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SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

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

## SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 24, 1919.

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

Congress is constantly assailed in the press and by reputable business organizations throughout the country for extravagance and wasted time. Mistakes are some times excusable, but we can not remain blind to merited criticism for extravagance and wasted time that results from premeditation or without excuse. In no legislative body in the world is time of greater value than here. Time for consideration of national legislative policies, time for over 400 Members to express individual judgment based upon public sentiment they represent, time for legislative investigations of administrative weakness that give publicity and invite penalties for evils found in all administrations as long as government prevails, and time intelligently to legislate.

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

### ENORMOUS INCREASE IN APPROPRIATIONS DEMAND A NATIONAL BUDGET.

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

River and harbor improvements anywhere and everywhere; creeks, rills, and rivulets, good, bad, and indifferent, are bunched in the same bill. Public buildings for village crossroads persistently ask for money. Irrigation ditches to cost hundreds of millions of dollars to meet demands of land-bonded communities, flood-control contributions from the Treasury

to reclaim hundreds of millions of acres of private lands that still remain in the wet column, drainage schemes which go joyfully on with extravagant irrigation projects, water powers to make nitrates, fertilizer, and incidentally to make millions of dollars for their promoters.

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

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

No responsibility is fixed, because the different bureaus all work independently on the principle of grab jurisdiction and get all you can while you are getting. That is only a partial list of comparatively new fields of Government activities now engaged in helping individuals and localities which are financed by direct taxes, including 2 cents per dish on ice cream. Knocking at the doors of Congress every session for increasing appropriations, these activities now reach tremendous proportions. How do we meet them? How does Congress provide? How does it function?

### PRESENT PATCHWORK APPROPRIATION BILLS AND METHODS.

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

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

Chairmen who are pictured and featured in the press, who enjoy especial privileges because of seniority, naturally will oppose changes in the present order of things, and this opposition must be overcome by argument and convincing proof that existing conditions can exist no longer. Every civilized country in the world has some form of budget system excepting the United States. Here irresponsibility has built up vicious unbusinesslike methods which I have briefly described.



Mr. JONES of Texas. Will the gentleman yield? I would like to know how the budget system will help these matters.

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

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

#### ALL POLITICAL PARTIES DEMAND A NATIONAL BUDGET SYSTEM.

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

Let me first briefly describe present legislative methods and how they will be improved under a budget plan. For years the different departments of Government have submitted to the Speaker annually an estimate of proposed expenditures for the next fiscal year. These estimates are frequently double the amount that the bureau or department expects to get or does get. When received, the department estimates are assigned by the Speaker to 14 different appropriation committees of the House. These committees organize and then call before them the heads of departments and bureaus directly affected by the bill to be prepared by the particular committee. Hearings are had by every committee, generally reaching hundreds of printed pages, with many thousands of pages of printed Appropriation Committee hearings in the aggregate. No individual Representative could intelligently read one-tenth part of the total hearings, if he had any desire to do so; and as a matter of procedure, only a handful of members can be kept in attendance in the committee, while efforts to preserve committee quorums are notoriously hopeless. Dry details of appropriations are not inviting to the average Representative. Finally, the chairman of the committee proceeds to prepare a bill for expenditures for that particular department or bureau for the next fiscal year. Sometimes the chairman is aided by employees of the department, with such other assistance as can be had. Committee members may help, but from the very nature of the work, which is frequently technical and always drudgery, the course of preparation is as indicated. The legislative appropriation ship is thus launched and started on its career without sails or rudder.

#### OMNIBUS BILL PORK BARRELS MUST END.

If the bill affects particular localities, like the River and Harbor Committee bill, liberal appropriations in amount and distribution are sought to be equitably scattered, with the aid of bureau chiefs, who soon ascertain the custom, and reasons for the custom, until, "irrespective of partisanship," enough votes are equitably distributed to pass the bill. The Public Building Committee bill, that only carries authorizations, is probably the most scientifically constructed pork barrel that ever comes before Congress, and therefore is the easiest to identify. It carries one or more buildings or sites for a safe majority of the Members to insure its passage. Generally all the way from 200 to 300 districts will be found to have been provided for in this bill. One is now pending before the committee that may come out of hiding, like a German submarine, trying to torpedo the Federal Treasury.

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

After the appropriation bills are reported to the House, numbering from a dozen to 15 or more every session, the fight for recognition on the floor of the House then occurs, and thereafter for months the attention of the House is occupied with these patchwork, loosely prepared, and hurriedly thrown together bills carrying in the aggregate many billions of dollars. When the dozen or more bills get before the House, ordinarily covering a period of 10 to 15 weeks or more for discussion, it becomes difficult to keep a quorum of 100 Members present in the House. Frequently the number in attendance is less than a score, or under 5 per cent of the House membership. Other

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

Proposed amendments offered by Members to strike out or reduce items will fail nine times out of ten, because the committee is bound by an unwritten rule to stand together on every item in the bill, and the familiar appeal to "stand by the committee" is a continuous slogan. No matter how bad the item or amount, when once reported it goes through. Efforts to increase amounts on particular items sometimes succeed when the mover of an amendment interested in some particular project or item gets his friends on the floor when the committee is caught napping. If he fails in his effort to increase or insert in the House, true to form, he takes his amendment and grievance to his Senator, where the result is brought about in committee or on the floor of the upper House and is put through in conference. It is a legislative burlesque with statesmanship accompaniment.

#### LEGISLATIVE FOLLY IN DEALING WITH FINANCIAL PROBLEMS.

Mr. Chairman, during the passage of the \$800,000,000 military bill this month, when many items of the bill were subjected to severe criticism, the 25 members of the Ways and Means Committee, the Interstate Commerce Committee, and different appropriation committees, including our 200 Members, were in practically continuous committee sessions. Little more than a corporal's guard at times was on hand in the House to consider an Army bill that was admittedly cut over \$300,000,000 from the same bill passed by the House four months before and then killed in the Senate. Lump-sum items of practically \$100,000,000 each appeared in the military bill, covering scores of miscellaneous purposes, important and unimportant in character. In a bill cut from \$1,117,000,000 to \$809,000,000 and carrying many doubtful items which had been attacked in the preceding session, only a small minority of the House was kept in attendance. That is substantially the history of legislative consideration of every appropriation bill, big and little. When the same bill gets to the Senate a little matter of seventy or eighty million dollars is reinstated just to show where real authority rests.

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

Let me give a few examples of legislative folly within the past few days that speak for themselves. It is a matter of recent history that eight appropriation bills, after many months' consideration last year in the House, were passed to the Senate, where they failed in the legislative discard last session. Then they aggregated over \$3,000,000,000. Again hearings were held this session on these same eight bills; again they were prepared and reported; and again attacked and defended on the floor in a series of attempts at economy—largely for political effect, it was claimed. I say "attempts" advisedly, because any attempt to prepare or consider an appropriation bill in the usual way is unbusinesslike, wasteful, and a legislative farce.

#### SURREPTITIOUS STATESMANSHIP ON A \$12,000 SIRUP ITEM.

Take the Agricultural bill for illustration, which, after having been passed by the House and killed by the Senate last session, was again hastily prepared this session and again reported to the House carrying \$32,000,000, a reduction of several million from the amount recommended by the senatorial committee last session. This bill had to be passed by Congress before the 1st day of July, 1919, or the Agricultural Department would be stranded. About 30 legislative days remained when debate was begun in the House on this Agricultural bill on May 27, and debate on the bill ended on June 4, or 8 days, including 5 legislative working days. One amendment to reduce a \$12,000 sirup item to \$5,000 was vigorously debated and developed much latent statesmanship, until finally Majority Leader MONDELL was obliged to lecture the House for its unbusinesslike, dilatory tactics. Hundreds of other items were discussed in the 5 days' debate on the Agricultural bill. At that rate of progress of 5 days for a \$32,000,000 bill, the military bill, carrying \$800,000,000, or the naval bill, carrying \$600,000,000, would consume about 80 out of the 25 remaining days prior to July 1, or 80 days out of 25, with other bills to follow. This absurd situation was complicated by the further fact that other matters sometimes have the right of way. After such conditions were untangled, the Senate also had to give intelligent consideration to all of these same bills. Folly? It is worse than folly; it is downright incompetency, for which we are accountable, and both branches of Congress must accept their full share of responsibility. This is done regularly under a plea of confession and avoidance.

With several billion dollars in appropriations hanging fire, the Agricultural bill carrying less than 1 per cent of the total to



be appropriated was given one-sixth of the legislative time remaining for discussion in the House, and then it went to the Senate. That policy can not find an apologist in Congress, and yet when the District of Columbia appropriation bill followed, on June 4, it carried less than \$15,000,000, or one half of 1 per cent of the total appropriations to be passed in the remaining 25 legislative days left to the House and Senate. The District bill took four more legislative days of the precious time remaining before the end of the fiscal year, while the great military and naval bills, carrying \$1,319,000,000, and containing many hundreds of items, received less than a week's consideration.

Let me call attention to other evidence of our display of collective legislative wisdom and business methods. Congress is required by present practices to give nearly 10 per cent of its legislative time to the District of Columbia. "District day" occupies the center of the stage, like a turbulent town meeting, once or twice every month, and the appropriation bills and other District legislation, like the poor, are ever with us. A city of the size of Milwaukee or Cleveland is constantly figuring in the center of the ring. Washington papers feature in pictures and laudatory articles those who favor a so-called half-and-half taxing scheme, inaugurated about the time the tables were handed down to Moses on the mount. Annually, semiannually, and even by-weekly this momentous problem comes before Congress. Girded to the loins for battle, the antagonists on the half-and-half District tax, backed by the Washington press, little and big, struggle in Titan conflict on this momentous tax question for Washington.

#### SIXTEEN MEMBERS PRESENT DURING AN APPROPRIATION-BILL DEBATE.

What matters whether military, naval, railroad, or other appropriation bills pass, so long as half and half retains its grip. Champions are crowned with laurel wreaths, while Goliath Philistines are roasted and toasted and slingshotted into temporary oblivion as both ends of the Capitol become a sewing circle debating society with the half-and-half tax a bone of contention on which to sharpen teeth of able statesmen. For many precious minutes on the District appropriation bill the House discussed the salary of one Beeler and his assistant, who tried to untangle the local street car snarl. Explanations were demanded and given time after time. At the close of the first day's debate in the House on the District bill, Judge GARD, of Ohio, said to the Chair, "There are hardly 20 people in the Hall, and I move that the committee do now rise." In other words, out of 435 Members less than 5 per cent would stay to listen to the discussion. A vote on an item at that time showed 6 ayes and 10 noes, or 16 men, good and true, were present. That was all that could be mustered at a time when several billions of dollars in appropriation bills were waiting passage, with less than 25 legislative days remaining in which the Senate and House must enact all these appropriation bills into law.

I have given some side lights on two or three bills that have been taking up the time of Congress under the present system or lack of system. Is it any wonder that waste of time and money is incalculable under this childish, absurd practice, that would merit a schoolmaster's castigation if infants in the primary department were guilty of like conduct? How much longer will kindergarten customs govern Congress?

