

thorized to affix his signature to the joint resolution passed by the Senate today.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONFIRMATION OF EXECUTIVE NOMINATION

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, there is only one nomination on the Executive Calendar. I ask unanimous consent that, as in executive session, it may be now considered and confirmed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will state the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of John O'Keefe to be collector of customs, collection district No. 34, with headquarters at Pembina, N. Dak.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the President be notified of the confirmation of the nomination.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BARKLEY. If there is no further business to be transacted this afternoon, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, December 9, 1941, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate December 8, 1941:

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS

John O'Keefe to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 34, with headquarters at Pembina, N. Dak.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1941

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father, long have Thy servants thirsted after Thee. Thou art merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and Thy mercy endureth from generation to generation. Thou hast lifted our people to a state wherein abound simple brotherhood and righteous living. In this day which no epitaph can flatter and no monument call back to life, there are iron-toned discords roaring with the flames of pain and death; comfort all who mourn their innocent dead and wounded ones; speak to us; give us courage in the darkness and let us hear the unvoiced voice saying: "This is the way; walk ye in it." In Thee we shall never be disillusioned, never disappointed, and never put to shame.

Eternal Father, strong to save, to Thee we lift our prayer of steadfast hope and faith while the calendar of history is being stained with pagan cruelty and deceit. We pray for life-giving calmness, majestic and invincible. If we are to suffer as a people, acquainted with grief and sorrow, oh grant that they may be

heaven's challenge to turn us more devoutly to the blessings of the spirit. O Thou Christ of God, in the deeper processes of our Nation's soul, hold us steadfastly to the realization that the richest garments of a country's character are often sewed with the crimson threads of sacrifice and suffering. Keep us free from passion and hate and bless our land with the enduring prizes of national unity, honor, and integrity. Almighty God, preserve the health of our President, our Speaker and the Congress, and direct them in all their ways. In the name of the world's Saviour. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the previous session be dispensed with, and that the Journal be approved.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, for the remainder of the day, it may be in order at any time for the House to stand in recess, subject to the call of the Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

JOINT SESSION OF THE TWO HOUSES

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Con. Res. 61), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 8th day of December 1941, at 12:30 o'clock p. m., for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULES

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order at any time today for the Speaker to recognize Members to move a suspension of the rules.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The House will stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess, subject to the call of the Speaker.

AFTER THE RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m. by the Speaker.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed, without amendment, to a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 61. Concurrent resolution providing for a joint session on Monday, December 8, 1941, for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make.

JOINT MEETING OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE

The Doorkeeper, Mr. Joseph J. Sinnott, announced the Vice President of the United States and the Members of the United States Senate.

The Senate, preceded by the Vice President and by their Secretary and Sergeant at Arms, entered the Chamber.

The Vice President took the chair at the right of the Speaker, and the Members of the Senate took the seats reserved for them.

The Doorkeeper also announced the Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The SPEAKER. On behalf of the House the Chair appoints the following committee to conduct the President into the Chamber: Messrs. McCORMACK, DOUGHTON, and MARTIN of Massachusetts.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints as members on the part of the Senate to conduct the President into the Chamber, the following Members of the Senate: The Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY].

The Doorkeeper announced the members of the Cabinet of the United States.

At 12 o'clock and 29 minutes p. m., the President of the United States, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House and stood at the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. Senators and Representatives of the Seventy-seventh Congress, I have the distinguished honor of presenting the President of the United States.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 453)

The address delivered by the President of the United States to the joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress held this day is as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, 1 hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During

the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya. Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

This morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our Nation.

As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people, in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory.

I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounded determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, December 8, 1941.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 39 minutes p. m.) the President retired from the Hall of the House.

The SPEAKER announced that the joint session was dissolved.

Thereupon the Vice President and the Members of the Senate, the members of the Cabinet, and the members of the Supreme Court retired from the Chamber.

The joint session of the Senate and the House having been dissolved, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 12 o'clock and 46 minutes p. m.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the message of the President of the United States be

referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered printed.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

WAR RESOLUTION

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass House Joint Resolution 254, which I send to the desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the joint resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial Government of Japan has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Government of Japan; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Miss RANKIN of Montana. I object.

The SPEAKER. This is no unanimous-consent request. No objection is in order.

Is a second demanded?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, a second is considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 20 seconds.

Mr. Speaker and my fellow Americans, the President of the United States has just spoken to the Congress and to the American people. A dastardly attack has been made upon us. This is the time for action.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN] is recognized.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, our Nation is today in the gravest crisis since its establishment as a Republic. All we hold precious and sacred is being challenged by a ruthless, unscrupulous, arrogant foe. We have been the victim of a treacherous attack under cover of darkness. It came at a time when we were trying to establish a basis of peace through mutual understanding. Our ships have been sunk, our planes destroyed, many lives lost, cities and towns under the American flag have been ruthlessly bombed.

No one hates war more than I. Every night I have uttered a silent prayer that America might be spared active involvement in a frightful war. I know the horrors which come with war—the loss of

lives, the sacrifices which must be made by all, the sadness and desolation it always brings.

America is challenged. That challenge comes in a ruthless way which leaves but one answer for a liberty-loving, self-respecting people. We are compelled by this treacherous attack to go to war. From now on there can be no hesitation. We must press the war with unstinted vigor and full efficiency. There can be no peace until the enemy is made to pay in full measure for his dastardly crimes.

We in America have wanted peace. We must now fight to uphold our national honor and make secure our freedom.

The attack on our territory will rally every patriotic American to support of the Nation's needs. In shipyards, in factories, in mines, in blast furnaces, on farms, all over this broad land there will be one spontaneous response. The people of America will unanimously meet the attacks of the aggressor and join in an irresistible effort of increased production. The boys in the training camps and the sailors who maintain the vigils of the sea must have—they will have—the tools and equipment to win this war.

In view of the developments of the past 36 hours, the President's request has my support. When the historic roll is called I hope there will not be a single dissenting vote. Let us show the world we are a united Nation. Let us boldly proclaim we will not permit any force to strike down freedom and progress here in America or replace our way of life with slavery and dictatorship.

God will give us the strength and the courage to drive to victory in a just cause—a cause which means all that makes life worth while to the people not only of America but in every country in the world.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, it is with sorrow and deep resentment against Japan that I rise to support a declaration of war.

I have consistently opposed our entrance into wars in Europe and Asia for the past 3 years, but the unwarranted, vicious, brazen, and dastardly attack by the Japanese Navy and air force while peace negotiations were pending at Washington and in defiance of the President's eleventh-hour personal appeal to the Emperor, makes war inevitable and necessary.

The time for debate and controversy within America has passed. The time for action has come.

Interventionists and noninterventionists must cease criminations and recriminations, charges and countercharges against each other, and present a united front behind the President and the Government in the conduct of the war.

There can be only one answer to the treacherous attack of the Japanese, and that is war to final victory, cost what it may in blood, treasure, and tears. This unprovoked and senseless aggression by

the Japanese armed forces upon our possessions must be answered by war.

Although I have consistently fought against our intervention in foreign wars, I have repeatedly stated that if we were attacked by any foreign nation, or if the Congress of the United States declared war in the American and constitutional way, I would support the President and the administration to the bitter end.

Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. The Japanese have gone stark, raving mad, and have by their unprovoked attack committed military, naval, and national suicide.

I shall at the proper time volunteer my services as an officer in a combat division, as I did in the last war, preferably with colored troops.

There is no sacrifice too great that I will not make in defense of America and to help annihilate these war-mad Japanese devils.

Now that we are to fight let us go in with our heads and chins up in the American way, and let us serve notice upon the world that this is not only a war against aggression and in defense of our own territories but a war for freedom and democracy all over the world, and that we will not stop until victory is won.

I appeal to all American citizens, particularly to the members of my own party, and to noninterventionists, to put aside personal views and partisanship, and unite behind the President, our Commander in Chief, in assuring victory to the armed forces of the United States.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM].

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, speedy action, not words, should be the order of the day.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON].

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, in this tragic hour words will not convey our feelings or express our righteous indignation. The Japanese unprovoked attack upon the United States without notice, while peace negotiations were still in progress, was dastard treachery and is characteristic of those totalitarian outlaws who talk peace while they have already drawn the dagger with which to strike.

We have but two choices today, either to fight or to surrender, and America, thank God, has never surrendered and never will surrender.

America is united. America will fight. America will win.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's attack of American territory by Japan was a stab in the back. This outrage was committed at the very moment the Secretary of State was conferring face to face with representatives of the Japanese Government, at their request, for the purpose of finding a peaceful solution. The Japanese envoys were engaged in diplomatic sham and com-

mitted one of the most dishonest acts in the world's history. The indignation of the American people has risen to demand justice and the protection of all that is America. Those of every national strain, proud of their American heritage and citizenship will stand up to the challenge made by Japan of their freedom. All of us are willing today to make every sacrifice to reach our goal. Awful as war is, Americans throughout our land demand a declaration of war today. There is no other choice now. Victory or defeat and it must be victory. Mr. Speaker, we know American men are brave, American women, too, are brave; together a united courage such as ours is certain of victory.

We are willing today to make every sacrifice to achieve our goal. Thank God, Mr. Speaker, the country is united today. United and courageous we march forward to victory.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland [Mrs. BYRON].

Mrs. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, my late husband, Bill Byron, was in the last war. One of my sons is near military age. Should this conflict last long enough, I am willing to give my sons to their country's defense. I am 100 percent in favor of avenging the wrong done our country and maintaining our country's honor. We must go into this thing to beat the Japanese aggressor. I shall do everything by voice, by vote, everything within my power to bring about this end.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY].

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, prior to yesterday we were a divided Nation with respect to our foreign policy. This division of sentiment has interfered with the efficient marshaling of our energies and our resources. America has been a sleeping giant. This attack by the Japanese has awakened us. We are no longer divided. We are one people. We are a Nation galvanized into action. The whole world will soon learn that a truly peace-loving Nation can strike with awful force when thoroughly aroused.

Mr. Speaker, we, Americans all, at this critical hour in the life of our Nation place all that we hold dear—our lives and our sacred honor—upon the altar of our country and at the foot of our country's cause. God helping us, we will not fail.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON].

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday against the roar of Japanese cannon in Hawaii our American people heard a trumpet call; a call to unity; a call to courage; a call to determination once and for all to wipe off of the earth this accursed monster of tyranny and slavery which is casting its black shadow over the hearts and homes of every land. And this is what we are going to do before we are through. And when the battle is over, and it will be a long battle of blood, of tears, of sweat, and sacrifice—but it will be worth it, for when the battle is over—and I hope God may spare me long enough to see it—America will stand in the forefront to help create a world

civilization of freemen everywhere, just as Americans today are free on American soil and propose at any cost to remain so.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, this resolution is in effect a declaration of war against Japan. This is not a war of aggression on our part. It is more than a war for the maintenance of the sovereign rights of the American Republic and for the preservation of American dignity in the councils of the nations of the earth. It is not an idealistic war. The President's message succinctly stated what has happened since dawn on yesterday. This is entirely a defensive war. Our merchant ships, our naval ships, and our airplanes have not only been attacked during the last 48 hours, but our territory has been invaded. Our national-defense facilities have been bombed. Our cities have been attacked. Our soldiers and our sailors have been killed. The coldbloodedness of the attack has been exceeded only by the perfidy and treachery of the attacker. This resolution is a declaration of the American people, speaking in a constitutional way through their elected representatives in Congress, that they will defend their country, their homes, and their firesides against the avarice and the brutality of Japanese assault.

It seems to me that there can be but one honorable and realistic answer on the part of the Congress to this Japanese attack. Much as I abhor war, I am constrained to vote for this resolution.

As is well known in the House, and to the constituents whom I have the honor to represent here, I have been definitely opposed to involving our country in any foreign war except in case of defense. My voice and my votes in the Congress have been directed to that end. I believe thoroughly in America and in our way of life and doubt the wisdom of attempting to compel the world, by force, to adhere to the principles of government which we enjoy and which by choice we will defend to the end.

Mr. Speaker, I am impressed with the solemnity of this occasion. To me, it is depressing and dreadful. I realize full well the implications of a great war with Japan. The sacrifices our people must make in both life and treasure cannot be appraised. However, we have been attacked and at this good hour Japanese soldiers are doing their best to destroy our country and to kill our people.

To me, there is no choice in this matter. Japan has cast the die. It is either surrender or fight. Our people will never surrender.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, the time for action has arrived. My words, therefore, will be few.

Early yesterday morn, out of the fading darkness of the night before, hundreds of Japanese flyers, bent alone on murder and destruction, ruthlessly dive bombed and blasted the American islands of Hawaii.

The awfulness of Japan's treacherous crime against the people of the United States will find no counterpart in the bloody annals of man's rascality.

The screams of men stricken down, the walls of widows newly made, the cries of

helpless children, dying, will linger in the memories of a betrayed citizenship long after the last Japanese gun has been silenced by an outraged humanity, aroused, at last, to the challenge this evil, oriental power has flung at the world.

Americans will not forget this indignity to which this crafty outlaw nation has subjected us.

Those who died in this murderous assault will be avenged. The punishment which an outraged humanity will impose will atone in full measure the cowardly crime which has been theirs to commit.

And those who have died in this first attack will not have died in vain. The mighty effort which will be ours, inspired, as it is, by their noble sacrifice, will crush forever the lust for power, the greed for self, the dreams of conquest, which have motivated this unholy attack upon the decent people of the world.

Victory will attend our arms, triumph will soon be ours, tyranny will again be swept from the face of the earth which it now defaces and disgraces.

So let there be unity, in our every thought, in our every deed. Let every man, woman, and child lend the strength of his or her individual might. With the Nation united, no force in this world can prevail against our brave soldiers, sailors, and marines.

Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this resolution. And to the success of our arms in the war that is to be waged I pledge my all, my life, my property, my sacred honor.

Mr. WOLVERTON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, our Nation, despite its every effort to maintain a peaceful relationship with the Empire of Japan, today is faced with the challenge of war. A war not of our own choosing, but a war that has been wantonly and treacherously thrust upon us.

Never in the recorded history of civilized nations has there been a parallel of the treachery and deceit evidenced by Japan in its unprovoked attack upon our outposts in the Pacific. It took advantage of the white flag of truce under which its emissaries were conferring with our own representatives, ostensibly to determine a treaty of peace, and struck a dagger into our back. The reprehensible and diabolical character of this act does not admit of adequate description and condemnation.

Commencing with the assault on China in 1931, the Japanese by deceptive maneuvers have pressed forward their aggressions in the Orient. While continually encroaching upon the rights of others, Japan has marked her real intentions by pledges of good faith to our own and the other western nations who have sought to protect the national integrity and territory of the weaker nations.

It is in keeping with this record of deceptive dealing that the emissaries of Japan in Washington should conduct "peace" negotiations with the representatives of our own Government up to the very hour that Japanese war planes dropped their death bombs upon an unsuspecting and sleeping populace in the American Territory of Hawaii. For at least 2 weeks preceding the bombing of American territory at Hawaii and other

points in the Pacific, Japan had undoubtedly been secretly making preparation for the attack. They took advantage of the time and opportunity that was afforded them by the willingness of our Government to confer in an endeavor to obtain a peaceful solution by making and perfecting plans to bring sudden destruction to our people and our defenses. However, there is no need to dwell further upon the perfidy of Japan. Its existence is plain and its record will never be effaced from the pages of history so long as civilization remains.

War is upon us. The need of the hour is for action. The duty of every American is plain. America will answer the call to duty with courage and unity. But do not let us make the mistake that our task will be an easy one. That is the way to fail. Our adversary has worked and labored for 10 years looking forward to the day it would challenge America. Unfortunately, we have helped them in their preparation for war against us. For many years Japan has received steel, copper, oil, and other manufactured products from us. We must now assume they have been turned into weapons to be used against us. Furthermore, to prosecute a successful war we will be called upon to wage it thousands of miles from our home base. This will have a tendency to delay and hinder a quick conclusion. We must be ready to bear early reverses like those suffered on Sunday morning, when hostilities were directed at several of our Pacific island possessions. It is natural that some early successes would result from the fact that our enemy struck suddenly and without warning. But we may rest assured that early success does not mean final success. America is aroused.

