

## IOWA

William S. Richard, Corydon.  
William H. Metzinger, Montrose.

## OKLAHOMA

Silas E. West, Disney.  
Thomas R. Johnson, Elk City.  
Roy Rine, Nash.  
Shelby T. McNutt, Ringwood.

## RHODE ISLAND

Nicholas Ball, Block Island.  
Millard F. Phelan, Comimicut.

## WYOMING

John L. Downs, Douglas.  
Alfred B. Mills, Lusk.  
Lowell O. Stephens, Powell.  
John Barwick, Superior.  
Robert W. Hale, Thermopolis.  
David J. Nolan, Upton.  
Percival F. McClure, Worland.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1940

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

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

Almighty and everliving God, unto us as children of Thy jealous care, Thy benedictions are like streams of water in a dry and thirsty land: Thus to Thee we offer our hearts of praise and gratitude. We pray that the memory of our sins and failures may be grievous unto us. By every temptation overcome may we be made wiser and stronger. O kindle in our hearts those visions which never fade and open for our waiting feet the ways of purity, peace, and power, and may we never falter. Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue and if there be any praise, think on these things. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## BOULDER DAM

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I present a privileged report from the Committee on Foreign Affairs on House Resolution 356.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

## House Resolution 356

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State is directed to answer to the House the following inquiries:

1. When and in what foreign capital was the conspiracy entered into to destroy, by the use of explosives, the power and reclamation projects of the United States at Boulder Dam?
2. When did the State Department first learn of this conspiracy?
3. What had been done by the conspirators and the details of their scheme up to the time the State Department first obtained information of the plot?
4. What are the names of the conspirators?
5. What were their political and national affiliations during the existence of the conspiracy?
6. Have any of them been questioned by officials or agents of the State Department or any other department of the United States?
7. Have any of the conspirators or other persons been arrested or held as a result of said plot?
8. Are any of the conspirators Communists or did any of them act in furtherance of the designs of any communistic group?
9. What other information is in the possession of the State Department concerning said plot?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move that the resolution be laid on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mrs. O'DAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include therein a letter written to the Federation of Women's Clubs.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

There was no objection.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House on tomorrow for 20 minutes after disposition of the matters on the Speaker's table and the legislative program of the day.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wonder if we know now what the program is going to be tomorrow. If we are going to have general debate following any Calendar Wednesday business, I wonder if the request would be necessary.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, the resolution coming up today will probably take 2 or 3 hours, and in all probability it will be 3 or 3:30 o'clock before we get to a vote. It was our thought that the Treasury and Post Office bill might go over until tomorrow, but the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LUDLOW] has his statement on the bill ready and would like to get it in the RECORD tonight. So after the so-called extension of the Dies committee resolution is disposed of, it is the purpose of the gentleman from Indiana to move that the House go into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and, at least, to make his statement today. Tomorrow is Calendar Wednesday, and the call rests with the Committee on Naval Affairs. I do not believe that committee wants to use the day because it is not ready to proceed, but I think we should begin calling the calendar on Wednesday for at least one committee. After the call of the committee, it is the intention to go on with general debate on the Post Office and Treasury Departments bill.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. The purpose, then, is to call one committee on tomorrow, which will be the Committee on Naval Affairs, and then continue with general debate on the appropriation bill?

Mr. RAYBURN. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. The only thought I had in mind was that the gentleman from New York could probably get time under general debate instead of a special order.

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

There was no objection.

## EMBARGO ON AMERICAN TOBACCO

Mr. SASSCER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SASSCER. Mr. Speaker, the agricultural sections of this country, particularly those producing tobacco, were shocked when they learned that the British Government had placed an embargo on the importation of American tobacco to the United Kingdom. It is reported that the Empire expects to purchase from Turkey the tobacco heretofore bought in America. I suppose that the purpose is to incur favor with Turkey in connection with the Dardanelles. Favor may be incurred with Turkey by this action, but the embargo on American tobacco strikes a stinging blow at vast agricultural sections of this country and incurs disfavor and resentment.

As the reduction in our foreign markets will further depress a price level—upon which the farmers are hardly existing now—it is vital for us from the States or sections depending upon tobacco production to cooperate to the fullest degree to effect a removal of this embargo. I note with pleasure that my colleagues, the gentlemen from North Carolina, Representative COOLEY and Representative WARREN, have protested to the Agriculture Department on behalf of their constituents.

This embargo on an agricultural product is so far-reaching in policy and effect, I arise to suggest that all of us from tobacco sections cooperate immediately and pool our energies in exerting every honorable influence for the removal of this restriction. The British Government may feel justified in using this means to strengthen its economic and political policies with Turkey. They must, however, realize that the matter is sufficiently vital in its effect on the economic life of the agricultural sections of America affected by the restrictions to fully justify us as a last resort to advocate trade reprisals within our influences for the removal of this embargo. [Applause.]

#### DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia, from the Committee on Appropriations, reported the bill (H. R. 8067, Rept. No. 1525) making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and for other purposes, which was read a first and second time, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered printed.

Mr. TABER reserved all points of order on the bill.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LEAVY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include therein the address delivered by the President of the United States on last Friday in connection with a White House conference on children in a democracy.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[Mr. RANKIN addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. TENEROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the subject of the 1940 labor scene; also, to extend my own remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the subject of a radio program and to include two letters which I have received in this connection.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

By unanimous consent, Mr. PATRICK, Mr. VOORHIS of California, Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts, and Mr. GIBBS were granted permission to revise and extend their own remarks.

Mr. SMITH of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a radio speech that I gave last night over the Mutual Broadcasting System.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. SMITH of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday of this week, after the business of the day has been disposed of, that I may speak for 30 minutes.

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

There was no objection.

#### THE CHRISTIAN FRONT

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to note that Attorney General Jackson has ordered a complete "front"

inquiry into the charges against 17 Christian Front members of sedition and plotting the Government's overthrow.

I applaud that order.

Let the chips fly where they may.

Especially let the investigation include those who (1) directed, (2) abetted, (3) financed, and (4) incited—particularly incited—these fifteen-or-so foolish youths who allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by their leaders, Cassidy and the Nazi with the long criminal record—his name escapes me at the moment. Their scheme was fantastic, yet it betokens serious warnings and tendencies.

Fourteen Members of Congress were to be assassinated. I was No. 2 on the list. Our colleagues from our metropolitan area who voted to lift the embargo were also slated to go. Such a scheme is fantastic, yet it is also tragic.

Let the inquiry reach out into Detroit. Let Father Coughlin explain his avowed contacts with, encouragement, and praise of, the Christian Front, and particularly its leader, Cassidy, and his comradeship with him.

This man Cassidy created much mischief in Brooklyn with his rowdy cohorts. For many months he and his band abetted by editorials in Social Justice, edited by Father Coughlin, intimidated peaceful citizens in Brooklyn because of their religion, outraged the feelings of the decent people of our borough, and made of themselves nuisances bordering on criminality. Now, thank goodness, the law has caught up with them. They must answer to the charge of sedition.

Father Coughlin has hailed these same ruffians and brigands. I quote from an article in the New York Times:

As for the apparent acceptance by Social Justice of Cassidy as a member of the Christian Front in good standing, the files of the magazine show the following:

On July 31, 1939, the large cover-page headline on Social Justice read: "Christian Front Carries Fight Into More States." There was a reference to page 3, on which was a one-column article, under a New York date line headed: "Units of Militant Christian Front are being formed in Middlewest; Hosts Battle Communism in New York; National Movement Growing From Patriotic Action of 36 Christian Men in Brooklyn."

This article said in part:

"From a modest start of only 36 men banded together in Brooklyn last year, for the purpose of actively combating communism on the streets of New York, the organization has penetrated all boroughs of the metropolis. Under the leadership of Mr. John F. Cassidy of Brooklyn there are now five central units operating in the metropolitan district."

#### FIVE MILLION MEMBERS PREDICTED

The article spoke of the Christian Front as "the inevitable counteraction to communism," and as "a protector of Christianity and Americanism," and predicted a membership of 5,000,000 by 1940.

On July 24, 1939, Social Justice carried an account of a meeting in Philadelphia that heard Father Coughlin by radio. In the address, the priest, so the article said, "praised the heroism and zeal of the Christian Front in those areas where its work has already borne fruit, and urged Philadelphians to emulate their Christianity and Americanism."

Father Coughlin espoused the cause of the Christian Front, thus:

Ponder upon this fact, that the Christian Front is no longer a dream; it is a reality in America; a reality that grows stronger, more courageous and more determined under the threat of your ideological invasion.

#### MEETING FORCE WITH FORCE

Nevertheless, the Christian way is the peaceful way until—until—until all argument having failed, all civil authority having failed, there is left no other way but the way of defending ourselves against the invaders of our spiritual and national rights, the Franco way.

The Commonwealth, a Catholic magazine of considerable excellence, editorially castigates Father Coughlin and his Social Justice, and blames him, with others, for the plight of these 17 men.

"Fantastic yet tragic and alarming," is the way it describes the criminal conspiracy of plotting destruction of public and private property, culminating in seizure of high offices and officers.

Great credit is due J. Edgar Hoover and his men for their skill and ingenuity and courage in unearthing this dreadful plot.

Hoover has been criticized for wasting time on such misguided youths. Wasting time—hell!

This conspiracy contains all the recognizable elements of antidemocratic and anti-Semitic terror, which were the preludes of Nazi and Fascist and Communistic victories. There was a complete terrorist schedule with guns, bombs, and rifles. Only one bomb set off in a crowded building would have killed hundreds.

Suppose they had shot one of our members, what would these critics have then said. Thank goodness their scheme was nipped in the bud.

All hail J. Edgar Hoover for his excellent work. [Applause.] [Here the gavel fell.]

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. JOHNS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNS. Mr. Speaker, we are going to have under discussion today the extension of the powers of the Dies committee, and I want to include in my remarks a letter from the American Legion of Wisconsin, in which 35,000 members, together with 21,000 members of the American Legion Auxiliary, are for the extension of this committee.

I ask unanimous consent to include this letter from the American Legion of Wisconsin, and also a letter from the American Federation of Labor, signed by William Green, president.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The matters referred to follow:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,  
DEPARTMENT OF WISCONSIN,  
Milwaukee, January 18, 1940.

Hon. JOSHUA L. JOHNS,

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: When the House of Representatives originally created the so-called Dies committee, which has been investigating un-American activities in this country, your action had the full support of the American Legion.

The national convention of the American Legion at Chicago in September 1939 voted overwhelmingly for the continuation of this committee, and I can assure you that the American Legion in Wisconsin, 35,000 strong, together with 21,000 members of the American Legion Auxiliary, are heartily in favor of the continuation of this committee.

We sincerely hope that this committee will be continued and that you will use all of your efforts in support of it.

Respectfully yours,

FRANK L. GREENY,  
Department Commander.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,  
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1940.

Hon. JOSHUA L. JOHNS,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, recently expressed approval of the work which the Dies congressional committee has performed and of its continuation of the investigation which it is making into the activities of subversive groups within the United States.

In conformity with this action taken by the highest authority within the American Federation of Labor, I am officially requesting that you support such proposal as may be submitted to Congress, providing for the continuation of the Dies committee and of an appropriation sufficient to enable it to carry on its investigations.

I cannot conceive of anyone, other than those who may be exposed through association with Communist organizations and Communist front organizations, objecting to a thorough investigation into the activities of subversive groups by a congressional committee. Those who have no sympathy with these un-American groups, these subversive forces within our social order who are constantly seeking to change our form of government and to promote revolution can with perfect propriety give wholehearted support to the work of the Dies committee and to the investigation it has made and which it can continue to make.

The people of our country are entitled to know the truth. We of the American Federation of Labor want them to know the facts. We want those who are undermining our form of government and those who are engaged in subversive activities to be exposed. Ridicule, denunciation, and sarcasm, all directed toward the Dies committee by those who seek to suppress its activities and prevent it from carrying on its important work, can only be looked upon with suspicion. We cannot permit those who engage in such tactics to prevent a thorough investigation and a public exposure of the actions and of the activities of individuals and groups who are

engaged in un-American activities, and who are seeking either directly or indirectly the overthrow of our Government.

The preservation of freedom and democracy is a matter of vital concern to all those who believe in our form of government. We can protect ourselves if we know who and what it is that is undermining and attacking our governmental structure. Those who are with us need not fear; those who are against us ought to be exposed. The Dies committee is rendering a great public service. It should be continued until its investigation is completed.

I urge you to support the Dies committee. I appeal to you to vote for an appropriation which will adequately equip the Dies committee to complete the excellent, splendid work which it has thus far carried on.

Sincerely yours,

WM. GREEN,  
President, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURY AND POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL. 1941

Mr. LUDLOW, from the Committee on Appropriations, reported the bill, H. R. 8068 (Rept. No. 1526), making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, and for other purposes, which was read a first and second time, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. TABER reserved all points of order.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] be allowed to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the subject of a report prepared by Samuel Crowther for the Commission for the Promotion of the Wealth and Income of the People of New Hampshire entitled "What We Earn—What We Owe," and to include therein an editorial from the New York Daily Mirror of December 6, 1939.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a very brief editorial from the New York Sun of January 10 last.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a speech given by the patriotic and distinguished newspaper publisher, Frank Gannett, in Rochester, N. Y., on January 16 last.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a letter from the president of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

THE LATE MAJ. GEN. OMAR BUNDY

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to report the death of one of our outstanding military geniuses, Maj. Gen. Omar Bundy.

Major General Bundy was born in Newcastle, Ind., in my congressional district. He departed this life on January 21, 1940, in the city of Washington at the age of 78 years. A graduate of West Point in 1883, he afterward participated in many of the great military expeditions of this country. In his early military life he took part in the engagements with the Sioux Indians. In the World War he commanded the Second Division, and later the Sixth and Seventh Army Corps. His record as a soldier is outstanding.

General Bundy will be best remembered because of his refusal to retreat when ordered to do so. His action in standing fast had a direct influence on the early outcome of the World War. He was a brave and gallant soldier. His inspiration will continue throughout the years. Having filled his mission in life—may he rest in peace.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### BOULDER DAM

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I have requested this minute to ask the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs the reason he moved to table the privileged resolution just offered by him, in view of the fact that it is so highly important to the people of southern California that Boulder Dam be protected and that they may know what to do about it? Is the gentleman from New York willing to answer?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Foreign Affairs had this resolution under consideration yesterday and voted unanimously to report it out adversely. The letter received from the Secretary of State regarding this matter is on file with the Committee on Foreign Affairs; and if the gentleman from California will come to the committee rooms and read the letter of the Secretary of State, he will find his question answered fully.

Mr. HINSHAW. I thank the gentleman.

#### COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Military Affairs, or any subcommittee thereof, may be permitted to sit during the sessions of the House for this week.

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

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PITTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks on the character of the Russian attack on Finland and the proposed loan to Finland.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ALEXANDER asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a speech delivered by STYLES BRIDGES at St. Louis, Mo., on January 17 last.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks on two subjects:

First, to extend in the RECORD a letter written me by one of my constituents, with an accompanying article by the columnist Ted Lee Berthon, appearing in the Los Angeles Daily News.

Second, to extend in the RECORD a letter addressed to me by Mr. Bruce Hannon, secretary-treasurer of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the request will be granted.

There was no objection.

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an article from the South Bend Tribune in reference to the testimonial dinner given to Bishop John F. O'Hara, the newly consecrated auxiliary bishop of the United States Army and Navy diocese.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a bill which I have introduced to extend the time within

which applications for payment under the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, may be filed, and also to enlarge the class of dependents under such act so as to include the brothers and sisters and estates of deceased veterans.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include in those remarks an address by Judge Joseph Hutcheson, of Houston, Tex., on the subject of neutrality and this Nation's relation to other nations, delivered to the Birmingham Bar Association.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DICKSTEIN asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a brief article from the Washington Post of January 20.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include two resolutions.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include therein a letter and a certificate.

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

There was no objection.

#### FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND PATRIOTIC CITIZENS PETITION FOR CONTINUANCE OF THE DIES COMMITTEE

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the petitions here presented to the House are typical of petitions from 27 States signed by over 400,000 petitioners supporting this resolution:

*Resolved*, That we petition the Congress of the United States to vote an appropriation necessary to continue the congressional committee for the investigation of un-American activities, Congressman MARTIN Dies, chairman, until 1942.

All of the original petitions are on file in Detroit in the offices of the Committee of 1,000,000. Accompanying these petitions is a letter from the national chairman, Gerald L. K. Smith, and a list of the States in which the petitioners reside and the certification of the headquarters staff of the Committee of 1,000,000, certifying to the facts set forth in the letter of Mr. Smith. These exhibits will be printed following this statement.

My information is to the effect that since these petitions were signed and filed in the office of the committee, additional petitions have been sent in and that the number of petitioners now exceeds 500,000. When 500,000 petitioners will take the trouble to sign petitions asking that money be appropriated to continue a congressional investigation, it is most encouraging proof that all the vilification, the ridicule, and the unfair attacks which have been made upon the individual members of this committee and upon the committee itself have been judged and, by the American people, found without substantial foundation.

Little men, columnists; men who have never held an elective office; men who, if they offered themselves as candidates for Representatives in Congress, might discover that their opinions and views had little or no weight with those charged with selecting Representatives at the polls, have

seen fit to belittle the members of this committee; to charge some of them with being interested only in political activities.

The answer to all those who have followed that course, whether they be columnists, or those high in authority in the New Deal councils, or whether they be members of the family in the White House, will be found today in the overwhelming vote of the House for a continuation of this Committee. The answer to all those accusations, the faith of American people in our form of Government, the desire of our people to put down and suppress all those who would overthrow our Government by force, is found in the overwhelming public sentiment throughout the country for the continuation of this committee. [Applause.]

GERALD L. K. SMITH, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN,  
COMMITTEE OF 1,000,000,  
January 21, 1940.

The Honorable CLARE E. HOFFMAN,  
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HOFFMAN: As per arrangement I am forwarding to you petitions calling for the continuation of the Congressional Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities, Congressman MARTIN DIES, chairman.

The Committee of 1,000,000, of which I am the national chairman, is strictly a program of enlistment and education by the use of the printed page and the radio. Our weekly broadcast covers 27 States.

Some few weeks ago we invited our listeners to circulate petitions asking for the continuation of the Dies committee. Since this suggestion was first made over the radio, petitions have been requested in great numbers and are now being filled out at the rate of between four and six thousand names per day. We now have on hand petitions totaling close to one-half million names.

I am forwarding you herewith approximately 100 typical petitions representing 27 States. If the resolution calling for the continuation of the Dies committee comes to debate, or is carried over for further consideration to the point where you would advise that we carry these thousands of petitions to Washington, we shall be pleased so to do.

These petitions, as you will readily see, indicate the wide coverage of our campaign and the great popularity of the Dies committee.

I attach herewith a picture also of the recent midwestern rally, representing 15 States, held under the auspices of our committee, at which time 23,000 delegates attended. On the back of this picture you will see listed the resolutions adopted at this rally, with less than 300 people dissenting and more than 22,000 voting for the resolutions.

You will observe that Resolution No. 8 calls for the continuation of the Dies committee.

An interpretation of my heavy radio mail, which runs into thousands upon thousands of pieces, reveals that the average voter assumes that the main opposition to the Dies committee is coming from the Nazi propagandists and the Communist Party.

I attach herewith signed certification, signed by our office manager and the secretary in charge of the files, confirming the fact that these petitions merely symbolize an enlistment approaching nearly one-half million names.

Although there is other subject matter in the petition, we ask you in this instance to make use of the petition as it relates to the continuation of the Dies committee. Because of our great confidence in you, we ask that you present these petitions, together with the facts set forth in this letter, to the Committee on Resolutions, of which Congressman SABATH is the chairman. I understand that this committee meets Monday, January 22, 1940.

Sincerely yours,

GERALD L. K. SMITH,  
National Chairman of the Committee of 1,000,000.

P. S.—The committee of 1,000,000 represents the active cooperation of the leadership of 141 patriotic and civic groups.

MEMO A

JANUARY 21, 1940.

Memo for Congressman CLARE E. HOFFMAN concerning token petitions to be presented to the resolutions committee as samples of nearly one-half million names calling for the continuation of the Dies committee

The attached petitions are from the following States: Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, New York, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Illinois, Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, Maryland, Oklahoma, New Hampshire, Louisiana, Kentucky, Florida, Alabama, North Carolina, Minnesota, South Carolina, and Texas.

MEMO B

JANUARY 21, 1940.

Memo for Congressman CLARE E. HOFFMAN concerning token petitions to be presented to the resolutions committee as samples of nearly one-half million names calling for the continuation of the Dies committee

We, the undersigned, are members of the headquarters staff of the Committee of One Million, having to do with files, petitions, and office management.

We have read the letter addressed to Congressman CLARE E. HOFFMAN by Gerald L. K. Smith, national chairman of the Committee

of One Million, setting forth the certain facts having to do with the petitions that have been secured calling for the continuation of the congressional committee for the investigation of un-American activities, Congressman MARTIN DIES, chairman.

We certify by our signatures that the facts set forth by Mr. Smith are substantially correct.

PHYLLIS CHANDLER,  
Keeper of Files,  
BERNARD DOMAN,  
Office manager,  
E. M. SMITH,  
WALLACE GAMBER.

This, the 21st day of January 1940.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

MR. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, and to include therein a radio broadcast made Sunday evening.

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

There was no objection.

#### INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

MR. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 321 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

House Resolution 321

*Resolved*, That the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities is authorized to continue the investigation begun under authority of House Resolution 282 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, and continued under House Resolution 26 of the Seventy-sixth Congress, and for such purposes said committee shall have the same power and authority as that conferred upon it by said House Resolution 282 of the Seventy-fifth Congress and shall report to the House as soon as practicable, but not later than January 3, 1942, the results of its investigations, together with its recommendations for necessary legislation.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 9, strike out "1942" and insert "1941."

MR. FISH. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman from Illinois if we can reach an agreement about the control of the time?

MR. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman knows the House has granted the committee an additional 1 hour. Under the rules I take it that that should be divided equally between those favoring and opposing the resolution. The gentleman is familiar with the fact that on this side, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STARNES], representing the committee, and two other members of that committee, desire and are entitled to time on behalf of the resolution; therefore, I feel that time should be set aside for them out of the extra hour, so there will be no complications or question.

MR. FISH. Will the gentleman yield further?

MR. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

MR. FISH. I agree with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] that certain members of the committee should have time, but I will have to insist that the time be equally divided between the gentleman and myself. Of course, I will be glad to give some time to those gentlemen, if the gentleman from Illinois cannot do it out of his time, but I think it should be well understood at the beginning of this debate that the time shall be divided equally, as is the usual custom, between the gentleman from Illinois and the ranking minority member of the Rules Committee.

MR. SABATH. I was in hopes the gentleman would agree that I yield the time to the members of the committee who are in favor of the resolution; but if the gentleman objects and insists, believing and trusting that he will divide the time allowed him evenly, I shall agree to his proposition.

THE SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois yields 1 hour under the unanimous-consent agreement to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH].

The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 1 hour.

MR. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, were it not for the fact that I have been misquoted in my interview of a few days ago, I would not take any time now.

I favored the resolution creating the special investigating committee of which the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] was chairman. I also favored the resolution which created the special committee of which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] is chairman; also I voted for the \$100,000 last session for the expenses of that special com-

mittee on the assurance that the investigation would be properly conducted. However, I am obliged at this time to state that, although I am reporting this resolution by direction of the Rules Committee, I am opposed to it because I feel that many righteous and outstanding men and women, as well as various constructive, patriotic, and enlightened organizations, have been unfairly and unwarrantedly assailed and stigmatized by being charged with communism, nazi-ism, and so forth.

I am pleased to inform the House that at the hearing yesterday at least three of the members of the special committee assured the Committee on Rules that nothing like that will be done in the future and that no statements will be given out unless they are actually justified by facts.

Personally, of course, I do not blame the Republicans for taking the position they do. If I were a Republican I, too, would favor the resolution, because, unfortunately, this special committee has aided the Republicans by assailing and attacking our leaders and progressive, patriotic organizations. I regret very much that the special committee has lent itself to assailing and attacking progressive labor organizations throughout the United States.

I know where the petitions to which the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN], has referred, signed by so many members of the American Legion, emanated. We know that the leaders of the American Legion somehow or other are misled by the Republicans and are being used by them. [Laughter.] That is all right; I will show you later that such is true.

On the other hand, I have received thousands upon thousands of resolutions, petitions, and appeals that the life of this special committee be not continued. I have here [indicating] petitions from the American Federation of Teachers, the Consumers Union, the Committee for Peoples Rights, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Professional League for Civil Rights, the Public Affairs Committee, National Board of the Young Womens Christian Association, the American League for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, the League of Women Shoppers, and many other organizations, all urging that they be heard against the resolution.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. In just a moment.

Mr. COX. Is the gentleman attempting to catalog all the communistic activities in this country in the reading of that list?

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I have not yielded to my colleague, and I resent the statement of the gentleman and deny that any of these named organizations are composed of Communists or are communistically inclined. I will say that I am just as much opposed to communistic activities as is the gentleman from Georgia. I am just as much opposed to the activities of the Nazis and all similar un-American organizations as is the gentleman, and, perhaps, even to a greater degree.

Mr. Speaker, not only have I received protests from ex-service men as to the unfair tactics and procedure of the investigating committee, but from practically every type and kind of organization in the United States, totaling at least a million protests. I am not going to encumber the RECORD with insertions of voluminous petitions and lengthy communications, but shall take the liberty of including a few excerpts from some of the petitions and brief telegrams and letters of outstanding organizations. I quote from a report by a special committee of the American Civil Liberties Union as adopted by the board of directors on January 8, 1940:

Congressional investigations properly conducted are one of the admirable attributes of our democracy. This is so, even though, because of the immunity given to congressional inquiries, the press often repeats, without legal liability, what would otherwise be slanderous and libelous statements. The cure is not a suppression of congressional inquiry, but, rather, orderly procedure of the congressional committee and public debate as to the truth or falsity of the material revealed.

Although we would not restrict congressional committees by the ordinary rules of evidence, we believe that such committees should observe at least a minimum standard of fair play, flagrantly ignored by the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities.

The second report of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities is more calm and temperate in tone. It is more nearly on the proper track of the course an investigation of this kind should take. It is in striking contrast to the alarmist statements of Chairman Dies himself. However, the injury done to organizations and to persons through the publicizing of unfounded charges against them cannot be obliterated or atoned for by the subsequent issuance of a report which does not repeat such charges. Any continuation in any form of this kind of inquiry should, in all equity, give full opportunity to all those so maligned to testify and to offer witnesses in their behalf.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Michigan has referred to the petitions he has received in great numbers. I desire to insert at this point a telegram I received today from the Reverend J. H. Bollens, of Detroit, chairman of the Civil Rights Federation. It says:

DETROIT, MICH., January 22, 1940.

Congressman SABATH,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Civil Rights Federation, composed of over 300 Michigan church, labor, farm, civic, fraternal organizations, representing 500,000 residents, strongly urge Rules Committee postpone action on resolution to continue Dies committee until public hearing is held. Request opportunity to be heard.

Rev. J. H. BOLLENS,

Chairman, Civil Rights Federation.

Among the many telegraphic protests directed to me as chairman of the Committee on Rules is one from Mr. Arthur Kallet, director, Consumers' Union, New York City, reading as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., January 12, 1940.

Representative SABATH,

Chairman, House Rules Committee,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

May we strongly urge that before giving any rule affecting the continuance of the House Committee Investigating Subversive and Un-American Activities you allow us to testify in behalf of our 85,000 members on the unsupported and outrageously unfair attack on ourselves and other consumer organizations by that committee's chairman and research director. We are convinced we have evidence to show that this attack was so motivated as to raise serious questions as to the integrity of the committee and the desirability of continuing it.

CONSUMERS' UNION,  
ARTHUR KALLETT, Director.

Next, I have the following telegram from the chairman of the Committee for People's Rights:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., January 21, 1940.

Hon. ADOLPH SABATH,

Washington, D. C.