I believe I have fairly described some things for which intelligent men—statesmen, Congressmen—for the last half century have been to blame. No responsibility for bills, no limit to appropriations, no relation to revenues, no intelligent or businesslike way of handling the legislative financial interests of the greatest Government in the world. Such inefficiency in a large part will be remedied by the adoption of a real budget system.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. I always yield to our distinguished ex-Speaker, the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Has the gentleman any remedies to suggest by which Members can be kept here?

Mr. FREAR. I am going to divert for a moment, if permitted. By the adoption of a budget system we can keep Members here, because we will save at least two months of legislative work every year by the adoption of such a system. Members will remain in attendance when important matters are considered. We are here to-day, presenting the most ridiculous spectacle in the world. We are here with the District of Columbia appropriation simply acting as a board of aldermen. That work ought to be taken from the floor of the House, and then 30 days will be sufficient time to give to the consideration of an annual budget.

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Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The gentleman has never answered the question that I asked him. It was if he had any suggestion to make about how to keep Members in attendance here?

Mr. FREAR. I suggested to the distinguished ex-Speaker, and I tried to make it as clear as possible, that it will be helped by the adoption of a budget system. Members will not come and listen to the kind of discussion we have had in the last two hours on this floor. They have more important business to perform elsewhere.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How would a budget system induce men to come here to-day and listen to this debate about the water question and things of that kind?

Mr. FREAR. It would take away all the appropriation detail matters and give time for questions of national importance. Now, if the gentleman from Missouri will pardon me, there is no other way, in my judgment, whereby you can do it. Its adoption is a proper thing not only in the saving of time, but in removing many present criticisms that are justly lodged against Congress.

#### PRACTICAL FEATURES OF A REAL BUDGET SYSTEM.

What is a national budget system? I will not attempt to discuss the subject technically, because, while the general plan is simple and easily understood, matters of technical detail or ramifications of the system are not important to consider. Congress has neither the time, training, nor desire to master such details. Briefly, an efficient budget system includes, first, a businesslike preparation of estimates of expenditures by the President or the administration acting through the Secretary of the Treasury or other agency. As the administration spends the money, it should know what money is claimed to be needed. This statement of departmental estimates carefully prepared by one who will be held responsible for all the items and the total amount contained in the preliminary budget should be in lieu of the unrelated estimates now furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury under the several acts of 1884, 1901, and 1906, at which latter date President Taft tried to make a beginning, but failed.

When an intelligent report has been carefully compiled by the administration the budget reaches the next step. Second, the administration budget should be placed in the hands of an auditor general, comptroller, or other agent of Congress, appointed by Congress, and acting independent of the administration. This official, with whatever technical aids and clerical help may be required, will make a complete analysis of the budget, comparing its items with prior bills, cutting down wherever practicable to do so, and making a complete audit or accounting on behalf of Congress, which he represents, a duty now imperfectly performed by nonexpert Congressmen year after year. This report will be presented to Congress in the early days of the session, having been prepared in advance by competent experts. Thereafter comes the last and most important step of all.

Third and last, the auditor general's report having been audited on behalf of Congress by expert accountants reaches the stage for legislative action, and is referred to a budget committee, preferably a joint committee of the two Houses. This committee takes up the auditor's report and gives whatever hearings may be found necessary. The bill or budget is jointly considered throughout by the single joint budget committee, and then it is reported to the respective Houses of Congress for passage, but first by the House. The bill then is passed by both Houses.

Mr. Chairman, this budget procedure should be hedged about so that increases in items of appropriations can be made in committee only by two-thirds vote and no increase shall be in order by an individual Member on the floor. The administration's budget and congressional action then become matters of record responsibility. Congress must appropriate for actual needs or be held justly and politically responsible. Emergency appropriations can be similarly checked, but practically all unnecessary waste in time and money will be eliminated by this plan, according to the experience of other countries, and any real budget system must have only one budget committee.

#### BUSINESS METHODS SHOULD SUPPLANT INDEFENSIBLE PRACTICES.

This general plan for budget legislation, with some modifications, is adopted by other countries where an effective system is in use. It is the only way to prevent many of the evils now existing, and for that reason possibly it will meet opposition in both House and Senate from those whose present position of influence, power, and prestige on appropriation committees would be radically affected or possibly end. It would prevent river and harbor pork barrels, because the River and Harbor Committee could not prepare bills or insert items other than those presented by the administration. It would effectually squelch the public-building pork-barrel scandal because neces-



sity and not legislative pull would determine what waterways would be improved and what buildings erected. Bucolic statesmen who sometimes have charge of such measures may fume and storm at this "surrender" of legislative perquisites, but men who desire to do public business on business principles will welcome the reform.

From such sources as thrive on political pull, opposition will come to any radical change, and no man will discount the strength of that opposition at both ends of the Capitol, but, like an aching tooth, present practices must be plucked out and an efficient substitute provided. The budget will meet every requirement. It does meet such needs in all other countries of the world, and that is a safe test, whereas ours fails in all important essentials.

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

#### THE LONG FIGHT FOR A NATIONAL BUDGET MUST SUCCEED.

The experience of other countries has brought the budget system into pronounced favor. For years it has been urged in this country; bills have been introduced, resolutions asking for its adoption have been offered, and advocates of the budget have been urging it upon Congress in both House and Senate. I make no pretense to especial activity, but realizing that the best argument in favor of a budget would be to expose present inefficient extravagant methods, I have to the best of my ability since my first election to Congress openly opposed several pernicious bills that have made congressional legislative methods a by-word and a joke. In 1914 I opposed the river and harbor bill for several days on the floor of the House, exposing its waste and fraud as I viewed it. That bill was killed in the Senate. Every such bill offered since that time has been exposed, and a position on the committee for several years did not effect my course. Members of the River and Harbor Committee and of the House have stated that a decided improvement in bills has resulted, but I am frank to say that no bill prepared as such bills are prepared can ever bear any semblance to a bill based on governmental necessities.

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

This was all preliminary to active work on a budget plan, which, to my mind, is the only effective way of ending such objectionable legislative practices. Over a year and a half ago I spoke for a budget bill in the House and introduced resolutions urging its passage. Ever since that date I have urged it, as have other Members of the House and Senate, in season and out. Three measures are before Congress at this time that should receive your consideration. Those introduced by myself are House joint resolution 83, introduced May 30; House bill 4061, introduced May 30; House bill 3738, introduced May 28; and one or two other minor bills. House joint resolution 83 and bills 4061 and 3738 are all that directly affect the plan I submit. Other bills are designed to take from the Treasury Department governmental activities that should be undertaken by other departments and in order that the Treasury Department may be free to take over many important duties that would come to it under a budget system.

Bill No. 4061 provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall gather together all departmental estimates and make them into a tentative budget, which he shall furnish the President by November 15 of each year. No resolution or bill can compel specific action by the President, but every President will hail the chance to present in a businesslike manner the facts which he is unable to properly place before Congress under existing methods. Bill No. 3738 provides for an auditor general, who, acting as an employee of Congress, takes over certain duties now performed by the Treasury Department and, in addition, proceeds to audit, improve, and, where possible, reduce the estimates furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury. *In order to remove him and his corps of assistants from the control or influence of the administration he is to be appointed by the Speaker of the House, in concert with the majority and minority leaders*

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*of the House.* The budget is to reach this auditor general and his corps of assistants by November 15 every year, and by January 15 he is required to present it to the House.

#### THE MOST IMPORTANT LINK IS A SINGLE-BUDGET COMMITTEE.

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

The resolution and bills were prepared by me, but taken from other measures offered in the past, with such changes as might be desirable. No pride of authorship exists, nor are these bills or the resolution urged in the precise form presented, but *any plan that fails to give Congress a complete control over the Auditor General's appointment and activities and that fails to place in the hands of one committee the entire control of the budget will fail to give needed relief.*

#### THREE BUDGET PLANS THAT HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED.

Mr. Chairman, I have been asked to state the distinction between this plan described and the so-called McCormick plan introduced by Senator McCormick in the Senate, and the Good bill, H. R. 1201, introduced by Representative Goop in the House.

Senator McCormick has secured action by the Senate Rules Committee, creating a special Senate committee to "investigate" a budget system. The Senate may be in advance of the House, notwithstanding the House is the body in which all revenue bills and appropriation bills originate, and we should not be backward in advancing this reform. In my judgment, if the McCormick resolution and accompanying bills introduced last session become law, the American Congress will have a strong, efficient budget system. I suspect we have both received aid and inspiration from the same source, from Mr. Collins, an expert accountant and clear thinker, whose work on the budget is a masterpiece of concise argument.

The McCormick resolution, submitted in House Document No. 1006, Sixty-fifth Congress, second session, provides for a committee of 40 members, which, for the sake of securing a legislative center rush to put through the resolution, is a good move. House joint resolution 83, which I introduced, provides for a joint committee of both Houses, made up of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate, consisting of about the same number. This latter plan was proposed because for 76 years the Ways and Means Committee was the budget committee of the House, and since the organization of Congress it has been the committee charged with the duty of raising revenues. This duty, when performed by a budget committee, should be combined with that of passing upon appropriations and expenditures. In addition to these reasons, I believed hearings on present bills might proceed more expeditiously; but I am free to say that whether that committee or a special committee is selected, it will be hailed by every advocate of legislative economy as a great improvement over the present system.

The provision in my resolution for joint hearings, joint consideration, and simultaneous report to the House and Senate is a matter of detail that could be provided in any change of rules. In the matter of audit on the part of Congress and in the original preparation of the budget by the Treasury Department the two plans are much alike, doubtlessly arising from the same source of budget aid furnished Congress.

The Good bill is the only other measure that seems to have received special notice, and it is probable that Representative Goop would not insist on limiting his plan to the powers contained in his bill. Otherwise it would only be a makeshift and fail in the vital elements that should compose a budget system. House bill No. 1201, known as the Good bill, suggests a different method of collecting department data and presenting estimates, but provides effectively for the preparation of an administration budget. From that point, however, the plans differ, and the Good bill *directs the President to appoint an auditor or comptroller to examine the administration bills as the agent of Congress.* The weakness of this procedure in a matter of such momentous importance requires no discussion when compared to a plan that requires the Speaker and majority and minority



leaders to appoint, as provided in the McCormick bill and in bill No. 3738.

CONTINUED "INVESTIGATIONS" BURIED BUDGET LEGISLATION FOR 10 YEARS.

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

Our Democratic friends ignored their platform pledge and also the request of the President for a single appropriation committee. Passage of the Good bill would mean nothing tangible and preserve the evils of which we stand convicted by our own record. Mr. Sherley, former chairman of the Appropriation Committee, declared that the budget was opposed in the House by 200 specific objections and every reason was a membership on one of the 14 appropriation committees. We must overcome those 200 odd arguments by convincing Members that it is the right thing, the honest thing, to do; the square thing with the country and with our constituents; and that any man who can make good on an appropriation committee that deals in dry details can do better legislative service for his country and receive commendation from his constituents when giving his energies to great national problems, which he will be permitted to do if appropriation committee drudgery is turned over to expert auditor accountants. Then the only function of appropriation committees, apart from the budget committee, will lie in legislative policies for the department represented.