America is confronted with an enemy that is without conscience. It is resourceful and well supplied with the weapons of war. It is our duty by unity of thought, purpose, and action to bring defeat to this deceitful and treacherous foe at the earliest possible day. Whatever may have been the differences that have divided us in the past, there can be no division as to the desirability, the necessity, and the duty of attaining victory. Our cause is just. Our courage is strong. With God's help, we will win.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, this is a tragic hour for the American people. History will record it as a more tragic one for the peoples of the Japanese Empire.

Few men in America have the aversion to war and the desire for peace which are mine. There is no regret or bitterness in my heart because of my efforts for a peaceful world. Deep satisfaction is mine because of my modest efforts to bring our armed forces to the highest point of efficiency and coordination.

In destroying American lives and property and in violating our soil, the Japanese war lords have brought upon themselves the condemnation of decent peoples everywhere.

I have been a consistent opponent of this administration's foreign policy. For that opposition I make no apology. But the time for political differences is passed. We must unite. We must fight. We

must win. We must end this threat to our sovereignty and our citizens. The path to victory will be long and stony. We must condition ourselves for setbacks and reversals. We must prepare ourselves for our part in the formation of a just and peaceful world for the generations to come.

The plain, patriotic duty of every American is to offer himself for service during this war in any capacity for which he may be fitted. It is my intention to offer my services to the armed forces for the duration of the war.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, Japan has ruthlessly made war upon the United States. There can be only one answer for America to this inhuman act, namely, war with all our might and resources.

There cannot be, there must not be, any question in the mind of a single American citizen as to the ultimate outcome. Only complete victory over this treacherous foe can satisfy the American spirit of justice and liberty.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, as these words are written, the unanimous vote—except one—in both Houses of Congress for the resolution declaring a state of war to exist between the Imperial Government of Japan and the United States is still echoing and re-echoing through the Chambers and the corridors of the Capitol.

America tonight is stunned by Hawaii. It is amazed by Pearl Harbor. It is utterly without any explanation for what, on its face, appears to be an utterly inexplicable event. It is impossible at this time to find any explanation for what apparently happened, for it is impossible to know the extent and the effects of the shattering blow delivered so suddenly by the Japanese.

America had considered Pearl Harbor impregnable. Pearl Harbor was the pride of the armed forces of the United States. Pearl Harbor was the alert outpost standing strong as a Gibraltar between the United States mainland and the threat of the Japanese. So America had been told again and again and again. That was what America had been led to believe. It was what America had a right to believe.

Tonight America is certain of just one thing. We have been attacked. We are one people with just one determination—to subordinate every other consideration to the winning of this war.

The very immensity, the very mystery of the failure at Pearl Harbor to discover the advance of the enemy or adequately to meet his onslaught, cement together Americans of every section, of every creed, of every class, of every color, and every race behind the irresistible determination to keep freedom alive in our beloved land.

There must be some explanation for the stunning events at Pearl Harbor. There will have to be an explanation—sooner or later—and it had better be good.

Mr. Speaker, there is but one decision, regardless of everything else; that is to win this war as speedily as possible, as efficiently as possible, with the minimum loss of life or injury to Americans, both of the armed forces and civilians.

Recriminations could be indulged in. This is not the time for that. Accusations could be made. This is not the time for that. Criticisms could be leveled. This is not the time for that. The big job, the vital job, in this hour is to win this war as quickly and as decisively as we can. To do that, we must train, arm, and equip our forces. Nothing, nothing, must stand between the United States of America and her security. The most important thing in this world to the American people—and to the rest of the world—is the quickest possible triumph America can achieve in this war.

There is no necessity to analyze the vote in the House or the Senate on the war resolution. It spoke for itself. It spoke for that unity which now is America. From this time on, God help the individual or the group that seeks for selfish purposes to interfere with the Nation's preparedness.

Stunned as America is; righteously wrathful as America some time will be; amazed as America finds herself on this historic day, it may be said with perfect assurance that the soul of America does not quail; that the courage of America does not falter; that the capacity of America is equal to the task which confronts her.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, in the face of the totally unprovoked aggression of the Japanese Empire, every American joins in the determination to defeat this infamous attack. We were ready and willing to do everything within our power to bring about peace in the Far East. Long after our suspicions had been completely aroused by the inconsistency of Japanese activities and Japanese conversations in Washington, we tolerated and encouraged continued negotiations. Our hands are clean. The Japanese military clique must take the full responsibility for the war we have just declared in response to the action of Tokyo. Our people are united as they have never been since the days of 1917 in the determination to end the era of military threats, to destroy forever the insane Axis belief that might makes right. I deplore the necessity for war. But when war has been thrust upon our people I thank God that we are a Nation resolute and strong in the conviction that what we must do is not of our own choosing. We shall fight this war until victory has been won. When the struggle is ended we shall free the Orient from the horror of the past decade. I have cast my vote for war with Japan, confident of the judgment of the American people and of history.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, when the roll is called upon the pending resolution, I shall vote in the affirmative. To delay in making speedy and vigorous answer to the challenge from Japan would be folly and weakness. The testimony to unprovoked and premeditated attack is overwhelming. Vigorous action is imperative. Let there be complete unity of spirit and purpose.

There lies before us the task of defeating and disciplining by force of arms a nation that has violated every amenity of diplomatic intercourse. We face the task of overwhelming a nation which has displayed a complete disregard for the

virtues of fairness, decency, and sportsmanship. The President and Secretary of State have exercised gentleness, patience, and restraint in preserving peace in the Pacific. Their gentleness has been flouted, their patience mocked, their efforts trampled under heel. There remains for us no other course than to subdue and discipline the Imperial Government of Japan for this unwarranted and outrageous conduct.

It will be a grim, serious, and undramatic business. Let us discharge it grimly, seriously, undramatically. Let us not underestimate the size or duration of the task. Let us at the very outset kindle the determination, the sacrificial spirit and the unselfishness which will be requisite to this undertaking. In my humble way I propose to labor earnestly and diligently in the cause of complete and speedy victory. I am at the command of the Commander in Chief.

Mr. KELLY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Members of the House, on Sunday last our American soil has been treacherously attacked by Japan, killing many of our fine citizens, soldiers, and sailors, like a slimy creature crawling in the dark, it struck without warning and struck while negotiations were in progress for a hoped-for peace in the Pacific.

Having served in the last war, little did I think I would ever see this day come again in America; I had hoped for a peace, but you cannot deal in terms of peace with such people. Now that Congress has acted, the American people will stand united to destroy those who perpetrated this atrocious crime and caught unaware the fine boys of our Army and Navy. Our decision is clear. This was not of our making. We must fight with everything we have, that America may live.

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, 48 hours ago if someone would have said to me, "You will soon vote for a declaration of war against a foreign power," I would have considered that individual non compos mentis.

Since the outbreak of World War No. 2 I have consistently and conscientiously opposed and voted against every step which I considered was in the direction of our involvement in foreign war. I have proclaimed from the floor of this House, and from many platforms throughout the Nation, and over the radio to the American people that I would never vote to plunge this country into a war of aggression, and that only in the event of attack upon our sovereignty would I vote and support a resolution that would put us into a defensive war.

Mr. Speaker, like you and millions of our fellow Americans, I was shocked and amazed when the news broke yesterday that the Imperial Government of Japan attempted a dastardly and unprovoked attack on the Territory of Hawaii, resulting in considerable military and naval damage, together with considerable loss of life and injury to American citizens.

This attack is more reprehensible when it is recalled that it came at the very hour when conversations were being held at the Nation's Capital with the Japanese envoys and diplomats looking

forward to the continuation of peaceful relations between the United States and the Empire of Japan.

After our participation in the Spanish-American War of 1898 we embarked upon a colonial policy when we took over the Philippine Islands, and subsequently other outposts in the Pacific Ocean. Whatever the charge of imperialism attributed to us by these acts—and there was some justification for such charges—the fact remains that the Territory of Hawaii is and has been for years a part of our Federal Government. Its duly elected delegate sits in our Congress, and we legislate for the Territory of Hawaii, just as we do for the 48 States of our Union. In fact, Hawaii is known as our forty-ninth State, and considerable agitation has been going on for several years to have Hawaii formally admitted into our federation of States.

Today the President of the United States, in a joint session of Congress assembled, stated that an assault has been made upon our sovereignty and our honor and that the United States take up the challenge of the Imperial Government of Japan, which has formally declared war on us, after a vicious attack upon our property and upon our citizens, which is unprecedented in our entire history.

The President calls for united action on the part of the Nation. I respond to that call as a Member of Congress and as a humble citizen of the Republic in sustaining his appeal. And I shall vote for a formal declaration of war to avenge this cowardly act on the part of Japan.

Our war with Japan must not be construed as a war to protect the material interest of any other nation in the Orient. The insult that brings about this declaration of war is directed to our own Government. The full strength and the resources of the Nation should be employed to crush the cowardly military caste that rules the Nipponese Empire.

Just as I felt for the past 2 years that over 80 percent of our people were opposed to being involved in the blood business of Europe and Asia without just cause, I feel at this very hour that the same 80 percent of our people are united in full support of war resolution against the Imperial Government of Japan, in the light of the event that transpired during the past 24 hours.

This is the only war in which we are now officially engaged. May God be with us as we go forward to victory, and may the loss of life be lessened in the days to come, when our fine American soldiers and sailors must face the terrible ordeal of conflict. Interventionists and non-interventionists alike are now brothers in a common cause. We did not provoke this assault, and we have every justification in protecting our honor under the circumstances. A united America heeds the call.

May the Divine Providence assist us in securing an early peace with victory. At some future day when the warring powers of the earth once more sit around the council table to prepare a world peace, let us insist that the United States of America, founded on a Christian civilization, speak through its representatives at the peace convention as Christ would speak for the poor and distressed people

of the earth. It is a well-known fact the doors of the peace council at Versailles were closed to the God of infinite justice and mercy, with the result that practically all the civilized nations of the earth are once more engaged in the holocaust of war.

Our continuation as a world power should not be bound up with the role of a bully to crush the weak and the oppressed, but, on the contrary, should be sustained by example and assistance in encouraging the many and varied races of the human family to emulate our way of life. The way that has sustained us since the days of Washington, Jefferson, and the founding fathers, and that with the immortal Lincoln, governments of the people, by the people, and for the people may take root and blossom everywhere throughout the earth when the insanity of war has disappeared forever.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, so far as I have been able to find, history reveals no act of aggression and mass murder as dastardly, as cowardly, or as contemptible as the attack made by pagan, godless Japan on the United States and the Christian people of the island of Hawaii on yesterday.

It was not only cruel and unprovoked warfare against a nation that had befriended Japan for almost a hundred years but it was malicious mass murder of innocent men, women, and children, who were blown to pieces on the streets of Honolulu.

The resolution before us declaring that a state of war exists between the Japanese Empire and the United States ought to pass without a dissenting vote. It represents the will of the God-fearing, liberty-loving, Christian men and women of America, whose resentment is unrestrained by the most brutal and uncalled-for episode in the history of nations that even claimed to be civilized.

We ought to have no trouble now in subduing subversive elements in our defense industries. We ought not to have any trouble now in coordinating and concentrating every force, every power, every ounce of energy in the prosecution of this war until we drive these pagan hordes from power, reestablish peace in the Pacific, and avenge this unprovoked attack in such a way that will be remembered for a thousand years.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, the message of President Roosevelt leaves but one course open to the Congress. It is our solemn duty to recognize the existence of a state of war with Japan, a state of war which that nation has forced upon us through its treacherous conduct.

An unprecedented act of perfidy has shocked all the people of our country into a full realization of the gravity of our situation. They have been brought forcibly to realize the danger of the unbridled and voracious aggressor, a danger which many failed to appreciate, despite the warnings implicit in the experience of the invaded and subjugated nations of the world during the past few years.

The people of this Nation are now united. We will remain united as free people. Loving peace and hating war as we do, we will face the challenge of

force and aggression. With all the strength of our being we will meet that challenge. We will add our material and spiritual might to the cause of the preservation of decency and liberty. We cannot with honor do otherwise. In this endeavor we will not, we cannot, fail.

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, the diabolically infamous treachery of the Japanese brands the race as never to have been and not now entitled to be trusted or treated as civilized. It confirms the judgment and wisdom of our forebears, who would and did exclude them from citizenship.

The coup of yesterday was Hitler inspired, and in it he cooperated.

In this crisis we should forego and forget party political expediency, personal opportunism, obsessions for pacifism, and everything else except our Americanism. Our liberties and our lives are attacked. They are at stake. I say consideredly that anybody who would not fight and vote to save and to protect both is, as I see it, irresponsible or a traitor at this minute.

If the coat fits, put it on, for it is the truth; and there can be no rational justification nor alibi for a vote against the resolution as it is drawn and which is to be adopted in behalf of our defense.

We should and will declare that a state of war has existed. Can anyone doubt it with at least fifteen hundred Americans dead at the hands of the Japanese? How can any sensible person vote against it? They cannot. It is an incontrovertible fact.

Unitedly and unanimously we must vote and fight for freedom from all those things for which Japan and Hitler stand. We will not win this war as speedily nor as easily as we could wish or, as some believe, but we will win. We must.

The hour we have tried to avoid and to evade has struck.

We go forward today on the road to freedom and unity at whatever cost or else backward, as we submit to Hitlerism, paganism, and serfdom. A vote against this resolution is a vote to put us all in chains.

I shall vote to declare that a state of war against Japan has existed since they so despicably and perfidiously attacked us while we were at their request considering their offerings for peace.

I shall vote to exhaust, if need be, all the power and resources of this country to the end that nobody ever again will undertake so perfidiously to betray us in order that, starting with a clean slate, having destroyed the enemies of civilization and Christianity, there may be wiped off the face of the earth those paganistic philosophies and all those concurrent evils for which Japan and the Axis stand.

I am ready to vote.

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, this is a fateful day which we have all sought to avoid. I am one of those who has earnestly and wholeheartedly sought to keep our Nation at peace. I have recognized our peril and have not only consistently supported every measure which I have sincerely believed was designed to protect and preserve our peace and national security, but have as consistently voted for every cent of ap-

propriations requested by our President for our own national defense. I have as consistently opposed everything which, in my honest judgment, endangered our peace and national security.

In our efforts to keep our Nation at peace, we have failed. History will record as academic truths the facts and factors which may have brought about this conflict which has been thrust upon us, but they are of no avail at this hour. The die has been cast. Our choice has been made for us. During the very hour in which so-called peace negotiations were being conducted in Washington, Japan launched upon our Pacific possessions and upon our nationals a most cowardly, treacherous, and dastardly stab-in-the-back attack. There can be no alternative but for us to declare immediately that a state of war has existed between Japan and these United States since the early morning hours of December 7, 1941.

Just as earnestly as we have all sought to maintain the peace, just so must we now all turn with that same fervor and whole-souled desire to defeat our enemy in order to maintain and preserve our American way of life. I have this day volunteered my own services and offered to the Navy a small cruiser which I have on the Potomac. We must all dedicate ourselves now to the common cause to bring about that victory we must have, that victory we will have, that victory which, with God's help, will come at the earliest possible moment. May God bless and protect America.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, at the break of dawn on December 7, the armed forces of the Empire of Japan attacked the lands and the people of the United States of America by sea and by air. The roar of guns from warships and the bombs from the air caused untold loss of life and great damage to property among the armed forces and citizens of this Nation. This came without warning, unprovoked, and without just cause. In all the history of mankind, I know of no more infamous act of treachery perpetrated upon a peace-loving people. We have always been untiring in our efforts to remain at peace and friendly to all nations. This treachery is such that the people of America will rise as one to strike back with vicious fury. Our President has officially advised us that because of this treachery and infamy a state of war exists between Japan and the United States of America.