Resolution adopted at meeting of 500 Philadelphians, auspices Committee for People's Rights:

Whereas the arrest of 17 members of the Christian Front by the Department of Justice is the only case involving conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force and violence which has as yet been brought to light; and

Whereas the Dies committee presumably investigating un-American and subversive activities has not only failed to uncover such plots but has persistently refused in spite of numerous demands to investigate the activities of Father Coughlin and the Christian Front and similar organizations; and

Whereas MARTIN DIES himself has been publicly charged by Congressman HOOK, of Michigan, with being connected with the Christian Front; and

"Whereas the Dies committee has contented itself with smearing innocent individuals and organizations and has engaged in numerous other un-American activities, including illegal raids, searches, and seizures without warrant: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, citizens of Philadelphia, hereby petition the Congress of the United States that the Dies committee should not be continued, nor given additional funds, since sufficient laws now exist for the punishment of subversive activities and existing agencies, such as the Department of Justice, are adequately equipped to investigate and apprehend such violators, and further since the Dies committee has proven its inability or unwillingness to investigate organizations actually working to destroy our Government by force and violence."

JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS,  
Chairman, Committee for People's Rights.

Please listen to a telegram from the chairman of the public affairs committee of the national board of the Y. W. C. A. It says:

NEW YORK, N. Y., January 11, 1940.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman, Rules Committee,

House Office Building:

Urge public hearing on question of Dies committee continuation and appropriation. Many people subscribing to purpose Dies committee, gravely concerned over methods and scope of investigation,

believing them to be serious threat to civil liberties and violation of rules of congressional investigation.

DR. EMILY HICKMAN,  
Chairman, Public Affairs Committee, National Board,  
Y. W. C. A.

Again, I want to quote from resolutions adopted by the American Federation of Teachers, December 30, 1939, which resolutions, in my opinion, cite really cogent reasons for a proper procedure for this special committee. This organization says, in part:

The American Federation of Teachers does not take issue with the stated purposes of the congressional (Dies) Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities but believes that such purposes can best be served by existing governmental agencies in the enforcement of Federal and State laws already enacted against sedition, espionage, sabotage, and violent overthrow of Government or incitement to violence.

The Dies committee has itself clearly violated democratic procedures and therefore been truly un-American (1) by calling witnesses without due regard to their credibility; (2) by accepting testimony unsupported by trustworthy evidence; (3) by releasing to the public press testimony which attacks the reputations of these individuals and organizations without affording them the semblance of a fair chance to refute irresponsible charges; (4) by condemning individual people through association; and (5) by summoning witnesses without due notice, thus preventing adequate opportunity to secure data either for complete clarification or defense.

The methods of the Dies committee violate the civil liberties guaranteed in our Constitution by un-American treatment of dissident minority groups.

The action of the Dies committee has brought attacks upon organized labor, threatened its security, and thus endangered the most important movement in advancing and protecting our American democracy.

The Dies committee has failed to define Americanism and thus confuses the entire country, embarrasses all liberals including teachers, students, and others who sincerely believe in democracy, and generally discredits free thought and expression.

The Dies committee has not been impartial and comprehensive in its choice of organizations to be investigated and thereby testifies to its own confusion or prejudices.

The methods of the Dies committee discredit all Government agencies with investigatory powers by reason of its obviously political motives in contradiction to its stated purposes.

The Bill of Rights should remain inviolate especially in view of the present international crisis.

Mr. Speaker, these are the underlying reasons why I cannot support the resolution before us.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. SABATH. I did not yield in the first place. I dislike to decline to yield to my genial colleague, a member of the Committee on Rules, but he seems to get the floor whether I yield or not.

I shall not take any more time of the House at this time, and now yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the American Legion I am well aware, and I believe everybody else is, that the American Legion is a nonpartisan organization. However, I am very happy to hear from such a high source as the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] that the American Legion is in sympathy with the Republican Party on this issue and I hope on all others.

I now yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN] as much time as he may desire.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the question before the House is whether or not we feel the Dies committee should be continued. Before so determining we must ask ourselves these questions. Has it ably and successfully accomplished the things it set out to do? Has the money we have already appropriated brought results of beneficial nature? Do the great majority of our citizens feel that it should be continued? If it were discontinued, would detrimental interests be benefited?

Every Member of this House knows full well that any committee appointed by this House and directed by this House to do the things that the Dies committee was directed to do would not have unanimous acclaim. It is only natural that exposures made by the Dies committee would bring certain enemies to the front at this time. Their work necessitates stepping on somebody's toes. I would ask you who are the

ones unfriendly to the Dies committee? Who wants it discontinued?

Here are a few: Earl Browder, under indictment. We all know about him. The Communist Party. We all know about it. The New Masses; Labor's Nonpartisan League; the American Youth Congress; the American Student Union, which has given its blessing to Russia's attack on little Finland; the American League for Peace and Democracy; the Workers Alliance; Secretary Ickes; and Madam Perkins.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I trust my colleague will not overlook the list given by our colleague, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, all of which organizations are fronts for the Communist Party.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman from Georgia cannot prove that. It is easy to make that charge, but it has been disproved, and the committee does not state it in its report.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. It is always to be remembered that all of these were behind the bill to pack the Supreme Court; they all applauded the attempt to purge certain United States Senators whose ability, honesty, and integrity were above reproach.

It is my ardent hope that the Dies committee will be continued, and it will be continued by practically a unanimous vote. It is my sincere wish that it will then bring before them the leaders of these subversive organizations and insist that they tell the purposes and objectives of their associations.

The American League for Peace and Democracy is but one of the larger groups opposing the Dies committee. Who are they? The record clearly shows it to be a communistic organization, standing for the things that are opposed by every Member of this body. The origin of the American League for Peace and Democracy dates back to 1933. It was born and cradled in communistic Russia, and why?

Stalin becoming alarmed at the rise of fascism throughout the world called a meeting of the executive committee of the International at Moscow, at which Earl Browder represented the American Communists. They decided, among other things, to set up in America what is known as a popular front organization. I am sure it would interest every Member of Congress to discuss with the members of the Dies committee what they learned about that particular popular front.

A year ago the gentleman from Illinois, Representative MASON, a member of the Dies committee, named six or seven important government officials whose names were enrolled as members of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Other lists have been published showing that there are hundreds of governmental employees belonging to that "communistic organization." They hold office under the Roosevelt administration. Their wages are paid by the loyal citizens of your district and my district, or the money borrowed by the Federal Government, the principal and interest of which must be paid by future generations. I feel certain that after the Dies committee is continued that it will bring in these alleged Communists, give them a hearing, and if their activities are disclosed as subversive, expose them, and use every honest effort to have them forced off of the Federal pay roll. To me it seems repulsive to every sense of honesty and decency to permit these termites to be drawing a salary from the Government while millions of real Americans walk our streets looking for work which they cannot find. It would be of interest to know who are sponsoring these un-Americans boring into the bowels of our Government from within.

I have named certain individuals and organizations who are opposed to the continuation of the Dies committee. Now, what organizations and individuals are hoping and urging its continuation? You all know. There is not a Member of this House that has not received countless letters and telegrams insisting on its continuation, letters from outstanding people of each district, letters from Legion posts and from other patriotic organizations.

I hold in my hand many letters and telegrams from these loyal Americans. Here are several letters asking for its continuation which alone would warrant the support of this reso-

lution by any Member of Congress. They are from the American Legion:

As representative of 85,000 Legionnaires in Illinois, I respectfully request that you do everything possible to insure the continuance of the Dies committee. We sincerely feel that the principles of Americanism are being fostered and encouraged by the exposures being made by this committee.

L. N. BITTINGER,  
Department Commander.

Here is another:

The 40,000 Legionnaires and their families in Cook County hope that you will vote favorably on the continuance of the Dies committee.

WILLIAM J. COLLINS,  
Commander.

Still another:

The 2,100 Legionnaires from your district urge your support of the continuance of the Dies committee. We are counting on your cooperation.

CHARLES EDSON,  
Commander, Thirteenth Illinois District of the American Legion.

Like all of you, I too, have received letters from the Ladies Auxiliary of the American Legion. Like all of you, I have received many letters from the Veterans of Foreign Wars. They all urge its continuation.

The American Federation of Labor has passed resolutions urging its continuation. The National Grange, representing thousands of farmers, passes a resolution favoring the continuation of this special committee.

Of course the Dies committee made mistakes the first year. These minor mistakes have been broadcast by the enemies of its work. I am sure, however, that if it would have received proper cooperation from the Federal Government it would have done much better. With a very limited appropriation the first year, \$25,000, with nothing but ridicule for its every effort, and this ridicule originated with those that should have been anxious to give a helping hand, it is only natural there should be some mistakes.

The committee started its second year with an appropriation of a hundred thousand dollars, with a year's experience and with competent counsel and other able help. Results were soon evident. Facts were soon brought out concerning the various subversive groups. Publicity relative to these leaders and their foreign connections, their racketeering in money affairs, and their flagrant violation of laws were clearly proven. Some of the offenders have been placed in jail by the Department of Justice. As a result of the work of the Dies committee the American people have been brought to realize "that it can happen here."

The investigation phase of its work has not been completed. Much remains to be done. It is necessary that the committee continue its work and to make a diagnosis of the causes of subversive activities; and to recommend a constructive program for the cure or prevention of such activities in the future. This I am sure will be done. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. HAVENNER].

Mr. HAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, in the Seventy-fifth Congress I voted for the creation of the committee now known as the Dies committee because, in common with all true Americans, I was in sympathy with its announced purpose, which was to investigate un-American activities in the United States. I am still in sympathy with that purpose, but I believe now, as I believed a year ago when I voted against its continuation, that the committee has failed in its mission and misused its authority.

During the first year of its existence the committee conducted its hearings without regard for the most elemental rules of fair investigation. Reputable American citizens from all walks of life were subjected to false and vicious accusations of un-American conduct by witnesses of doubtful integrity, without being afforded opportunity to confront their accusers or even to make subsequent statements in their own behalf. The witnesses who made these reckless assaults on the reputations of American citizens were permitted to indulge in

surmise, hearsay, unsupported opinions, and damaging conclusions, with no attempt to confine their testimony to facts and legal evidence.

In all fairness, it may be said that during the past year those flagrant abuses of the rights and the reputations of American citizens have been to a large extent eliminated. This has been due to changes in the personnel of the committee, and to the determined efforts of certain of its members to compel proper conduct of the committee investigations. Notwithstanding these improvements, however, members of the committee still complain that prejudicial statements have been published as emanating from the committee without their consent or knowledge. Efforts to amend the resolution now under consideration so as to require prior inspection and approval by the committee members of all publicity releases have been rejected on the ground that they would "hamstring the committee."

In its early career the committee used the prestige of the Congress to disseminate over Nation-wide news agencies political propaganda which was employed with damaging partisan effect in State elections. This was done repeatedly and in such obvious manner that its deliberate purpose was unmistakable. In every instance this propaganda was designed to discredit and defeat liberal candidates and supporters of the New Deal by branding them as "reds" and radicals.

With these political abuses of a year and a half ago still fresh in their memories, the liberals of America are today unanimous in their opposition to a further grant of unrestricted authority to this committee to meddle in the coming State elections and attack the reputations of loyal progressive Americans.

Amend this resolution to provide for an orderly investigation of real un-American activities, and the true liberals of this Nation will not oppose it.

Revive and continue the old witch-burning campaign of terrorism against freedom of speech and freedom of political action, and the liberals of America will fight to a finish.

I should like to say to the party leaders on both sides of this aisle that neither of you can win in the coming elections without the liberal vote, and neither of you can be sure that you will get it. The only thing you can be sure of now is that if you give support and aid to those who are trying to terrorize liberals and suppress liberalism in this country you will not get it. [Applause.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROBSION].

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include therein some excerpts from the report of the committee and some brief quotations from various letters I have here.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen of the House, it was my privilege to speak and vote for Resolution 282 in the Seventy-fifth Congress to create the Dies committee to investigate un-American activities. I voted for House Resolution 26 in the Seventy-sixth Congress to continue its activities. I arise now in support of House Resolution 321 authorizing the Dies committee to continue its activities for another year.

The Dies committee, composed of five Democrats and two Republicans, on January 3, 1940, submitted a unanimous report of its work and findings. This report contains much startling information and should be read by every loyal American. I know of no investigating committee since I have been a Member of Congress that has done a more constructive, effective, and helpful job for this country than the Dies committee. I was glad to see that committee bring in a unanimous report. This is very unusual under the circumstances.

Many persons desire to know what is meant by un-American activities. The committee itself lays down what I consider a

very clear statement of un-American activities on page 2 of its report:

By un-American activities we mean organizations and groups existing in the United States which are directed, controlled, and subsidized by foreign agencies or governments, and which seek to change the form of government of the United States in accordance with the wishes of such foreign governments.

THREE IMPORTANT UN-AMERICAN GROUPS

The Dies committee finds that these un-American activities flow from three general groups—Communists, Nazis, and Fascists. Each of these groups was born in a foreign land. Each is directed, controlled, and subsidized by foreign governments and agencies. Each of these groups seeks to change our policies and form of government in accordance with the wishes and purposes of foreign governments. The leaders of each of these groups swear allegiance to foreign governments. Their purpose is to overthrow our Government by force and violence, if necessary, and substitute for our policies and form of government the policies and forms of government of foreign nations. These facts have been established by the sworn testimony of the officers and leaders of these groups and by their own records.

It is difficult to estimate how many millions living within our borders have from time to time fallen under the influence of these un-American groups and have become directly attached to these groups or brought into sympathy with their purposes.

The committee adopted a splendid formula on which to conduct these investigations. I do not know how we could find a better one.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I have only a limited time, but I yield to my colleague from Kentucky.

Mr. MAY. The gentleman has had long years of experience at the bar, and the very definition that he refers to, the gentleman realizes that the evidence would have to take wide latitude and go into many ramifications.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Yes; I realize that the committee had a very comprehensive matter to investigate. It involved many organizations and millions of people. The committee proved its case by the officers and members of these organizations and by their records. I do not say this committee made no mistakes in this very wide and extended investigation. I do say, however, that I like the committee for some of the enemies it has made. It put the "reds" on the run. [Laughter and applause.]

COMMUNISM

The Communist group is by far the largest. It has resorted to many devices and tricks to deceive the American people and to cover up its purpose. One of its "front" organizations is the American League for Peace and Democracy. This organization was supposed to have 6,000,000 members. There could not be a more appealing name to the average American. It is a part of the great Communist movement that has been growing in this country for the last 20 years. The primary purpose of communism is to overthrow by force and violence if necessary not only our own Government but every government in the world that refuses to accept communism. There could be no peace or democracy with Communists in control. Communism is headed by that monster of a dictator, Stalin of Russia. Communism is the enemy of religion, the destroyer of the home, the advocate of revolution, murder, and destruction. Communism means neither peace nor democracy.

In order to beguile the workers of this country they styled one Communist "front" organization as the International Workers. In order to capture the young people of the land they named one of their activities "The American Student Union." To make an appeal to the Negroes of the United States the Communists got up the National Negroes Congress, and the Southern Negro Youth Congress. There are many others just as deceptive as those I have mentioned. Last but not least, in order to capture the friends of the immortal Abraham Lincoln and to make the American people believe that communism was the great champion of liberty and freedom they organized another Communist "front"

organization called the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The committee found many other groups—the Workers Alliance, International Workers Order, the I. W. W., and others—all of them controlled by the Communists and working in the interest of Dictator Stalin and his Communist government in Russia. They have a common purpose and that is to overthrow this Government by force and violence if necessary; to overthrow religion, break down the sanctity of the home, and enslave the workers and the childhood of the world.

What the Communists in the United States are attempting to do, they are doing in every other nation in the world which has not accepted communism. Earl Browder, the head of the Communists in the United States, and other leaders, frankly admitted they owed their allegiance to Dictator Stalin and the Russian Communist Government, and in the event of a struggle between this Nation and Russia they would take the side of Russia. With all of this Browder had the unmitigated gall to be the candidate of the Communist Party for President of the United States in 1936. On yesterday he was tried and convicted in the United States court in New York for the false use of passports in making his trips to Russia. Yes, Browder, from time to time, made trips to Russia in order to get instructions from Dictator Stalin and to carry reports to Stalin.

The Communists have induced many people from this country to go to Russia to receive training and instructions as to what to do when the proper time comes to help overthrow this Government. Communism is not really a political party—it is merely a great group of conspirators who have been plotting and planning for many years to overthrow this Government. Browder was convicted yesterday of these frauds and immediately sentenced by the judge to 4 years in prison and to pay a fine of \$2,000. He was out on bond, and before a great group of Communists in New York City declared his conviction was a badge of honor. He refused to testify in his own behalf. He claims it was an honor to have been convicted for false swearing and for committing frauds against this Government, and these 20,000 Communists cheered his remarks.

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND

The German-American Bund is an organization inspired and financed by Dictator Hitler and his government. Its head in this country is one Fritz Kuhn, who is designated as the führer of the American bund. This is merely a political group. This organization divides the United States into 3 divisions, 47 districts, and 69 local posts or units. Thousands and thousands of persons, according to the evidence, have united with this German-American Bund. It is claimed that it has more than 100,000 members and sympathizers. Kuhn and his followers swear allegiance to Adolph Hitler and the German flag. It was found that in many communities of our country boys and men were armed and trained. Many of our boys were taken to Germany and there they saluted Hitler and the German flag and swore allegiance to Hitler and his flag.

They claim that one of their main purposes is to fight communism in the United States. It will be observed, however, that their technique is identical with the German leader who organized the Austrian Germans and led to the overthrow of Austria and made it a part of Germany, and the same procedure and policies were followed by the German leader in Czechoslovakia who helped to overthrow that nation and helped to make it a part of Germany, and the same procedure was followed in Poland. These same bund organizations are developed in many other countries of the world. The central idea seems to be to unite at some distant date all Germans under the German Reich. Kuhn and his followers admit that in the event of war between the United States and Germany they, like the Communists, would aid Germany. It is an un-American group.

Now, the Communists in the United States claim that they organized in order to protect this country from the Nazis, and the Italian organizations of American Fascists in turn claim that they organize to protect our country from Communists, but the leaders and most of the members of each one of these

groups in the main swear allegiance to some European dictator.

The Dies committee has pulled the cover from off these un-American groups. The disclosures of the Dies committee brought about the indictment and conviction of Browder and other Communist leaders, and also developed the facts to show that Fritz Kuhn, the American fuehrer, was not only parading as an agent of Adolph Hitler and the German Government, but was stealing the membership dues paid into his organization, and he was recently indicted and convicted for stealing in the New York courts.

The Communists claim that one of their main objectives is to protect this country from the Nazis and Fascists. These facts against the Nazis, the Fascists, and the Communists have proved beyond question that these organizations are un-American. They are directed, controlled, and subsidized by foreign governments and agencies and they seek to change the policies and form of our Government in accordance with the wishes of foreign governments. Many of them are aliens, and they are enemies of this Government. The exposures of the criminal acts of these organizations and their leaders have caused many innocent persons who were beguiled to join these groups to drop out and condemn these un-American groups and their leaders.

You find that these Communists heartily applaud the invasion of Finland by Russia, and the unholy compact entered into between Stalin and Hitler. Fritz Kuhn and his followers wholeheartedly approved the ruthless overthrow of Austria and Czechoslovakia and the plundering of those small nations. They likewise favored the cruel aggression of Hitler and Stalin in Poland, and the overthrow of that government and the plunder and murder of the Polish people. Many American people who innocently became members of these various un-American groups have begun to realize that these groups have bored into the churches, the schools, the labor organization, and the Army and Navy. They have also found out that there is no peace, freedom of speech, or of the press, or religion where these groups control. They are beginning to realize that the people in Russia and Germany are forced to slaughter defenseless people in small countries whenever it suits the whims of a Hitler, a Stalin, or a Mussolini to do so.

We are spending billions to build a great Navy and a great Army to defend and protect our country. We know that no great country has ever been destroyed by forces from without. They have always fallen because of the enemies within. The great threat to our country does not come from forces across the seas. If this Nation ever falls, it will be because of the enemies within our own gates. It will come through groups like the Communists, the Nazis, or the Fascists, who are our enemies and swear allegiance to governments and dictators like Hitler and Stalin. [Applause.]

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBISON of Kentucky. I am very sorry that I cannot yield. I do not have the time.

The Dies committee has rendered a great service to our country in exposing these termites and vipers here in the United States who have been and are injecting their poisonous venom into the very heart of this great Republic.

I wish to commend the American Legion and other veterans' organizations, the hundreds of patriotic groups, the American Federation of Labor, other labor groups, many farm organizations, and industrial and professional groups for their support of the Dies committee and its work.

The liberties that we enjoy in this country came to us through the blood and sacrifices of millions of noble men and women. It cost us too much to permit a lot of vipers and termites to overthrow it and use our Nation and people as pawns for foreign governments and foreign dictators. It is high time we cleaned up America. Are we going to let a lot of enemies within our own borders scuttle the Navy we are building? Are we going to stand idly by and see them destroy the morale of our Army and teach our young boys to march under and salute another flag across the seas and swear allegiance to dictators in other lands?

Americans who join these un-American groups and knowingly conspire against their own Government should receive their reward as have Browder, Fritz Kuhn, and others. Aliens who are conspiring with Browder, Kuhn, and their like should at once be put on ships and sent back across the seas and let them enjoy communism and nazi-ism in the raw in Russia and Germany.

When the Dies committee has finished its investigation, measures that have already been passed by Congress to protect this country should be strengthened. Let us not forget that there is no country that enjoys a democracy like our own and that it leads the world in peace and justice.

This resolution should be adopted by the American Congress without a dissenting vote, and I trust it will be. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KELLER].

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, I want to repeat that the whole objective of the Congress in authorizing the committee was not to get newspaper headlines, but to get information that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation. If that had been done, there would be no criticism coming to Mr. DIES.

I want, further, to repeat the fact that Mr. Metcalfe, the first witness before the Dies committee at its first meeting for taking testimony on August 12, 1938, made a very complete report on the German-American Bund activities, and Mr. Kuhn's association therewith. Mr. Metcalfe laid before the Dies committee a sufficient amount of evidence to have enabled the Federal Bureau of Investigation to round up every one in the bund, and would have enabled them to learn from the members of the various organizations what were the sources of their uniforms, their arms, their money, their plans of campaign and ultimate objectives, and more especially who the instigators of those objectives were. That would have been a real service. It would have enabled the prosecution of the leaders of the bund who might have been guilty of any offense against the laws of the United States. It is the way that every investigating committee that wishes for results carries on its business.

If the Federal Bureau of Investigation had had such a report, they would have had a mine of information that could have enabled them to get every other thing they needed about the German-American Bund organization and its associates.

But not so the Dies committee, because the chairman, who, from the beginning has made himself the whole committee, blared out the entire story to the newspapers. The headlines and the pictures that resulted excited the fears of many good Americans.

It is this extremely sensational method of presenting all of the information that has come into Mr. DIES' hands that has done so much injury and served no good purpose. Sensation always gets headlines. No one knows that better than the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES]. He loves the spotlight. It makes little difference whether or not a statement is true so far as sensation goes. All that is required is that there be an announcement that somebody has done something awful. If the accusation is untrue, no opportunity for correcting its influence is given. If a false accusation injures someone, he is never given a chance to defend himself under Mr. DIES' method of punishing un-Americanism. The injury is done. The knife of the assassin in the dark has done it work.

All other testimony taken by the Dies committee has been treated in the same way. It has been from the start a gathering and getting of sensational reports to the newspapers that would call forth headlines with Mr. DIES' name played up and the objective for which the Congress created this committee completely forgotten. I point this out deliberately and challenge anyone to deny the fact herein stated.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] made very enticing promises before he was originally appointed chairman of this committee, both on the floor of the House and in private, as regards his good behavior and consideration of the rights of men, because a good many Members of Congress had a very clear understanding of what might be accomplished under the

terms of the resolution if the hearings were not conducted with great care and with a deep sense of justice to individual citizens. After the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] had made such a mess of the thing and came back to the House for a second appropriation, before he was reappointed chairman he went to even greater lengths and promised the leadership of the House that he would commit no further offenses along that line. He also agreed that he would not ask any extension of the committee beyond the 1 year, and that the second appropriation of \$100,000 was granted with that specific understanding. He had asked for 2 years' time, which was frankly denied him. He had no more received the appointment and the money made available than he started out with increased vigor along exactly the same line, ignoring completely and entirely the other members of the committee.

It has been, is now, and in all human probability will continue to be a one-man committee, with the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES], of course, the one man.

It was the intention of the Congress that an investigation, especially of the foreign influences being exercised in this Government, should be made by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] from the beginning, and especially during the second year of his chairmanship. But this he has completely ignored and has gone forward with insistent deliberation not to get information that would help the House in any way to pass necessary remedial legislation but to destroy the New Deal, which he has hated from the start; to destroy organized labor and to embarrass the Roosevelt administration, and where possible, to aid the Republican at the expense of the Democratic Party.

During the congressional campaign—1938, in fact—it appeared many of the Republicans placed more reliance for success of their party upon the reports of the Dies committee than they did on their own campaign committee. Everybody knows, or ought to know, how the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] deliberately and with political malice of forethought embarrassed the Democratic campaigns, especially in California and in Michigan, where the misrepresentation of correspondence to him and his committee resulted in the defeat of one of the very high-class men in America, Governor Murphy. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that every Republican has voted for the continuation of the Dies committee. They are going to need more help, of course, and they are going to look to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] to furnish it.

I want now to reveal other actions of the Rules Committee in regard to the entire matter. A number of us went before that committee and asked for time to debate the whole matter, time to make a thorough presentation of all the facts on the floor of the House. We asked for 5 hours' open debate on the resolution. The Rules Committee had the full power to grant that if they had desired to do so. They had full power, but they did not do it. No one denied that they had full power to do it. They granted only 1 hour, because they were unwilling that a full presentation of all of the facts in this matter should be made.

At the same time, in the meeting of the Rules Committee, the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS], a member of the Dies committee, presented the following amendments to this resolution extending the life of the Dies committee, to prevent the abuses heretofore pointed out:

First. The committee shall hold regular executive meetings at least once each week.

Second. No public statements, press releases, communications, or reports involving the work and the responsibilities of the committee shall be issued or released by any member thereof, excepting after such statements, releases, communications, or reports have been submitted to the entire committee and approved by the majority thereof.

Third. Positive efforts shall be made by the committee to call persons accused of engaging in un-American activities before it as soon as possible after accusation to this effect has been made.

Fourth. Members of the committee shall make no speeches or public utterances during the course of the investigation which deal with matters under investigation, nor shall any charges or predictions as to future findings of the committee be made unless and until substantiated by evidence.

The Rules Committee refused to consider these amendments and were not as polite to the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS] as they might have been in refusing. That the Rules Committee had the power to include this as a part of the resolution there can be and is no doubt at all.

If such provisions had been made a part of the resolution, it would have, at least, I think, restrained their chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES], from vocalizing on the investigator's reports to the committee in such a manner as to render them ineffective in the great service they could have rendered. The Rules Committee knew this very well. They evidently favored this vocalization method.

If the amendments had been made a part of the resolution itself, I should have voted for the continuation of the Dies committee. I should, at the same time, have been of the opinion that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] would not have paid much attention to these rules, by his evident and constant refusal to be directed by the Congress. Such restraints upon him by the act of the Congress itself would, in the eyes of the people, have largely nullified his sensational appeals for the rest of the life of the committee.

Some member of the Rules Committee suggested that the Dies committee itself might adopt the policies expressed in Mr. VOORHIS' amendments, but his fingers were crossed when he made it, and a good many winks went from one member to the other of the Rules Committee, upon hearing that bland announcement, because they knew two things. One, that there is not 1 chance in 10 that the Dies committee itself would adopt any such individually repressive measures on the vocal chairman of the committee. They also knew that if the committee would adopt any such rules for the control of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] that he would pay no attention to them, for no publicity would be given to that feature of the proceedings of the Dies committee. In other words, they knew that proceedings in the committee would go on, just as they had done before, unless the Voorhis amendments were made a part of the House resolution itself.

