

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. LEA: A bill (H. R. 10752) to authorize Federal cooperation in the acquisition of the Muir Wood Toll Road, located in Marin County, State of California, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. WILCOX: A bill (H. R. 10753) to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, and acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LAMBETH: A bill (H. R. 10754) to amend certain sections of the act entitled "An act providing for the public printing and binding and the distribution of public documents," approved January 12, 1895, as amended; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. COCHRAN: A bill (H. R. 10755) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to make and carry out agreements of indemnity to banks paying him moneys to cover checks or drafts issued by such banks payable to the United States or an agency or officer thereof which have been or may be lost or destroyed; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. HILL: A bill (H. R. 10756) to provide for the installation of an automatic machine for recording and counting votes in the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. PETERSON of Florida: A bill (H. R. 10757) authorizing the construction and equipment of a marine hospital in the State of Florida; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BOLAND of Pennsylvania: Resolution (H. Res. 507) requesting information relating to railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WILCOX: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 698) to permit the transportation of freight by foreign-owned vessels between the port of Fort Pierce, Fla., and the ports of Portland, Oreg., and Seattle, Wash.; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CHURCH: A bill (H. R. 10758) for the relief of Herbert Wenzel; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GINGERY: A bill (H. R. 10759) granting a pension to Maude E. Boyden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAINES: A bill (H. R. 10760) for the relief of Martha G. and Arnold E. Orner, Sally C. Guise, and the estate and minor children of Dale W. and Gladys M. Guise; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 10761) granting an increase of pension to Isabel Gammon; to the Committee on invalid pensions.

By Mr. SACKS: A bill (H. R. 10762) for the relief of Ciro Maglione; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

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

5236. By Mr. DEROUEN: Petition of the Louisiana Public Welfare Association, State of Louisiana, petitioning and urging the Congress of the United States to amend the Social Security Act by providing financial participation by the Social Security Board of an amount equal to 50 percent of the funds granted by States for assistance to dependent children, and to the sick, the infirm, and those otherwise physically or mentally handicapped between the ages of 16 and 64; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

5237. By Mr. KENNEDY of New York: Petition of the Women's City Club, New York City, urging enactment of the wage-hour bill; to the Committee on Labor.

5238. Also, petition of the Transport Workers Union of Greater New York, N. Y., urging enactment of the wage-hour bill; to the Committee on Labor.

## SENATE

THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1938

(Legislative day of Wednesday, April 20, 1938)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

## THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Wednesday May 25, 1938, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

## MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States, submitting nominations, were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1225) to provide for insanity proceedings in the District of Columbia.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to each of the following bills of the House:

H. R. 6869. An act to regulate the occupation and practices of cosmetology, to create a District of Columbia Board of Cosmetology for the examination and licensing of persons to carry on or to teach such practices, to insure the better education of such practitioners, to provide rules regulating the proper conduct and sanitation of cosmetological establishments and schools, for the protection of the public health, and to provide penalties for violation thereof; and

H. R. 7085. An act to regulate barbers in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolutions, in which it requested the Senate:

H. R. 5696. An act to provide for the retirement of certain members of the police and fire departments of the District of Columbia, the United States Park Police force, and the White House Police force;

H. R. 7710. An act to provide shorter hours of duty for members of the fire department of the District of Columbia;

H. R. 7982. An act to regulate the manufacturing, dispensing, selling, and possession of narcotic drugs in the District of Columbia;

H. R. 9468. An act to amend the act of May 13, 1936, providing for terms of the United States district court at Wilkes-Barre, Pa.;

H. R. 9475. An act to create a commission to procure a design for a flag for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H. R. 9844. An act providing for the zoning of the District of Columbia and the regulation of the location, height, bulk, and uses of buildings and other structures and of the uses of land in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H. R. 9873. An act to protect trade-mark owners, producers, distributors, and the general public against injurious and uneconomic practices in the distribution of competitive commodities bearing a distinguishing trade-mark, brand, or name through the use of voluntary contracts establishing minimum resale prices and providing for refusal to sell unless such minimum resale prices are observed;

H. R. 10642. An act to amend an act entitled "District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Act," approved June 12, 1934, and for other purposes;

H. R. 10643. An act to amend the act of August 9, 1935 (Public, No. 259, 74th Cong., 1st sess.);

H. R. 10673. An act to exempt the property of the Young Women's Christian Association in the District of Columbia from national and municipal taxation;

H. J. Res. 672. Joint resolution for the designation of a street to be known as "Oregon Avenue," and for other purposes;

H. J. Res. 687. Joint resolution to amend title VI of the District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1937; and

H. J. Res. 693. Joint resolution making an appropriation to aid in defraying expenses of the observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

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

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Dieterich	King	Pepper
Andrews	Donahay	La Follette	Pittman
Austin	Duffy	Lee	Pope
Bankhead	Ellender	Lewis	Radcliffe
Barkley	Frazier	Lodge	Russell
Berry	George	Logan	Schwartz
Bilbo	Gerry	Loneragan	Schwellenbach
Bone	Gibson	Lundeen	Sheppard
Borah	Gillette	McAdoo	Shipstead
Brown, Mich.	Glass	McCarran	Smathers
Brown, N. H.	Green	McGill	Smith
Bulkley	Guffey	McKellar	Thomas, Utah
Bulow	Hale	McNary	Townsend
Burke	Harrison	Maloney	Truman
Byrd	Hatch	Miller	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Hayden	Milton	Van Nuys
Capper	Herring	Minton	Wagner
Caraway	Hill	Murray	Walsh
Chavez	Hitchcock	Neely	Wheeler
Clark	Holt	Norris	White
Connally	Hughes	Nye	
Copeland	Johnson, Calif.	O'Mahoney	
Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Overton	

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. REAMES] are detained from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BAILEY] is unavoidably detained.

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] are detained on important public business.

I ask that this announcement stand of record for the day.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce that the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] is absent because of the death of his wife.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-nine Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

#### INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION OF PARIS, 1937

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, a detailed statement of expenditures, together with other reports, concerning the participation of the Government of the United States in the International Exposition held in Paris, France, from May 24, 1937, through November 25, 1937, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the memorial of Emma R. Frye, of Queens Village, N. Y., remonstrating against the enactment of the President's proposed recovery program, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by York Local No. 777 of the North Dakota Farmers Union, Leeds, N. Dak., protesting against the enactment of House bill 9604, the so-called May industrial mobilization bill, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a resolution recently adopted by the Democratic State convention of South Carolina, favoring amendment of section 313, paragraph (a) of the so-called Farm Act, so that if amended the provision referred to would read as follows: "Provided, however, That to prevent in any case too sudden reduction in acreage of tobacco production on any farm, the marketing quota for flue-cured tobacco for any farm shall not be reduced to a point less than 75 percent of the 1937 production on any farm or in any State," which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. WALSH presented a petition of sundry citizens, being employees of the Springfield, Mass., post office, praying for the enactment of legislation to improve the working conditions of substitute postal employees, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

#### HOUSE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were severally read twice by their titles and referred, or ordered to be placed on the calendar, as indicated below:

H. R. 9475. An act to create a commission to procure a design for a flag for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H. R. 10642. An act to amend an act entitled "District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Act," approved June 12, 1934, and for other purposes;

H. R. 10643. An act to amend the act of August 9, 1935 (Public, No. 259, 74th Cong., 1st sess.);

H. R. 10673. An act to exempt the property of the Young Women's Christian Association in the District of Columbia from national and municipal taxation; and

H. J. Res. 672. Joint resolution for the designation of a street to be known as "Oregon Avenue," and for other purposes; to the calendar.

H. R. 5696. An act to provide for the retirement of certain members of the police and fire departments of the District of Columbia, the United States Park Police force, and the White House Police force;

H. R. 7710. An act to provide shorter hours of duty for members of the fire department of the District of Columbia;

H. R. 7982. An act to regulate the manufacturing, dispensing, selling, and possession of narcotic drugs in the District of Columbia;

H. R. 9844. An act providing for the zoning of the District of Columbia and the regulation of the location, height, bulk, and uses of buildings and other structures and of the uses of land in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H. R. 9873. An act to protect trade-mark owners, producers, distributors, and the general public against injurious and uneconomic practices in the distribution of competitive commodities bearing a distinguishing trade-mark, brand, or name through the use of voluntary contracts establishing minimum resale prices and providing for refusal to sell unless such minimum resale prices are observed; and

H. J. Res. 687. Joint resolution to amend title VI of the District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1937; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 9468. An act to amend the act of May 13, 1936, providing for terms of the United States district court at Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. J. Res. 693. Joint resolution making an appropriation to aid in defraying expenses of the observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg; to the Committee on Appropriations.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. SHEPPARD, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 3517. A bill for the relief of David B. Monroe (Rept. No. 1906);

S. 4069. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to lend certain property to the reunion committee of the United Confederate Veterans to be used at their annual encampment

to be held at Columbia, S. C., from August 30 to September 2, 1938 (Rept. No. 1908); and

S. 4088. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to grant rights-of-way for highway purposes and necessary storm sewer and drainage ditches incident thereto upon and across Kelly Field, a military reservation in the State of Texas; to authorize an appropriation for construction of the road, storm sewer, drainage ditches, and necessary fence lines (Rept. No. 1907).

Mr. MCKELLAR, from the Committee on Appropriations, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 693) making an appropriation to aid in defraying expenses of the observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, reported it without amendment.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time and referred as follows:

By Mr. NEELY:

A bill (S. 4091) granting an increase of pension to Susan E. Watts; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. OVERTON and Mr. ELLENDER:

A bill (S. 4092) creating the Louisiana-Vicksburg Bridge Commission; defining the authority, power, and duties of said commission; and authorizing said commission and its successors and assigns to purchase, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Delta Point, La., and Vicksburg, Miss.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. BERRY:

A bill (S. 4093) to encourage the prospecting for and development of the mineral resources in the southeastern United States and to establish an assay office, testing laboratory, and experiment station at or near Knoxville, Knox County, Tenn.; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. McADOO:

A bill (S. 4094) granting an increase of pension to Minnie Wetmore Cole; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MCKELLAR:

A bill (S. 4095) to amend the National Housing Act, as amended, to provide loans for the acquisition of inexpensive homes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

#### STANDARDS OF WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR—AMENDMENT

Mr. OVERTON submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2475) to provide for the establishment of fair labor standards in employments in and affecting interstate commerce, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

#### CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION AT MILITARY POSTS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 4000) to authorize appropriations for construction and rehabilitation at military posts, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. NYE and Mr. FRAZIER, jointly, submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them to the bill (S. 4000) to authorize appropriations for construction and rehabilitation at military posts, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

#### RELIEF AND WORK-RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. BONE, Mr. LUNDEEN, and Mr. SMITH each submitted an amendment and Mr. BILBO submitted amendments intended to be proposed by them, respectively, to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 679) making appropriations for work relief, relief, and otherwise to increase employment by providing loans and grants for public-works projects, which were severally ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. GUFFEY and Mr. MURRAY, jointly, submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 679) making appropriations for work relief, relief, and otherwise to increase employment by providing loans and grants for public-works projects, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

#### UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed, with illustrations, as a Senate document, a factual statement prepared at my request, as chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, by the Bureau of Navigation of the United States Navy Department, containing information as to the history, entrance requirements, the curriculum, athletics, after-graduation service of midshipmen, and other facts about the United States Naval Academy located at Annapolis, Md.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the statement will be printed as requested.

#### ADDRESS BY JAMES A. FARLEY BEFORE COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CHICAGO

[Mr. LEWIS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Hon. James A. Farley before the Commonwealth Club of Chicago on Monday, May 23, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN YOUTH—ADDRESS BY JOHN HAMILTON

[Mr. CAPPER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the subject of the Future of American Youth, delivered by John Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee, before the Young Republican convention of Colorado, at Pueblo, Colo., on Saturday, May 21, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### PIONEERING IN HONESTY—ADDRESS BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

[Mr. McADOO asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, at the commencement exercises, Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee, Okla., May 23, 1938, on the subject Pioneering in Honesty, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### RELIEF AND WORK-RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 679) making appropriations for work relief, relief, and otherwise to increase employment by providing loans and grants for public-works projects.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I desire to offer to the pending joint resolution an amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. MALONEY to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 679) making appropriations for work relief, relief, and otherwise to increase employment by providing loans and grants for public-works projects, viz:

On page 21, beginning with line 2, strike out through line 5, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "and no funds appropriated under this title shall be allotted for any project of the character described in clause (2) or (3) of subsection (a) of this section which will compete with any privately owned or operated public utility whose rates are subject to public regulation on the date of enactment of this joint resolution (1) until such public utility has been notified by the Administrator that a competing project of such character is proposed to be financed with such funds, and (2) until such public utility (A) has rejected, or has failed to accept within 30 days after it is made, a bona fide offer by a public agency, or by or on behalf of the United States, to purchase the property of such public utility at a price fixed by a board of arbitration appointed as hereinafter provided, or (B) has failed to appoint within the time specified a member of the board to be created for the purpose of fixing such price: *Provided*, That the board of arbitration in each such case shall consist of three members, of whom one shall be appointed by the public utility, one by the public agency which is to construct such competing project or to which such project is to be leased, and one by the two members so appointed, and all such appointments shall be made within 30 days after the notification by the Administrator to the public utility as provided in clause (1) of this subsection: *Provided further*, That if the members of any such board appointed by the public utility and the public agency are unable to agree upon the third member of the board within such 30-day period, then the Governor of the State in which the competing project is proposed to be located shall, within 10 days after the expiration of such period, appoint a third member of such board: *Provided further*, That the price fixed by the board for the property of the public utility in any such case shall be fair and reasonable, shall be agreed upon by at least two members of the board, and shall be fixed within 60 days after the third member of the board is

appointed: *Provided further*, That in any case in which the Governor of any such State fails to appoint a third member of a board of arbitration within the time specified for such appointment by him, and in any case in which any such board fails to fix the price for the property of the public utility within the time specified therefor, funds appropriated under this title may be allotted for the competing project."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the agreement of the Senate, committee amendments to the joint resolution will be first considered. The first committee amendment has been stated. The amendment of the Senator from Connecticut will be printed and lie on the table for consideration at such time as he may desire to call it up.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I was about to make that request, and I do not intend to discuss the amendment at great length at this time; but I should like to discuss it for a few minutes, with the hope that I may attract the attention of the Members of the Senate to the proposal.

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

Mr. MALONEY. I yield.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I did not hear the first part of the Senator's amendment. Is it a proposed substitute for the committee amendment?

Mr. MALONEY. I am going briefly to explain that phase of the matter.

Mr. President, this amendment deals with a part of the relief joint resolution which is being much discussed and is receiving considerable attention on the part of the public. I had been informed—and the information came to me by way of the press—that the committee amendment appearing on page 21 of the joint resolution had what is known as administration approval. By way of the press I later learned that there was a probability that the majority leader, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], would offer an amendment in connection with this particular part of the joint resolution. I had hoped that at that time I might make an effort to perfect the amendment which I understood was to be offered by the majority leader. Again, still later, I learned from the press that the so-called committee amendment and the other amendment to which I have referred had been abandoned. So the proposal I offer today has been somewhat hurriedly prepared, and I discuss it now only in the hope that I may focus sufficient attention upon it to have the help of others in attempting to perfect it if the suggestion appears to be wise.

I do not know that I am in accord with the committee amendment, Mr. President, because the committee amendment provides that none of the money appropriated under the joint resolution shall be allotted to municipalities or political subdivisions desiring to acquire funds with which to build power projects which would compete with projects already in existence. Of course, I am opposed to building projects which would compete with existing power projects; but if the sovereign States of this country delegate to the municipalities within their borders the right to create and operate utility plants and take over existing plants, I think it fitting and proper that the Federal Government, which loans and grants money for other public projects, should loan and grant money for power projects.

If public ownership of utilities is on its way—and I have a feeling that it is to come—my amendment is intended only to provide for an orderly process of acquiring them. My amendment is intended to steer us away from confiscation, from chaos, from ruination and waste. If we are to have public ownership of utilities in this country, there is a right way and a fair way and an American way of bringing it about; and that way is to see that the stockholders in power companies, the persons who have risked their savings, many of them plain people, shall get a fair return and not be turned out in the cold.

I have found that it is not easy to write an amendment which would accomplish the object I have in mind; but my amendment provides for setting up a board of arbitration

of three members. It provides, first, that after an application for a loan is made, the Administrator shall serve notice on the utility in question that an application is under consideration, and that the utility shall appoint one member of a board of arbitration. It provides further that the municipality or the political subdivision or public agency shall appoint one member of the board of arbitration; and it next provides that these two persons shall appoint a third and final member of the board of arbitration.

That seems rather simple, Mr. President, but it might give an unfair advantage to the utility company if we should stop there, because it might refuse to appoint a member. So provision is made that if the utility company fails in that respect, it is in order for the Federal Government to make the allotment. The amendment further provides that if the members of the board of arbitration appointed by the public utility and the municipality or political subdivision or agency are unable to agree upon a third member, which failure to agree would cause delay and impossibility of action, the Governor of the State in which it is proposed to create the utility shall name the third member.

Further provision is made, in order that there shall be no delay, that the board of arbitration shall act within a very limited period of time. The amendment provides that if action becomes necessary, the Governor shall act within a very limited period of time. It further provides that if the Governor should fail in the responsibility delegated to him, the allotment may be made.

I think the amendment provides every possible protection for the municipality or the political subdivision or the public agency which wants to enter the public-utility field. I think it provides the necessary protection, in keeping with the solemn responsibility we have as Members of Congress, to protect the persons who have invested their money in public utilities.

Mr. President, this is a power age. There are some public-utility operators who believe that the way to success for private industry is through a sufficiently wide distribution to permit low-cost power. It seems to me that it does not make much difference whether we have public ownership or private ownership if the utility is fairly and properly operated. I believe in a wide distribution of power and in the assumption of a complete public service on the part of the utility. I believe that that is the economical way, and the way of cheap power. I have believed in rigid regulation, not only of power companies, but of industry whenever and wherever it appeared necessary for the common good. I voted for the original T. V. A. Act. I voted for the "death sentence" of the holding-company bill in 1935. I hold no brief for the power companies; but I know that the way to create chaos and uncertainty and confusion and waste is to confiscate these properties without fair and proper hearing and payment.

We have had much trouble with the railroads in late years; and, in my opinion, a large part of the reason for the trouble has been duplication which resulted in waste. Between Washington and New York, for one shining example, are parallel railroad systems, one of which is no more necessary than that I have two thumbs on one hand. Are we going to make the same mistake again with this great industry? Are we going in competition with existing plants—plants that were constructed by sweating men—to build publicly owned plants that will create waste through necessary abandonment of existing plants?

I do not think the Senate wants to take that step, Mr. President. I do not think we want to play a part in any abuse of power. As the proposal is made under this relief joint resolution that we shall loan money to municipalities for this purpose, I think we want to make certain that we shall protect the rights of persons who feel that they are oppressed, who feel that they are paying too much, that we shall give them their rights, that we shall let them have their own public-utility plants if that is their desire; but I think

we should also provide, in making that possible, rather than permitting them to enter into a wasteful competition, that they shall offer a fair price for properties which under the law they may acquire.

Because there is no opportunity to vote on this proposal now, I shall not take more of the time of the Senate this afternoon, but since this appears to me to be a matter of great magnitude, I felt that I should briefly explain the amendment and its purposes. If the occasion appears to warrant it, I shall take the liberty of taking a little more of the time of the Senate later on.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I desire to speak upon the provision in subparagraph (4), beginning with line 21, page 21, of the pending joint resolution, providing an appropriation for "projects for penal and correctional facilities under the Department of Justice, including the acquisition of land for sites therefor." This is a tremendously important appropriation, which, in my opinion, should have the approval of this body. Out of a small portion of this appropriation should come a regional jail for the Rocky Mountain area and for other areas not yet provided with housing for caring for short-term Federal prisoners.

The rate at which the Federal prison population is growing makes it imperative that additional facilities be provided for their care and treatment if serious social disturbances are to be corrected. There has been a continual growth in the number of Federal prisoners since 1925, with the exception of a short period immediately following the repeal of the Prohibition Act. Today there are 17,164 men and women in all of the Federal penal and correctional institutions, which have an aggregate normal capacity of only 13,743. Leavenworth Penitentiary, for example, has a normal capacity of 1,800, and a population of 2,975, which is almost 1,200 in excess of the number which can properly be accommodated. The result is that the prison officials have been required to resort to the unwholesome practice of "doubling up," or placing two prisoners in a single cell. They have also had to resort to using corridors, basements, and improvised dormitories for housing the constantly increasing number of Federal prisoners. Despite the fact that several new penal institutions have been constructed in the past few years, the population has continued to increase more rapidly than new facilities are being provided.

The population of all the Federal penitentiaries, reformatories, and jails under the Department of Justice is 953 in excess of the number of all Federal prisoners in the same week last year. In other words, in a single year the Federal prison population has increased sufficiently to fill one new institution. This increase does not necessarily represent, in my judgment, a growing lawlessness on the part of our citizens or a more active vigilance on the part of our enforcement officers, but it does indicate a shift in responsibility for law enforcement from the States to the central government. New criminal statutes enacted by Congress in the past 5 years have resulted in substantial additions to the population of Federal correctional institutions. Kidnaping, bank robbery, and drug addiction are now prosecuted almost exclusively in the Federal courts. Moreover, the enactment of such statutes as the Securities Exchange Act, the "hot oil" statutes, and the National Stolen Property Act has added considerably to the load of our Federal penal institutions.

The Congress has recognized the additional responsibilities which these acts throw upon governmental agencies by increasing the appropriations for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Alcohol Tax Unit, the Secret Service, and other enforcement agencies. Just the other day, for instance, we approved the conference report on the bill authorizing the appointment of 20 additional Federal judges. Everywhere provision has been made to care for this increasing load upon the Federal law-enforcement system without making corresponding additions to our prison facilities. I do not mean to say that our very able and hard-working Committee on Appropriations has not given careful consideration to the requests they have received from the Budget Bureau, but it does seem apparent that our prison system

has not been kept abreast of the widening jurisdiction of the Federal Government over criminal offenses. Therefore I am glad that the Congress now has the opportunity of voting funds for new prison facilities, together with the acquisition of the necessary land to provide modern housing and grounds for such a purpose.

As I have stated, I am particularly anxious that under the terms of this measure provision be made for correcting the highly unsatisfactory and deplorable conditions which exist with reference to the housing of short-term Federal offenders. Now the Department of Justice boards out in local institutions most of its prisoners who have sentences of less than a year. This has long been recognized as an unsatisfactory method of handling short-term Federal offenders. I know from first-hand experience that conditions in many of the county jails in this country are incredibly shocking. They are dirty, unsanitary, insecure, and graft-ridden to a degree which makes them veritable "hell holes" and active breeders of crime.

When Judge Joseph B. Hutchinson was elevated to the bench of the district court in Texas he felt that it was his duty to find out something about the jails to which he would be sending prisoners. So he did the unusual thing; he himself went on a tour of inspection in order to ascertain just what were the conditions in the jails.

Every judge should do that. I know that many of them are familiar with the penitentiaries and the jails to which they send men who come before the bar of justice. But all of them should know something in detail about the conditions of the jails. Otherwise the sentences they impose might mean far more than they intend. A year in a certain jail might mean something far different from the kind of a year with which the judge is familiar in his ordinary experience in life.

This is what Judge Hutchinson found when he went on a tour of inspection. I quote from a speech he made before the Attorney General's conference on crime in December 1934. He said:

It became then, my imperative duty to go into county jails and find out at first hand what kind of institutions they were, and what was implied in a sentence to the county jail beyond what the law in terms prescribed. I found there conditions which apparently taken for granted by those in charge of the jails, struck me as so medieval and barbarous, and so contrary to the ordinary principles of democracy and social justice that I was shocked beyond expression. It was not any direct and malevolent cruelty toward the inmates on the part of their custodians which I found so shocking, but the very conditions of the jailing. I found that men with lungs and hearts, nerves and brains like mine were penned up for months on end with hardly a single decent thing to do. They had no access to the open air, no opportunity for any kind of exercise except in the "bull pens" and run-arounds inside of dark walls. No provision was made for their worth-while occupation or their improvement, no segregation of prisoners was attempted, no processes of restoration begun. The convicted and the unconvicted, the beginner and the hardened were condemned to a congregate life necessarily degrading.

I was amazed at the heart-breaking, morale-destroying indifference of society in permitting the maintenance of the system I saw in force. Shiftless, sloppy, antisocial, it rapidly destroyed those it had taken captive if they stayed any time there. I do not need to extend these strictures.

In America approximately 1,000,000 men and women annually get into jail. Sixty percent of these unfortunates may be classed as chronic social problems: alcoholics, vagrants, petty thieves, and other petty offenders. Thirty percent of this jail population await trial for some very serious infraction of our laws. The other 10 percent are serious short sentences for some misdemeanor—for nonsupport, traffic violations—and a certain number are not charged with crime at all, but are held as witnesses.

At the receiving door of the jail, society, if it were organized and equipped to do so, has a wonderful opportunity to deal effectively with most of the antisocial problems which make incarcerations necessary. Instead of grasping this opportunity and making the most of it, however, society too often permits the jail to become the open door to a life of crime. Many a weak character, charged with a minor infraction of the law, has found an unnatural but irresistible

influence in his first short-term jail sentence that has warped his whole life and made of him a costly liability to society for the balance of his days.