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

#### RECRIMINATION ON EXTRAVAGANCE WOULD CEASE WITH A BUDGET.

For six years the Republican side of the aisle has vigorously charged the Democrats with extravagance, waste, and taking the "blood of the people" for their toll. To this our Democratic friends have retorted "Republicans are just as bad," and are equally responsible for the preparation and passage of appropriation bills that measure expenditures. Unprejudiced minds must admit both are on trial, and until a thorough, genuine budget system is adopted it will continue to be a case of the pot calling the kettle black. On different occasions I have stated emphatically that individually and collectively congressional standards are higher to-day than ever before, due in part, I believe, to direct primaries that bring direct responsibilities, while temptations of old, offered through powerful lobbies, easy money, and direct methods have disappeared. Not only are standards higher but in private and public dealings in Congress to-day, whatever may be the popular conception, men are known to their colleagues to be honest and high principled.

Possibly no Member of this body has spoken more frankly in the recent past against congressional extravagance, or more vigorously denounced specific legislation, than I have done; but my high regard for this great body, individually and collectively, caused me to resent security league calumny and to demand that we vindicate ourselves and disclose the hypocrisy of those whose bigotry, ignorance, and malice, caused them to regard their own kind as supermen, whereas they were only types of

the egotistical ass that does not understand people in general. Congress is made up of able men in close touch with their fellow men, and, I believe, is representative of the best elements of citizenship throughout the country, but Congress, individually and collectively, will not respond to public sentiment or throw off inefficient, unbusinesslike ways wherever political prestige is to be sacrificed, excepting through an upheaval that rarely occurs.

#### CONGRESS MUST KEEP PLEDGES MADE BY ITS PLATFORMS AND LEADERS.

President Taft was enthusiastic about overturning present wasteful conditions, but a decade has passed without any appearance of budget reform for which he worked. President Wilson made a direct appeal from the Clerk's desk of the House two years ago for a single appropriation committee, but not one move has been made by Democrats or Republicans to bring about that single needed reform. All the political parties in their national platforms have demanded genuine budget legislation, but not one move has occurred to secure specific reform, excepting individual efforts to that end. Any real move will encounter blind switches and legislative sidetracks by way of further "investigations." Congress does not care for all the resolutions and petitions in Christendom, whether issued by commercial or other organizations, because Congress has heard that men have innocently signed petitions to hang themselves, and Congress ordinarily responds only to direct action.

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

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman yield?

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

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

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I do not like to take up the gentleman's time—

Mr. FREAR. I do not feel that I have the right to refuse to yield to the distinguished ex-Speaker.

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

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

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am not opposed to it. I am just suggesting to you the futility of talking about it.

Mr. FREAR. We have never got anywhere on anything on earth that we have not talked about. I know that the distinguished ex-Speaker, with all the power that he possesses, must be in sympathy with the proposition of saving time and saving money, and—

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

Mr. FREAR. When we adopt a budget system, which I believe will come in several years, although the newspapers are claiming that it will be indorsed at this session, then we will have Members attend these sessions. I realize the great obstacles that the ex-Speaker has mentioned, and I know the opposition to the project, and what is true here is true with respect



to the body at the other end of the Capitol, and Senators are more jealous of their rights, their powers, and perquisites than are the Members of this body. But it has got to come.

Mr. FOSTER. Why is there no chance now?

Mr. FREAR. Because there are over 200 members of committees having appropriating power who do not want to lose their prestige. I have sat on one of these committees, and I know what it means, but they must come to it. Mr. Chairman, I have introduced three bills, or rather one resolution and two bills, which I offered, and, as I show in my resolution, I have selected the Committee on Ways and Means as the one committee of the House to represent the budget. I do not care whether you appoint an independent committee or not. There is not a Member of this House—I do not care who he is—who can not render more valuable service to his country and to his constituents by working on important general legislation than by sitting on an appropriating committee and trying to do detail work such as we try to do for months at a time and in an inefficient manner.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes. Certainly to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. CANNON. Under our Constitution, with a Senate that changes one-third of its membership every two years, and with a House that changes every two years, how in the world can you have a budget governing the whole public service and get anything out of it? As I understand it, in Great Britain, when their budget is turned down, they go to the people at an election. You can not do that here. I suppose that is also so in France, and I suppose it is so in Italy.

Mr. FREAR. If the distinguished Republican ex-Speaker, to whom we all listen with profound respect, as we also listen to ex-Speaker CLARK, and with all due deference to their views, because we learn so much from them, will reflect a moment they will both realize that when the Republican Party challenges the record of the Democratic administration or when the Democratic Party challenges the record of a Republican administration we must stand on our record, on the moneys we demand and are voted, and if a Republican Congress does not give a Democratic administration a sufficient amount of money to properly run the Government, the public at large will not retain us in the service, but will turn us out. That is our responsibility. In other countries to which reference has been made they oust the ministry. Here we can not do that. It will take time to make necessary changes, but fundamentally the same principle is at the bottom of it. Under this resolution that I have proposed and under the two bills that are proposed we would have the same situation as exists in Great Britain, where an enormous amount of time and an enormous amount of money is saved compared with our lack of system.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman desired to be notified before his time had expired.

Mr. FREAR. I realize, as both distinguished ex-Speakers have said, that it is hard to attempt to outline in brief time the importance of this subject, but I am going to insert the bills, resolution, and other data, and if you will do me the honor to read them you will find a way pointed out, and you will find I have outlined not only the faults of the present system, but the object to be attained by a new real budget plan.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended 10 minutes. If he can devise a way to get a budget, I would like to hear of it. I am not opposed to the budget. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Not to be taken out of the time agreed upon?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. No; not to be taken out of the time agreed upon.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] be allowed to proceed 10 minutes more, the time not to be taken out of the time agreed upon.

Mr. MAPES. Mr. Chairman, can that be done when the time has been fixed by the House?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. It has been done a thousand times.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair considers it can be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. FREAR. I take it, Mr. Chairman, that this is not offered as a motion before the House?

The CHAIRMAN. It has not been presented, but the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] made the request, and the Chair will put the request of the gentleman from Missouri if he so desires.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I wanted it put, of course.

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The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri requests unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] be extended 10 minutes, the same not to be taken from the time as agreed upon for general debate. Is there objection?

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

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts objects.

Mr. FREAR. I appreciate the force of the objection and also the generous purpose of the mover of the motion.

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

IF WE FAIL TO GIVE THE COUNTRY A BUDGET SYSTEM ANOTHER CONGRESS WILL KEEP THE PLEDGE.

Mr. Chairman, some economies have been had through exposures of bills on the floor, but unless it is to be a matter of hope and promise early reform can only be reached by active efforts to secure individual pledges from the most conservative, holdfast body in the world—the American Congress. Self-interest is an argument that reaches close to men in public life. The best way to remove self-interest here and political interest of those whose first love is an appropriation committee and prestige in effecting direct action on the Public Treasury is by self-interest in conditions back home. Home constituencies and the country at large must emphasize the fact that the country will no longer tolerate delay or congressional inaction. A real budget will come when Congress is convinced that if it does not give the reform another Congress will be returned that will.

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

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

Second. The absurd and unbusinesslike spectacle presented in handling administrative expenditures through 20 different appropriation committees of Congress, all of which hold separate hearings and pretend to prepare bills and make investigations that can be properly performed only by administration sources, then examined by experts on behalf of Congress, and finally by a single congressional committee that would have matters of financial policy rather than details to consider.

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

In conclusion, I repeat what was said at the outset, a comprehensive budget would, in my judgment, save to the Treasury hundreds of millions of dollars annually without injuring or affecting adversely a single legitimate public interest. It would save many weeks' time in the aggregate to Members who now fritter away months of valuable hours in the discussion of appropriation bills in committee and in Congress—time that could be used to better advantage by every Member in the consideration of important legislative problems, and would shorten sessions proportionately if we act with judgment.

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

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me say this is a work that we ought to finish, and individual Members ought to study the whole proposition to bring it about; because, as I said at the outset, every political party has demanded it in its platform. We are pledged to enact it into law. Every country on the face of the globe has a budget system to-day except the United States. We know that it will save weeks and months of legislative time every year. We know it will save probably hundreds of millions of dollars every year if it can be adopted, and we must agree upon it. The obstacles against it consist of the honorary positions that are occupied by men at both ends of the Capitol, high positions which they honestly treasure. Those positions are a matter of personal pride with them. But if we want to save all this time and money to the people, if we want to become more efficient in our methods of legislation, it is our duty to pass a national budget system. [Applause.]



I am presenting brief data in connection with my remarks that is related to the general subject:

*Appropriation bills passed by the House at session ended Mar. 4, 1919, for the fiscal year 1920.*

No.	Title of bill. <sup>1</sup>	Passed House. <sup>1</sup>	Approved. <sup>1</sup>	Total appropriation. <sup>2</sup>
1	District of Columbia.....	Dec. 11, 1918		\$14,091,701.00
2	Post Office.....	Dec. 18, 1918	Feb. 23, 1919	311,466,149.00
1	Rivers and harbors.....	Jan. 11, 1919	Mar. 2, 1919	11,178,164.00
4	Legislative.....	Jan. 18, 1919	Mar. 1, 1919	97,940,411.77
3	Diplomatic and Consular.....	Jan. 22, 1919	Mar. 4, 1919	9,841,661.67
6	Indian.....	Jan. 23, 1919		11,066,397.01
7	Agriculture.....	Feb. 1, 1919		11,671,022.00
8	Second deficiency for 1919.....	Jan. 29, 1919	Feb. 25, 1919	292,714,084.71
9	Pensions.....	Feb. 1, 1919	do.	215,030,000.00
10	Military Academy.....	Feb. 4, 1919	Mar. 4, 1919	2,277,832.20
11	Navy.....	Feb. 11, 1919		720,793,000.33
12	Army.....	Feb. 18, 1919		1,070,529,088.56
13	Fortifications.....	Feb. 19, 1919	Mar. 3, 1919	11,214,291.00
14	Railroads.....	Feb. 21, 1919		750,000,000.00
15	Sundry civil.....	Feb. 28, 1919		851,171,849.25
16	General deficiency.....	do.		26,937,265.03
Total amount of appropriation bills passed by House.....				4,670,129,437.55

<sup>1</sup> Monthly compilations of the war Congress, Apr. 1, 1919, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> The Chronicle, Apr. 5, 1919, p. 1345.

Note: This table does not include:

1. Appropriations in miscellaneous acts.....	\$1,117,713,436.47
2. Permanent annual and indefinite appropriations (estimated).....	2,074,286,880.00
3. Appropriation to meet deficiency in Quartermaster Corps.....	829,875,295.10
4. Additional expenditures to discharge war contracts (estimated).....	1,500,000,000.00
Grand total.....	10,191,505,049.12

By way of illustration the total appropriation for 1916-17, prior to the war, is of special interest. Also the time consumed by the several bills in different appropriation committees which were reported throughout the session to the House, beginning with January 29, and ending in August.

The total annual appropriation for the year 1916-17, prior to our entrance into the war, reached about \$1,626,000,000, of which amount \$84,290,000 were appropriated by miscellaneous acts, including private acts for relief of individuals, and 14 general appropriation bills were strung along throughout the session, as follows: The Indian bill, reported January 29; the Post Office bill, January 31; the river and harbor bill, February 24; the legislative, executive, and judicial bill on the same day; two other bills reported in March, one in April, four in May, one in June, and two in August. In addition there were five urgent deficiency bills and two resolutions extending appropriations until bills could be passed.