There has never been any desire on my part to prevent or handicap the proper investigation of any person or situation that even might be injuring America. In saying this, I believe that I am speaking for everyone who has opposed the Dies committee, as I have tried to make clear here. It is the method and the unfortunate result of that method which I have recognized and which I have been justified in opposing. The wholesale denunciation of people certainly is inexcusable and certainly as un-American as anything a man can be guilty of doing. It is to this sort of thing—the abuse of American citizens and the rendering ineffective to the purposes of this House in creating the committee of its evidence—that I have objected, that I do object, and shall continue to object.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMAS].

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, Fritz Kuhn is in Sing Sing. Earl Browder is on his way to Leavenworth. Nicholas Dozenburg and James Wheeler-Hill have pleaded guilty to indictments and are awaiting sentence. A dozen other of the objects of the Dies investigation have been indicted and are awaiting trial. Before many months have passed there will be scores of indictments; and many more of the un-American agents in our midst will be behind prison bars.

The vast majority of the American people know full well that our law-enforcement agencies have been spurred to action and the whole American people led to an understanding of the nature of un-American activities by the revelations of the Dies committee. This power of our democracy to protect itself against foreign agents aiming at the overthrow of our form of government is a tribute to the wisdom and vigor of our political institutions. Yes; and it is something else: it is the sufficient reason why the overwhelming majority of the American people want the Dies committee to continue its work, and it is the very excellent reason why every man in this House knows now that this body entertains

no serious thought of ending the Dies investigation or of hamstringing its efforts to drag the rest of the un-American crew out into the open.

With the \$115,000 which it has spent to date, the Dies committee has accomplished a piece of national education which, if it had been done before it was too late, would have saved many European countries from the fate which has overtaken them—thanks largely to their ignorance of the identity and true nature of the enemies of their now vanished free institutions. It may yet be written in the history of this country that an investigation committee set up by this House did more than any other single factor to save this country from the illusions and the terrors of totalitarian government. Our national education in these matters at this crucial period in the world history has been worth infinitely more than the sum which has been expended.

Our people are learning the important lesson of caution before joining organizations with high-sounding names and sinister purposes. It is due entirely to the work of the Dies committee that we now speak familiarly throughout this country of such things as "united front," "fellow travelers," and "transmission belts." Two years ago these phrases were not in our national vocabulary. Today they are almost universally understood, and understanding is the essence of our protection against them. I have it on good authority, and am happy to announce to this House, that Moscow's most successful "united front" or "transmission belt" in this country—the American League for Peace and Democracy—is about to fold up and go out of the business of hoodwinking the guillible. Just a year ago this "transmission belt" of Stalin was at the peak of its influence at the time of its annual convention held right here in Washington. Now it is about to become an unhappy memory.

It is altogether unnecessary for me to catalogue the achievements of the Dies committee. The American people and the Members of this House are pretty well acquainted with the committee's achievements, and that is why both the people and this body favor the continuation of the committee's work. Despite this widespread acquaintance with the results of the committee's work, I wish to state briefly at least 10 among the many things which the committee has succeeded in making clear:

First. It has exposed the fact of widespread passport frauds by Communists.

Second. It has established the connection between Stalin and a gigantic counterfeiting plot in this country.

Third. It has shown, by hundreds of pages of testimony, that the Communist Party in this country is a branch of Stalin's government and, as such, is guilty of violation of the act requiring the registration of foreign agents with the State Department.

Fourth. It has proven that numerous auxiliaries of the Communist Party, such as the American League for Peace and Democracy, have violated the same act by failing to register.

Fifth. It has adduced substantial evidence that the Communist Party has been engaged on a wide scale in espionage and sabotage in this country through the instrumentality of Stalin's OGPU.

Sixth. It has revealed an alarming penetration by the Communist Party into the ranks of labor and the penetration of communism in our schools, colleges, and governmental agencies.

Seventh. It has shown the direct link between Hitler and the German-American bund.

Eighth. It nipped in the bud a crude move of the Moseley-Deatherage-Gilbert-Campbell group to launch a race-hating violent American fascism.

Ninth. It has exposed from top to bottom the un-American character of Pelley's Silver Shirts, and of a score of kindred Fascist outfits including the Christian Front.

Tenth. It demonstrated again and again, long before the Stalin-Hitler alliance, the essential identity of all the totalitarians—the Communists, the Nazis, and the Fascists.

And yet, even with all of these achievements to its credit, the work of the committee is not finished. There are whole areas, both geographical and topical, where Communists and Fascists are operating, but where with its limited facilities, the committee has not yet brought about complete exposures. The continuation of the committee's work is, I am glad to say, a matter upon which both sides of this House can agree overwhelmingly. As the chairman of the committee has so often said, it is a work which rises far above all partisan questions and commands the wholehearted support of all Americans. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman yields back one-half minute.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. GEYER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, everyone, including the chairman of the committee to investigate un-American activities and many of the committee's distinguished members, has been ready to admit that the so-called Dies committee has made mistakes. It has been freely stated that the committee's procedure has often been less than scrupulously fair and impartial, as we Americans understand fair procedure. It has not been denied that the committee engaged as its first investigator a man of at least questionable reputation and an unsavory past, in which anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and un-American activities played a part. It has not been denied that the committee has frequently given considerable weight to the testimony of witnesses whose credibility was open to serious doubt, some of whom even had criminal records. It has not been denied that the committee acted to influence national elections in at least three States, and in a manner characterized by the President of the United States as "unfair and un-American." It has been charged—and I believe the facts substantiate the charges—that the Dies committee has timed its appearance in certain cities to coincide with the holding of National Labor Relations Board elections, or the settlement of serious labor disputes, and that it has used its unquestioned influence to affect the outcome of those elections and those settlements in a manner inimical to the interests of the workers involved.

It has not been denied that the Dies committee has on occasion been irresponsible in its dealings with the press, nor that it has spread unsubstantiated charges against the character of prominent persons without giving them adequate opportunity to clear themselves.

Mr. Speaker, a recital of the admitted mistakes of this committee, which now asks the House to continue its life for a third year, a recital of the mistakes cheerfully and publicly confessed to by its own members, would take a lot more time than has been allowed to me and all the other opponents of this resolution. If the committee members themselves came before this House and confessed to all the mistakes they have previously admitted, it would take more time for their confessions than the 2 hours granted us for this entire debate.

But there is one mistake to which the committee and its members do not confess, Mr. Speaker. And that mistake is the fundamental one on which I base my firm opposition to continuing the life of the Dies committee. That is the mistake of permitting such a committee as this to exist at all in these critical times, and to pursue the objectives it has pursued in the past and will, we may be certain, continue to pursue in the future.

What are the objectives of the Dies committee? By their fruits ye shall know them. The objectives of the Dies committee are to spread mutual distrust and fear among the common people of America; to create in the popular mind a war hysteria and to set neighbor against neighbor in a hunt for heretical thoughts; to disrupt and destroy the progressive organizations through which the people seek to solve their problems of jobs, security, wages, and living standards; to cripple the attempts of consumers to protect their living standards against rising prices; to weaken the trade unions; to hobble the minds of students and muzzle their teachers.

In short, the objectives of this committee as established by their deeds and their "achievements" are to undermine American democracy by terrorizing the American people into the surrender of their traditional rights.

I am not alone, Mr. Speaker, in recognizing the essentially un-American nature of the objectives of the Dies committee and in opposing its continuance on this ground. The rank and file of organized labor is mindful of the danger. Many hundreds of trade-union locals have spoken out in resolutions and petitions and individual letters to the Members of this House. The American Federation of Teachers, of which I am proud to be a member, has asked me to make its views known here. Recently a group of distinguished educators, associated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom of which the Professor Franz Boaz is chairman, sent every Member of Congress a detailed analysis of the Dies committee's record. This report by the best and most respected savants in our country charges that the Dies committee has engaged in a series of attacks upon the "freedom of teaching and investigation in leading institutions of learning by recognized scholars and by professional associations of educators."

It warns us against the Dies committee, not only as a danger to freedom of speech, press, and assembly but as an even greater danger to that inalienable right of freedom to think for ourselves.

The President of the United States, when he charged the committee with being unfair and un-American, and when he spoke of its "sordid procedure" in publishing the membership and mailing lists of the American League for Peace and Democracy, brought its objectives as well as its procedure into question.

Unfortunately this opposition to the continuance of the Dies committee has been drowned out by those subversive elements who have every reason to want it to continue and by the millions of misguided citizens whom the committee has succeeded in misleading as to its purpose and its methods. A committee whose objectives are those of the chambers of commerce, of the National Association of Manufacturers, of the Associated Farmers, the Christian Front, the reactionary press, the Wall Street financiers, the munitions makers, and all the most powerful and richest enemies of democracy—such a committee has no trouble in making itself heard.

There is another reason for the failure of the opposition to the Dies committee to become more effective. The failure of the unions and other progressive groups to register the full strength of their opposition is itself a measure of the extent to which the Dies committee has already succeeded in weakening and intimidating the progressive forces in this country. It just is not healthy to speak the truth about the Dies committee any more. Mr. Speaker, I submit that this alone is sufficient reason for calling a halt.

And there is still another reason why the Dies committee can feel confident today that it will get a new lease on life from this House and more funds with which to continue to whip up more and more war hysteria in our country. That is the failure of the leaders of my party, the Democratic Party, to voice their unqualified opposition. Mr. Speaker, I hesitate to express the grave fears which this silence on the part of the administration and its spokesmen arouse in me. But I feel constrained to express them, because I know that they are present in the minds of my constituents and because they concern the future peace and security of our country.

I cannot help asking, Mr. Speaker, whether the willingness of leading new dealers to accept this resolution is connected with the new drive for economy in social expenditures reflected in the 1940 Budget? Is it connected with the increasingly ominous signs that we propose to convert our economy into a war economy? Is it connected with the attempts to cripple the Wagner Act and emasculate the Fair Labor Standards Act? Is it connected with alarming tendency toward building up a political secret police in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as testified to by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and his card-index system of "suspicious characters"?

If the new dealers are preparing to scuttle the New Deal, if they intend to abandon the fight for peace, progress, and the social security of our people, then they have every reason for wanting to continue the Dies committee. For, if that is what they intend, they will need all the help they can get in disarming the American people and persuading them to take this betrayal lying down.

The gentleman from Texas, Chairman Dies, has written a series of articles for Liberty magazine. The striking title of this series is, "More Snakes Than I Can Kill."

Mr. DIES' voting record in this House convinces me that his definition of "snakes" and mine differ. If by "snakes" the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies] means red-blooded, fighting Americans who mean to defend what they have won under the New Deal and who mean to hold the new dealers to their promises, then the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies] is quite right. There are more "snakes" of that breed than he, or any other man, or any other committee, can kill, though all the resources of the Federal Treasury were put at their disposal.

Mr. Speaker, no sensible man would delude himself in thinking that the Dies committee will be stopped by speeches today. I know that it will continue, at least for another year. But I know, too, that in the last analysis it will be defeated in its purpose. The American people will continue and democracy will continue. Not just for 1 year, but through the years to come, and long after the Dies committee has been forgiven and forgotten.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. O'DAY].

Mrs. O'DAY. Mr. Speaker, I voted originally for the creation of this committee. I believe that all subversive and un-American activities should be stamped out, but I did not vote for a continuation of the committee because of the un-American way in which it conducted the committee meetings. Unless we are assured that the committee will be conducted in a different manner in the future, I, for one, will not be able to vote for it. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox].

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful to my friend, the ranking member of the minority on my committee, for the time he has given me. My own chairman has not found it convenient to consult with me with reference to time, and therefore I must go to the opposite party for the little time I may use.

Mr. Speaker, you may say what you please about the Dies committee, but it has the reds in this country on the run, and as to the position that it holds in the confidence of the people of this country, you will find ample testimony when this vote is taken.

I wanted time, Mr. Speaker, to make answer to the scurrilous attack made upon the chairman of this committee by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hook], in his extension of remarks in the RECORD of yesterday. The gentleman from Michigan reminds me of the boy who burned the Temple of Ephesus. He wants to connect his name with some important event in history, even though he be represented by a mere daub of mud. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I am obliged to state that I have offered time to the gentleman. I made arrangements with the gentleman from New York for my colleague to have 5 minutes, but he has refused to take it that way.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I had a conversation with the gentleman this morning on the telephone concerning the control of the time at the disposal of the committee members presenting this resolution. My friend stated to me that he would make arrangements for me to control a part of the time. I now find that he has generously saved me 2 minutes, and I have stated to him that I do not want it. The gentleman being against the resolution should have had nothing to do with the control of time.

In the speech which the Member from Michigan [Mr. HOOK] inserted in the Recon yesterday attacking the chairman of the Dies committee, he stated that Mr. James Wheeler-Hill, secretary of the German-American Bund, was listed as a sponsor on the program of a luncheon in New York City which was addressed by the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, on December 8, 1938. I have in my hand a copy of the program of that luncheon which gives the names of 43 sponsors. The name of James Wheeler-Hill is not among them. The luncheon was open to the public and it is true that James Wheeler-Hill and Fritz Kuhn, like hundreds of others, purchased tickets of admission. When the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, was apprised of the presence of these two leaders of the German-American Bund, he declared, according to the New York papers: "I detest the Communist Party and the German-American Bund alike." Turning to the chairman of the gathering, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] added: "I wish he had brought Browder along, too, and a few others to hear what I have to say about the American doctrine." That, my friends, is the sort of link which the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, has with the German-American Bund.

Now, let us look for a moment at the alleged "guilty association" between the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, and William Dudley Pelley, of the Silver Shirts. Incidentally Pelley is suing the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] for the tidy sum of one-half million dollars. Certainly that is no evidence of the existence of a "friendly link" between the two.

The entire substance of the evidence of Dies' "guilty association" with Pelley is contained in alleged letters written by Pelley to a third party—one David Mayne. Now, no one can exercise a censorship over the correspondence of two other parties. In this instance the correspondence is between a fugitive from justice and one of his stool pigeons.

The Member from Michigan considers that the report of the Dies committee to this House is altogether inadequate in dealing with the aims and activities of William Dudley Pelley. The whole country has, on the contrary, hailed the Dies report as a fair and balanced document. On the subject of Pelley who will say that the report does not effectively castigate the leader of the Silver Shirts? I read from the report only one of the statements concerning Pelley, which occupy two pages of the committee's findings:

From the documentary evidence and testimony before the committee concerning the activities of Pelley, the conclusion that he is a racketeer engaged in mulcting thousands of dollars annually from his fanatical and misled followers and credulous people all over the United States, Canada, and certain foreign countries is inescapable.

Repeatedly in his broadcasts and in his comments during the hearings of the committee the gentleman from Texas, Chairman DIES, gave expression to this and similar estimates of Mr. Pelley. The truth of the matter is that the testimony concerning Pelley occupies not simply 88 pages of the Dies record but is found scattered through each of the 9 volumes that have thus far come from the press. No one who can read will be able to come to the conclusion that the committee or its chairman has handled Pelley with kid gloves.

Through its most commendable vigilance, the Dies committee learned that an agent of Pelley tried under false pretenses to obtain employment as a committee investigator. The committee promptly cited this agent of the Silver Shirt leader for perjury committed in his effort to obtain employment, and he is now under indictment for that offense in the District of Columbia courts.

Practically all of Pelley's recent issues of his magazine, Liberation, have teemed with vituperation of the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES. These publications have been widely circulated among the Members of this House.

Such are the evidences of a link between the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, and William Dudley Pelley.

Let us look for a moment into the allegation that a link exists between the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, and the Christian Front. There is not the slightest evidence of

such a tie, but there are enemies of MARTIN DIES' brand of Americanism who would like to manufacture such evidence. I am informed that the Dies committee is in possession of testimony that an agent of the Communist Party has recently offered a certain gentleman who had some casual connection with the committee's investigation the sum of \$2,500 for a false affidavit alleging a link between the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] and the Christian Front. That is the desperate and despicable length to which the un-American forces in this country are prepared to go in their reckless attempt to smear one of the outstanding public servants of our time.

The Dies committee's report to this House brands the Christian Front and the Christian Mobilizers as un-American outfits. The devious logic of the Member from Michigan is not worth the paper on which it is written when it tries laboriously and painfully to trace a connection between the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] and the Christian Front. Furthermore, I have in my possession astonishing evidence that these self-styled Christians entertain no love for the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities. They love him in the same way that the Daily Worker and the Communist Party love him. On last September 21, the Acting Chief of the United States Secret Service notified the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, in writing that he was the object of a threatened physical assault by these self-styled Christians. I hold in my hand the letter and the memorandum which the Acting Chief of the United States Secret Service sent to the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES. That, ladies and gentlemen of the House, was 4 months ago. When his personal safety was threatened, the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, did not go to the press with a news story that would have made the first pages of newspapers all over the country. In the light of the documents from the United States Secret Service which I hold in my hand, every Member of this House should resent with burning indignation any statement, express or implied, that the distinguished chairman of the Dies committee is linked with these Christian Fascists.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CELLER. Is the resolution under consideration subject to amendment?

The SPEAKER. It is not unless the chairman of the Committee on Rules yields for that purpose or unless the previous question is voted down, in which event the whole resolution would be open to amendment.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. CASE].

#### THE AMERICAN RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Evening Star of Washington reported an un-American act which I hope this committee, in the extension which I expect this House to vote to it, will explore.

The Associated Press is quoted as saying that the National Labor Relations Board yesterday contended that freedom of speech was "a qualified and not an absolute right"; and, consequently, ordered the Ford Motor Co. to desist from distributing any literature which carried the attitude of Mr. Ford on the subject of labor. I suggest that the Dies committee in its investigation of things that are un-American in this country could well include an investigation of those governmental bodies which take such un-American positions as to say that any act of Congress can override or make null and void the First Amendment to the Constitution, that guaranteeing free speech. [Applause.]

Permit me to say further, Mr. Speaker, that that is an unfriendly act to labor and an unfriendly act to minorities and to those groups who need the protection in times of stress.

If an act of Congress can in the one instance nullify the constitutional guarantees of free speech in one direction, it can in another. The day has been seen and will be seen again when labor will plead the Constitution and the Bill of Rights for protection against some act of Congress. If you destroy

free speech for the employer, you destroy it also for the employee.

Yet here we have an agency of the Government saying that the right of free speech is a qualified right, subject to nullification by an act of Congress. Mr. Speaker, if the National Labor Relations Board makes such an un-American decision in the belief that the Supreme Court at this time will uphold them, then the responsibility rests upon Congress to rise to its sworn duty of defending and upholding the Constitution by wiping out the Board and the act that seeks in such a manner to destroy the right of free speech.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. For a question only.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Does the gentleman also believe that the Dies committee should investigate a picture that is now being shown at the R. K. O. Theater in Washington, wherein the statement is made by Abraham Lincoln that the people have a revolutionary right to change the form of their Government?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I have not seen the picture and am not familiar with the quotation. Which matters little. The right of men to establish new governments was stated in the Declaration of Independence—a right when governments deny life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Yet the gentleman knows and every Member of this Body knows that giving allegiance to one's country's enemies is treason. And one witness before the Dies committee is credited with having said that in case of war between this country and Russia, the members of his organization would be bound to follow the Communist Internationale.

The man who probably wrote into the Declaration of Independence those words on the right of men to establish free governments, however—the right of revolution, if you want to put it that way—Thomas Jefferson, was among those most anxious to have adopted the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights. And first among them was:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press \* \* \*.

He wanted this Government to succeed. He wanted it to maintain liberty. Yet here we have the National Labor Relations Board, a Government agency, saying:

The guarantee of such rights (self-organization) to the employees would, indeed, be wholly ineffective if the employer, under the guise of its constitutional right of free speech, were free to coerce them into refraining from exercising the rights vouchsafed to them in the act.

Lay aside the absurd contention that the simple distribution or posting of a circular stating the views of Mr. Ford on labor was coercion. The bald thesis of the N. L. R. B. is that an act of Congress is superior to the Constitution. No matter what the constitutional rights are, the Board says, in effect, if they make ineffective a guaranty of rights set forth in an act of Congress, the Constitution, not the act, falls.

Strange doctrine that. Strange friendship for labor that. Another act could give some board power to deny employees the right to have their voice or to print their side of a case.

Mr. Speaker, this body is sworn to defend the Constitution of the United States. When any governmental agency puts out such un-American doctrine, it is time that this body perform its duty whether it be to extend the life of the committee under discussion or to take direct action against the life of the Board or act guilty of such an un-American doctrine. [Applause.]

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman not believe that the Dies committee should thoroughly investigate the un-American discriminatory activity against the people of the colored race down below the Mason and Dixon's line?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. If such exists.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER].

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, as I view it, the House is today confronted with the choice of two evils. On the one hand, to adopt this resolution is to seemingly approve the un-American procedure of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities. On the other hand, to defeat the resolution is to seemingly approve of a continuation of subversive activities.

It is unfortunate that such a choice must be made. It is indeed difficult to vote to continue a legislative committee which in itself has adopted methods which are a mockery of democratic processes. While it is true that telling exposures have been made, time after time persons and organizations have been accused of un-American leanings and, because of the manner of the committee in handling and disclosing the charges, have been found guilty, at least in the public's mind, without even being permitted to offer a defense. Practices of this sort are born of intolerance and beget hysteria in the public's mind.

In a sense, unbridled demagoguery is more of a menace to Americanism than the activities of a few scattered and half-brained sympathizers of communism, especially when it has legislative sanction and the open approval of Congress. Procedure violative of fair play and the sacred right of the accused to a fair hearing before being adjudged guilty should not for a moment be tolerated; and excusing such conduct in a legislative inquiry will gradually lead to a contempt for time-tested judicial methods of determining issues. Americans venerate the courts of this land, because in the final analysis in their hearts they know that justice will be obtained. The result may come slow, but it is assured.

I cannot believe that a single member of this special committee would for a moment seriously contend that this country is at present in such a grave emergency, because of un-American activities, that it calls for the suspension of constitutional methods or the rights of man.

This committee has, without doubt, performed a wonderful service to the people of this country, but the effect of much of what has been accomplished has in a large degree been nullified by its own methods of procedure and its incessant and insatiable desire for the newspaper headlines. It is my sincere hope that it will heed the just accusations which have been lodged against it, and with which I believe a majority of the committee will agree. It has had and, as it probably will be continued, will have in the next year a wonderful opportunity to perform a service of lasting benefit to the country. I pray that it will see the light and will act accordingly.

The ideologies of communism, fascism, and nazi-ism are unspeakably loathsome to me, and perhaps that is why I speak so strongly and condemn so heartily methods which in themselves are on the border line of intolerance.

However, because I do not want in the least way to do anything which may be expressive of sympathy for, or which may lend encouragement to subversive or un-American activities, be they communistic, Fascist, or Nazi, my vote must and will be cast in favor of the continuation of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities. [Applause.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I have been a member of this committee. The first thing I want to say is that I regret more than I can say the nature this debate inevitably takes on. The debate on the subject of the Dies committee is taken advantage of every time it comes up by various Members to make the accusation, in the first place, that there can be no honest opposition to the committee, and, in the second place, to express their own personal views about certain organizations and movements in America. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. ROBISON] quoted from the report a definition of un-American activities which, in my opinion, sets forth the scope of this committee and is the proper field

of its work. I think it is a shame that the membership cannot discuss this question on its merits and dispassionately instead of attempting to make political capital out of it right here on the floor. For example, the old charge about there being large numbers of Communists employed by our Government has been reiterated again today. Such a charge is not supported by evidence before the committee, nor should such a loose charge ever be made by anyone until he is ready to be specific and to name names and give his evidence. When that is done, I, for one, believe that any person who belongs to a foreign-controlled group should be dismissed at once. But unfounded charges on a matter as important as this are wrong.

If it were within my power to do so, I should like to see this committee adopt as its rules of procedure the following things which I suggested yesterday to the Rules Committee:

First, the committee shall hold regular executive meetings at least once each week.

Second, no public statements, press releases, communications, or reports involving the work and responsibilities of the committee shall be issued or released by any member thereof excepting after such statements, releases, communications, or reports have been submitted to the entire committee and approved by a majority thereof.

Third, positive efforts shall be made by the committee to call persons accused of engaging in un-American activities before it as soon as possible after accusation to this effect has been made.

Fourth, members of the committee shall make no speeches or public utterances during the course of the investigation which deal with matters under investigation, nor shall any charges or predictions as to future findings of the committee be made unless and until substantiated by evidence.

When I suggested and submitted that, I was told it would "hamstring" the committee. I cannot understand that. I am convinced, on the other hand, that if we had followed these suggestions every mistake which this committee has made would have been avoided. Some of the mistakes which the committee made such as issuance of the report on consumers organizations in the way it was done, have been of such character as to cast discredit upon its other work. I hope and believe that what the House wants is a real investigation of un-American activities. We do not want this committee to accuse people on anything but clear evidence, carefully and properly developed.

Mr. Speaker, I did sign the report of the committee and I believe the basic findings contained therein are correct. I believe the basic work done by the committee is correct and has given the Nation valuable information. I am one of those Members who has spoken out when I felt the committee was wrong, and I propose to do just that in the future. For a committee of this kind cannot possibly be too careful in its work, even in the case of the report which I think was a good report, I want to say at this time that I am compelled to admit we were apparently not as careful as we should have been with regard to a couple of organizations concerning which certain facts have come to my attention since and which I certainly think should be given an opportunity to present their case at the earliest possible moment. One of these organizations is the United Electrical and Radio Machine Workers, which I am now informed, has a long record of peaceful relations with a great many employers. Its record does not look like that of a Communist-dominated union. I want to say that I believe the evidence upon which we acted is insufficient—particularly in the face of the union's record—to include that organization in the list of Communist-dominated unions, and I deeply regret my own failure to spend more time and pains on this matter.

Mr. MASON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MASON. May I state that that evidence has been placed in my hands this morning and it appears that an injustice has been done this electrical union. I, for one, will be glad at the first opportunity to give that union a

chance to clear itself and to repudiate what has been said about it. [Applause.]

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I thank the gentleman very much. I want to proceed to another case. I am told that the Spanish Refugee Relief sends all its money to the Friends Service Committee. If that is true, then the committee certainly ought to look into that further than it has done before putting this organization down in the list contained in the report. I believe one of the jobs this committee ought to do is to look much more thoroughly into some of these groups and organizations and give them a chance to appear before the committee at the earliest possible date. Of course, as I stated, I take my share of that blame. Other things have happened which I am sure would have been corrected if the rules of procedure which I suggest had been followed. I shall try to see that is done in the future and I am sure other members of the committee largely agree with me in that respect.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman examine into the activities of the Christian Front and those individuals and organizations which espouse its case?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I cannot speak for the committee, of course. I hope the committee will proceed with equal attention as to the Communist movement on the one hand and the Fascist-Nazi movements on the other hand. So far as I am concerned, my effort will continue to be bent earnestly in that direction. I do not see how the committee can fail to go into the organizations the gentleman mentions.

