

# Congressional Record

## PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE

### SENATE

MONDAY, *March 4, 1929*

CHARLES CURTIS, of Kansas, Vice President of the United States, to whom the oath was administered at the close of the last regular session of the Seventieth Congress, called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock meridian.

The Chaplain, Rev. Z. Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty and Eternal God, Father of all mankind, Ruler of the destinies of nations, Thou hast called us by our name and we are Thine. Thou hast established us in the gateways of the world, Thou hast moulded our speech, mixed our blood from uncorrupted springs and crowned us with every blessing; make us therefore a righteous nation doing justice, loving mercy, walking humbly with our God. Breathe upon all who are assembled here the spirit of Thy grace, especially upon these Thy servants whom Thou hast called to be President and Vice President of the United States. Endue them with innocence of life, with wisdom and discretion, manifest Thyself to them that in the exactions of their work they may never be drawn aside from the path of rectitude. Inspire them with divine faith, subdue them to the lowly practice of those who have lived as fellow workers with Thee, and grant that the words of their mouth and the meditations of their hearts may be always acceptable in Thy sight.

Let Thy blessing abide continually upon them, the Members of Congress, and all others in authority, that they knowing whose ministers they are may above all things seek Thy honor and glory and that all the people duly considering whose authority they bear, may faithfully and obediently honor them in Thee and for Thee according to Thy blessed word and ordinance. May the benediction of Thy peace rest upon the retiring President, Vice President, and Members of Congress, to whom a grateful Nation pays loving tribute. Bless all the nations of the world and bind us ever closer together in the bonds of holy fellowship, that when the silver cord is loosed and the golden bowl is broken we may receive the crown of life and dwell with Thee in the brightness of Thy eternal morning. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

#### PROCLAMATION

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the proclamation of the President convening the Senate in extraordinary session.

The Chief Clerk (John C. Crockett) read the proclamation of the President as follows:

#### A PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Whereas public interests require that the Senate of the United States be convened at 12 o'clock on the 4th day of March next to receive such communications as may be made by the Executive:

Now, therefore, I, Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Senate of the United States to convene at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 4th day of March next, at 12 o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as Members of that body are hereby required to take notice.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the United States.

Done at the city of Washington, this 11th day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and fifty-third.

[SEAL.]

By the President:

FRANK B. KELLOGG,

Secretary of State.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

#### ADDRESS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. Senators, the United States Senate is to-day one of the most distinguished legislative bodies in the world—one of the greatest actual and potential powers for the promotion and advancement of civilization. Its personnel is of a caliber equal to if not the superior of any previous body heretofore assembled. Any individual, no matter how outstanding in the realms of leadership, political or otherwise, might well be proud to preside over its deliberations. I may, therefore, be pardoned in declaring here the feeling of pride which I experience that through my election as Vice President of the United States such a signal honor has come to me. I hope I may prove worthy of the people's choice, and of you. No efforts of mine will be spared to aid and assist you in the successful solution of the numerous intricate and important problems which will come before you.

During the course of my 20 years' service among you, as Senator from the State of Kansas, I have profited much from the wisdom, tact, and experience of the Members of this august body as displayed by its most modest and unassuming Members as well as by its most outstanding and brilliant leaders.

My relations with the Senators during all these years have been pleasant. My memories of persons and events in this Chamber constitute some of the most delightful in a long public life by no means devoid of warming memories.

At this point I may with propriety, I think, be permitted to offer to the honorable gentleman who is retiring as Presiding Officer of this body, Mr. Dawes, an expression of appreciation, admiration, and esteem. We will all agree that he has filled his arduous and frequently onerous duties with credit and distinction, not only to himself but to the Senate and to the people of the United States.

It would seem fitting also at this point to offer a word of welcome and greeting to our new Senators. They will find their fellow Senators, as I have found them, most human and kindly gentlemen, willing and anxious to help newcomers where they may.

My service among you has impressed me with the responsibilities of every Senator, and at the same time it has given me a clear understanding of the duties and obligations of the Vice President.

He is not one of the makers of the law, nor is he consulted about the rules adopted to govern your actions. His obligations to the people of the country to whom he owes his high position and his duty to you, Senators, call for a fair and impartial construction of the rules which you, yourselves, have adopted and which you alone may change. His obligations and duties require a recognition and application of the precedents which have brought the United States Senate to its present recognized position of paramount importance as a legislative body.