Americans have known these indisputable facts for years, but little has been done to correct the evils which are so obvious. If we should but meet this difficult problem squarely, the jail would cease to be the crime school for the criminal education of the delinquent and the weak, and could assume its proper function of curing and correcting the antisocial disease of criminal tendency at its first manifestation. Weak characters should be fortified, strengthened, and encouraged in their efforts to build up a resistance against error and not depressed and weakened by the very institutions which are supposed to have been erected to control crime. Such a ridiculous policy is just as silly as to maintain a filthy hospital fairly creeping with vermin and disease in which to nurse the sick. Society will not promote a cure in that kind of a hospital nor crime prevention in that kind of a jail.

I want to take this opportunity to pay Attorney General Cummings a much-deserved tribute for his deep interest in the jail phase of crime prevention and crime control. General Cummings realizes the importance of the jail in the crime problem. The encouragement, cooperation, and helpfulness that he is giving to Mr. James V. Bennett, Director, Bureau of Prisons, an enthusiastic public servant, is really getting results. Congress should respond to their good efforts and save the country money by wisely spending money in jail improvement.

Recently Attorney General Cummings published a very enlightening article in Liberty magazine, entitled "The Scandal of Our Jails." I should like to quote from it at this point:

Most of us, who try to live in such a manner that we won't go to jail, know little about what jails are like, and less about what they are for. If we think about them at all, we associate them exclusively with crime punishment. We never think of them either as instruments to crime prevention or as obstacles to that goal.

Perhaps the worst blot on the American penal picture is the county jail. And yet the average citizen knows nothing about this institution in his midst.

Senators may think that a county jail does not affect the Federal Government, but I want them to bear in mind that the Federal Government uses county jails in which to place its prisoners at so much per day, on a per diem basis, and the condition of these jails does become the responsibility of the Federal Government.

I continue to quote from Attorney General Cummings:

In the United States there are over 3,000 county jails, each one operating independently and for the most part under the jurisdiction of officials elected without consideration as to their qualifications or experience in prison work. In many instances these officials have numerous other remunerative interests and responsibilities and give little of their time to management and control of the jail. They have no qualms about delegating authority to the lowest bidder in the community, who acts more or less as a janitor, with the result that the actual management of the jail is left to the prisoners. In fact, Federal inspectors have been met at the doors of some jails by prisoners who had the keys, and apparently full control.

None of us like to read about horrors—at least, when they are real horrors, for which unconsciously we may be somewhat to blame—so I will be brief; but the reports of our investigators on the sanitary and moral conditions in large numbers of our local jails reveal a state of things which could scarcely have been tolerated in the dungeons of the Dark Ages.

No attempt is made in these offending institutions to separate male criminals from female criminals, adult criminals from youthful ones, or even to segregate prisoners with contagious diseases. Immorality of the grossest sort rages unchecked. Cells are vermin-infested. Fire hazards are ignored.

It might be assumed that local boards of health would be responsible for checking the cleanliness and sanitation of these local institutions; but our investigation showed that 2,204 out of about 3,000 county jails were never visited or inspected by local boards of health or other sanitary organizations. The following is quoted from an inspector's report:

"The sewage system has been out of commission for some time. The septic tank overflows not far from the jail kitchen, causing bad odors and great menace to health; also, causing most of the sanitary facilities to be stopped up. Since the windows have neither heavy screens nor fly screens, great swarms of flies today were seen all over the food which the prisoners were eating, and they had direct access to this awful cesspool.

Mr. President, in the last few months the people of my State of Colorado have had brought home to them in a striking manner the situation prevailing in our own county jail at Denver. About the middle of last March a 16-year-old boy by the name of George Coover was brutally murdered while confined in the county jail in Denver because he refused to submit to indignities or was unable to comply with the orders of a "kangaroo court" which was permitted to operate in that jail. In this jail the most vicious and brutal prisoners were permitted to band themselves into a mock court, and the entire management of the jail was apparently turned over to them. They fined men for breaking into the jail; they required those who could not comply with the orders of the court to perform the most menial and distasteful tasks; and they exacted acts which were revolting beyond description of those not in the favor of the "kangaroo court." Because young Coover did not comply with the orders of the "prison tier sheriff," as he is called, he was brutally and repeatedly beaten until he died. Young Coover, in America, in 1938, was sacrificed to a vicious system of degeneracy and cruelty not surpassed in dungeons of the Dark Ages nor by the traditional wicked people of Sodom and Gomorrah.

In fairness, it should be recorded here that the people of Colorado were greatly aroused and horrified over this situation in their local jail, brought out in the open by this tragic incident, and are taking action as best they can to remedy conditions.

Our Federal courts in the State of Colorado day after day are imposing sentences upon persons convicted in their courts and sending them to jails of the kind just described. But the Federal Government itself should not be dependent on the bad or indifferent local jails, usually operated on the fee system, and should be able to provide its own facilities for housing its prisoners.

We cannot escape the responsibility. We cannot blame the communities. We cannot say, "Well, that is Denver's problem," because it is not Denver's problem. It is our problem, since we have prisoners in jails of that kind.

The Federal Government should not have to take anything the local authorities are willing to grant. This whole question was studied by a special committee of the House of Representatives in 1929, and they reported that in their judgment the only remedy was for the Government to construct its own detention farms in strategic centers of population. It was their feeling that if the Government showed the States that it might be possible to centralize detention facilities the States would follow their example and require the elimination of social cesspools.

Some progress has been made in this particular, and the Federal Government has constructed about five regional jails. One of them is located in the Detroit area, one near Minneapolis, one near Los Angeles, one on the Mexican border, and one in northern Florida. The Rocky Mountain area, however, has not yet been provided with one of these institutions, and I believe a detention farm should be constructed out of a small part of the funds provided in this bill to serve the Federal Government in that region. Operating costs would be no greater than what is now being paid for the support of these same prisoners in local institutions under the most unsatisfactory conditions. I feel quite certain that the public would be afforded a much greater amount of protection if the Government would take some steps in the direction I have suggested. Incidentally, such an institution would help to reduce the overcrowding in some of the larger prisons by making it possible to remove those prisoners who could safely be trusted in an institution of the type suggested.

If this provision of the joint resolution finally is agreed to, a splendid location can be selected by the Department of

Justice in some State in the Rocky Mountain area which will measure up to all of the requirements of the Administrator of Public Works and the Director of the United States Bureau of Prisons.

Let me say in summary that out of this fund adequate provision should be made to take care of the overcrowding existing in our penal institutions and a reasonable provision made for future needs. Moreover, from \$5,000,000 to \$8,000,000 ought to be allotted for additional Federal detention farms to care for short-term Federal offenders in such parts of the country, including the Rocky Mountain area, as have not yet been provided with these facilities. Let us have some practical prison reform by cleaning up these local jails and "hoosegows" through which nearly a million men and women pass every year.

Attorney General Cummings in one of his addresses on this question pointed out that in the million men and women who enter our jails each year we have that group of people which is causing most of the trouble to our courts of justice; that we have them segregated; that we have them in a position where we can do something with them; that we have them separated from the other folks of the community. We have a wonderful opportunity, if we were only alive to it, to minister to these people, because after all they are abnormal persons. There is something wrong with them, and they might respond to treatment. Dealing with them is a practical way to prevent crime and stop the spread of lawlessness, which will conserve both the human element and the taxpayers' money.

I wish to say in conclusion that oftentimes we look upon the appropriations in such bills as the lending and spending bill as a waste of funds. I cannot see it in that light at all. When we buy better jails we are buying with that money something we need badly. I am sure that every dollar that is put into the cause which I have brought before the Senate today will not be wasted, but will bring great returns—perhaps one hundredfold. It is difficult to estimate the returns we receive from dollars so expended. So when we buy with public funds things that the country needs we are not wasting the funds at all; we are conserving them.

Mr. DAVIS obtained the floor.

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

Mr. DAVIS. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know how much time the Senator from Pennsylvania proposes to occupy, and I do not wish to cut him off, but this is the fourth day the joint resolution has been under consideration, and we have not even reached the first amendment. Much discussion has been indulged in, a large portion of which, it seems to me, has had no relation to the joint resolution. It seems to me that the discussion relevant to the joint resolution might take place when the amendments are under consideration.

I do not want to interrupt the Senator from Pennsylvania; but I do express the very earnest hope that we may at once proceed to consider the amendments to the joint resolution, and take them up in order, so that we may make some progress. This is the fourth day the joint resolution has been under consideration, and we have not made any progress. I hope Senators will cooperate and try to make some progress. Everyone is talking about adjournment and is desirous of adjourning; but Congress cannot adjourn until certain legislation is completed, and the joint resolution is one of the measures without the passage of which we ought not to consider adjourning.

I hope Senators will cooperate in an effort to make progress in the consideration of the joint resolution. I do not wish my statement to be interpreted as any reflection on the Senator from Pennsylvania, or any desire to cut him off from speaking, but I hope he and others will help us make some progress with the joint resolution.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I assure the Senator from Kentucky that I shall gladly join him at any time in obtaining a vote on the joint resolution. However, I have been trying

for 2 days to obtain the floor to express briefly some views on the pending measure. My duties as a member of the joint committee appointed to investigate the Tennessee Valley Authority necessitate my absence from the Chamber in the afternoon, and I am rising to speak now because the committee reconvenes at half past 1. I shall take but 15 or 20 minutes' time to speak on the joint resolution.

Mr. President, I have maintained from the beginning of the Government's vast spending program in 1933 that it would fail to produce sound economic results if it were not accompanied by measures which would encourage business and stimulate private enterprise. I do not begrudge a single dollar which the Government has spent to provide food, shelter, and clothing for the unemployed. I know that thousands of needy citizens would have been utterly deprived of the necessities of life had it not been for this program. I have consistently voted for it. I expect to continue to support it, but I wish to make my position clear.

In my judgment, the people of the country do not object to taxes in order to pay relief and work-relief bills. The American people are fair-minded and charitable. They wish to help their neighbors in distress. However, they are thoroughly alert to the dangers of the present situation. They are acquainted with the many discouragements which have handicapped business in recent years, and they know that the centralization of work-relief administration leads to unbridled opportunities for political profiteering.

I am not trying for one moment to indicate that the local administration of relief would entirely remove it from politics. Neither do I claim that the administration of relief by the Republican Party, rather than the party now in power, would remove politics from relief. I do contend, however, that we cannot indefinitely continue along the road we have been traveling in recent years without complete economic collapse, and that it is time for us to mend our ways now, before it is too late.

It is impossible for the Government to put out \$20,000,000,000, irrespective of the party in power, without giving rise to some political abuses. I think administration leaders should frankly admit this fact. Unfortunately, they have not done so. On the other hand, they take every opportunity to gloss over the difficulties. This is, indeed, the very root of our problem. There has been a dangerous disinclination to face our economic problems in a fair and nonpartisan way. There is no place in economic and social legislation for extreme partisanship. In speaking on this measure, I do not speak as a partisan.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, a statement of opinion presented to me by a notable group of women leaders from Pittsburgh.

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

REPORT OF OPINION OF DELEGATION FROM PITTSBURGH, ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PA., REGARDING PUMP-PRIMING BILL

The delegation present this morning representing many types of organizations of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, Pa., have come to express our personal opinion of certain provisions of the pump-priming bill. This bill, introduced into the House of Representatives May 9, 1938, appropriating over \$3,000,000,000 for relief and pump priming provides for the administration of this vast sum by the Chief Executive of the United States. Since the passage of this bill in the House on May 12, we have interested our community in an amendment which we desire to call to your attention this morning. We do not object to the pump-priming bill, but we wish to register our disapproval of the method of administering this sum of money.

We admit two points very definitely. The country is in great need of immediate relief to the men and families unemployed at the present time. It has been estimated that 13,000,000 of American people belong to that class. We are fearful that the Nation is drifting slowly but steadily into financial collapse. To meet the relief problem means the expenditure of vast sums of money, but to prevent the occurrence of this collapse means the most careful and economic administration of public funds. We also admit that this relief problem is of national scope, but this national scope refers only to the area of the Nation. Therefore, we believe that the condition of the country justifies a bill for

the expenditure of money for the welfare of those unable to secure employment.

We believe the fundamental weakness of the bill in its present form is the centralization of the power of administration of the funds in the hands of the Chief Executive. To take this power of administration from the local municipalities and States is basically wrong. The problem of the poor and unemployed is not a new problem. We are not faced with something that is unknown in history. For centuries this problem has been present in all organized society. A long-established principle for the handling of relief both in England and in America is that it is peculiarly a function of local government. The problem is Nation-wide in area, but it can be solved only by local units of administration.

A historical example of the results of a whole nation unit of administration of relief is that of the Roman Empire. Vast sums of money were administered by the ruler of that great empire, providing free sustenance and entertainment for the inhabitants of Rome and other large cities. This has been cited as one of the fundamental reasons for the downfall of the Roman Empire.

We believe that the administration of this relief money should be in the hands of local commissions. These commissions should represent the finest citizens of each municipality. The personnel of these commissions should be nonpartisan. And the most fundamental requirement should be that they serve without pay. Unpaid commissions have proven their value in the past, and at this great crisis of our Government can prove effective again. The conclusions may be drawn that unpaid commissions will not work. Two excellent examples might be cited. In England justices of the peace, whose duties are of far greater scope than the persons of that title in the United States, serve effectively without pay. During the crisis of the World War the local draft boards in the United States served in each municipality without pay. No one can deny the effectiveness of their work.

We, therefore, propose that an amendment be added to the pump-priming bill relieving the President or Chief Executive of the power of administration of these several billions of dollars for relief, and to provide for the administration of this fund through local, nonpartisan, unpaid commissions, composed of representative citizens of each municipality. We recommend this amendment because we believe most firmly that administration of this fund locally will prevent any political patronage, will save millions of dollars for administration, will be carefully allotted to those in each community who need funds for the necessities of life, and will save the taxpayers millions of dollars. We express our interest in this proposed amendment not only for our own sakes as taxpayers but because we realize that already the lives of our children have been mortgaged by debt created during these past two depressions beyond their ability to pay.

Mrs. Arnold M. Replogle, president of the National Legislative Council on State Government; Mrs. H. W. Adams, member of the board of the Legislative Health Council, executive committee member of the Maternal Health Center, member of the Legislative Council; Mrs. J. E. Baldrige, active in D. A. R.; Mrs. W. Z. Burns; Mrs. T. C. Cheeseman, Federation of Clubs, Board of Girl Scouts of Allegheny County; Mrs. S. J. Corbett, president of the Outlook Alliance, honorary lifetime president of Bellevue Womans Club; Mrs. Carl S. Coler; Mrs. Samuel D. Ewart, president of the College Club; Mrs. Stephen Goodale, member of the board of the College Club and past president; Mrs. Eva Holliday, Dormont Women's Club; Mrs. Vernon L. Hubbard; Mrs. Frank Johnson, member of Federation of Clubs; Mrs. Florine Koegler, Women's City Club of Pittsburgh; Mrs. William B. McFall, president of Fortnightly Review, Mount Lebanon Women's Club, Federation of Clubs; Mrs. D. Edwin Miller, head of Women's Auxiliary of the Salvation Army, president of Allegheny County Scholarship Association; Mrs. John M. Phillips, past president of the Federation of Women's Clubs of Pennsylvania; Mrs. John Charles Runk, Federation of Women's Clubs of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Thomas J. Tyndall, very active in Parent-Teachers Association, Federation of Clubs of Pennsylvania, Woman's Club of Duquesne; Mrs. T. D. Yensen, active in Forest Hills club work; Mrs. John W. Rehling, deputy commissioner of Girls Scouts of Allegheny County, first vice president of Women's Club of Pittsburgh.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, in my judgment, this petition represents the desire of our citizens to approach unemployment and relief problems in a fair-minded and responsible way. These women represent a large number of other practical and helpful American women who would be willing to serve on nonpartisan relief boards in every community throughout the Nation without a dollar's compensation. They would be willing to work faithfully; and no one can deny their fine abilities. These women are animated by the true American spirit. They come to the Government offering their splendid services as volunteers. This is the spirit which has led this country to victory and glorious achievement in the work of the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the

Community Chests, and the Committee for the Mobilization of Human Needs.

If our Government at this critical time in our national history refuses to accept the offer of citizens, both men and women, who now come forward as volunteers, the administration will have something for which to answer which it will never be able adequately to explain. What these noble women from Pittsburgh are now ready and willing to do, men and women all over the country in every district, county, and community likewise want to do. The acceptance and utilization of their services will help to remove politics from relief and will provide a great saving for the Government. More funds can be made directly available to the needy and the way can be gradually paved for the restoration of relief and work relief to State and local administration.

Mr. President, I am not asking for any abrupt change. I am not denying the need for work-relief funds. I am asking something which I believe to be thoroughly reasonable and practicable. I ask that nonpartisan boards of volunteer workers be instituted throughout the country, in every State, city, and county, so that the cost of administering work relief may be diminished and more money may be made available at once to those who are in distress.

I have made crystal clear, by my consistent vote for relief, work relief, and public works, that I look upon these problems in a thoroughly nonpartisan way. I ask that those who administer these funds practice the same consideration in behalf of national needs. In my judgment, the administration could not now do anything which would be more helpful to the country as a whole than to give leadership to our people in giving American business and free enterprise encouragement and fair play. Since 1933 I have witnessed attack after attack upon business made by various leaders of the administration. Business has come to believe that the administration is opposed to the making of a fair profit. If this be true, it is indeed a situation which will finally lead to national disaster. The fact that business generally believes this to be true is now holding back the course of economic recovery. In appreciation of this difficulty, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor has made a most timely declaration.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, the official text of the statement issued by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor on May 4.

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

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor regards the present moment as most opportune and timely for a declaration of its basic aims and objectives.

Unemployment can only be overcome through the creation of work opportunities for working men and women in private industry. This is the real remedy for unemployment. The time has arrived when, through cooperation, understanding, and a proper regard for the rights of all employers and employees, industry and labor should get together and seek to find a way by which this real remedy for idleness can be applied.

The American Federation of Labor is committed to the principle of private ownership, private initiative, and the protection of private property. The right to own and manage property must be conceded and safeguarded.

Working people must be accorded the right to organize and bargain collectively. The highest wages which industry can afford should be paid, and a fair return upon legitimate investments to those who own private property must be freely conceded.

Labor and capital can cooperate, develop efficiency, and production through labor organizations developed by the workers and through the organization of industry, as developed by industrial management.

Through the establishment of contractual relationships, industrial peace can be promoted and industrial production stabilized. Contracts entered into between organized labor and industrial management must be regarded as sacred obligations. They must be religiously observed.

The principle of industrial democracy through which labor and management may solve their common economic problems should be recognized and applied in all industrial relationships.

Organizations of labor should be governed by democratic policies, rules, and procedure. This is the American way. It is in conformity with modern requirements and democratic principles.

Through the development of teamwork between industry and labor, many economic wrongs can be righted, many of industry's

legislative burdens can be remedied, and the maximum of service which industry and labor may render can be given the entire Nation.

Labor invites industry to discard the weapons of industrial warfare directed against labor by employers' associations both now and in days gone by. Let us all have a new vision of the changed attitude between labor and capital. It means the substitution of cooperation and understanding for industrial strife. All of this is easy of accomplishment, because all that is required is to respect and recognize the economic, legal, and industrial rights of both labor and capital.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, the American Federation of Labor has taken the first step in what I hope will be a movement for general appeasement in this country. I believe the administration could do nothing more helpful than to put its official stamp of approval upon this document, and to follow this chart in its future relations with American business.

I ask unanimous consent to have introduced in the RECORD at this point, as a part of my remarks, a few brief telegrams and a letter which I have received, indicating opposition to the so-called Boileau amendment. It is asserted that it would throw many men out of work, because the Government would be placed in direct competition with lime and limestone manufacturers.

There being no objection, the communications were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSHOHOCKEN, Pa., May 21, 1938.

Hon. J. J. DAVIS,

United States Senate:

Boileau amendment to House Joint Resolution 679 includes projects for the production of material for fertilizing soil for distribution to farmers. This would put the Government in direct competition with lime and limestone manufacturers and would in many and probably most cases ruin these manufacturers, also throwing many men out of work. We would appreciate your opposing this as forcefully as possible.

G. AND W. H. CORSON.

WHITEROCK QUARRIES,  
Bellefonte, Pa., May 19, 1938.

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR DAVIS: We hope that you will vote against the relief bill which provides for State production of fertilizing materials, for the reason that we feel this is a further attempt to put government into business. Furthermore, we doubt if the various States could produce fertilizing materials as cheaply as they are able to purchase them under existing economic conditions.

I understand that the bill in question is House Joint Resolution 679, and we hope that you will give this measure your very careful consideration, in which event we believe that you will oppose it.

Respectfully yours,

RAY C. NOLL.

HILLSVILLE, Pa., May 20, 1938.

Senator JAMES DAVIS,

Senate Building, Washington, D. C.:

House Joint Resolution No. 679 provides for the building and operating of agricultural liming plant with moneys from Federal relief bill. Please vote "no" on this bill when it comes up for passage in the Senate. The production, sale, and distribution of agricultural limestone products is a very competitive commodity and is widely distributed over the State wherever suitable deposits of limestone occur. The building and operating of additional plants by the Government cannot be of as much benefit to the farmer as the present money allowance given him on the limestone products he buys. The capacity of plants privately owned is at least three times greater than the demand. The building of more plants can only result in curtailed output of present established producers and cause further unemployment to their workmen, which now have only 2 and 3 days per week. We beg you, in the interest of employees, truckers, distributors, and taxpaying establishments, to vote "no" on this resolution.

Respectfully yours,

F. O. EARNSHAW,  
President, Carbon Limestone Co.

NEWCASTLE, Pa., May 19, 1938.

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We are opposed to the Boileau amendment in House Joint Resolution 679, lines 24 and 25 of page 2, lines 1 and 2 of page 3. Wherever limestone is produced in Pennsylvania there are plants producing agricultural lime, which is entirely a seasonable business, so further governmental competition would not help the unemployment situation. We strongly urge you to recommend through the appropriations committee that this amendment be stricken out of the relief bill.

UNION LIMESTONE CO.

NEWCASTLE, Pa., May 19, 1938.

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

We wish to voice our opposition to amendment of relief bill as offered by Congressman BOILEAU, of Wisconsin, and accepted by the House, and identified as House Joint Resolution 679, lines 24 and 25, page 2, and lines 1 and 2 of page 3.

Would be injurious to established industry. Wherever limestone is found in Pennsylvania plants are in operation producing agricultural lime.

Being a seasonable product, would not be an aid to unemployment, and only tends to further aggravate governmental competition. We urge you to protest the acceptance of this particular amendment.

NEWCASTLE LIME & STONE CO.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I am unwilling to support at the present time any measure which will give occasion for increased unemployment. I believe Government policy should now be to encourage business institutions already at work, rather than to attempt Government-financed projects which may compete unfairly with them. Private enterprise is having a desperate struggle to survive. It needs fair treatment and encouragement from the Government rather than punitive measures and unfair competition.

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

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

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Dieterich	King	Pepper
Andrews	Donahey	La Follette	Pittman
Austin	Duffy	Lee	Pope
Bankhead	Ellender	Lewis	Radcliffe
Barkley	Frazier	Lodge	Russell
Berry	George	Logan	Schwartz
Bilbo	Gerry	Loneragan	Schwellenbach
Bone	Gibson	Lundeen	Sheppard
Borah	Gillette	McAdoo	Shipstead
Brown, Mich.	Glass	McCarran	Smathers
Brown, N. H.	Green	McGill	Smith
Bulkley	Guffey	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Bulow	Hale	McNary	Thomas, Utah
Burke	Harrison	Maloney	Townsend
Byrd	Hatch	Miller	Truman
Byrnes	Hayden	Milton	Vandenberg
Capper	Herring	Minton	Van Nuys
Caraway	Hill	Murray	Wagner
Chavez	Hitchcock	Neely	Walsh
Clark	Holt	Norris	Wheeler
Connally	Hughes	Nye	White
Copeland	Johnson, Calif.	O'Mahoney	
Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Overton	

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

Mr. COPELAND obtained the floor.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York permit me to present one or two telegrams and brief observations in connection with them?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I read a telegram from William B. Taylor, of Detroit, Mich., the director of welfare for the United Automobile Workers' Union. In other words, this is a request and suggestion coming from labor itself with respect to the relief problem, and I think it is so typical of the contemplation which the country is calculated to confront in its larger cities during the next few months that it is worth emphasizing. I read the telegram from Mr. Taylor:

In order to prevent mass starvation in many communities in Michigan it is important that a portion of funds to be appropriated for W. P. A. be allocated for direct relief. Urge you use your influence in this direction.

Mr. President, here is the contemplation: The unemployment problem is constantly becoming more acute, and there is no prospect of a recession in the recession; as it becomes more acute, the relief problem in the larger cities proportionately becomes more acute. It is simply a physical impossibility to consider meeting the total problem in the larger cities on a work-relief basis. The work could not be made, to begin with, and it could not be paid for if it were made. The direct relief formula inescapably and unavoidably must be at the bottom of adequate relief facilities in communities such as Detroit and even in lesser industrial centers. What I am saying applies just as much to other sections of the country as it does to Michigan.