*Total appropriations for the fiscal years 1914, 1915, and 1918.*

[Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1917, p. 652.]

Fiscal year—	
1914.....	\$684,757,276.26
1915.....	674,497,625.16
1918.....	18,881,940,243.79

*Total number of appropriation bills passed by Congress for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1918.*

[CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 14, 1917, p. 7807.]

Regular acts.....	13
Deficiency acts.....	2
Miscellaneous acts.....	3
Total.....	18

*Appropriation bills failing to pass the Senate prior to Mar. 4, 1919.<sup>1</sup>*

No.	Title of bill.	Total appropriation. <sup>2</sup>
1	District of Columbia.....	\$14,093,701.00
2	Indian.....	11,066,597.03
3	Agriculture.....	31,673,022.00
4	Navy.....	720,793,000.33
5	Army.....	1,070,529,088.56
6	Railroads.....	750,000,000.00
7	Sundry Civil.....	851,171,849.25
8	General Deficiency.....	26,937,265.03
Total.....		\$3,476,264,523.20

<sup>1</sup> Monthly Compilations of the War Congress, Apr. 1, 1919, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> The Chronicle, Apr. 5, 1919, p. 1345.

<sup>3</sup> These eight bills have again passed the House at \$2,199,000,000.

Total gross debt of the United States, May 31, 1919, \$25,921,151,273; no deduction on account of obligations of foreign governments. Source: Journal of Commerce, New York, June 4, 1919, page 9.

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The following extracts taken from my speech in the House of December 14, 1917, on the same subject of budget legislation are added because of the data therein contained:

The following countries have a budget system: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Montenegro, Netherlands, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Salvador, Serbia, Spain, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of South Africa, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The only great nation excepted from the foregoing list, a democracy that vaingloriously challenges the admiration of the world for its form of government, is the United States.

President Wilson's advice that has been ignored is also submitted at this point.

"It will be impossible to deal in any but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion with the enormous appropriations of the public moneys which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained, unless the House will consent to return to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication as much as possible avoided."—(President Wilson's address to Congress Dec. 4, 1917.)

#### PARTY PLATFORMS DEMAND A BUDGET SYSTEM.

The Democratic Party has demanded a change and pledged every member of the majority party to that change when in its platform in St. Louis in 1916 it declared:

"We demand careful economy in all expenditures for the support of the Government, and to that end favor a return by the House of Representatives to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee chosen from its membership, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication in the public service avoided. We favor this as a practicable first step toward a budget system."

President Wilson vainly demands a fulfillment of that pledge.

#### A REPUBLICAN PLATFORM PLEDGE IN 1916.

The Republicans were pledged at Chicago in 1916, at their last national convention, in the following words:

"The increasing cost of the National Government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for Government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this Democratic administration, of its shameless raids on the Treasury, and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft-repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simple, businesslike budget system, to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances."

In a clear, comprehensive work on the budget system, Collins says: "Turning to Congress we face a situation without parallel in the world. Here we can not speak of a budget, but of separate and independent bills drawing on the Treasury. These bills are prepared by about 14 independent committees of the House and 15 of the Senate—29 separate committees, each working independently of each other and of the executive branch of the Government. Ten of these House committees and 8 Senate committees report out all of the bills carrying appropriations, but the other 11 (4 in the House and 7 in the Senate) report out measures for pensions, public buildings, and other things carrying demands on the Treasury, which are met by bills from one of the other committees. \* \* \* In the United States—but nowhere else—the legislative branch of the Government actually prepares in detail every financial measure introduced."

A great student of finance and public affairs, Mr. Fitzgerald, chairman of Appropriations Committee, declared:

"I have repeatedly urged that all the appropriation bills be consolidated in one committee. When I had no thought of quitting this body I made the statement I would willingly retire as head of the Committee on Appropriations and from the committee to bring about this reform. \* \* \* I am glad the President has made this recommendation. I believe it the most important reform that the House can adopt. \* \* \*

No higher authority can be quoted than Mr. Fitzgerald, who resigned from this body.

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

#### REPUBLICAN AUTHORITY ON COMMITTEE EXTRAVAGANCES.

James A. Tawney, ex-chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, in 1909 gave a public statement on this general subject wherein he says:

"The difficulty in practice which the Committee on Appropriations has in keeping appropriations within the estimated revenues arises from the fact that when the several committees which have jurisdiction over the appropriations for a particular department \* \* \* appropriate for expenditures out in the districts and States represented by Members of the House and Senate, the departments for which the appropriations are made can always rely upon the Representatives and Senators in whose districts and States these appropriations are to be expended to support almost any demand they make."

Taft, Wilson, Fitzgerald, Sherley, Tawney all demand a single budget committee in order to secure a real budget system. Will the country say to Congress "I asked for bread and ye gave me a gold brick? What is our answer?"

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

A bill (H. R. 4061) to provide for departmental budget estimates, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, on or before the 15th day of November of each year, submit to the President the following information: A revised statement in summary and in de-



tail of the estimates of expenditures of the various branches of the Government, the said revision of the estimates being hereafter provided for; a statement giving the estimated revenues of the Government for the fiscal year to which the estimates of expenditures relate, and if the estimated expenditures shall exceed the estimated revenue he shall also submit therewith recommendations for new taxes, loans, or other appropriate legislation to meet the deficiency; in like manner he shall submit to the President from time to time such supplemental, deficiency, or other estimates as may be necessary to meet the needs of the Government.

SEC. 2. That in order that the said estimates of expenditures shall represent the actual financial needs of the Government it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, before submitting them to the President to revise, to consolidate, to unify, to coordinate, to reduce, to diminish, or otherwise to change any item or items in the regular annual estimates, or in any deficiency, supplemental, or other estimates of expenditures for the various branches of the Government in such a manner as may be necessary to effect economies and to prevent waste, extravagance, loss, duplication, and the like.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to make such changes in the form of said estimates as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 4. That in order to provide the administrative organization for the operation of the provisions of this act there is hereby created in the Treasury Department a bureau to be known as the budget bureau, which shall be composed of one director and two assistant directors, each of whom shall be appointed by the President, and such other persons as are hereinafter provided for.

SEC. 5. That the director shall receive a salary of \$10,000 per annum, and the assistant directors shall each receive a salary of \$7,500 per annum. The director shall employ and fix the compensation of such attorneys, accountants, special experts, examiners, clerks, and other employees as he may find necessary to carry out the provisions of this act and as may be appropriated for by Congress: *Provided*, That not more than 10 persons shall be employed hereunder at a salary in excess of \$3,000 per annum and not to exceed \$5,000 per annum for any such person. All employees of the budget bureau, with the exception of those receiving a salary in excess of \$3,000 per annum, shall be appointed from a list of eligibles to be supplied by the Civil Service Commission and in accordance with the civil-service law.

SEC. 6. That the budget bureau shall have and perform all of the powers and duties now held and performed by the Division of Book-keeping and Warrants of the Treasury Department, in so far as they relate to the estimates of expenditures hereinbefore referred to, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act, and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to make such reorganization of said division as may be necessary to accomplish this purpose.

SEC. 7. That for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, the sum of \$125,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the establishment and maintenance of the budget bureau, including the payment of salaries herein authorized.

SEC. 8. That the submission of the estimates by the Secretary of the Treasury as herein provided shall be in lieu of his presentation of the Book of Estimates to Congress, as now provided by law.

SEC. 9. That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 10. That this act may be cited for all purposes as the estimates revision act, 1919.

SEC. 11. That this act shall take effect at the beginning of the fiscal year 1919.

A bill (H. R. 3738) to provide for an auditor general to act on behalf of Congress, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the offices of auditor general, assistant auditor general, and solicitor of the audit office of the United States are hereby created. The auditor general shall be appointed by a committee to be composed of the Speaker, the majority leader, and the minority leader of the House of Representatives; he shall hold office during good behavior, subject, however, to removal therefrom for cause by a two-thirds vote of the House of Representatives; he shall receive a salary of \$12,000 per annum. The assistant auditor general and the solicitor of the audit office shall be appointed in the same manner as the auditor general, shall each receive a salary of \$7,500 per annum, and may be removed from office for cause by the committee appointing them.

SEC. 2. That on the death, resignation, or other vacancy in the office of the auditor general or of the assistant auditor general, or of the solicitor, his successor shall be appointed in the manner as prescribed above for the original appointment.

SEC. 3. That anything which under the authority of this act is directed to be done by the auditor general may, in his absence, be done by the assistant auditor general, except the certifying and reporting on the departmental accounts for the House of Representatives. The solicitor of the audit office shall be the legal adviser of the auditor general.

SEC. 4. That after the consolidation of the audit forces hereinafter provided for has been effected, the Comptroller of the Treasury shall forthwith be divested of all of his functions relating to the audit of the departmental accounts, and the existing audit offices for the departmental accounts, namely: Auditor for the Treasury Department and all bureaus and offices thereunder; Auditor for the War Department and business under it; Auditor for the Navy Department; Auditor for the Interior Department; Auditor for the Post Office Department; and Auditor for the State Department, and all other branches of the public service not included in the above shall be forthwith abolished.

SEC. 5. That immediately after his appointment the auditor general shall proceed to consolidate and reorganize the audit work of the offices of the above-mentioned auditors and that of the Comptroller of the Treasury, in so far as it relates to the audit of the departmental accounts into one office, to be known as the audit office, of which he shall be the head and for the work of which he shall be accountable to Congress.

SEC. 6. That after the above-mentioned consolidations and reorganizations shall have been effected all subsequent appointments in the audit office of officers, clerks, and other persons, except as hereinbefore provided, shall be made under the ordinary rules and regulations of the classified civil service: *Provided, however*, That the provisions of this section shall not apply to temporary appointments made by the auditor general for a period of less than six months, but such temporary appointees shall not be eligible to reappointment except under the civil-service rules as hereinbefore provided.

SEC. 7. That the auditor general shall have full power to make from time to time orders and rules for the conduct of the internal business of the audit office and to promote, suspend, or discharge any of the officers, clerks, or others employed therein, except as hereinbefore pro-

vided: *Provided, however*, That such promotion, suspension, or discharge shall be made upon considerations of efficiency only.

SEC. 8. That each executive department of the Government shall prepare and transmit through the Treasury Department to the auditor general for examination not later than the 30th day of November of each year an account of every expenditure of public moneys made by said departments for the fiscal year ending on the preceding 30th day of June; such accounts shall be submitted in such form and manner as may be determined by the auditor general with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and shall be known as the departmental accounts.

SEC. 9. That every departmental account shall be examined by the auditor general on behalf of the House of Representatives, and such examination shall determine whether the payments which are charged in the accounts to the sums appropriated are supported by vouchers or proofs of payment, and whether the money expended has been applied to the purpose or purposes for which such appropriation was intended to provide.

SEC. 10. That in order that such examination may, as far as possible, proceed pari passu with the cash transactions of the several accounting offices of the executive departments, the auditor general shall have free access, at all convenient times, to the books of account and other documents relating to the accounts of such departments, and may require the several departments concerned to furnish him from time to time or at regular periods with accounts of the cash transactions of such departments, respectively, up to such times or periods.