May I point out that mention has been made that the F. B. I. investigations and arrests have resulted in indictments of leaders of many of the organizations that have been under investigation—including the Communist Party and the bund. Obviously if the F. B. I. had not done this work, and if the F. B. I. had not looked up and actually apprehended the people who are guilty of disobedience to our laws, the work of the Dies committee would not be nearly as effective.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out that the country faces three dangers today. Of course, there may be more than three, but I want to speak of just three at this time. The first is the unemployment problem. If this Congress thinks by setting up a Dies committee it is going to give the people a substitute for security and jobs, it is badly mistaken. Our first job is these jobs and that security, and if we ever forget that we will be negligent in our most elementary duties. The second kind of danger is the danger that the Dies committee is set up to investigate—activities aiming to subvert our democracy and set up dictatorship in its place. I am for finding all the facts and giving the American people all the facts about such activities. Such information is one of the ways a free government has of defending itself. But there is a third kind of danger that has been mentioned. That is the danger of inflaming the public mind. On this point I want to say that the important thing is for the committee to let the evidence speak for itself. The effectiveness of this committee's work is going to depend almost entirely upon the degree to which it operates in a conservative, factual, and careful way. It will be weakened, and the impact of its work upon these foreign-controlled organizations will be lessened just to the extent that earnest people whose unswerving loyalty is to the United States—whatever their economic views may be—are drawn under any circumstances into this matter. The effectiveness of the committee's work will be further weakened if the committee is utilized by a member of the committee or anybody else as a means of making political capital against the essential, progressive forces of this country, without which a solution of our problems is impossible.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS] has stated, the Dies committee has made some stupid blunders and it is well

that we air our views today frankly, openly, and fairly. The errors of the Dies committee have been due to faulty technique and bad procedure. Here is a committee set up to investigate un-American activities, and itself adopts un-American procedure. Its chairman has issued too many self-serving declarations. His ambition has outrun his sense of justice and fairness. This chairman allowed its research director, J. B. Matthews, to publish a report on alleged communistic activities in consumer organizations. The report was not even seen by any other member of the committee than the chairman. This is star-chamber business and should not be tolerated. But the real vice of it all was that the report unjustifiably smeared many decent American consumer organizations. Mr. Matthews charged that Communists have been active in the management of a number of consumer organizations interested in such matters as the price of milk, the retail cost of goods, and the honesty of advertising. There was not even a single hearing on the report. Not a witness was called to testify. Such tactics are outrageously unfair. Mr. Matthews claimed that many of these organizations were controlled by Communists. This was lamentably false and witnesses could have easily been submitted to deny such allegations. It may have been true that in some instances a Communist or several Communists were members or one Communist was an officer, but one color does not make a spectrum, two stars do not make a firmament, one swallow does not make a summer. Some of the organizations mentioned are riddled with Communists, notably the International Workers Order, but many of the others enumerated are not so tainted and they are not the so-called transmission belts for communism. Great injury was done these groups.

The recent Gallup poll—American Institute of Public Opinion—showed that 75 percent of the Nation believed that Congress should extend the activities of this committee for another year. The public believes that much of the work done by this committee has value. There has been exposed to the light of day communism and nazi-ism, not only in the field of politics but also in the field of propaganda. Such subversive activities in these fields have heretofore been concealed. The committee has brought to light much espionage, spying and "boring from within." The committee did good work in connection with Fritz Kuhn and the Nazis. It uncovered much of the intolerance of these vile leaders like Kuhn and Browder. It gave publicity to the contribution of Communist funds to various supposedly noncommunistic organizations. Many of the members of these organizations had had no previous knowledge whatsoever concerning such communistic connections. All this is good work.

The bad work of the committee is unfortunate, but it can be remedied. For example, a few weeks ago the committee gave "shotgun" publicity to a list of 563 names of Federal employees in a way that seemed to charge that the persons listed were "reds" or "pinks." This is damnable business and should not be repeated. I am assured by the members of the committee that there will be no repetition of this mistake. And it is for this reason that I am going to vote for the bill. Frankly, however, I do so with my tongue in my cheek. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom has the following to say concerning the Dies committee:

Freedom is essential to the intellectual life. In an age of conflict, free and untrammeled exchange of opinion is particularly necessary. That is why the Bill of Rights must be treasured at all costs.

"We believe," said 62 prominent educators, men of letters, and other public figures in a recent open letter, "that the Bill of Rights must apply to the rights of all Americans—or that it will prove a cheat for all. We do not accept the dangerous proposition, now being broadcast from certain quarters, that civil rights can be withheld from this dissident minority or that, at the pleasure of those who may have the power to do so."

The recent experience of other countries has shown that education is one of the early victims of suppression, sharing the fate of political minorities, labor, the church, and the press. As responsible citizens, we cannot remain silent when such vital issues are at stake. We must enter into the struggle to defend civil liberties at every point of threat, direct or indirect. Free America has given us our chance to train our minds, and we should be ungrateful if we did not bring our best thought to her.

Because we acknowledge these principles, we urge the Congress to grant no further appropriations to the Dies committee. In pre-

senting the following analysis in support of our request, we, as educators, have confined ourselves largely to the treatment of educational world by the committee and its witnesses.

1. The House resolution introduced by Representative Dies assigned to his committee the task of "conducting an investigation of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution."

The use of the phrase "un-American propaganda," which is vague, undefined, and undefinable, left the committee free to follow its own bias and prejudice. The result has been something approaching the character of a witch hunt, reminiscent of the activities of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer and the Lusk committee in the heat of the period of the first World War. Political phrases have been manipulated as epithets in order to discredit individuals and organizations. Public attitudes of intolerance and hatred have been created which discredit minorities—political, cultural, religious, labor—and greatly lessen their effective appeal. "The fundamental right of free men," said Mr. Justice Brandeis (Mr. Justice Holmes concurring), "to strive for better conditions through new legislation and new institutions will not be preserved, if efforts to secure it by argument to fellow citizens may be construed as criminal incitement to disobey the existing law—merely because the argument presented seems to those exercising judicial power to be unfair in its portrayal of existing evils, mistaken in its assumptions, unsound in reasoning or intemperate in language."

2. The Dies committee has attacked freedom of teaching and investigation in leading institutions of learning (Harvard, Vassar, Stanford, California, Columbia, among others), by recognized scholars (Albert Einstein, Dean Grayson, N. Kefauver of Stanford, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, of Harvard; Prof. Max Radin, of California; Prof. Paul Douglas, of Chicago; Dr. Eduard C. Lindemann, of the New York School of Social Work; Prof. Wyllistine Goodsell, of Teachers College, Columbia, among others), and by professional associations of educators (American Association of University Professors, American Federation of Teachers, Progressive Education Association, Commission on School Studies of the American Historical Association, among others).

Reduced to their essential implication, these attacks mean that our universities, educators, and learned societies must give up their intellectual freedom and conform to the views held by a congressional committee or else be pilloried by the publicity it can command and be threatened with legislative interference. We cannot accept such an unwarranted assumption of authority and retain our integrity.

3. The Dies committee has attacked freedom of association and debate among students. We believe that our students think their own way through the political, economic, and social philosophies of our time. Any attempt to exercise tyranny over the minds of youth not only exceeds the authority vested in Congress, but is bad pedagogy and likely to produce results contrary to those desired. The safeguard of the United States tomorrow is the free minds of its youth today.

4. The Dies committee has sat in judgment upon current books, periodicals, plays, and works of art. We assert that the very foundations of intellectual liberty are shaken when any congressional committee can hold even the shadow of a threat over the books we read or the plays we see.

I have great respect for the aforesaid opinion of this American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. Headed as it is by Professor Boaz, it is made up of a distinguished array of college professors. I have presented their conclusions to certain members of the committee. They assure me wholeheartedly and unmistakably that there will be no repetition of the errors of the past. They will respect the Bill of Rights. They will accord everyone appearing before it a fair hearing. They will try to put a muzzle on the gentleman from Texas, Chairman Dies. They will not attack the intellectual freedom of educators and university instructors. They will not berate students for their opinions, and they will not attempt the censorship of books, plays, or works of art. They will treat labor and labor organizations squarely and fairly.

Finally, I have also been assured that the committee will attempt to examine the Christian Front, and particularly the crackpot conspiracy of the 17 men arrested in Brooklyn, charged with plotting to overthrow the Government. These political lunatics were aided and abetted by the writings and mouthings of Father Coughlin. It is hoped that the committee will look carefully into this matter, will look into the ramifications of the so-called Christian Front and see what part this political priest played in the beginnings and the furtherance and the encouragement of this so-called Christian Front. Its terror schedule had among its objectives the assassination of 14 Members of Congress in the metropolitan

area of New York, all of whom voted to lift the embargo. Let these Christian Front leaders be asked what effect the editorials in *Social Justice* had upon their conduct. And let us find out to what ends and for what purpose *Social Justice* approved the formation of so-called rifle clubs designed to assist in quelling any revolutionary disturbances.

Let the committee examine the various advices given in *Social Justice* to the Christian Front. That advice read, in part, "Meet force with force only as a last resort."

Behind the camouflage of the defense mechanism, Coughlin has constantly hinted to his followers of impending violence and cited the Franco insurrection as a classic political model. Only a fortnight ago, in a national broadcast, he candidly announced his faith in the dictatorship idea.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BROOKS].

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I will vote for the continuance of the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities.

For years the service and patriotic organizations of the country have been warning us of the existence of subversive activities in the United States. They have shown these activities were on the increase and that they were reaching out into all parts of this land. Many of us scoffed at the idea that in our land there could be any large group whose patriotism and loyalty were in question. Others of us thought these service organizations were trying to create a problem of their own choosing to increase their own activities and membership and for publicity purposes. Few of us realized the full nature and significance of these undercover activities until the Dies committee was authorized to bring out into the open the enemies of the United States of America.

Under our system of government and under the terms of our Bill of Rights it has been difficult to handle this problem. Many of the solutions urged by Members of Congress would have done violence to our Bill of Rights or to the Constitution. Publicity alone was in most instances all that was necessary, and this has been the great work of the Dies committee.

They may attempt the smear the chairman of the committee with acts un-American and unpatriotic. They censor him for mistakes and blunders. This, in my opinion, has very little to do with the problem today. It is our duty to pass upon the question as to whether or not the whole committee, not the chairman only, is to be continued in office.

I for one believe that the committee has done a mighty good job. It has brought to the attention of the public the real seriousness of the subversive activities existing in the Nation. It has focussed public indignation upon these activities, and this, in turn, has resulted in useful legislation in Congress. This work should continue. It should continue until every bit of evidence bearing upon disloyalty in the United States is fully exposed. It should continue until the work of the Nazi bund and Soviet Communism in America has been fully exposed, even unto the very last scintilla. The committee should not be held back at the flood tide of its activities by the hand of Congress calling it back from battle. It has our support as it has the almost united support of the American people and should be given full opportunity of developing its case and extirpating finally and forever this slimy work of the alien who bites the hand that feeds him.

Andrew Jackson once said about a close friend of his, "My friend is the natural enemy of scoundrels." The Dies committee is the natural enemy of all who seek to undermine our form of government.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, undoubtedly the most conspicuous thing about the Dies report is the absence of any definition of communism. It says:

Essentially, communism is an international revolutionary movement seeking to replace democratic government by a so-called dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the aim and goal of all true Communists and fundamentally it never changes.

This is merely a definition of a means toward attaining communism. The mere replacement of a democratic government by a so-called dictatorship of the proletariat is neither

the ultimate aim nor the ultimate goal of communism. The one and only end that all Communists, without a single exception, have striven for is the abolition of private property and its absorption into the community or the state. The Encyclopedia Britannica defines communism as the "abolition of private property and its absorption into the community." Karl Marx in his *Manifesto* defined it simply as the "abolition of private property."

Certainly no one is at this hour going to question Marx's definition of communism, which has been universally accepted by all Communists and which has been fully established in Russia.

Why has the Dies committee left out of its report even a hint at a true definition of communism? Is it because of fear it would expose the really dangerous forces of communism in our country? Communism being the abolition of private property, why is the report so silent about the program of the United States Housing Authority, which has under way the abolition of between twenty and forty billion dollars' worth of private property—and our homes at that, the most sacred physical possession of the family—and its absorption into the Federal Government?

Why is the committee's report silent about the Tennessee Valley Authority, which is the abolishment of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of private property and its ownership taken over by the Federal Government?

I challenge the Dies committee to show that these are not communistic programs.

Furthermore, one of the basic principles of communism, so stated by Karl Marx as well as all other communistic writers and as carried out in practice by Russia, is the prohibition against the use of money of intrinsic value. I challenge the Dies committee to show that the irredeemable paper money the United States is now on is not, at bottom, the same as that which is used in Russia, that it is not the communistic money advocated by Karl Marx.

If I vote for this measure it will be principally because I am hopeful that its work may arouse the people of the country to a consideration as to what communism really is. If they do give it this consideration, they will see that the real danger of communism is from within not from without. They will see that we are now, ourselves, on communistic money. They will see that the T. V. A., the U. S. H. A., the Export-Import Bank of Washington, and a great many other of the programs adopted by the Federal Government in the last few years are communistic.

They will see that the real promoters of communism in this country do not live in dark, subterranean haunts of illicit intrigue but that they live in marble palaces and other respectable places.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ALEXANDER].

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I cannot conceive of anyone, other than those who may be interested in or exposed by and through association with Fascist and Communist organizations, objecting to a thorough investigation into the activities of subversive groups by a congressional committee. This is essentially what I find in the following letter just received from William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

We can protect ourselves, as European peoples did not, if we know who and what is undermining and attacking our representative governmental structure. Those who are with us need fear nothing, those who are against us ought to be exposed, is another statement which is obviously fundamental. Read the whole letter and note that there is no quibbling or pussyfooting as to where a large part of organized labor stands on Americanism:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,  
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1940.

Hon. JOHN G. ALEXANDER,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, recently, expressed approval of the work which the Dies congressional committee has performed, and of its continuation of the investigation which it is making into the activities of subversive groups within the United States.

In conformity with this action taken by the highest authority within the American Federation of Labor, I am officially requesting that you support such proposal as may be submitted to Congress, providing for the continuation of the Dies committee, and of an appropriation sufficient to enable it to carry on its investigations.

I cannot conceive of anyone, other than those who may be exposed through association with Communist organizations and Communist front organizations, objecting to a thorough investigation into the activities of subversive groups by a congressional committee. Those who have no sympathy with these un-American groups, these subversive forces within our social order, who are constantly seeking to change our form of government and to promote revolution, can with perfect propriety give wholehearted support to the work of the Dies committee, and to the investigation it has made and which it can continue to make.

The people of our country are entitled to know the truth. We of the American Federation of Labor want them to know the facts. We want those who are undermining our form of government and those who are engaged in subversive activities to be exposed. Ridicule, denunciation, and sarcasm, all directed toward the Dies committee by those who seek to suppress its activities and prevent it from carrying on its important work, can only be looked upon with suspicion. We cannot permit those who engage in such tactics to prevent a thorough investigation and a public exposure of the actions and of the activities of individuals and groups who are engaged in un-American activities, and who are seeking either directly or indirectly the overthrow of our Government.

The preservation of freedom and democracy is a matter of vital concern to all those who believe in our form of government. We can protect ourselves if we know who and what it is that is undermining and attacking our governmental structure. Those who are with us need not fear, those who are against us ought to be exposed. The Dies committee is rendering a great public service. It should be continued until its investigation is completed.

I urge you to support the Dies committee. I appeal to you to vote for an appropriation which will adequately equip the Dies committee to complete the excellent, splendid work which it has thus far carried on.

Sincerely yours,

WM. GREEN,  
President, American Federation of Labor.

On page 18 of the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I inserted a definition of Americanism. As a guide to all parties interested in this question now under debate and to the members of the Dies committee, I again repeat:

Americanism is an abiding faith in the correctness and justice of the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights.

Americanism is a way of life, based on this abiding faith. It is a willingness to live in peace and harmony with our fellow men, regardless of political or religious faith.

Americanism is a willingness to apply the principles of free speech, free press, and freedom to worship God to our fellow men, even when their ideas and speech and methods of worship are opposed to our own.

Americanism is a willingness to live for the principles of America in peacetimes, as well as a willingness to die for American principles in wartimes.

Americanism brings to each American liberty under law, and a regard for law which means liberty and happiness for each of us.

If this is a fair statement of Americanism, and I believe it is, then let each and every one of us adopt it as our program and practice it in our everyday lives. [Applause.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BENDER].

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, despite the unnecessary and unwarranted sensations sought by the chairman of the committee, for his personal publicity, I am in favor of the continuation of the Dies committee investigation.

It cannot be denied that the work of the committee in exposing the activities of organizations in our country which seek to undermine American institutions has been of the greatest value. It has aroused our people to a complete awareness of the forces hostile to our democracy. It has united us in defense of the things we cherish in our land. The work of bringing darkness into the light has not yet been completed. The Dies committee gives promise of doing its job more effectively than any other organization in our country. I know that I speak for thousands of Americans in my desire to see that job completed. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. DEMPSEY].

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities since the creation of the committee, I most heartily recommend to the Members of the House its continuation. We have had a rather tough assignment, that of investigating un-American activities, especially because, at the time the committee was created, there were several distinct groups of that type, each competing with the other. There were the Fascists, the Nazis, and the Communists. It was strange to me that when we were investigating the Nazis we got great applause from the Communists, but when we were investigating the Communists we were accused of infringing on the right of free speech. That is the attitude the Communists took.

The Communist Party of the United States is a branch of the Comintern of Moscow, from which organization it gets its orders, and it obeys those orders. Mr. Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, who was sentenced yesterday to 4 years in the penitentiary, is being sentenced because of evidence developed by the Dies committee about his fraudulent use of passports and the manner in which he obtained these passports.

I believe the committee has done a splendid job. This Nation is a nation of joiners, largely. We like to join organizations with patriotic names, at times not realizing that the real purposes of those organizations are quite the reverse of patriotic. This deception has been going on in this country for years, and millions of our citizens have joined such organizations. The moneys they have contributed have been used by foreign agents to spread propaganda throughout the country.

Something has been said about dissension in the committee. There has been some dissension in the committee, but I have yet to see any member of the Dies committee who failed to continue investigation of any subversive group after his attention had been drawn to it. We have been unanimous on everything except, at times, procedure. There is much more for the committee to do. It would be shortsightedness and the sheerest folly, I feel, not to continue its work. That is all the resolution before the House provides—that the Special Committee on Un-American Activities shall bring to a successful conclusion the work it has begun, to the end that there shall not remain in this Nation a vestige of the threat that has existed through these subversive activities.

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I shall be pleased to yield.

Mr. HOBBS. I appreciate the gentleman's comment on the suggestion of the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS] with regard to certain rules of procedure.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I have been in favor of regulation, but it must be by the committee itself.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. KEEFE. In view of the remarks placed in the RECORD yesterday by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK], which very vigorously attacked the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] and his committee, can the gentleman not tell the House here and now, as a member of that committee, that the Dies committee has done everything possible to apprehend this man Pelley and bring him before it?

Mr. DEMPSEY. The committee has not only had its own investigators seeking Mr. Pelley—and he is a fugitive from justice from the State of North Carolina—but has appealed to the Department of Justice to try to locate him. I want to say about Mr. Pelley that he is a cheap, slimy, gutter racketeer of the worst type. I have never said an unkind word about a Member of Congress on the floor and I never expect to, but I am afraid that when the gentleman from Michigan yesterday gave as his authority that reprehensible person, Mr. Pelley, he did not have the information he should have had before using him as an authority. Mr. Pelley has condemned the President of the United States for taking moneys con-

tributed to the victims of infantile paralysis, and he has attacked everybody who has tried to do a decent thing in this country.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a brief question?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The chairman of the gentleman's committee about 3 weeks ago made public a certain statement, which appeared in the press. I want to know whether the committee acquiesced in that statement or agree with the chairman of the committee in his statement that if the power is given to him under this resolution he will deport 7,000,000 people from this country. Has the gentleman read that statement, and does the committee approve that kind of a statement?

Mr. DEMPSEY. I did not read it, and if I had read it I would not give credence to it because the committee has no such power.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Such loose statements and press releases disturb the people of the country.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I cannot be responsible for that.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, it is a strange thing that each time we investigate and bring information to this House, especially about the Communists, so many persons in the House are disturbed. [Applause.] Let me say that my hatred for these alien "isms" is so great that it was only because of that feeling, and not because of any wish to shield the real believers in them—for I believe the un-American "isms" are the most despicable of all beliefs—that I took the attitude I did with reference to the publication of the names of Government employees who were on the mailing list of the League for Peace and Democracy, an organization which I know to be a front organization for the Communist Party. I believe we should exercise the greatest care not to connect innocent persons with membership in such organizations.

We are a committee having immunity. We can say anything we please about people, and they have no recourse. This being the situation, we should be more than ordinarily careful about our statements. I wish to say, however, that the committee members were unanimous on their report. There may be some errors in the report, and I am inclined to agree with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] and the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS] about the electrical union; but the committee members were unanimous on the report and are unanimously in favor of a continuation of the life of this committee. We have on this committee liberals, middle-of-the-roaders, and conservatives, as we should have on such a committee. I defy any Member of this body to point to a single committee that has ever been appointed by the Congress that has done greater good for the people of this Nation on a similar expenditure than has the Dies committee. [Applause.]

Mr. DICKSTEIN. How about the McCormack committee? [Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW].

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, it has been reported to me, and I believe reliably, that the red flag of Soviet Russia and the swastika of Nazi Germany have flown over secret meetings in the valleys and canyons of my district.

These statements have been made to me from time to time by individual citizens, most of whom have been members of patriotic organizations such as the American Legion, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, and others.

There is no law that I know of to prevent the flying of foreign colors in the United States, but on the contrary there is freedom to do so, and on numerous patriotic occasions flags of all nations have been flown side by side with the Stars and Stripes.

But, Mr. Speaker, it cannot be denied that on the occasions referred to and at these secret meetings the general purpose of the occasion was not to promote good will be-

tween the United States and these totalitarian states but on the contrary to promote the organization of groups of American citizens devoted to the overthrow of our American form of government and the establishment of new governments under the domination either in principle or in fact by these foreign states.

It is a generally known fact in my district in California that while certain Nazi and Fascist activities are in existence there, that the largest activity by far is the International Socialist, better known as the Communist movement. The Communist Party of America is established and has the privilege in California of placing candidates upon the ballot. The Communist registration is not large in my district, but numbers about 1,000. However, I have reason to believe that there are much larger numbers of International Socialists, fellow travelers of the Soviet Socialists, who participate in political activities disguised under other party labels.

Mr. Speaker, I do not quarrel with people who cherish political views differing from my own but on the contrary I shall maintain their right to express their views so long as I may be able, in spite of the fact that experience elsewhere teaches us that were the situation reversed and these people in full control that my expression of my own views then would probably be not tolerated. These people cry out for and are freely granted the very rights that they deny others when they attain to full power. But that is not my concern at the moment. The thing that does concern me and millions of others like me of all American political shades is the fact that many of these people are engaged in fomenting trouble and violence, in obstructing wherever possible the flow of commerce and employment, in promoting the allegiance of our people to foreign ideologies and to foreign institutions whose objectives are world revolution and dictatorship.

Now Mr. Speaker, I offer the following letter for the RECORD. It is addressed to me by the Democratic Club of Glendale, Calif., a city of 80,000 population in my district.

I quote as follows:

GLENDALE, CALIF., December 27, 1939.

Hon. CARL HINSHAW,  
Representative, House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HINSHAW: At the regular monthly meeting of the Democratic Club of Glendale, a motion was unanimously adopted to discontinue the Dies committee.

We trust that you will feel as we do, that the Attorney General's Department is adequately equipped to investigate subversive activities, and that the Dies committee is an additional expense which the country cannot afford at this time.

Please vote "yes" to discontinue the Dies committee.

Very truly yours,

RUTH M. FRABLE,  
Secretary, Democratic Club of Glendale.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Democratic Club in Glendale, Calif., is in error when they state that the Attorney General's Department is adequately equipped to investigate subversive activities. The Attorney General has manifold duties to perform in connection with enforcing the laws on the statute books of the United States, in combating espionage and other like acts against the United States. The duties and authority of the Attorney General and the Department of Justice are well stated in the United States Government Manual of October 1939. To adequately staff the office of the Attorney General and the Federal Bureau of Investigation for investigating subversive activities of all kinds would be, in my judgment, at this time against public policy, as it could easily lead to the establishment of a political secret police on a permanent basis that could be the equivalent of the Nazi Gestapo or the Soviet OGPU, which God forbid.

The purpose of the Dies committee is not to establish a secret political police but to expose to the strong light of public inquiry the propaganda, the activities, and the active membership of un-American organizations, to expose their subversive principles to public analysis, and to establish the fact of their connection with foreign-born international revolutionary movements, all as a basis for such legislation as the Congress may deem advisable for the proper

protection of the Government and the people of the United States. The Attorney General is not charged with conducting public inquiry of this sort; but, on the contrary, his investigations and reports are generally quite secret. The Attorney General is bound to report only to the Executive and his staff. He may conduct only such investigations as are authorized by law and directed by the Executive. It would be proper for the Attorney General, through the Executive, to proffer the services of members of his Department in aid to this special committee of the Congress; but to date, as reported by the Dies committee, no such offer of aid has been extended.

In view of the facts and the circumstances, I feel that the Dies committee's authority should be renewed and an adequate appropriation of funds granted. As I have stated before, however, I do feel that the Dies committee might well adopt such rules for its own conduct as have been recommended by my colleague from California [Mr. VOORHIS], a member of that committee, in his address earlier this afternoon. It is especially important that innocent joiners of organizations fostered by and aided and abetted by alien enemies to our great Republic shall be protected from being branded by virtue of their mistaken enthusiasm. But it is equally important that they find out quickly that they are being made tools of alien objectives or philosophies. I shall vote "aye" on the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and to include certain letters and communications.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KEEFE].

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I received this mimeograph copy of a speech which says at the top "Speech of Congressman FRANK HOOK, of Michigan, prepared for delivery Monday p. m., January 22, 1940, on the House floor."

Evidently, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK] was precluded from delivering it upon the floor due to the early adjournment of the Congress Monday, but it appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD under Extension of Remarks.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for just one statement?

Mr. KEEFE. In just a moment, please.

Perhaps, being under Extension of Remarks, some privilege may be given to the gentleman from Michigan that he might not be accorded had he stood here in the Well of the House and made the attack which he makes in this speech upon the character and the integrity of the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, the chairman of this committee.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. Just a minute, please. You will have your opportunity.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. In just a moment—I have only 5 minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I will yield you my 1 minute.

Mr. KEEFE. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Just to make the announcement that as soon as the debate has concluded and the rules permit I shall rise to a question of privilege of the House and ask to have the remarks of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK] expunged from the RECORD.

Mr. KEEFE. It seems to me that action would be justified. It further seems to me that when this important matter is up for discussion that it is strange that a Member of this House should so violently attack a colleague, especially one on his own side. I do not know the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, intimately, being a new Member here, but I would not dare, upon the flimsy facts that are set forth in this statement, under my oath as a Member of this House, give utterance to the things that are set forth in this speech.

I want to ask the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK] where he got this information. I want to ask the gentleman from Michigan who wrote his speech for him.

Mr. HOOK. I wrote that speech.

Mr. KEEFE. All right; I want to ask you where you got your information.

Mr. HOOK. That is none of your business, but it is placed in the Department of Justice now and it is authentic.

Mr. KEEFE. Just let me show you what happened, if you have not read this thing.

Mr. HOOK. If you want some more information I will give it to you.

Mr. KEEFE. The gentleman, I assume, is a lawyer. I read his biography in the book here and it said he graduated from Valparaiso University, college of law, and I assume he is a lawyer.

Now, I ask any Member of this House who is a lawyer to turn to page 9 of this speech and read the factual information which is presented as an indictment of the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, in an effort to show that he is connected with the Christian Front organization or that he is connected with a Mr. Pelley or with Pelley Publications. There appears a series of letters which the gentleman says he has photographic copies of, which he offers as evidence as letter and admissions of the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES.

Mr. HOOK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. No.

Letters which appear to have been written by this man Pelley to a stool pigeon of Pelley's here in the city of Washington, by which Mr. Pelley himself builds up a case in this correspondence of self-protection against the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. KEEFE. I do not yield, Mr. Speaker.

This is a series of letters, written by Pelley to a stool pigeon of Pelley's in Washington, which the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, had no part in and could not know anything about, and yet the gentleman produces these letters as indicating that the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, is a party to a conspiracy with Pelley in connection with his subversive and un-American activities in this Nation.

I am simply astounded and surprised to think that anybody would impose upon the intelligence of lawyers, especially, and ask them to accept that as an indictment based upon facts. There is not a word in it but what would be excluded by any court, because at best they are mere self-serving declarations of Mr. Pelley himself in trying to build up a case for himself. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, I shall support the resolution. My service in the Congress has demonstrated to me at least one thing that is exceedingly clear, namely, that un-American and subversive groups are so ruthlessly determined to project their foreign ideologies in America that any citizen or any Member of Congress who dares to expose and defy them immediately subjects himself to a campaign of vilification, slander, or libel, and immediately he is pointed out as a reactionary or a Fascist.