As much as I abhor war and have done everything I could to avert that catastrophe to my people, we must all agree that the unprovoked treachery of Japan calls for full support of our President and our Government with an all-out united effort and sacrifice, to the end that the perpetrators of this dastardly crime shall be brought to justice. I fully realize that this will mean sorrow in many homes and blood, sweat, and tears. In America, the land of freemen, where the right of freedom means more than life itself, we shall carry on to victory for the preservation of that freedom that we hold so dear. The people of my district have always given their full share of sacrifice in any call to duty.

People of all nationalities have come to our shores, enjoying the rights of free-

men. Americans all, with love of country deep-seated in their hearts, will answer the call to arms. Men and women from all walks of life will rally to the standard of liberty. Those who don the uniform on the field of battle or on the high seas may rest assured that full and supreme sacrifice of those at home, in the fields, in the factories, the mills, the mines, the forests, the offices, from town, county, and city, will be given as fully and completely as is humanly possible. This Nation places at the disposal of the President of the United States, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, its property, its wealth, and the lives of its citizens in this hour of peril, so that liberty and justice will ring down through the ages in order that the civilized world will rid itself of such devilish technique.

All I can say in closing is that God be with us in this hour of peril so that America, the land of freedom, will stand gloriously for all time and that real civilization shall reign supreme in all the world.

Mr. Speaker, we have no choice. We did not want war, but war we have. This murderous onslaught can be met only with a complete declaration of war. The Congress of the United States, I know, will meet this in the constitutional way, and before we leave here this afternoon such a resolution will be passed. No matter what the sacrifice, victory will be ours.

Mr. THILL. Mr. Speaker, Japan has attacked the United States in a sudden outburst of gunfire and aerial bombardment. While the Japanese envoys were conferring with the Secretary of State in an effort to maintain peaceful relations, the fanatical war clique in Japan ordered warfare against the peace-loving people of America. The radio news flashes of war in the Pacific burst like bombshells in the homes of our people on Sunday afternoon. It was scarcely believable, hardly conceivable that Japan should wage war against our country. There was no threat of armed attack, no hint of violence, no break of diplomatic relations prior to Japan's sudden attack upon Hawaii and American possessions. Without warning Japan has loosed tons of explosives upon our property and our people. This has caused terrific damage to our Navy and our Military Establishments, and it has resulted in much loss of life. If only the military leadership of Japan had used reason instead of emotion. If only Japanese leadership had followed the will of their people for peace. If sanity instead of madness had been the watchword of the governors of Japan—there would have been no outbreak of hostilities between our two nations.

The United States has no other alternative than to recognize that a state of war exists between our country and Japan. We were attacked. Our citizens have been killed. Our property has been devastated. Our soldiers and sailors lie dead. Japan has declared war against us. Guam is under Japanese siege. Air attacks blast Hawaii and the Philippine Islands. Our warships and merchant ships suffer attack. All this means war. Insane, catastrophic war. Everyone in

the United States must recognize that a state of war exists.

Since it is Japan's avowed intention to fight us, we must fight back. An attack made upon us must be repulsed. We will take no abuse from any nation. The honor, the dignity, the institutions of America must be preserved at all cost.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, the infamous act of treachery committed by Japan against our Nation has aroused the fighting, unconquerable spirit of our people. I know that our armed forces, fighting in defense of our homeland and liberty will be invincible on land, on sea, and in the air. Our American boys can handle anything genius can invent. I know that industry and labor will unite as never before in one supreme effort to furnish our forces with the necessary implements of war. Once our military organization is fully equipped with guns, planes, tanks, and ships, we will, true to the glorious traditions of the past, carry Old Glory to victory.

Mr. CLASON. Mr. Speaker, I know that I am faithfully recording the determined will of every American citizen within the Second Congressional District of Massachusetts in voting this afternoon in favor of a joint resolution declaring a state of war to exist between the governments of the peace-loving people of the United States and the subjects of the treacherous, military despots of Japan.

At dawn yesterday, the war planes of the Mikado ruthlessly attacked our possessions in the Pacific, causing great loss of life, not only to our armed forces, but to our civilian population. By this wanton act of unprovoked warfare, carried out while the President of the United States was seeking to secure the continuance of peace in the Far East, the Japanese have aroused 130,000,000 Americans to a resolute determination to crush forever these arrogant Asiatic assassins.

The people of the United States are united, as never before, in the grave task which lies before us. We can confidently rely on the courage, the skill, and the fighting qualities of the men in our armed forces. We, the men and women of America, in the factories, on the farms, in every walk of life, pledge our every effort to our Army and our Navy that they shall bring victory to our cause.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, the sudden and ruthless attack by the Japanese against the United States possessions in the Pacific, has no parallel in history. At the very moment our Government was bending every effort to maintain the peace between the Imperial Government of Japan and our country through negotiation, and when promises and more promises were being made by their representatives that they desired peace, at that very moment, like a thief in the night, our American soil was attacked, leaving both death and destruction as a reminder that our enemy had started on its program of war against the United States.

As we now, with as much calmness as possible, view this "knife in the back" action, and realizing the careful premeditated planning necessary to carry out this assault on our bases in the Pacific, we face the fact that the challenge thrown down to us will and must be met. There is no choice for true, patriotic, loyal, peace-

loving, American citizens other than to follow our President in his request for the passage of a resolution setting forth that a state of war exists between the United States and Japan.

Our preparedness program has moved forward these last 2 years, implemented by huge appropriations made possible by the vote of many of us who were determined we should build up our defenses. These defenses are now needed and more and more must be added. The citizenry of our country as a unit, must now stick out its chin, roll up its sleeves and push forward in an all-out effort to meet this dastardly attack hurled into our very teeth. We will and must defend ourselves from those who would destroy us.

With a heavy heart, knowing what war is and can mean, I today join my colleagues in a vote for this resolution asked for by our Commander in Chief, the President. As one, loyal citizens of this country will heartily endorse the action of Congress today, all determined that cost what it will, we accept the challenge until victory is ours.

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, this is a day I have fervently prayed might not come but for which I have earnestly sought to have America prepare. The day is here and we must now meet the issue squarely, and with unanimity, and pledge the full resources of the Nation and its people to a successful prosecution of the war which we are about to declare in full confidence that under Divine guidance the best traditions of our Nation will be upheld.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, this is undoubtedly the gravest and most serious question that has come before the Congress during the 7 years I have served in this body. The request that the President has made comes after an unwarranted and deadly assault has been made upon the citizens of this Government by Japan. There is only one sensible position for this Congress to take: We must accept the challenge which comes from Japan in the form of the most brutal attack that has been made upon this Government during the existence of our country. This attack is a part of the program of the totalitarian powers in their combined effort to wipe out the possibility of democratic government and to establish in its stead abject slavery. The bloody struggle engaged in by Germany, Italy, and now Japan is a challenge to civilization itself.

I fully concur in the resolution which we have just adopted in compliance with the President's request and pledge the unbroken and continued loyalty not only of the First Congressional District, which I represent, but that of the 15,000,000 Negroes in America. This seems to be a struggle to the death, and will determine for years to come, and perhaps for all time, the form of government that we are to have in this country, and perhaps in the world.

I wish to suggest that in this struggle, as in all previous struggles, the Negro proposes to give and will give all he has, including his life, for the success of our effort to withstand Hitlerism. In view of the sacrifices which my group has always made and in view of the sacrifices which

we are bound to make in this struggle, let me remind the Congress and the Government that the Negro expects the same treatment under our so-called democratic form of government that is accorded all other citizens. He would be unworthy of citizenship in this country if he contended for less.

It is my hope that the contribution which we have always made and shall continue to make will cause those in power and authority and will cause this country to recognize the Negro as a full-fledged citizen. If he is good enough to die for his country, he should be given the largest and fullest opportunity to live for his country without any type of racial discrimination. We are loyal Americans, and you can depend on us to the last man.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, America has been attacked; America has been invaded; and America is speechless. A majority of the Members of Congress last week predicted war with Japan, but none of us felt or could conceive that it would come as it did.

Americans are a religious people; every belief and creed is practiced and protected under our form of government. While many Americans were returning from worship on Sunday the almost incredible news that Japan had invaded Hawaii and the Philippines stunned the senses and shocked the very soul of each of us.

Before this news was flashed to the world America was a sleeping giant, but now she is awakened, united, and determined that this shall never happen again. By this sudden stroke of the Japanese, coming during the stillness and under the cover of the darkness of the night, when soldiers and civilians alike were peacefully resting in their respective abodes, a divided America has been unified, a sleeping America has been awakened, and a peaceful America is at war.

History will never recall a greater or more infamous outrage. Tradition will never relate a more unwarranted or more premeditated assault. The vilest snake, the lowest animal, and the most ravenous bird of prey gives its intended victim some warning before it strikes. The Japanese failed even to exercise the impulse common to all other living creatures. The only warning they gave our peaceful and slumbering people was a burst of shrapnel and the howl of dive bombers.

Today thousands are dead and thousands are homeless; ships have been sunk and airplanes destroyed. What are we going to do about it? All Americans in whose veins courses the blood of our fathers demand war; every American under the protection of the Stars and Stripes demand action. Japan must be wiped from the face of the earth. She must never rise again. She must feel the same kind of misery that our people have been forced to endure. We must either surrender or fight. Our glorious history dictates our course. We must fight. We will fight. God being our strength, we are going to win. I for one will vote for a declaration of war against Japan.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Japan has attacked our Gov-

ernment and its people. They have succeeded in sinking some of our ships, destroying some of our planes, and have bombed and killed soldiers, sailors, and civilians. This attack was made under cover of darkness. It came without warning. It came while our President was still seeking a peaceful solution to the problems of the Pacific.

This attack along a wide-flung battle line clearly reveals that Japan, like the other Axis members, is bent upon world conquest and nothing will stop her short of superior force. The blood of our slain cry out of the ground for revenge. This is an attack upon a peaceful, liberty-loving Nation. This is an attack upon our country and its institutions. It is designed to conquer and enslave all the liberty-loving people of the earth. It will not succeed.

Every resource of this great Nation—material and spiritual—will be thrown into this conflict to destroy Japan. We must have unlimited production, uninterrupted by any means. We must toil and sacrifice. Yea, we must fight to win.

We are resolved by the help of God to see this conflict through to victory. It will be a victory for peace and decency; for freedom. We cannot fail in this our hour of destiny.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, speaking for the community I represent here in Congress, I have no hesitancy in saying that the unwarranted attack upon Hawaii, despite such temporary advantages as might have been gained by this indefensible conduct, will result in the destruction of Japan as a military power. Hawaii has suffered the first brunt of the enemy's unprovoked assault, but the loss of life incurred will harden our determination to rid the world of this menace.

I know my community will support to the utmost degree any decision arrived at by the Congress and the President of the United States for the successful prosecution of the war so unjustifiably forced upon us. If I had a vote in the House it would be cast in favor of a declaration of war.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, for the second time in my service as a Member of Congress, I have listened to the President of the United States ask for a declaration of war.

Never was such a request more justified than the one made today.

Our Nation has been attacked by a power with which we were, up to the very moment of hostilities against us, engaged in friendly negotiations to ensure peace. The cowardly and dastardly nature of that attack will not be forgotten throughout all history. We shall strike back in self-defense with all the resources at our command.

I wish to echo the words of other speakers that the time has come for action, not words. Already American lives have been lost, American ships have been sunk, and American property destroyed. The President, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, has promptly taken action to intercept and destroy the enemy. The people of the United States are behind him and can be

counted upon to do their part in seeing this unprovoked war through to victory.

No longer are we Republicans or Democrats, interventionists or noninterventionists, but Americans. Our past differences of viewpoint upon matters of foreign policy should be forgotten. All that matters now is the successful defense of America from this dishonorable and contemptible act of aggression upon the part of Japan.

I shall support the President's request for a declaration that a state of war exists and sincerely hope that the vote upon the resolution may be unanimous, so as to emphasize our unity of purpose and our determination to avenge the treacherous act of a professedly friendly power.

The occasion here today reminds me of a similar one nearly 25 years ago when President Wilson, addressing the Congress in an extraordinary night session, solemnly asked for a declaration of war against Germany. There are 15 Members of the present House who were Members of the World War Congress. I know the other 14 Members have wished as I have, that we would never be called upon to vote for another war declaration. I have many times said that I would never do so as regards our participation in any foreign war.

Today, however, we have had war brought to our own doorstep. The United States itself has become the victim of aggression. With the security of our Nation at stake, we must all undertake to defend it with our lives and with all the material resources which we possess. We did not seek this war with Japan, but if the Japanese mean to have it, let us show them that an aroused America is a force to be reckoned with and one that is determined to be victorious.

This is a solemn hour. The decision we must make is a fateful one, but there can be but one answer. When our flag is attacked we arise as one to defend it. God grant that victory may be ours and that it may come speedily and with a minimum of bloodshed.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Speaker, the soul of America has been stirred. The treacherous attack launched by Japan against our outposts in the Pacific has united the Nation in a common cause, and has welded it together in a common devotion. An unyielding faith is America's answer to Japan's perfidy.

As a people, we loathe war. We have been devoted to peace and have pursued every means for its maintenance. We have endeavored to banish hate in the world and have set ourselves to the encouragement of good will among men. Unafraid ourselves, we have contributed unselfishly to dispel both suspicion and fears among others. We have clung tenaciously to our ideals and have made them of a warp and of a woof which could have been woven into realities. Others have torn down the loom and despoiled the fabric. Fervent as have been our hopes for peace, they now give way to a grim determination. War has been forced upon us.

Today we draw our strength from a great faith for the tasks which we must

do and for the sacrifices which we must make. That faith will not fail us.

Mr. GAVAGAN. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, America awakened yesterday to find herself a victim of one of the foulest attacks in the history of this Nation. There is but one answer to this challenge, and that we shall give this day unequivocal language. This Nation closes ranks; no longer shall we hear the voice of the isolationists lulling us with the oft-repeated lullaby, "They can't attack us—the two oceans are our protector." Yea, we close ranks and in battle array go forth to meet this foul challenge; we shall not be deterred, please God, until this act of aggression has been avenged; we shall show the world we are not too proud to fight; that we are worthy scions of our sires who fought, bled, and died that we might live in peace and freedom.

Mr. Speaker, our whole country should keep constantly in mind as the guidepost for our action and our ultimate goal the motto of the great State of Virginia, that State that has given many great sons to the Union and the Nation, "sic semper tyrannis."

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Speaker, the fact is that the United States has been attacked by forces of the Japanese Empire. These attacks, not only upon our naval base at Pearl Harbor but on numerous other islands under our flag, and synchronized so as to occur simultaneously with other attacks over a wide range of thousands of miles in the Pacific, together with the sinking and capture of our merchant vessels, show that these attacks were deliberately planned.

The attacks upon this Nation were actually being delivered at the very time that the Japanese Ambassador and his colleagues were negotiating with Secretary of State Hull. It will be remembered that these negotiations were being conducted at the request of the Japanese, and there can be no doubt that the negotiations themselves were intended as a blind for the purpose of deceiving this country.

This Government has done everything in its power to avoid war with the Japanese Empire. The dastardly and cowardly attacks the Japanese have made are the most treacherous and infamous in all history. American blood has been shed, American lives have been taken, American ships have been destroyed, and American territory has been assaulted. Our Government and our people no longer have any choice in the matter. War has been thrust upon them. The only thing we can do is to recognize that fact and act accordingly.

All of the energy, all of the resources, all of the treasure of this country must be dedicated to the supreme task of defending our Nation.

Politics must be forgotten; factional strife must be buried in oblivion; friction over domestic issues must be obliterated. The United States is at war. We must conquer or perish. With God's help, we must fight until victory crowns our banners, whatever the cost in blood, in treasure, in anguish, or in tears, that liberty may retain habitation among the nations and that freedom shall not perish from the earth.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, this is a solemn hour, an hour when we must think clearly, speak frankly, and act deliberately. To declare war upon any nation is a grave act. There must be a reason that is beyond all doubt that differences cannot be determined by peaceful means.