SEC. 11. That on the 15th day of each January the auditor general shall lay before the House of Representatives the departmental accounts for the preceding fiscal year as certified and reported upon by him, and in which he shall call the attention of the House of Representatives to every case in which it may appear to him that an expenditure has exceeded the appropriation; or that money received by a department from other sources than the appropriations for the year to which the accounts relate has not been applied or accounted for according to law; or that a sum charged against an appropriation is not supported by proof of payment; or that a payment so charged did not occur within the period of the account or was for any reason not properly chargeable against the appropriation in question; and he shall further call the attention of the House of Representatives to such other facts or information which may show any irregularity in the accounts, whether of loss, waste, fraud, extravagance, or incompetence, which may appear on the face of the accounts as compared with the appropriations, or which may be revealed by the papers on file in the departments.

SEC. 12. That upon the receipt of the appropriation accounts by the House of Representatives they shall forthwith be referred to a joint budget committee to be created for that purpose, which committee shall, after examining the accounts with the report of the auditor general thereon, after the manner to be prescribed by the House, make a report to the House, making such comment and such recommendations as it may see fit.

SEC. 13. That upon the adoption of said committee report by the House of Representatives it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to transmit the recommendations therein contained to the department or office concerned; and, further, it shall be his duty to see that such recommendations are put into effect: *Provided, however*, That where objections are made to the recommendations by the department or office concerned it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to lay before said committee at its next regular meeting, for their consideration, the said recommendation and the reasons for not putting it into effect.

SEC. 14. That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 15. That this act may be cited for all purposes as the independent audit act, 1919.

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 83) to provide for a joint budget committee, composed of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and Finance Committee of the Senate.

*Resolved, etc.*, That the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and the Finance Committee of the Senate shall be a joint budget committee of Congress on and after December 1, 1920.

SEC. 2. That upon receipt by the House of the regular annual or any supplemental deficiency or other estimates of expenditures for the various branches of Government and suggestions for new revenue legislation to meet them from the President of the United States, with his recommendations for their enactment into law, they shall forthwith be referred to the joint budget committee, which committee shall have jurisdiction within the limits hereinafter provided over both revenue and appropriations and no other committee of the House or Senate shall thereafter report any bills carrying appropriations or providing revenue for the Government.

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

SEC. 4. That said joint budget committee may propose amendments to said estimates by way of reducing the amounts of any item or items of proposed expenditure therein stated, but said joint budget committee shall not have the power to propose any joint amendment which shall have for its effect the increasing of any item or items of the said estimates or of adding new items unless such increase or new items shall be requested by the Secretary of the Treasury upon the authority of the President: *Provided, however*, That said joint budget committee may by a two-thirds vote add new items or increase items in the said estimates.

SEC. 5. That such budget bill, with estimates of expenditures and revenue legislation to meet them embraced in a single bill, may be reported simultaneously to the House by the Ways and Means Committee and to the Senate by the Finance Committee and thereupon may be given consideration in either House, but the bill shall first be passed by the House of Representatives and thereafter by the Senate, with such amendments as may be added thereto.

SEC. 6. That it shall not be in order for any Member of the House to offer any amendment increasing any item or items in the said budget bill except that it be to restore an item or items in the estimates as they were regularly submitted by the President.

SEC. 7. That for the purpose of giving the House immediate and direct information as to the said estimates and of offering explanations in regard to the proposed expenditures of the said budget bill, the heads of the several executive departments may be required to appear in the House and Senate during the time said bill is under consideration to answer questions relating to the provisions of said bill.

SEC. 8. That all rules or parts of rules of the Senate or House in conflict with the provisions of this resolution are hereby repealed.

SEC. 9. This resolution shall take effect on and after the 1st day of December, 1920.



66TH CONGRESS,  
1ST SESSION.

# H. R. 7016.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JULY 8, 1919.

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

## A BILL

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

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3 That section 21 of "An Act to provide capital for agricul-  
4 tural development, to create standard forms of investment  
5 based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon  
6 farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to  
7 create Government depositaries and financial agents for the



1 United States and for other purposes," approved July 17,  
2 1916 (session one, chapter 245, page 360, Sixty-fourth  
3 Congress), be amended to read as follows, to wit:

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

8 "Every Federal land bank issuing farm loan bonds  
9 shall be primarily liable therefor, and shall also be liable,  
10 upon presentation of farm loan bond coupons, for interest pay-  
11 ments due upon any farm loan bonds issue by other Federal  
12 land banks and remaining unpaid in consequence of the de-  
13 fault of such other land banks; and every such bank shall  
14 likewise be liable for such portion of the principal of farm  
15 loan bonds so issued as shall not be paid after the assets of  
16 any such other land banks shall have been liquidated and  
17 distributed: *Provided*, That such losses, if any, either of in-  
18 terest or of principal, shall be assessed by the Federal Farm  
19 Loan Board against solvent land banks liable therefor in  
20 proportion to the amount of farm loan bonds which each may  
21 have outstanding at the time of such assessment.

22 "Every Federal land bank shall, by appropriate action  
23 of its board of directors, duly recorded in its minutes, obli-  
24 gate itself to become liable on farm loan bonds as provided  
25 in this section.



1       “ Every farm loan bond issued by a Federal land bank  
2 shall be signed by its president and attested by its secretary,  
3 and shall contain in the face thereof a certificate signed by  
4 the Farm Loan Commissioner to the effect that it is issued  
5 under the authority of the Federal Farm Loan Act, has the  
6 approval in form and issue of the Federal Farm Loan Board,  
7 and is legal and regular in all respects; that it is issued against  
8 collateral security of United States Government bonds, or  
9 indorsed first mortgages on farm lands, at least equal in  
10 amount to the bonds issued; and that all Federal land banks  
11 are liable for the payment of each bond.”

12       SEC. 2. That section 26 of the Act entitled “An Act  
13 to provide capital for agricultural development, to create a  
14 standard form of investment based upon farm mortgage, to  
15 equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a mar-  
16 ket for United States bonds, to create Government deposi-  
17 taries and financial agents for the United States, and for  
18 other purposes,” approved July 17, 1916, be amended to  
19 read as follows, to wit:

20       “ SEC. 26. That every Federal land bank and every  
21 national farm loan association, including the capital and re-  
22 serve or surplus therein and the income derived therefrom,  
23 shall be exempt from Federal, State, municipal, and local  
24 taxation, except taxes upon real estate held, purchased, or  
25 taken by said bank or association under the provisions of



1 section 11 and section 13 of this Act. The shares in any  
2 joint stock land bank may be included in the valuation of  
3 the personal property of the owner or holder of such shares,  
4 in assessing taxes imposed by authority of the State within  
5 which the bank is located; but such assessment and taxation  
6 shall be in manner and subject to the conditions and limita-  
7 tions contained in section 5219 of the Revised Statutes with  
8 reference to the shares of national banking associations. The  
9 real property of Federal and joint stock land banks and na-  
10 tional farm loan associations shall be subject to State, county,  
11 or municipal taxes, to the same extent, according to its value,  
12 as other real property."

13 SEC. 3. Nothing contained in this Act shall be con-  
14 strued as in any way affecting the validity, terms, conditions,  
15 or immunities of any bonds issued by any Federal land bank  
16 or joint stock land bank prior to the passage of this Act.

17 SEC. 4. All acts or parts of Acts inconsistent with this  
18 Act are hereby repealed and this Act shall take effect upon  
19 its passage.

○



66TH CONGRESS,  
1ST SESSION.

*Mr. Mil. Training*

S. 2691.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JULY 31, 1919.

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

**A BILL**

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

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 That this Act may be cited as the National Service Act.

4 SEC. 2. That the President shall make all such regula-  
5 tions, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, as may  
6 be necessary to carry out its purposes.

7 SEC. 3. That the military or naval training and any  
8 preparatory education therefor required by this Act shall be  
9 such as may be prescribed by regulation, and shall include  
10 vocational training in appropriate trades which may be



1 for, to be prescribed by regulation. For this purpose they  
2 may be inducted into the service or not, as may be prescribed  
3 by regulation. The preparatory educational period shall not  
4 exceed three months.

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

10 SEC. 7. The following shall be excepted from liability  
11 to service for training purposes and from preparatory educa-  
12 tion therefor, under such regulations as may be prescribed:

13 (a) Persons exempted or excepted from military, or  
14 naval service by treaty;

15 (b) Citizens or subjects of any country with which  
16 the United States is at war or of any ally of such country;

17 (c) Persons in a status with respect to persons de-  
18 pendent upon them for support which renders their exception  
19 advisable, as may be prescribed by regulation: *Provided*, That  
20 this exception shall not be applicable when suitable provi-  
21 sion is made by law for the support of such dependents;

22 (d) Persons who are in the military or naval service  
23 of the United States or who have served therein for a period  
24 of six months, including, however, only such kinds of prior  
25 service as may be prescribed by regulation;



1 (e) Persons mentally, morally, or physically incapable  
2 of profiting by such training.

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

5 SEC. 8. Men who have honorably completed their train-  
6 ing period may enlist in the Army or in the Marine Corps  
7 if trained in the Army, or in the Navy if trained therein:  
8 *Provided*, That the authorized numbers of the Army, Marine  
9 Corps, or Navy shall not be exceeded thereby.

10 SEC. 9. In case voluntary enlistments shall be insuffi-  
11 cient to maintain the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps  
12 at the numbers from time to time required by law, then so  
13 many men as may be necessary to maintain the Regular  
14 Army, Navy, and Marine Corps at such numbers may be  
15 selected, pursuant to regulation, from among the men com-  
16 pleting their training period, and the men so selected shall  
17 serve in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps for an additional  
18 period of one year. The number so selected from each  
19 State or Territory shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same  
20 proportion to the whole number of men so selected as the  
21 number of men from that State or Territory serving for  
22 training purposes during the last preceding calendar year  
23 bears to the whole number so serving during such calendar  
24 year.



1        SEC. 10. Any person who qualifies pursuant to law and  
2 regulations as a cadet in the United States Military or Naval  
3 Academy or as a Regular or Reserve officer in the Army,  
4 Navy, or Marine Corps, while continuing to be such cadet or  
5 officer, shall not be required to perform military or naval  
6 service except in the grade which he holds at the time.

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

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

17        (b) All men not hereinafter excepted who may here-  
18 after serve in the Army for any part of the training period  
19 prescribed by this Act. Their service shall continue for a  
20 period of ten years beginning immediately after the expira-  
21 tion of their training period.

22        SEC. 12. There shall be excepted from service as en-  
23 listed men in the Reserve of the Army, under such regula-  
24 tions as may be prescribed:



1 (a) Officers holding regular or reserve commissions  
2 in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, and men enlisted and  
3 serving therein; members of the Reserve of the Navy and  
4 officers and enlisted men of the Naval Militia recognized by  
5 the Navy Department, but not exceeding the numbers here-  
6 inafter specified in section 17;

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

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

17 (d) Men in a status with respect to their families or  
18 other persons dependent upon them for support which ren-  
19 ders advisable their exception from the reserve, while in such  
20 a status: *Provided*, That this exception shall not be appli-  
21 cable when suitable provision is made by law for the support  
22 of such dependents;

23 (e) Men the nature of whose occupations or whose  
24 residence is such as to render their exception from the reserve



1   advisable while remaining in such occupation or continuing  
2   in such residence;

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

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

10      SEC. 13. That the members of the reserve during their  
11   first five years of service therein shall be subject to active  
12   military service for additional training in the respective  
13   organizations of the reserve to which they shall be assigned  
14   as may be provided by regulation for not exceeding three  
15   weeks in any one year and not exceeding nine weeks in all:  
16   *Provided, however,* That members of the reserve who served  
17   in the Army or Marine Corps for not less than six months  
18   between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, or who  
19   may be honorably discharged from the Army or Marine  
20   Corps, after service therein for not less than six months, shall  
21   not be subject to further active military service for training  
22   except with their consent.