Mr. President, it seems to me that this emphasizes what I was trying to say last Monday. It seems to me that it is impossible much longer to subdivide relief and subdivide the relief challenge, undertaking to say that part of it, as respects employables, shall be handled by the Federal Government at Federal expense, and that the rest of it, as affects unemployables and such employables as cannot be employed by W. P. A., shall be handled by local authorities at local expense. As this telegram indicates, the problem is now multiplying to such an extent that funds for direct relief must be increased. Local resources are not equal to this necessity in many places. It seems to me that what I was undertaking to say on Monday, and the objectives which I set forth in the substitute which I have offered for title I, are almost inescapable as we proceed into the realities of our problems this summer and fall.

I submit that a given community—let us use Detroit as an example—should have an opportunity to allocate the sum total of its relief funds to its own problem in the fashion that its problem requires.

W. P. A. has been very generous with Detroit—still using Detroit as an example—there is no complaint in the world about the work-relief attitude that has been displayed up to date. But there cannot be a W. P. A. attitude toward this problem which meets it or which saves it from a dire and desperate crisis in the very near future.

The House relief joint resolution specifically declines the use of any Federal funds for direct relief; the Senate joint resolution sets aside \$50,000,000 for optional direct-relief purposes. The \$50,000,000, in my judgment, will not be a drop in the bucket compared to the necessities which will be confronted as this situation develops during the next few months.

I submit that this contemplation squarely sustains the theory of relief legislation which I was undertaking to present on Monday last, and which subsequently will come before the Senate for a vote when my substitute for title I is presented.

When the relief problem reaches such magnitude that it no longer can be met by W. P. A. assistance through provision of work relief, we have certainly come to a point where all our relief resources, as a whole, should be dedicated to the problem as a whole under one responsibility which undertakes to survey the problem as a whole.

That is just exactly contrary to the theory of the pending legislation. With the single exception of the one \$50,000,000 appropriation for direct relief, the pending legislation continues on the old theory that there is divided responsibility, continues the old discriminations which, as I indicated 2 days ago, result in paying one reliever \$53 a month, and another reliever \$22 a month, each citizen of equal rights, each confronting the same necessities, yet one enjoying what amounts to a special favor because he happens to fall within a classification which the Federal Government has adopted on the strength of its resources, while the other one is forced to a sub-subsistence basis because he is unfortunate enough to fall into the category which the Federal formula asserts must be solely and completely a local responsibility.

Mr. President, this telegram from Mr. Taylor, which is duplicated by numerous other telegrams from industrial areas, it seems to me presents the Senate with the unavoidable question whether the time is not already here when the relief problem must be confronted as a whole, and relief resources must be put at the disposal of States and local communities to be handled as a whole, under a single responsibility which can fit the resources to the local needs.

While I am on my feet I desire to present one other protest from the Detroit area, and again from labor sources. This time it is a letter from Mr. Frank X. Martel, the president of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor. I wish to read what Mr. Martel has to say:

It has been repeatedly announced by Gov. Frank Murphy and others that the national administration has given unlimited authorization to place everyone in Michigan to work that needs work, through the W. P. A. Up to the present time, with the exception of a favored few, the W. P. A. administrators in Michi-

gan have refused to accept for W. P. A. employment anyone except those who are first placed on welfare and then transferred to the W. P. A.

Many thousands of worthy citizens have battled for the past 6 or 8 years to keep off the welfare. They do not want the dole; they are trying to keep their names clear from having accepted charity; they want work and in this group will be found most of the skilled mechanics of this community who are now unemployed.

Louis J. Nims, State director of W. P. A., and his assistant, Max Barton, Wayne County director of W. P. A., have insisted on a policy of refusing to accept on W. P. A. for employment anyone unless they are first placed on relief. This has resulted in a discrimination against many thousands of decent citizens in this community. It has also resulted in placing on work as skilled mechanics men who are unfit by training for this work. It is depriving those trained through regular channels of an opportunity to work at their trade. It is training new men to take their place and it is depriving the people and merchants of this community of funds set up by the Federal Government for relief of unemployed while forcing the State and cities to carry on welfare some 70,000 people who could and should be transferred to W. P. A. and many thousands of men who want work on W. P. A. but can't get on without first taking the pauper's oath.

We ask—

This is the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor which poses the question—

We ask, Are you going to stand for this?

Are we going to stand for what? For a Federal regulation which insists that a victim of the depression cannot enjoy work relief aid via W. P. A. except as he approaches it through the public welfare, and has himself first been on direct relief.

I understand that that practice is universal. It virtually amounts to the requirement of a pauper's oath in order to approach work relief under W. P. A. I have never known the Senate or the House to approve the pauper's oath in any form related to this sort of legislation whenever that issue has arisen; yet here, in connection with the Federal contribution to relief, we virtually confront the situation—it is precisely this in net result—that a pauper's oath must precede a place upon W. P. A. The net result, of course, is directly and emphatically to discriminate against those, shall we say, thrifter citizens who have been endeavoring through the years, from their own scant resources, still to maintain themselves on the basis of their own equipment and purpose to take care of themselves.

That is another of the discriminations. I agree with Mr. Martel's letter that it is a perfectly insufferable discrimination, and it is a discrimination which ought not to be tolerated.

I want to continue Mr. Martel's letter:

We demand in the name of decency and fair treatment that the thousands of abandoned mechanics who are now being discriminated against by Nims and Barton be accorded a fair treatment and an opportunity for employment on W. P. A. in accord with the intent of Congress when the appropriation was made and the law passed.

This organization has stood squarely behind the President in his administration. There is only one way to properly remedy this condition—

Without continuing to read the letter—because it proposes the removal of certain W. P. A. officials in Michigan, a matter upon which I have no opinion, because at the moment I am not interested in that phase of the matter—I ask that the entire letter may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit A.)

Mr. VANDENBERG. I again emphasize the fact that the letter deals with one more of the discriminations which are inherent in the dual relief system which the joint resolution once more undertakes to perpetuate upon the country.

The discriminations cannot be defended. Discriminations as between two like families on the same street in the same town, with equal relief necessities, one of which is forced to live on \$22 per month while the other lives on \$53 per month, are un-American and indefensible. Now comes the discrimination to which Mr. Martel referred—a discrimination as between the citizen who has tried to support himself, and who, simply because he has succeeded

in keeping off relief up to date, is now refused work relief under W. P. A., and the chap who willingly has gone to relief for the past 4 or 5 years, and, because he has fine relief credentials, can qualify for a job under W. P. A.

The discriminations, I repeat, are inherent in the formula which the pending joint resolution insists upon fixing once more upon the country. Worse than that, however, is the original challenge which was submitted in the telegram from Mr. Taylor, that until the States and local communities are permitted to deal with their relief problem as a whole, so that they may assess all of their relief resources and allocate them equitably to all who shall be dependent upon the communities for relief—until this is changed, and until it is changed, I very respectfully submit, as is proposed in the substitute I have offered for title I, the relief problem will not only continue to plague the Government of the United States, it will not only continue to threaten and jeopardize the public credit of the United States, but it will continue to be an utterly inhumane thing in its inequalities as between citizens of the United States.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield to the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BORAH. Am I to understand from the telegram that the person sending it is of the opinion that if the administration of relief were turned over entirely to the local authorities it could not only be administered more equitably and justly, but it could be administered at less expense?

Mr. VANDENBERG. No; the telegram does not deal with those phases of the matter at all. Those are my observations regarding the system against which the telegram protests. So far as the telegram is concerned, it confines itself to an assertion that unless more of the pending funds are made available for direct relief, instead of practically all being made available for work relief, there will be "mass starvation in many communities in Michigan."

I wonder if I have made myself clear to the Senator.

Mr. BORAH. I think I understand the matter as the Senator explains it; but I am asking the question because I am not yet clear—although I presume I should be, because I have listened to the discussion—wherein the Senator's program would work more equitably and at less expense than the program we now have or the one which is proposed by the pending joint resolution.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall be very happy to briefly advert to that subject again.

Mr. BORAH. I think it is exceedingly important.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do, too.

Mr. BORAH. And I want to be sure I understand the proposition as the Senator understands it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me very briefly summarize my conception of the thing. I am not now undertaking to quote the author of the telegram; I am merely saying that, so far as the telegram is concerned, it verifies the existence of a condition which, in my judgment, cannot be met under the existing system.

So far as my own opinion goes, I say to the Senator, first, that if all of the available Federal funds for relief for the next 12 months were to be divided equitably by nonpartisan authorities here in Washington and allocated to the States on the basis of a formula which should consider the extent of unemployment, local resources, and the other factors which are usually included in connection with Federal allocations, each State would then receive and would know precisely what the sum total of Federal contribution would be to its entire relief problem for the ensuing year.

Suppose the State of Idaho were to receive \$100,000,000 as its share of the sum total allocation for the year.

Mr. BORAH. From the Federal Government?

Mr. VANDENBERG. From the Federal Government. Then the State of Idaho, knowing what local tax resources it could afford to add to its \$100,000,000, could decide for itself what its total resources would be for the ensuing year, both Federal and local. Then it could count its employables who are on relief and its unemployables who are now on

direct relief, and it could decide for itself whether it could still afford to have any work relief at all. Perhaps it cannot afford to have any work relief at all if the problem has grown so large and there are so many people dependent on relief that there is not enough money to provide work relief for anyone. The State can then decide, in the presence of the actual resources available for relief, how much per capita it can spend upon those who require relief.

At the present time in the State of Idaho, under the existing system, this is what happens. I do not know the exact Idaho figures; I am now using the figures for the average of the country. This is what happens in Idaho if Idaho's experience is that of the average of the country. Idaho has so many employables who need relief. They live on \$53 a month, which comes from the Federal Treasury. Idaho also has an equal or perhaps a larger number of so-called employables who are not eligible for Federal help, and who must rely solely and exclusively upon State and local resources. Such persons average \$22 a month. So, in Idaho at the present time there are two classes of relievers, the special, privileged class among relievers, those who get work relief by way of Federal support, enjoying a living at the rate of \$53 a month, if it may be called enjoying it. Those who are so unfortunate, however, as to be dependent upon State and local resources live on only \$22 a month, citizens in the same town, on the same street, enjoying equal rights, having equal necessities and equal appetites, one consigned to live on \$22 a month, and the other given the privilege of living on \$53 a month. Again I say, if that is a privilege, I am sorry I have to use the word.

If the problem in Idaho reaches the point where there are so many persons who cannot be employed on work relief that they must be cared for by State and local resources—I mean the \$22-a-month class—if that class reaches the point where Idaho no longer can raise even \$22 a month to support them, then I submit that Idaho confronts a desperate crisis. What I am saying, and what my substitute would undertake, would be to say to Idaho, "Idaho, here is the money we were going to send you at \$53 a month for your employables. Take that and put it with your local resources, and decide for yourself how much of it you can afford to spend per capita. If you cannot afford to have work relief, you might just as well admit it and not try to have it. If you have to go back to what is unhappily called a dole, if there is no escape from it, you might better go to it than to run away from a word; and, in trying to escape from a word, run into complete bankruptcy, both of the Federal Government and of all your local and State governments alike."

Are not the nonpartisan relief authorities in Idaho infinitely better off in dealing with the sum total of their problem if they have received this money which the Federal Government is willing to spend upon the relief problem in Idaho, and Idaho is allowed to put that in its own common relief purse, supplemented by such funds as Idaho itself can afford to spend? Then Idaho, intimately acquainted with its own problem, knowing infinitely better than anyone in Washington can know what the Idaho necessities are, can apply these total resources to its total relief problem and produce equity as between its citizens.

Mr. BORAH. I now understand how it can produce equity; I think that is clear enough. But if conditions continue to develop as they have been developing, the ultimate end of the proposition is inflation or repudiation.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have not any doubt in the world of that, or else a capital levy, or something like it. But I submit to the Senator that we are running infinitely faster toward one of these three dire alternatives, namely, inflation, repudiation, or a capital levy, when we continue to proceed on this present pump-priming theory, because we know what pump priming does to the Federal Budget, and we know that pump priming does not cure the economic situation. We have taken the biggest dose of it in the last 6 years that any nation ever took or ever could take, and that

dose was a failure. Yet all that we are offered today is a smaller dose of the same thing that failed before. So if we are at all in danger of this ultimate repudiation, or inflation, or supertaxation by a capital levy, we are infinitely more in danger of it by continuing the amazingly inept formula which is perpetuated in the pending joint resolution.

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

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield to the junior Senator from Idaho.

Mr. POPE. Before the W. P. A. was established we had the Federal emergency relief organization, and the Federal Government sent to the Governor of our State a certain amount of money, to be used by the State officials and the local officials in giving relief. As I understand, that was similar at least to the suggestion made by the Senator.

I was told that in one community in a State where local officials were on the relief board one or two of them decided to run for office. They went out into the community and rounded up all the people they could and put them on the relief rolls, because it was their thought that that would assist them in their campaigns for election. In this community it was claimed that there was an unusually large amount of money being used, too much. It was also said that in some instances the local officials, in order to get money to give to these people, would make their list just as large as they could. I do not know this to be true, but there were many charges of that sort.

If the Senator's proposal were followed and the money were turned over to the State to be administered in about the same way that the I. E. R. A., as it was called in Idaho, or the F. E. R. A., as it was called in the Nation, was administered, would not that situation exist as it did before and would we not have politics in the situation to a large extent? Now at least we do not have existing the situation of local administrations trying to make political capital out of relief.

I ask the Senator whether the same tendency would not exist under his proposed substitute?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the Senator has asked a perfectly fair question, and it is one I should like briefly to discuss. I cannot answer it in a word.

I have no doubt that we will have politics in relief no matter who administers relief, whether it is a Federal authority or a State authority or a local authority, a Republican authority or a Democratic authority or any other authority. That is a sin and a shame, but it is a fact. Our only hope is to circumscribe it as much as possible.

I call the attention of the Senator to the fact that the administration of the relief fund under the substitute for title I, which I have offered and which was offered in the House of Representatives and voted down, the direction and administration of the fund would be in charge, first, of a nonpartisan relief commission in Washington, which, in turn, would require the erection of nonpartisan relief authorities in each State as the recipients and administrators of the Federal funds. To that extent the situation would totally differ from the situation which the Senator describes as existing a few years ago, because at that time the local distribution, insofar as it was supervised at all externally, was supervised by Federal authority.

I think we have now reached a point, I may say to the Senator, in addition, where there exists a far more acute local sense of outrage, upon the one hand, and of responsibility, upon the other hand, for the appropriate administration of relief. I think that every community in this country has had enough object lessons in waste and exploitation and indolence so that the community is instantly more acute today than ever before to the challenge of the relief problem. Therefore, I think that if we could ever get the responsibility for the administration of relief back to the States and to the local governments, we would have it policed because of a sense of local responsibility and a feeling of neighborhood opinion, which are the only things in this world that ever can cause it to be successfully policed. It will never be policed so long as these funds come direct from Washington and continue to be explicit from Washington,

and no local responsibility is involved, because, again, unfortunate as it may be, the fact remains that the best of our constituents back home still seem to feel that if a check comes from Washington it comes from some magic pot of gold which no one ever has to replace or pay for.

Mr. POPE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GILLETTE in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. POPE. I did not mean to suggest a few moments ago that all the local authorities by any means, or even any considerable number of local authorities, went so far as to attempt to get men on the rolls for political reasons or for local reasons, but it is said that did occur at least a number of times. I often heard that the local officials would try to get all the money they could; they would increase the number on the rolls in every way that seemed to them to be fair under the law, and so it was exceedingly difficult to cut down the numbers on those rolls.

The complaint was often made that those who had charge would pad the rolls, they would keep them up, because it meant relief, it meant money for their local communities, and the question of local pride would enter into the consideration, and in some cases there would even be a competition or a rivalry to get money. That is the point I wanted to call to the Senator's attention.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have no doubt that that condition occurred, and I have no doubt that it would still occur in perhaps lesser degree; but my view is that to whatever extent it occurs it cannot be remotely the menace that exists in the opportunity for manipulation and political prejudice and favoritism inherent in a system that distributes three or four or five billion dollars from one central point in Washington to fortunate and, perhaps, subservient beneficiaries throughout the country.

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

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. When the Senator says that Idaho—assuming that to be the State—is to get \$100,000,000, who is to determine how the allocation is to be made of the amount, say, of \$150,000,000 to Utah and \$100,000,000 to Idaho? What authority is proposed to determine the amount?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall be very glad to read to the Senator from Minnesota the precise machinery that is provided for that purpose:

Such amount shall be allocated by the Federal Relief Board (hereinafter established), with the approval of the President, among the several States upon the basis of the board's findings and conclusions with respect to the facts concerning and weight to be given to unemployment and living costs in, and population and financial resources of, the several States.

The Federal relief board hereinafter to be established is—

Composed of three members appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than two of the members of the board shall be members of the same political party.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Will the Senator again yield to me?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes, indeed.

Mr. LUNDEEN. What I am interested in is this: The power proposed to be given the board is a tremendous power; and does the Senator feel that his amendment safeguards the situation?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is a tremendous power, Mr. President, and it is a terribly dangerous power, in spite of all the safeguards that anyone can provide; but I submit to the Senator that the only choice we have is what seems to be the lesser of two evils; and if it is a tremendous power, it is at least a better safeguarded power in the hands of three nonpartisan administrators than it is when it is left exclusively and solely in the hands of a single Presidential executive, who, of necessity, is a political officer of the Government.

Mr. LUNDEEN. If the Senator will permit me again to interrupt him, I wish to say that I am greatly interested in knowing whether the Senator feels that under this provision we would have better safeguards than we have at present?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Very definitely so.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Michigan a question?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LEWIS. Assuming the board proposed by the Senator from Michigan has been constituted, assuming that the members vote to transmit money to the different States or counties—to what organization in the respective counties, cities, or States is it the Senator's object or purpose to trust this expenditure after the money has reached the States from the board proposed by the Senator?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall be very glad to answer the Senator. I now read from page 2 of the substitute:

(b) The sum allocated to a State under subsection (a) shall be paid quarterly by order of the Federal Relief Board to the State if—

(1) The Governor has certified to the Federal Relief Board that there has been established a board of relief trustees in such State, the membership of which is not composed solely of individuals who are members of the same political party, and that such board has the power and duty of receiving and disbursing sums which may be granted such State under this section.

Mr. LEWIS. Who does the able Senator think will constitute that board in the State?

Mr. VANDENBERG. As the language indicates, the State has its own option to create its own board of trustees in any fashion it may see fit, so long as it comports with this general criteria.

Mr. LEWIS. Then if appointed by the Governor of the State, the board is appointed by an official who comes into office through politics, and naturally appoints those in whom he has confidence? Would the Senator not say so?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS. Then, under those circumstances, are we not back right to where we now are, that the Governor transmits the power to some of his chosen people after the money has been transmitted by the administrator in Washington?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not think so.

Mr. LEWIS. That would be my viewpoint, I will say to the Senator.

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

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. When Congress enacted the Social Security law it provided that the Federal Government should put up one-half of the expenses of administering the old-age pension administration in the States, and provided for the administration of the unemployment insurance feature of that law an outright grant 100 percent. The Federal Government did not retain any jurisdiction whatever over the appointment of the agents who are to administer the law in the States. It did require a certain amount of matching on the part of the States with respect to old-age pensions. It did not require such matching with respect to unemployment insurance.

Does the Senator know of any State in the Union where the old-age pension gratuities or payments are being administered wholly by the State under officers appointed by the chief executive of the State, or does he know of any State where the unemployment insurance is being so administered by agents appointed by the State, with the Federal authority having not even the power to accept or reject the appointments, or have any control over them? Does the Senator know of any such State that is free from politics in the administration of the old-age pension law and the unemployment insurance law, notwithstanding the fact that in one case half the money is being put up by the Federal Government and in the other case all of it?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am sorry, I do not have the information regarding those local administrative units.

Mr. BARKLEY. I call attention to it, because the Senator seems to be laboring under the impression that notwithstanding the money for relief is to be appropriated by the Federal Government, yet if it shall be under the control of some State authority the situation is therefore purified to the extent that no politics will enter into the situation.

Mr. VANDENBERG. No, Mr. President; I said a moment ago that I know there is to be politics in relief; no matter what formula we have and no matter what party administers it, we are bound to have politics. It is inherent in democracy. My only hope is to find the lesser of the evils in this aspect, and I continue to have the feeling in regard to the relief problem that the closer we get back to the home folks themselves with respect to it, the closer we are to the only kind of scrutiny that can ever hope to police it.

Mr. BARKLEY. Unfortunately, I think it is true that the closer we get back home, the more political scrutiny is engaged in, because the local influence of friends and acquaintances and lifelong associations may have some political effect upon a local administrator, whereas it would not reach all the way to Washington—at least, presumably it would not—in determining who should be the beneficiaries of the relief funds provided.

I realize all the difficulties the Senator has in mind, and I am fairly well acquainted with some of them.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am sure the Senator speaks feelingly.

Mr. BARKLEY. When the Federal Government puts up the money for relief, or for any other purpose, to be administered by the States, I think it is a mistake to assume that the State authority will not take the same advantage in the administration of that appropriation that it does in the case of funds raised by the State's own methods of taxation, and expended directly.

For 25 years we have been appropriating money to build highways in the United States, and we have been requiring the States to match the Federal funds in the construction of highways; yet it is unfortunately true that there never has been an administration in any State with which I am acquainted which has not used its highway department to perpetuate itself or its friends in office, and thereby used also the funds granted by the Federal Government. The personnel of all the State highway commissions is controlled by the State administration, and not by the Federal Government in Washington. It is unfortunately true that we cannot remove such things from politics, because in a sense politics now enters into everything because of the complexity of our economic and social problems, which require the Government—whether it be Federal, State, or local—to enter in some way the equation with respect to everything which affects every local community in the United States.

Mr. POPE. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Michigan one other question regarding a matter which disturbs me?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Surely.

Mr. POPE. Let me say that I am very deeply interested in any suggestion to take this whole subject out of politics. I realize that one who advocates that course is on solid ground.

Let us suppose, however, that the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan were adopted. Would not State legislation be required to give somebody within the State power to appoint the board to which the Senator refers? I know that such necessity existed with reference to the social-security legislation, and it took 2 or 3 or 4 years to have the necessary State statutes passed.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me interrupt the Senator at this point to say that he has put his finger precisely on an unanswered question, so far as my substitute is concerned.

I fully realize that the point the Senator now raises is a pertinent one, and that textually the substitute does not meet it. Let me state to the Senator my theory of procedure.

I have no notion that my substitute, as drawn, is adequate in many of its phases. I am offering it solely as a means to test the sentiment regarding a general principle. If the Senate, unexpectedly—and it would be most unexpectedly—should adopt the substitute, I should say the appropriate course would be immediately to recommit the bill, so that the theory and principle of the substitute could then be adequately and safely developed by the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. POPE. Would it be possible for State legislatures to pass the necessary legislation to put into effect the Senator's proposal, or any similar proposal, in time for those who need relief to receive it? In other words, would not that procedure absolutely stop relief, so that the needy people could not obtain it because of the lack of machinery?

Mr. VANDENBERG. No; I do not think so. I think it would be possible to authorize the Governor to create emergency machinery.

## EXHIBIT A

DETROIT AND WAYNE COUNTY FEDERATION OF LABOR,  
May 23, 1938.

DEAR SIR: It has been repeatedly announced by Governor Frank Murphy and others that the national administration has given unlimited authorization to place everyone in Michigan to work that needs work, through the W. P. A. Up to the present time, with the exception of a favored few, the W. P. A. administrators in Michigan have refused to accept for W. P. A. employment anyone except those who are first placed on welfare and then transferred to the W. P. A.

Many thousands of worthy citizens have battled for the past 6 or 8 years to keep off the welfare. They do not want the dole; they are trying to keep their names clear from having accepted charity; they want work and in this group will be found most of the skilled mechanics of this community who are now unemployed.

Louis J. Nims, State director of W. P. A., and his assistant, Max Barton, Wayne County director of W. P. A., have insisted on a policy of refusing to accept on W. P. A. for employment anyone unless they are first placed on relief. This has resulted in a discrimination against many thousands of decent citizens in this community. It has also resulted in placing on work as skilled mechanics men who are unfit by training for this work. It is depriving those trained through regular channels of an opportunity to work at their trade. It is training new men to take their place and it is depriving the people and merchants of this community of funds set up by the Federal Government for relief of unemployed while forcing the State and cities to carry on welfare some 70,000 people who could and should be transferred to W. P. A. and many thousands of men who want work on W. P. A. but can't get on without first taking the pauper's oath.

We ask: Are you going to stand for this?

The only contact the people of this community have with the Federal Government is through their Congressmen and Senators.

We demand in the name of decency and fair treatment that the thousands of abandoned mechanics who are now being discriminated against by Nims and Barton be accorded a fair treatment and an opportunity for employment on W. P. A. in accord with the intent of Congress when the appropriation was made and the law passed.

This organization has stood squarely behind the President in his administration. There is only one way to properly remedy this condition and that is to remove Nims and Barton from being in charge of W. P. A. in Michigan and place someone in charge of the administration of W. P. A. in Michigan who will be interested in a proper administration of W. P. A.

Can we count on your help in our efforts to bring relief in the form of honest employment for the thousands of skilled mechanics who are now being deprived of work on the W. P. A.?

Very truly yours,

DETROIT AND WAYNE COUNTY FEDERATION OF LABOR,  
FRANK X. MARTEL, President.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I listened with great interest to what the Senator from Michigan said about the needs of the country. He said he had a telegram or some message from his State. I have had one from mine. It reads as follows:

MY DEAR SENATOR COPELAND: You must know Chemung County and Elmira are in bad shape. An agent of the Phoenix Insurance Co. made a canvass and reported we were the worst hit. All the factories discharged most of the workers. Unemployment on every side. Men walking the streets look for a job. What can we do? Isn't there some way we can make Congress act? Will writing Senators or Congressmen do any good? To whom should the voters write? Any suggestions? Thanking you.