With the familiarity gained from long years of close observation, assisted by your full cooperation without which little can be done, I hope to be able to sense your desires certainly and surely; to obey your will, which is the will of the people; to give it effect with the utmost dispatch; and to expedite the business of the Senate in an orderly and speedy manner, for this, I take it, is not only your desire but also the wish of our people. In effect, to be an integral part of this body, not a being strange to or remote and detached from it.

To do these things within the limits of my abilities I conceive to be the whole scope and sphere of the Vice President. The task is not easy. I ask your help and indulgence.

With a whole-hearted spirit of cooperation between us, I am certain your achievements in the Congress before us will redound to the immediate and ultimate good of all; your proceedings will be so much to your credit in the eyes of our people, and so much to the credit of our people in the eyes of the world that they will stand for years in the future as the highest mark of legislative endeavors within, and perhaps

without, the United States. It gives me pleasure, sir, to receive the gavel from you and to take over the duties of the Vice President.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF OATH

The VICE PRESIDENT. The names of the newly elected Senators will be called and as their names are called they will present themselves at the desk for the purpose of taking the oath of office.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. ASHURST, Mr. CONNALLY, Mr. COPELAND, Mr. CUTTING, Mr. DILL, Mr. FESS, and Mr. FRAZIER.

These Senators (with the exception of Mr. CUTTING), escorted by Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. SHEPPARD, Mr. WAGNER, Mr. JONES, Mr. BURTON, and Mr. NYE, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. GOLDSBOROUGH, Mr. GREENE, Mr. HALE, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. HEBERT, and Mr. HOWELL.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. DALE, Mr. GOULD, Mr. GOFF, Mr. METCALF, and Mr. NORRIS, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. KEAN, Mr. KENDRICK, Mr. KING, Mr. LA FOLLETTE, and Mr. MCKELLAR.

These Senators, with (the exception of Mr. LA FOLLETTE) escorted by Mr. SHORTRIDGE, Mr. EDGE, Mr. WARREN, Mr. SMOOT, and Mr. TYSON, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. PATTERSON, Mr. PITTMAN, Mr. REED, Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana, Mr. SHIPSTEAD, and Mr. STEPHENS.

These Senators (with the exception of Mr. SHIPSTEAD) escorted by Mr. HAWES, Mr. ODDIE, Mr. MOSES, Mr. WATSON, and Mr. HARRISON, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Chief Clerk called the names of Mr. SWANSON, Mr. TOWNSEND, Mr. TRAMMELL, Mr. VANDENBERG, Mr. WALCOTT, Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts, and Mr. WHEELER.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. GLASS, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. FLETCHER, Mr. COUZENS, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas, and Mr. WALSH of Montana, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

#### LIST OF SENATORS BY STATES

*Alabama*—J. Thomas Heflin and Hugo Black.  
*Arizona*—Henry F. Ashurst and Carl Hayden.  
*Arkansas*—Joseph T. Robinson and T. H. Caraway.  
*California*—Hiram W. Johnson and Samuel M. Shortridge.  
*Colorado*—Lawrence C. Phipps and Charles W. Waterman.  
*Connecticut*—Hiram Bingham and Frederic C. Walcott.  
*Delaware*—Daniel O. Hastings and John G. Townsend.  
*Florida*—Duncan U. Fletcher and Park Trammell.  
*Georgia*—William J. Harris and Walter F. George.  
*Idaho*—William E. Borah and John Thomas.  
*Illinois*—Charles S. Deneen and Otis F. Glenn.  
*Indiana*—James E. Watson and Arthur R. Robinson.  
*Iowa*—Daniel F. Steck and Smith W. Brookhart.  
*Kansas*—Arthur Capper.  
*Kentucky*—Fred M. Sackett and Alben W. Barkley.  
*Louisiana*—Joseph E. Ransdell and Edwin S. Broussard.  
*Maine*—Frederick Hale and Arthur R. Gould.  
*Maryland*—Millard E. Tydings and Phillips Lee Goldsborough.  
*Massachusetts*—Frederick H. Gillett and David I. Walsh.  
*Michigan*—James Couzens and Arthur H. Vandenberg.  
*Minnesota*—Henrik Shipstead<sup>1</sup> and Thomas D. Schall.  
*Mississippi*—Pat Harrison and Hubert D. Stephens.  
*Missouri*—Harry B. Hawes and Roscoe C. Patterson.  
*Montana*—Thomas J. Walsh and Burton K. Wheeler.  
*Nebraska*—George W. Norris and Robert B. Howell.  
*Nevada*—Key Pittman and Tasker L. Oddie.  
*New Hampshire*—George H. Moses and Henry W. Keyes.  
*New Jersey*—Walter E. Edge and Hamilton F. Kean.  
*New Mexico*—Sam G. Bratton and Bronson M. Cutting.<sup>1</sup>  
*New York*—Royal S. Copeland and Robert F. Wagner.  
*North Carolina*—Furnifold M. Simmons and Lee S. Overman.  
*North Dakota*—Lynn J. Frazier and Gerald P. Nye.  
*Ohio*—Simeon D. Fess and Theodore E. Burton.  
*Oklahoma*—W. B. Pine and Elmer Thomas.  
*Oregon*—Charles L. McNary and Frederick Steiwer.  
*Pennsylvania*—David A. Reed and William S. Vare.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not sworn.