In view of this situation, it is indeed refreshing to note that an overwhelming majority in this House and an overwhelming majority of the people throughout the country demand that the spotlight of publicity be turned upon these smear artists and character assassins to the end that the public may know the full extent and purposes of their various subversive activities.

The continuation of the Dies committee has been challenged by various groups of so-called liberals, who are pleased to point to the constitutional guaranties of free speech, assembly, and so forth, and under the specious plea that the Dies committee in the performance of its solemn duties threatens the fundamentals of the Bill of Rights, its work should be curtailed or stopped.

Let it be noted the source from which this clamor comes.

I am certain that such an examination will disclose that it comes, not from those sincerely interested in the protection of our constitutional liberties, but that in most cases it is

inspired by those who owe allegiance, secretly or otherwise, to some foreign government or some foreign ideology.

I can see a clear line of distinction between those groups that owe fealty and loyalty to our Government, but who demand the right to advocate change in our social and political structure, and those groups or individuals who claim the benefits and protection afforded by our Constitution and yet who secretly have taken an oath to support and defend some foreign dictator should the occasion arise.

I will defend the right of any group or any American citizen inspired by liberality of thought and progressive action to belong to any political party or to express any doctrine compatible with our democracy, because I believe that as time marches on, change in our social structure is inevitable, and that the Constitution is flexible enough to permit such change as may be necessary in the public interest in accordance with constitutional procedure.

I applaud those great liberals of the past who have, within the provisions of our law, advocated great social changes which have come to be recognized today as the law of the land. However, as I scan the record of the past I find not one of those great leaders of social and economic progress who owed secret allegiance to any nation other than the United States.

Many were thoroughly criticized because of the advocacy of change, but the march of progress under our system of government could not, and cannot be denied, and we have as a nation accepted many departures from the old order of things in the public interest. The difficulty today, however, is that we find many fake liberals who, with secret contempt in their hearts for our system of government, pose as liberals in order to more effectively promote the ideologies of Stalin and Hitler. The Communist who has wormed his way to a large extent into our social and economic structure, owes no allegiance to the country that guarantees to him the right of free speech and free press, but clothed with the mantle of protection afforded by our Constitution he works energetically at all times to secretly and covertly destroy the very government that guarantees those liberties.

I, for one at least, believe the time is here now, when those who assemble in Madison Square Garden or any other place under orders from Stalin or Hitler should be told in no uncertain terms that the mantle of free speech and free assembly can no longer be used as a cloak and a protection to those determined to destroy our form of government.

Nikolay Lenin, the dean of communism, once wrote, "Scratch a liberal and you find a reactionary." I am convinced that the true mark of all American liberals is to be called reactionary by the sons of Stalin.

I shall never vote to suppress or curb the right of any citizen to express his judgment or opinion on a political, social, or economic problem, because I have a right to assume that if the test ever comes between a revolutionary program of a Stalinite or a Hitlerite, and the orderly processes of change under our system of government such a citizen, no matter how radical he may be, would stand firm for the protection of our constitutional form of government.

However, I can no longer countenance alien or citizen agitators or groups who owe secret allegiance to Moscow or Berlin, and who have sworn that in the event of trouble between this democracy and the Soviet or Nazi Governments in Europe they will defend the Nazi or Soviet Governments, being permitted to continue their efforts to break down our form of government by force and violence and to substitute another type of government to which they have secretly or openly sworn allegiance.

The Dies committee has done commendable work in exposing to the people of this Nation such individuals and groups, and it is refreshing, indeed, to note how the Stalinites, Hitlerites, and other foreignites squeal and clamor when the pitiless light of publicity is turned upon them. I, for one, want this work to continue in the orderly manner that it has been conducted in the recent investigation because I know that the spotlight of publicity turned on these groups will disclose them ultimately to be as impotent as the alleged

colossus of Stalin which has, up to date, been so badly defeated by the small but inspired and courageous army of Finland.

My colleagues, in this crisis there is every reason in the world to continue this investigation. We will not be deterred by the spurious plea that the Bill of Rights is being trampled upon, or that liberal thought is being suppressed, but we will send the message out to the world that 130,000,000 people love their country and do not intend to have it imperiled or destroyed by a comparatively few disciples of Hitler or Stalin.

We are subject to the plea today, "Defend America. Spend for naval defense. Enlarge our Army. Enlarge our Navy. Build more airplanes, more guns, more implements of war"; and, although I know that the Government is aware of the activities of foreign agents and saboteurs in our midst, I want this Congress and this Nation to know that national defense involves more than the mere military or naval safeguarding of our shores. Impregnable though we may be from invasion, the most self-assured citizen must admit that our far-flung industries throughout the Nation are extremely vulnerable to the attack of foreign agents seeking to break down and destroy our great industries.

I am not an alarmist when I say this because Federal grand juries throughout the land and reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation clearly disclose that these agents of foreign powers are carrying on their work here in America every day.

I want to call the attention of the Congress to what I conceive to be the most vital and at the same time the most vulnerable link in our national defense. I direct your attention to the Great Lakes and inland-waterways transport system of this Nation. The immensity of this transport system and its relation to the industrial system of the Nation is scarcely realized by the people of this Nation.

On the Great Lakes alone there are 568 American ships, of 2,596,564 gross tons, serving American and Canadian ports. The three main cargoes of the Lakes are coal, ore, and grain. In 1938 ships plying the Lakes carried 40,368,121 net tons of coal, 50,481,451 net tons of iron ore, and 11,172,079 net tons of grain. A total of 114,229,856 tons of cargo of all sorts was carried. Add to this, if you will, the gross tonnage carried on the other inland waterways through barge lines, and so forth, and the importance of maintaining this uninterrupted flow of commerce is immediately clear.

Our excellent railroad systems, together with our great highway systems, with their autotruck transportation, could not cope with the increased traffic if for any reason lake and waterway transportation were stopped.

The great steel mills depend upon the carriers of the Great Lakes to build the ore reserves in their yards to insure a sufficient ore supply. The railroads alone are not able to handle a sufficient tonnage of ore to supply the normal operation of the steel mills. In Buffalo the greatest grain elevators in the world are filled with the grain of the West, brought there in the great grain-carrying ships of the Lakes. The harbors of Duluth, Superior, Milwaukee, Chicago, Toledo, Buffalo, and of all other Great Lakes ports, are equipped with the most modern machinery and freight-handling devices—equipment upon which depends the successful operation of the entire Lakes commerce and a great portion of the Nation's steel and allied industries.

Stop this flow of commerce on the Lakes and industry throughout the country would be paralyzed. It is the vulnerability of this part of the commerce to attack that I wish to direct your attention to. I do not anticipate an attack by submarines, battle cruisers, or airplanes, but I have concluded an investigation which leads me to the conclusion that it will come as a result of well-laid plans of foreign agents and saboteurs who for a period of some 10 years under instructions from Moscow have been working indefatigably on a plan that would permit the sabotage of industry in this country through the strike medium destined to tie up the commerce and shipping upon the Great Lakes.

Wage and living standards of the crews of the Lakes steamers have always, even during the worst business years,

been higher than the salt-water scales of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts. Serious labor difficulties have been rare. The American Federation of Labor maintained its Lakes maritime organization during the lean years between 1921 and 1934. Annual agreements were entered into between the union and certain employers throughout these years and a mutual respect was established.

Many of the Lakes seamen were members of the Independent Lake Carriers Association. The allied Lakes crafts—stevedores, grain scoopers, ore handlers, warehousemen, tug-boatmen, and so forth—have also enjoyed a comparatively high wage scale and have been singularly free of wage disputes of a lengthy or violent nature. They were largely organized in the International Longshoremen's Association of the American Federation of Labor, or in organizations affiliated to the I. L. A. and A. F. of L. Great credit for the establishment and conduct of these responsible organizations is due to the late T. V. O'Connor, formerly president of the I. L. A., and later Chairman of the United States Shipping Board, and to Joseph F. Ryan, present president of the I. L. A.

There is no doubt that foreign agents have for years schemed and planned ways and means to paralyze lake traffic and sabotage the vast industrial network dependent upon that traffic. In 1930 agents of at least one foreign power definitely embarked upon a campaign the results of which constitute an imminent menace to the successful operation of the Lakes commerce and the steel industry.

In the early spring of 1930 Communist saboteurs dispatched selected organizers to various ports on the Great Lakes. Many of these were identified by testimony given to the Dies committee. The first task of these organizers was to make a survey of ships, docks, steel mills, and basic industries, compiling a list of all persons sympathetic to the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. This work went on from 1930 to 1934 under the guise of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, which was then being maintained by a direct subsidy from the Communist Party. This organization participated in all strikes, including the Curtiss and Consolidated Aircraft strike in Buffalo in 1934. They were active in the steel industries also, assisting in the organizing campaign of the Trade Union Unity League.

At the close of the 1934 Lakes season the Marine Workers Industrial Union, its membership largely recruited by Communist organizers, disintegrated. However, the Communists remained on the Lakes and were taken over by the organization known as the National Maritime Union. Organized efforts were extended to the Mississippi and tributary rivers and under recognized Communist leadership membership was recruited for the National Maritime Union among employees of the Federal Barge Lines and independent operators.

At the present time I am advised that the National Maritime Union is conducting an active campaign on the Great Lakes and upon the inland waterways in the recruiting of new strength for the purpose of so controlling this vast commerce that a strike would effectively sabotage the entire industries of the East and Middle West.

I want to emphasize to the Congress that the operation of the inland waterways, rivers, canals, and the Great Lakes, while vital in normal times, is absolutely indispensable in critical times. The Communist organizers serving their foreign masters have made an investment for 10 years in their attempt to control this vital industry, and if I know the activities of Communist organizers, as conducted in the past, I know that they do not intend to lose this investment without a struggle. They do not intend to call a strike in the interests of the workers, but if and when one is called, it will be because of their desire to stop the flow of munitions abroad, to sabotage our steel mills and our Navy program, and to bring about discord and strife in the Nation, so as to provide a more fertile field in which to spread their Communist propaganda.

If such a strike is called, it will be a "rule or ruin" policy, with complete control of the Great Lakes commerce in the hands of the Communist element in charge of the leadership of the National Maritime Union. My investigation discloses that while the organizing work appears on the surface to be

merely another organizing campaign of the C. I. O. National Maritime Union, yet the real object and purpose is not to better the conditions of the Lakes seamen but to carry out a plan of sabotage long ago conceived by the fertile brains of the Communist masters in Moscow. Ten years of work by un-American agents are culminating in this effort, and the plans are part and parcel of the Communist political campaign in this Nation in 1940.

A mere glance at any recent issue of the Daily Worker, the official mouthpiece of the Communist Party, is proof conclusive of this. A strike in the Lakes this year with the ore stock pile reserves at low ebb would so curtail steel production that even the normal domestic demands could not be met. Foreign orders would have to be canceled. The naval and merchant-marine building program would be stopped or drastically curtailed, and if it spread into the steel industry with many shifts laid off because of an inadequate ore supply, I can envision chaos resulting, with Mr. Stalin chuckling over the handiwork of his puppets.

Responsible labor leaders in both the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. are opposed to a reoccurrence of the 1933-36 strike wave. The general membership of the unions is also opposed to it. Strike hysteria, however, is harder to stop than a forest fire, and a strike precipitated on the Great Lakes would inevitably bring vast unemployment in its wake, and unemployed workers are easy victims of the skilled Communist propagandists who have crept into the leadership and control of the National Maritime and certain other American unions.

Under the cloak of strike action these Communist strike agitators would be able to strike their blows at American industry. In 1934 the Daily Worker admitted the long-range plans of the Communist Party in a feature article which described the Great Lakes as "the most important link in the American war industries." The conclusion was that the organization of the Lakes was a major Communist objective.

Today the Daily Worker is accusing the United States of America of plotting an imperialist war against the U. S. S. R. The President even is accused of starving American unemployed to build battleships. The long-haired boys and the short-haired girls are on their soap boxes every night yelling, "We want bread, not bullets." The old propaganda machine that organized the unemployed demonstrations, the hunger marches, the relief-station riots, and the hysterical disorders starting March 6, 1930, and lasting 4 straight years, is in progress of operation again. The real issues mean nothing to these propagandists. Hunger, misery, strikes, riots, unemployment, and crises are their weapons.

The Communist Party is directing precisely the same attack at President Roosevelt in 1940 as they did at President Hoover in 1931. The slogans, the banners, the speeches, and the petitions are practically the same. Skip the pitiful stories of the Finnish colossus attacking poor, defenseless Russia, and the rest of the Daily Worker in 1940 would appear identical with its 1931 program.

What are we going to do about it? I have always glorified in the liberal traditions of America. Certainly the men and women of America have the right to be either radical or conservative as their members may choose. Certainly they have the right to conduct their campaigns even if the objective of these campaigns is wrong, so long as they keep within the bounds of law and order and the fundamentals of our system of government. This is America, and an American citizen has a right to advocate the principles of communism if he so desires, provided that in his advocacy he is doing so because of his interest in the welfare of America.

The Communist saboteurs who worm their way into the National Maritime Union and any other great organization of liberals are not motivated by a desire to help the oppressed laboring man and to restore equality of opportunity and better working conditions, but in reality are using these slogans to capture the sympathy of the workingman in order to carry out their secret orders delivered direct from Moscow.

I believe it is time that we look this issue square in the face, and the time is not far distant when an aroused

American people will demand that action be taken. That demand is here now and has gradually been spread throughout the length and breadth of this land until even the long-haired Communist and the rotund "Bundist" has been driven to cover.

We can and will protect our democracy. We can and will protect our economy against the sabotage of Mr. Stalin and his puppets. We can and will expose those in our midst who are parties to the great conspiracy against America. We can and will continue to go forward with orderly processes and maintain our system of government, which, despite all of its traducers, continues to represent freedom and liberty, not only to 130,000,000 people fortunate enough to be here, but to countless millions of oppressed minorities throughout the world.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK].

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Wisconsin made some charges as an attorney. The gentleman knows that the evidence collected by the Dies committee is not restrained or bound by the rules of evidence and are protected by immunity for any remarks they make as members thereof, and further protected from criticism; a vicious rule, in my opinion.

Let us go to the remarks made by my friend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN] where he mentioned that there were thousands of Communists on the Government pay roll. I yield to any member of the Dies committee at this time to name me one Communist on the Government pay roll that they could have justly named in their report, excepting the investigator of their own committee. I hear none.

Let me refer now to a speech that was given by our colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] when he said over the air over a national broadcast something about a famous list, referring to the list of the Pelley publications, about which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] referred when he said, "When the mailing list of the William Dudley Pelley Silver Shirts was spread on the record there was no charge of 'sordid procedure.'"

I yield now to the members of the Dies committee to show me any such list placed in the record. There was no such list. But there was a list of names published smearing innocent people with a "red" tinge. Never a Fascist list. My colleague either did not know what the record of his committee contained or was very much wrong in making this statement.

What kind of reports are we getting? I have asked the Attorney General of this United States, based on the evidence that is in my possession, to make a full and complete investigation of un-American activities. I have always felt that the founding fathers of this Nation intended the legislative, executive, and judicial arms of the Government to have specific and separate functions, designated not to encroach upon each other. The biggest stumbling block to communism today is the fight that is being made by that noble little country, Finland. If we would vote aid to her, we would stop communism from further spreading in this Nation. They are really fighting communism—not shadow boxing with it.

Yes. Did any of the patriotic gentlemen who would decry my stand in this matter disagree with me when I was the first one to stand on the floor of this House and oppose in no uncertain terms the unlawful and un-American sit-down strikes? Did they disagree with me when I voted against the antilynching bill? Did they disagree with me when I have talked and talked against communism and fascism in every form on the floor of this House?

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOOK. Was my sincerity questioned at that time? I decline to yield.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. I want to answer the gentleman's first question.

Mr. HOOK. I decline to yield. Did they question my sincerity then? I believe in the investigation of all un-American activities. The first three words of the Constitution of the United States are "We, the people." I want "We,

the people" to be represented so that all un-American activities will be taken into consideration. Many Members of this House come here by the vote of less than 5 percent of the population of their district. Is it un-American to keep people from voting because of intelligence tests, poll tax, and race, color, or creed?

Is the Ku Klux Klan an un-American body? I do not know. I think it is, but I know that the Dies committee has never touched that.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. HOOK. I do not.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. I make the point of order that the gentleman from Michigan challenged any Member of the Dies committee to answer a certain question and I am prepared to answer the question.

Mr. HOOK. Get your time and do it.

The SPEAKER. The point of order is overruled. The gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOOK. Many members of the Dies committee and others come now to the floor of this House and assure us that the same tactics that were used in the last year will not be used again.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentlemen 1 additional minute.

Mr. HOOK. I wish we had a recording of the talks that were given here the last time the committee was extended. The very same promises were made. Those promises were broken. Are we going to pass legislation over broken promises? Five hundred thousand people signed a petition, according to the gentleman from Michigan; but there are 131,000,000 people in this United States. Ninety-nine majority believe in curbing and destroying un-American activities, but believe in doing it without blaspheming innocent people. I compliment J. Edgar Hoover, Attorney General Jackson, and others in their fine work in doing just that in the American way.

I want to pay my respects to the former committees that investigated un-American activities, for the gentlemanly manner in which they conducted them. I believe the procedure that was suggested by the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS], a member of the committee, should be followed. It is the same procedure that is followed by the Monopoly Committee investigating monopolies here. That is a gentlemanly committee and doing a wonderful work. I wish I could vote for this resolution but it is my opinion this work is the duty of the Department of Justice. So I cannot, under the circumstances, vote for a continuation of this committee. [Applause.]

At this point I offer the statement issued by the Attorney General of the United States, Hon. Robert H. Jackson, issued on January 21, 1940:

I am today instructing United States Attorney Kennedy at Brooklyn as to the scope of the grand jury investigation of the charge of sedition and other offenses, made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover against the 17 Christian Front defendants in proceedings instituted by my predecessor, Frank Murphy. This investigation will include examination of the activities of any individual or group, wherever located, who may have aided, abetted, directed, financed, or incited these particular defendants or any other subversive group working for similar unlawful ends.

Out of this investigation should come a clear identification of any person or group who have provoked or financed or otherwise conspired with these defendants. They should be held responsible for their conduct if they have violated or induced the violation of any Federal law. If, on the other hand, these defendants have acted independently of any others, the public should be assured of that fact so that there may be no exaggerated anxiety caused by the incident.

In order to expedite the Brooklyn proceedings, I have instructed Assistant Attorney Oetje John Rogge, Chief of the Criminal Division, and members of his staff who have been in charge of cases involving subversive groups elsewhere in the United States, to go

to New York to cooperate with United States Attorney Kennedy, and have asked United States Attorneys John T. Cahill, of New York, and William J. Campbell, of Chicago, to cooperate by furnishing all helpful evidence in their possession. These instructions do not constitute an accusation against any person involved but only call for a thorough-going inquiry in accordance with our traditional grand-jury system.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 7 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee at the outset of this debate said that the American Legion was in sympathy with the Republican Party.

Mr. SABATH. I said the officers.

Mr. FISH. That the officers of the American Legion were in sympathy with the Republican Party. The gentleman and every Member of this House know that the American Legion is a nonpartisan organization, composed of Republicans and Democrats alike, united, however, in their determination to expose and stamp out all Communist, Nazi, and Fascist propaganda in the United States of America. [Applause.] But if the American Legion is in sympathy with the Republican Party on this issue or any other issue, I, for one, welcome the support of that patriotic organization.

The American Legion is not the only great patriotic or national organization in America that has endorsed the Dies committee. The American Federation of Labor has likewise given its unanimous and enthusiastic support to the Dies committee, its achievements, and to the report submitted by that committee.

The following letter, I assume, was sent to all Members of the House by Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,  
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1940.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, recently, expressed approval of the work which the Dies congressional committee has performed and of its continuation of the investigation which it is making into the activities of subversive groups within the United States.

In conformity with this action taken by the highest authority within the American Federation of Labor, I am officially requesting that you support such proposal as may be submitted to Congress, providing for the continuation of the Dies committee and of an appropriation sufficient to enable it to carry on its investigations.

I cannot conceive of anyone, other than those who may be exposed through association with Communist organizations, and Communist front organizations, objecting to a thorough investigation into the activities of subversive groups by a congressional committee. Those who have no sympathy with these un-American groups, these subversive forces within our social order, who are constantly seeking to change our form of government and to promote revolution, can with perfect propriety give wholehearted support to the work of the Dies committee, and to the investigation it has made and which it can continue to make.

The people of our country are entitled to know the truth. We of the American Federation of Labor want them to know the facts. We want those who are undermining our form of government and those who are engaged in subversive activities to be exposed. Ridicule, denunciation, and sarcasm, all directed toward the Dies committee by those who seek to suppress its activities and prevent it from carrying on its important work, can only be looked upon with suspicion. We cannot permit those who engage in such tactics to prevent a thorough investigation and a public exposure of the actions and of the activities of individuals and groups who are engaged in un-American activities, and who are seeking either directly or indirectly the overthrow of our Government.

The preservation of freedom and democracy is a matter of vital concern to all those who believe in our form of government. We can protect ourselves if we know who and what it is that is undermining and attacking our governmental structure. Those who are with us need not fear, those who are against us ought to be exposed. The Dies committee is rendering a great public service. It should be continued until its investigation is completed.

I urge you to support the Dies committee. I appeal to you to vote for an appropriation which will adequately equip the Dies committee to complete the excellent, splendid work which it has thus far carried on.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM GREEN,  
President, American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] will venture to say that the American Federation of Labor or its officers are completely in sympathy with everything that the Republican Party does. I hope they are. The following telegrams from American Legion posts in my district—and these are only about half of them—show clearly

that the Legion is in dead earnest in combating subversive activities. In addition, I received over 200 telegrams from Legion posts throughout New York State.

PORT JERVIS, N. Y., January 22, 1940.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.  
American Legion James C. Bilz Post 685 favors continuance Dies committee. We urge your support.

CHARLES G. CROOPIN,  
Post Commander.

MIDDLETOWN, N. Y., January 22, 1940.

The Honorable HAMILTON FISH:  
Urge your support continuance of the Dies investigating committee.

AMERICAN LEGION AUXILIARY POST 151,  
MAE THORNTON, President.

HIGHLAND FALLS, N. Y., January 22, 1940.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH,  
House of Representatives:  
The O'Connor Doyle Post 633, Highland Falls, N. Y., membership 160, insist upon the continuation of the Dies committee.

WILLIAM E. DYROFF,  
Commander.

NEWBURGH, N. Y., January 21, 1940.

Representative HAMILTON FISH,  
Washington, D. C.:  
Galloway Post, American Legion, urges continuation of Dies investigation committee.

WILLIAM BARNETT,  
Commander, Galloway Post, American Legion.

NEWBURGH, N. Y., January 21, 1940.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:  
Urge your vote to continue Dies committee investigation and for appropriation requested for performance of that vitally important mission in present world affairs. We urge continuance of committee regardless of objection by the President, John L. Lewis, or any other of reddish tinge.

HARRY STANBROUGH MONELL,  
Commander, Memorial Grove Post 1213, the American Legion.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., January 21, 1940.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH,  
Washington, D. C.:  
Please support the continuance of the Dies investigating committee.

KATHRYN REID,  
Dutchess County Chairman of Legislation, American Legion Auxiliary.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., January 20, 1940.

Congressman HAMILTON FISH:  
Please act in accordance with Legion resolution favoring Dies committee.

HARRY L. WELCH,  
Commander, Dutchess County American Legion.

I take this occasion to deny the remarks made by my friend [Mr. SABATH], the chairman of the committee, that the Rules Committee of this House is antilabor. I cannot, and I do not intend to, speak for the Democratic members. I can speak for some and I believe all of the Republican members. I know that they are not antilabor, and I likewise know that their record in this House proves them to be the friends of labor, and particularly of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FISH. I yield for a brief question.

Mr. SABATH. I have not made the statement that all of the members are antilabor. Some of them do support the labor organizations.

Mr. FISH. I am speaking for the Republicans; and, of course, not for the Democrats.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK] has let his logic run away with his reason when he condemns the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES], the chairman of the committee, through association, because a so-called Mr. Peiley, head of the Silver Shirts, writes one of his stool-pigeons here in Washington and mentions Mr. Dies' name. By the same token it would be very easy for me to condemn the President of the United States by association because he wrote letters

commending the activities of the American Student Union and the American Youth Congress, as there are Communists in both these groups. By the same logic and the same reasoning, and by *reductio ad absurdum*, the President of the United States must be a Communist.

That is the main argument the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK] has advanced to denounce the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES], who is unable to answer for himself on account of illness. He has given of his time, of his energy, and of his health to the extent that he is now at home in Texas suffering from the effects of his labors in exposing un-American activities. If he were here to defend himself he would answer those charges directly, as he has from his own State in the press, and deny and repudiate every charge made by the gentleman from Michigan on the floor of this House that would associate him with Mr. Peiley or his group. In addition, Mervin K. Hart, whom I know well, has likewise been charged by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK] with being connected with the Christian Front. In all fairness to Mr. Hart, who is head of the New York State Economic Council and a man of high character, he has publicly denied having any connection, directly or indirectly, with the Christian Front, and has denounced such charges as "an unmitigated lie."

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HOOK. Does not the gentleman believe that those were exactly the same tactics that were used by the chairman of the committee to brand others as Communists when they were not?

Mr. FISH. No; I do not believe that. I think, under all the circumstances, that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES], and his committee, have rendered the greatest possible service to this country in exposing un-American activities, particularly of the Communists and the Nazis, and not by association but by direct evidence.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. FISH. I do not yield further. As a result, Fritz Kuhn, of the German-American Bund, is in jail today; and Earl Browder, the head of the Communist Party in America, is likewise in jail for a 4-year term.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 3½ minutes additional.

It is not good for the ultimate health of American ostriches to bury their necks in the sand and not know about the spread of un-American activities around them.

I know of no compromise between Americanism and communism. No public official can be half for America and half for Soviet Russia. There is no room for divided allegiance in the United States. The interests of our people and our country come first, last, and all the time. With the aid of the Dies committee, I hope we may be able to drive from the Federal service all communally minded officeholders and fellow travelers. [Applause.]

The American people will not tolerate any of their money going into the hands of public officials to be used to undermine our free institutions and republican form of Government.

It makes very little difference whether a public official is a member of the Communist Party or a fellow traveler, if his salary goes to spread communism and revolutionary activities in the United States. There is no room for this breed of cats on the American Government's pay roll, and every one of them should be exposed, as Cicero did Cataline, and driven out or dismissed from office and, if not, by the ballots of a free people.

I am convinced that the most important duty of the Dies committee at the present time, with Europe afire with war and hatred, is to investigate immediately the insidious, dangerous, and un-American activities of foreign war-mongers who are spreading poisonous war propaganda in our midst. The Dies committee could do no greater service than to expose, without fear or favor and from whatever source, all foreign agents and propagandists who are trying to inflame our passions and hatreds and to drag us into foreign entanglements and wars.

If these foreign propagandists have not enough decency to mind their own business and let America make its own decisions, then Congress should enact laws to deport all alien war propagandists. We have enough trouble trying to solve our own deplorable economic problems, with 10,000,000 unemployed American citizens, without being made a victim of foreign propaganda and being propagandized into foreign wars.

This Congress should not wait for the final report of the Dies committee, but should enact drastic deportation laws immediately, in order to deport all alien Communist and Nazi agitators back to their native lands, and give their jobs to loyal American citizens now walking the streets.

I am in favor of recalling our American Ambassador from Moscow and severing diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. We should stop sending notes of protest against the inspired Communist propaganda emanating from Soviet Russia, and instead start sending shiploads of alien agitators back to Stalin with the compliments of the American Congress. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHANNON].

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, not much can be said in 2 minutes.

History repeats itself. Twenty years or more ago a great President, Woodrow Wilson, was in office, and he was assailed just like the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, is assaulting the President of the United States today. A great man, General Bragg, cried out in Chicago at a Democratic national convention one time: "We love Grover Cleveland for the enemies he has made." I view with suspicion the admiration shown the gentleman from Texas, Chairman DIES, by his new-found Republican friends over here and his labor-hating friends on this side of the Chamber. I say to you, this committee should not be continued. I hope there will be manhood enough in this body to write into this bill somewhere the provision that no Member shall collect one dollar of revenue from any newspaper or from any speech that he may make if you authorize the committee's continuance. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. COFFEE].