This letter is from an old doctor friend of mine in that section of the State. He signs himself as a "taxpayer here for more than 50 years."

I doubt if there is the slightest difference of opinion on this floor as to the necessity of appropriations for relief. I have no doubt of it, and I desire such appropriations to be made. I frankly confess, however, that I am not satisfied with the use which has been made, or alleged to have been made, of funds heretofore appropriated for relief purposes. No matter how much effort is made to explain away or to cast doubt or question upon charges that such funds or the workers em-

ployed under those funds have been exploited for political purposes, I have no doubt that such things have happened.

Last summer I was an alleged candidate for mayor of New York City. I know the people of New York City as well as any man living there. I had private visits from W. P. A. workers and many conferences with those who are employed. They expressed their fear that if they voted for me there would be reprisals.

I am not here to say that their fear was well founded. I could not prove it in every instance; but I know that in order to obtain the benefits of relief in New York it was necessary to go through a certain organization and to obtain the approval of that organization. Without enlarging upon that subject, I wish to say, so far as I am concerned, that I am determined to do everything I can with honor to earmark the funds appropriated by this joint resolution in order that they may be so expended that the relief which we seek shall be afforded, and at the same time that any use of the funds for political purposes shall be prohibited.

To me, all persons in want look alike. I do not care whether they are Republicans, Democrats, Farmer-Laborites, greenbackers, or prohibitionists. I do not care what the political complexion of a given individual may be. I am determined, so far as I can do it, to make sure that suffering people shall not be exploited for political reasons. I do not want human misery made the football of politics.

For the reasons which I have indicated, I desire to have the funds earmarked so far as may be. I am not asking at this moment that there shall be any reduction in the amount of money appropriated; but I am asking that the funds shall be used as the Congress of the United States determines they ought to be used, and that no group or individual shall determine how the money is to be spent. If any allocation of funds is to be made, it should be made by the Congress. Our authority and our constitutional right should not be delegated to another or to others.

I had intended to speak at considerable length this afternoon, but the Senator from Michigan—and I do not resent it, of course—saw fit to enter the discussion. Therefore, I shall satisfy myself for the present by offering an amendment. Let me say to the clerk that I shall send to the desk a corrected copy. I find that some errors have crept into it. I desire to offer an amendment on page 22 of the bill, at the end of the second line, as follows:

*Provided, That of the above sum, \$80,000,000—*

*Subject to some correction—*

shall be allotted by the Secretary of War for construction at military posts and stations, in priorities previously established by the Secretary of War, as follows:

Then the amendment lists the places at which the Secretary of War has determined that necessity exists for military housing. This plan, if adopted by the Congress, would result in the expenditure of money in certain quarters where money should be expended. These projects are so widely scattered that practically every State in the Union would be benefited. At the same time I may say that in completing these projects we would have exactly the same amount of relief. Needy citizens would be engaged on these projects, they would be paid wages for their work, and would be given the relief to which they are entitled. Yet the designation is so specific that we would be certain that the money would be spent for the given purpose and not used for any political purpose.

I ask consent, Mr. President, that this amendment may be printed and lie on the table, and that the amendment in full may be included in the body of the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. COPELAND to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 679) to make an appropriation for work relief, relief, and otherwise to increase employment by providing loans and grants for public-works projects, viz:

On page 22, line 2, before the period, insert the following: "*Provided, That of the above sum \$80,801,248 shall be allotted to the Secretary of War for construction at military posts and*

stations in priorities previously established by the Secretary of War, as follows:

"Fort Lewis, Wash., barracks, quarters for officers and noncommissioned officers, warehouse, garage, utilities, and addition to hospital, sufficient to house the Fifteenth Infantry, \$2,689,240.

"Fort Bragg, N. C., barracks, \$413,500.

"Fort Riley, Kans., academic building (this releases two barracks), \$405,000.

"Fort Monroe, Va., barracks, \$335,000.

"Fort Humphreys, near District of Columbia, reproduction plant and heating plant, \$144,880.

"Fort Knox, Ky., barracks, quarters for officers and noncommissioned officers, \$2,899,200.

"Fort Crook, Nebr., barracks, \$193,000.

"Carlisle Barracks, Pa., noncommissioned officers' quarters, school building, warehouse, fire and guard house, \$894,800.

"Fort Monmouth, N. J., barracks and Signal Corps laboratory, \$377,500.

"Madison Barracks, N. Y., barracks, noncommissioned officers' quarters, and water supply, \$359,500.

"Fort DuPont, Del., barracks, \$413,500.

"Savanna Ordnance Depot, Ill., magazines and accessories, \$1,023,413.

"Chanute Field, Ill., school building, hangars, and grading, \$1,412,622.

"Fort Bliss, Tex., barracks, noncommissioned officers' quarters, and radio station, \$463,000.

"Fort Washington, Md., officers' quarters, \$30,000.

"Fort MacArthur, Calif., barracks, \$138,500.

"Fort Myer, Va., barracks and addition to hospital, \$284,500.

"Fort Ethan Allen, Vt., noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$257,500.

"Fort Thomas, Ky., barracks, \$415,000.

"Fort Sam Houston, Tex., barracks, addition to hospital, and basement in transmitter building, \$1,533,700.

"Fort Douglas, Utah, medical detachment barracks, \$42,000.

"Jefferson Barracks, Mo., barracks, addition to barracks, and nurses' quarters, \$205,500.

"Fort Devens, Mass., barracks, officers', noncommissioned officers' quarters, water towers, and telephone construction (sufficient to house additional battalion and make available space at another post for antiaircraft battalion), \$992,800.

"Fort Leavenworth, Kans., auditorium and reproduction plant, \$600,000.

"Fitzsimons General Hospital, Colorado (to this should be added \$1,250,000 as a veteran building share for construction of this hospital, making a grand total of \$3,020,000), \$1,770,000.

"Chanute Field, Ill., barracks, hospital, and warehouses, \$1,464,900.

"Air Corps Technical School, Denver, Colo., ground construction of runways, lighting and bombing facilities, gas storage, warehouse, \$815,900.

"McChord Field, Wash., barracks, hangars, warehouses, and central heating plant, additional system, \$2,494,850.

"Fort Sill, Okla., barracks and addition to, \$1,238,700.

"Ogden Ordnance Depot, Utah, magazine building and appurtenances, \$1,229,369.

"Delaware Ordnance Depot, N. J., magazines and rail facilities, \$504,000.

"Fort Mason, Calif., warehouse, \$1,360,000.

"Presidio of San Francisco, Calif., barracks, noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$593,870.

"Fort McPherson, Ga., radio station and dental clinic, \$108,000.

"Fort Huachuca, Ariz., barracks and hospital, \$500,500.

"Carlisle Barracks, Pa., sterilizing plant and officers' quarters, \$384,500.

"Fort Sheridan, Ill., barracks and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$656,900.

"Fort Bliss, Tex., stable, stable guards' quarters, and shops, \$473,400.

"Fort Snelling, Minn., barracks and telephone exchange, \$145,340.

"Fort Riley, Kans., noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$275,520.

"Fort MacArthur, Calif., barracks, \$276,000.

"Fort McDowell, Calif., barracks, \$687,500.

"Fort Barrancas, Fla., barracks, \$276,000.

"Fort Bragg, N. C., officers', bachelor officers', nurses' quarters and telephone exchange, \$689,250.

"Fort George G. Meade, Md., barracks and cooks' school, \$963,000.

"Fort Douglas, Utah, barracks, \$300,000.

"Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind., barracks, noncommissioned officers' and nurses' quarters, \$736,460.

"Jeffersonville Quartermaster Depot, Ind., barracks, \$175,000.

"Jefferson Barracks, Mo., officers' and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$154,200.

"Holabird Quartermaster Depot, Md., barracks, \$638,250.

"Presidio of San Francisco, Calif., barracks and cooks' school, commissary, warehouse, and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$582,470.

"Fort Slocum, N. Y., barracks, \$521,600.

"Fort Benning, Ga., barracks and fire station, \$191,300.

"Fort Crockett, Tex., barracks and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$772,320.

"Fort Ethan Allen, Vt., motorization housing, \$165,700.

"Fort Hoyle, Md., barracks and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$839,600.

"Edgewood Arsenal, Md., officers' quarters, \$309,600.

"McChord Field, Wash., barracks, officers' and noncommissioned officers' quarters, warehouse, and communications, \$1,346,500.

"Chanute Field, Ill., officers' and noncommissioned officers' quarters, warehousing, and sewerage system, \$591,900.

"Air Corps Technical School, Denver, Colo., hangar and gas and oil storage, \$388,780.

"Holabird Quartermaster Depot, Md., officers' and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$326,560.

"Fort Knox, Ky., motor shops, nurses' quarters, children's school, and ordnance shop addition, \$445,700.

"Fort Lewis, Wash., noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$314,880.

"Fort Logan, Colo., garage, repair shop, and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$189,250.

"Savanna Ordnance Depot, Ill., magazines and appurtenances, \$780,000.

"Fort MacArthur, Calif., shops, gas storage, and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$344,650.

"Fort Sill, Okla., barracks, noncommissioned officers' quarters, and addition to nurses' quarters, \$719,875.

"Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md., barracks, noncommissioned officers' quarters, and ordnance school building, \$846,940.

"Raritan Arsenal, N. J., barracks, \$158,100.

"Fort Clark, Tex., sewage-disposal plant and garage, \$82,300.

"Vancouver Barracks, Wash., noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$147,680.

"Fort Bliss, Tex., bachelor officers' quarters, \$128,800.

"West Point, N. Y. (Stewart Field), hangar, shop, and incidental buildings, \$270,000.

"Camp Dix, N. J., water supply, \$100,000.

"Fort Monmouth, N. J., school for officers and enlisted men, \$296,700.

"Delaware Ordnance Depot, N. J., barracks and dispensary, officers' and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$265,500.

"Fort Devens, Mass., noncommissioned officers' quarters and garage, \$186,060.

"Fort Hancock, N. J., addition to barracks, noncommissioned officers' and officers' quarters, \$262,000.

"Fort Huachuca, Ariz., motorization housing, warrant officers' quarters, gas and oil storage, \$83,071.

"Jefferson Barracks, Mo., incinerator, gun shed and shops, \$102,500.

"Fort Jay, N. Y., barracks and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$1,135,700.

"Fort Brady, Mich., barracks, \$300,000.

"Madison Barracks, N. Y., hospital alteration, garage, and shops, \$315,600.

"Fort Moultrie, S. C., warehouse and commissary, \$40,300.

"Fort Myer, Va., warehouse, magazine, fire station, and receiving station (Battery Cove), \$129,745.

"New Cumberland General Depot, Pa., officers' and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$54,360.

"Plattsburg Barracks, N. Y., shop and hospital modernization, \$238,000.

"Schenectady General Depot, N. Y., officers' and noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$68,650.

"Kelly Field, Tex., officers' and noncommissioned officers' quarters, warehouses, hospital, \$682,800.

"McChord Field, Wash., headquarters, administration building, and gas storage, \$160,200.

"Air Corps Technical School, Denver, Colo., officers' and noncommissioned officers' quarters, magazines, machine-gun range, and railroad, \$423,600.

"Air Corps airways program, buildings and grounds at various minor stations, \$522,900.

"Sacramento Air Depot, Calif., dock, \$75,000.

"Randolph Field, Tex., cadet barracks, \$350,000.

"Patterson Field, Ohio, hangar, barracks, hospital, and equipment repair building, \$1,265,000.

"Duncan Field, Tex., equipment, repair, and engine-test building, \$335,000.

"Mitchel Field, N. Y., completion of runways, \$400,000.

"Maxwell Field, Ala., completion of runways, \$300,000.

"March Field, Calif., completion of runways, \$210,000.

"Fort Sheridan, Ill., noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$157,440.

"Fort Slocum, N. Y., noncommissioned officers' quarters, freight shed, and pier (Neptune dock), \$197,350.

"Fort Huachuca, Ariz., water supply reconstruction, \$161,000.

"Fort Sill, Okla., addition to hospital and construction and improvement of concurrent camp, \$628,000.

"Fort Monroe, Va., hospital modernization, \$422,000.

"Fort Missoula, Mont., addition to barracks, fire station, and guardhouse, including \$79,880 for purchase of materials for other construction, \$308,880.

"Fort Benning, Ga., cooks' school and barracks, and warehouse depot, \$1,019,100.

"Fort Reno, Okla., barracks, \$175,000.

"Fort Leavenworth, Kans., apartment building and school for children, \$1,368,000.

"Fort Des Moines, Iowa, hospital reconstruction, \$111,000.

"Fort Hoyle, Md., barracks, \$692,000.

"Edgewood Arsenal, Md., bachelor officers' quarters, \$216,000.

"Letterman General Hospital, Calif., hospital wards, \$345,800.

"Presidio of Monterey, Calif., hospital, \$300,000.

"Fort Belvoir, Va., garages and shops, \$347,100.

"Fort Story, Va., water tower, \$20,500.

"Fort Totten, N. Y., motor park, \$304,000.

"Fort D. A. Russell, Tex., motor shop, truck and gun shed, \$77,818.

"Fort Niagara, N. Y., barracks, \$324,000.

"Fort Belvoir, Va., barracks, noncommissioned officers, officers' quarters, and shops, \$1,159,200.

"Fort Sheridan, Ill., hospital, school for cooks, motor housing, \$1,229,800.

"Camp Dix, N. J., barracks, officers' and noncommissioned officers' quarters, warehouses, and utilities, \$1,100,000.

"Plattsburg Barracks, N. Y., officers' noncommissioned officers' quarters and barracks, \$862,000.

"Presidio of San Francisco, Calif., officers' quarters, \$474,000.

"Fort Clark, Tex., rehabilitation, \$500,000.

"Scott Field, Ill., barracks, quarters, utilities, runways, warehouses, hangars, and shops, \$4,472,450.

"Hamilton Field, Calif., runways and night lighting, \$380,000.

"Barksdale Field, La., runways, \$660,000.

"Selfridge Field, Mich., runways and night lighting, \$817,500.

"Navigation aids at various stations, \$300,000.

"Wright Field, Ohio, runways, \$660,000.

"Muroc Lake, Calif., barracks, storage, navigation facilities, \$353,500.

"Bolling Field, near District of Columbia, barracks, heating plant, hangar, and miscellaneous buildings, \$1,066,000.

"March Field, Calif., barracks, \$330,000.

"Langley Field, Va., barracks, \$440,000.

"Fort Wayne, Mich., noncommissioned officers' quarters, \$68,000.

"Frankford Arsenal, Pa., office building and extension to building, \$255,000.

"Fort Francis E. Warren, Wyo., barracks, medical detachment, and gymnasium, \$277,500.

"Camp Joseph T. Robinson, Ark., barracks, quarters, and technical facilities to quarter one battalion, antiaircraft artillery, \$3,240,100.

"Fort Ontario, N. Y., noncommissioned officers' quarters, barracks, and warehouse, \$298,875.

"Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot, Pennsylvania, administration building and warehouse, \$480,000.

"Army medical library and museum, District of Columbia, building, with the utilities, accessories, and appurtenances thereto, \$3,750,000.

"Total, \$84,551,248.

"Provided further, That the military reservations of Bolling Field and Fort Humphreys, situated within the District of Columbia, are exempted from the general provisions of this subsection as to such location."

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I should like to say more about this proposal, but I will do that on another occasion. I am to preside at a conference committee meeting at 2 o'clock, and I must leave the floor on that account, but at another time I shall discuss this matter and also another amendment or two which I have to offer, and shall go somewhat into detail regarding the amendment which I presented here 2 days ago providing for river and harbor and flood-control projects.

In closing, let me say that I am not standing here to dispute the necessity of large expenditures by the Government to meet present distressing conditions. In my great community, New York City, with its population of 7,000,000, we know as much about poverty all the time as can the citizens of any other community know. Those of us who live there and are cognizant of present conditions know that never before in our history was there such distress as exists there today. Therefore, I shall gladly support a measure, if properly formulated, to provide the money necessary to carry on the affairs of our country until we may have recovery.

Mr. President, I cannot resist saying just one further word. There is an item in this bill providing for \$75,000,000 for the National Youth Administration. No other class of our people have been so badly hit by the economic conditions of the present day as have the boys and girls, the young men, and the young women. What encouragement or opportunity is afforded them? There is no opportunity today for the graduate of the high school or the college. Where is he or she going to find work? Where are they going to find any opportunity to expend their energies? We must preserve the youth of our Nation. So that one particular item in the bill is one which appeals to me, perhaps, more than all the others. At the proper time I shall enlarge upon this theme and submit more in detail the views I hold regarding other features of the bill.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House

insisted upon its amendment to the bill (S. 3845) to create a Civil Aeronautics Authority, and to promote the development and safety and to provide for the regulation of civil aeronautics, disagreed to by the Senate; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. LEA, Mr. CROSSER, Mr. BULWINKLE, Mr. EICHER, Mr. HOLMES, and Mr. WADSWORTH were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

#### RELIEF AND WORK RELIEF APPROPRIATION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 679) making appropriations for work relief, relief, and otherwise to increase employment by providing loans and grants for public-works projects.

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] to the pending recovery relief joint resolution. I am particularly interested in his substitute for title I of the measure.

There are today, according to the latest figures of the American Federation of Labor, more than 11,200,000 American men and women without jobs. We all agree that these unfortunate victims of the depression must be cared for and I would not reduce the amount appropriated by title I for relief purposes. But I believe the time has come when we might as well face the problem of unemployment and relief in realistic fashion. It looks as if it were a permanent problem, and to meet it adequately will, I believe, require a permanent program.

I never quite have understood the difference between employables and unemployables, except that this difference has been the excuse given for having the so-called employables needing relief entirely cared for by the Federal relief agency. On the other hand, the unemployables are to be cared for locally.

In practice the principal difference between these two classes seems to be that those who receive their relief funds from the administration get an average of \$53 a month, while those who have to depend upon their own home folks for relief average only \$22 a month.

One effect of this differential seems naturally to be that those on relief regard the national administration as more helpful than the local administrations in power. This is not my idea of the measurement of the adequacy of a relief system.

I realize that when the Federal Government stepped into the field of local relief for the unemployed, it was necessary that something be done, and that it be done quickly. Federal administration of local relief, as an emergency measure, was so well justified that I gave it my unqualified support.

But this has been going on long enough now to indicate quite plainly that relief is a permanent problem, as I have already stated. And it will require a permanent program.

That program of relief should be a planned program; it should be financed out of current revenues except in times of dire emergency; and it should be within the abilities of the various units of government to support on a current basis.

I also believe that this permanent program should be administered by the States under Federal regulation rather than partly by Federal administration in every locality and partly by local administrations. In addition to the discriminations already pointed out, this dual administration brings about a costly duplication of administration and administrative personnel. Also it fails to obtain the local responsibility, administratively and financially, that a permanent relief program should have.

I would not be in favor of the Federal Government furnishing the funds for relief and turn the funds over to be administered locally. Such a procedure would encourage extravagance and corruption and competition among local communities and States as to which units could get the most from the Federal Treasury.

But I do contend that it would be better than the present W. P. A. set-up to have the Federal Government make grants in aid to the States and then allow and require the States

to administer the entire relief for unemployed program in the States. We have recognized that principle of joint financing and local administration, under Federal supervision, in a number of fields. It is not necessary to enumerate them to make this point.

I also maintain that this measure should be written in language which will make it certain that the funds distributed by W. P. A. and P. W. A. cannot be used for political purposes. Every item should be definitely earmarked in a manner that will take this huge appropriation completely out of politics.

The so-called Vandenberg amendment to title I of this bill seems to provide a sane, sound, realistic, and workable solution to this feature of the relief problem.

The amendment, as I understand it, provides that a national nonpartisan board shall make the allotment of Federal funds to States on the basis of need. States will be required to match Federal funds to the extent, at least, of 25 percent. Then the relief program in each State will be administered by a nonpartisan board. We will have local responsibility both for financing and administration and incentives for economy, efficiency, and fairness in administering the program.

If I were going to list the apparent advantages of the proposed system over the dual system now in use, I should list them something like this:

First. It will eliminate the present unfair discrimination between the arbitrarily defined "employables" and "unemployables" that gives to one class of those on relief twice—sometimes more than twice—as much as is received by the neighbor next door in the same predicament.

Second. It will eliminate costly duplications and wastes in overhead. Thereby there will be more relief for the same expenditure of money.

Third. It will eliminate divided responsibility—part Federal, part State, part local—in the administration and financing of relief. There still will be a joint responsibility, but that responsibility will be definitely placed in each and every locality.

Fourth. It will enable hard-pressed State and local governmental units to deal equitably and intelligently—they will know what they have to work with—with the relief problem on a long-time basis.

Fifth. Local taxpayers will have a more complete and vivid realization that relief funds not only are received in their communities but also have to be raised in part in their own communities and that they have to be paid. Too many people have a feeling that money from Washington "just happens." That feeling will wreck our Government if it becomes a fixed belief.

Mr. President, I could elaborate upon these points at considerable length, but I have no desire to go over in detail the ground which has been so completely and plainly covered by the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG]. I do not believe pump priming from the Federal Treasury is a permanent solution of unemployment at all; and I say it is time to be working out a permanent program, not another stop-gap modeled along lines that already have proved to be a failure.

The pump-priming program suggested by the President possibly may produce a temporary improvement in economic activities. I hope it will do so. While it lasts, the second "shot in the arm" always makes the patient feel a little better. But what I do say is that pump priming will not produce a permanent and lasting recovery. If our army of unemployed is to go back to useful work, and if the life-giving stream of wages from industry is to begin to flow once more through the stores and banks of our land, it will have to be brought about largely by private enterprise.

I should like to see the administration cooperate in good faith and wholeheartedly with business. The administration should take the lead in obtaining the cooperation of capital and labor, finance and industry with government. Neither government, nor industry, nor finance, nor labor working alone can force the other elements of our society to

how to a program for the advancement of its own ideas and welfare.

Let me add that as an emergency measure I am supporting, and I believe Congress should approve, the appropriation of some \$200,000,000 proposed to make parity payments on our surplus exportable crops as defined in the new Farm Act.

I do not believe these parity payments should be financed permanently from relief funds. If it were possible to finance them during the coming crop year from a regular taxing program, I should not urge an appropriation for parity payments from relief funds. But growers of wheat, cotton, and, very likely, of corn are faced with an emergency. Commodity loans will not meet that emergency. If the commodity loans are much above world price levels, they automatically shut off exports. On the other hand, if the commodity loans are low enough to allow free export movement to get rid of burdensome surpluses, they threaten to be too low to save our farmers from heavy financial losses that will be ruinous in thousands of instances. But if parity payments, say, of 25 cents a bushel on wheat, could be made to cooperating farmers on their base acreage production, or even on that part of their base acreage production needed for domestic consumption, I believe the wheat growers could be tided through the next season; and I say this would be a good investment for the people of the United States.

Farm income promises, I should say threatens, to be 20 or 25 percent below what it was last year. Millions of jobs in industry depend absolutely upon farm purchasing power.

So I have no hesitation in urging Senators to support the amendment that has been offered to this joint resolution to provide for the parity payments authorized in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938.

There is more that could be said on this subject also, but I shall not further trespass upon the time of the Senate.

Mr. HOLT obtained the floor.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. POPE in the chair). Does the Senator from West Virginia yield for that purpose?

Mr. HOLT. I do.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Adams	Dieterich	King	Pepper
Andrews	Donahay	La Follette	Pittman
Austin	Duffy	Lee	Pope
Bankhead	Ellender	Lewis	Radcliffe
Barkley	Frazier	Lodge	Russell
Berry	George	Logan	Schwartz
Bilbo	Gerry	Loneragan	Schwellenbach
Bone	Gibson	Lundeen	Sheppard
Borah	Gillette	McAdoo	Shipstead
Brown, Mich.	Glass	McCarran	Smathers
Brown, N. H.	Green	McGill	Smith
Bulkley	Guffey	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Bulow	Hale	McNary	Thomas, Utah
Burke	Harrison	Maloney	Townsend
Byrd	Hatch	Miller	Truman
Byrnes	Hayden	Milton	Vandenberg
Capper	Herring	Minton	Van Nuys
Caraway	Hill	Murray	Wagner
Chavez	Hitchcock	Neely	Walsh
Clark	Holt	Norris	Wheeler
Connally	Hughes	Nye	White
Copeland	Johnson, Calif.	O'Mahoney	
Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Overton	

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I desire to reannounce the absence of certain Senators and the reasons therefor as given by me this morning upon the first roll call.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ninety Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, yesterday while there was a discussion of politics in the Work Progress Administration taking place in the Senate I was not present. I read the Record with a great deal of interest this morning. I wish it might have been possible for me to be present yesterday to participate in that particular debate, but since that was not possible, I desire to discuss the subject. Is there any politics in the W. P. A.; and if there is any politics in the W. P. A., does Harry Hopkins know about it?

Of course, I do not think it is necessary for me to discuss at any length the statement Mr. Hopkins gave out about Iowa, the place he left for more fertile fields. I refer to his statement, that if he were in Iowa he would vote for a certain candidate for the United States Senate. Of course, Mr. Hopkins would like to determine who was to be in the United States Senate from each of the 48 States, because it would make it much easier for Mr. Hopkins to do what he desires and to carry out the great humanitarian work of reelecting those people who do not dispute his will.