*Rhode Island*—Jesse H. Metcalf and Felix Hebert.  
*South Carolina*—Ellison D. Smith and Coleman L. Blease.  
*South Dakota*—Peter Norbeck and W. H. McMaster.  
*Tennessee*—Kenneth McKellar and Lawrence D. Tyson.  
*Texas*—Morris Sheppard and Tom Connally.  
*Utah*—Reed Smoot and William H. King.  
*Vermont*—Frank L. Greene and Porter H. Dale.  
*Virginia*—Claude A. Swanson and Carter Glass.  
*Washington*—Wesley L. Jones and C. C. Dill.  
*West Virginia*—Guy D. Goff and Henry D. Hatfield.  
*Wisconsin*—Robert M. La Follette, jr., and John J. Blaine.  
*Wyoming*—Francis E. Warren and John B. Kendrick.

#### INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Sergeant at Arms will carry out the program for the inauguration of the President of the United States on the east front of the Capitol.

The President elect, Herbert Hoover, escorted by the Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and accompanied by the joint committee on arrangements, followed by the members of the diplomatic corps, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps, the Members of the Senate, preceded by the Vice President, the Sergeant at Arms, David S. Barry, and the Secretary of the Senate, Edwin P. Thayer, the Members of the House of Representatives, and the other guests of the Senate proceeded to the inaugural platform at the east front of the Capitol.

The oath of office having been administered to the President elect by the Chief Justice of the United States, he delivered the inaugural address.

#### INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER

MY COUNTRYMEN: This occasion is not alone the administration of the most sacred oath which can be assumed by an American citizen. It is a dedication and consecration under God to the highest office in service of our people. I assume this trust in the humility of knowledge that only through the guidance of Almighty Providence can I hope to discharge its ever-increasing burdens.

It is in keeping with tradition throughout our history that I should express simply and directly the opinions which I hold concerning some of the matters of present importance.

#### OUR PROGRESS

If we survey the situation of our Nation both at home and abroad, we find many satisfactions; we find some causes for concern. We have emerged from the losses of the Great War and the reconstruction following it with increased virility and strength. From this strength we have contributed to the recovery and progress of the world. What America has done has given renewed hope and courage to all who have faith in government by the people. In the large view we have reached a higher degree of comfort and security than ever existed before in the history of the world. Through liberation from widespread poverty we have reached a higher degree of individual freedom than ever before. The devotion to and concern for our institutions are deep and sincere. We are steadily building a new race—a new civilization great in its own attainments. The influence and high purposes of our Nation are respected among the peoples of the world. We aspire to distinction in the world, but to a distinction based upon confidence in our sense of justice as well as our accomplishments within our own borders and in our own lives. For wise guidance in this great period of recovery the Nation is deeply indebted to Calvin Coolidge.

But all this majestic advance should not obscure the constant dangers from which self-government must be safeguarded. The strong man must at all times be alert to the attack of insidious disease.