23      SEC. 14. That the territory of the United States, ex-  
24   cluding the insular possessions and Alaska, shall be divided,  
25   as may be prescribed by regulation, into not less than four



1 army areas and not less than twelve corps areas, each corps  
2 area to contain at least one training division and one or more  
3 reserve divisions. The reserve shall be organized, as may be  
4 prescribed by regulation, into not less than four armies, one  
5 for each army area, and into not less than twelve corps, one  
6 for each corps area, and into such reserve units of Coast  
7 Artillery as may be prescribed by regulation. Each corps  
8 shall be organized, as may be prescribed by regulation, into  
9 at least one training division and one or more reserve divi-  
10 sions. In time of war training divisions may be detached  
11 and used for training replacements. Each member of the  
12 reserve shall be assigned to and serve in an organization of  
13 the reserve established for the locality in which he lives, and,  
14 as prescribed by regulation, may, upon change of residence,  
15 be transferred to the appropriate organization of the reserve  
16 for the locality of his new residence.

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

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

24 SEC. 15. That in all arms and branches of the Army  
25 and the reserve the numbers, composition, and organization



1 of Army staffs and troops and corps staffs and troops, and  
2 the numbers, composition, and organization of divisional and  
3 other staffs and of armies, corps, and divisions and other  
4 units, including Coast Artillery, shall be such as may be  
5 prescribed by regulation.

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

23 Duty in an Army, corps, or division staff or in the  
24 training service shall be considered duty with the line within  
25 the meaning of section 27 of the Act of Congress approved



1 February 2, 1901, section 5 of the Act of Congress approved  
2 June 3, 1916, and section 3 of the Act of Congress approved  
3 May 12, 1917.

4 Under regulations to be prescribed, any man who  
5 honorably served in the Army of the United States between  
6 April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, either as an officer  
7 or enlisted man, and any man who has completed the training  
8 period, and any other person specially qualified for any  
9 technical branch of the service, may be commissioned as a  
10 Reserve officer. Such commissions may be provisional or  
11 for a specified period of time, not exceeding five years. Re-  
12 serve officers may be commissioned with any rank, including  
13 that of general officer, and may be assigned to any duty, in-  
14 cluding general staff duty, without regard to age, except that  
15 the laws and regulations concerning the relation between  
16 age and retirement which apply to officers of the Regular  
17 Army in active service shall also apply to Reserve officers.

18 Reserve officers shall be commissioned in the Army  
19 generally and not in any arm, corps, department, or branch  
20 thereof, and may be assigned to any duty for which they  
21 are qualified, as may be provided by regulation. They shall  
22 take rank, among themselves, according to the length of  
23 active service performed by them in the permanent or tem-  
24 porary grades in which they are serving. When called into  
25 active service, a Reserve officer shall take rank, as between



1 himself and any other officer, Regular or Reserve, according  
2 to the length of active service performed by each in the re-  
3 spective grades, whether permanent or temporary, in which  
4 they are serving at the time.

5 Selection and promotion of Reserve officers shall be  
6 according to merit as ascertained from service and experi-  
7 ence in the world war, or after training, observation, and  
8 examination, as may be provided by regulation. Seniority  
9 shall have such effect upon promotion as may be prescribed  
10 by regulation.

11 Such line and staff and vocational schools, including  
12 correspondence schools, may be conducted for the instruc-  
13 tion of Regular and Reserve officers and enlisted men, men  
14 in training and members of the Reserve as may be pre-  
15 scribed by regulation.

16 SEC. 17. That a Reserve of the Navy is hereby estab-  
17 lished. The enlisted personnel of such Reserve shall include:

18 (a) All male persons who served in the Navy of the  
19 United States at any time between April 6, 1917, and  
20 November 11, 1918, and who elect to become members of  
21 the Reserve; their service in the Reserve shall continue for a  
22 period of five years, beginning when this Act shall take  
23 effect, but not after they shall respectively reach the age  
24 of thirty years.



1 (b) All men who may hereafter serve in the Navy for  
2 any part of the training period prescribed by this Act.  
3 Their service shall continue for a period of ten years begin-  
4 ning immediately after the expiration of their training  
5 period.

6 SEC. 18. That there shall be excepted from service as  
7 enlisted men in the Reserve of the Navy, under such regu-  
8 lations as may be prescribed:

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

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

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

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

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



1 The members of the Reserve of the Navy, during the  
2 first five years of their service therein, shall be subject to  
3 active naval service for additional training, as may be pro-  
4 vided by regulation, for not more than three weeks in any  
5 one year and not more than nine weeks in all: *Provided,*  
6 That members of the Reserve who served in the Navy of  
7 the United States for not less than six months between  
8 April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and members of the  
9 Reserve who may be honorably discharged from the Navy  
10 after service therein for not less than six months shall not  
11 be subject to further active naval service for training except  
12 with their consent.

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

24 SEC. 20. That during the performance of any active  
25 service members of the Army and Navy Reserves shall



1 receive the pay and allowances of their corresponding grades  
2 in the Regular Establishments, and transportation, clothing,  
3 laundry, shelter, subsistence, and all necessary medical and  
4 dental attendance.

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

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

22 SEC. 23. That during the performance of any active  
23 service Reserve officers of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps  
24 shall receive the pay and allowances of their corresponding  
25 grades in the Regular Establishments.



1        SEC. 24. That the National Guard, active militia, and  
2        Naval Militia of the several States may be called forth by  
3        the President only to execute the laws of the Union, sup-  
4        press insurrections or repel invasions, and shall not be  
5        required to serve outside of the territorial limits of the United  
6        States or for more than three months in any one year. No  
7        call into Federal Service of the National Guard, active  
8        militia or Naval Militia, shall operate to discharge the  
9        officers or men thereof from the militia when the period  
10       of such call shall have expired. The numbers of officers  
11       and enlisted men therein shall not be required to be greater  
12       than the numbers required by the laws of the several States.  
13       The land and naval forces of the militia of the several  
14       States shall be organized and trained in such manner as  
15       may be prescribed by the laws or regulations of the several  
16       States, subject to such general regulations as may be pre-  
17       scribed by the President. Under regulations to be pre-  
18       scribed the land forces of such militia may be attached for  
19       training purposes to the reserve corps of the several corps  
20       areas in which the several States are respectively located and  
21       may participate in training maneuvers of the Regular Army  
22       and Army Reserve. No State shall receive any benefit of  
23       any Federal appropriation for militia purposes in respect  
24       of any organization of militia except such as shall have



1 been inspected and approved by the War or Navy Depart-  
2 ment, as the case may be.

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

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

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

22 (b) All other male citizens of the United States (ex-  
23 cept officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, Navy,  
24 or Marine Corps and officers and enlisted men of the Na-



1 tional Guard, active militia and Naval Militia recognized  
2 by the War or Navy Department) between the ages of  
3 eighteen and forty-five, both inclusive, and all other male  
4 persons between such ages residing in the United States  
5 (including Alaska and the insular possessions) who have  
6 within seven years prior to the call declared their intention  
7 to become citizens, except, however, persons excepted in  
8 section 7, subdivisions (a) and (b), hereof, shall be subject  
9 to call for immediate military or naval service, as may be  
10 provided by regulation, and the order in which they shall  
11 be inducted into such service shall be determined by their  
12 classification as provided in the next succeeding section.

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

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

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

21 (c) So as to place in a deferred class those who are  
22 needed in occupations of importance in the maintenance of  
23 the national interest during the emergency, so long as they  
24 regularly and in good faith continue in such occupations;



1 (d) So as to place in a deferred class those upon  
2 whose families and dependents the hardships would be  
3 greatest by reason of their induction;

4 (e) So as to provide the military and naval estab-  
5 lishments with persons having special qualifications, whose  
6 services are required therein;

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

11 (1) A regularly ordained minister of religion;

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

22 (3) A Federal, State, county, or municipal officer or  
23 employee, the nature of whose official functions is such as  
24 to render his exception advisable, including in this class a



1 reasonable police force and police reserves in the several  
2 States and municipalities.

3 No exception or deferred classification shall continue  
4 when a cause therefor no longer exists.

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

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

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

20 Registration shall be at such times and places as may  
21 be prescribed by proclamation or other public notice given  
22 by the President, and all persons required to register shall  
23 register as required therein. Registrants may be required  
24 to state, under oath, or otherwise, such facts as relate to  
25 their qualifications for and liability to military service, and



1 among other facts (without limiting the facts that may be  
2 required to be stated) those relating to age, residence, occu-  
3 pation, claims for exemption or exception, and number of  
4 and relationship to dependents, and members of family.

5 All male citizens, and all male residents of the United  
6 States (except Alaska and the insular possessions) not ex-  
7 empted or excepted by treaty, shall be required to register  
8 with such local board as may be prescribed by regulation  
9 within three months after attaining the age of seventeen  
10 years, to the end that they may be called for training as  
11 soon as practicable after attaining the age of eighteen years,  
12 or within such deferred period, not exceeding two years,  
13 as they may elect. Any person so registering, who may  
14 require preparatory education under section 5 of this Act,  
15 may be required to receive it at any time after registra-  
16 tion. Any person so registering, who is subject to or eligible  
17 for military training under this Act, and who is physically  
18 qualified therefor, may, with his consent, be inducted into  
19 the service at any time after registration, and before attain-  
20 ing the age of eighteen years.

21 SEC. 29. That exclusive jurisdiction to determine what  
22 persons are subject to military service and all claims for  
23 exception or exemption from military service, and all claims  
24 to be excepted from the reserves, and all claims for deferred  
25 classification and all claims of nonliability to military



1 service by reason of age, or on any ground provided in this  
2 Act, both in the case of those who may from time to time be  
3 registered and those who should have registered and have  
4 not done so, shall be in the local boards, district boards, and  
5 the National Board of Appeals hereinafter provided for,  
6 which are hereby declared to be administrative and not  
7 judicial bodies. The failure to present any claim of any  
8 nature whatsoever, relating to nonliability to or exception  
9 or exemption from military service or exception from the  
10 Reserves, or for deferred classification, may, if and when  
11 so provided by regulation, constitute a waiver of such claim.

12 SEC. 30. That local boards shall be organized. Such  
13 boards shall consist of not less than three nor more than  
14 seven members. Their term of office shall be three years.  
15 The members of the boards shall be appointed by the  
16 military administrator (hereinafter provided for) for the  
17 State or Territory comprising the locality over which the  
18 board has jurisdiction, and may be removed by him at  
19 will. Each such board shall have jurisdiction over a ter-  
20 ritory prescribed by regulation having a population as  
21 nearly as may be of fifty thousand inhabitants and over all  
22 persons whose registration records are or under regulations  
23 should be in its possession. Such board shall have original  
24 jurisdiction to determine the matters set forth in the last  
25 preceding section. At least two members of the board



1 shall sit to consider and determine any matter within its  
2 jurisdiction. A determination by a majority of the mem-  
3 bers of the board sitting to consider any matter shall be  
4 the determination of the board. The members of the local  
5 boards shall receive such compensation for their services  
6 and such allowance for their expenses as may be prescribed  
7 by regulation. Each board shall have such salaried medical  
8 examiners, clerks, and assistants as may be provided by  
9 regulation. Members of a local board and its chief clerk  
10 may administer oaths in all matters within the jurisdiction  
11 of the board.