It was stated yesterday that there was some politics in the W. P. A. Frankly, there is so much politics in the W. P. A. that every time it moves it oozes out somewhere. It just oozes out every place in the W. P. A. I admit that in the last couple of years they have put a certain protection around it so that politics will not ooze out to public view, as noticeably as it did in the 1936 campaign; but the W. P. A. is filled with politics, and, contrary to the statements which some believe, Harry Hopkins knows about it, Harry Hopkins practices it in the W. P. A.

He can sit back with hypocrisy and say, "Vote as you please." He can give out that statement, but whenever an election is impending in a particular State, and he or some other members of the official family is particularly interested in getting the right fellow elected, why is it that there is a great increase in the number of projects given to that particular State? That has been the case in primary elections this year. Harry Hopkins used projects to try to elect certain men to the United States Senate, and the House, and he knew when he was doing it that the purpose of the approval of those projects was to help a particular individual whom he wanted elected to the Senate or House or to be continued in Congress.

Harry Hopkins says, "Vote as you please; there is no politics in the W. P. A." Yet he plunged headfirst into the Iowa election, and said, "If I were there I would vote for a certain gentleman from that State." That is a good cue, and no matter how dumb politicians may be, they know what is meant. It will be recalled that 2 years ago, when this question of politics came up, Harry Hopkins said, "I cannot be responsible for these dumb politicians." But I do not believe there is a politician in the State of Iowa so dumb that he did not understand what Mr. Hopkins meant when he said to send to the Senate of the United States a certain individual.

There is not a man in this body who does not know that the W. P. A. is going to be used in the State of Indiana to attempt to beat the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. VAN NUYS] because he was independent and honest enough to vote his convictions. Senators will remember that back during the reorganization fight W. P. A. shoved so many projects down the center aisle of the Senate that it was almost necessary to move some of the Members back. During the Supreme Court fight, if they could not give you a promise of one of the six additional Supreme Court judges, they would build a courthouse in your home town. [Laughter.] It all depends. The difference was that they promised some the judges and others the courthouses. Nevertheless, there is no politics in the W. P. A.—none whatsoever!

A Member of the Senate who wants to believe that can do so. I have no objection to his believing it, but the American people do not believe it.

Right at this time the newspapers are being furnished with information as to a particularly large number of projects, always noting that Senator X, who has voted right, makes the announcement. Of course, I do not believe the newspapers would distort that news, as the junior Senator from Indiana might think they would; nevertheless, I know that announcements of many projects are being sent out over the country. It is said that Podunkville is going to get the leaves raked off the front yard, and some crossroads is going to build a monkey house, as they built for the Senator from Tennessee. [Laughter.]

These projects all means that someone on the pay roll is going to get to work to help a particular Senator and that

particular Senator gets it announced publicly that he says they are going to reindex the court files or are going to drag the river to see if there are any prehistoric rocks in it. [Laughter.]

They have changed a little. In New York in 1935 and 1936 they spent thousands of dollars tracing the history of the safety pin. [Laughter.] Of course, that put people to work. However, they were more interested in the political import of the safety pin to the people of the State of New York than they were in finding out whether King Tut used a safety pin when he went out. [Laughter.] They no doubt found out what happened to the safety pin, where it came from, and all that. There are plenty of deserving, good Democrats who voted right and supported the candidate who also voted right, and we find that those projects in their communities have been approved with a great deal of enthusiasm. Contrast that with those who voted wrong.

I understand that they have even put members of the W. P. A. to work preparing speeches, good speeches to be used in the campaign. Of course, there is no politics in the W. P. A. Harry Hopkins says there is not. But before I conclude I want to discuss two States, and I know all my colleagues will know what States they are.

Hopkins says there is no politics in W. P. A., but if Senator Somebody votes all right on the reorganization bill and Senator Somebody Else votes wrong, Senator Somebody, the first, is going to get to name the W. P. A. administrator in his State, and Senator Somebody Else is going to get something, but it is not going to be assistance. The W. P. A. is used by Harry Hopkins, with his distinct and personal knowledge, to force Members of the United States Senate and Members of the House of Representatives to vote as Harry Hopkins wants them to vote. If Members of this body do not think so, try to buck the W. P. A. Administration and then go down and ask Harry Hopkins about a project. That is the best way to find out about it.

The fair-haired boys down at the W. P. A. are the boys who always "go along." They are the ones who vote right here on the Hill.

Another thing, it is very interesting to note the great increase of need just before primary election time. Just watch the increases in the W. P. A. in States where they have a particular interest in the primary or in the general election.

I shall not cite West Virginia at any length, because I desire to discuss some other States. I think it would be interesting to discuss the State of Pennsylvania a little later on. I have not discussed Pennsylvania, because Harry Hopkins says there is no politics in the W. P. A. and that a dear beloved boss, a Member of this body, would not practice any politics.

Let us now refer to the State of West Virginia. Five weeks before the primary election in my State there were 56,403 employees on the W. P. A. roll.

Five weeks after the primary election there were only 43,457 persons on the W. P. A. roll, a decline of 13,000. Of course, Senators know W. P. A. would not play any politics at all. None whatsoever. Those 13,000 found jobs in 5 weeks' time. W. P. A. would not play politics. But who causes the increase of the allotment of personnel, or the decrease?

Let us look at the following year, 1937, one year after the primary election. That year there were not 56,000 persons on the W. P. A. rolls, but 37,381 persons employed on W. P. A., or a difference of 19,000, because they did not need those 19,000 politically in the State of West Virginia.

If they have any need in the primary this year, of course, they will put the people back on the rolls. At the same time they have taken care of a few of the hungry people. They have given whole mouthfuls into the hungry politicians. They give the hungry individual a crumb, and they give the hungry politicians a whole loaf of bread.

Senator Sorghum, who supports the program, announces to his people back home that he has gotten a project in his

State to take care of the hungry people in a particular community.

O Mr. President, there is no politics connected with W. P. A. Who O. K.'s the project? Harry Hopkins O. K.'s it, and he knows when he O. K.'s it that it will have particular benefit for a particular Senator or for a particular Representative. Then it is said that if there is politics Harry Hopkins does not know anything in the world about it. If Harry Hopkins is too "dumb," using his own expression, not to know there is politics in the W. P. A., he is not capable to handle 10 cents, let alone the billion of dollars that he has handled as he desires, as he wants, as he thinks should be used to make Senators realize that they ought to vote "right."

So it is we find that in all these things, with these projects, personnel, the whole set-up of the W. P. A. is used by certain Senators and Representatives, and when both Representatives and Senators are in bad the projects are usually given to the Governor if he is satisfactory. It just depends upon whether one Senator is good and one is bad. The good Senator gets the project, and the bad Senator gets it in the neck. [Laughter.]

Probably Harry Hopkins' organization announces that Representative WEARN, of Iowa, whom he must know well, had received W. P. A. projects for Iowa. Was that because Mr. GILLETTE was against the Supreme Court bill?

I know I have been criticized because I am a Democrat and because I opposed the use of the W. P. A. by cheap Democrats in order to starve people into submission to make them accept political ideas. I shall continue to expose such use. I shall continue so long as I have breath in my body to point out a wrong wherever I find it.

I should like to place in the RECORD what President Roosevelt said in 1932 about our political racketeers, when he told all of us that it would be important that we expose graft and corruption in politics wherever we might find it. I shall not take the time of the Senate to read that statement, but I ask that it be inserted in the RECORD. I agree with him that the wrongs should be exposed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MCGILL in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statement is as follows:

The root of the racketeers' continued existence in your Government lies in your own complacency. It is shown in the attitude of the citizen who smiles good naturedly over the election of his friend to a local Government position for which he is in no way qualified. This is the first step toward condoning the giving of contracts to the bosses' friends, or the taking of commissions from the agent who sells equipment.

Real honesty on the part of a public official is attained when he really strives to get 100 cents of results out of every taxpayer's dollar. This honesty can come only by a change of attitude on the part of the public in communities where graft and extravagance exist.

Leadership must educate the public if it expects to get the public response necessary for effective action. Real leadership must drive home the urgency of constant watchfulness at all times, not spasmodically. Leadership must remove partisanship from watchfulness. Leadership must acknowledge that corruption is among men first, last, and all the time, no matter to which political party they belong. Leadership must acknowledge that the party in power is the party with the opportunity to be corrupt. Leadership must re-create a sense of proportion about graft.

In almost every community there are men honest and courageous enough to attack corruption wherever they see it. But their fault and the fault of the press of the Nation is that graft is not large enough to "see" until it has assumed scandalous dimensions.

In communities spending half a million dollars a year, a wastage of \$100,000 through inefficiency and corruption is not often considered a scandal in the eyes of the leaders. But when a great city spends one hundred millions of dollars a year and wastes twenty millions of it annually, certain people are in a frenzy. Yet in proportion the wastage is the same in the first community as in the second.

As soon as the people realize that "a little graft" in a small community is the same as "an odious scandal" in a large community, we will begin to have more honesty and efficiency everywhere.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Mr. HOLT. Some Senators brand the minority report as a Republican document. I do not care how it is branded. Senators may brand it whatever they wish. The question

is not, Who wrote it? but the question is, Is it the truth? And if it is not the truth, why is it not denied? This is what the minority report says about this measure in "priming the election":

In 1934 there were 2,283,000 more people aided by Federal relief funds in November than in June.

November, as I understand, is the general month in which citizens vote. I think that is right. Of course, it is quite unique that between June and November there were 2,283,000 more persons added to the relief rolls.

In 1936, also an election year, we find that between July and November there was an increase of 1,213,000 persons on relief.

The old political calculation is that every person added to the pay roll means five more voters. I do not blame the Members of the Congress who feel that they would like to stay in the Senate and in the House for taking that into consideration. I know they do. Some of them may not admit it, but nevertheless it is the case.

Here is a very interesting thing. In 1934 there was an increase. In 1936 there was an increase.

Let us now look at 1933 and 1935 and 1937 which were not election years. Let us see whether there was an increase. We find that in 1933 there was a decrease between June and November of 3,243,000 persons, whereas in 1934 there was an increase of 2,283,000 persons on relief rolls, according to this report.

Mr. President, the W. P. A. officials felt that people have short memories, and so long as they were on the W. P. A. projects at election time Representative WEARN could get the support in Iowa, and whoever runs against Senator VAN NUYS will get the support in Indiana, and whoever opposes that distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] will also get the support of the W. P. A. Do not be fooled about that one bit.

But in 1935, between the months of June and November, there was a decrease of 3,165,000 persons. They did not need them. That was not an election year.

In 1934 and 1936 the numbers on the relief rolls were increased, and in 1935 and 1937 the numbers on relief rolls were decreased.

Harry would not play any politics with relief. Those 3,000,000 people found jobs overnight just as soon as the election returns were counted.

Let us look at the report as to 1937. We find that between June and November 1937 there was a decrease of 2,648,000 persons on the relief rolls. As I said before, in 1936 there had been an increase in the persons on the relief rolls during the same period of the year.

According to this report, at the very same time that they were increasing the number of persons on the rolls, the index of business activity was also increasing, not as the result of the W. P. A. but as the result of poll priming that they wanted in this particular election.

You know and I know that this money is going to be spent as a political fund, and out of the Treasury of the United States there will be paid the campaign funds of those Senators who vote as the administration tells them to vote. The tragedy is that they do it under the sugar-coating of taking care of the hungry and unfortunate citizens. It depends upon who you are for whether you are hungry or not, and to the W. P. A. it depends upon who you support politically whether or not you need clothes. If you are an administration supporter they will not put you on with relief status; they will put you on as a boss. In one project that I investigated in the State of West Virginia, a road project, six engineers were employed. Of course those men were needed as engineers on that road, and I imagine every one of those engineers was for the ticket in the fall.

I am quoting from a story dated April 29 concerning Harry Hopkins. The newspaper article says:

In response to questions Hopkins said he could not say anything now about the merits of charges by one politician against another, but added this—

Here is what the great Harry Hopkins said. He was not going to have politicians get the best of him:

I don't intend to let these babies operate on me.

That is Harry Hopkins speaking—

I don't intend to let these babies operate on me.

Oh, let one of these politicians start to be against him and he will operate on the politician, do not be fooled about that. [Laughter in the galleries.]

Into this operating room are brought only those who have political diseases that he can detect.

I see my distinguished and good friend from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] is present in the Chamber, and although this suggests a side line, I might quote from the same article as to what Harry Hopkins said about the Senator's report.

Hopkins dismissed the charges of waste and extravagance in W. P. A. made in the minority report of the Senate committee investigating unemployment and relief with these words, "I think it's nuts." [Laughter.]

Mr. LODGE. But he did not disprove any of the facts.

Mr. HOLT. No. I have not heard of any dispute of those facts, but he still thinks "it's nuts."

We need another W. P. A. Director. Of course, I know that my word will not be heeded at the White House with respect to Hopkins' dismissal. I am not being fooled into believing that just because I ask that Harry Hopkins go he will go. Instead, he will probably get a raise in salary. [Laughter.]

I never try to fool myself. I try to be practical about it. I think this speech will do a lot of good in West Virginia, because every time I deliver a speech on the W. P. A. a few more hundred are added to the W. P. A. forces in West Virginia. If I speak long enough and often enough, there ought to be as many employed in 1938, when we do not elect a Senator, as there were in 1936, when one was elected.

Talking about other matters, I think the Senate wants specific examples. I want to discuss the great Keystone State of Pennsylvania.

In an article in the Saturday Evening Post, which to my knowledge has never been denied, there is a story about the spoils system. I quote from that article:

At present the Pennsylvania W. P. A. has only 6,000 nonrelief workers and few more than 2,000 administrative employers, as already stated. But in the all-important year 1936 its nonrelief workers were many more than 10,000 and its administrative employees numbered about 3,000. None of these jobs have required advance certification of need. In the Jones W. P. A. they have required another kind of certification—clearance from the Guffey organization.

Perhaps I should explain who Jones is. Jones used to be a director of the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania. He now edits a paper called Economic Security, which was used in the recent election in Pennsylvania, about which election Senators may have heard. Eddie Jones possesses the absolute support of the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY]. This is what the Senator from Pennsylvania is reported to have said about Jones and the W. P. A.:

I just put in Eddie Jones and left the rest to him.

But let me get back to the article:

Relief officials and some Pennsylvania politicians piously deny this, but Joe's more truthful henchmen are frank in admitting it. As Bailey once remarked, "Those are designated jobs. If good Democrats can have them, why shouldn't they? Hell's bells!"

I am quoting from the article. I do not use that language myself, except when talking about the W. P. A.

To go ahead with the article:

Jones has left the W. P. A., and is now exercising his publicizing talents for Lieutenant Governor Kennedy, the Lewisite labor candidate for the governorship.

May I digress long enough to say that Kennedy was a candidate in the Pennsylvania election.

Let me go ahead with the article:

But Jones has been succeeded by J. Banks Hudson, a Jones alter ego trained in Jones' methods. And even today, with the national election long over, anyone whose travels take him near the Pennsyl-

vania W. P. A. knows that it stinks as insistently of politics as a 10-day dead whale on a beach stinks of whale.

That is pretty bad.

The tone of its administration was admirably expressed early in its history, in Jones' own presence, by John F. Laboon, a Jones district administrator.

This is quoting Mr. Laboon. I do not know who Mr. Laboon is, but this is quoting him:

"Any W. P. A. worker who is not in sympathy with the W. P. A. program and the Roosevelt administration," bellowed Mr. Laboon to a Pittsburgh meeting of W. P. A. foremen and supervisors, "will be eliminated from the W. P. A. pay rolls in this district as quickly as I can act. I want you men to report all such cases to me without delay."

An election was held recently in Pennsylvania. I quote from the Pittsburgh Press of Sunday, April 24, 1938. This is the headline:

GUFFEY aides see W. P. A. men. Workers charge "squeeze" put on relief rolls.

I quote from the article:

Despite threats of a Federal investigation of charges that Works Progress Administration forces were being lined up for the C. I. O.-Guffey ticket in the Pennsylvania primary, supervisors and foremen in Allegheny County yesterday were summoned to Hotel Henry, headquarters of the ticket.

It brought the first clear-cut charge that a "squeeze" was being tried, that W. P. A. rolls were to be "maced" for votes, and that United States Senator JOSEPH F. GUFFEY's swing to the John L. Lewis forces was not an idle gesture.

There is no politics in the "squeeze."

Upward of 75 men, all either supervisors or foremen of the Works Progress Administration, received "invitations" during the week to see Frank Dixon, chairman of the "Veterans Division," Kennedy Campaign Committee of Allegheny County.

More than a score responded, many of them not veterans, for the cards were sent to virtually all division heads of the W. P. A. Most of them were ushered into a conference room with Mr. Dixon one at a time. Many declined to discuss what went on behind the closed doors. Others told of the conversation.

One said he was sent word last week that he must let 20 men go because they were wearing "Jones for Governor" buttons.

Think of that. "Because they were wearing 'Jones-for-Governor' buttons."

The word meant, he said, that none of the W. P. A. workers were to support Charles Alvin Jones for Governor. Mr. Jones is the slated Democratic candidate.

"When I went in to Kennedy headquarters at the Henry Hotel, I told Mr. Dixon that I came regarding the card that was sent me," he said.

"I hear you have been working against us," the W. P. A. worker quoted Mr. Dixon with replying.

"Well, I haven't done anything against you on the job," the worker said he replied, "but I have been working in the town."

"Were you at the North Side meeting?" Mr. Dixon was said to have asked. "You saw Kesner (James E. Kesner, Allegheny County W. P. A. director) and Art Bender there, didn't you?"

"Yes," the W. P. A. worker replied, "but I thought we were to remain neutral in the W. P. A.," the worker answered.

Poor fellow! He will be unemployed. Do not worry about that. He is one of the dumb politicians who does not understand.

"Kesner and Bender's presence at the meeting should have been a 'tip-off' for you," Mr. Dixon replied.

The W. P. A. foreman then told Mr. Dixon that he had been informed that he would be transferred or dismissed because of working for Jones.

"That is only rumors, I do not know," Mr. Dixon was said to have replied. "You can make peace yet."

In other words, "you can make a mistake, but if you make peace with us we will get you back on the W. P. A. pay roll. Of course, if you make peace with JOE GUFFEY's organization, you might even get to be a foreman."

I suppose he told him that. That is not in the article.

I said a moment ago that the W. P. A. worker might be dumb. He must not have been dumb, because here is the question he asked:

"What if Jones and Earle win?" the W. P. A. worker asked.

That was a logical question. He was working for them.

"You know JOE GUFFEY will be in for 2 more years; he will take care of things," Mr. Dixon said.

Any person who says there is politics in W. P. A. is disputing Mr. Hopkins' word. Mr. Hopkins cozes politics wherever he goes.

I am sure I want to be fair to my colleague, so I am going to quote what he says about politics in the W. P. A. I quote from the Pittsburgh Press of Saturday, April 23. This is what the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY] said when they asked him if he had anything to do with the W. P. A. in politics:

"Let them try to prove it," he said, when informed that Mr. Kelly had asked the President to send G-men to Harrisburg to investigate his charges of W. P. A. coercion. "I am opposed to political use of W. P. A. and have never interfered with its administration."

Senators may believe that if they wish. In all fairness to the Senator, I thought I ought to quote it. He and Mr. Hopkins do not believe in using politics in the W. P. A. in the State of Pennsylvania.

The workers were sent a magazine, known as "Economic Security." That sounds fine. That means that you are going to get something. It was published by the Nored Corporation, and the address, according to this paper, is 1835 Third Street, Harrisburg. This paper tells us what "Nored" means.

My colleague said he was going to leave everything to Eddie Jones. Eddie was the publisher of this paper. His name is Edward Noel Jones. He is a former W. P. A. administrator in Pennsylvania, appointed by Hopkins. So they took the "No" from his name. That is where they got the first part of the name.

It may be wondered where they got the "red" from. We find that his wife's name was Penelope Redd. Penelope Redd was the wife of Mr. Edward Noel Jones, so they took the "No" from "Noel" and the "red" from "Redd" and got the "Nored" Corporation. We find that the Nored Corporation published a magazine which was to be circulated among the W. P. A. workers in the State of Pennsylvania. It was to be circulated free if the workers would read it, and the publishers were to get a dollar if they could. It all depended on whether or not they could get the dollar. If they thought they could get a dollar, you subscribed, and if you did not subscribe, you could still receive Economic Security.

Nevertheless, they passed out copies of this so-called Economic Security in the State of Pennsylvania to W. P. A. workers. In this publication there was a signed article by J. Banks Hudson. Who is J. Banks Hudson? He is the W. P. A. administrator for the State of Pennsylvania, and in this Economic Security we find that J. Banks Hudson tells them all about W. P. A. Then right over here [indicating] is an advertisement about the distinguished Senator who gets all these relief jobs, and all these relief appropriations in the Senate. The purpose is to convince them they need him in the Senate. The President also has said, "I need Joe in the United States Senate." But, nevertheless, we find that in connection with these W. P. A. projects in the State of Pennsylvania there are many interesting developments relative to the use of politics in the W. P. A. I know what is in the minds of some Senators. It is said they fired 10. Yes; they got an unfortunate 10. But whom did they get? Some poor worker who happened to have a job as foreman who was forced to go out and work for the politicians. They never went beyond the foreman. They did not touch the head of the organization; they did not touch the district director. They did not stop JOE GUFFEY from announcing that he was going to have a project for them "up Salt River."

So some poor unfortunate in the State of Pennsylvania who was carrying out orders got caught and lost his job; in fact, there were 10 of them. They disciplined 8 others in Luzerne County which is the county where a family is on the pay roll; 179 relatives on the pay roll. However, I am not discussing nepotism; that is neither here nor there today; I am discussing the fact that in Pennsylvania when the thing came to the front it was not a State W. P. A. director that got fired; it was not JOE GUFFEY who got touched; it was

not any of the district W. P. A. directors at all; but some poor little foreman who did not make peace with the organization and support it. So it is we find that there is no politics.

Now, I should like to refer to an editorial from the Pittsburgh Press entitled "How about GUFFEY?" It states that three W. P. A. foremen in Allegheny County, who were fired, "got it on the chin"; they had to go out and try to find jobs; they are on the unemployment list. They were too dumb to know what to do, and they got caught. They were the so-called "dumb politicians" whom Harry Hopkins talks about. We find that W. P. A. was cleaned up in that manner. The big bosses were not touched.

Here is something from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of April 27, 1938. The headline is, "W. P. A. jobs slip out of Scully's grip." Scully is mayor of Pittsburgh, if any of the Senators do not know. We find that during the recent campaign in Pennsylvania the W. P. A. jobs did slip out of his grip. They found out that some of these fellows were playing politics. Mr. Kesner found that out. He is W. P. A. director for Allegheny County. He found there was some politics there. The papers say he dismissed a number of men, yet during his talk with the reporters, telling about dismissing them, Mr. Kesner was wearing a button of the Kennedy-for-Governor ticket. The reporters may have said to him, "You fired these men for playing politics, yet every day you are meeting these men—I suppose they said if they got into his office—and I see this button for Kennedy on your coat." Reporters ask funny questions sometimes. They asked that question of him, and here is what he said:

I do not consider the wearing of a button a political activity. That is a personal matter with the individual. But when a superintendent or supervisor talks to workers on the job and urges them to support this or that ticket, then I do consider it political activity.

But now let us look to see what happened according to this account. Here is the statement:

Pat Welsh, one of the men transferred by Kesner, had a different explanation: "I was demoted," he said, "because I refused to wear a Kennedy button." Welsh was taken from his \$250-a-month job as general superintendent of the Hill Top and West End division and assigned to a \$180-a-month job at East Deer Township, 40 miles from his Beechview home.

That was an expensive button for Welsh, for they transferred him 40 miles from home and cut \$70 from his salary. Oh, no; there is no politics in W. P. A.

I read further from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette:

June Davin was demoted from superintendent of North Side project to general foreman at Castle Shannon.

They, of course, would not want it to be understood that Mr. Hopkins knew anything in the world about that. He did not know anything about it. It was some of these local politicians trying to play politics. Who appointed J. Hudson Banks? Mr. Hopkins appointed him. Who recommended him? Of course, I am not on the inside, and I cannot say definitely, but I would wager that Mr. J. Banks Hudson, who is W. P. A. director for the State of Pennsylvania, got his job because he was recommended by the junior Senator from Pennsylvania. I cannot say that definitely, because they do not give me any inside information.

But, nevertheless, Mr. J. Banks Hudson is director of W. P. A. there, and he, in turn, appointed Mr. Kesner, who was director of relief for Allegheny County, and he, in turn, appointed others. Who appoints the State organization? The politicians right here in Washington, right here in the United States Senate—that is, if they vote right they appoint them, and if the Senators do not vote right they go over to the other House of Congress and get somebody there to make the recommendation.

There is another thing that I should like to say: I could go further into conditions in the State of Pennsylvania, because Pennsylvania is so rotten and corrupt with W. P. A. politics that even the Kennedy ticket ran a pretty good race up there with W. P. A. support. The same thing is true every place we go; we see the same development of politics in W. P. A. State after State shows it. Yet we hear men

say, "It is local. Harry Hopkins does not know anything about it." What is he doing sitting here in Washington if he does not know anything about it? I am saying that he found out quickly in some States that the candidate who was the loser was playing politics. Here is a funny thing. Wherever they find politics they fake an investigation.