#### THE FAILURE OF OUR SYSTEM OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The most malign of all these dangers to-day is disregard and disobedience of law. Crime is increasing. Confidence in rigid and speedy justice is decreasing. I am not prepared to believe that this indicates any decay in the moral fiber of the American people. I am not prepared to believe that it indicates an impotence of the Federal Government to enforce its laws.

It is only in part due to the additional burdens imposed upon our judicial system by the eighteenth amendment. The problem is much wider than that. Many influences had increasingly complicated and weakened our law-enforcement organization long before the adoption of the eighteenth amendment.

To reestablish the vigor and effectiveness of law enforcement we must critically consider the entire Federal machinery of justice, the redistribution of its functions, the simplification of its procedure, the provision of additional special tribunals, the bet-

<sup>1</sup> Not sworn.

ter selection of juries, and the more effective organization of our agencies of investigation and prosecution that justice may be sure and that it may be swift. While the authority of the Federal Government extends to but part of our vast system of national, State, and local justice, yet the standards which the Federal Government establishes have the most profound influence upon the whole structure.

We are fortunate in the ability and integrity of our Federal judges and attorneys. But the system which these officers are called upon to administer is in many respects ill-adapted to present-day conditions. Its intricate and involved rules of procedure have become the refuge of both big and little criminals. There is a belief abroad that by invoking technicalities, subterfuge, and delay the ends of justice may be thwarted by those who can pay the cost.

Reform, reorganization, and strengthening of our whole judicial and enforcement system both in civil and criminal sides have been advocated for years by statesmen, judges, and bar associations. First steps toward that end should not longer be delayed. Rigid and expeditious justice is the first safeguard of freedom, the basis of all ordered liberty, the vital force of progress. It must not come to be in our Republic that it can be defeated by the indifference of the citizen, by exploitation of the delays and entanglements of the law, or by combinations of criminals. Justice must not fail because the agencies of enforcement are either delinquent or inefficiently organized. To consider these evils, to find their remedy, is the most sore necessity of our times.

#### ENFORCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Of the undoubted abuses which have grown up under the eighteenth amendment, part are due to the causes I have just mentioned; but part are due to the failure of some States to accept their share of responsibility for concurrent enforcement and to the failure of many State and local officials to accept the obligation under their oath of office zealously to enforce the laws. With the failures from these many causes has come a dangerous expansion in the criminal elements who have found enlarged opportunities in dealing in illegal liquor.

But a large responsibility rests directly upon our citizens. There would be little traffic in illegal liquor if only criminals patronized it. We must awake to the fact that this patronage from large numbers of law-abiding citizens is supplying the rewards and stimulating crime.

I have been selected by you to execute and enforce the laws of the country. I propose to do so to the extent of my own abilities, but the measure of success that the Government shall attain will depend upon the moral support which you, as citizens, extend. The duty of citizens to support the laws of the land is co-equal with the duty of their government to enforce the laws which exist. No greater national service can be given by men and women of good will—who, I know, are not unmindful of the responsibilities of citizenship—than that they should, by their example, assist in stamping out crime and outlawry by refusing participation in and condemning all transactions with illegal liquor. Our whole system of self-government will crumble either if officials elect what laws they will enforce or citizens elect what laws they will support. The worst evil of disregard for some law is that it destroys respect for all law. For our citizens to patronize the violation of a particular law on the ground that they are opposed to it is destructive of the very basis of all that protection of life, of homes and property which they rightly claim under other laws. If citizens do not like a law, their duty as honest men and women is to discourage its violation; their right is openly to work for its repeal.

To those of criminal mind there can be no appeal but vigorous enforcement of the law. Fortunately they are but a small percentage of our people. Their activities must be stopped.

#### A NATIONAL INVESTIGATION

I propose to appoint a national commission for a searching investigation of the whole structure of our Federal system of jurisprudence, to include the method of enforcement of the eighteenth amendment and the causes of abuse under it. Its purpose will be to make such recommendations for reorganization of the administration of Federal laws and court procedure as may be found desirable. In the meantime it is essential that a large part of the enforcement activities be transferred from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice as a beginning of more effective organization.

