of the proportion of the total population of the country concerned which is in the particular group listed. Thus, about 74 percent of the total population of Austria are estimated to be in the nonfarm population group.

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