Back in 1936 I said these W. P. A. investigators going into a W. P. A. investigation looked to me like sending "Baby Face" Nelson to investigate Dillinger. I think that is the case, and I think it will be so proven as to the W. P. A. investigators. Who appoints the men who investigate the W. P. A.? Mr. Harry Hopkins. Do you think, Senators, if they would come back here and report that Harry Hopkins was playing politics or that W. P. A. was playing politics that they would hold their jobs very long? No. Whom do we find going into the States to investigate W. P. A.? We find W. P. A. itself. Of course, they do not find anything. Sometimes they wait until the election is over to determine who was wrong. I know of such instances. They wait until the election is over, and then they find that someone did play politics, but the fellow who played politics was the one who got a licking in the election.

Nearly always it is the man who got caught was for the losing man; but the man who was for the winning ticket did not play any politics according to them. Watch the Florida investigation. They will not find that there was any politics down there. Probably they spent enough money in Florida to build a concrete road from Key West, Fla., to San Francisco, I presume, but it will not be shown that there was any politics played in Florida; none whatsoever; was it all done because of great love for the State of Florida? It was the first time in years that Florida got that much money. Nevertheless, I think it will be found that all of the investigations will prove that the men who were on the losing ticket are "playing politics."

I wish to quote something more; and I challenge Mr. Hopkins, or I challenge any Senator on the floor, to dispute these statements if they are not true. You can try to fool the people, but sometime, somehow they are going to find out the truth. Here is a letter which I have in my possession. There is no politics, and yet the administrative assistant of the W. P. A. wrote this:

I hand you herewith a list of doctors in Ohio County. Separate the Democrats from the Republicans and list them in order of priority, so that we may notify our safety foreman and the compensation men as to who is eligible to participate in case of injury.

Oh, no; there is no politics! "Separate the Democrats from the Republicans"; separate the goats from the sheep. I have that letter in my possession; I used it before on the floor of the United States Senate; but I think it worth while to refer to it again, and, therefore, I have done so.

Mr. Hopkins undertook to investigate, and the man he sent to do the investigating is now investigating relief for the United States Senate. Is that not a funny thing? The man who was sent down to West Virginia to whitewash W. P. A. in West Virginia is now a counsel of the committee of the United States Senate investigating relief. But here is another letter—I also have this in my possession—from a W. P. A. director:

The time to correct mistakes is before they are made, if possible.

Listen to that—

The time to correct mistakes is before they are made, if possible. Consequently, we do not want anyone on this job who is not right. These hundreds of applications going on should be taken around to designated—

Listen—

to designated leaders and then be used accordingly.

They are to be taken around "to the designated leaders!" There is no politics at all in this. They just happened to pick that man out of the air to be a "designated leader," to determine whether or not he should correct the mistakes. As they said, "The time to correct mistakes is before they are made, if possible;" so "Get the right boys on, so that

we will not have to fire them and cause a stink." That is what they mean. In other words, "Get the boys on that you are sure of, that will deliver the goods 100 percent, and get the other crowd off."

Now going ahead with the letter, and what they want the designated leaders to do, it says:

Take them to the designated leaders in each county, and sort them. Then the local leaders cannot blame the personnel office if the right boys are not on.

Listen to that!

Take them to the designated leaders, and let them sort them. Then the local leaders cannot blame the personnel office if the right boys are not on. This, to my mind, is paramount if this organization is to accomplish what it has to do in the next year.

Oh, no; you would not think there was any politics at all in the W. P. A.—none whatsoever—but they are going to take the names of the men who are employed on relief, and take them to the "designated leaders," and sort them, so that they will not make any mistakes at election time.

Here is another letter from which I want to quote. This is what was said:

We have earnestly tried to be very broad-minded in permitting the advisers to consult with the party leaders in their respective counties in order that we may be assured—

Listen to this:

We have earnestly tried to be very broad-minded in permitting the advisers to consult with the party leaders in their respective counties in order that we may be assured of complete harmony and support at the next primary and general elections.

I wonder if they had the same kind of consultation in the great Keystone State of Pennsylvania?

Here is another letter from which I am going to quote: I nearly missed this letter. I have so much material that I could talk for many, many hours; and I may talk again later on, because I should like to take up different States. I should like to discuss the Hague machine in the State of my friend from New Jersey [Mr. SMATHERS]. That would be an interesting one; but I cannot do it today. I have so much material that I cannot get to it; but I want to quote from this letter, which I have in my possession. This is what it says:

I am only aiming to solidify and keep together the Democratic organization. On all appointments made here by Senator ———

You may fill in the blank—

he always checks my office first, and we try to check the ones who are deserving and who we know will be dependable ——— workers.

The blank refers to the same Senator. In other words, "We want to check them to see if they will be good workers."

Now, to make the organization strong, I must still be at the head of it until after the primary.

This man got a little shaky, and thought he was going to be allowed to go, and he said he had to be at the head. In the letter which he wrote to this Senator, he said, "You leave me at the head, because I have to be here until after the primary."

No politics in W. P. A.! Harry Hopkins year after year, playing politics as we have seen in States all over the country, says that there is no relief in the W. P. A., or, rather, no politics in W. P. A. What I started inadvertently to say is the truth. There is not very much relief in the W. P. A. There is more interest in the politics in it than there is relief; and we find that money is spent for bosses instead of for the poor unfortunates who are in need of relief.

Now, let me show you how he does that. He says, "We spend only 5 percent for administration;" but do you know that in the cost of administration he does not count the project supervisors; he does not count the timekeepers? I have heard—I have not checked the statement, but, knowing the W. P. A. as I do, I do not doubt it—that on one project a timekeeper had an entire day to figure out the time of four workers. Those timekeepers are not listed on the W. P. A. administrative pay roll. The foremen are not listed, and therefore the administrative expense is kept under 5 percent.

They said that in the State of West Virginia there were only 410 persons on the administrative pay roll. Back in 1936, when we made an investigation of the W. P. A. in my State, I found that there were 2,235 persons employed in administrative or supervisory capacities. In that group, only 575 were listed as administrative employees, but the other 1,660 were on the pay roll, receiving good wages.

Another thing: It is very interesting to cite these things. Let us go down to the State of Louisiana. Back in the days when the late Huey P. Long was in the United States Senate, check the projects that were given Louisiana. Now, since Louisiana has become converted, check the projects in the State of Louisiana. Check the number on the pay roll, check the projects given, check the money poured into the State of Louisiana, and then determine for yourself whether there is any politics in W. P. A.

Now I want to quote from another State; and I am quoting a letter that has already been made public. I shall not give the name of the State, but you may fill it in. This is a letter which was made public politics in W. P. A. I said last year, when I was speaking here, that in the initials "WPA", the "W" stands for "Waste", the "P" stands for "Politics", the "A" stands for "Administration", and what is left goes to the hungry people.

But let me quote from this letter. It says:

It has become common talk among our people that the State administrator of the Works Progress Administration in \_\_\_\_\_ has openly and boldly stated that he and his organization will leave nothing undone to achieve the reelection of \_\_\_\_\_; and, accordingly, every Federal relief agency in \_\_\_\_\_ is frankly and brazenly operating upon a political basis. For the first time in our observation, the Works Progress Administration, which was conceived and established to feed the families of the unemployed, irrespective of the politics, race, or creed of those to be served, through its directing heads is seeking to drive hungry and destitute people to vote for a certain candidate for office.

Meetings and conferences have been held in practically every county of the State by key men in places of importance with the Works Progress Administration, at which definite instructions were given to select agents that no one should be placed on Federal relief except upon the advice of \_\_\_\_\_'s campaign managers in the respective counties.

Then the letter goes ahead to say that the employees have been approached for money; and down here farther it says:

Instructions have gone out from the head—

Not from the bottom, but from the head—

of the Works Progress Administration in \_\_\_\_\_ that all records pertaining to employment and salaries must be kept confidential and secret. The rank and file of the citizenship are denied the right of knowing how many persons are on the Federal relief pay roll, what salaries are paid, and what duties and responsibilities are imposed upon those employed. Persons are being employed who do no definite work, but they are instructed to spend their entire time in political activity. Practically every Federal project is top-heavy with foremen, part of whom confine their time and attention to keeping certain men definitely in line for \_\_\_\_\_, part of whom spend their time checking up on the loyalty to \_\_\_\_\_; of men already placed on the W. P. A. \* \* \* A tremendous waste of money is the result of this arrangement.

So we find that State after State has shown these particular instances of politics in it. If only one State were pointed out to Harry Hopkins, and then he said, "There is no politics in relief," there might be an excuse for him. How can he sit back and say that Frank Hague is not using the W. P. A. for political purposes in the State of New Jersey?

I read an editorial—I do not know whether there was any verification of it or not, and it says that the W. P. A. spent, in the city of Newark, \$565,000 a mile for roads. You know, they sing about "the golden street." The golden street must be in the city of Newark, if that is true; so we may walk up the golden street of Newark instead of the golden street of the days to come, and the W. P. A. spent the money. Why did they spend that much money? Was it because the vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee might have control of the money, to be used as he desires?

It may interest you, going up now to the State of Massachusetts, I believe, to quote a letter which was made public some time ago. Here is the letter:

DEAR COMMITTEEMAN: Contact all houses in your division and get the names of all men on relief; also of those holding W. P. A. jobs. Urge them to register Democratic on March 26 or else lose their jobs.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES McDONALD.

Of course, there is not any politics in the W. P. A.—none whatsoever!

Here is another one which was made public today, telling about this. It says, speaking about a W. P. A. official:

He asked each employee if they were registered, and, if so, what precinct they were registered from, and what candidate they intended to support in the coming primary.

If you are in this precinct, and a Republican, and hungry, you are not the right person to get relief; but if you are in this district, and are working for the man who voted for the Supreme Court change and voted for the reorganization bill and voted for everything the administration wanted, you will get help.

So we find that in the State of Iowa Harry Hopkins has come out publicly for the first time and done something that he has been doing privately for many, many months. He has played the game with the Members of the Senate who voted as he wanted them to vote. He has played it by allowing them to name the officials, and there is not a Senator present today who does not know, if you let anyone control the organization what effect it will have on the men under the head of the organization.

Why is it that these W. P. A. workers have been taken from their work in order to go to political meetings and hear the favorite candidate of Harry Hopkins in the particular election which might be involved? I could cite an actual record of a case like that. Yet they say that if Harry Hopkins knew about this, he would straighten it out. Yes; he would straighten it out. When did Harry Hopkins ever step on the toes of a man who voted in the United States Senate for bills which the administration wanted? If there is such an instance, I hope that some one present will give me the benefit of a citation to it. If not, why is it that Harry Hopkins does not know that there is politics in relief. The Public Treasury is to be used for a campaign fund in order that men can go back to their congressional seats, whether in this body or in the other?

That is what this money is going to be spent for. I hate to think of it. We need to appropriate money for relief. We need to do it because conditions are bad, even if they "planned it that way." Things are bad in this country. The President said in Charleston, S. C., "We planned it that way, and don't let any one tell you differently." Nevertheless, there is many a person hungry right now, while I am speaking.

We need relief more today than for years, because private industry has been driven to close its doors by policies not based on common sense. Factory doors have been closed. People in the city of Detroit are walking the streets looking for jobs, in the city of Cleveland the people are wanting work, idle are found in the city of Washington. These people need relief. Is it not a pity that the millions and billions we appropriate will not feed more of the hungry because of the politics in the administration, which adds waste and extravagance?

My colleagues realize that I am telling the truth. Many Senators have told me in the cloakroom, "I know you told the truth, but we cannot afford to say that openly." Why cannot a Member of the United States Senate say openly that the W. P. A. is used for political purposes? That is an admission in itself that they know that the W. P. A. is being used for political purposes, and if they open their mouths they will be hit on the head with it.

We can find throughout the country hungry people remaining hungry while politicians are on the pay roll at enormous salaries. Out of this relief fund will come money for the National Emergency Council, part of whose business it is to clip newspapers and tell the administration if they are getting along all right in each of the States of the Union. That is the purpose of the National Emergency Council. It

went out of existence in December, or at least it was to go out of existence, according to an Executive order, but with an election year coming along the President revoked his Executive order, and the N. E. C. is back at work. It will have a lot to do. Let me quote what the director of the N. E. C. said he will have to do. These are not my words. This is his testimony as found on page 612 of the report:

The first half of the fiscal year 1938 and the fiscal year 1939 are not comparable.

Then he tells why the fiscal year 1938 and the fiscal year 1939 are not comparable.

So far as fiscal years are concerned, that period is comparable with 1936 because of the fact that the demands for information during an election year are tremendous compared with demands during an off year.

Oh, no; there is no politics; they are not using the money for that. The demands for information during an election year are so much more important. It was not important to tell the people in 1937, but it is important to give them information in 1938, as it was to increase the number of employees on the relief pay rolls between June and November of election year, and take them off in the years when we did not have elections. I am not going to be a party to it. They may get away with using the Public Treasury to black-jack United States Senators into voting for bills. They may get away with using the Public Treasury to blackjack the Members of the House of Representatives into voting for bills. They may get away with that, but when the American people once find it out, they will immediately have their patriotism aroused and the consequences will come. I welcome that day.

I think that of all politicians the cheapest politician I know of is the man who will starve a hungry man because he cannot control his vote. I think the politician who is the cheapest is the man who will make little children go hungry because their father is a Republican, or because their father does not vote for the right Democrat in the primary election. Those are cheap politicians. Those are the men who should have the stigma of condemnation of the American people.

We know these things are true. Harry Hopkins knows they are true. As I stated at the beginning, politics oozes out of every place possible in the W. P. A., politics not alone to control local offices, but to make the United States Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of no more consequence than the Reichstag is under Hitler. That is the purpose. "Vote right and you get projects. Vote wrong and we will tell the people that you fought against relief." Out of human misery they are making a political game.

Oh, the conscience of Harry Hopkins, if he has one, must indeed be something that would be worthy of the study of the medical profession for years to come.

I would have some regard for the great controller of the Iowa election, where the tall corn grows taller and the projects grow larger in Mr. WEARIN's district, back in those districts where we find Harry Hopkins participating, if he had the manhood to stand up and say, "Yes, there is politics in the W. P. A. We are using the W. P. A. to feed the people, and we are also using it to elect those men who will vote right in the United States Senate." I would have more respect for him. A highway robber is better than a pick-pocket. Let us condemn a man who goes off in a corner with Senators and plans how he can get away with politics in the W. P. A. and not get caught. Harry Hopkins does that, and we all know he does it.

I wish it had been possible for me to have been here yesterday to discuss this matter. I did not have time to prepare these remarks. I did get the Pittsburgh papers, and a little more information about some other places. Before the debate is concluded I want the people to find out the truth about the W. P. A., how the relief funds are used, not just to feed the hungry, but to control the Congress of the United States, so that they can have, not a few Charley McCarthys but a majority. I think that some of them ought to have

telephones directly from Jimmy Roosevelt's desk, so that they may not go wrong in case of a quick vote and lose a W. P. A. project. I hope that the people of the United States will realize that in W. P. A. there is waste and politics, because some are afraid to speak their minds and vote their own sentiments. I can say that; some Democrats will not.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HATCH in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the first amendment of the committee.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Dieterich	King	Pepper
Andrews	Donahey	La Follette	Pittman
Austin	Duffy	Lee	Pope
Bankhead	Ellender	Lewis	Radcliffe
Barkley	Frazier	Lodge	Russell
Berry	George	Logan	Schwartz
Bilbo	Gerry	Loneragan	Schwellenbach
Bone	Gibson	Lundeen	Sheppard
Borah	Gillette	McAdoo	Shipstead
Brown, Mich.	Glass	McCarran	Smathers
Brown, N. H.	Green	McGill	Smith
Bulkeley	Guffey	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Bulow	Hale	McNary	Thomas, Utah
Burke	Harrison	Maloney	Townsend
Byrd	Hatch	Miller	Truman
Byrnes	Hayden	Milton	Vandenberg
Capper	Herring	Minton	Van Nuys
Caraway	Hill	Murray	Wagner
Chavez	Hitchcock	Neely	Walsh
Clark	Holt	Norris	Wheeler
Connally	Hughes	Nye	White
Copeland	Johnson, Calif.	O'Mahoney	
Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Overton	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ninety Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

The question is on the first committee amendment, which will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The first committee amendment is on page 1, line 3, after the resolving clause, to insert:

This joint resolution may be cited as the "Work Relief and Public Works Appropriation Act of 1938."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I sent forward two amendments—

Mr. BARKLEY. They are not in order now.

Mr. COPELAND. Why not?

Mr. BARKLEY. Under the unanimous-consent agreement committee amendments are first to be considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendments have not been considered.

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest to the Senator from New York that under the unanimous-consent agreement already entered into the committee amendments must be disposed of before amendments are offered from the floor.

Mr. COPELAND. I suppose I have a right to the floor, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York has been recognized.

Mr. COPELAND. I wish to present an amendment, and I ask that it be stated from the desk, on page 3 of the joint resolution, in line 12, after the numerals "\$285,000,000", to insert:

Of which \$1,500,000 shall be allotted to the Department of Agriculture for establishment or maintenance of aerological stations for observing, measuring, and investigating atmospheric phenomena.

My second amendment is on page 20, at the end of line 21, to insert:

Of the foregoing sum there is appropriated and there shall be allotted \$10,000,000 to be expended by the Department of Commerce for the establishment, construction, alteration, and modernization of aids to air navigation, and acquisition of necessary sites by lease or grant.

Concerning the importance of these amendments, which I shall press at the proper time, I desire to make some comments upon the necessity—

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me to make a brief statement?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. As the Senator knows, I have been urging speedy consideration of the joint resolution, together with all amendments which have been proposed by the committee, and all that may be offered from the floor. I have no desire to cut off legitimate debate on the joint resolution at any point. I do not know whether or not the rumor is true, but the rumor is afloat that a deliberate effort is to be made to delay a vote on the joint resolution until next week. In view of that situation, I wish to advise the Senate that the usual Saturday recess will not be taken, and that we shall be in session on Monday, if the joint resolution is not disposed of this week, unless the Senate otherwise decides.

I make that statement because Senators may have engagements which they may wish to change or cancel. I myself have been compelled to cancel two engagements in my own State, because I think the passage of the joint resolution is more important than any speech I or any other Senator could make in his own or any other State.

I feel that the Senate is entitled to that information at this time. Unless we can dispose of the joint resolution before Saturday, we shall be in session on Saturday; and unless we can dispose of it on Saturday, we shall attempt to meet on Monday.

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

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. So far as I am concerned, I have not occupied the time of the Senate for more than 10 minutes in connection with the pending joint resolution, and I do not intend to occupy more than 10 minutes in its future discussion. However, Mr. President, it seems to me that in the case of a measure involving probably the most stupendous appropriation ever made in the history of any nation, or in the whole history of the world, totaling nearly \$5,000,000,000, while much of the debate has not been on the measure itself, consideration for a week, or even 2 weeks, is not unduly long discussion of a measure of such magnitude.

So far as I am concerned, I intend to be in Washington on Saturday anyway. I shall be glad to stay with the Senator from Kentucky on Saturday, on Sunday, if he desires, and on Monday, or at night sessions. However, it seems to me that the threat of pressure comes at an unduly early time in the discussion.

So far as I am concerned, I am engaged in no filibuster, and do not desire to engage in a filibuster. I desire to see the joint resolution passed at the earliest practicable moment, and to see the Congress adjourn at the earliest practicable moment. I suggest that the threat of the majority leader comes unduly early in the discussion of this measure.

Mr. BARKLEY. If the Senator from New York will yield further, I am making no threat. In view of the suggestion which is afloat, as everybody knows, that we shall not be permitted to vote on the measure this week, I merely made the statement that we ought not at this late time in the session to be taking our usual week-end recess, and we ought to meet on Saturday and on Monday.

In order that Senators might accommodate themselves to that program, I felt that I should make the announcement. I am not objecting to legitimate debate; but, inasmuch as we are to have debate, I think it ought to proceed speedily and without the customary week-end recess.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I am satisfied that Senators will be glad to remain in session tonight, tomorrow, tomorrow night, Saturday, Saturday night, Sunday, and Monday if the Senator from Kentucky so desires.

However, there has been no suggestion of a filibuster. I am afraid the Senator from Kentucky has been listening to some cloakroom rumor or to some discussion in the President's room among our newspaper friends, who are suggesting a filibuster. So far as I know, there has been no such suggestion on this floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have not been in the President's room and I have not received the rumor from any newspaper reports. The rumor has been thick on the floor of the Senate, having been discussed among Senators; and I have not been compelled to go outside the Chamber in order to hear it.

I am not objecting to legitimate debate. Any Senator has a legitimate right to debate a measure as long as he desires to do so. Inasmuch as that program is to be followed, I think we ought to remain in session day after day until the joint resolution is disposed of.

Mr. CLARK. I am certain many Senators will be glad to stay with the Senator from Kentucky as long as he may desire, maintaining a quorum on the floor as far as possible, and disposing of the public business as fast as it can be disposed of.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I am quite willing to remain here on Saturday and Monday; but I hope the Senator from Missouri will not penalize the Senator from Kentucky by holding us to night sessions.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. NORRIS. I ask that the amendments offered by the Senator from New York be stated from the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments have not been sent to the desk and have not yet been offered. As the Chair understood, the Senator from New York announced that he would later offer the amendments.

Mr. COPELAND. I will say to the Senator from Nebraska that I am seeking to earmark the funds in relation to two projects. First, I wish to earmark \$1,500,000 for the purpose of completing Weather Bureau stations which are necessary for the protection of aviation. Second, I am asking for \$10,000,000 to complete the work necessary to install ground facilities for the protection of aviation.

Mr. NORRIS. Has the Senator offered his amendments?

Mr. COPELAND. I was told by my leader that, under the agreement, I could not offer them at this time. I read them.

Mr. NORRIS. Are the amendments of the Senator from New York amendments to committee amendments?

Mr. COPELAND. They are amendments to the joint resolution, but I am told that they are not now in order. I should like to explain them.

Mr. NORRIS. Why are they not in order?

Mr. COPELAND. The committee amendments must first be considered.

Mr. NORRIS. I understand that; but the Senator's proposed amendments are amendments to committee amendments, are they not?

Mr. COPELAND. No; they are amendments to the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will make a statement as to the parliamentary situation. The first committee amendment has been agreed to. The question now is on the second committee amendment, to which several Senators have proposed amendments, which have been printed and are now lying on the table.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, there is so much disorder in the Chamber that we cannot hear the statement of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Let there be order in the Chamber. At least one Senator expresses a desire to be informed as to the present parliamentary situation. The Chair will again state it, in the hope that there will be sufficient order, at least, for the Senator who made the inquiry to hear.

The first amendment of the committee has been agreed to. The question now is on the second committee amendment. To that amendment several Senators have sent to the desk amendments which have been printed, but none of which have been called up. The Senator from New York [Mr. COPELAND] has the floor.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. By "the second committee amendment" does the Chair mean the one on page 2, line 3?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendment on page 2, line 3, is now the pending question.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, may we have the amendment stated?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 3, after the word "Administration", it is proposed to strike out "\$1,250,000,000" and insert "\$1,425,000,000", so as to read:

(1) To the Works Progress Administration, \$1,425,000,000, together with the balances of allocations heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the Works Progress Administration under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1937 and the joint resolution of March 2, 1938, which remain unobligated on June 30, 1938.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment just stated.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, in connection with the pending amendment, and other provisions of the joint resolution, I am seeking, I say frankly, to earmark as much of the funds appropriated by the measure as possible. I have no present desire to suggest any reduction in the total amount of money carried by the joint resolution. I am determined, so far as I am personally concerned, to do what I can, in honor, to make certain that the money appropriated shall be used for the benefit of the people and shall not be used as political fodder, as, in my judgment, has been the case in the past.

I do not regard it as morally decent for the Congress of the United States to abdicate its responsibilities and its powers and turn over to anybody, any individual or any board, the allocation and the expenditure of the sums to be appropriated by the pending joint resolution. That and nothing else is what I have in mind. I am going to do all I can, in decency, to earmark the appropriations provided by the joint resolution so that the money shall be expended for purposes which will add to the national wealth, to the physical welfare of the Nation as well as to the sustenance of people who are in distress, to feeding, clothing, and sheltering them. That is my object, and I do not see how any man can question the propriety of such a position.

It is my opinion that every informed person in the United States is convinced that the money appropriated in the past, while I have no doubt that it has been honestly expended, has been so placed as to influence elections.

I heard debate here yesterday with reference to one of our colleagues and the efforts being made to defeat him. I stood here shoulder to shoulder with a group of Senators from both sides of the aisle to fight against the proposed change in the Supreme Court. I am not a candidate for office next fall, but there are Senators here who will then be candidates for office, Senators who stood on the floor to fight for the preservation of that chief American institution—the Supreme Court. So far as I can do it, I desire to prevent the possibility of reprisals against anyone of that gallant band.

It will make little difference to me personally, Mr. President, how this money shall be spent. To me human beings are all alike. I do not care whether the man fed is a Republican or a Democrat; I do not care whether he is a New Dealer or the kind of a Democrat I am. If he is in need, I want him to be helped; I want him to be helped, even if he votes against me when I am a candidate for office. But I would not be true to the fellowship represented here, to the friendships I am proud to have in this body, I would not be true to my convictions if I did not use every ounce of energy I possess to make it impossible for the juggling of these funds in order that this, that, or the other Senator may be defeated, or someone who takes a different view from the views that we hold may be elected.