#### THE RELATION OF GOVERNMENT TO BUSINESS

The election has again confirmed the determination of the American people that regulation of private enterprise and not Government ownership or operation is the course rightly to be pursued in our relation to business. In recent years we

have established a differentiation in the whole method of business regulation between the industries which produce and distribute commodities on the one hand, and public utilities on the other. In the former, our laws insist upon effective competition; in the latter, because we substantially confer a monopoly by limiting competition, we must regulate their services and rates. The rigid enforcement of the laws applicable to both groups is the very base of equal opportunity and freedom from domination for all our people, and it is just as essential for the stability and prosperity of business itself as for the protection of the public at large. Such regulation should be extended by the Federal Government within the limitations of the Constitution and only when the individual States are without power to protect their citizens through their own authority. On the other hand, we should be fearless when the authority rests only in the Federal Government.

#### COOPERATION BY THE GOVERNMENT

The larger purpose of our economic thought should be to establish more firmly stability and security of business and employment and thereby remove poverty still further from our borders. Our people have in recent years developed a new-found capacity for cooperation among themselves to effect high purposes in public welfare. It is an advance toward the highest conception of self-government. Self-government does not and should not imply the use of political agencies alone. Progress is born of cooperation in the community—not from governmental restraints. The Government should assist and encourage these movements of collective self-help by itself cooperating with them. Business has by cooperation made great progress in the advancement of service, in stability, in regularity of employment, and in the correction of its own abuses. Such progress, however, can continue only so long as business manifests its respect for law.

There is an equally important field of cooperation by the Federal Government with the multitude of agencies, State, municipal, and private, in the systematic development of those processes which directly affect public health, recreation, education, and the home. We have need further to perfect the means by which government can be adapted to human service.

#### EDUCATION

Although education is primarily a responsibility of the States and local communities, and rightly so, yet the Nation as a whole is vitally concerned in its development everywhere to the highest standards and to complete universality. Self-government can succeed only through an instructed electorate. Our objective is not simply to overcome illiteracy. The Nation has marched far beyond that. The more complex the problems of the Nation become, the greater is the need for more and more advanced instruction. Moreover, as our numbers increase and as our life expands with science and invention, we must discover more and more leaders for every walk of life. We can not hope to succeed in directing this increasingly complex civilization unless we can draw all the talent of leadership from the whole people. One civilization after another has been wrecked upon the attempt to secure sufficient leadership from a single group or class. If we would prevent the growth of class distinctions and would constantly refresh our leadership with the ideals of our people, we must draw constantly from the general mass. The full opportunity for every boy and girl to rise through the selective processes of education can alone secure to us this leadership.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH

In public health the discoveries of science have opened a new era. Many sections of our country and many groups of our citizens suffer from diseases, the eradication of which are mere matters of administration and moderate expenditure. Public health service should be as fully organized and as universally incorporated into our governmental system as is public education. The returns are a thousandfold in economic benefits, and infinitely more in reduction of suffering and promotion of human happiness.

#### WORLD PEACE

The United States fully accepts the profound truth that our own progress, prosperity, and peace are interlocked with the progress, prosperity, and peace of all humanity. The whole world is at peace. The dangers to a continuation of this peace to-day are largely the fear and suspicion which still haunt the world. No suspicion or fear can be rightly directed toward our country.

Those who have a true understanding of America know that we have no desire for territorial expansion, for economic or other domination of other peoples. Such purposes are repugnant to our ideals of human freedom. Our form of government is ill adapted to the responsibilities which inevitably follow

permanent limitation of the independence of other peoples. Superficial observers seem to find no destiny for our abounding increase in population, in wealth and power except that of imperialism. They fail to see that the American people are engrossed in the building for themselves of a new economic system, a new social system, a new political system—all of which are characterized by aspirations of freedom of opportunity and thereby are the negation of imperialism. They fail to realize that because of our abounding prosperity our youth are pressing more and more into our institutions of learning; that our people are seeking a larger vision through art, literature, science and travel; that they are moving toward stronger moral and spiritual life—that from these things our sympathies are broadening beyond the bounds of our Nation and race toward their true expression in a real brotherhood of man. They fail to see that the idealism of America will lead it to no narrow or selfish channel, but inspire it to do its full share as a Nation toward the advancement of civilization. It will do that not by mere declaration but by taking a practical part in supporting all useful international undertakings. We not only desire peace with the world, but to see peace maintained throughout the world. We wish to advance the reign of justice and reason toward the extinction of force.