12 SEC. 31. That there shall be attached to each local  
13 board a Government appeal agent, who shall act as legal  
14 adviser to the board and shall take appeals on behalf of  
15 the United States or on behalf of registrants from the de-  
16 terminations of the board, without prejudice to the right  
17 of any person interested in any decision to take an appeal  
18 on his or her own behalf. Government appeal agents shall  
19 receive only such compensation for their services from the  
20 Government or from any other person as may be provided  
21 by regulation. They shall be appointed by the military  
22 administrator for the State or Territory comprising the  
23 locality over which the local board to which they are re-  
24 spectively attached has jurisdiction. They shall have power



1 to administer oaths in all matters arising under this Act  
2 and the regulations made in pursuance hereof.

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

10 SEC. 33. That district boards shall be organized. Such  
11 boards shall consist of not less than nine nor more than  
12 thirty-five members. Their term of office shall be five years,  
13 and the members thereof shall be divided as nearly as pos-  
14 sible into five equal classes, and the term of office of the  
15 members in one such class shall expire in each year. The  
16 members shall be appointed by the President alone and  
17 may be removed by him at will. Each district board shall  
18 have jurisdiction to review on appeal determinations of  
19 local boards within such district as may be prescribed  
20 by regulation. The right to appeal to a district board  
21 shall exist only in such cases as may be prescribed by regu-  
22 lation. At least three members of the district board shall  
23 sit to consider and determine any appeal. A determination  
24 by a majority of the members of the board sitting to con-  
25 sider any appeal shall be the determination of the board.



1 The members of the district boards shall receive such com-  
2 pensation for their services and allowance for their ex-  
3 penses as may be prescribed by regulation. Each district  
4 board shall have such salaried medical examiners, clerks,  
5 and assistants as may be provided by regulation. Members  
6 of district boards and their chief clerks may administer  
7 oaths in all matters within the jurisdiction of their respective  
8 boards.

9 SEC. 34. That a National Board of Appeals shall be  
10 organized. Such board shall consist of such number of  
11 members, not less than fifteen, as may be prescribed by  
12 regulation. Their term of office shall be five years and the  
13 members thereof shall be divided as nearly as possible into  
14 five equal classes, and the term of office of the members  
15 in one such class shall expire in each year. The members  
16 shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice  
17 and consent of the Senate, and may be removed by him at  
18 will. Such board shall have jurisdiction to review on appeal  
19 the determinations of any district board. The right to  
20 appeal to the national board shall exist only in such cases  
21 as may be prescribed by regulation. At least five members  
22 of the national board shall sit to consider and determine any  
23 appeal. A determination by a majority of the members of  
24 the board sitting to consider any appeal shall be the deter-



1 mination of the board. Each member of the national board  
2 shall receive compensation at the rate of \$7,500 per annum.  
3 The national board shall have such salaried medical exam-  
4 iners, clerks, and assistants as may by regulation be pro-  
5 vided. The members of the board and such clerks attached  
6 thereto as may be prescribed by regulation may administer  
7 oaths in all matters within the jurisdiction of the board.

8       SEC. 35. That there shall be a National Military Ad-  
9 ministrator, and one or more military administrators for each  
10 State or Territory of the United States (including the insular  
11 possessions and Alaska only when the President shall declare  
12 that an emergency exists), each of whom shall have such  
13 deputies, assistants, inspectors, aids, and clerks, salaried or  
14 otherwise, as may by regulation be provided. The National  
15 Military Administrator, under the direction of the Secretary  
16 of War, shall have administrative control over the whole  
17 system of registration and induction into the service. The  
18 military administrator for each State, Territory, possession,  
19 or locality shall have administrative control in such respects  
20 subject, to the national administrator, over the State, Terri-  
21 tory, possession, or locality for which he is appointed. No  
22 military administrator, including the national administrator,  
23 shall have power to determine any claim for exception,  
24 exemption, or deferred classification. Military administra-  
25 tors, including the national administrator, may be officers



1 of the United States Army or Navy, regular or reserve.  
2 The national administrator and the administrators of the  
3 several States, Territories, and possessions shall be appointed  
4 by the President, and shall hold office at his pleasure, pro-  
5 vided that the appointment of the National Military Admin-  
6 istrator shall be with the advice and consent of the Senate.  
7 The national administrator shall receive a salary of \$7,500  
8 per annum and the administrator for each State, Territory,  
9 or possession or part thereof shall receive a salary of \$6,000  
10 per annum: *Provided*, That in the case of a Regular or  
11 Reserve Army or Navy officer, he shall receive no more than  
12 the pay and allowances of his permanent grade and rank.  
13 Each national and other military administrator, and such of  
14 their deputies, assistants, and aids as may be prescribed by  
15 regulation, shall have power to administer oaths in all matters  
16 arising under this Act and the regulations made in pursuance  
17 hereof. Medical examiners for the local and district boards  
18 and the national board shall be appointed in such manner as  
19 may be prescribed by regulation.

20 SEC. 36. That the several members of the local and  
21 district boards and the national board and the national and  
22 other military administrators and their deputies thereunto  
23 duly authorized by them, shall have power to summon any  
24 person residing or found within the State, Territory, or  
25 possession, within any part of which such board or admin-



1    istrator or deputy has jurisdiction, to appear at a time and  
2    place stated in the summons and give testimony and answer  
3    under oath such questions as may be required respecting  
4    matters relating to the enforcement of this Act and the  
5    regulations made hereunder.

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

18        Whenever any person summoned as herein authorized  
19   neglects or refuses to obey such summons, or to give testi-  
20   mony or to answer questions as required, the official by  
21   whom the summons is issued may apply to any district or  
22   circuit judge of the United States or to any United States  
23   commissioner for the district within which the person so  
24   summoned resides or is found, for an attachment against  
25   him as for a contempt. It shall be the duty of the judge or



1 commissioner to hear the application, and, if satisfactory  
2 proof is made, to issue an attachment, directed to some  
3 proper officer, for the arrest of such person, and upon his  
4 being brought before him to proceed to a hearing of the  
5 case; and upon such hearing the judge or commissioner  
6 shall have power to adjudge such person in contempt and  
7 to make such order as he shall deem proper, not incon-  
8 sistent with existing laws for the punishment of contempts.  
9 to enforce obedience to the requirements of the summons  
10 and to punish such person for his default or disobedience.

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

20 SEC. 38. That the standard or standards of physical  
21 fitness for military service shall be fixed by regulation, and  
22 different standards may be fixed for different classes of  
23 service. No person shall have a right to exception by reason  
24 of being physically unfit, and appropriate measures may  
25 be taken as may be prescribed by regulation for the de-



1 development of persons below the standards fixed by regu-  
2 lation who are capable of such development. The question  
3 whether any person is within such standards shall be de-  
4 termined by medical examiners of the local boards or  
5 other boards as may be provided by regulation, and their  
6 decision shall be final and conclusive.

7 SEC. 39. That no person subject to military service  
8 hereunder shall be permitted or allowed to furnish a sub-  
9 stitute for such service, nor shall any such substitute be  
10 inducted, received, or enrolled in the military or naval  
11 service. No such person shall be permitted to avoid such  
12 service or to be discharged therefrom prior to the expiration  
13 of his term of service by the payment of money or any  
14 other valuable thing whatsoever as consideration for his  
15 release from military or naval service or liability thereto.

16 SEC. 40. That failure to register as required by this  
17 Act and the regulations made in pursuance hereof shall  
18 be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$10,000 or by im-  
19 prisonment for not exceeding two years or both. Failure to  
20 appear for physical examination shall be punished by a  
21 fine of not exceeding \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not  
22 more than four months, or both. Any person who know-  
23 ingly makes or is a party to the making of any false state-  
24 ment, false certificate, or false claim relating to—



1 (a) The liability of any person or persons to service  
2 hereunder;

3 (b) The exception or exemption of any person or per-  
4 sons from service hereunder;

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

7 (d) The physical fitness of any person or persons for  
8 service hereunder; and any person who evades or attempts  
9 to evade or aids or abets another to evade service hereunder  
10 shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$10,000 or  
11 imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both. Any per-  
12 son who shall be appointed to fill any position provided in  
13 this Act or in the regulations made in pursuance hereof  
14 who shall willfully neglect or fail to perform the duties of  
15 his office, or who shall accept compensation contrary to or  
16 when not provided for by the provisions of this Act, or of  
17 such regulations, shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding  
18 \$10,000 or by imprisonment for not exceeding five years,  
19 or both. Any employer who shall discharge or discriminate  
20 against any employee by reason of his performance of any  
21 required military or naval training service shall be pun-  
22 ished by a fine of not exceeding \$1,000 or imprisonment  
23 for not exceeding four months, or both. Exclusive juris-  
24 diction of offenses committed in violation of this Act and the  
25 regulations made in pursuance hereof shall be in the District



1 Courts of the United States, except that any person subject  
2 to military law shall be tried by court-martial and suffer  
3 such punishment as such court may direct.

4 SEC. 41. That in order to promote a military force to  
5 meet national requirements pending the organization of the  
6 Army Reserve provided for hereby, the President is hereby  
7 authorized to maintain, for a period not exceeding two  
8 years after the ratification and proclamation of a treaty of  
9 peace terminating the present war, an Army of not to  
10 exceed enlisted men, to be raised by voluntary enlist-  
11 ment and to be organized as the President may direct. The  
12 President is hereby further authorized to retain in active  
13 service with their present or any other rank for the same  
14 period, with their own consent, not to exceed Re-  
15 serve or temporary officers, and, in the event that a suffi-  
16 cient number of officers can not be obtained in this manner,  
17 to appoint, for the same period or such part thereof as may  
18 be necessary, such additional temporary officers as may be  
19 required, in the manner prescribed by the Act of Congress  
20 approved May 18, 1917.

21 SEC. 42. That the maximum peace strength of the Reg-  
22 ular Army of the United States, after the expiration of the  
23 period of two years provided for by the next preceding section,  
24 is hereby fixed at the maximum authorized by the National  
25 Defense Act, approved June 3, 1916. The President is



1 hereby authorized to change the organization of the Regular  
2 Army as now prescribed by law, to transfer officers and  
3 enlisted men from any arm, department or corps to any  
4 other arm, department or corps, as the interests of the serv-  
5 ice may require, and to increase or decrease the number of  
6 officers and enlisted men in any grade, arm, department or  
7 corps: *Provided*, That the total cost for pay and allowances  
8 shall not be greater than that of the maximum peace strength  
9 of the Regular Army as authorized by said Act approved  
10 June 3, 1916: *And provided further*, That no officer shall be  
11 assigned to any command or duty until he shall have quali-  
12 fied for such command or for the performance of such duty  
13 under regulations to be prescribed: *And provided further*,  
14 That no officer shall be separated from the service except as  
15 otherwise provided by law.