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I regret that there is not sufficient time in which adequate discussion may be given this very important and very controversial subject. It was deplorable that the Rules Committee did not vouchsafe to the proponents and the opponents of this measure more than 25 minutes during their hearings yesterday, and in the brief time allotted to us on the floor today comprehensive discussion cannot be afforded.

I am going to vote against the continuation of the Dies committee, as I voted against its original creation in 1938, as I voted against it 1 year ago. At the time it was being considered some 2 years ago the former Member from Texas, Mr. Maverick, led the fight against the Dies committee. At that the distinguished prospective chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES], said, in effect, that "We have had witch hunts exposed in the past, and I do not propose that the committee, if placed under my charge, shall be culpable of the practices against which indictments have been justly laid in the past." He predicted that efforts would be made to engage in widespread "red" hunting, but that he would not indulge in it as long as he was chairman of the committee.

#### WHAT CAUSES EXTREMISM

Mr. Speaker, there are infinitely more important problems confronting the country than the proposition embraced within the functions of the Dies committee. What comfort can be drawn from the spectacle of this House voting to this committee another large sum of money? Surely the unemployed, the indigent, the needy, the evicted, the harassed, the submerged one-third whom the President described as ill-housed and undernourished, can derive no stimulus from this situation. If there are those who wonder at the existence of subversive and extremist organizations let them recall that there are 9,000,000 heads of families

still unemployed in America; that we are turning out nearly half a million preparatory school and college graduates every year, yet to whom the door of opportunity is almost shut. If we would overcome un-American activities we must get at and extirpate the cause. One cannot expect to eliminate a volcano's rumblings by clamping a cement cover over the outlet. We may inveigh at groups with whose philosophy we are in diametrical disagreement, continually and persistently, but to do an effective piece of work we should enact legislation the effect of which would be to take away the dread sword of Damocles of insecurity hanging by a tenuous thread over the heads of millions of our citizens today. Remove the curse of unemployment, of hunger, of want, of lack of opportunity, of sickness, of malnutrition, and our problem is settled.

THE SAME OLD PLEA

One year ago the chairman of this committee said: "We want just one more year. We can wind up the work of the committee during that year. Give us \$100,000. Let us finish the work on which we are now engaged, and we will not be back again." But they are back again and they will be back next year.

WITCH HUNTING STREAMLINED

We are urged to cut the unemployed in America one-third of their total appropriations by the financial advisers of the House. In the Budget just submitted to the House we are going to find that we do not have sufficient money with which to take care of those on the W. P. A. because we "cannot find the money," but we can find \$100,000 to engage on a witch-hunting, bogey-chasing expedition, in which rules of evidence will be flouted and in which hearsay testimony will be allowed to be introduced in that record which would not be admissible in any court of record in the United States; in which unsupported and readily refutable assertions made by unqualified witnesses will be allowed to be spread on the record; in which reputable citizens will be assailed and accused of being Communists and will be charged with engaging in un-American activities, but not in the presence of the accusers; and in which, when persons and groups so slandered have asked for permission to appear before the committee and deny the charges, frequently they have not been accorded that opportunity. This prognosis of the committee's future conduct is based on its past record. The American Negro Congress has been requesting an opportunity to come before the committee through its officers and deny the charges that have been laid at its door. One of its officers told me a few moments ago that they had not been accorded the privilege of appearing before the committee to deny these charges.

Mr. Speaker, let no one in this body delude himself by any conviction that the American people are a unit in demanding the continuation of this committee. There are countless groups who are opposing it. There are newspapers by the score who have carp'd at its antics. Magazines have editorially hurled diatribes of ridicule at its methods of procedure. Prominent educators, intellectuals, and creative thinkers have bitterly denounced what they term "injustice" pervading many of its hearings. A little later I shall briefly include excerpts from some of their pronouncements.

Mr. Speaker, unfortunately this committee has not had time or inclination so far effectively to investigate such nationalist, anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi, or Fascist organizations as the following: The Silver Shirts; the American Nationalist Federation; the American Nationalist Party; the Ku Klux Klan; the American Crusaders; the American Coalition; the Christian Front; the Christian Mobilizers; the American Immigration Conference Board; the Black Legion; the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation; James True Associates; the Paul Reveres, Inc.; Christian Defenders; Associated Farmers; American White Guards; American Patriot Guard; the Vindicators; Pelley Publishers; the White Legion; the Khaki Shirts; the Order of '76; the Christian Militia; the Crusaders for Economic Liberty; and the Awakener.

Among the people or organizations who or which have been termed Communists or helping communism without rebuke in front of the committee are such famous figures as the

motion-picture stars, James Cagney, Joan Crawford, Nancy Carroll, Miriam Hopkins, and Betty Davis. Among other famous figures or groups similarly referred to are the American Newspaper Guild; the late Heywood Broun; former United States Senator Robert Bulkley, of Ohio; former Gov. Elmer Benson; the composer, Irving Berlin; the director of the Indian Service, the Honorable John Collier; Hon. Oscar Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior. Among others so treated are Senator Sheridan Downey, of California; the great public-health and medical-care authority, Paul de Kruif; Bishop Ralph S. Cushman; the great writer and economist, Stuart Chase; Prof. Paul Douglas, of the University of Chicago; the great scientist, Albert Einstein; Harold E. Hoffman, former Governor of New Jersey. The League of Women Shoppers, a national organization of women interested in the consumer movement and including in its membership hundreds of the most prominent women of America was similarly charged before the committee. The following well-known figures or groups were likewise referred to: Gypsy Rose Lee; J. Warren Madden; Justice Frank Murphy; College President Henry Noble McCracken; Frederic March; Bishop F. J. McConnell; National Council of Methodist Youth; Gov. C. O. Olson, of California; former Senator James Pope, of Idaho; John Steinbeck, author of *Of Mice and Men*, and *Grapes of Wrath*; former Congressman Byron Scott, of California; the University of Michigan; Y. W. C. A.; Y. M. C. A.; Frances Perkins; Dorothy Parker; Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt; the Senate Civil Liberties Committee; Stanford University; World Youth Congress; William Allen White, famous Republican editor of the *Emporia (Kans.) Gazette*; Clark Gable; Howard University; and the Department of Health of the City of Detroit.

Mr. Speaker, I attach herein below a list of prominent educators, thinkers, and scientists in America who have aggressively, both orally and in writing, signified their relentless opposition to a further appropriation for continuation of the Dies committee.

The list follows:

Frank E. Baker, president, Milwaukee State Teachers College.  
Rufus E. Clement, president, Atlanta University.  
Clarence M. Dykstra, president, University of Wisconsin.  
William Alfred Eddy, president, Hobart and William Smith Colleges.  
Guy Stanton Ford, president, University of Minnesota.  
George Willard Frasier, president, Colorado State College of Education.  
Ralph K. Hickok, president, Western College.  
Raymond A. Kent, president, University of Louisville.  
Frank Kingdon, president, University of Newark.  
William A. Neilson, former president, Smith College.  
Walter Dill Scott, former president, Northwestern University.  
Mary E. Woolley, former president, Mount Holyoke College.  
Harold C. Urey, Nobel laureate in chemistry, Columbia.  
John Dewey, professor emeritus of philosophy.  
Charles A. Beard, former president, American Historical Association.  
J. McKeen Cattell, editor, *Science*.  
Francis J. McConnell, bishop, Methodist Church.  
Paul U. Kellogg, editor, *Survey Graphic*.  
Olin Downes, music critic, *New York Times*.  
Jonathan Daniels, editor, *Raleigh News and Observer*.  
Paul Robeson, singer and actor.  
Zechariah Chafee, Jr., professor, Harvard University.  
Paul J. Kern, president, Municipal Civil Service Commission of New York City.  
Charlotte Carr, head, Hull House, Chicago.  
Edith Abbott, dean, University of Chicago School of Social Service.  
Ned H. Dearborn, dean, New York University.  
Christian Gauss, dean, Princeton University.  
Malcolm S. MacLean, dean, University of Minnesota.  
Frank L. Mott, dean, University of Iowa.  
Carl Wittke, dean, Oberlin College.  
Mary Antin, author.  
Joseph Warren Beach, author.  
Van Wyck Brooks, author.  
Lillian Hellman, author.  
Inez Haynes Irwin, author.  
Emil Lengyel, author.  
Elmer Rice, author.  
Ralph Roeder, author.  
William Carlos Williams, author.  
Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor, New York University.  
Randolph B. Smith, director, Cooperative School for Teachers.  
Sophronisba P. Breckinridge, former president, American Association of Schools of Social Work.

Comfort A. Adams, former president, American Institute of Electrical Engineers.  
 Oswald Veblen, former president, American Mathematical Society.  
 John P. Peters, secretary, Committee of Physicians for Improvement of Medical Care.  
 A. M. Schlesinger, vice president, American Historical Association.  
 W. M. Malisoff, editor, *Philosophy of Science*.  
 Ellsworth Huntington, professor, Yale University.  
 Edward C. Tolman, professor, University of California.  
 George P. Adams, professor, University of California.  
 Ralph Linton, editor, *The American Anthropologist*.  
 W. A. Oldfather, former president, American Philological Association.  
 Walter E. Hager, secretary, Teachers College, Columbia University.  
 John F. Fulton, Yale Medical School.  
 Ralph Barton Perry, author, Pulitzer Prize biography of William James.  
 Clyde Eagleton, professor, New York University.  
 Karl Menninger, director, Psychiatric Clinic, Topeka, Kans.  
 Robert S. Lynd, professor, Columbia University.  
 Fred L. Redefer, secretary, Progressive Education Association.  
 Halford E. Luccock, professor, Yale Divinity School.  
 Alice Hamilton, professor emeritus, Harvard Medical School.  
 Vida D. Scudder, professor, Wellesley College.  
 Eugene W. Lyman, professor, Union Theological Seminary.  
 D. W. Prall, professor, Harvard University.  
 A. J. Carlson, former president, American Physiological Society.  
 Paul F. Gemmill, professor, University of Pennsylvania.  
 Edgar Dale, professor, Ohio State University.  
 Lester Dix, principal, Lincoln School.  
 V. T. Thayer, educational director, Ethical Culture Schools.  
 Harry J. Carman, professor, Columbia University.  
 Goodwin Watson, professor, Columbia University.  
 L. G. Barth, professor, Columbia University.  
 Dorothy Douglas, professor, Smith College.  
 Frank H. Hankins, professor, Smith College.  
 Hadley Cantril, professor, Princeton University.  
 Roy Dickinson Welch, professor, Princeton University.  
 Kirtley F. Mather, director, Harvard University summer school.  
 Morris R. Cohen, professor, College of the City of New York.  
 Harry A. Overstreet, professor, College of the City of New York.  
 Jerome Davis, former president, American Federation of Teachers.  
 Robert Iglehart, vice president, American Federation of Teachers.  
 Alonzo F. Myers, president, New York College Teachers Union.  
 Max Lerner, professor, Williams College.  
 Jesse H. Holmes, professor, Swarthmore College.  
 George Soule, editor, *The New Republic*.  
 Malcolm Cowley, editor, *The New Republic*.  
 Freda Kirchwey, editor, *The Nation*.  
 Maxwell S. Stewart, editor, *The Nation*.  
 Victor Weybright, editor, *Survey Graphic*.  
 Frank C. Bancroft, editor, *Social Work Today*.  
 Dashiell Hammett, author.  
 Leane Zugsmith, author.  
 Arthur Kober, author.  
 Countee Cullen, poet.  
 Matthew Josephson, author.  
 Jean Starr Untermeyer, poet.  
 Alfred Kreymborg, author.  
 Donald Ogden Stewart, president, League of American Writers.  
 Lewis Mumford, author.  
 Herman Shumlin, producer.  
 W. W. Norton, publisher.  
 Vilhjalmur Stefansson, past president, Explorers Club.  
 Marie Romaet-Rosanoff, musician.  
 Aaron Copland, composer.  
 Lehman Engel, musician.  
 Rockwell Kent, artist.  
 Morris Carnovsky, actor.  
 Oliver La Farge, author.  
 Philip Loeb, actor.  
 Max Yergan, secretary, International Institute for African Affairs.  
 Charles Belous, former councilman, New York City.  
 Dorothy Kenyon, former justice, New York City.  
 Hugh DeLacy, councilman, Seattle.  
 Justine Wise Polier, justice, New York City.  
 Nicholas Tomassetti, representative, Connecticut.  
 William Lloyd Ives, Rev., New York City.  
 John Howard Lathrop, Rev., Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Mary Van Kleeck, Russell Sage Foundation.  
 Mrs. Rachel Davis-Dubois, Service Bureau for Intercultural Education.  
 Dr. Bernard Glueck, psychiatrist.  
 John B. Andrews, secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation.  
 J. F. Dashiell, professor, University of North Carolina.  
 Edward A. Ross, professor emeritus, University of Wisconsin.  
 W. H. Manwaring, professor emeritus, Columbia University.  
 Willystine Goodsell, professor emeritus, Teachers College, Columbia University.  
 Mitchell Franklin, professor, Tulane University.  
 Harry Elmer Barnes, historian and journalist.  
 Edwin G. Boring, professor, Harvard University.  
 Rev. Alfred W. Swan, Madison, Wis.

Sara Bard Field, poet.  
 Charles Erskine Scott Wood, writer.  
 S. Stephenson Smith, professor, University of Oregon.  
 James B. Carey, secretary, C. I. O.  
 Charles William Taussig, chairman, National Advisory Committee.  
 Martha Dodd, writer.  
 William E. Dodd, former Ambassador to Germany.  
 George Seldes, author.  
 C. E. Ficken, dean, Macalester College.

Mr. Speaker, the following statement is an excerpt from a public declaration of the National Board of the National Negro Congress on the Dies committee, dated January 22, 1940.

We must point out to the American people that the unsuccessful attempt of the Dies committee to smear the national Negro Congress is only one link in the chain of reactionary forces in America who seek to throttle freedom of speech and to destroy the democratic rights of the Negro people vouchsafed us by the Constitution and laws of the United States. We call on the United States Congress to repudiate and abolish the Dies committee. We call upon the American people to denounce the star-chamber procedures of this committee. We serve notice on MARTIN DIES and his friends of the Ku Klux Klan that we will not be stopped in our struggle to win economic freedom and democracy for the 15,000,000 Negro Americans in our land. And we leave the American people to judge by our deeds whether it is we or the Dies committee who are un-American.

Mr. Speaker, by special permission of the House, I attach herein below statements from newspapers and organized groups in which the Dies committee is discussed in various of its aspects.

[San Diego Sun, Nov. 1, 1939]

IS DIES COMMITTEE UN-AMERICAN?

(By Raymond Clapper)

NO DISCRIMINATING

The Dies committee has been no more discriminating in separating alien subversive activities from domestic liberalism than the lady in the New York Herald Tribune who chirped brightly every morning throughout the 1936 campaign that only so many days remained to save the American way of life by electing Alf Landon. It is like Mrs. Dilling, who in her "red network" classed William Allen White as a "red."

Representative Dies had an opportunity to make distinct in the public mind the subversive alien activities, on the one hand, and on the other the native progressivism, the yeast in our democracy, the movements to make our form of government work more effectively, which are as American as the Constitution itself. Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Brandeis, populism, the non-Partisan League of the Dakotas, the La Follettes in Wisconsin, Franklin Roosevelt, and the New Deal—all have been damned as socialistic, Communistic, un-American. Dies talked about new dealers being "lapdogs of Moscow."

The Dies committee could have done a good turn to progressive democracy by pulling it clear of the radical-communist color. Instead, it has served to paste more Communist labels on the New Deal. Apparently the job will have to be done by the administration because it is vital that someone do it. To allow progressive ideas to succumb to a wave of red hunting and throw the country back into a period of reaction such as followed the Mitchell Palmer "red" hunt after the last war, would be an unnecessary and tragic loss.

The late Rodney Dutcher, N. E. A. staff correspondent, agreed with his colleagues as to the unique character of the Dies committee—unique, not in a flattering sense. He wrote:

No such loosely handled investigation has been covered previously by this generation of Washington correspondents.

Along the same line is the comment of Heywood Broun:

If the Dies committee had used any sort of cross-examination whatsoever, it might have held its more imaginative witnesses in bounds. Instead the more florid romancers were egged on as they seemed to be drawing to the end of the chapter. MARTIN DIES and his men seemed like eager infants in their disposition to say, "Don't stop now, Granny. Tell us another story. Tell us the one about the ogre who ate up the Sunday-school superintendent."

Another journalist, Frederick R. Barkley, feature writer for the New York Times, describes this method in actual operation, and also the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies'] reaction when the witnesses refused to cooperate by "yessing" the investigator:

What conclusions the people out in the country are reaching from the widely publicized testimony is puzzling many observers here. Have the committee's many ineptitudes and its unquestioning acceptance of the most fantastic tales wholly discredited it? Or is the public taking all the stories told it as gospel truth?

Luther A. Huston, likewise writing in the New York Times, summarizes the work of the committee in the early stages of the investigation, thus:

During a week of torrid testimony in torrid weather, a procession of witnesses \* \* \* pinned the red badge of Moscow on the bosoms of a host of labor leaders, placed Communist sympathizers not only in the legion of the New Deal, but in the staid ranks of the Grand Old Party, hinted that Stalin's minions were trying to corrupt the church, attributed Communist affiliations and sympathy to many organizations, hitherto designated as patriotic or educational, and pointed scorning fingers at persons who gave money to buy ambulances for wounded Spanish Loyalists. \* \* \*

At no time in the testimony was a definition given of communism or a Communist. Some of the witnesses left the impression on critical observers that their definition of communism was any program that opposed theirs, and a Communist was anyone whose opinion differed from their own.

Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of the conservative New York Times, and himself critical of the New Deal, wrote:

Mr. DIES, like Representatives FISH and DICKSTEIN, is a foreign-propaganda bloodhound. But he goes further than even Mr. FISH and leaves Mr. DICKSTEIN at the post in finding links between foreign ideologies and radical movements on the left fringe of the New Deal. \* \* \* Mr. SHEPPARD, chairman of the senatorial committee investigating campaign activities, is merely after facts he was instructed to obtain. But Mr. DIES was from the very first suspected of being after unilateral evidence to support a preconception.

#### EDITORIAL VIEWS ON THE DIES COMMITTEE

Newspapers of both major parties and of all shades of opinion, conservative and liberal alike, are agreed in their views of the Dies committee. A few representative views follow:

The New York Herald Tribune, leading conservative Republican organ and critic of the Roosevelt administration, writes:

\* \* \* the country should be warned against the danger of spying a Communist under every bush.

Let us realize, for instance, that Mr. Frey is a special pleader and that his object is to discredit the C. I. O. When, therefore, he says that the C. I. O. is in the grip of the Communists, his assertion should be taken with several grains of salt.

And in another editorial this newspaper asks rhetorically:

Are William Allen White, Henry Nobel McCracken, a bishop of the Methodist Church, and the former Governor of New Jersey, among others of like standing, dense enough to become the "stooges" of Stalin? There must be a catch somewhere.

The catch, we believe, appears in the assumption that because Communists ally themselves with a liberal cause they necessarily capture it.

The New York Times, Democratic and critical of the New Deal, in its restrained way, pokes fun at the committee thus:

One gathers from some of the testimony given before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that it is now possible to be a Communist without knowing it. One may think he is merely working for peace and democracy, or against war and fascism, but in the background, if one takes this testimony at its face value, is the sinister figure of Stalin and the OGPU.

Clear across the continent the Portland Oregonian, conservative Republican, says:

The Dies committee listens to the fanatical Dr. J. B. Matthews charging that Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt herself is a dupe of the Communists. It passes this abnormal suspicion along to the Nation. \* \* \*

To accuse this bountiful and warm-hearted First Lady of being manipulated from Moscow is an affront of common sense and good taste.

The Baltimore Sun, critic and opponent of the New Deal, declares that Secretary of Labor Perkins—

Is on firm ground \* \* \* in her refusal to deport C. I. O. Leader Harry Bridges on the ground that he is a Communist, as Representative MARTIN DIES demanded.

The Sun continues:

There is such a thing as sedition and it is fairly defined by law; but this committee is not investigating sedition, it is investigating "un-American" activities \* \* \*.

The inevitable implication is that there is such a thing as an American activity, which can be defined and recognized.

This is flat nonsense \* \* \*. The investigation was not limited to sedition for a coherent, if not creditable, reason. Some of its proponents wished to annoy people whom they dislike; but these people are not guilty of sedition, and the proponents of the

inquiry knew it. That is the only intelligible explanation of the meaningless term "un-American." Under such a term anything can be dragged in.

Another newspaper, the Walla Walla Morning Union, calls attention to the committee's failure to investigate certain other and really subversive organizations. It says:

Instead of running after the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the League of Women Shoppers, and the Milk Consumers' Protective Committee, the Dies group could have performed a real service by investigating such definitely un-American groups as the Silver Shirts, Knights of the White Camellia, Order of Black Shirts, and Dr. Winrod's fanatical following.

The New York Daily News, summarizing the work of the committee and commenting thereon editorially, says:

Up to now, the Dies committee has smeared the President of the United States and his wife with suspicions of having aided and abetted communism by making friendly gestures at the World Youth Congress; has hung a "red" label on poor little Shirley Temple, among other movie stars; and now wants the help of the G-men in digging up more smear stuff.

Recently Harlan Miller, famous columnist of the Washington (D. C.) Post, wrote in his daily news column, syndicated throughout the country (January 21, 1940):

And don't get me wrong about Dies himself. He's a great big lovable boy with a fine gift for shooting off his mouth. I'm sorry to see him looking so sick and pasty. But illness never kept Dies away from a microphone or a lecture platform; just away from Congress. I know MARTIN. I've had breakfast and lunch with him and talked with him by the hour. Sometimes he's fooled me.

Lately he's felt too puny to be in his seat here representing Texas, but not too frail to dash off \$10,000 worth of magazine articles.

Funny thing is, Dies means well. He yells how tolerant he is, while all the time acting intolerant to almost everybody who doesn't act and talk and dress like they do in his corner of Texas. He can't help that.

I tell you, Joe, he's a great guy. He isn't content to deport 7,000 or 70,000. No; he wants to deport 7,000,000. That scared the other members of his committee, because it would take every canoe in the country for the next 5 years, and how could Congressman KENT KELLER go canoeing?

Mr. DIES used to be the whole show, but now a majority of his committee is agin him.

They found out he was flirting with the notion of running for Vice President, or maybe for Senator against TOM CONNALLY, one of the finest Senators on the Hill.

"Mention me in your speech," he said to a colleague who was speaking in Texas, "it'll help me for Senator."

DIES promised he'd expose all the Communists. He spent \$100,000 and dug up one—Browder, their candidate for President. Great sleuthing, Joe, wasn't it?

He told me he'd get lists of all the Communists in the Government, and that he had the goods on where the Nazi and Fascist money was coming from. Joe, he never delivered.

But he got a lot of breaks. Hitler signed up with Stalin, and together they blackjacked Poland; Hitler stole Bohemia and Stalin picked on Finland; Fritz Kuhn got sent to jail and General Krivitsky exposed the Communists from the inside. The "reds" quarreled among themselves, and the Nazis bombed Warsaw, and all the lunatic fringe Dies was supposed to be exposing got in dutcher and dutcher.

It would have stunk without Dies to stir it up. But he got the credit; his name fits into any headline.

What I mean, Joe, is that Dies has got no business calling Shirley Temple or Eleanor Roosevelt a radical just because he wants to be Vice President. Them and thousands of others.

Joe, they're no more Communists than you or I or MARTIN DIES.

The other members of his committee would like to restrain MARTIN's exhibitionism and keep him away from microphones long enough to get well. They'd like to muzzle him, that's what they say.

But Congress apparently hasn't got the guts. They know it's popular to raise hell about the Communists, and they think Dies is now too popular to trifle with.

They'd like to muzzle him, but they doesn't.

A few of the Congressmen think the way MARTIN does, and some of the dumber ones think the way the guys do who throw up their hats for Dies. But most of 'em see how dangerous that kind of stuff is to the plain old Samuel Adams-Patrick Henry brand of freedom.

But they just plain haven't got the guts to make it clear that Communists and Nazis are lousy, but Dies isn't so hot, either.

They know Dies in the House. He's famous as chief of the demagogues club.

Once he spoke against a bill, voted for it 2 minutes later.

When the first poll showed Roosevelt slipping a little, Dies said, "Boys, he's slippin'; I'm turnin' agin him."

Speaker BANKHEAD named Dies chairman. He knew MARTIN's dad, who was a great guy. In MARTIN he recognized a good demagogue, because BANKHEAD's a little that way himself.

So you'd better resign from the Epworth League, Joe, or they'll be callin' you a Communist.

Yours, on a limb.

HARLAN.

On January 17, 1940, Dorothy Thompson, wife of Sinclair Lewis, the novelist, and the most brilliant and gifted woman newspaper writer in America, said, among other things:

The Dies committee also discovered the German-American Bund and revealed what had been published previously in numerous newspapers. But the report does not contain a single reference to the "Christian" boys—or the "Christian Front," or the "Christian Mobilizers"—who see in "Christianity" a war whoop for the persecution of nongentiles in this country.

I once heard this definition of a detective: He is a man who closes his eyes and paints an eye on the eyelid so that people will think that his eyes are open.

Despite the fact that one has to pick one's way across or around the members of the Christian Front thrusting copies of Father Coughlin's Social Justice under one's nose all over Forty-second Street in the very heart of New York, and in spite of the animal screams of blood lust that emerge from the patriotic throats of Mr. McWilliams' Christian Mobilizers, which, I understand, are rivals of the good father, thinking that they have discovered in their handsome chief a more likely "fuehrer of the future," our Government investigators have not noticed these boys.

The fact that Father Coughlin's name is enthusiastically cheered at the meetings of the German-American Bund; the fact that invitations to the Christian Front meetings and to bund meetings have been handed out synonymously by the same men at the same meetings; the fact that the Christian Front maintained picket lines at WMCA radio station every Sunday for a full year, bearing large placards on which was the picture of Father Coughlin, has escaped the notice of investigators.

On January 11, 1940, Walter Lippmann, one of the most astute fourth estate commentators we have in America, a man who has been a frequent critic of the New Deal, and whose writings generally reveal a decidedly conservative penchant, wrote in his column as it appeared in the Washington Post:

The Dies committee are not really a legislative committee. They are a kind of committee of public safety set up by Congress to suppress activities which, though detested by the great majority of the people, are in themselves either not unlawful, or, even if they were outlawed, could not be dealt with by the ordinary procedure of the law. The Dies committee are official vigilantes operating in an area, that of the political underworld, where there is as yet no effective law and there is, therefore, no order. The committeemen, like their vigilante predecessors on the American frontier, are therefore themselves often lawless in spirit and disorderly in their methods.

This accounts for the somewhat shamefaced approval which thoughtful men have given to the work of the committee. The public is confronted with the ancient moral question of whether the end justifies the means. Thus, only the very innocent and self-deluding have any doubt that the Dies committee have been attacking a formidable evil in modern society. The menace is real. It is not imaginary. And it must be met. Yet there is no doubt also that the procedure of the Dies committee is itself a violation of American morality; it is a pillory in which reputations are ruined, often without proof and always without the legal safeguards that protect the ordinary criminal; it is a tribunal before which men are arraigned and charged with acts that are, as a matter of fact, lawful.

#### END IS ATTAINED BY DEPLORABLE MEANS

Therefore the end, which is to protect the American system, is attained by means which, if used for some other end, would be deplored by everyone, by everyone, except, of course, the revolutionists whom Mr. Dies is stalking.

It is plain that the Dies committee cannot be abolished and must be continued since it offers a center of resistance to evils which could not otherwise be brought to light and checked. It is equally plain that the committee needs to be reformed, so that its methods will in spirit, at least, be lawful, and, therefore, capable of commanding the respect of law-abiding citizens.