I have been opposed to the United States interference in the political and economic life of nations in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa. I have maintained that America should stay in the Western Hemisphere to assert our authority, and then only when the conference table was no longer of use to nations. I wanted to use our good offices in America by the President, by the Secretary of State, and by the Congress to arbitrate differences for the Eastern Hemisphere. To the end that the conference table be used I have been zealous in extending our aid. Perhaps the President and the Secretary of State should have consulted the Congress during the deliberations in the past 3 weeks with the Government of Japan, but they were not disposed to do so, and now we find ourselves at war with the Imperial Government of Japan because she fired the shot against the Government of the United States in Hawaii Sunday, December 7, heard the world around.

Today we Americans are faced with a fact, a dreadful reality. A terrible crime has been committed by the Imperial Government of Japan in blowing up our ships, in bombing and killing our American people on the island of Hawaii. They have murdered in cold blood American citizens without warning. There is no other alternative but to declare war on the Imperial Government of Japan, and I shall vote "aye" on the resolution now before the House.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, we are about to cast the most important vote most of us have been, or ever will be, called upon to cast. We are about to do something that no other branch of the Government can do. That is to declare war. The Constitution in its supreme power gives to Congress the power and the responsibility of declaring war. I hope that I fully appreciate the weight of the obligation which is mine today.

The destiny of our country was prophetically stamped upon the Liberty Bell in the words from the Scripture:

Proclaim liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof.

Our Nation has done more to bring that prophesy to complete fruition than any other Nation in the world. Are we to sit supinely by and allow the Goddess of Liberty to be torn from her proud pedestal and trampled into the dust by a nation which, just two or three generations ago, would be classed as barbarians and whose conduct on yesterday shows that they are still barbarians at heart?

Most of us are opposed to war. During the present emergency I have voted constantly against every action that I felt would lead us into war. My philosophy has been that we should stay as far away from war as possible. I felt, however, that should the time come that we would be compelled to go to war, either because of our unwise statements or conduct, or

because of the aggression of some other country, I would so conduct myself as that I could in fairness and in good conscience give my unqualified support to my country. I have never felt it the part of wisdom to have made any statement or any promise to the effect that I would not under any circumstances vote for war. On the contrary I have felt that since war had from the beginning of time been the accepted method of settling disputes between nations it would probably continue to be until the spiritual inclination of the peoples of the world had taken a loftier plane than that which they hold at this time. The action of Japan yesterday impels the most peaceful individual to the conclusion that it is not safe for any country to adopt a policy of complete pacifism.

I am proud that I have the honor to represent a law-abiding and liberty-loving constituency. I shall vote for this resolution because to do otherwise would be to outrage my own conscience and would be to fail to respect the wishes of my constituency. It is one thing to be a malicious aggressor and it is another thing to be a righteous defender. The fight for liberty has never been considered a battle. The fight for liberty is a war and the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. When I cast my vote in favor of this resolution I shall feel the full approval of Lincoln's words:

Let us do the right as God gives us to see the right.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has been invaded. The fact is clear. Any invasion of the United States, its possessions or its interests, is war. Consequently I shall support the resolution before us recognizing a state of war existing between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan.

We have tried to remain out of the World War. It is apparent that we cannot do so under present circumstances. Consequently I shall support this resolution.

Only with force can the invaders be repulsed. We will rise with a God-given strength and smite the invaders.

All of us will make sacrifices. The measure of our devotion will be these sacrifices. Let us all, united for the good of our country, prepare for and make these sacrifices for the continued good of our beloved land.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I think that our entire foreign policy in recent years has been fundamentally wrong, in that it has utterly disregarded the wise advice of Washington, Jefferson, and other founding fathers against foreign entanglements. I want the record to show, as it does show, that I have not, by any acts of mine contributed in any way or at any time or in any degree to what I believe to be this erroneous policy of world involvement. I have opposed, and whenever Congress was allowed a vote, I have voted against every one of these deviations from correct principles because I wanted America to remain free, strong, and independent, and at peace with the world. By no act of mine have I contributed to the deplorable situation that now confronts us. I shall be glad,

indeed, if in my capacity as a Representative of the people who have to suffer and die in war I may be helpful in accomplishing, at the proper time, a reexamination and revision of our foreign policy that will bring us back to sounder and safer ground.

As for the question presently before us, however, Japan already has determined what my vote must be. If the United States had not been attacked I would not have voted to declare that a state of war exists between our two countries. I have repeatedly pledged, and would protect my pledge with my life if necessary, that I would not vote for war unless America was attacked. But we have been attacked, we already are in war, and the declaration that a state of war exists is merely the statement of an obvious and patent fact which the authorities hold is necessary for defensive purposes. Out of a clear sky, without warning, Japan has wantonly, cruelly, and treacherously attacked the United States at a time when our Government was making pacific overtures to preserve the peace. American property has been destroyed, American blood has been spilled, American lives have been lost in an insane thrust at our vital lines when a hundred million Americans were hoping and praying for peace. It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us. It does not matter now how many mistakes may have been made in getting us into the war. The fact remains that we are in it, and we must look to the future, not to the past. Japan has declared war on the United States. By the resolution before us we are not putting our country into war with Japan. We are already in war, and no one knows how soon or from what quarter the next attack will come. Under these circumstances, what can we do and what should we do? We should do everything that is necessary to defend ourselves and to see that American lives and property are made secure. That is the first duty and obligation of sovereignty.

Mr. DOWNS. Mr. Speaker, the United States has suffered a severe loss through the foul attack of Japan yesterday. There can only be one answer to this attack and that is immediate action by Congress.

We must meet force with force and with a united front. We will carry through to victory. This war will mean much suffering and sacrifice, but America in this fateful hour is willing and unafraid. The tactics used by the Japanese are despicable and smack of Hitlerism.

Our President, with a great show of patience, made every effort to bring about a peaceful settlement of this Nation's controversies with Japan. He held out the hand of peace, but was rewarded for his efforts with a stab in the back under the cover of night. In this crisis I hope that he will have the support of every man, woman, and child in these United States. He is our Commander in Chief, and as such assumes the great responsibility of leading us through this struggle to victory. He will live up to the occasion.

Fully aware of the dark days ahead, I do not hesitate to vote for this resolution authorizing our President to employ the entire naval and military forces of the

United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Japanese Government.

PUERTO RICO AND THE WAR

Mr. PAGÁN. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has been provoked and attacked by surprise and treachery by a deceitful enemy whose envoys were in our home speaking of friendship and peace. At this moment that our Nation meets the challenge I want to be on record before this great body, on behalf of 2,000,000 American citizens living in the American Territory of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico, where important naval, air, and military bases are being established, which are making of Puerto Rico a "Gibraltar of the Caribbean" and which is practically the American watchdog at the entrance of the Panama Canal, may be hit any time by the enemy. And I want to assure our fellow citizens of this great Republic that any enemy of the United States will meet in Puerto Rico with a people wholeheartedly faithful to this great Nation, and a tough and patriotic people as well.

On behalf of these 2,000,000 American citizens of Puerto Rico I can pledge the fortunes, the lives, and the honor of my people to fight and to die for this great country.

As the representative of the only Latin-American territory under the American flag, I hope that all Latin-American republics will back the United States of America in this great hour, when at stake is the security, the liberty, and the destiny of the whole Western Hemisphere.

Puerto Rico is sure that at the end the democratic forces of America will win the fight, which will be a victory for freedom and democracy for all mankind.

Mr. D'ALESSANDRO. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the American people will rally to the call of our Commander in Chief and unite to defend our Nation with all our might from an unwarranted, unprovoked, and treacherous attack by Japan. I deplore war, but the time has come when we must meet our enemy with courage and every resource available, and by an all-out effort we will be assured of success. I have faith that Almighty Providence will protect us, for our cause is a just one. This is not the time for speeches, but we must meet the challenge with action. All Americans must stand steadfast behind our leader. We must win. We will win. I have always contended that President Roosevelt was right from the start, and I will continue to support him 100 percent.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, it is a fearful responsibility to vote to take this great, peaceful Nation into war. I will not shirk my clear duty. My vote is to declare the existence of a state of war between Japan and this country. Honolulu is an American city. It is a city of peace and beauty, song and laughter. At dawn on a peaceful Sunday, when some men of our fleet and of our air force were on happy weekend leave, away from their battle stations, when others were asleep in their quarters, death rained from the sky—our ships were sunk, our planes destroyed, Americans were killed, without warning, and at the very time of this dastardly, atrocious, treacherous mass attack by the

air force of Japan, almost unparalleled since the Dark Ages, the hand of friendship was offered by their diplomats in Washington. Mr. Speaker, this Nation is at war. Japanese aggression has leaped at us across the broad Pacific. Isolationists have been proved wrong by the merciless logic of events over which we have no control. This is no time for braggadocio nor boastfulness. Uncertain hours, desperate days, grave dangers, a long and bitter struggle confront us, but in the end American sailors and soldiers will be facing forward and the rising sun of Japan will have set. It is significant that exactly 72 years after George Washington came Abraham Lincoln, and exactly 72 years after Abraham Lincoln came Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is our Commander in Chief in our hour of peril and a united Nation marches under his leadership. We have a rendezvous with destiny. Let us dedicate ourselves with heavy hearts and firm resolve to see this thing through. Mr. Speaker, it is not given to us to see what lies at the far end of the road. Yonder we see dictatorship aggression, 11 once independent nations crushed by Hitler, treachery, terror, death, but a united Nation under a great leadership with the help of God will sweep that aside and at the far end of the road we discern these words emblazoned in letters of living fire—duty, sacrifice, patriotism, civilization, liberty, democracy, peace on earth.

Mr. Speaker, the wanton attack by the Japanese naval and air forces upon our territorial possessions in the Pacific has united the American people most effectively.

We as a nation meet this challenge of war with determination that victory will be ours if forced to fight upon the seven seas and the five continents.

Although we were caught off guard, and only partially prepared for an offensive campaign against Japan, wisdom now dictates that this Nation devote all its energies to making this continent impregnable. We cannot do this, yet at one and the same time divide our armaments and scatter our forces.

Every gun and every ship will count from here on.

Every citizen must bend to the task of defeating the enemy. And in this task, we must all cooperate in the preservation of our own democratic institutions.

We have been attacked. We must now strike back, and quickly.

Let us not underestimate our adversary. Through our oil, steel, and junk metals, Japan has become one of the world's great powers. To subdue her will be a Herculean task. We of America now face a long, grueling period of blood, sweat, and tears.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD a public statement which I issued to all Philadelphia newspapers as soon as I received reports on the afternoon of Sunday, December 7, of the treacherous action of the Japanese Government. My statement follows:

We have been attacked in the most cowardly fashion.

Whatever my Government does to defend our Nation will have my support.

If the President is about to request congressional action, I hope and believe he will receive a united, patriotic response to his message.

Since making the above statement I have learned that the President will deliver his message to the Congress today, and I assume that he will request that the Congress adopt a resolution recognizing the existence of a state of war. Naturally I will support such a resolution wholeheartedly. The American people are united in a determination to put an end to international gangsterism. I know that however long and hard the road may be we shall follow it to victory.

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, there is but one answer that we can give Japan. The United States of America has been attacked. Japan has declared war on us. A state of war exists and we must meet the challenge that has been thrust upon us. The American people are ready, and, acting as a unit, will see to it that Japan receives the sound defeat that she deserves.

Casting aside every last vestige of decency, traitorous Japan, like a thief in the night, while her Ambassador and her special emissary were discussing peace terms with the Secretary of State, prepared for attack and planted her armed forces so that almost at the identical hour when her representatives were at our State Department she struck death blows and, after her surprise attack, declared war on us.

Although the Government of the United States, acting in all sincerity, sought by every peaceful means to reason with Japan, even resorting to pleas by our President to the Emperor of Japan, many Americans were skeptical of the sincerity of the Japanese, and events have proven these skeptics were right.

Japan has struck and struck hard at our military and naval stations in the Pacific. More than a hundred soldiers were killed and over 300 were wounded by Japanese airmen. More than 50 marines were made prisoners in China, and possibly 1,100 American workmen on Wake Island were taken prisoners. Civilians were killed by bombs and property was destroyed. One of our gunboats was captured and several of our warships are reported to have been hit by Japanese bombs. At least 1 Army transport has been reported sunk 1,300 miles west of California.

Naval experts say that from at least 10 days to 2 weeks were required for Nipponese submarines and other war vessels to get to the positions in which they were when they launched their attack. This is definite proof that the representations being made by Nomura and Kurusu were not sincere.

Our answer to this infamous outbreak must be quick and emphatic. The people of America, isolationists and interventionists, middle-of-the-roads and care-nots, workers and employers, rich and poor, strong and weak, all are now of one mind and are ready and willing to do all in their power to bring the conflict to a victorious end for the United States, and that at the earliest possible moment.

We are at war. There is no more time for arguments, and, furthermore, there is no room left for arguments. We must

now act and act quickly. Full speed ahead for everybody and in everything should now be our slogan. Victory our goal.

Mr. GILLIE. Mr. Speaker, Japan's cowardly attack in the Pacific leaves us with no alternative but to strike back with every resource at our command.

Americans are traditionally a peaceful people, slow to anger and slow to take up the sword. But this natural aversion for war should not be construed as weakness, for once aroused, once an enemy threatens our homes, our institutions, or our way of life, no people are more to be feared.

Mr. Speaker, the American people are aroused today—aroused and united in a demand for vengeance against our common enemy.

As a Member of Congress, as a Reserve officer, and as a plain citizen anxious to do my bit, I pledge my sincere, loyal, and unflinching support of America's defense against aggression in the Pacific.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, tolerance, the watchword of America in the present world conflict until a brief 24 hours ago, has been ruthlessly violated beyond any further hope of endurance. The unprovoked and cowardly attacks on outlying possessions of the United States in the Pacific cannot be expected to go unchallenged by the American people.

We are a patient and peace-loving people. Our national ambitions have long been far above the avaricious tendencies of the Old World. We have sought by every decent means to stay out of a world conflict from which no good can possibly be derived. We will not even now suffer a loss of our high ideals, but act to further strengthen them by dealing as only we can deal with international bandits, highwaymen, and thugs, who violate all decency and out of the dark assault us.

The attack on our Pacific possessions yesterday is an attack on our homes, our institutions, and our ideals which we are pledged to protect.

As an American I can see no reason why we should not fulfill a solemn duty to enforce that pledge of protection to our country. As a Member of the Congress I pledge my full support to whatever course of action is democratically determined upon to see this thing through.

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, the die is cast. We are at war. The Japanese, like murderous imps from hell, are clutching at our throats. We have struck back and will continue to strike hard, with every ounce of energy we possess, in the defense of our people and our homes. In this hour of greatest tragedy, involving our lives and our very national existence, we must be just, calm, determined, strong, and united. We are. Our people are slow to anger, but when great provocation and justice demands, they rise in their righteous might to strike with every fiber of their strength, buoyed up by the justice of their cause. We are united in this grim business of defending our homes against the treacherous double dealing of this foe, who comes to our very doors from afar, with the stench of hell upon his garments,

extending the olive branch with one hand, while with the other hurling death-dealing bombs upon innocent unsuspecting people. God, in His infinite wisdom, will visit the just retribution of the damned upon the perpetrators of this vile perfidy.

This great tragedy visited upon us by an unworthy foe has already brought death and destruction to our citizens going about their ways of peace. The homes and property and defenses of our people have been destroyed. We must and will fight to the last ditch to preserve America. No recourse is left to us but to strike back with all our power. Japan must be crushed. Her treacherous and dastardly attack on us, taking heavy toll in precious lives, while her impudent emissaries were mouthing false peace proposals to our President and our Secretary of State, will go down in history as one of the most diabolical events in the history of all ages. Japan's crazed war lords have become mad dogs loose in the world, ruthlessly destroying innocent people—first the peace-loving Chinese—now us Americans, who down through the ages have always befriended her. May we be forgiven for unwittingly furnishing to her much of the tools and implements of death and destruction she is now turning upon us, to snuff out the lives of our own people.