The recent treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy sets an advanced standard in our conception of the relations of nations. Its acceptance should pave the way to greater limitation of armament, the offer of which we sincerely extend to the world. But its full realization also implies a greater and greater perfection in the instrumentalities for pacific settlement of controversies between nations. In the creation and use of these instrumentalities we should support every sound method of conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement. American statesmen were among the first to propose, and they have constantly urged upon the world, the establishment of a tribunal for the settlement of controversies of a justiciable character. The Permanent Court of International Justice in its major purpose is thus peculiarly identified with American ideals and with American statesmanship. No more potent instrumentality for this purpose has ever been conceived and no other is practicable of establishment. The reservations placed upon our adherence should not be misinterpreted. The United States seeks by these reservations no special privilege or advantage but only to clarify our relation to advisory opinions and other matters which are subsidiary to the major purpose of the court. The way should, and I believe will, be found by which we may take our proper place in a movement so fundamental to the progress of peace.

Our people have determined that we should make no political engagements, such as membership in the League of Nations, which may commit us in advance as a Nation to become involved in the settlements of controversies between other countries. They adhere to the belief that the independence of America from such obligations increases its ability and availability for service in all fields of human progress.

I have lately returned from a journey among our sister Republics of the Western Hemisphere. I have received unbounded hospitality and courtesy as their expression of friendliness to our country. We are held by particular bonds of sympathy and common interest with them. They are each of them building a racial character and a culture which is an impressive contribution to human progress. We wish only for the maintenance of their independence, the growth of their stability and their prosperity. While we have had wars in the Western Hemisphere yet on the whole the record is in encouraging contrast with that of other parts of the world. Fortunately the New World is largely free from the inheritances of fear and distrust which have so troubled the Old World. We should keep it so. It is impossible, my countrymen, to speak of peace without profound emotion. In thousands of homes in America, in millions of homes around the world, there are vacant chairs. It would be a shameful confession of our unworthiness if it should develop that we abandoned the hopes for which all these men died. Surely civilization is old enough, surely mankind is mature enough so that we ought in our own lifetime to find a way to permanent peace. Abroad to west and east are nations whose sons mingled their blood with the blood of our sons on the battlefields. Most of these nations have contributed to our race, to our culture, our knowledge, and our progress. From one of them we derive our very language and from many of them much of the genius of our institutions. Their desire for peace is as deep and sincere as our own.

Peace can be contributed to by respect for our ability in defense. Peace can be promoted by the limitation of arms and by the creation of the instrumentalities for peaceful settlement of controversies. But it will become a reality only through

self-restraint and active effort in friendliness and helpfulness. I covet for this administration a record of having further contributed to advance the cause of peace.

#### PARTY RESPONSIBILITIES

In our form of democracy the expression of the popular will can be effected only through the instrumentality of political parties. We maintain party government not to promote intolerant partisanship, but because opportunity must be given for expression of the popular will, and organization provided for the execution of its mandates and for accountability of government to the people. It follows that the Government, both in the executive and the legislative branches, must carry out in good faith the platforms upon which the party was intrusted with power. But the Government is that of the whole people; the party is the instrument through which policies are determined and men chosen to bring them into being. The animosities of elections should have no place in our Government, for government must concern itself alone with the common weal.

#### SPECIAL SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

Action upon some of the proposals upon which the Republican Party was returned to power, particularly further agricultural relief and limited changes in the tariff, can not in justice to our farmers, our labor, and our manufacturers be postponed. I shall therefore request a special session of Congress for the consideration of these two questions. I shall deal with each of them upon the assembly of the Congress.

#### OTHER MANDATES FROM THE ELECTION

It appears to me that the more important further mandates from the recent election were the maintenance of the integrity of the Constitution, the vigorous enforcement of the laws, the continuance of economy in public expenditure, the continued regulation of business to prevent domination in the community, the denial of ownership or operation of business by the Government in competition with its citizens, the avoidance of policies which would involve us in the controversies of foreign nations, the more effective reorganization of the departments of the Federal Government, the expansion of public works, and the promotion of welfare activities affecting education and the home.