I do not know how this can be done except by subjecting the procedure of the committee to public criticism, and by adding to the membership one or two learned and respected lawyers who will make it their business to reform the procedure, and by giving the committee enough money to hire competent investigators so that they may cease to rely upon dubious informers and the crackpots who always gather about an inquiry of this sort.

In the home State of the chairman of the committee is printed a famous newspaper, the El Paso (Tex.) Times. In its issue of December 26, 1939, it published the following editorial:

#### AND HE'LL GET THE MONEY

Chairman Dies of the House Un-American Activities Investigating Committee roars into action again.

Great things are just over the hill. Tremendously menacing things. He could tell a great deal about communism among the big movie actors. It seems Hollywood has been rather thoroughly penetrated.

Then there are the great labor troubles which have played havoc with the Pacific coast. Chairman Dies foresees important and alarming developments coming out of that investigation.

All of which, possibly true to some extent, at least, signifies just this:

The Dies committee is about out of money. In preparation for asking Congress for another appropriation, Dies wants the country to know what menacing things are just over the hill.

And Dies will get the money. Mark our prediction. He may not get as much as he wants, but he will be given a substantial sum.

The White House dislikes him. Congress knows him for what he is, a show-off and politics player, a hunter of headlines. But few Congressmen will dare vote against an appropriation to carry on the work of the Dies committee, which, incidentally, has been productive of some little good. Because they won't care to run the risk of being branded secretly "red."

From the Kansas City (Mo.) Star of October 26, 1939:

#### KEEP TO THIS NEEDED WORK

The Dies committee has an abundance of necessary work to do in exposing un-American activities of the dangerous sort. It does not need to stop over and cast suspicion upon possibly hundreds of persons who may be thoroughly loyal citizens. The committee has done that in giving out the membership and mailing list of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The committee has exceeded both its authority and the bounds of discretion in thus subjecting some 563 persons to possibly unjust criticism. It failed to indicate whether the persons named were members of the league and in sympathy with its work or whether they simply were on its mailing list. And while the committee charges that the league is a Communist organization, that is not definitely proved. Its officials deny that it is "Communist dominated."

The league is a radical agency and may be Communist. The committee could establish the facts about it. Until it does and until it has conclusive evidence to show certain persons on the league's lists are an actual part of it, then it should be silent about those persons. The committee has done good work. It can continue without injustice to any citizen.

From the Davenport (Iowa) Democrat, of November 26, 1939:

How these Congressmen do succumb to the glare of the spotlight! There was Senator Nye, who presided over extended committee hearings which gave a pat on the back to any witness who would say that the munition makers cause our wars. When he couldn't get enough attention at the congressional sessions he graduated to the summer Chautauqua circuit. And there was Senator Wheeler, under a similar spell, going on the lecture platform, which brought him to Davenport as an after-dinner orator.

Now it's Representative Dies, who has a committee investigating un-American activities, and counts a quorum whenever he is present. The inquiry has cost about \$125,000 to date, and Dies wants a lot more than that to keep it going. For fear of a lack of enthusiasm in Congress, he is planning a series of mass meetings to bring pressure on Congress to give him what he wants. The first will be held in Madison Square Garden next Wednesday.

It begins to look as if Mr. Dies is not so much possessed by the idea that "the reds'll get you if you don't watch out," as he is by an obsession for self-advertisement. As Iowa Legionnaire Frank Miles said at a forum in Des Moines, Dies is inclined to be "stagey" and has done "a lot of grandstanding which I wish he hadn't." Which was a frank admission after Frank had stated that the Legion had been instrumental in establishing the Dies committee.

The country will hear plenty of and from Dies. The Texas Congressman will see to that, himself.

From the Philadelphia Record, of October 27, 1939:

#### CHEAP TRICK

There is need for a genuine, decent, thoroughgoing investigation of foreign pressure groups and un-American activities in this country. But the Dies committee isn't it.

The committee's action in publishing a list of supposed members of the League for Peace and Democracy was an unbelievably cheap trick.

The League for Peace and Democracy is generally recognized today as a Communist front organization, although most of its members probably are not Communists.

But the list given out by the Dies committee was not a list of members. The papers handed to the press were marked "membership and mailing list" at the top. The committee ran a pencil through the words "and mailing." The press was supposed to draw the inference that it was a membership list, even though a committee member said that the committee made no claim that all those on the lists were members of the league.

Anyone's name can turn up on any mailing list. Why is it surprising or significant in any way that the names of Government officials were on the list? All the league's Washington office had to do to get the names was to consult a directory of Government officials, or look up addresses in the phone book.

What's to prevent Communist headquarters from putting MARTIN Dies' own name on its mailing list? What's to prevent some cheap "investigator" from seizing such a list and publishing it with the snide innuendo that MARTIN Dies is an agent of Moscow?

We think the committee owes an apology to the loyal Americans it has spattered with mud in a reckless and irresponsible manner.

The investigating power of congressional committees is one of the most useful instruments of government. It should not be abused.

From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Star-Journal, of October 27, 1939:

TEMPEST IN A TEAPOT

Representative DIES and the committee which bears his name certainly put their foot in it when they published the names of Government employees who were on the mailing list of the American League for Peace.

The Dies list totals 563 out of a Government pay roll in Washington of 147,760. Even if those listed were supporters of communism, which is not proven or even alleged, they would form such a small percentage of the whole that there would be nothing to get very excited about.

Publication of these names was unfair to most of the individuals concerned, and it is difficult to see how it served any useful purpose. Cannot the committee find something more important to do to justify its existence?

From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, of October 23, 1939:

MR. DIES' REAL OBJECTIVES

If further evidence as to the unjudicial procedure of the Dies committee is needed, it is to be found in its chairman's boast that it has paralyzed the left wing of the Democratic Party, discredited John L. Lewis and the C. I. O., and driven Elmer F. Andrews from his post as Wage and Hour Administrator. Very sure of himself, Dies even has listed future victims of his witch hunt, among them David Saposs, chief economist of the Labor Board.

There have been some disgraceful congressional committees in the past, but it would be difficult, indeed, to find one with the record of the Dies committee and its parade of discredited and irresponsible witnesses, its public smearing of reputations, without the least effort to determine the truth of the charges being broadcast. Now, its chairman admits that the purpose of the committee is not an exploratory one, but that it has definite objectives. It is out to "get" the New Deal. It is out to "get" the C. I. O. Well, those are legitimate targets in the political arena, but a congressional committee set up to investigate subversive activities should not be allowed to become an instrumentality in such partisan warfare. No committee should ever again be permitted to enter a State campaign, as this committee did in Attorney General Frank Murphy's unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign in Michigan.

Now the Dies committee wants another \$100,000 to continue its work. If, in the light of the objectives outlined by its chairman, it is granted this new appropriation, Congress will have taken about as effective a step against the democratic rights—that the committee was supposed to protect—as can well be imagined. Further, the Fritz Kuhns and the American Communists have done about everything possible to discredit themselves. If they are allowed to become "martyrs" to the Dies inquiry, the gentleman from Texas may yet succeed in rehabilitating them.

From the Dallas (Tex.) News of October 27, 1939:

UNJUSTIFIED COMMITTEE

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, whose probe has made some useful revelations, has made repeated mistakes that showed lack of thought and forethought. Not the least of these is publication of an alleged membership list of the League for Peace and Democracy, an organization it previously had branded as a Communist front. This committee action, now under fire even by some of its minority members, does an injustice to many individuals.

The claim that the publication is a violation of civil rights has little weight, of course. No one need be ashamed of belonging to an organization working for peace and democracy. The real injustice is in the unsupported branding of this organization as a Communist front, with the implication that its members, or many of them, are either Communists or Communist sympathizers. To a levelheaded citizen, a mere reading of prominent names on the membership list does not support the claim that the organization is tainted with communism, but there always are people ready to believe the worst of their fellows.

Any organization, even a lodge or a church, is likely to acquire a few members with Communist leanings—and as long as the Communist Party is a legitimate political body, there is no reason for discrimination against its members. But since many Americans consider themselves libeled by being tagged incorrectly as Communists or Communist sympathizers, and since such labeling might harm them politically or economically, congressional probers, no less than individuals, should be extremely cautious in order to avoid unjust accusations.

From that famous Republican newspaper of Worcester, Mass., the Telegram, in an editorial, dated October 26, 1939:

THE UNNECESSARY MR. DIES

All who have been following the newspaper reports of the doings of un-American organizations and their members within the borders of the United States must agree that there is plenty of work of the first importance to be done by the Dies committee. Thus public opinion is likely to second the request of the committee for funds to continue its investigations another year.

At the same time, however, all who have been following the newspaper reports of the sayings of Representative MARTIN DIES, chairman of the committee, must regret that the flamboyant Texan cannot be replaced by a man of more judicial temper. The committee has unearthed a vast deal of invaluable data concerning

forces operating to overthrow the American form of government. It has revealed the menacing foreign sources of some of these forces. And it has caught the serious attention of the American people.

But it has been able to do these things not because of Chairman Dies but in spite of him. The chairman has done his best—unconsciously of course—to gum the proceedings. The limelight into which the chairmanship thrust him has sent him into a veritable St. Vitus dance of political ambition. He has sought constantly to make personal political capital out of the accomplishments of the committee.

He has absented himself from hearings in order to barnstorm here and there in the hinterland. He has cried out, when he should have been silent, as on the other day, when he asserted that the committee has the goods to send all Communist and Fascist leaders in America to jail. He has stressed the trivial and botched the momentous. He displays no real understanding of what it is all about. For him, it would seem, the committee's investigations are a circus and he the rollicking clown.

From the Charlotte (N. C.) Daily News of November 25, 1939:

POISON—MR. DIES CALLS FOR A HEADER INTO MADNESS

The other suggestion made by Mr. Dies, however, is just plain terrible. He wants a series of mass meetings to be held all over the country to develop "a crusade of real Americanism."

What that means we know well enough from the early post-war days of Mitchell Palmer and the Ku Klux Klan. It means the whipping up of a mob hysteria of hate and rage masquerading as patriotism, which must have its scapegoat at any price—which exhibits all the characteristics of the mob spirit, and above all its impatience with the notion that holders of unpopular opinions still have their rights.

In short, what MARTIN DIES proposes is a Nation-wide hydrophobia against the Bill of Rights. For that, precisely, is what the sort of thing he calls for has always produced.

THE COMMITTEE SHOULD BE ETHICAL

We are told we should not criticize the committee. I think our agencies ought to lean backward and not be guilty of engaging in un-American activities themselves. A judge about to sentence a prisoner usually grants him full opportunity to speak. Anyone who has not been given a fair trial in the courts may appeal to the higher or court of last resort. But when the accused before the Dies committee does not agree with the charges that are made and wants to appear and deny them in toto, and such appearance is refused, there is no tribunal to which he can appeal, only the Congress of the United States. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, and to include therein a sermon given by the Most Reverend John F. O'Hara.

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

There was no objection.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 8 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO].

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, the discussion at this time, and particularly the attitude which is being taken by the overwhelming majority of the membership of this House, reminds me of two people who went to a heavyweight champion prize fight at Madison Square Garden. During that fight there was a moment when it looked as though the champion was going to be knocked out. All eyes were focused on the ring. Everybody was on his toes shouting, waiting for the big kill and for the new champion. Do you know what these two people were doing? They were sitting there discussing the merits of a ping-pong tournament that had been played the night before.

The House today is doing the same. Instead of dedicating its efforts toward the solution of very serious problems which are confronting our country, problems that really affect the general welfare of our Nation, which, the President said, was the basis of our national defense; problems of unemployment; problems of peace; problems of the laboring people; problems of the farmers; problems of the small-business men and professional men—the membership is rushing through the House and making it practically the first order of business what I deem to be the most reprehensible record in legislative history since the days of the World War.

We are going to continue what should be put away on the musty shelf to be forgotten as a disgraceful assault on the liberties of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, I am not going into the question of procedure, and I am not going to make any attack on any member of the committee. I could just as readily stand up here and repeat the words of the leader of the Democratic Party, the President of the United States, and describe the procedure of this committee as sordid, and have that great authority behind me.

However, I am not going to go into that because my opposition to the continuance of this committee is based upon a basic principle—that is, the principle of the civil rights guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States.

Oh, it is perfectly easy to attack a dissident minority. The press applauds. In fact, "communism" has become very, very convenient for many, many Members of this House, and many people outside of it. If communism is destroyed I do not know what some of you will do. [Applause.] It has become the most convenient method by which you wrap yourselves in the American flag in order to cover up some of the greasy stains on the legislative toga. You can vote against the unemployed, you can vote against the W. P. A. workers, you can emasculate the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States, you can try to destroy the National Labor Relations law, the Magna Carta of American labor, you can vote against the farmer, and you can do all that with a great deal of impunity, because after you have done so you do not have to explain your vote. You do not have to defend yourselves to the country and to the unemployed, to labor, or to the farmer. All you have to do is stand up here and say, "I am opposed to communism. Let us destroy communism." What are you going to do when there is no more communism in this country? [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, this resolution presents a very serious issue. It presents the issue of guaranteeing the rights of dissident minorities. Destroy the constitutional rights of minorities, particularly the rights of those minorities that you so vociferously condemn, and you are marching with seven-league boots toward the destruction of democracy. This committee, under the guise of investigating subversive activities, has done its utmost to abolish democratic rights in the United States.

It has failed to distinguish between illegal activities and constitutional activities. It has sought to destroy the right to constitutional activities under the pretext of investigating illegal activities. The right of minorities to freedom of press, speech, and petition have been endangered as never before by this committee. Oh, I know that when my friend the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STARNEs] gets up here he will say, "I subscribe to the doctrine of free speech." Let me say that what the Dies committee has failed to recognize is the fundamental principle of application. There is a great deal of difference between mere subscription and application. I say that every dissident minority has the right to advocate, it has the right to organize, and it has the right to propagandize. The Dies committee has failed to recognize the difference between subversive and constitutional. There is a difference between espionage, sabotage, and conspiracy, on the one hand, and on the other hand the right to organize, advocate, and propagandize. Until you establish that a person is guilty of conspiracy to violate laws or to engage in espionage or sabotage, I say that person has the right to advocate and to do everything the Constitution gives him the right to say, publish, and do, whether he be a Communist, a Socialist, a Republican, a Democrat, or a Laborite. [Applause.] Once you tamper with this principle, no matter under what pretext, once you undermine it, you undermine the Constitution of the United States and deal a death blow to the fundamental principles upon which this country is based.

Legislation such as this is not anything new. It is the third time such a situation has arisen. Twice before now it has arisen. Every time we have gone through a critical period a real effort has been made to destroy the civil rights

of the American people by making an attack on the rights of dissident minorities. Our institutions can survive only when we reaffirm the American tradition of greater freedom for the American people during periods of crises.

In 1798 we passed the Alien and Sedition Acts. Thomas Jefferson was hounded and accused of being an agent of a foreign country, France. The Alien and Sedition Acts, most similar in purpose with the activities of the Dies committee, were imposed on this country at that time. These laws were aimed at Jefferson and his followers. Now everybody respects Thomas Jefferson. Even my great friend from Dutchess County appeals to the Democrats in the name of Jefferson and calls them Jeffersonian Democrats when he wants them on his side.

Let us see what Thomas Jefferson said with regard to that legislation which is the monstrous ancestor of the type which you are putting over here today. He charged that that legislation was put over by a "war party." We are before a war situation now. He said that such laws were "merely an experiment on the American mind to see how far it would bear an avowed violation of the Constitution." He further stated, referring to the Sedition Acts:

These and successive acts of the same character, unless arrested at the threshold, necessarily drive these States into revolution and blood, and will furnish new calumnies against republican government, and new pretexts for those who wish it to be believed that man cannot be governed but by a rod of iron.

The Sedition Acts were repealed by the American people and the party that enacted them died.

During the World War we had a repetition of this situation. We passed the espionage laws, and we had the subsequent Palmer raids of which every American is ashamed today. No man was safe in his home. No minority was safe. No labor leader or labor union, no organization was safe to conduct its activities—legal activities, activities guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

Let me quote what a great Republican—one whose memory we will always respect, one who, too, was frequently in the minority, Senator Borah—said with regard to the espionage law when he opposed it in the United States Senate on April 19, 1917:

Without an unfettered press, without liberty of speech, all the outward forms and structures of free institutions are a sham, a pretense—the sheerest mockery. If the press is not free, if speech is not independent and untrammeled, if the mind is shackled or made impotent through fear, it makes no difference under what form of government you live, you are a subject and not a citizen. Republics are not in and of themselves better than other forms of government except insofar as they carry with them and guarantee to the citizens that liberty of thought and action for which they were established.

The espionage law of 1917 was repealed in disgust by the American people. After its repeal, at a mass meeting in New York City on March 11, 1923, held for the purpose of demanding the release of the political prisoners imprisoned under the espionage law, Senator Borah said, referring to the repealed Espionage Act:

It was not thought a fit law to remain upon the statute books of the United States in time of peace. I trust that at no time in the future will it ever be regarded or considered as a precedent for the enactment of any measure of that kind again. It should be regarded as not only opposed to the principles of free government in time of peace but also in time of war.

Mr. Speaker, take away the rights of people whom you do not like, take away the constitutional rights of dissident minorities, and you yourselves are engaging in un-American activities.

You say that you are worried about dissident minorities getting us into war. It is not the dissident minorities that will get us into war, it is the hysteria that this type of repressive legislation, that this type of persecution legislation you are going to pass today, will create that will get us into war. It will be the same as the hysteria that got us into war in 1917. The purpose is obvious. This is a prelude for an offensive against the Bill of Rights and for a drive to give the American workers the jobs of stopping bullets and shrapnel at the front. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, I was interested in what the preceding speaker had to say about the connection of war and peace with the investigation being conducted by the Dies committee. It seems to me there is a subject we might emphasize just a little bit this afternoon in considering the reasons why we should or should not continue this investigation.

I believe the evidence so far revealed has clearly shown there is a direct connection between the various subversive outfits in America and attempts being made to drag America into a foreign war or to influence our attitude with regard to one or more of the three conflicts now raging in the world. If for no other reason, I believe it would be a splendid thing on the roll-call vote which is to come on this measure if 90 percent, or more, of the Members of this House would vote to continue the Dies investigating committee with the admonition that has been expressed here frequently that it concentrate for a time on the sources of foreign propaganda coming into this country and that the committee analyze it clearly and see how much of it is being paid for by foreign governments and how many foreign agents are posing as lecturers, journalists, members of royal families, and what-not, going about the country trying to change the attitude of our citizens with regard to our neutrality program.

I believe one thing we can do to safeguard the neutrality of America is to tell the world here and now that we are deliberately providing this committee with another adequate appropriation and authorizing it to investigate the sources of foreign propaganda which are attempting to influence our attitude on foreign affairs, or to drag us into war.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the peace policy of this country and our attitude on foreign policy are matters to be determined by American citizens and by American citizens only. They must not be influenced by paid propagandists doing the work of Communists, Fascists, or Nazis, nor by foreign agents of England, France, Italy, Japan, or any other belligerent nation, all of which, on both sides of the war are trying to flood our country with hate-provoking propaganda spread by foreigners who are receiving their pay and their inspiration from the rulers of foreign countries. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GREEN].

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, it is a disappointment to me to see any opposition expressed on the floor of the House against continuance of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities. This committee was created by act of Congress and has rendered an outstanding and useful service for the Nation. Possibly the committee has made some mistakes in its investigations, and perhaps some things have been done which should not have been done; but, after all, such is always the result in these investigation efforts. The fact remains that, largely as a result of this committee's efforts, Browder and Kuhn, both notorious un-American workers, have been convicted and imprisoned.

When we were sworn in as Members of Congress, we took the following oath:

I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter, so help me God.

Surely un-American and subversive activities are not in accord with this oath, but are in dire violation of it and the very fundamentals of our American form of government. Surely we are bound under this oath to protect our country from domestic enemies as well as foreign. This committee has revealed in our midst both foreign and domestic enemies. I cannot give consolation nor approval to enemies of our Government, neither foreign nor domestic.

In voting to continue this committee, I feel that I am voting to uphold this oath, the Constitution of the United

States, and our American Government. The efforts of this committee are approved by the various veterans' organizations of our country, patriotic groups in our country, as well as millions of right-thinking and properly acting American citizens. I am voting for passage of the resolution, and shall regret to see a single one of my colleagues who are under the same oath as I am vote against it. [Applause.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, the motives of the American Legion have been questioned here in endorsing the Dies committee. I rise for the purpose of making this brief statement. All veterans' organizations—the Veterans of Foreign Wars and all other World War veterans' organizations and the Spanish-American War veterans—have gone on record in favor of a continuation of the Dies committee. All these organizations are nonpartisan and are outspoken in their opposition to all subversive activities in America.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY].

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I cannot agree with the last speaker, wherein he expressed the hope that no one disagrees with the continuance of the Dies committee. I think it is a pretty good American custom to have our legislators engage in debate, express their opinions, and out of the welter and exchange of opinions no harm can come; nothing but good can come; and, certainly, with respect to this committee, there ought to be a great difference of opinion.

I am somewhat alarmed at the lack of criticism of the Dies committee. You cannot take a middle ground, because emotions have been aroused. You are all black or you are all white. You are 100 percent for the committee and everything it does or you are 100 percent against the committee and everything it does.

Now, we ought to be able to take a rational middle ground. We ought to be able to approve the things we approve and to criticize the things we disapprove. We ought to be able to subject the activities of this committee or any other committee to the searchlight of investigation, to find out whether what they are doing is right and just and democratic.

Now, the Dies committee has done a great work in exposing Earl Browder. It has done a most commendable job in exposing Fritz Kuhn. We cannot shut our eyes to those things. In many ways it has done admirable and commendable work, but the point I wish to make is this. Why can we not engage in exposing and denouncing un-American activities without also repealing the Magna Carta, without also giving up the rights that our forefathers have fought and bled and sweated for? This is the point I wish to impress upon you ladies and gentlemen of this Congress.

The Dies committee could be subjected to criticism for quite a few things and ought to be subjected to criticism. I refer, for example, to a report which I signed, and I admit my mistake, and other members of the committee here today have admitted their mistake, in characterizing the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America as a union in which there is strongly entrenched Communist leadership.

We received some telegrams from James B. Carey, the head of that union, making a perfectly pertinent inquiry, asking who are the leaders in the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America who are Communists. A simple question and a natural question. I sent for the evidence and I asked the clerk of the committee to gather together the evidence against this organization that we branded communistic.

I find that we have nothing but sheer hearsay. We have nothing that would hold up in any court of law. We have little more than the fact that Mr. Carey once spoke before the American League for Peace and Democracy. That is about all we have so far as he is concerned.

Now, Mr. Carey, I am informed, has spoken before the Young Republican Club of Brooklyn. So by the same reasoning, that would make him a member of the Young Republican Club. He has also spoken before Vassar College, and by the same reasoning that would make him a student of Vassar.

In a letter from Julius Emspak, secretary of this union, I find the following passage:

The United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America is a union formed 4 years ago from the local unions previously affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and local unions that were independent and unaffiliated. From a membership of 14,000 at the time it was formed, the union has grown so that there are now approximately 250,000 employees in the electrical manufacturing industry working under the union's contracts.

The union functions in strictest accord with the fundamental principles of American democracy. Although the union has contractual relationships with 75 percent of the industry, with some 300 contracts in existence, the union has never once been accused of violating or breaching a contract.

I might also add that he states that the United Electrical had asked the chairman of our committee for a chance to appear and deny and refute the testimony. This chance was denied the United Electrical. I say this is something which the committee has done that should be criticized.

We have had other organizations in which the same denial could be made. We have, for example, the United Office and Professional Workers of America, in which we have said that Communists are strongly entrenched in their leadership. I have here a letter from Lewis Merrill, general president, in which he says:

Our organization has been given no opportunity to defend itself and our communications addressed to the committee have been disregarded.

I could go on and name others—for example, the American Association of University Women. They have some complaint to make with respect to consumers' unions being smeared as Communist. I say here there are undoubtedly other innocents whom we have branded as Communists. This loose talk about communism can blast reputations. Our committee has received a terrific amount of publicity in the American press. We should be careful. We should scrutinize the evidence with the utmost care. We should be judicial and analytical, and we have not been that.

I want to say to Mr. Carey, president of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union of America, that, as one member of the committee, I apologize for having put my name on a report branding his organization as communistic.

Now, let us go on from that. I have here another criticism to make of the Dies committee. When I say I am criticizing the Dies committee, I am not withdrawing from my share of the blame. We have good Members there. I am glad to pay my respects to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] on the Republican side. I feel that with his assistance we can reform the procedure. But let me point out the most despicable thing which this committee has done, or rather which was done in the name of the committee.

The Dies committee made a report of Communist activities in consumers' organizations. Let me recite chronologically the facts leading up to that report on consumers' organizations. On August 17, 1939, the Federal Trade Commission issued a complaint against Good Housekeeping Magazine, and Hearst Magazines, Inc., owner of Good Housekeeping Magazine. At that time Richard E. Berlin, executive vice president of Hearst Magazines, Inc., distributed a public statement assailing the Commission's action as Communist-inspired, and threatening public exposure of certain radical and communistic groups in and out of the Government service. This attack by Hearst Magazines, Inc., specifically singled out Consumers Union, Consumers National Federation, and Consumers' Council in the Department of Agriculture.

Having in mind Mr. Berlin's threat of August 17, 1939, let us turn our attention to the circumstances under which the Dies committee made its famous, or rather infamous, report of Communist activities in consumer organizations. No other member of the committee had any notice of this meeting, except the chairman. It was held on a Sunday night at 6 o'clock and was clouded in such secrecy that even to this day we of the committee do not know where it was held. The chairman of the committee sat as a subcom-

mittee of one and called the meeting to order. There were no witnesses produced, nothing but the report of the investigator, Mr. J. B. Matthews, which was inserted in the record and later given widespread publicity in the newspapers of the country. It was an attack on consumer and cooperative organizations which seek to protect the housewife from profiteering, alleging that all had their inspiration from the same source—Moscow. The report was credited to the Dies committee, at least in the headlines, but that was repudiated by my colleague from New Mexico, Congressman JOHN J. DEMPSEY, Democrat, and by my colleague from California, Congressman JERRY VOORHIS, Democrat, both of whom attacked that report. The gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS] said:

This report was purely and simply the opinion of one man.

That is an accurate characterization but who is the one man? He is Mr. J. B. Matthews, chief investigator of the Dies committee, a renegade Communist and formerly associated with Consumers Research, Inc., a rival consumer organization which was completely spared by his report. Mr. Matthews is still connected, by marriage, with the Consumers Research, Inc., because his wife, Grace Matthews, is a member of the staff and associate editor of this organization's magazine. This one-man committee, Mr. Matthews, is the same gentleman whom the newspapers reported as dropping in for dinner one night at the home of George Sokolsky, who once was paid \$6,000 by the National Association of Manufacturers as ghost writer and pamphleteer. Present at the Sokolsky dinner was Robert Lund, of St. Louis, former president of the Manufacturers' Association, and head of the Lambert Pharmacal Co., manufacturers of Listerine. Another guest was F. J. Schlink, president of Consumers Research.

There can be little doubt but that Mr. Matthews' report was for the purpose of discrediting consumer organizations actively engaged in trying to secure a fair deal for the consuming public and also discredit the Federal Trade Commission which had issued in August 1939 a complaint against the Hearst Magazines, Inc. From a conservative Republican member of the Federal Trade Commission I learned that the advertisers themselves who had advertised in the Good Housekeeping magazine, under the seal of approval of that magazine, admitted their advertisements were false and misleading and agreed to cease and desist; but the Hearst Magazines, Inc., evidently feeling that it was a law unto itself and above the authority of the Federal Trade Commission, sought to avoid its guilt by countering with the allegation that the charges against it were Communist-inspired and threatening an exposé.

After the Dies committee had held those hearings, the releases of the report were given out by Mr. Berlin in New York. The report was known to Hearst Magazines, Inc., before it was given to the press and the mimeographed release was prepared jointly for the private use of Mr. Berlin of the Hearst organization and for the official use of Mr. Matthews of the Dies committee. Think of it. An investigation committee, created by the House of Representatives, being used to serve a selfish and private interest. It is, to put it mildly, a perversion of the authority granted to it by the House.