The only charge Japan can bring against us is that this great liberty-loving Nation has given material aid to the innocent Chinese in their heroic struggle to beat back the ravaging hordes from Japan, ruthlessly destroying their innocent citizens and their country. It cannot be overlooked that we at the same time also supplied Japan with much of the necessary materials needed by her to carry forward her conquest of this peaceful nation. We cannot confuse the issue now confronting us. Many of us gave a solemn pledge to our people that we would not vote to send our soldiers beyond the Americas to fight in foreign wars unless we were attacked. I made this pledge. I have maintained my pledge. We have now been attacked in the Western Hemisphere. We are fighting a war of self-defense. Japan has not only cruelly attacked us behind our backs while professing to plead for peace but she has actually declared war upon us.

I have done everything within my power, as God has given me the vision to see the way, to maintain our country at peace. Our efforts have been impotent to ward off the evil day. War has now been thrust upon us. It is not ours any more to decide. All that remains now is to defend ourselves. This we will do, with a prayer on our lips that God in His mercy and love, will soon bless our Nation with peace with all the nations of the earth.

Congress must not and will not, in this critical hour facing our people, fail to embrace the opportunity to pledge our full strength in men and resources to the grim task of beating down these hellish invaders spreading over the earth like a pestilence. In this momentous task—the greatest that ever confronts a nation, waging a war of self-defense—we will find no American holding back. We all will give in full measure our strength, our

devotion, our possessions, and life itself if necessary, to bring success to our righteous cause. We are now united in the one great endeavor which dwarfs all others—the defense of our firesides and our people. No one will halt or hesitate until these brown devils from over the seas have been crushed to earth and civilization saved from the ravages concocted by the diseased minds in control of this treacherous nation.

Our cause being just, we will win. Let us not, however, deceive ourselves. We cannot by swift blows crush these artful and clever geniuses of destruction. We must gird ourselves to face a long hard pull, and with the grim realization that the job will not be an easy one. It will mean reverses, hardships, privations, suffering, and death. Sacrifice, blood, and toil will be the price we must pay. In the end our cause will prevail.

Mr. Speaker, when the war lords and their henchmen who have brought this tragedy upon their people have been destroyed, a cankerous growth which is eating its way into the vitals of the nation will have been removed from the Japanese people. When that time comes—and God grant it may be soon—we in America will be the first again to lend a helping hand of fellowship to a contrite and penitent Japanese people and to help them to remove the murder stains from their blood-soaked garments, that they may again justly deserve the decent opinions of mankind and their country become again a law-abiding member of the family of nations and not an outcast, despised of men everywhere.

The tumult and the shouting dies—
The captains and the kings depart—
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice,
A humble and a contrite heart.

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include the following letters written by me today to the President and the Secretary of War:

The Honorable FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR COMMANDER IN CHIEF: As I go to the Capitol for the joint session of Congress, I believe I am justified in anticipating what is to happen.

It is my opinion that a declaration of war should be declared against, not only Japan, but Germany and Italy as well. My reason for believing that war should be declared against Germany and Italy while declaring it against Japan is that these states are all members of an unholy alliance, seeking world domination by brutal force; and there should be no further waiting in declaring our intention to crush that aggression in all its parts.

Before I have cast my vote for a declaration of war, I herewith tender my services in any capacity with the armed forces at any place and any time you feel that I might be of greater service than I am now as a Member of the Congress of the United States.

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH R. BRYSON.

Hon. HENRY L. STIMSON,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.

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Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH R. BRYSON.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, the first Japanese bomb that exploded on an unsuspecting Hawaii on yesterday blasted away all the hesitation, confusion, and doubt from the mind of America. It was from that moment on not a question what America would decide to do. The decision was already taken. The fires of destruction that were set by this same Japan in Manchukuo in September 1931 had run full circle round the world. The last great nation that had hoped it could cling to some sort of peace had been attacked. There was not a shadow of doubt about the aggressive nature of the attack. It had come at the very moment when the President was addressing peace appeals to the Emperor of Japan and when Japanese representatives were discussing with Secretary Hull their reply to American proposals for settlement of the problems of the Far East.

Millions of Americans had not believed such a thing would happen. They had believed the choice of war or peace was still theirs. But when the decision passed from their hands they were ready to meet it with all the determination and devotion of a united and intensely patriotic people. A hundred million people throughout the United States spent the afternoon and evening of Sunday, December 7, 1941, with their ears very close to their radios. And as they listened they began to realize that their world of that morning was gone and that they would be confronted on the next day with beginning the long and sacrificial task of building a new world on the wreckage of the ambitions of nations like Japan whose leaders place no limitations on the expansion of their power except the limit of military conquest which they could effect.

All that was yesterday. Today is Monday, December 8.

Acceptance by the Congress of the ruthless challenge of Japan and formal recognition of the fact that a state of war exists are foregone conclusions. The vote in all probability will be unanimous.

From that point on the manifold task of the American people will include the following:

First. To gather together the full strength of the Nation in order to bring the conflict, already joined, to as speedy and successful a conclusion as possible.

Second. To distribute the burdens as equitably and evenly among all our people as humanly possible—requiring of each a sacrifice commensurate with his ability to make sacrifice.

Third. To understand the causes of these wars, to see clearly they have come upon the peoples of the world because of the control of certain nations by groups which put their whole reliance in an arrogant and unconfined use of force.

Fourth. To cling to the fundamental values and ideals which have been the basis of civilization through all the ages and to begin even now the work of trying to bring the world back to them.

Out of the suffering and destruction through which the world must pass in the months and probably years that lie immediately ahead there must come certain forces of regeneration. They will be essentially religious and spiritual forces. For only that kind can survive a time into which we are heading. The sooner they begin to appear the better, for without them there will be hopelessness and despair. And hope is the one thing mankind cannot live without.

I do not believe that God has brought mankind to this time when there could be a full life for all human beings only to mock us and leave us to self-destruction. I believe there are scattered around the world men and women through whom these new forces of regeneration will begin to flow into the minds and hearts of men. Eventually they must find their way into the councils of nations, into the methods of doing business, into the rules that govern the distribution of necessary goods among the people.

It is for us to be alive and alert to these new forces, for we cannot tell from where they will come. But either this world and this life are no more than a mockery or else there will come the regeneration I am here predicting.

Two principal evils have brought this world-wide conflict upon mankind. The first of these is the ambition of selfish and arrogant men and the belief of certain peoples that they are superior to other men. The regenerative forces I have spoken of will strike down pride wherever they find it; they will level it to the ground; they will exalt the simple people of the earth on whom the full weight of this stark tragedy will fall.

The second evil that has brought this tragedy to the world is the failure of the leaders of the nations to provide the means of distributing an abundance of goods among all the people. For this lies at the root of the drive for living room, for foreign trade, for control of markets and of raw materials. The answer to this problem is the answer to war and the secure foundation for peace. Even as we seek to defeat the forces of wrong which have made war on the peace of the world we must address ourselves to this problem. Upon its solution depends the whole fate of future generations.

It is the solemn duty of every American in this hour to determine in his own mind where and how he can best serve. For not one person can be spared from the united effort. Somewhere there is a place for every one of us. And upon each doing his part will depend the success of the whole.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed pleased the Members of the House saw fit to grant unanimous consent to the motion made by the majority leader the

gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] in order that individual Members might have an opportunity to extend their remarks on the resolution by which the Congress declared a state of war to exist between the United States and Japan.

The speed with which this resolution was voted on, prompted by the desire of the American people to move with all possible unity and dispatch, frustrated by a few moments my opportunity to cast my vote in favor of the resolution. Had I been able to obtain transportation to Washington which would have brought me to the Capitol but a few minutes earlier, I would have voted for the resolution declaring us to be at war with Japan.

When the news of the treacherous Japanese attack on Hawaii reached me I was in Los Angeles and immediately made arrangements to obtain a place on the first available east-bound plane. This plane, a TWA stratoliner, left Los Angeles at 6 o'clock Sunday evening and carried me to Indianapolis this morning. I then proceeded via American Airlines to Washington, reaching the Capital Airport at 1:28 Monday afternoon, five minutes ahead of the plane's regularly scheduled arrival.

With me on the plane were my colleagues the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman McARDLE, and the gentleman from Kentucky, Congressman VINCENT, and through the splendid cooperation of the Metropolitan Police of Washington we reached the Capitol with the greatest possible haste. Our arrival proved to be mere minutes after the voting was concluded.

Although I suffered a personal disappointment in not having an opportunity to add another vote to the all but unanimous support given the resolution by my colleagues, I find great satisfaction in the knowledge that the Congress of the United States, as well as the people of the district I represent and the country generally, are firm in their resolve that our reply to the outrages perpetrated by the Japanese shall be the destruction of the forces that have attacked us.

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, we have before us for consideration House Joint Resolution 254, a joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same.

A few moments ago, assembled in this great Hall of the House of Representatives in a solemn joint session, there were present the entire membership of the other body and which also were present the Justices of the Supreme Court and the Cabinet of the President. We listened to a clear, straightforward, and convincing message from the President, which he concluded with a request that the Congress declare that a state of war exists between Japan and the United States.

It is a solemn moment in our history. Let us meet the issue in the same direct manner in which it was offered by the President.

Our vote should be unanimous. Our armed forces have been attacked, our island possessions have been fired upon, and our ships have been sunk. All of this from a nation with whom we were at peace.

For me, there is but one course, and that course requires that I answer the appeal of the President in the affirmative and pledge my wholehearted support, personally and officially, to the President during this crisis. This I will do. The American people shall do the same.

Our freedom of speech and expression, our freedom of worship, our freedom from want, and our freedom from fear must and will be preserved, so help us God.

Mr. COLE of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, 23 years ago today I was in France after two battles rejoicing with the men of my command and all others in uniform over the fact that we had just won the greatest of all wars—to end war. I returned a few months later to see for the first time my son, then 6 weeks old, who today, 23 years of age, wears the uniform of his country as part of the great and splendid army we have been training to meet any eventuality. I never thought in those days I would be called on to vote for a declaration of war as I intend to do in a few moments, but such is to be the unanimous decision of a Congress, which has done its best to prepare the United States to defend itself and at the same time has prayed and hoped its desire for peace would be absorbed by others throughout the world, thereby avoiding hostilities.

The conduct of Japan on yesterday serves to illustrate more forcibly than any other way we could devise the mistakes of the past, the needs of the present, and the great and noble accomplishments throughout the world which will be our objective in the future. I shall strive hereafter not alone to bring victory to our cause but, more important, to demand that no armistice shall be permitted to stop our onward march to a clean-cut victory, but surrender, and that alone, shall end this war. Our dealings in the future with those who seek peace at our hands must be by those whose hands are clean and above the table. Those representing our cause must be men who know what war is and also know with whom they are dealing. This course, and this alone, will assure the just reward our splendid Army and Navy will deserve when victory is theirs.

Mr. MOSER. Mr. Speaker, the momentous resolution before the House of Representatives for immediate consideration under suspension of rules, much as it is to be regretted, in my judgment was inevitable. Whether Commodore Perry was right in undertaking to bring to the heathen Nipponese the advantages of civilization, appears in the light of current events questionable.

From my earliest youth I recall the activities of the churches in my nativity, in sending missionaries to the land of Nippon to bring Christianity to all the world in keeping with the teachings of the Master. The degree of success is still questionable in the light of the un-Christian treachery of the most enlight-

ened of their Nation sent to this land of ours under the guise of diplomacy. From about 1909 forward it has been evident that very definitely the action we are about to take would be an inevitable consequence.

The action I will take today, and the vote I will cast in favor of the resolution, might the better been cast during the first session of the Seventy-fifth Congress, after Japan had launched her undeclared war on China and had bombed the U. S. S. *Panay*. "Sorry, sir! Excuse, please!" was as inadequate then and treacherous as the example brought home to us today.

The President of the United States with his Neutrality Act of 1935, operative, mandating him to impose an embargo when a state of war was found to exist between states, to my dissatisfaction, obviously could not recognize the then state of war existing but divested himself of his "quarantine speech" in Chicago, while under commercial treaty we continued to do "business with Japan as usual." Steel, scrap iron, oil, and gasoline continued to be exported—"business as usual." Throughout the early autumn of this year, we were confronted with the situation of an alleged gasoline shortage to American citizens as represented by Secretary Ickes, while Secretary Hull was still supplying shipments of the American product to Japan. I recall and preserved the cartoon of Secretary Ickes operating an American gasoline station, turning down the American customer, and Secretary Hull operating the pumps at a competing station "business as usual" to Japan.

When during the early months of the Seventy-fifth Congress, Ambassador Saito, after being introduced to Members of Congress by our former colleague, Congressman Wade Hampton Kitchens, of Arkansas, attempted to explain and justify his nation's attack on China as an act of discipline over a little riot at a bridge crossing, his palpable lying was that revolting, that in the presence of two companions I personally attempted something on him. He was seated at the witness table in the committee room where the gathering was held, while we occupied the elevated seats of committee members. From this vantage point I centered my gaze continuously on the back of his head and evolved in my mind constant disagreement with his falsity. He began to squirm and turn about to look whence the hostile reaction came, fawn an affected smile in our direction, stretch his long snake-like neck, and set his slant eyes at an angle, depicting the treachery of the reptile his craning so aptly typified. My companions, knowing what I was about, can bear witness to the reaction of the subject on which it was centered. It was then that I became fully reconciled to the inevitability of the action we are compelled to take today, and I was ready for it then, and deeply regret today that it was not taken then, and before the dire consequences that force it upon us now.

Mr. Speaker, I have frequently found myself in disagreement with the foreign policy of the administration and have so voted in opposition. Now that war has

been both declared and waged upon us by treacherous attack, when the emissaries of the slant-eyed Nippons deceptively sought to allay suspicion until ready to strike in attack, sought to continue conversations to and throughout the very moment and after the attack had been actually made, beggars description. I am therefore prepared and ready to give my country the last full measure of devotion and assistance to the successful prosecution of this war to its effective and successful conclusion, pledging the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, the best service of which I am capable. The stirring words of Patrick Henry, "Is life so dear, is peace so sweet, to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God. I care not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death," thrill me today as when first to grip my fancy in youth; and then supplemented by Stephen Decatur: "My country, may she ever be right; but, right or wrong—my country."

Mr. CAPOZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, under date of November 14, 1941, and by way of setting forth my position on the Senate amendments to the neutrality law, I stated it as my opinion that we were then witnessing a crisis in Japanese and American relations. Although I was so convinced, little did I believe that the break in these relations was to come in so unexpected and treacherous a manner as we now know.

Despite the earnest efforts of our Government to avoid hostilities in the Pacific, the Japanese forces, without warning, have invaded American shores. They have taken numerous American lives and caused great destruction of property. These outrages were committed by a country which, at the very time of their perpetration, was falsely representing itself as desirous of continuing peaceful negotiations.

It is my firm opinion that nothing else that might have happened could have been more effective in convincing America of the dangers confronting it in the world today and of the necessity for complete national unity. This unwarranted Japanese invasion of American soil, located thousands of miles from Japan, is the answer to the questions of many persons who have been heretofore honestly perplexed as to the course that America should follow.

We now know the truth. There is only one course left open to us, unless we wish to surrender. That course is for a united America to strike back hard at the invader and, moreover, to take all the necessary steps to assure ourselves, so far as we can, that no similar outrage shall ever again be perpetrated against us.

With full appreciation of the consequences which will necessarily follow the adoption of this joint resolution, and with a perfectly clear conscience, I find it necessary to vote for it, as it does nothing more than recognize the existence of a situation thrust upon us and which we know exists, much as we would like it to be otherwise.

