

be—wants this or that, and so they are going to give it to him, they are not acting in the spirit of the principles upon which the Government is based. When a Government official comes to Congress and says "I want this" or "I want that," and Members of Congress say they will grant the request simply because it is made, that, Mr. President, is merely acting in the spirit of fascism. That is what was done in Italy, that is what was done in Germany, and that is what brought fascism and nazi-ism to those countries.

Army officials have testified that the Army will have in this country January 1, 1944, over 5,000,000 men. That of these 5,000,000 the Army cannot move overseas for fighting purposes during the whole of the year, 1944, up to January 1, 1945, over half this number, and that the Army will have in this country, in uniform, January 1, 1945, in excess of two and a half million men. Yet, General Marshall has previously testified that 500,000 men were sufficient for the defense of this country.

There is no question that the men who are drafted come out of the labor pool, and the more taken the more serious the labor shortage will become.

No one knows, neither the Army generals nor civilians, the number of men who will eventually be required to finish the job; but from time to time we do have exact figures from the Army as to the number which can be fed, equipped, and transported. No matter how the fortunes of war go, whether we lose thousands of men or whether we do not, the fact is that we cannot transport more men than the Army estimates can be transported. Under those circumstances, would it not be sounder to time the induction of these men in accordance with the actual schedules of ability to use them effectively, rather than in accordance with some preconceived idea of the Army as to the number of men who will be eventually needed, which, being speculative, is subject to change from time to time?

Looked at from another angle, first, there are the men actually in the armed forces. Then there are the men who are engaged in war industries. Both classes of men must be supported by the remaining population. So the burden on the civilian economy becomes increasingly greater with each man drafted and each man taken for industry. The standard of life under this pressure is of necessity

constantly reduced; yet it is because of this standard of life that we are able to outstrip the whole world in production. From the evidence, we are approaching the limit, the fair minimum to which this standard of life can be reduced without seriously affecting the productivity of the worker and upsetting the national morale.

With respect to industrial waste, the Baruch report speaks for itself of the great wastage of labor, and labor hoarding, which, if relieved, would go a long way toward correcting any local labor shortage, and would go a long way toward preventing the drafting of fathers. Speaking of cost-plus contracts, the Baruch report points out:

Not alone on the west coast, but all through the country, much labor is being hoarded and poorly utilized.

How can anyone insist upon taking fathers and breaking up American homes when Mr. Baruch admits, first, that the situation is the fault of the various bureaus in Washington; second, that labor is being hoarded in industry; and third, as everyone knows, that labor is being hoarded in the Government by every department in Washington and throughout the country?

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

Mr. WHEELER. I yield.

Mr. REED. At that point I should like to add to what the Senator from Montana has said that when I was at home I visited three airplane-manufacturing establishments in Wichita. One of them employs 5,000 men, another 11,000 men, and the third 26,000 men. There are 45,000 men engaged in the airplane-manufacturing business in that one city in Kansas.

A representative of one of those factories told me that their first contract was a cost-plus-fixed-fee contract. They did not like that. It meant a waste of labor. So they changed their contracts, and they are currently operating upon fixed-price contracts. Under those fixed-price contracts they offered what, for want of a better term, we may call incentive wages, which had some relation to the productivity of the employees as a whole. Under the present arrangement that factory has increased the production per man 25 percent. That is the experience of one very efficient airplane manufacturing concern in my own State. I visited the plant when I was at home.