Mr. President, I have no more desire to be here next Saturday or next Monday than has any other Senator. There is

just one place to which I want to go. It is a farm in the mountains of my State. I would rather be there now than any other place in the world. I want to go there just as soon as I can. But I am ready to stay here indefinitely if by remaining I can have some small part in accomplishing the objective I have in my mind and which I have presented to the Senate.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE in the chair). Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. LUNDEEN. It seems that one trouble with legislation during the past few years is that it has been too hastily considered. If the Senator will permit me, I should like to say that we have not studied legislative proposals as carefully as we should have done. I remember that not so very long ago, in a moment of legislative hysteria, a bill was passed in Congress without even being printed and without being read. I opposed that bill on the floor of the House for that very reason. If I remember correctly, the bill related to banking legislation in the 1933 emergency.

A little while later it was found necessary to amend it. We discovered that it had not been considered as thoroughly as it should have been. I think there should be a reasonable amount of debate. I certainly want to do everything I can to aid in remedying present economic conditions. It does not make any difference to me what party puts forward a measure with that object in view, I will try to go along. But we should debate more thoroughly and study more carefully the provisions of the pending measure. I think the Senator from New York is absolutely correct in bringing this matter to our attention. Whether or not we agree with him, he is certainly contributing to the thought and the debate upon the subject, and that can do no harm, for certainly hastily considered and enacted legislation and half-baked legislation, such as is passed from time to time, is not going to provide any cure or remedy. We then have to go back to the starting point, and often we find ourselves below the starting point. We cannot afford to do that very many times more. We have now come to the point where we have to get down to bedrock; and perhaps we have not so much more time to get down to bedrock as we think we have.

Mr. COPELAND. I thank the Senator for his very sensible statement. I agree with him 100 percent. It means nothing to me personally what the joint resolution carries; but I am a Member of this body. I took a solemn oath at the Vice President's desk, and I do not intend to shirk any responsibility which is mine. I do not intend to hide behind anybody's skirts.

It is our duty to tell how to spend this money. If we do not write a measure which is acceptable to the White House, the President has a constitutional power to veto the bill, and he has a perfect right to do it. I shall honor him for any position he may take which comes from the conviction of his soul; but I have a conviction in my soul, Mr. President. I am not willing to be a party to the enactment of any sort of legislation concerning which there can be any breath of scandal when the legislation is enacted and administered.

Will anyone rise and say that there has not been the breath of scandal in connection with the expenditure of funds which we in our wisdom have voted, and have turned over to governmental administrators to expend? Can anyone say that there was no scandal connected with it? Every Member of the Senate knows that there was scandal connected with it. Why should the head of any poor family in New York City, or in Colorado, or anywhere else, be given an intimation by some circuitous route that "If you do not do so-and-so, you will lose your job and get no money from the relief funds"? I do not want that to happen.

The other day I submitted an amendment to this joint resolution, which lies on the table, proposing that we earmark \$325,000,000—for what? For river and harbor projects

and flood-control projects, every one of which has had a survey. Every one of these projects is first passed upon by a committee of the Senate, sent to the Army engineers for examination and survey, brought back from the Army engineers if found economically feasible and worthy, approved by a committee, brought to the floor of the Senate, and by a Senate vote approved and the authorization provided for.

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

Mr. COPELAND. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. MINTON. I am not informed about the authorizations, but I have heard it stated that many of the so-called projects about which the Senator has been talking have not even been surveyed. Is that true?

Mr. COPELAND. That is not true. I have been chairman of the Commerce Committee for a number of years, and I was well instructed by my predecessors in that office, including the able Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON]. I took pride, 2 years ago, in presenting to the Senate the bill and being able to say, "This is not a 'pork barrel' bill. Every item here has been approved." I suggested that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. MINTON] be given a gold medal because he wanted something taken out of the bill. That never happened before, and it probably never will happen again. It was one of the most amazing legislative spectacles I have ever witnessed.

These projects have been approved; and if there is a project here which is not a worth-while project or is an unauthorized project, it must come out.

We have a total of about \$511,000,000 worth of projects which have been authorized. There is in the Army engineers' office a book called the Blue Book. It contains projects which have been examined, passed upon, and found to be economically feasible or otherwise by the Army engineers. The projects total over a billion dollars. From time to time during the past 3 or 4 years we have actually authorized projects amounting, as I recall, to about \$511,000,000. From those projects we selected a number, reducing the total to \$325,000,000; and I want to say that I asked that a number of New York projects be omitted. I say that here now so that 2 years from now, when I run for the Senate, somebody may pick it up and show that I admitted that I had done that; but I wanted to do that, and other men on the committee did the same thing, and the amendment which I offered was adopted upon motion and by action of the Commerce Committee.

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

Mr. COPELAND. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I should like to make an inquiry concerning the Senator's amendment. Some of the States seem to have only one project, or perhaps none. Other States seem to have quite a number of projects. I wonder how the selection of these projects was arrived at. I do not mean to intimate that the list is unfair at all, but I am just wondering how it was arrived at.

Mr. COPELAND. I will tell the Senator. The fact is we had to hunt pretty hard to find approved projects in some States. There are many States that have no rivers of any consequence and certainly no coast line, and we did not find very much there that had been approved. For instance, in Vermont we found only one project, known as the Union Village Reservoir, \$1,878,600. That was the reason.

My friend from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] is extremely fortunate in his allocations; I mean fortunate, if it is a good thing to have a considerable amount of money allocated for flood-control and river projects in West Virginia, and of course it is. He must have twenty or twenty-five million dollars of projects in his State. Perhaps he has added up the projects. Why has he that many? Because his State borders on the Ohio River. Some of the worst floods we have had in America have been on that river. Then he has in his State great tributaries of the Ohio River, and in order to complete the work in the valley it is necessary to build reservoirs in West Virginia to hold back there the water which

otherwise would flow into the Ohio and then down into the Mississippi Valley. So we did not undertake to make any 7- or 10- or 5-percent allocation, so as to give every State an equal amount. The question was, Where will the money do the most good and where is it likely to preserve life and property to the greatest extent?

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

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. NEELY. I desire to express my gratitude to the able Senator from New York for the sympathetic consideration he has given to the various West Virginia projects to which he has referred and which, as the Senator has just indicated, are important not only to West Virginia but to everyone who lives in the Mississippi Valley.

Mr. COPELAND. I thank the Senator.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Mr. President—

Mr. COPELAND. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

#### NORTH HARBOR OF MINNEAPOLIS

Mr. LUNDEEN. I wish to inquire of the Senator from New York concerning the item of \$1,000,000 for the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Missouri River and Minneapolis. I wonder if, by any chance, that includes some work on the north harbor of Minneapolis, within the city limits of Minneapolis.

Mr. COPELAND. Would that be above the Falls of St. Anthony?

Mr. LUNDEEN. Yes.

Mr. COPELAND. No; it does not include that item.

Mr. LUNDEEN. Will the Senator permit me to make a short statement at this point?

Mr. COPELAND. Yes.

Mr. LUNDEEN. I should like to say to the Senate that in the State of Minnesota, in the great city of Minneapolis—the largest center in the Northwest, where we have a population center of over a million within a radius of 25 miles, one of the few centers in the world where is found a population of over a million—we have there the north-harbor project, which is above the Falls of St. Anthony. There are no locks at the Falls of St. Anthony; the land comes down very gently to the water's edge and furnishes ground for warehouses, and freight can be trucked from a barge on the river through the warehouse and onto the railroad tracks just back of the warehouse, or where the warehouse could be built. This is an important project, and it just so happens that this was where we had the great lumber mills of Minnesota and the Northwest, which have now been taken away, and nothing has been built there to replace them. It will make the greatest inland harbor in America.

#### BUILD THE NORTH HARBOR OF MINNEAPOLIS NOW

I am just wondering whether or not it would be possible in this improvement on the Mississippi River to include this harbor. It seems it would come within the scope of the proposed river improvement because when the 9-foot channel was put through it included Minneapolis, and that means the north limit of Minneapolis, which would include this harbor site. Any other contention is absurd. It is vital to the prosperity and business of our great city of Minneapolis. We must have this harbor where we could load our barges and carry on business.

Some might say to the Senator from New York, "Here is your harbor below the Falls of St. Anthony. But it is down over a hundred feet below the level of the city, the freight has to be trucked up, and the incline to the railroad is very steep." It is too small; it is a village harbor, that is all. So that our north harbor is an essential project for Minneapolis and Minnesota and the whole Northwest. I would like to see a larger item in the bill covering this matter, and I would like to see this project included if possible.

#### LAKE TRAVERSE PROJECT

Here is another item, "Flood control, Lake Traverse, S. Dak. and Minn." I happen to know that that is a worthy project. Perhaps the remarks of the Senator may apply

to us when he says that in some States it is rather difficult to find approved projects. Perhaps we will have to set about to get approval for some of our projects all over again, and how long shall we of Minnesota be left standing at the door waiting for the initial north-harbor appropriation?

MINNETONKA LAKE LEVEL

We have stormed at the administration for years to have our marvelous and beautiful Lake Minnetonka restored. Some of our good citizens are getting discouraged. So far as I am concerned, I will go on demanding these worthy and necessary improvements and I will persist until I win. These projects mean work for our Minnesota unemployed. I know the Senator is sympathetic with our north harbor, and I thank him for yielding.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE in the chair). Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. LODGE. Yesterday, when this amendment was first brought before the Senate, and when I had had opportunity to read it but briefly, I derived the impression that there was nothing provided for Massachusetts on the Merrimack. Since then I have had a chance to study the amendment, and I find there is a \$2,000,000 item for Franklin Falls in New Hampshire. I believe the Senator will agree with me that that item will of course benefit the people who live in the more thickly populated communities at the Massachusetts end of the Merrimack.

Mr. COPELAND. That is correct.

Mr. LODGE. I ask the Senator further whether it is not true that all the projects listed in Massachusetts are approved by the Army engineers, and in fact if every project which is not appropriated for in some other way and has been approved by the Army engineers is not included in the Senator's amendment.

Mr. COPELAND. That is correct.

Mr. LODGE. I think the Senator has made a very fine statement.

Mr. COPELAND. I wish to say, in reply to the Senator from Minnesota, who spoke about the North Harbor at Minneapolis, that some of us tried to include in the Army bill an item of \$7,000,000 for the work above the Falls of St. Anthony on the Mississippi River. From a study of the map I am familiar with the needs of that section. Not alone are the sawmills of which the Senator spoke important, but there are great grain elevators and flour mills above the Falls of St. Anthony and there can be no doubt that the completion of that project would be of great benefit to Minneapolis. At least that is my opinion.

I thought of reminding the Senator that there are certain other agencies of transportation which are sometimes jealous of water development. I have not heard of any indications of enthusiasm from the railroads in that section for the development of this project, but it is one which should be completed, as I view it.

At another time I shall speak in much greater detail about the flood-control bill. I rose today to speak about matters relating to aviation.

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

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. McNARY. I recall that a few days ago the Committee on Commerce, of which the able Senator from New York is chairman, reported an authorization bill covering a large number of flood-control projects. The Senator now has an amendment pending. Does the amendment include all the projects included in the flood control authorization bill?

Mr. COPELAND. I would not say all of them, but a large number of them.

Mr. McNARY. The amendment is not a duplicate of the bill reported by the committee?

Mr. COPELAND. No, because it picks up projects approved 2 years ago and 3 years ago.

Mr. McNARY. Why did not the Senator include all those which the committee reported favorably, as well as those he now mentions as being supplemental?

Mr. COPELAND. The Senator is entitled to a frank answer. I myself, as a member of the committee, did not think we ought to earmark the entire amount. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BAILEY] has presented an amendment authorizing the completion of projects which heretofore have been examined and found meritorious by the Public Works Administration, all approved projects. It did not seem as if we could take all the money for these projects, and we did not have any idea of increasing the sum. If we had taken all the money, there would not have been anything for the other projects which have been approved by the Public Works Administration. It is a question as to which are the most urgent.

I return now to the matter of aviation. We were shocked yesterday to hear about the burning of the airplane at Cleveland. I think I am correct in saying there was nothing the Government could have done to prevent the accident, which occurred because of conditions in the plane itself.

Mr. McADOO. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. McADOO. I notice that in the Senator's amendment he specifies the projects in the various States to which the \$324,235,900 is to be applied. How were these determinations made with respect to the different States? In other words, how was it decided which projects the money was to be spent upon, and the amount to be allotted each of the projects?

Mr. COPELAND. My answer to the Senator is, to repeat what I said to the Senator from Oregon a little while ago—

Mr. McADOO. I regret I was not on the floor at the time.

Mr. COPELAND. I stated that if we were to include in this bill every project which has been surveyed and recommended by the Army engineers and authorized by the Congress, it would consume every dollar of this appropriation.

Mr. McADOO. I concede that. The point I want to get at is as to the allocations which have been made. Who determines the projects and the amounts to be allocated to the different projects in the various States? Let us take my own State, for instance. Who selects the projects in that State, with the suggested allocations?

Mr. COPELAND. In the original list—

Mr. McADOO. What is the original list?

Mr. COPELAND. The list of all the projects heretofore approved, amounting in all to nearly \$512,000,000. It would be extremely selfish for those of us who are interested in water improvement to take all the money which has been set out in the bill for that purpose. So we did a little figuring. Has the Senator the amendment before him?

Mr. McADOO. I have. The items pertaining to California appear on page 23. All I wanted to know was the manner and the method by which the determinations were made with respect to projects for my State.

Mr. COPELAND. I will tell the Senator how that was done. There is an authorization of \$2,000,000 for San Diego Harbor in California. In the amendment we made the item \$1,000,000, because we were seeking to take projects which could be started at once and, if possible, completed within a year. Many of the projects in the Senator's State will take several years to complete. So we made inquiry of the War Department and found that \$1,000,000 could be used within the year for San Diego Harbor.

Mr. McADOO. I am interested to know who advised this distribution and made the selection of the places. Was it done by the Commerce Committee as a whole, or by the Senator from New York as chairman, or by the Army engineers?

Mr. COPELAND. Oh, no; there was a group from the committee, made up of those who are particularly interested in waterways. I want the Senator to be convinced that utter fairness prevailed in the matter. As I said a little while ago—

and it will be used against me a couple of years from now in New York—I requested that a good many million dollars be omitted in New York because I did not want to be charged with favoritism.

Mr. McADOO. The point that strikes me at once is that I myself was not consulted as to my State.

Mr. COPELAND. No; but the Army engineers were consulted.

Mr. McADOO. That is what I am getting at. They recommended these distributions, and the particular projects for the particular localities.

Mr. COPELAND. Yes. Let me show the Senator how that was done.

Mr. McADOO. Pardon me just a moment. The amendment provides that over \$300,000,000 shall be expended by the Secretary of War in the various States.

Mr. COPELAND. Yes.

Mr. McADOO. Who determined the amount that should be allocated to the State of California? Was that determined by the Army engineers?

Mr. COPELAND. Yes. We did it in this way: When the report was made covering all the projects outstanding, representing \$512,000,000, we saw at once that we could not venture to ask for that amount of money. So we asked the Army engineers how we could spend \$325,000,000, and the ultimate allocation represented by the amendment was made upon their recommendation.

Mr. McADOO. As I look over this list, I note that some projects in the State which are very important, and in a very large degree exigent, are entirely omitted.

Mr. COPELAND. They are omitted because they are not authorized.

Mr. McADOO. No; we have many projects that are already authorized and are not covered in the amendment.

Mr. COPELAND. Authorized by the Congress?

Mr. McADOO. Yes; authorized by the flood-control legislation. Take, for instance, the Santa Maria River. It is a very important project. I do not see any allocation in the amendment for that project. The Santa Maria River went on a rampage a year ago and washed out everything in sight, including the concrete highway bridge on the main artery between Los Angeles and San Francisco. I think the Army engineers have made a final report on the project. The survey was authorized.

Mr. COPELAND. The survey was authorized, and it may be that the Army engineers have recommended it; but unless we have overlooked a single item, I do not think the Congress has authorized it.

Mr. McADOO. Congress has authorized the survey.

Mr. COPELAND. Congress has authorized the survey; yes.

Mr. McADOO. Congress has authorized the survey, and the survey has been made, and the report has been made. It has also authorized the project. However, I shall not interrogate the Senator further until I have looked into the question a little more thoroughly, and then I shall ask him if he will be so kind as to indulge me with a little more information.

Mr. COPELAND. I will be very glad to give the Senator the information later, but I think I can give it to him now, subject to correction.

If the Santa Maria River project was surveyed, examined, found economically justified, recommended to the committee, and authorized by Congress—if all those steps had been taken, it would have been included in the amendment.

Mr. McADOO. I may say to the Senator that, of course, I am not fully informed as to whether every one of those steps has been taken. I shall not press the question any further. I shall look into the subject, and I shall ask the Senator to indulge me a little later with further information.

Mr. COPELAND. I shall be very glad to give it to the Senator. We tried to be extremely generous with California. I myself have a great personal interest in California.

Mr. McADOO. I wish to say to the Senator at once that he has always been very fair to my State. I have no com-

plaint to make about the matter, but I was only looking into it with the view of getting some correction made if that shall be necessary.

Mr. COPELAND. Tomorrow, after having examined the record, I shall ask the Army engineers to advise me.

Mr. McADOO. I thank the Senator.

Mr. COPELAND. I wish to make a further statement. Los Angeles County needs a great deal of help. One of the most startling statements I ever heard made before the Commerce Committee was made by General Pillsbury some years ago. It was so startling that I asked him to repeat it. The Senator does not know that I practiced medicine for a little while in Los Angeles, so I have always had an interest in Los Angeles. General Pillsbury said that in Los Angeles County are found the makings of the most terrible flood disaster that could happen in the United States.

Mr. McADOO. It has come since. His prediction was correct.

Mr. COPELAND. Yes; his prediction was correct. I asked him to repeat his statement. He did repeat it. When the disastrous flood recently occurred there I thought, "Well, General Pillsbury is thinking about what he told us."

In view of our feeling about that situation, the Senator will find that in the amendment as presented we have included \$8,800,000 for Los Angeles County against the authorized appropriation of \$11,800,000. Five million dollars was authorized for the Santa Ana River, and we granted \$3,000,000. I shall talk to the Senator about that, because this matter, of course, is subject to such correction as may be needed.

I have not proceeded far with respect to aviation, and I desire to pursue that subject. One of the most remarkable advances of modern times is the development of aviation. We are now flying airships as great as the next largest of the ships used by Columbus in his trip to discover America, and there will be launched very shortly an airship which will be greater in tonnage and capacity than the largest of Columbus' ships. Airships are now made that have greater capacity than a Pullman car.

I am sometimes disturbed by the progress of invention and development in the field of aviation, because I think I may say I have knowledge of the inadequacy of the ground facilities, the navigational aids, the weather reporting, and the other factors which enter into safe flying.

The air is a great ocean. As the merchant marine developed, it was found necessary for governments everywhere to provide lighthouses, range lights, buoys, and other devices for the protection of navigation upon the sea.

Navigation in the air is remarkably like navigation on the sea in many respects. But I often think about the old colored man who said that he liked to travel on a railroad train better than on a ship, because, he said, "If the railroad train runs off the tracks, why, there you is; but if the ship sinks, where is you?" That suggestion could be applied with even greater force to aviation.

I do not want to pose as a habitual prophet, but I prophesied the disasters which occurred north of Los Angeles and in the Rocky Mountains. With the lack of navigational facilities and weather reporting, such disasters were inevitable. A plane cannot be sent through the air in all sorts of weather with hope of safe landing unless there are devices to steer the ship and to make known to the pilot at all times where he is.

We have spent much money during the past few years in correcting the serious lack of navigational aids; but we have fallen down. For a number of years we made no appropriations. In 1933, 1934, 1935, and 1936 we pared down the appropriations for air protection in the interest of economy, in the interest of dollars. It was not until the death of our colleague, the late Senator Cutting, that any serious effort was made by the Congress to go extensively into a study of aviation with a view to determining what, if anything, should be done to bring about greater safety in the air.

Senate Report 2455, of the Seventy-fourth Congress, is a report of the Safety-in-the-Air Committee. I observe from

the caption of the report that the committee consisted of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. DONAHEY], and myself, from the Committee on Commerce. The report plainly sets forth the great mistake of our financial policy in effect at the time the report was presented, on the 20th of June 1936.

We made another report—Senate Report No. 185—toward the close of the first session of the Seventy-fifth Congress. These reports clearly point the way to a logical policy. The reports were written after several years of intensive investigation of the reasons why our beloved colleague died, and also of what we might do to protect other citizens of the United States against such a calamity.

Of course, expenditures for public works should not be blindly made at the sacrifice of our national defense. My experience tells me that the present Congress is on the verge of doing that very thing, at a time when the air is filled with war on two continents, and the Congress, spurred by the advice of our President, is loosening the purse strings and pouring huge sums into implements of war. However, I fear that in this great program of national defense there are gaps which must be filled at some time or other by congressional action.

#### STANDARDS OF WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR

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

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the wage and hour bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHWELLENBACH in the chair) laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2475) to provide for the establishment of fair labor standards in employments in and affecting interstate commerce, and for other purposes.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House, ask for a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that the conferees on the part of the Senate be appointed by the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Utah?

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I shall not object to the request of the Senator from Utah. Assurance has been given that in the conference every section of the country will be represented. I am very much interested in the proposed legislation, and I hope something may be worked out in the conference which will be fair to every section of the country.

Therefore, I shall offer no objection to the request.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. OVERTON. The bill was passed by the Senate and sent over to the House, and the House struck out everything after the enacting clause. What is now before the Senate is the amendment of the House to the Senate bill. What would be the authority of the conferees? Would they have authority to rewrite the bill? It is my recollection that the Vice President so held at the time the farm bill was before us for consideration.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. President, I am sure the Senator is correct about the matter.

Mr. OVERTON. As I understand, every feature of the legislation will be in conference.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has been informed by the Parliamentarian that the conference will have very wide latitude in passing upon the questions involved in the legislation.

Mr. OVERTON. Will the ruling of the Vice President in the case of the farm bill apply to the wage and hour bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Until the precise question is presented to the Chair, of course, that question cannot be answered. It is the opinion of the present occupant of the Chair that if precisely the same question were presented in connection with the wage and hour bill which was pre-

sented on the farm bill, the ruling of the Chair would be the same as it was upon the farm bill.

Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Utah? The Chair hears none.

The PRESIDING OFFICER appointed Mr. THOMAS of Utah, Mr. WALSH, Mr. MURRAY, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. BORAH, and Mr. LA FOLLETTE conferees on the part of the Senate.

#### RELIEF AND WORK-RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 679) making appropriations for work relief, relief, and otherwise to increase employment by providing loans and grants for public-works projects.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, when I was interrupted—

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, does the Senator from New York desire to continue or to conclude his remarks tonight?

Mr. COPELAND. I wish to follow the desire of my leader.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no desire except that which is in the mind of the Senator from New York. If he wishes to suspend now, or cannot conclude his remarks this afternoon, I am willing to move a recess after we shall have had a brief executive session.

Mr. COPELAND. Very well; I yield for that purpose.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE] has a small bill which he has asked to be permitted to take up at this time. It is a bridge bill which will not consume any time. Meanwhile, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHWELLENBACH in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. SHEPPARD, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported favorably the nominations of several officers for promotion, and also for appointment, by transfer, in the Regular Army.

Mr. MCKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The reports will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

#### UNITED STATES COAST GUARD

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, from the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably the nominations of certain young men to be ensigns in the Coast Guard, and ask unanimous consent for their present consideration. If that request is granted, I shall ask unanimous consent that the President be notified of their confirmation, because the commencement exercises are to take place the first of next week.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the Coast Guard nominations? The Chair hears none. The nominations will be read.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of ensigns in the United States Coast Guard.

Mr. COPELAND. I ask unanimous consent that the nominations in the Coast Guard be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

Mr. COPELAND. I ask unanimous consent that the President be notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be notified of the confirmation of the Coast Guard nominations.

If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state, in their order, the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

#### THE JUDICIARY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of William Ryan to be United States marshal for the eastern district of Illinois.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask unanimous consent that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations of postmasters are confirmed en bloc.

That concludes the calendar.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate resume legislative session.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed legislative session.

#### MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE, DUBUQUE, IOWA

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate bill 3892, Calendar No. 1951.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the title of the bill.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (S. 3892) creating the City of Dubuque Bridge Commission and authorizing said commission and its successors to purchase and/or construct, maintain, and operate a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at or near Dubuque, Iowa, and East Dubuque, Ill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments.

The amendments were, in section 9, page 14, line 18, after the word "thereof", to insert "shall be applied to the purposes specified in this act. The members"; on page 17, after line 18, to insert a new section, to be known as section 12; and in line 24, to change the number of the section from 12 to 13, so as to make the bill read:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That in order to facilitate interstate commerce, improve the postal service, and provide for military and other purposes, the City of Dubuque Bridge Commission (hereinafter created, and hereinafter referred to as the "commission"), and its successors and assigns, be, and are hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge or bridges and approaches thereto, across the Mississippi River at or near the cities of Dubuque, Iowa, and East Dubuque, Ill., at a point suitable to the interest of navigation, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906, subject to the conditions and limitations contained in this act. For like purposes said Commission, or its successors and assigns, are hereby authorized to purchase, maintain, and operate all or any existing bridges for vehicular traffic crossing the Mississippi River at or near the city of Dubuque, Iowa, and may acquire control of any or all such existing bridges by purchase of stock in any corporation owning any such bridges, or by a conveyance from such corporation, and, in any case, said Commission shall be authorized to maintain and operate said bridge or bridges subject to the conditions and limitations contained in this act.