Mr. SCANLON. Mr. Speaker, America today faces one of the most serious pe-

riods in our history with but one decision which can be made. We must speak here in the House of Representatives without a dissenting voice to grant the Government of the United States the powers necessary to avenge the brutal attack made yesterday on our possessions and on the lives of our citizens, both military and civilian. We have not asked for war with Japan; neither have we sought it. We have done everything within our power for 10 years to appease Japan. We are a peaceful Nation, but when a Nation presuming friendship with the United States and professing to honor that friendship attacks not only our life line of vital industrial supplies, but our national as well, we can become as belligerent and as fierce as is necessary to achieve inevitable victory over our treacherous enemy. Mr. Speaker, once before in my lifetime the very foundations upon which the freedom of this Nation is established were threatened with destruction. I am proud to say that in that grave hour I was able to serve my country and my flag. I was able to see at first-hand the ugly side of war. I am not unmindful of that ugly side of this war, neither am I unmindful of the sacrifice which those behind the lines will be called upon to make, but our freedom would be worth nothing to us unless we have the courage to make those sacrifices. Casting a vote in favor of a declaration of war against the Japanese Empire is something I am doing with firm conviction, but with a heavy heart. I have an only son who today is the same age as I was in 1917. He is ready to serve his country in whatever military or naval capacity he is needed. Since the deadly dive bombers of the Japanese Empire dropped their loads of destruction and death on United States territory a number of my friends and constituents have called me seeking advice whether to enlist or await the call under the draft machinery which has been set up by Congress. These people are typical of every citizen in the Thirtieth Congressional District of Pennsylvania. I know that every person in that district, I might even say that everyone in the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, will back up the votes that my colleagues and I make today in support of this war resolution. I say to you, Mr. Speaker, and to the Members of this House, that without reservation my constituents feel that no sacrifice is too great to make to achieve a victory over the enemies of the United States of America.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, in a few minutes we as representatives of the American people will approve this resolution for a declaration of war as our answer in ringing terms to the dastardly attack on this Nation last Sunday by the warmongering aggregation of Japanese militarists in the name of the Empire of Japan.

Already the flesh and blood of hundreds of American fathers and mothers have been sacrificed through the treachery of a nation who violated all civilized law in attacking this Republic while here in the Nation's Capital spokesmen for both Governments were attempting as peace-

ful nations to arrive at a mutual understanding of the differences involved.

On October 15, last, I returned to the House of Representatives after a 45-day tour of duty with the Pacific Fleet. During that time I was attached to the staff of Admiral C. C. Kimmel, commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, based at Honolulu.

During this tour of duty and in my capacity as a lieutenant in the United States Naval Reserve I was given the opportunity to become personally acquainted with the officers and men of the Pacific Fleet and to observe the United States Navy in all of its splendor. Yesterday the Imperial Government of Japan through its cowardly attack shocked the conscience of nearly every nation and inflicted, we are told, heavy losses on our Pacific Fleet and civilian population in the vicinity of Honolulu.

Let me assure you, Mr. Speaker, that the injuries inflicted by the Japanese on the Hawaiian Islands last Sunday will be avenged a thousandfold and that history will record that the Japanese Government through its warmongering clique of militarists will pay dearly for their suicidal excursion to our Pacific possessions.

Mr. Speaker, the might and majesty of the Pacific Fleet have since been translated into action while the American people united as they were in the days of 1917-18 are prepared to see this fight through to victory regardless of blood or tears.

This is no time to quibble. Our Nation has been attacked. What are we waiting for?

Let us at once declare war on the Empire of Japan and all other nations who are aiding and abetting this yellow peril to the American way of life that has already murdered in cold blood our own fellow Americans.

Action—not words—are necessary. Forward, America. With God's help we will atone for every American life that has been taken by a rousing American victory.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, this resolution, recognizing the state of war which Japan has precipitated and giving the President the war powers which were given to President Wilson in 1917, has my wholehearted support. I urge its immediate and unanimous adoption.

I have opposed the steps our country has taken toward war. I have supported the steps our country has taken to prepare and protect itself if war should come to us. I have urged that we should continue our peace efforts at the same time that we continue our defense efforts. I had high hopes for our peace efforts in the Pacific. It is true that I have felt that this effort should have been made long ago. On June 29, 1939, before the war in Europe had started, but while the China-Japanese struggle was in progress, I said on this floor:

I think we are making a great mistake in trying to determine our possible conduct in a future war in Europe before we determine our present conduct in a present struggle in the Orient. We have let our excitement about what may happen to our remote interests in Europe blind us to what is happening to our immediate interests in the Orient, where our

treaty rights are being violated daily. We should stop arming Japan instead of planning to arm Europe.

If we had followed this course the story of the last 3 years might have been different. I have felt for years that the whole chain of events that have led up to the present world-wide reign of terror and lawlessness began when the Japanese entered Manchuria in 1931 and the democracies of that day failed in their obligations to each other and to the world. I had hoped that the beginnings of a new reign of law and order might come through the restoration of peace and justice in the Orient through the efforts of the very nations which had failed in 1931. I knew that the negotiations between our country and Japan were difficult and that there was a possibility of failure, but I never conceived of the black perfidy of the Japanese war lords, who used the very period of our patient efforts for a friendly settlement to move into a position for attack.

Regardless of what we have done or failed to do in the past, war has come when we were trying for peace. It is our war now. The first news is shocking and discouraging, but if our Navy is as good as our officials have told us it is, the Japanese will soon learn the hard way that treachery and terror will not work with Americans. We can be fooled sometimes, but we do not scare easily, and when our friendship is betrayed we can be terribly tough.

By this vote today America assumes world leadership in a world-wide struggle for a just peace. We will never turn back. We are determined to preserve our freedoms here. We will discuss how to win, but never whether. Our united loyalty is pledged not to a hatred, not to a man, but to an ideal—to bring peace on earth for man of good will, and to fight for that ideal.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, I agree emphatically with the sentiment expressed here today by the majority leader the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] when he said, "This is a time for action, not words." I simply want to record here my conviction that the Japanese attacks upon America have brought a challenge to America which calls upon us to vote an immediate declaration of war upon Japan in conformity with the President's recommendations and which compels us to devote our full energies, without delay, to the repulse and defeat of the dastardly forces which have struck at us from the darkness of the night in the early hours of a peaceful Sabbath.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I urge this House to unite as one Member in casting a unanimous vote in favor of the declaration of war which the President has rightfully told us has now become an inevitable course of action which must be followed. Let us follow it with all factions and parties marching shoulder to shoulder with grim fortitude so that peace can come more quickly by making victory easier. The full strength of a united and determined America must and will be devoted to crushing those

who committed this revolting and treacherous attack upon American soil and American lives.

I have been one who has hoped and prayed that America might be spared the shooting sacrifices of this cruel war. But, as I stated in an open letter to my constituents on November 3, "as God gives me the strength and knowledge, I shall do my best to help conclude the war in such a way as to preserve our American destiny should men or events unhappily force America into the bloody holocaust." The Japanese by their unwarranted and stealthy duplicity made our course clear in the early morning hours of December 7.

While there may be some reason to wish that our administration had pursued a less provocative foreign policy while we were perfecting our own defenses, there is nothing which can remotely justify the jackal attack of the Japanese which was made at the very time their official representatives were presenting protestations of peace to our State Department. Let the Congress and the country, therefore, join today in a mighty and unceasing drive to defeat these forces of evil and to help reshape the world so that once again God's Sabbath can become a day of worship rather than a day of launching crusades of wanton and wicked destruction. By our quick and united action now, let us show the world that our peaceful Republic is not one to be frightened or foiled by disciples of militarism. By resolute and determined action let us today warn all other aggressors that, while America is reluctant to enter war, she is also impossible to stop until her honor and interests are fully vindicated. Mr. Speaker, America seeks no aggrandizement, but she succumbs to no threat of aggression.

Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart but with a clear conscience and a firm voice that I urge this House to pass the declaration of war now before us with the clear recognition that there is no other honorable course open to us and that nothing must be permitted to delay the day when this task can be completed in victory.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, it has come—the war which for so long we have been seeking to avoid. It came with cunning suddenness and terrible force. It came after long negotiations and at a time when representatives of the Imperial Japanese Government, professing friendship and a desire for peace, sat at the counsel table of our own people, discussing methods of averting bloodshed. As the first streak of day fell upon the broad waters of the Pacific, the war planes and the battle craft of the Empire of the Rising Sun roared out on their fateful mission toward our naval base at Pearl Harbor.

The story of death and destruction which have been visited upon the quiet city of Honolulu and upon our defenses is being brought to us in every message which comes from our island possessions. The shock of the first dastardly attack is over and America is now collecting herself. Our flag has been fired upon and our institutions are menaced. Discord

and division have left us; and in its stead our people find themselves resolute in the firm, unfaltering determination of protecting our land, our democracy, and our liberty.

This, of course, means force; force to the utmost; force which will crush the Japanese Fleet and drive this pagan power from a Godly world. But America is prepared for this sacrifice and to this end we pledge ourselves and every power and resource of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I have prayed God that this day might not come and that this Nation might be spared the blight of war. In this matter we had no alternative, even had we sought to avoid war at the expense of our own honor and decency. The gage of battle has been thrown to us, and we fight for our very existence and that of our homes and our families. In such a struggle we cannot fail.

Mr. IZAC. Mr. Speaker, I have always spoken against resorting to war as a national policy. During the past 5 years, as a Member of the House of Representatives, I have most consistently supported the President of the United States in what I believed were those steps best calculated to keep us out of war and at the same time to secure for our country the respect of our international neighbors.

Foreign relations have no mathematical rigidity. Directing a nation through the maze of conditions and situations that are constantly in flux requires a master hand at the helm of government. This we have had. And if the exercise of patience and discretion had received its just reward, we would not now be faced with a state of war.

After the events of yesterday there should be no longer any doubt as to the character of the fight that is being waged against us. A pagan philosophy, championed by the greatest war machine of all time, is sweeping the earth and leveling all the standards of honor and decency by which men have attained to their present stature in the eyes of God.

The question for us to determine here today is whether it is best to rise in defense of our civilization or to permit our Christian philosophy to succumb before the onward march of tyranny; whether it is our duty to try to preserve our precious liberties by fighting back against the murderous onslaught of the invaders or to sue for peace and accept the destiny totalitarianism has in store.

I cannot conceive that any of my people should be in doubt as to my decision. With them I say the liberties we Americans enjoy, the things we love, are so well worth preserving that we are ready to fight to retain them. For "liberty is not only a heritage but a fresh conquest for each generation."

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, the resolution before the House reads as follows:

Whereas the Imperial Japanese Government has committed unprovoked acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and the President is

hereby authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Government of Japan; and, to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The adoption of this resolution is the only brave and honorable answer that this House can make to the unprovoked attack made upon us by the naval and air forces of Japan on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941. This premeditated, deliberate, and cowardly attack upon the people of the United States by the assassins and bandits of the Pacific was deadly because it was treacherous and succeeded because it was unexpected.

The attack was planned and carried into execution under the smoke screen of pretended negotiations for a peaceable settlement of the differences between this country and Japan. While the Japanese diplomatic representatives in this country were carrying on discussions looking to a peaceable adjustment of the Asiatic situation, the armed forces of Japan stealthily crept to the attack.

Japan has long been a constant threat and menace to the peace of mankind. Her aim is world dominion. If she is permitted to seize the natural resources of Asia—oil, tin, copper, iron, rubber, and other strategic war materials in which that great continent and the islands of the Pacific are rich—and if she becomes the master of the manpower of that vast region, she would control limitless war-making materials and be in command of one-half the population of the globe. Thus armed and equipped for conquest, the Japanese could and would force a black-out of civilization and Christianity throughout the world. If she is permitted to succeed in her godless, overleaping, and limitless ambition, mankind would, for centuries, bow beneath her ruthless might.

The right of self-defense is the first law of nature. The adoption of this resolution is imperative and is demanded in the name of our national defense. The blood of assassinated, butchered American heroes cries to us from the ground. The anguished hearts of their loved ones shall not appeal to us in vain. In the defense of our freedom, in the defense of our national existence, in the defense of our homes and loved ones we shall avenge their deaths. By this declaration we place behind our armed forces on sea, on land, and in the air the marshaled might of our 132,000,000 people. To the ultimate and overwhelming victory of our armed forces we pledge, as did the patriots of old, "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

In the words of Stephen Decatur, we say again:

Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!

This resolution will be adopted as a pledge to our people that our country will remain forever free, and its adoption serves notice on our enemies that we intend to fight until victory overwhelming and complete has crowned our efforts.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, for the second time during my service in this House it becomes my painful duty to support a resolution taking the United States into war. I am the only Member still serving in Congress who, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1917, voted for the resolution declaring war against Germany.

Since my childhood I have been against war and oppression, and when the first World War was over I strongly supported the efforts of that great humanitarian, Woodrow Wilson, to bind the nations of the world in a pact to outlaw war. If the politics and personal grudges of some Members of the Senate had not kept the United States from becoming a member of the League of Nations then, we would today find a world free of war. It is so evident now that if the League of Nations had been a potent body the long series of aggressions that have culminated in this war would have never occurred.

I quote from a speech I made on this floor on March 18, 1938:

I am confident today, beyond all doubt, that had the United States joined the League of Nations it would have strengthened and preserved the League in full vigor and effectiveness and we would not have present-day conditions, with all democracies of Europe either destroyed or on the verge of destruction. I still believe that under the terms of the League Covenant we could have precluded the mad rearmament race by close adhesion to and renewal of the provisions of the Washington Arms Conference after the 10-year limit, to the lasting benefit of all civilization. At the conclusion of the Washington Arms Conference the United States felt fairly easy; and it was only our absence from membership in the League that led first Germany, then Italy, and, shortly thereafter, Japan to withdraw from membership in the League. Then trouble began. The plot thickened. Now we have the fruit.

I have declared on many occasions that if the United States had entered the League of Nations, due to our tremendous moral and economic power, it would have been possible to prevent war by economic sanctions. When the present conflict is over I hope we shall not make the same mistake in not performing our duty and taking our part in the establishment of a durable peace.

Some Members of Congress and certain sections of the press have permitted themselves to be influenced or blinded, and have refused to see clearly the danger which was confronting our country. Only the shock of an actual attack by these little yellow rats has finally opened their eyes. Now they know that even while bland Japanese liars told typical Japanese lies, posing as emissaries of peace, the war-drunk midgets they represent were seeking their airplanes and ships to attack our outposts.

Those who mislead our people, imposing upon them a propaganda manufactured abroad, attempting to lull them to sleep by charging that no nation had other than friendly feelings for us, may now see what a crime they have been guilty of. They assailed the President; they belittled his every statement. They shouted him down when he spoke of the

dangers threatening our Nation, and by every act sought to block his efforts.

I hope that not a single American will again charge that our President was endeavoring to throw us into war. The cable he forwarded last Saturday to the Emperor of Japan, appealing for peace, is characteristic of the humility he showed in previously addressing Hitler and Mussolini and beseeching for peace. It shows how far he would go for peace.

Until a few days ago the appeasers challenged the President to submit the question of war to Congress. Today he did so, and the people, through their duly elected representatives, have shown their will.

I know the hardships, the trials and tribulations, the loss of life, and the great sufferings of war. To embark upon war is a serious step for any nation to take. Still there is nothing for us to do now but to go to war and as one man we must defend our country, its freedom, liberty, and independence. We can do that only by defeating the Axis Powers, by slapping down this presumptuous nation across the Pacific, and by bringing the fear of God to Hitler and Mussolini and all the bloodthirsty, power-seeking, ruthless outlaws surrounding that unholy pair.

And we must not forget that the future shall hold punishment for those who have embarked the world upon a bloody war. Let us not make the mistake we made after the last war, when we heeded the misguided who insisted that Germany had been sufficiently punished. By our own fault and lack of foresight we permitted that country to arm and train and prepare for the present war.

A nation or combination of nations which has tried, by lies, intrigues, subterfuge, and propaganda to mislead us, divide us, and then strike us when we were unprepared is not entitled to lenience. Such a nation should be so completely crushed that a repetition of its dastardly crimes will forever be impossible.

As the President has stated, with the help of God we shall soon demonstrate that treachery and unprovoked murder has its just reward.

Great Britain, Russia, and China are at our side. Those nations will not forget that we fight their battle as well as our own. South America, and in fact all liberty-loving nations of the world, will strive to help us, in our supreme effort to defeat the Axis dictators, to restore democracy, and to bring justice to those who by their crimes have plunged a world into blood and war.

Mr. GUYER. Mr. Speaker, with the cowardly attack upon our Pacific possessions by the Japanese, there is but one answer—that answer is war. I have opposed what has been called the President's foreign policy because I was convinced it would lead to war. That is water over the dam. Our country has been brutally attacked by a foreign power, so it matters little at present just how it started. It is here, and the only course is to forget our differences for the present. There will be time for argument after we have finished this job with the Japanese and their allies.