These were the more tangible determinations of the election, but beyond them was the confidence and belief of the people that we would not neglect the support of the embedded ideals and aspirations of America. These ideals and aspirations are the touchstones upon which the day-to-day administration and legislative acts of government must be tested. More than this, the Government must, so far as lies within its proper powers, give leadership to the realization of these ideals and to the fruition of these aspirations. No one can adequately reduce these things of the spirit to phrases or to a catalogue of definitions. We do know what the attainments of these ideals should be: The preservation of self-government and its full foundations in local government; the perfection of justice whether in economic or in social fields; the maintenance of ordered liberty; the denial of domination by any group or class; the building up and preservation of equality of opportunity; the stimulation of initiative and individuality; absolute integrity in public affairs; the choice of officials for fitness to office; the direction of economic progress toward prosperity and the further lessening of poverty; the freedom of public opinion; the sustaining of education and of the advancement of knowledge; the growth of religious spirit and the tolerance of all faiths; the strengthening of the home; the advancement of peace.

There is no short road to the realization of these aspirations. Ours is a progressive people, but with a determination that progress must be based upon the foundation of experience. Ill-considered remedies for our faults bring only penalties after them. But if we hold the faith of the men in our mighty past who created these ideals, we shall leave them heightened and strengthened for our children.

#### CONCLUSION

This is not the time and place for extended discussion. The questions before our country are problems of progress to higher standards; they are not the problems of degeneration. They demand thought and they serve to quicken the conscience and enlist our sense of responsibility for their settlement. And that responsibility rests upon you, my countrymen, as much as upon those of us who have been selected for office.

Ours is a land rich in resources; stimulating in its glorious beauty; filled with millions of happy homes; blessed with comfort and opportunity. In no nation are the institutions of progress more advanced. In no nation are the fruits of accomplishment more secure. In no nation is the government more worthy of respect. No country is more loved by its people. I

have an abiding faith in their capacity, integrity, and high purpose. I have no fears for the future of our country. It is bright with hope.

In the presence of my countrymen, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, knowing what the task means and the responsibility which it involves, I beg your tolerance, your aid, and your cooperation. I ask the help of Almighty God in this service to my country to which you have called me.

At 1 o'clock and 41 minutes p. m. the Senate returned to its Chamber, and the Vice President resumed the chair.

#### HOOR OF DAILY MEETING

On motion of Mr. HALE, it was—

*Ordered*, That the hour of daily meeting of the Senate be 12 o'clock meridian until otherwise ordered.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HALE. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 42 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, March 5, 1929, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## SENATE

TUESDAY, March 5, 1929

The Chaplain, Rev. Z. Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God, Author of the world's joy, Bearer of its pain, make us glad to share in the privileges of Thy bestowal and to make full use of our opportunities for service. Grant that in the deliberations of this day, by venturing out into the open spaces of Thy love, we may become less conscious of effort, more conscious of power. Transform into Thy likeness every thought and purpose; make perfect Thy strength in our weakness, that what we do here may redound to the honor of our country and to the spread of Thy kingdom among men. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Chief Clerk (John C. Crockett) proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. Watson and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk (Harvey A. Welsh) called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Glass	McMaster	Smoot
Barkley	Glenn	McNary	Steck
Bingham	Goff	Metcalf	Steiwer
Blease	Goldsbrough	Moses	Stephens
Borah	Gould	Norris	Swanson
Bratton	Greene	Nye	Thomas, Idaho
Brookhart	Hale	Oddie	Thomas, Okla.
Broussard	Harris	Overman	Townsend
Burton	Harrison	Patterson	Trammell
Capper	Hastings	Phipps	Tydings
Caraway	Hatfield	Pine	Tyson
Connally	Hawes	Pittman	Vandenberg
Copeland	Hayden	Ransdell	Wagner
Couzens	Hebert	Reed	Walcott
Dale	Heflin	Robinson, Ark.	Walsh, Mass.
Deneen	Johnson	Robinson, Ind.	Walsh, Mont.
Dill	Jones	Sackett	Warren
Edge	Kean	Schall	Waterman
Fess	Kendrick	Sheppard	Watson
Fletcher	Keyes	Shortridge	
Frazier	King	Simmons	
George	McKellar	Smith	

Mr. BRATTON. My colleague [Mr. CUTTING] is necessarily absent. This announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. NORRIS. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. HOWELL] is detained from the Senate on account of illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-five Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The Senate will receive a message from the President of the United States.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

#### PRINTING OF THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS (S. DOC. NO. 1)

Mr. MOSES submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 1), which was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to:

*Resolved*, That the inaugural address of the President of the United States be printed as a Senate document.