Sec. 2. There is hereby conferred upon the Commission and its successors and assigns the right and power to enter upon such lands and to acquire, condemn, occupy, possess, and use such real estate and other property in the State of Iowa and the State of Illinois, including real estate and other property acquired for or devoted to a public use or other purposes by the State of Illinois or the State of Iowa, or any governmental or political subdivisions thereof, as may be needed for the location, construction, operation, and maintenance of any such bridge and its approaches, upon making just compensation therefor, to be ascertained and paid according to the laws of the State in which such real estate or other property is situated, and the proceedings therefor shall be the same as in the condemnation of private property for public purpose in said State, respectively.

Sec. 3. The Commission and its successors and assigns are hereby authorized to fix and charge tolls for transit over such bridge or bridges in accordance with the provisions of this act, subject to the approval of the Secretary of War, as provided by the act of Congress approved March 23, 1906.

Sec. 4. The Commission and its successors and assigns are hereby authorized to provide for the payment of the cost of such bridge or bridges as may be purchased or constructed, as provided herein, and approaches (including the approach highways which, in the judgment of the Commission, it is necessary or advisable to construct or cause to be constructed to provide suitable and adequate connection with existing improved highways) and the necessary land, easements, and appurtenances thereto, by an issue or issues of negotiable bonds of the Commission, bearing interest at the rate or rates of not more than 6 percent per annum, the principal and interest of which bonds, and any premium to be paid for retirement thereof before maturity, shall be payable solely from the sinking fund provided in accordance with this act, and such payments may be further secured by mortgage of the bridge or bridges. In like manner, bonds may be issued to pay the cost of improvements and permanent repairs to any bridge or bridges purchased. All such bonds may be registerable as to principal alone or both principal and interest, shall be in such form not inconsistent with this act, shall mature at such time or times not exceeding 25 years from their respective dates, shall be in such denominations, shall be executed in such manner, and shall be payable in such medium and at such place or places as the Commission may determine. The Commission may repurchase and may reserve the right to redeem all or any of said bonds before maturity in such manner and at such price or prices, not exceeding 105 and accrued interest, as may be fixed by the Commission prior to the issuance of the bonds. The Commission, when it deems it to be to the best interest of the Commission, may issue refunding bonds to repurchase and redeem any outstanding bonds before the maturity thereof: *Provided*, That the refunding bonds shall mature at such time or times, not exceeding 50 years from the date of approval of this act, as the Commission may determine. The Commission may enter into an agreement with any bank or trust company in the United States as trustee having the power to make such agreement, setting forth the duties of the Commission in respect to the purchase, construction, maintenance, operation, repair, and insurance of the bridge or bridges, the conservation and application of all funds, the security for the payment of the bonds, the safeguarding of money on hand or on deposit, and the rights and remedies of said trustee and the holders of the bonds, restricting the individual right of action of the bondholders as is customary in trust agreements respecting bonds of corporations. Such trust agreement may contain such provisions for protecting and enforcing the rights and remedies of the trustee and the bondholders as may be reasonable and proper and not inconsistent with the law.

The bridge or bridges purchased or constructed under the authority of the act shall be deemed to be Federal instrumentalities for interstate commerce, the Postal Service, and military and other purposes authorized by the Government of the United States, and said bridge or bridges and the bonds issued in connection therewith and the income derived therefrom shall be exempt from all Federal, State, municipal, and local taxation. Said bonds shall be sold in such manner and at such time or times and at such price as the Commission may determine, but no such sale shall be made at a price so low as to require the payment of more than 6-percent interest on the money received therefor, computed with relation to the absolute maturity of the bonds in accordance with standard tables of bond values, and the face amount thereof shall be so calculated as to produce, at the price of their sale, the cost of the bridge or bridges, acquired and/or constructed, and approaches and the land, easements, and appurtenances used in connection therewith when added to any other funds made available to the Commission for the use of said purposes. The cost of the bridge or bridges acquired hereunder and the cost of the bridge to be constructed as provided herein, together with approaches and approach highways, shall be deemed to include interest during construction of the said bridge, and for 12 months thereafter, and all engineering, legal, architectural, traffic-surveying, and other expenses incident to the construction of the bridge and the acquisition of the necessary property, incident to the financing thereof, including the cost of acquiring existing franchises, riparian rights, plans, and works of and relating to the bridge or bridges now owned by any person, firm, or corporation, and the cost of purchasing all or any part of the shares of stock of any such corporate owner, or by conveyance from such corporation, if, in the judgment of the Commission, such purchases should be found expedient. If the proceeds of the bonds issued shall exceed the cost as finally determined, the excess shall be placed in the sinking fund hereinafter provided. Prior to the preparation of definite bonds the Commission may, under like restrictions, issue temporary bonds or interim certificates, with or without coupons, of any denomination whatsoever, exchangeable for definite bonds when such bonds that have been executed are available for delivery.

Sec. 5. In fixing the rates of toll to be charged for the use of such bridge or bridges, in accordance with the act of Congress approved March 23, 1906, the same shall be so adjusted as to provide a fund sufficient to pay for the reasonable cost of maintaining, repairing, and operating the bridge or bridges and approaches under economical management, and to provide a sinking fund sufficient to pay the principal and interest of such bonds as the same shall fall due and the redemption or repurchase price

of all or any thereof redeemed or repurchased before maturity as herein provided. All tolls and other revenues from said bridge or bridges are hereby pledged to such uses and to the application thereof as hereinafter in this section required. After payment or provision for payment therefrom of all such cost of maintaining, repairing, and operating and the reservation of an amount of money estimated to be sufficient for the same purpose during an ensuing period of not more than 6 months, the remainder of tolls collected shall be placed in the sinking fund, at intervals to be determined by the Commission prior to the issuance of the bonds. An accurate record of the cost of the bridge or bridges and approaches; the expenditures for maintaining, repairing, and operating the same; and of the daily tolls collected, shall be kept and shall be available for the information of all persons interested. The Commission shall classify in a reasonable way all traffic over the bridge or bridges so that the tolls shall be so fixed and adjusted by it as to be uniform in the application thereof to all traffic falling within reasonable classes, regardless of the status or character of any person, firm, or corporation participating in such traffic, and shall prevent all use of such bridge or bridges for traffic except upon payment of tolls so fixed and adjusted. No toll shall be charged officials or employees of the Commission, nor shall toll be charged officials of the Government of the United States while in the discharge of duties incident to their office or employment, nor shall toll be charged members of the fire department or peace officers when engaged in the performance of their official duties.

Within a reasonable time after the construction of any bridge or bridges, or the purchase of any bridge or bridges, the Commission shall file with the Bureau of Public Roads of the United States Department of Agriculture a sworn itemized statement showing the cost of constructing or purchasing the bridge or bridges and their approaches, the cost of acquiring any interest in real or other property necessary therefor, and the amount of bonds, debentures, or other evidence of indebtedness issued in connection with the construction or purchase of said bridge or bridges.

Sec. 6. Nothing herein contained shall require the Commission or its successors to maintain or operate any bridge or bridges purchased hereunder, if and when all bonds issued for account of such bridge or bridges shall have been retired or provision for the payment of interest on and retirement of such bonds from the revenues from any other bridge or bridges shall have been made at the time of issuance of such bonds. Any bridge or bridges so purchased, with appurtenances and property thereto connected and belonging, may be sold or otherwise disposed of or may be abandoned or dismantled whenever in the judgment of the Commission or its successors, and subject to the approval of the Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads, United States Department of Agriculture, and the United States Secretary of War, it may be declared expedient so to do, and provisions with respect to and regulating any such sale, disposal, abandonment, or dismantlement may be included in proceedings for the issuance and sale of bonds for account of any such bridge or bridges. The Commission and its successors may fix such rates of toll for the use of such bridge or bridges as it may deem proper, subject to the same conditions as are hereinabove required as to tolls for traffic over the bridge to be constructed provided tolls shall be fixed and revised from time to time for traffic over all bridges so as not to adversely reflect upon the earnings of any bridge or bridges for account of which bonds may be outstanding. An accurate record of the cost of purchasing or constructing each such bridge; the expenditures for maintaining, repairing, and operating the same; and of the daily tolls collected shall be kept and shall be available for the information of all persons interested.

Sec. 7. After payment of the bonds and interest, or after a sinking fund sufficient for such payment shall have been provided and shall be held for that purpose, the Commission shall deliver deeds or other suitable instruments of conveyance of the interest of the Commission in and to the bridge or bridges extending between the State of Iowa and the State of Illinois, that part of said bridge or bridges within Iowa to the State of Iowa or any municipality or agency thereof as may be authorized by or pursuant to law to accept the same (hereafter referred to as the "Iowa interests") and that part of said bridge or bridges within Illinois to the State of Illinois or any municipality or agency thereof as may be authorized by or pursuant to law to accept the same (hereinafter referred to as the "Illinois interests"); likewise the Commission shall deliver deeds or other suitable instruments of conveyance of the interest of the Commission in and to any bridge that may cross the Mississippi River between the city of Dubuque, Iowa, and the State of Wisconsin, that part of said bridge within Iowa to the State of Iowa or any municipality or agency thereof as may be authorized by or pursuant to law to accept the same (hereafter referred to as the "Iowa interests"), and that part of said bridge within Wisconsin to the State of Wisconsin or any municipality or agency thereof as may be authorized by or pursuant to law to accept the same (hereafter referred to as the "Wisconsin interests"), under the condition that the bridge or bridges shall thereafter be free of tolls and be properly maintained, operated, and repaired by the Iowa interests, the Illinois interests, and the Wisconsin interests, as may be agreed upon; but if the Iowa, Illinois, or Wisconsin interests, as the case may be, fail to accept, or are not authorized to accept, their respective portions of said bridge or bridges, then the Commission may deliver deeds, or other suitable instruments or conveyance of said portions,

to any other interest which may accept and may be authorized to accept the same, under the condition that the bridge or bridges shall thereafter be free of toll and be properly maintained, operated, and repaired by said interests to whom said conveyances are delivered; but if either the Iowa interests or the Illinois interests or the Wisconsin interests, or any other interest hereinabove mentioned, shall not be authorized to accept or shall not accept the same under such conditions, then the bridge or bridges shall continue to be owned, maintained, operated, and repaired by the Commission, and the rates of tolls shall be so adjusted as to provide a fund of not to exceed the amount necessary for the proper maintenance, repair, and operation of the bridge or bridges and approaches under economical management, until such time as the Iowa interests, the Illinois interests, the Wisconsin interests, or any other interest hereinabove mentioned, shall be authorized to accept and shall accept such conveyance under such conditions. The rate or rates of toll for crossing any bridge now existing or hereafter constructed which abuts upon or enters into the corporate limits of the city of Dubuque, Iowa, shall not be reduced below the rate or rates now in effect on existing bridges so long as any indebtedness of said Commission for the account of any bridge or bridges shall be outstanding and unpaid.

(a) Notwithstanding any restrictions or limitation imposed by the act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1916, or by the Federal Highway Act, or by an act amendatory of or supplemental to either thereof, the Secretary of Agriculture or any other Federal department or agency of the United States Government may extend Federal aid under such acts for the construction of said bridge or bridges out of any moneys allocated to the State of Iowa with the consent of the State highway commission of said State, and out of moneys allocated to the State of Illinois with the consent of the department of highways of said State.

Sec. 8. For the purpose of carrying into effect the objects stated in this act, there is hereby created the City of Dubuque Bridge Commission, and by that name, style, and title said body shall have perpetual succession; may contract and be contracted with, sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, complain and defend in all courts of law and equity; may make and have a common seal; may purchase or otherwise acquire and hold or dispose of real estate and other property; may accept and receive donations or gifts of money or property and apply same to the purposes of this act; and shall have and possess all powers necessary, convenient, or proper for carrying into effect the objects stated in this act.

The Commission shall consist of W. M. Clemens, Charles G. Kretschmer, Charles T. Landon, Thomas M. Stampfer, of Dubuque, Iowa, and R. E. Werner, of East Dubuque, Ill.; such Commission shall be a public body corporate and politic. Each member of the Commission shall qualify within 30 days after the approval of this act by filing in the office of the Secretary of Agriculture an oath that he will faithfully perform the duties imposed upon him by this act, and each person appointed to fill a vacancy shall qualify in like manner within 30 days after his appointment. Any vacancy occurring in said Commission by reason of failure to qualify as above provided, or by reason of death or resignation, shall be filled by the Secretary of Agriculture. Before the issuance of bonds as hereinabove provided, each member of the Commission shall give such bond as may be fixed by the Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads of the Department of Agriculture, conditioned upon the faithful performance of all duties required by this act, the cost of such surety prior to and during the construction of the bridge shall be paid or reimbursed from the bond proceeds and thereafter such costs shall be deemed an operating expense. The Commission shall elect a chairman and a vice chairman from its members, and may establish rules and regulations for the government of its own business. A majority of the members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Sec. 9. The Commission shall have no capital stock or shares of interest or participation, and all revenues and receipts thereof shall be applied to the purposes specified in this act. The members of the Commission shall be entitled to a per diem compensation for their services of \$10 for each day actually spent in the business of the Commission, but the maximum compensation of the chairman in any year shall not exceed \$1,200, and of each other member shall not exceed \$600. The members of the Commission shall also be entitled to receive traveling-expense allowance of 10 cents a mile for each mile actually traveled on the business of the Commission. The Commission may employ a secretary, treasurer, engineers, attorneys, and other such experts, assistants, and employees as they may deem necessary, who shall be entitled to receive such compensation as the Commission may determine. All salaries and expenses shall be paid solely from the funds provided under the authority of this act. After all bonds and interest thereon shall have been paid and all other obligations of the Commission paid or discharged, or provision for all such payment shall have been made as hereinbefore provided and after the bridge or bridges shall have been conveyed to the Iowa interests, the Illinois interests and the Wisconsin interests, as herein provided, or otherwise disposed of as provided herein, the Commission shall be dissolved and shall cease to have further existence by an order of the Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads made upon his own initiative or upon application of the Commission or any member or members thereof, but only after a public hearing in the city of

Dubuque, Iowa, notice of the time and place of which hearing and the purpose thereof shall have been published once, at least 30 days before the date thereof, in a newspaper published in the city of Dubuque, Iowa. At the time of such dissolution all moneys in the hands of or to the credit of the Commission shall be divided and distribution made between the interests of the States, as may be determined by the Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads of the United States.

SEC. 10. Notwithstanding any of the provisions of this act, the Commission shall have full power and authority to negotiate and enter into a contract or contracts with the State Highway Commission of Iowa and the Department of Highways of Illinois, the State Highway Department of Wisconsin, the city of Dubuque, Dubuque County, Iowa, or any county or municipality in the State of Illinois, whereby the Commission may receive financial aid in the construction or maintenance of a bridge or bridges and approaches thereto, and said Commission in its discretion may avail itself of all of the facilities of the State Highway Commission of the State of Iowa and the Department of Highways of the State of Illinois with regard to the construction of said proposed bridge or bridges, and the Commission may make and enter into any contract or contracts which it deems expedient and proper with the State Highway Commission of Iowa and the Department of Highways of Illinois, whereby said highway departments or either of them may construct, operate, and maintain or participate with the Commission in the construction, operation, maintenance of said bridge or bridges to be constructed hereunder, and approaches. It is hereby declared to be the purpose of Congress to facilitate the construction of a bridge and proper approaches across the Mississippi River at or near Dubuque, Iowa, and East Dubuque, Ill., and to authorize the Commission to promote said object and purposes, with full power to contract with either the State Highway Commission of Iowa or the Department of Highways of Illinois or with any agency or department of the Federal Government, or both, in relation to the purchase or condemnation, construction, operation, and maintenance of said bridges and approaches.

SEC. 11. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize or permit the Commission or any member thereof to create any obligation or incur any liability other than such obligations and liabilities as are dischargeable solely from funds contemplated to be provided by this act. No obligation created or liability incurred pursuant to this act shall be a personal obligation or liability of any member or members of the Commission but shall be chargeable solely to the funds herein provided, nor shall any indebtedness created pursuant to this act be an indebtedness of the United States.

SEC. 12. The design and construction of any bridge which may be built pursuant to this act shall be in accordance with the standard specifications for highway bridges adopted by the American Association of State Highway Officials.

SEC. 13. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Friday, May 27, 1938, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

*Executive nominations received by the Senate Thursday, May 26 (legislative day of April 20), 1938*

##### PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Richmond B. Keech, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia for a term of 3 years from July 1, 1938. (Reappointment.)

##### COAST GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES

###### TO BE ENSIGNS, TO RANK FROM JUNE 2, 1938

Alexander William Wuerker	James Anderson Hyslop
John Edward Dale Hudgens	Benjamin Dey Shoemaker, Jr.
Arthur Pfeiffer	
George Edward Howarth	Raymond Allen Tuttle
Benjamin Franklin Engel	Donald Marcus Morell
Robert Waldron	Charles Eugene Leising, Jr.
George Thomas Murati	Benjamin Palmer Clark
James Weldon Williams	Thomas Reece Sargent, III
Henry Parsons Kniskern, Jr.	John A. Pritchard, Jr.
Cornelius Garret Houtsma	Edwin Bruce Ing
Edward Carlton Allen, Jr.	Winslow Hurlburt Buxton
Arthur Bright Engel	James Baird Weaver

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##### APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY

###### TO FIELD ARTILLERY

Second Lt. Carl Baehr, Jr., Cavalry, with rank from June 12, 1936, effective June 12, 1938.

###### TO COAST ARTILLERY CORPS

Second Lt. Laurence John Ellert, Air Corps, with rank from June 12, 1936.

##### CONFIRMATIONS

*Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 26 (legislative day of April 20), 1938*

###### UNITED STATES MARSHAL

William Ryan to be United States marshal for the eastern district of Illinois.

###### COAST GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES

###### TO BE ENSIGNS, TO RANK FROM JUNE 2, 1938

Alexander William Wuerker  
John Edward Dale Hudgens  
Arthur Pfeiffer  
George Edward Howarth  
Benjamin Franklin Engel  
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Charles Eugene Leising, Jr.  
Benjamin Palmer Clark  
Thomas Reece Sargent III  
John A. Pritchard, Jr.  
Edwin Bruce Ing  
Winslow Hurlburt Buxton  
James Baird Weaver

###### POSTMASTERS

###### CALIFORNIA

Mary D. Briggs, Los Angeles.  
Hyle W. Rapp, Loyalton.

###### GEORGIA

Marion Lucas, Savannah.

###### NORTH DAKOTA

Orpheus H. Halverson, Northwood.  
Sadie E. Uggen, Woodworth.

###### WEST VIRGINIA

Ada B. Steiner, Berkeley Springs.  
James H. Moyer, Cass.  
Thomas R. Moore, Charles Town.  
John W. Fisher, Moorfield.  
Frederick W. Horchler, Newburg.

###### WISCONSIN

Albert Hess, Arcadia.  
John F. Loschky, Arpin.  
Theodore E. Wozniak, Athens.  
Charles P. McCormick, Belleville.  
Edward R. Kranzfelder, Bloomer.  
George Heiderer, Butternut.  
Alex G. Mohr, Cambria.  
John S. McHugh, De Pere.  
August H. LaRenzie, Eagle River.  
Ronald F. North, Eau Claire.  
Tessa B. Morrissy, Elkhorn.  
Melvin I. Dunn, Fall River.  
Fern M. Dagnon, Ferryville.  
Claude E. Rochon, Florence.

Matthew J. Hart, Glidden.  
 Reginald L. Barnes, Greenwood.  
 James R. Alexander, Hayward.  
 Carl J. Mueller, Jefferson.  
 Frank Heppe, Kewaskum.  
 Wenzel M. Dvorak, La Crosse.  
 Frank M. Doyle, Ladysmith.  
 May K. Powers, Lake Geneva.  
 Walter E. Smith, Lodi.  
 Ruth S. Foley, Maiden Rock.  
 Thomas F. McDonald, Marshfield.  
 John K. Wotruba, Milladore.  
 Roswell S. Richards, Monticello.  
 Axel L. Olson, Mountain.  
 Nicholas Ablor, Mount Calvary.  
 Lillian N. Hughes, New Richmond.  
 John W. Johnson, Pepin.  
 Rudolph I. Baumann, Phillips.  
 John P. Pabst, Pittsville.  
 Louis H. Schultz, Reedsburg.  
 Adelbert O. Randall, Rosendale.  
 William J. Corry, South Milwaukee.  
 Louis J. Thompson, Spooner.  
 John C. Reinke, Stone Lake.  
 Bethel W. Robinson, Superior.  
 Alfred H. Hadler, Thiensville.  
 William S. Wagner, Thorp.  
 Louis H. Rivard, Turtle Lake.  
 Elmer A. Peterson, Walworth.  
 John T. O'Sullivan, Washburn.  
 Edward A. Peters, Waterloo.  
 James W. Carew, Waupaca.  
 Frank P. McManman, Wisconsin Dells.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1938

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

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

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, who art the hope of all the ends of the earth, remember us in love and guide us by Thine infinite wisdom. Grant Thy blessing upon these Thy servants of our Republic. Clothe them with the spirit of wisdom and truth. So rule in all hearts and so bless us in all endeavors that justice and contentment may prevail. We pray, so purify our spiritual visions that we may see Thee; renew our inward lives through the unseen and eternal. O Thou whose nature is love, whose spirit is goodness, whose will is peace, make Thy face to shine upon us and be gracious unto us. Oh, lift up Thy countenance upon us that we may see the glowing pathways of righteous duty and service. In the holy name of Jesus. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. St. Claire, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H. J. Res. 647. Joint resolution to increase by \$15,000 the amount authorized to be appropriated for the observance of the anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 and the settlement of the Northwest Territory.

The message also announced that the Vice President had appointed Mr. TRUMAN a member of the committee of conference on the part of the Senate on the bill (S. 3845) to create a Civil Aeronautics Authority, and to promote the development and safety and to provide for the regulation of civil aeronautics, vice Mr. CLARK, resigned.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House. A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 90]

Anderson, Mo.	Dirksen	Lambeth	Secrest
Andrews	Ditter	Lesinski	Shafer, Mich.
Arnold	Dockweller	Lucas	Shanley
Atkinson	Doughton	McGranery	Sirovich
Barden	Douglas	McGroarty	Smith, Maine
Binderup	Drew, Pa.	McMillan	Smith, Okla.
Bland	Elliott	Maas	Somers, N. Y.
Boehne	Fish	Magnuson	Steagall
Boren	Fitzpatrick	Martin, Mass.	Sullivan
Buckley, N. Y.	Gasque	Mitchell, Tenn.	Taylor, Colo.
Bulwinkle	Gifford	Norton	Thurston
Byrne	Gildea	O'Connell, R. I.	Tinkham
Cannon, Wis.	Goldsborough	O'Connor, Mont.	Vincent, Ky.
Champion	Gray, Ind.	O'Day	Vinson, Ga.
Chapman	Gray, Pa.	Oliver	Wallgren
Claypool	Greenwood	Palmisano	Wearin
Cole, Md.	Griswold	Pettengill	Weaver
Cole, N. Y.	Hancock, N. C.	Polk	Wene
Creal	Hart	Quinn	Whelchel
Crosby	Hoffman	Ramspeck	White, Idaho
Culkin	Holmes	Reece, Tenn.	Wilcox
Curley	Hook	Rich	Wolcott
Daly	Hunter	Richards	Woodruff
Deen	Kennedy, Md.	Rogers, Okla.	
Delaney	Kniffin	Sadowski	
DeMuth	Kvale	Scott	

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 324 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

### WAR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILLS, 1939

Mr. SNYDER of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on the bill (H. R. 9995) making appropriations for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes, and on the bill (H. R. 10291) making appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, for civil functions administered by the War Department, and for other purposes.

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

There was no objection.

### WHAT IS WRONG WITH WALL STREET?

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD at this point on What Is Wrong With Wall Street?

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Speaker, in these days of depressed financial conditions it is indeed refreshing to learn of at least one Wall Street banker who is not discouraged, but on the contrary highly pleased with the program enacted by Congress in the last few years which is designed to curb dishonesty and greedy speculation in the capital markets.

I refer to John J. Bergen, a youthful Wall Street underwriter whose courage, foresight, and tenacity in this period of stress are indeed edifying and encouraging to the observer. I have never met Mr. Bergen. I know him only through his intimates.

From these people I learn that Mr. Bergen foresaw that the old Wall Street, its traditions, its methods of doing business, some of its personnel, and its reactionary attitude toward changing social conditions were fast crumbling. Did Mr. Bergen sit idly by, criticizing and condemning the Democratic Party and this Congress and the Securities Exchange Commission for alleged ineptitude? Did his wails resound through these walls? Did he lament the passage of the so-called lush days, when almost any man of integrity and energy could amass a fortune? He most certainly did not.

Mr. Bergen changed the entire structure of his widespread banking interests. He kept pace with our changing times and conditions. He studied regulations of the Securities and Exchange Commission and framed his banking structure to meet its requirements, despite many difficulties in attempting to follow out Securities and Exchange Commission regulations. The result has been, I understand from those who