To this task we should dedicate all our energies, all our strength, all our wealth, all our wisdom in one great crusade for the cause of those who believe in free institutions and fair play and honor among nations. To the issue of that crusade there can be no doubt, for on that proposition we have a united people who know, no doubt, of the justice of their cause nor question of the integrity of their purpose. There is no defeat for such a people.

Mr. SHANLEY. Mr. Speaker, there is but one answer to the situation which confronts us—the verse of the brilliant Guilford, Conn., poet, Fitz-Green Halleck:

Strike—till the last armed foe expires;
Strike—for your altars and your fires;
Strike—for the green graves of your sires;
God—and your native land.

Mr. CHAPMAN. Mr. Speaker, through the centuries idealists have dreamed, saints have prayed, and poets have sung that there would come an endless epoch of universal peace, as described by Tennyson:

When the war drum throbs no longer,
And the battle flags are furled,
In the parliament of man,
The federation of the world.

That is a beautiful dream, a sublime ideal, but there has been little, if any, change in human nature as the human race has staggered through centuries of recorded and unrecorded time. Until such attributes as avarice, covetousness, greed, envy, jealousy, selfishness, malice, cruelty, inordinate ambition, and lust for glory, power, and wealth are purged from the hearts of people composing the nations of the earth, overnight a covenant may become a rope of sand and a treaty a mere scrap of paper.

After hundreds of years of struggling and battling, suffering and sacrificing, for liberty, democracy, and justice; after 2,000 years of the march of Christianity and teaching of the doctrine of the Prince of Peace, "On earth peace, good will toward men," the things we hold most dear, our priceless liberties, our most cherished institutions, our soil, our citizens, are the object of direct attack by the most brutal, treacherous, ruthless military power that has ever cursed the earth, Adolf Hitler and his bloody alliance with Italy and Japan.

When the tocsin of war was sounded in Europe, many of us thought at first that perhaps it was only another of those European brawls which have occurred, as the eloquent Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge said of fires, "with constantly recurring periodicity." We did not have sufficient imagination to visualize that the slimy sewer rat Hitler could menace the peace and safety of civilization, conquer Continental Europe, and threaten ominously the subjugation or destruction of the remainder of the world. When he made promises of friendship tonight and tomorrow at dawn moved his iron legions, his panzer units and armored tanks, into countries that were following the quiet pursuits of peace; with bombs and torpedoes attacked unsuspecting peoples; destroyed cathedrals and museums of art that represented a thousand years of ac-

cumulated culture; slaughtered old men, women, and children, I quickly realized that no nation could be safe and no people could be permanently free until Hitler and his Italian and Japanese military marionettes are rendered utterly impotent and their power is totally destroyed.

The danger to institutions that are the precious heritage of English-speaking peoples in Britain and America was vividly illustrated when, on the same night, Westminster Abby, the symbol of faith, and the House of Commons, the symbol of representative government, were badly damaged by Hitler's bombs. Not only are our institutions menaced by this militant coalition of ruthlessness and murder, but at dawn yesterday, on the holy Sabbath, while our wise and peace-loving Secretary of State was striving to preserve peaceful relations with Japan, while their diplomatic representatives were still holding out delusions of hope that peace might be preserved, the Navy and air force of Japan made an unprovoked, premeditated, treacherous, destructive attack on the land and the armed forces of our country.

In this critical hour, as the representatives of an outraged people, duty requires that we accept the challenge, assert our inherent, God-given right and duty of self-defense, recognize the state of war imposed on us by Japan, and pledge all the resources of America to the winning of the conflict. There can be no alternative. Let it be: "War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt."

In this crisis we must have unity of thought, unity of sentiment, unity of spirit, unity of purpose, unity of action. This is no time for arguments between reactionary and progressive Republicans, between conservative Democrats and New Deal liberals. No, there is no time now for differences between Republicans and Democrats. There is no place in this Republic for any "isms" except pure, unadulterated, undefiled, and unterrified Americanism.

Now has come the time for action;
Lay aside all thought of faction,
Call the roll.

Let us be imbued with more of the spirit that characterized Admiral Farragut, who, a few years after the War between the States, while cruising in the Dardanelles near to the palace of the Sultan of Turkey, sent word to the Sultan that he would like to visit him. The Sultan sent back the message:

I will receive no one unless he be a prince of the blood royal.

That stirred the fighting blood of the old Tennessee admiral, who sent this reply:

Tell the Sultan that I have on board my flagship 600 American citizens. Every one of them is a prince of the blood royal in his own land. We expect to visit him in force immediately.

Needless to say, they received a royal welcome from his Sultanic Majesty. That spirit should permeate the American people until this war ends in complete victory for the forces of light over the forces of darkness; for liberty and democracy over despotism and total-

tarianism. There is no room for any form of disloyalty anywhere under the protecting folds of Old Glory. As General Dix said more than four score years ago, "If anyone attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." In the language immortalized by one of my illustrious predecessors in the House, the beloved Joe C. S. Blackburn, for years the Prince Rupert of debate in this and the other body:

He who dallies is a dastard; he who doubts is damned.

Mr. FLANNAGAN. Mr. Speaker, from now on December 7, 1941, will be known on the calendar of the world as Black Sunday and on the calendar of Japan as the day of its unpardonable transgression.

There is something wrong with a civilization that can produce leaders who, while yet professing peace and a disposition to adjust grievances, commit inhuman, stealthy, dastardly, cowardly acts, such as the Government of Japan visited upon our country on December 7, 1941.

That civilization must perish. There can be no lasting peace so long as such a civilization occupies even a small part of the world. And, Mr. Speaker, that civilization, by the avenging hand of a just God, acting through 130,000,000 American freemen, will perish. Yes, my colleagues, mark my words, December 7, 1941, will be avenged. It will mark the beginning of the end of Japanese civilization based upon stealth, treachery, and deceit.

The whole picture is now clear. Yesterday we were so dazed and shocked by its swiftness, its stealth, its inhumanity that our minds became stunned and cloudy. It was hard for us to realize that such a thing could happen in a civilized world. Today we see clearly that they lured us on by words of peace, by misleading statements, in order to create an opportunity to stab us in the back. On some tomorrow of the future we will again talk peace with Japan, and when we do we will remember December 7, 1941, and the Japanese people will then begin to realize that the blackness of that Sunday will not out, because we will write into that treaty terms that will live on down through the ages to curb such a people from ever again committing stealthy, vicious, dastardly acts against a peace-loving nation.

Today, December 8, 1941, with a swiftness and unanimity never before witnessed in this Republic, we have answered the challenge thrown out to us by this leprous, treacherous, pagan nation. The President asked the Congress to declare that a state of war existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire and the Congress, like true American freemen, unhesitatingly, and without delay, responded to that request.

And so we are at war, declared in a constitutional way by the Congress of the United States. While we hate war, while this war is not of our choosing, remember we have made our decision and it is now our war and if it is won we have got to do the winning.

The time for talk and bickering and controversy has ended. Action, concerted, unified action, is now the order of the day. To arms, to arms, every man to his task, working and fighting in unity and harmony. That is the price of victory. The slacker will not be tolerated in mill, factory, store, mine, field, office, or home any more than he will be tolerated upon the field of armed conflict. The battlefield now covers not only those places where the roar of the cannon and the zooming of the plane may be heard, but every mill, factory, store, mine, field, office, and home in this Republic. Every man, whether he uses a pen or pick, hammer or plow, is now in the service.

Mr. Speaker, our Republic is safe because we are united and have the will to win. I do not think I ever saw such a transformation. But yesterday we were arguing and bickering and in our national anthem there were a few dissonant sounds; today, thank God, we are together, united, and can sing anything from Yankee Doodle to Dixie without a single discord. Yes; we have unity, the will to win, and a just God, in whom we trust, will give us the victory.

The idea of March once brought a ruthless, ambitious, imperialistic emperor to his death, and marked the beginning of the end of a great empire that had outlived its usefulness.

The 7th of December portends the setting of the Empire of the Rising Sun. May American valor and courage, under the direction of a just God, speed the setting.

Americans, remember December 7, 1941.

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has been sneakily assaulted by a coward, stabbed in the back in total abandonment of national honor; yes, struck from behind in the fashion of a serpent by the Empire of Japan.

The property of the United States has been destroyed and the blood of American youth drawn and deposited in the soil of the islands of the Pacific while loving mothers were in peace in homes and churches amid the civilization wrought by the blood of the forefathers of those whose lives were stolen yesterday by the most dastardly attack ever executed by a nation in a civilized age.

Running true to form, the Empire of Japan pursued what she termed negotiations looking to permanent peace between the two Governments while she was preparing her full plans for and during the execution of her attack. No government or man has ever committed a more abandoned outrage. It was an act of stealing the blood of innocent people while their confidence was maintained by declarations of friendship made for the vicious and treacherous purpose of catching them off guard.

A nation so devoid of character must not live; it is destined to perish, yes, perish before the might and power of the people she so unjustly attacked.

This Congress is going to vote for the resolution and make a formal declaration of war against the Empire of Japan. The armed forces of the United States and the people of the United States, with hearts of love for freedom of man, and

souls of courage with the strength of steel, are going to crush that Nation and make her pay for property with property, and for blood with blood. He that will live by the sword must die by the sword, and I say to the American people on this crucial day when sorrow envelops our emotional existence, that Japan and her people will pay in blood one-hundredfold for the innocent blood they stole on yesterday.

The courage and determination of a unified people, and thank God for the unity in this House today, will take back to Japan and her people the terror she visited on us yesterday and make her cry aloud for the peace of a Sabbath she shattered with gunfire by the exercise of an unprecedented treachery.

I call on the people of these United States in this dark hour of our national life for unity in thought, purpose, and determination, and for the support of our President and Commander in Chief of our armed forces, in prayer and action, that the right of man to live in a state of freedom and justice may not perish before the forces of cowards who do not feel the impulses of honor.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, at this time I can best express my thoughts in the words of Stephen Decatur:

Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong.

We have done our best to avoid this war with Japan. Now she has asked for it. The only thing we can do is let her have it. By that I mean complete destruction of her war machine. Let us hope and pray that a minimum number of lives will be lost. Let us all work together and each do our part. There must be no politics. United we stand; otherwise we fall. We can and will win.

Mr. REED of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has been struck an insidious, dishonorable, and cowardly blow directed against our fleet, our territory, and our citizens. The perpetrators will find that they have affronted a powerful foe. They will learn that when people accustomed to freedom are assailed they support their Government with every ounce of their strength and endurance. They will find the American people united in a determination to avenge a foul crime and exterminate a foul criminal. There is no disunion in America. The vote on the pending resolution will demonstrate to the world that our President has behind him a united Congress backed by a united public. America aroused will hesitate not an instant and will never rest until the world is rid of the monsters who planned and executed yesterday's dastardly outrage. Japan will rue the day that the fury of peaceful, liberty-loving people was unleashed.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote, and on that I demand the yeas and nays.

Miss RANKIN of Montana. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts demands the yeas and nays. Those who favor taking this vote by the yeas and nays will rise and remain standing until counted.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Miss RANKIN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I would like to be heard.

The SPEAKER. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The question is, Will the House suspend the rules and pass the resolution?

Miss RANKIN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER. A roll call may not be interrupted.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 388, nays 1, not voting 41, as follows:

[Roll No. 130]

YEAS—388

Allen, Ill.	Davis, Ohio	Hobbs
Allen, La.	Davis, Tenn.	Hoffman
Andersen,	Day	Holbrook
H. Carl.	Delaney	Holmes
Anderson, Calif.	Dewey	Hook
Anderson,	Dies	Hope
N. Mex.	Dingell	Houston
Andresen,	Dirksen	Howell
August H.	Disley	Hull
Andrews	Ditter	Hunter
Angell	Domengeaux	Imhoff
Arends	Dondero	Izac
Arnold	Doughton	Jacobsen
Barden	Douglas	Jarman
Barnes	Downs	Jarrett
Barry	Drewry	Jenkins, Ohio
Bates, Ky.	Duncan	Jenks, N. H.
Bates, Mass.	Durham	Jennings
Baumhart	Dworschak	Jensen
Beam	Eaton	Johns
Beckworth	Eberharter	Johnson, Ill.
Beiter	Edmiston	Johnson, Ind.
Bender	Ellot, Mass.	Johnson,
Bishop	Elliott, Calif.	Luther A.
Blackney	Elston	Johnson,
Bland	Engel	Lyndon B.
Bloom	Englebright	Johnson, Okla.
Boehne	Faddis	Johnson, W. Va.
Boggs	Fellows	Jones
Boland	Fenton	Jonkman
Bolton	Fish	Kean
Bonner	Fitzgerald	Kee
Boren	Fitzpatrick	Keefe
Boykin	Flaherty	Kefauver
Bradley, Mich.	Flannagan	Kelley, Pa.
Bradley, Pa.	Flannery	Kelly, Ill.
Brooks	Fogarty	Kennedy,
Brown, Ga.	Folger	Martin J.
Brown, Ohio	Forand	Kennedy,
Bryson	Ford, Miss.	Michael J.
Buck	Ford, Thomas F.	Keogh
Buckley, N. Y.	Fulmer	Kerr
Bulwinkle	Gamble	Kilburn
Burch	Gathings	Kilday
Burdick	Gavagan	Kinzer
Burgin	Gearhart	Kirwan
Butler	Gehrmann	Kleberg
Byrne	Gerlach	Klein
Byron	Gibson	Knutson
Camp	Gillie	Kociakowski
Canfield	Gifford	Koppelman
Cannon, Fla.	Gilchrist	Kramer
Cannon, Mo.	Gillette	Kunkel
Capozzoli	Gore	Lambertson
Carlson	Gossett	Landis
Case, S. Dak.	Graham	Lanham
Casey, Mass.	Granger	Lea
Celcer	Grant, Ala.	Leavy
Chapman	Grant, Ind.	LeCompte
Chipperfield	Green	Lesinski
Clark	Guyer	Lewis
Clason	Gwynne	Ludlow
Claypool	Haines	Lynch
Clevenger	Hall,	McCormack
Cluett	Edwin Arthur	McGehee
Cochran	Hall,	McGranery
Coffee, Nebr.	Leonard W.	McGregor
Coffee, Wash.	Halleck	McKeough
Cole, Md.	Hancock	McLaughlin
Collins	Hare	McLean
Colmer	Harness	McMillan
Cooley	Harrington	Maciejewski
Cooper	Harris, Ark.	Maciona
Cope and	Harris, Va.	Mahon
Courtney	Eart	Manasco
Cox	Harter	Marcantonio
Cravens	Hartley	Martin, Iowa
Crawford	Healey	Martin, Mass.
Creal	Hibert	Mason
Crosser	Heffernan	May
Crowther	Heidinger	Merritt
Cutkin	Hendricks	Meyer, Md.
Cunningham	Hess	Michener
Curtis	Hill, Wash.	Mills, Ark.
D'Alesandro	Hinshaw	Mitchell

Monroney	Rivers	Summers, Tex.
Moser	Rizley	Sutphin
Mott	Robertson,	Sweeney
Mundt	N. Dak.	Taber
Murray	Robertson Va.	Talle
Myers, Pa.	Robson, Ky.	Tarver
Nichols	Rockefeller	Tenerowicz
Norrell	Rodgers, Pa.	Terry
Norton	Rogers, Mass.	Thom
O'Brien, Mich.	Russell	Thomas, N. J.
O'Brien, N. Y.	Sabath	Thomas, Tex.
O'Connor	Sacks	Thomason
O'Hara	Sanders	Tibbott
O'Leary	Sasser	Tinkham
Oliver	Satterfield	Traynor
O'Neal	Sauthoff	Treadway
Osmers	Scanlon	Van Zandt
O'Toole	Schuetz	Vinson, Ga.
Pace	Schulte	Voorhis, Calif.
Paddock	Scott	Vorys, Ohio
Patman	Secrest	Vreeland
Patrick	Shafer Mich.	Wadsworth
Patton	Shanley	Ward
Pearson	Shannon	Wasielewski
Peterson, Fla.	Sheppard	Weaver
Peterson, Ga.	Sheridan	Weiss
Pfeifer,	Short	Wene
Joseph L.	Sikes	West
Pheiffer,	Simpson	Wheat
William T.	Smith, Maine	Whelchel
Pierce	Smith, Ohio	Whitten
Pittenger	Smith, Pa.	Whittington
Plauché	Smith, Va.	Wickersham
Ploeser	Smith, Wash.	Wigglesworth
Plumley	Smith, W. Va.	Williams
Poage	Smith, Wis.	Wilson
Powers	Snyder	Winter
Priest	Somers, N. Y.	Wolcott
Rabaut	South	Wolfenden, Pa.
Ramsay	Sparkman	Wolverton, N. J.
Ramspeck	Spence	Woodruff, Mich.
Randolph	Springer	Woodrum, Va.
Rankin, Miss.	Starnes, Ala.	Worley
Reece, Tenn.	Stearns, N. H.	Wright
Reed, Ill.	Stefan	Young
Reed, N. Y.	Stevenson	Youngdahl
Rees, Kans.	Stratton	Zimmerman
Rich	Sullivan	
Richards	Sumner, Ill.	

