

First. Bad planning.

Second. The attempt to do the job from Washington, and

Third. The failure to enlist the services of the best men available.

In the first respect the report states:

The second root cause of our manpower difficulties has been that production has been planned, new facilities built, and contracts awarded without adequate regard to the supplies of labor available locally.

This is, in fact, the primary reason we have critical areas at the present time. Had production been properly planned geographically and had orders not been concentrated in the hands of the few at the expense of the small businessmen and other localities, there would be far fewer critical areas today, and there would have been much less labor hoarding of young men in factories, and we would not have been in the muddle we are now in.

Mr. President, let me ask, Who is responsible for this bad planning? Is it due to the complacency of the people? Is the Congress responsible? Or are the Federal bureaus responsible?

As to the second cause of our manpower difficulties, the attempt to do the job from Washington, the report states:

If this labor budget plan is to work, there must be adequate delegation of power from all Washington agencies to their west coast representatives, and the communities themselves must get on the team. The job cannot be done from Washington.

This, of course, is the truth and fact of the matter.

The report states further:

An immediate survey should be made of the possibilities of subcontracting in nearby communities.

Had this been done earlier, fewer small businesses would have had to go out of business.

Who is responsible for this failure to decentralize power? Certainly that is not the fault of the people of the country; it is not the fault of the Congress; but again I say the fault rests entirely upon the Federal bureaus in Washington.

As to a third cause of our manpower difficulties, the report states:

Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the importance of selecting the best man possible in the community to serve as chairman of the local priorities committee and the necessity for giving him the fullest community support.

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The principles there laid down are unquestionably sound, and they could and should be applied on a national scale so that here in Washington we would find, especially in time of war, the best men possible heading the departments and the bureaus, able, public-spirited citizens, but, as the report states, instead we have heading these agencies men "spending their energies battling to build up empires."

Who is responsible for this? Certainly not the Congress of the United States. Certainly it is not due to the complacency of the people. Certainly the responsibility rests nowhere except with the bureaus in Washington.

At the conclusion of the report, it is stated:

Our study of this problem also emphasizes anew the necessity for your constant review of military and lend-lease requirements to see that all different parts of the program are in balance with one another and that the program as a whole is balanced against the essential needs of the civilian economy. We have reached the stage of our war economy where there is not much to spare. Something gained in one direction means a loss in the other direction.

Whose business is it to do this balancing?

This, obviously, is not purely a military question. What the military say they need is one consideration; what producers say they need is another, and the need of the civilian population of the country is another, so that the morale of the people, which Mr. Hershey speaks of, will not break down.

It is the obligation of the Government, and, Mr. President, the Government of the United States includes the Congress, to determine on the evidence submitted what the true facts are and to act accordingly. So when Members of the Senate stand on this floor and say that they do not want to take the responsibility, in the face of the responsibilities which are given to them, they are shirking the responsibility which the Constitution of the United States imposes upon them.

Mr. President, for Congress simply to say, "Well, the military men say they want this; let them have it" is, to state it plainly, for Congress to shirk its responsibility. When Members of Congress say that some Government official or Army official—I care not who he may