16 SEC. 43. That all Acts and parts of Acts inconsistent  
17 herewith are hereby repealed.



66TH CONGRESS, }  
1st Session. } S. 2691.

# A BILL

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

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

JUNE 31, 1919.—Read twice and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.



The Rotary Clubs of the Country Are Working With Us

# UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

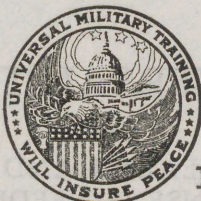
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SUITE 1322 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG., CHICAGO

TELEPHONE CENTRAL 6039

OBJECT—TO SECURE FEDERAL LEGISLATION FOR UNIVERSAL TRAINING TO DEVELOP HEALTH, CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONAL DEFENSE; THE TRAINING TO INCLUDE VOCATIONAL WORK, AND INSTRUCTION IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT, AND THE DUTIES OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, THAT SHALL HAVE BUT ONE LANGUAGE AND ONE FLAG. MAKE THE CANTONMENTS TRAINING SCHOOLS



HOWARD H. GROSS  
PRESIDENT

JOHN J. MITCHELL  
TREASURER

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December 16, 1919.

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

My dear Dr. Judson:

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely yours,

*H. H. Gross*  
President.



UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE  
CHICAGO, ILL.  
TALKING CENTRAL 2025  
SUISE 1225 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG. CHICAGO

COLLECTIVE TO SECURE FEDERAL LEGISLATION FOR UNIVERSAL TRAINING  
TO BE HELD IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO, ILL. ON SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1915  
AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M. IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO, ILL. AT THE  
CHICAGO CONVENTION HALL, 100 N. LAKE STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

## WHY UNIVERSAL TRAINING

for

### CITIZENSHIP, HEALTH AND NATIONAL DEFENSE IS NEEDED

#### *Because We Know*

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

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

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

#### WHY NOT?

### UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

HOWARD H. GROSS, President  
FRANK G. LOGAN, Chairman Ex. Com. JOHN J. MITCHELL, Treasurer  
CHICAGO, ILL.



# UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

SUITE 1322 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG., CHICAGO  
TELEPHONE CENTRAL 6039

OBJECT--TO SECURE FEDERAL LEGISLATION FOR UNIVERSAL TRAINING TO DEVELOP HEALTH, CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONAL DEFENSE; THE TRAINING TO INCLUDE VOCATIONAL WORK, AND INSTRUCTION IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT, AND THE DUTIES OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP. THE LEAGUE HAS ONE LANGUAGE AND ONE FLAG. MAKE THE CANTON OF THE LEAGUE YOUR OWN.

December 16, 1919

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DANIEL J. SEEPKE  
HOWARD H. GROSS



December 16, 1919.

Dear Mr. Gross;

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

Yours of the 16th is at hand. I think it

extremely unlikely that the Foundation would make  
My dear Dr. Judson:

an appropriation for the League. They have, I believe, a settled policy of not contributing toward

propaganda, and especially not toward propaganda leading to legislation. The only procedure would be to write directly to Dr. Vincent and lay the matter

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

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

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

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

Sincerely yours,

President.



December 18, 1919

## WHY UNIVERSAL TRAINING

for

CITIZENSHIP, HEALTH AND NATIONAL  
DEFENSE IS NEEDED

Because We Know

Dear Mr. Gross:

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

Very truly yours,

We have the cantonments and equipment.

The country needs it.

The people are ready and the boys are eager for it.

Prompt action by Congress is necessary from every viewpoint.

Make the Cantonments Great National Training Schools Through

the Co-operation of the Drill Master and the School Master.

WHY NOT?

## UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

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# UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

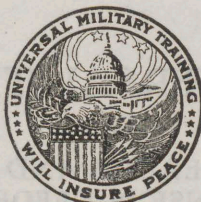
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DEAN SHAILER MATHEWS	

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

January 13, 1920.

My dear Sir:

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

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

*Howard H. Gross*  
president.



# WHY UNIVERSAL TRAINING

for

## CITIZENSHIP, HEALTH AND NATIONAL DEFENSE IS NEEDED

### *Because We Know*

IT WILL build up our health and strength.  
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# UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

SUITE 1322 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG., CHICAGO

TELEPHONE CENTRAL 6039

January 19, 1920

OBJECT--TO SECURE FEDERAL LEGISLATION FOR UNIVERSAL TRAINING TO DEVELOP HEALTH, CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONAL DEFENSE, THE TRAINING TO INCLUDE VOCATIONAL WORK, AND INSTRUCTION IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT, AND THE DUTIES OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, THAT SHALL HAVE BUT ONE LANGUAGE AND ONE FLAG. MAKE THE CANTONMENTS TRAINING SCHOOLS

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HOWARD H. GROSS  
PRESIDENT

JOHN J. MITCHELL  
TREASURER

Dear Mr. Gross:

Dr. Harry Pratt Judson's favor of the 13th came while I was out of the city. I will write to members of Congress

My dear Sir: myself, but confess that I am not in sympathy with

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

The period of training for our months with an option that may be exercised by the young 1322 First Natl. Bank Bldg. for a further period of two months to continue Chicago, Ill. and educational work. Those trained are not required to perform any military service whatever after training except in case of war when called out by an act of Congress. Those boys who were trained for the great world's war are exempt from further training. The training consists of the standard military training of the United States plus training in citizenship, health and elective short courses in agriculture, chemistry, mechanics, etc; the plan to be worked out and carried into effect by a committee of military experts and a like number of civilians representing the medical profession, education and the industries. It is a good bill. It is known as Senate Bill 3688 introduced by Senator Wadsworth January 9th. We must all get back of this bill and put it across and the most effective way to do that is to flood Washington with personal letters requesting action.

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Very truly yours,

President.



January 19, 1930

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DEFENSE IS NEEDED

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*Because We Know*

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MILITARY TRAINING CAMPS ASSOCIATION

210 MALLERS BUILDING

TELEPHONE CENTRAL 1179

CHICAGO,

March 24, 1920

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

My dear President:-

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

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

Thanking you for your kindly consideration,

I am

Very truly yours,

*George B. James*  
Educational Secretary

GFJ:CMK



Brotherhood  
Bond

Brotherhood  
Bond

March 28

Dear Mr. James:  
I believe that universal  
loyalty is the basis of  
national intelligence.  
I believe that universal  
loyalty is the basis of  
national intelligence.  
I believe that universal  
loyalty is the basis of  
national intelligence.



March 26, 1920

Dear Mr. James:

Your favor of the 24th instant is received.

I believe that Universal military training is extremely important not merely for national defense, but for national intelligence. Loyalty to the nation should be a matter not merely of emotion but of understanding.

Very truly yours,

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

HPJ:JN



March 26, 1920

Dear Mr. James:

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

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

HPJ:JH



The Rotary Clubs of the Country Are Working With Us

# UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

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HOWARD H. GROSS  
PRESIDENT

JOHN J. MITCHELL  
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May 11, 1920.

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

My dear Sir:

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

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

President.

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



Dear Mr. Gross:  
I confess that the suggestion of the  
purpose for which the League was founded  
to me. It seems like an attempt to  
succeed for which the League was  
founded & simply

May 1961



May 13, 1920

Dear Mr. Gross:

Your favor of the 11th instant is received.

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

Very truly yours,

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

HPJ:JN



May 18, 1920

Dear Mr. Gross:

Your favor of the 11th instant is received.  
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to me. It seems like an attempt to conceal the main  
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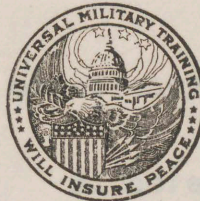
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DEAN SHAILEY MATHEWS	HOWARD H. GROSS

May 27, 1920.

Dr. Harry Pratt Judson,  
University of Chicago,  
C h i c a g o.

My dear Dr. Judson:

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

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

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

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



# UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

The Rotary Clubs of the Country Are Working With Us

OFFICE 1321 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG., CHICAGO

TELEPHONE CENTRAL 8032

OBJECT--TO SECURE FEDERAL LEGISLATION FOR UNIVERSAL TRAINING TO DEVELOP HEALTH, CITIZENSHIP, AND NATIONAL DEFENSE. THE TRAINING TO INCLUDE VOCATIONAL WORK, AND INSTRUCTION IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND THE DUTIES OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP. THAT SHALL HAVE BUT ONE LAW, GRADE AND ONE EXAM. MAKE THE DANGEROUSLY TRAINING SCHOOLS IN WHICH, AGRICULTURE SHALL BE THOROUGHLY FEATURED.



JOHN J. MITCHELL  
TREASURER

HOWARD H. GORDON  
PRESIDENT

May 27, 1930.

Dr. Harry Pratt Johnson  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

Yours of the 15th came after my departure for a ten days' trip to Arizona. I returned this morning and find a number of letters dealing with the matter of the proposed name of the League.

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

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

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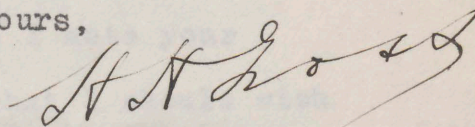


Dr. Harry Pratt Judson

-2-

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

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'H. H. Gould', written in a cursive style.

President.

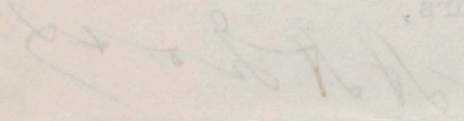


Dr. Harry Pratt Johnson

-2-

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

Sincerely yours,



President.



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The Rotary Clubs of the Country Are Working With Us

# UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE

SUITE 1322 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG., CHICAGO  
TELEPHONE CENTRAL 6039

May 31, 1920

OBJECT—TO SECURE FEDERAL AID FOR UNIVERSAL TRAINING TO DEVELOP HEALTH, CITIZENSHIP AND VIGILANCE IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT, AND INCLUDE VOCATIONAL WORK, AND INSTRUCTION IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT, AND THE DUTIES OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, THAT SHALL HAVE BUT ONE LANGUAGE AND ONE FLAG. MAKE THE CANTONMENTS TRAINING SCHOOLS IN WHICH AGRICULTURE SHALL BE STRONGLY FEATURED.



## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FRANK S. LOGAN, CHAIRMAN	JOHN T. PRATT
CLARENCE S. FUNK, VICE-CHAIRMAN	HOWARD H. GROSS
WILLIAM WHISLEY, JR.	
HENRY H. BYLLESBY	
WM. H. CHILDS	

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DEAN SHALER MATHEWS	HOWARD H. GROSS

JOHN J. MITCHELL  
TREASURER

HOWARD H. GROSS  
PRESIDENT

Dear Mr. Gross:

May 27, 1920.

Yours of the 27th is received. I note your

suggestion on the matter but confess that I should wish

to give it careful consideration.

C h i c a g o .

Very truly yours,

My dear Dr. Judson:

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

Mr. H. H. Gross,

1322, First National Bank Bldg.,  
Chicago.

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

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May 21, 1930

Dear Mr. Gross:

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

Very truly yours,

Mr. H. H. Gross,  
1323 First National Bank Bldg.,  
Chicago.

HPL:3H