#### PRESIDENT WILSON AND PROHIBITION

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I ask permission to have printed in the RECORD an article appearing in the New York Times written by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS].

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The article is as follows:

NEW LIGHT ON WILSON AND PROHIBITION—IN A CHALLENGE TO WETS SENATOR GLASS REVEALS INNER HISTORY OF THE LATE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE AND SHOWS HOW HE DEVISED A DIFFERENT ENFORCEMENT POLICY FOR THE STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

(It has been repeatedly asserted that President Wilson was opposed to the eighteenth amendment because he vetoed the Volstead Act. This statement Senator CARTER GLASS, of Virginia, corrects in the following article, which describes President Wilson's attitude toward the amendment as it was disclosed to the Senator. Mr. GLASS served as Secretary of the Treasury in the Wilson administration, and at the suggestion of the President was made chairman of the committee on resolutions of the Democratic National Convention at San Francisco, where he resisted every attempt to make prohibition a campaign issue.)

By CARTER GLASS, Senator from Virginia

Over and over again within the last 12 months in the discussion of prohibition and of presidential candidacies reference has persistently been made to the alleged fact that Woodrow Wilson was opposed to the eighteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution and was, per se, opposed to the Volstead Act. It has been said by persons who assume to be familiar with President Wilson's intimate thoughts that he confided to some friend in 1920 a draft of a platform declaration to be proposed at the San Francisco convention which would have committed the Democratic Party to the advocacy of light wines and beer as beverages, and that the friend suppressed the paper. Very recently the declaration was made in a book on the history of the Democratic Party by an exceedingly frank and accomplished newspaper man that Mr. Wilson was utterly hostile to the eighteenth amendment and to the Volstead Act, and that he vetoed the Volstead enforcement measure "on the ground that it was too rigid, that it was unenforceable, and was not in the spirit of the amendment."

Those who ardently advocate the repeal of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act rarely fail to reinforce their contentions by ascribing to Mr. Wilson the position here indicated. As a plain matter of fact, Mr. Wilson gave no such reasons for his veto of the Volstead bill. Laws had been passed and administrative measures pursued during the war severely repressing the traffic in intoxicating liquors; and, when hostilities terminated, President Wilson felt that these laws and administrative measures, passed and pursued as emergency war expedients, should be carefully revised and that a permanent policy of prohibition, in agreement with the eighteenth amendment, should be deliberately adopted only after the return of the 2,000,000 men constituting the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe.

#### THE VETO MESSAGE

His veto message pointedly reflects this opinion and this view only. It was comprised within several paragraphs, as follows:

*To the House of Representatives:*

I am returning without my signature H. R. 6810, "An act to prohibit intoxicating beverages, and to regulate the manufacture, production, use, and sale of high-proof spirits for other than beverage purposes, and to insure an ample supply of alcohol and promote its use in scientific research and in the development of fuel, dye, and other lawful industries."

The subject matter treated in this measure deals with two distinct phases of the prohibition legislation. One part of the act under consideration seeks to enforce war-time prohibition. The other provides for the enforcement which was made necessary by the adoption of the constitutional amendment. I object to and can not approve that part of this legislation with reference to war-time prohibition. It has to do with the enforcement of an act which was passed by reason of the emergencies of the war and whose objects have been satisfied in the demobilization of the Army and Navy, and whose repeal I have already sought at the hands of Congress. Where the purposes of particular legislation arising out of war emergency have been satisfied, sound public policy makes clear the reason and necessity for repeal.

It will not be difficult for Congress in considering this important matter to separate these two questions and effectively to legislate regarding them, making the proper distinction between temporary causes which arose out of war-time emergencies and those like the constitutional amendment of prohibition which is now part of the fundamental law of the country. In all matters having to do with the personal habits and customs of large numbers of our people we must be certain that the established processes of legal change are followed. In no other way can the salutary object sought to be accomplished by great reforms of this character be made satisfactory and permanent.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, October 27, 1919.