NAYS—1

Rankin, Mont.

NOT VOTING—41

Baldwin	Gregory	Robinson, Utah
Bell	Hill, Colo.	Rogers, Okla.
Bennett	Jackson	Rolph
Buckler, Minn.	Johnson, Calif.	Romjue
Carter	Larrabee	Schaefer, Ill.
Cartwright	McArdie	Scrugham
Chenoweth	McIntyre	Steagall
Cole, N. Y.	Maas	Thill
Costello	Magnuson	Tolan
Cullen	Mansfield	Vincent, Ky.
Dickstein	Mills, La.	Walter
Ellis	Murdock	Welch
Ford, Leland M.	Nelson	White
Gale	O'Day	

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended, and the joint resolution was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a joint resolution (S. J. Res. 116) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same, in which the concurrence of the House is requested.

GENERAL EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may be permitted to extend their own remarks on the resolution just acted upon immediately prior to the roll call.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will that permit one to include in his remarks a telegram from a colleague showing how he would have voted?

The SPEAKER. His own remarks only. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, a number of Members are unavoidably absent and on their way here. I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their own remarks on the resolution just adopted.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

DECLARATION OF WAR

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table Senate Joint Resolution 116, and agree to the same.

The Clerk read the Senate joint resolution, as follows:

Whereas the Imperial Government of Japan has committed unprovoked acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and the President is hereby authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Government of Japan; and, to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and, of course, I am not going to object—this is the same declaration that we just passed?

The SPEAKER. The same.

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

The Senate joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings by which the House passed House Joint Resolution 254 be vacated and that the resolution be laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUSINESS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order tomorrow for the Speaker to recognize Members for call of bills on the District of Columbia Calendar,

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, due to the fact that a cordon of police and soldiers was thrown around the Capitol Grounds, thereby preventing the taxicab in which I was riding to come within several squares of the House, I reached the floor of the House a few minutes after the roll call on the resolution declaring the existence of a state of war between our Nation and Japan. If I had not been delayed as aforesaid, I would have voted for the resolution.

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Speaker, I missed the vote today against Japan. Yesterday afternoon I left Washington and drove straight through to Knoxville, Tenn., arriving there at 2:30 this morning without knowing that the Speaker had requested that all Members return immediately. At 7:10 this morning I heard the announcement and began at once a frantic effort to find airplane transportation. After calling Speaker RAYBURN twice from Knoxville I chartered a plane but could not get it off the ground because of Civil Aeronautics Authority orders to ground all civilian pilots. At 10:05 we got clearance, and although we made it in less than 3 hours the vote on the declaration of war against Japan was completed before I could get to the House Chamber. That is how fast democracy works once it is severely shaken.

Before leaving Knoxville I wired the pair Clerk of the House of Representatives, as follows:

Vote me "for" on any declaration of war against Japan and the Axis Powers. Am going to try to make it for the vote. Am chartering plane and leaving here now.

I want it understood that had I arrived a few minutes earlier I would have voted for the resolution.

At this point I want to recall a 1-minute speech which I made on the House floor on Monday, May 5, and which appears in the RECORD of that date at page 3647. I quote it here in full:

JAPAN AND THE AXIS

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Speaker, today's papers carry the headlines quoting Hitler, "We can beat the world." The same papers carry Foreign Minister Matsuoka's insult to the United States by inviting our President to come over and see "the true intentions of Japan."

I believe there is at least a 50-50 chance we are headed for deadly combat with Hitler. In that event Japan is pledged to stab us in the back. We know Japan's true intentions from Manchuria, China, and the *Panay*.

I am ready to give Japan 1 week to withdraw from the Axis, from China, and all Asia. Upon her failure to do that, we should begin at once the process of polishing her into insignificance. [Applause.]

That was more than 7 months ago. Had we taken the initiative then to do the very thing which we must now do defensively, it would have saved many warships and many planes and many lives.

Japan has jabbed a dagger in our back and we must now rise as one to the heights to which we are capable and crush her as she has never been crushed before.

And what is just as important is that after this war we must be a little more realistic and a little less idealistic and see to it that Japan is never able again to do what she has done.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, due to unforeseen and unavoidable circumstances—weather conditions which delayed the plane I took to Washington—I was unable to reach the Capitol in time to be recorded on the vote on the declaration of war. I want to state for the record that I would have voted "aye" had I been present.

Japan's assault upon our bases in Hawaii and other possessions while her duly accredited representatives were negotiating with our Government will go down in history as one of the most despicable acts committed by any government. I have no doubts that Japan will reap the reward such action deserves.

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me by the House upon request of the majority leader, I want to make this statement:

This has been a sad and thrilling day for me. I left the bedside of my wife, who is ill at our home in Kentucky, and flew here today by airplane and reached the door of the House just as the vote was completed. I failed to make it by about 1 minute.

At Cincinnati, Ohio, I was joined by the gentleman from California, Congressman JOHN COSTELLO, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman JOSEPH McARDLE. We reached the airport here at 1:15 p. m., which is about 20 minutes ahead of schedule. We were met there by two motorcycle policemen, and they cleared the road of traffic and led the way to the Capitol. I want to congratulate them on the fine work they did.

I was shocked at the cowardly act of the Japanese, who struck at our forces without warning. Of course, I regret that I failed to reach the House in time to vote, but I am happy that my vote was not needed.

I am sure our Navy is able to handle the situation. The Naval Affairs Committee meets at 10 a. m. tomorrow, and we are putting the finishing touches to some matters that I think will make our armed forces more effective.

The House is to be congratulated on its action today, as the vote shows that we are a united people, and that we are ready to defend ourselves. We have the finest Fleet in the world, and I am certain it will punish severely the cowardly murderers who attacked our unsuspecting people. I have no doubt as to the outcome. I think we are prepared for this fight, and I know our boys will take full revenge for this dastardly act.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Speaker, during the past few days I have been attending public lands hearings with an official congressional committee, in the city of San Francisco and today I sent this wire to the House of Representatives:

Greatly regret inability to attend momentous session today because of distance; on official congressional business. I am very determined America must meet Japanese challenge to utter destruction of Asiatic war lords.

JOHN R. MURDOCK,
Member of Congress.

On Saturday, November 22, a little more than 2 weeks ago today, I reported to my people in Arizona, as follows:

In regard to the Japanese situation I believe there is a much sterner attitude shown by Members of Congress. A number of my colleagues have shown great indignation that we have appeased Japan as much as we have, and that we have furnished Japan oil and scrap material by which she has carried on her war against China during these years, and some of these same men declare openly that in spite of the kindly feeling of the Japanese people toward us, there can be no peace in the Pacific part of the world until the war lords of Japan are knocked about the ears and destroyed. A Member who has been least war-minded with regard to Europe said to me just recently, "Before we do another thing we ought to destroy the Japanese Fleet."

I haven't time to elaborate on these, but in this connection I do recall that it was Japan who flouted the naval limitation agreement of 1922, and who threw overboard the 5-5-3 naval arrangement which they had solemnly agreed to, and I'd be willing to bet any number of hats that the Japs have been building 45,000-ton battleships, while the rest of the world was supposed to be limited to 35,000-ton battleships. The war lords of Japan apparently have a superdose of that racial superiority complex as "sons of heaven," which may have to be eliminated before they can be lived with, in a world as small as this has come to be.

Mr. McARDLE. Mr. Speaker, my absence today when the House voted on the resolution to declare war on the Government of Japan was due solely to my inability to reach Washington in time for that vote.

Being assured by the leadership of the House there was no important legislation coming up, I decided to take a few days' rest. I went to Florida. It was not until late Sunday that I learned of the unwarranted attack on our ships and shore stations by Japan. As quick as I could arrange transportation I left for Washington. I arrived at 1:20 Monday. The House vote on the war resolution I found was announced at 1:27.

Mr. Speaker, I want the RECORD to show that if I had been present I would have voted for the declaration of war. Further, I want to say that so long as I am a Member of Congress during this emergency I will support the recommendations of the President of the United States, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and I know that in the end this country will destroy those who have murdered our soldiers and sailors, as well as civilians, at a time when their representatives were conferring with the President and Secretary of State, who sought peace with the Government of Japan.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a brief announcement that it is the intention tomorrow to bring up the business that was scheduled for consideration today.

SPEAKER AUTHORIZED TO SIGN SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 116

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the adjournment of the House the Speaker may be authorized to sign the enrolled Senate Joint Resolution 116.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK]?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Massachusetts advise us whether bills on the Private Calendar will be called tomorrow?

Mr. McCORMACK. It is hoped they will be. If not, we will try to make arrangements to call them up on Wednesday.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted, as follows:

To Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky (at the request of Mr. CHAPMAN), on account of illness.

To Mr. GREGORY (at the request of Mr. CHAPMAN), on account of illness.

To Mrs. NORTON, for an indefinite period, on account of illness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KOPPLEMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a statement relating to the matter passed today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. KOPPLEMANN]?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 31 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, December 9, 1941, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

The meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce scheduled for Tuesday, December 9, 1941, has been postponed until next January.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

There will be a meeting of this committee at 10:30 a. m. Tuesday, December 9, 1941, on unfinished business and private bills.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

There will be a meeting of the committee at 10 a. m. Tuesday, December 9, for consideration of H. R. 6135.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1121. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed amendatory legislation that is needed in connection with the settlement of damage claims and the acquisition of easement rights in connection with the operation of the Fort Hall Indian irrigation project, Fort Hall, Idaho; to the Committee on Claims.

1122. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to further amend the act approved June 23, 1938 (52 Stat. 944), as amended; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. KNUTSON:

H. R. 6189. A bill to amend section 1601 (a) (1) of the Internal Revenue Code (relating to credits against the Federal unemployment tax); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SHERIDAN:

H. R. 6190. A bill to provide identification badges for Senators, Representatives, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 6191. A bill to provide for the extension of enlistments in the Navy in time of war, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

2127. By Mr. COFFEE of Washington: Resolution of Washington State Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, William J. Bain, president, and John T. Jacobsen, secretary, Seattle, Wash., alleging that Supply, Priorities, and Allocations Board rulings prohibit use of critical material in nondefense areas for all construction not related to defense work or the health and safety of the public; averring that such ruling threatens and deprives millions of workers, skilled and unskilled, of employment in the building industry; asserting that such critical materials as are required for normal construction constitute but a small percentage of the total; declaring that Supply, Priorities, and Allocations Board rulings of October 10, 1941, have inspired hoarding, deception, and cheating; asserting that patriotism and national unity is receiving a telling blow through such rulings; and, therefore, concluding that all congressional Representatives from the Western States be urged to investigate and make a report through appropriate committees on the proper distribution of production of critical materials; that if the committee's investigation should justify it, the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board should be ordered to allocate a reasonable percentage of the critical materials for private construction; stating that the findings and conclusions of aforesaid resolution have been concurred in by chapters of the American Institute of Architects of Oregon, Spokane, Utah, Colorado, and Montana; to the Committee on Rules.

2128. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of the United Irish-American Societies of New York, concerning the St. Lawrence waterway project; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2129. By Mr. KRAMER: Petition of the State advisory committee of the National Youth Administration for California, objecting to the proposal that appropriations for the National Youth Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps in California be reduced; to the Committee on Appropriations.

2130. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Propeller Club of the United States, fifteenth annual convention, San Francisco, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to adjustment of pay and allowances for Coast Guard service; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

2131. Also, petition of the American Association of Port Authorities, New Orleans, La., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Senate bill 1539, relative to the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

2132. Also, petition of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Silver Springs, Md., petitioning consideration of

their resolution with reference to labor strikes in essential defense industries; to the Committee on Labor.

2133. Also, petition of the United Aircraft Welders of America, Los Angeles, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to strikes or labor disturbances; to the Committee on Labor.

2134. Also, petition of the Regular Veterans Association, Washington, D. C., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bill 6009; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

2135. Also, petition of the Patriotic Order of America, Camden, N. J., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bill 1410; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2136. Also, petition of the Junior O. U. A. M., Hempstead, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bill 1410; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1941

The Very Reverend ZéBarney T. Phillips, D. D., Chaplain of the Senate, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Maker of all things, Judge of all men, who knowest our necessities before we ask and our ignorance in asking: Guide Thou our thoughts, we beseech Thee, and direct our way through the gathering shadows into the light of a clearer understanding of Thy purpose for each one of us, that we may, with prompt hand and cheerful heart, do only such things as shall please Thee, as we consecrate ourselves anew to the service of our country.

Help us that we miss not the divine end of life, but inherit more the blessings of Thy discipline; out of Thine eternity calm the dispositions of our souls, as we feel the weight of these troublous times, that we may live bravely, patiently, and with ever increasing faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness in the world of men and of nations. And so unto Thy gracious keeping we commit ourselves this day, and do Thou use each one of us just as Thou wilt, and when and where. We ask it in our Saviour's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, December 8, 1941, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF A JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, who also announced that on December 8, 1941, at 4:10 p. m., eastern standard time, the President approved and signed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 116) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. HILL. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	George	O'Daniel
Andrews	Gerry	O'Mahoney
Austin	Gillette	Overton
Bailey	Glass	Pepper
Ball	Green	Radcliffe
Bankhead	Guffey	Reed
Barbour	Gurney	Reynolds
Barkley	Hatch	Rosier
Bilbo	Herring	Russell
Brewster	Hill	Schwartz
Bridges	Holman	Shipstead
Brooks	Hughes	Smathers
Brown	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Bulow	Johnson, Colo.	Spencer
Bunker	Kilgore	Stewart
Burton	La Follette	Taft
Butler	Langer	Thomas, Okla.
Byrd	Lee	Thomas, Utah
Capper	Lodge	Tobey
Caraway	Lucas	Truman
Chandler	McFarland	Tunnell
Chavez	McKellar	Tydings
Clark, Idaho	McNary	Vandenberg
Clark, Mo.	Maloney	Van Nuys
Connally	Maybank	Wagner
Danaher	Mead	Wallgren
Davis	Murdock	Walsh
Downey	Murray	White
Doxey	Norris	Wiley
Ellender	Nye	Willis

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] is absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] are detained on official business.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] is necessarily absent.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] is absent because of a death in his family.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ninety Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

PERSONAL STATEMENT BY SENATOR CAPPER

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, when the news of Japan's attack was flashed to our people I was in Kansas. I started for Washington as quickly as possible, but regret I could not reach here in time to cast my vote for approval of the President's stand. I would have voted for Senate Joint Resolution 116, introduced by the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], if it had been possible for me to reach the Senate in time.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter I have addressed to the President informing him of my whole-hearted support of his program and also advising him that the people of Kansas are unitedly behind him.

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

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 9, 1941.
HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have just returned from Kansas, and am glad to assure you that the people of the State are united in support of your stand in the war with Japan. They believe this attack was inspired by Hitler. They feel that you were fully justified in asking Congress to declare a state of war between Japan and the United States. It is a matter of great regret to me that I was unable to reach Washington in time to