Mr. Matthews, the investigator, evidently felt that, in order to effect his purpose, all of the other members of the committee should be kept in utter darkness for they might ask too many questions. Is that not the reason for this secret meeting?

Mr. Speaker, you can cut men's throats with whispering, you can blast their reputations with either loose talk or deliberate misstatements in the name of the Dies committee. These things which I have spoken to you about are disgraceful and un-American and in themselves demand investigation. They can and will be stopped. I hope and I believe that other members of the committee will join me in seeing that they are remedied to the end that we can carry on our investigation in a calm, judicial, more honest, and more accurate manner. [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHANNON].

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, I want to appeal to this body to vote down the previous question. Otherwise we can offer no amendments to this resolution. This is an ironclad gag rule. I want to offer this amendment:

After the period in line 11, add the following: "Provided, That all members of said committee are expressly prohibited from receiving any emoluments from writing or speaking as members of said committee, and a violation shall be punished by a fine of \$1,000."

Likewise, there are other safeguards that should be put into this resolution. I understand they are prepared and are ready to be offered from the floor. I appeal to you, in common decency, to vote down the previous question so that amendments can be offered to this resolution.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, as I have stated this afternoon, I have reported this resolution, though opposed to it, to carry out a mandate of the majority of the Rules Committee who voted for its consideration. A further reason for reporting the resolution was to give opportunity to some courageous Members of the House to express their views on the unfair tactics, press releases, and publicity given out by the chairman and personnel of the committee in advance of hearings without a check having been made as to the truth or falsity of such statements submitted to the chairman by irresponsible publicity seekers or those affiliated with organizations who had an ax to grind. Unfortunately, some statements were issued by the chairman of this special committee without the knowledge of members of the committee as they stated to me and before they had an opportunity to go over the evidence. The procedure of the committee was so contrary to all rules of procedure that injustice has been done in many instances and persons of highest standing have been placed in a false light and their patriotism and loyalty questioned.

Mr. Speaker, a great deal of evidence pertaining to the Nazi activities was known to me 2 years previous to the formation of the Dies committee, it having been disclosed by the McCormack-Dickstein investigating committee.

Like the gentlemen from Michigan and New York [Mr. HOFFMAN and Mr. FISH], I have received many telegrams from members of the American Legion.

Some of the high American Legion officials frequently mislead the membership. If the rank and file of the Legion membership were familiar with the unfairness of this special investigating committee, I know they would not allow their names to be signed to the many telegrams and petitions that have been received. I know that the rank and file of the American Legion and other veterans' organizations—the same as all other fair-minded men—are opposed to shamefully blasting the reputations of loyal and patriotic men and women. It is quite evident that the attack on labor organizations by the special investigating committee has been for the purpose of weakening or destroying them. I am satisfied that the membership of the American Legion on the whole in my district and city disapproves any action that unwarrantedly injures the fair name and reputation of any worthy individual.

It appears to me that the American Legion officers are being used by the Republicans for political purposes. I am satisfied that the Republicans, naturally, for the political advantages which they believe will inure to them, will cast their votes for the resolution.

Personally I have been and am for a proper investigation not only of the Communists and Nazis but of all other similar un-American organizations. I hope, in view of the assurance that was given by at least three members of the special committee, that henceforth the investigation will be fair, and that people will not be charged unjustly, unfairly, indiscriminately with being undesirable citizens and members of destructive organizations.

Further, it is my hope that the committee will investigate other subversive bodies also, particularly the Christian Front and the Ku Klux Klan. Father Coughlin first disclaimed friendship for the Christian Front, but is now ready to adopt it as his own. That being the case, let the glory be his.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STARNES] 5 minutes. I understand the gentleman from New York will do likewise.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STARNES].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama is recognized for 13 minutes.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in the brief time I have I ask my colleagues to bear with me and let me, if I may, present a factual summarization of the work of the special committee to investigate un-American and subversive activities. It was authorized under House Resolution 282 under date of May 26, 1938, first, to investigate the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; second, the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principles of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and third, all other questions in relation thereto that would aid the Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

What is Americanism and what are un-American activities? Americanism recognizes the existence of a deity and that the fundamental rights of man are derived from deity. Among these inalienable rights are freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, the right to work, and the right to enjoy the fruits of work. In effect Americanism guarantees all of the rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights. Any force or power, whether of foreign or domestic origin, which limits or circumscribes the citizen or groups of citizens in the enjoyment of these inalienable rights is un-American and subversive.

For more than 18 months your committee has functioned. We have expended \$115,000. Save and except the services of one Government official lent us by the Veterans' Administration, we have received no aid from any source other than the money which the House itself voted us through its Committee on Accounts. In this brief space of time we have found and have exposed to the sunlight of publicity a large number of so-called patriotic groups in this country, dissident groups, if I may borrow the term from the distinguished and eloquent little gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO]—dissident groups who have cloaked themselves in the garb of patriotism but who in reality are un-American because they appeal to the basest of instincts, the racial instincts, hatred, and to class instincts. These groups have really acted as organized racketeers in filching American citizens out of money to carry on their nefarious activities. Among such groups are the Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers and others whose names are set out in the committee's report.

In addition to these organizations of domestic origin we have also found that three groups have been at work in the social, economic, and political life of America, which were instigated, propagandized, and financed in whole or in part from foreign countries. I refer to the Fascist movement represented by the Black Shirts, the Nazi movement represented by the German-American Bund, and the Communist movement represented by the Communist Party of the United States.

The Fascist movement is very small and there is very little record of its financial transactions. It is so small in membership and has so few sympathizers, its activities and the results obtained may be dismissed as negligible. The vast majority of American citizens of Italian descent have no sympathy for this movement. They appreciate and exemplify good citizenship.

The German-American Bund is the successor of the Friends of New Germany. The Friends of New Germany contained many aliens within its ranks whose activities were so nefarious that many of its members were prosecuted in this country for espionage and sabotage. Many fled the country to escape prosecution. The bund was organized in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1936 with Fritz Kuhn as its leader. He is still its leader, although he now has to direct its activities from the State prison in New York. There are some 20,000 members of this organization and approximately 75,000 sympathizers in this country. Kuhn testified that it was necessary for the bund to be organized in order to give a political voice to the aspirations of a nationalistic minority in this country composed of citizens of German descent. He further testified that the purposes of the organization were to combat Marxism in all its forms and to fight Jewish control in this country. Mr. Speaker, that is the same song and dance that was sung and played which led to the invasion and destruction of the sovereign state of Austria. That was the same song and dance that was sung and played which led to the invasion and destruction of the Republic of Czechoslovakia and later to the rape, desolation, and destruction of Poland. How have they operated in this country? Through a strong group organization composed of 69 units in 19 States organized along military lines. They have conducted military drills in a distinctive uniform under the swastika of Germany. They have sponsored and led a youth movement in this country modeled after the Hitler youth movement, in which American children were taught the German language and Nazi ideology.

The Communist Party is the largest numerically, has been at work the longest in this country, and is the most dangerous dissident minority in the United States of America. [Applause.] From its inception it has been an international movement. For two decades it has carried on its work in this country. From the time of its inception it has been financed well by funds from the Soviet Union. Later the party has filched American citizens of millions of dollars in order to carry on its work. It is well organized, it is well financed, and it embraces a group of the world's master propagandists.

They have operated in three ways: First, they have posed as the friends of organized labor and have attempted to subvert the trade-union movement in America for political purposes. They believe that if they can gain control of the trade-union movement they could order a general strike and overthrow our Government overnight. They have used Trojan-horse tactics to do so; but, thanks be to God, through the vigilance of the leaders of trade-unionism in America, especially in the American Federation of Labor, they thwarted these apostles of disaster and dissent on every hand. As a member of this committee and as an American citizen I pay tribute to the leadership, to the courage, and to the patriotism of the working men and women of America everywhere. [Applause.] I want to express the appreciation of the committee for the magnificent support that has been given us by the largest and most powerful group of organized labor in this country, the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor is a great labor movement grounded in American ideals and entrenched in the economic life of our Nation.

In answer to the charge that the committee is unfriendly to organized labor I insert herewith a letter from the Honorable William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in which he praises the work of the committee and asks for its continuance.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the extension of my remarks a letter from Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in which he praises the work of the committee and calls on the Members of the House to continue its splendid work.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.  
There was no objection.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,  
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1940.

Hon. JOE STARNES,

*House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: The convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, recently, expressed approval of the work which the Dies congressional committee has performed and of its continuation of the investigation which it is making into the activities of subversive groups within the United States.

In conformity with this action taken by the highest authority within the American Federation of Labor, I am officially requesting that you support such proposal as may be submitted to Congress providing for the continuation of the Dies committee and of an appropriation sufficient to enable it to carry on its investigations.

I cannot conceive of anyone, other than those who may be exposed through association with Communist organizations and Communist-front organizations, objecting to a thorough investigation into the activities of subversive groups by a congressional committee. Those who have no sympathy with these un-American groups, these subversive forces within our social order, who are constantly seeking to change our form of government and to promote revolution, can with perfect propriety give wholehearted support to the work of the Dies committee and to the investigation it has made and which it can continue to make.

The people of our country are entitled to know the truth. We of the American Federation of Labor want them to know the facts. We want those who are undermining our form of government and those who are engaged in subversive activities to be exposed. Ridicule, denunciation, and sarcasm, all directed toward the Dies committee by those who seek to suppress its activities and prevent it from carrying on its important work, can only be looked upon with suspicion. We cannot permit those who engage in such tactics to prevent a thorough investigation and a public exposure of the actions and of the activities of individuals and groups who are engaged in un-American activities, and who are seeking either directly or indirectly the overthrow of our Government.

The preservation of freedom and democracy is a matter of vital concern to all those who believe in our form of government. We can protect ourselves if we know who and what it is that is undermining and attacking our governmental structure. Those who are with us need not fear; those who are against us ought to be exposed. The Dies committee is rendering a great public service. It should be continued until its investigation is completed.

I urge you to support the Dies committee. I appeal to you to vote for an appropriation which will adequately equip the Dies committee to complete the excellent, splendid work which it has thus far carried on.

Sincerely yours,

WM. GREEN,  
President, American Federation of Labor.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, they have attempted to seize control of our schools and colleges and poison the wells of thinking of the youth of America. Strange to relate, this state socialism of Communistic Russia has a subtle appeal to the so-called intelligentsia of this land. No one denies the influence of a teacher upon the child. No one who has listened to the testimony given us by college men and women throughout America can deny that they have made some real headway in winning converts to the cause of communism in the ranks of the teachers of America. Therein lies our biggest danger.

They have operated as exponents of twentieth century democracy in our schools and colleges and as exponents of genuine liberalism and defenders of academic freedom. They operate under the guise and mask of liberalism. This disguise makes it all the harder to detect them, because we would do a great injustice indeed to the progress of America if we attempted to place the tag of communism on every man whose ideas differed from our own. It would be an injustice to call every radical or progressive thinker and leader a Communist. But I think we have stripped the mask from the American League for Peace and Democracy and the American Student Union. These are the media through which they have attempted to operate in American college life. Their most effective device, probably, from a political standpoint, is the United Front. The largest United Front organization is the American League for Peace and Democracy, which claims a membership of approximately 6,000,000. The United Front and its related activities in this country probably has a membership of from eight to ten million. Not all of the members are communistic or inclined to the Communist theory, but these Communist organizations are organized or controlled by the Communists to further the Communist

Party line and use millions of innocent American citizens as dupes and contributors.

What is the work of the Communist Party in this country? What have we as a committee done to expose it? We have shown that it is an agent of a foreign government which has failed to register as such. We have shown that not only the German-American Bund but the Communist Party follows the line laid down by the parent country, namely, Germany and the Soviet Union. We have shown that the Communists have operated a false passport ring. We have shown that both the German-American Bund and the Communist Party have furnished espionage and sabotage rings for their respective parties for the benefit of those countries which I have named. We have shown that every Communist in this country owes his allegiance to the fatherland, the Soviet Union. I want to call the attention of the Members of this House to the fact that not one single Communist who testified before the committee would declare his allegiance to the United States of America in case of war with the Soviet Union. They stated they would hinder the work of the United States of America or else they would go to jail before they would defend the United States or fight for the United States in a war with the Soviet Union.

The committee has furnished the Department of Justice and the Department of State with testimony and evidence of the violation of laws which have led to further investigation by these agencies. After further investigation indictments and convictions have been obtained in every case. We have also furnished evidence to the War and Navy Departments concerning espionage and sabotage. We have attempted to cooperate fully with the various agencies of the Government in order that to the end that law and order may be established and enthroned. We can investigate but it is not our province to prosecute.

In every instance we have sought to protect and defend the rights of citizens and minorities. At no time has the committee recommended legislation or action which would lead to the suppression of the rights of the citizens or dissident minorities.

Why should this committee be continued? It should be continued for the very purposes that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] said it should be destroyed. It should be continued for the purpose of exposing the activities of minorities in this country, nationalistic minorities, international minorities, who, if their theories of government prevailed, would destroy every vestige of individual freedom and would destroy the rights of dissident minorities in this country.

It is necessary that the people know the facts. An enlightened public opinion is really all we need. Why should this committee be continued? We have a tremendous amount of material accumulated, much of it new, much of which will shed light upon the activities of these groups in the merchant marine, in schools and colleges, in the field of agriculture, and in the field of politics that the country is entitled to know. Secondly, in view of the tense international situation when the world is again hovering on the brink of war which may sweep organized society into the abyss of oblivion we should have a committee of the Congress in being to expose the activities and propaganda efforts of international groups in this country who would attempt to embroil us in the affairs of Europe. America wants peace, she hates war. We are not interested in the imperialistic dreams of Germany and Russia. Not even the Hohenzollerns nor the Czars showed the rapacity and ruthlessness of Hitler and Stalin. No modern nation has ever experienced the bloodshed and destruction of individual freedom as state socialism has imposed upon the unhappy people of Germany and Russia. Finally, Mr. Speaker, we need this committee continued in order to study remedial legislation. It will be necessary to call in the best minds of America and obtain the benefit of the composite picture of progressive and conservative thought of America in framing a remedial legislative program to correct and to cure some of the evils complained of, insofar as legislation can do so.

Finally, and long last, what we ought to do is evolve a constructive program, a program to sell the advantages of democratic government and democratic ideals and institutions to the people of America. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER. All time has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution and the amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SHANNON) there were—ayes 251, nays 8.

So the previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 1, line 9, strike out "1942" and insert "1941."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Messrs. COX, THOMAS F. FORD, FISH, STEFAN, and MARCANTONIO demanded the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 344, nays 21, answered "present" 1, not voting 57, as follows:

[Roll No. 8]

YEAS—344

Alexander	Costello	Gwynne	McGehee
Allen, Ill.	Courtney	Hall, Edwin A.	McLaughlin
Allen, La.	Cox	Hall, Leonard W.	McLean
Allen, Pa.	Cravens	Halleck	McLeod
Andersen, H. Carl	Crawford	Hancock	McMillan, Clara G.
Anderson, Calif.	Creal	Harness	McMillan, John
Anderson, Mo.	Crowe	Harrington	Maas
Andresen, A. H.	Crowther	Hart	Mahon
Andrews	Culkin	Harter, N. Y.	Maloney
Angell	Cullen	Harter, Ohio	Mansfield
Arends	Cummings	Hartley	Marshall
Austin	D'Alesandro	Healey	Martin, III.
Ball	Darden	Hendricks	Martin, Iowa
Barden	Delaney	Hennings	Martin, Mass.
Barnes	Dempsey	Hess	Mason
Barton	DeRouen	Hinshaw	Massingale
Bates, Ky.	Dingell	Hobbs	May
Bates, Mass.	Dirksen	Hoffman	Merritt
Beckworth	Disney	Hope	Michener
Bender	Dondero	Houston	Miller
Blackney	Doughton	Hunter	Mills, Ark.
Bland	Douglas	Jacobsen	Mills, La.
Bloom	Dowell	Jarman	Monkiewicz
Boland	Doxey	Jeffries	Monrone
Bolles	Duncan	Jenkins, Ohio	Moser
Boren	Eaton	Jenks, N. H.	Mott
Boykin	Eberhardt	Jennings	Mundt
Bradley, Mich.	Edmiston	Jensen	Murdock, Ariz.
Brewster	Elliott	Johns	Murray
Brooks	Ellis	Johnson, Ill.	Myers
Brown, Ga.	Elston	Johnson, Ind.	Nelson
Brown, Ohio	Engel	Johnson, Luther A.	Nichols
Bryson	Englebright	Johnson, Lyndon	Norrell
Buck	Evans	Johnson, Okla.	Norton
Buckler, Minn.	Faddis	Johnson, W. Va.	O'Brien
Buckley, N. Y.	Fay	Jones, Ohio	O'Leary
Bulwinkle	Fenton	Jones, Tex.	Oliver
Burch	Ferguson	Kean	O'Neal
Burdick	Fish	Kee	O'Toole
Burgin	Fitzpatrick	Keefe	Pace
Byrne, N. Y.	Flaherty	Kefauver	Parsons
Eyrns, Tenn.	Flannagan	Kennedy, Martin	Patman
Byron	Flannery	Kennedy, Md.	Patrick
Camp	Ford, Leland M.	Kennedy, Michael	Patton
Cannon, Fla.	Ford, Miss.	Keogh	Peterson, Fla.
Cannon, Mo.	Fulmer	Kilday	Peterson, Ga.
Carlson	Gamble	Kinzer	Pfeifer
Carter	Garrett	Kirwan	Pittenger
Cartwright	Gartner	Kitchens	Plumley
Case, S. Dak.	Gathings	Kleberg	Poage
Casey, Mass.	Gavagan	Knutson	Polk
Celler	Gearhart	Kociakowski	Powers
Chapman	Gehrmann	Kunkel	Rabaut
Chiperfield	Gerlach	Lambertson	Randolph
Church	Gibbs	Landis	Rankin
Clark	Gifford	Lanham	Rayburn
Clason	Gilchrist	Larrabee	Reed, Ill.
Claypool	Gillie	Leavy	Reed, N. Y.
Clevenger	Gore	LeCompte	Rees, Kans.
Cluett	Gossett	Lesinski	Richards
Cochran	Graham	Lewis, Colo.	Risk
Coffee, Nebr.	Grant, Ala.	Lewis, Ohio	Robertson
Cole, N. Y.	Grant, Ind.	Luce	Robinson, Utah
Collins	Green	Ludlow	Robtson, Ky.
Connery	Gregory	McAndrews	Rockefeller
Cooley	Griffith	McArdle	Rodgers, Pa.
Cooper	Gross	McCormack	Rogers, Mass.
Corbett	Guyer, Kans.	McDowell	Rogers, Okla.

Routzohn	Smith, Ill.	Talle	Walter
Rutherford	Smith, Maine	Tarver	Ward
Ryan	Smith, Ohio	Terry	Warren
Sandager	Smith, Va.	Thill	Weaver
Sasscer	Smith, W. Va.	Thomas, N. J.	Welch
Satterfield	Snyder	Thomas, Tex.	West
Schaefer, Ill.	Somers, N. Y.	Thomason	Wheat
Schafer, Wis.	South	Tibbott	Whelchel
Schiffler	Sparkman	Tinkham	White, Ohio
Schuetz	Spence	Tolan	Whittington
Seccombe	Springer	Treadway	Williams, Del.
Secret	Starnes, Ala.	Van Zandt	Williams, Mo.
Seger	Stearns, N. H.	Vincent, Ky.	Winter
Shafer, Mich.	Stefan	Vinson, Ga.	Wolcott
Shanley	Summer, Ill.	Voorhis, Calif.	Wood
Sheppard	Summers, Tex.	Vorys, Ohio	Woodruff, Mich.
Simpson	Sutphin	Vreeland	Woodrum, Va.
Smith, Conn.	Taber	Wadsworth	Youngdahl

## NAYS—21

Bradley, Pa.	Havener	Marcantonio	Shannon
Coffee, Wash.	Hook	Mitchell	Tenerowicz
Dunn	Izac	O'Day	Wallgren
Ford, Thomas F.	Keller	Pierce, Oreg.	
Fries	McGranery	Sabath	
Geyer, Calif.	McKeough	Schulte	

## ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

## Dickstein

## NOT VOTING—57

Arnold	Dworschak	Maciejewski	Short
Barry	Fernandez	Magnuson	Smith, Wash.
Beam	Folger	Mouton	Steagall
Bell	Hare	Murdock, Utah	Sullivan
Boehne	Hawks	O'Connor	Sweeney
Caldwell	Hill	Osmers	Taylor
Cole, Md.	Holmes	Pearson	Thorkelson
Colmer	Horton	Ramspeck	White, Idaho
Crosser	Hull	Reece, Tenn.	Wigglesworth
Curtis	Jarrett	Rich	Wolfenden, Pa.
Darrow	Kelly	Romjue	Wolverton, N. J.
Dies	Kerr	Sacks	Zimmerman
Ditter	Kramer	Schwert	
Drewry	Lea	Scrugham	
Durham	Lemke	Sheridan	

So the resolution was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Boehne (for) with Mr. Sheridan (against).  
Mr. Drewry (for) with Mr. Sacks (against).

General pairs:

Mr. Caldwell with Mr. Horton.  
Mr. Mouton with Mr. Lemke.  
Mr. Arnold with Mr. Schwert.  
Mr. White of Idaho with Mr. Durham.  
Mr. Crosser with Mr. Scrugham.  
Mr. Taylor with Mr. Barry.  
Mr. Beam with Mr. Sullivan.  
Mr. Fernandez with Mr. Magnuson.  
Mr. Dies with Mr. Maciejewski.  
Mr. Murdock of Utah with Mr. Ramspeck.  
Mr. Bell with Mr. Sweeney.  
Mr. Hare with Mr. O'Connor.  
Mr. Zimmerman with Mr. Smith of Washington.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.  
A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for one-half minute.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to announce that my colleague, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PEARSON] is unavoidably absent on official business of the House. If present, he would have voted "yea" on the resolution just passed.

Mr. SUTPHIN. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from Nevada [Mr. SCRUGHAM] is absent on official business. He has requested me to announce that if he were present he would have voted "yea" on the resolution just passed.

Mr. GARTNER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to state that my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DARROW], who is absent because of illness, would have voted "yea" on the resolution just passed if he were present.

Mr. DOXEY. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] is unavoidably absent. If present, he would have voted "yea."

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Speaker, I have received a telegram from certain of my colleagues announcing how they

would have voted on the resolution just passed. This telegram is signed by Mr. LEA, Mr. KELLY, Mr. COLE of Maryland, Mr. WOLVERTON of New Jersey, Mr. PEARSON, Mr. HOLMES, and Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania, and reads as follows:

In event of record vote on Dies resolution announce for RECORD absence of undersigned on petroleum investigation that each would, if present, have supported continuance of Dies committee with adequate appropriations.

I also wish to state that if the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOLGER] were here, he would have voted "yea."

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, had our colleagues, Messrs. WOLVERTON of New Jersey, WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania, RICH, WIGGLESWORTH, DARROW, JARRETT, OSMERS, HAWKS, DITTER, THORKELSON, SHORT, DWORSHAK, CURTIS, REECE of Tennessee, and HOLMES been present, they would have voted for the resolution just passed. They were absent either through illness or because of official business.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, due to the indisposition of my colleague the gentleman from California, Mr. KRAMER, he is unavoidably absent. Had he been present he would have voted "yea" on the resolution just passed.

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, my colleague the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. HULL, is a member of the committee appointed by the Speaker to attend the funeral of the late Senator BORAH, and is absent for that purpose. He has requested me to announce for the RECORD that had he been present he would have voted in favor of the resolution just passed.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Washington, Mr. HILL, is necessarily absent from the Chamber on official business of the House, attending the funeral of the late Senator Borah. I do not know how he would have voted on the resolution just passed, and on inquiry I cannot ascertain it.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues the gentlemen from North Carolina, Mr. KERR and Mr. DURHAM, are unavoidably absent. I am authorized to say that had they been present they would have voted "yea" on the resolution just passed.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to state that our colleague the gentleman from Alabama, Mr. STEAGALL, is unavoidably detained in Alabama on important business. If present, he would have voted "yea."

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD in connection with the revision of the remarks I made this afternoon a letter received from Mr. William Green, of the American Federation of Labor.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an editorial by William Allen White.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that to the remarks I made today I may be permitted to add certain brief editorials with reference to the subject matter of the remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members of the House may have five legislative days in which to extend their own remarks in the RECORD on the Dies resolution.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that in my remarks today I may be permitted to include a half dozen telegrams from the American Legion.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD by including an address delivered by the Attorney General, Hon. Robert H. Jackson, at the twentieth anniversary dinner of the Federal Bar Association.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD congratulating Governor Heil, of Wisconsin, on his determination to remove the oleo-margarine tax; and also to include an article on flood control, an editorial from the Arkansas Gazette.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include certain excerpts from some editorial columns in connection with my own remarks.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include in my remarks today a statement of the Attorney General, Robert H. Jackson.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include an article entitled "Our Gold Elephant," written by Hon. ROBERT LUCE and appearing in the Investor America.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include an address by W. Arthur Simpson, director of old-age assistance for the State of Vermont.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include a brief editorial from Municipal Sanitation.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a list of important Lake ports.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH] may be permitted to extend his own remarks in the RECORD on the independent offices appropriation bill.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a copy of my own address before the National Automobile Dealers Association here in Washington, D. C., and to include therein a copy of a bill which I am introducing.

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

There was no objection.

#### STATEMENT

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, my colleague the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SACKS] was absent today, due to illness. He has authorized me to say that if he had been present he would have voted "no" on the Dies resolution.

Mr. ROBINSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I wish to announce that my colleague the gentleman from Montana [Mr. O'CONNOR] is unavoidably detained at his home today suffering with a severe cold.

Mr. KINZER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to announce that my colleagues the gentlemen from Pennsylvania [Mr. DITTER and Mr. WOLFENDEN] are both absent on official business. If present, they would have voted "yea" on the Dies resolution.

#### PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privileges of the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan rises to a question involving the privileges of the House and offers a resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 366

Whereas Hon. FRANK E. HOOK, of Michigan, on January 22, 1940, obtained leave of the House to insert remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; and

Whereas under the leave so given he has caused to be printed in the RECORD as his remarks charges against a Member of this House in his representative capacity, and against a committee of the House; and

Whereas said charges reflect upon the integrity of a Member of the House and upon the integrity of a committee of the House and upon the House as a whole and tend to bring a Member of the House, a committee of the House, and the House as a whole into disrepute; and

Whereas the said charges were not in order and were an abuse of the privilege of the House: Therefore,

*Resolved*, That the said remarks printed on pages 849, 850, 851, 852, and 853 of the [daily] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD dated January 22, 1940, be, and are hereby, expunged from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and are declared not to be a legitimate part of the official record of the House.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I will not on this occasion repeat any of the statements made in the RECORD, for the reason that those statements are all available to every Member of the House. The only thing I desire to say now in that connection is that a reading of the remarks will show that there is ample justification for the resolution.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK], speaking today and yesterday before the Committee on Rules, complained bitterly about the action of the Dies committee. He charged that that committee had not given a fair hearing to those who wanted to appear. To avoid any like charge, and so that he may have ample time to justify his remarks as presented in the RECORD, I send to the Clerk's desk a motion.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. HOFFMAN moves that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Michigan.

The motion was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

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

To Mr. KRAMER, for 3 days, on account of illness.

To Mr. SMITH of Washington (at the request of Mr. LEAVY), for 2 days, on account of official business.

To Mr. ZIMMERMANN (at the request of Mr. WILLIAMS), indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. ROMJUE (at the request of Mr. WILLIAMS), indefinitely, on account of serious illness in his family.

TREASURY AND POST OFFICE DEPARTMENTS APPROPRIATION BILL, 1941

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state

of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 8068) making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, and for other purposes; and, pending that motion, I ask unanimous consent that general debate shall continue throughout this afternoon without limitation, the time to be equally divided and controlled by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] and myself.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 8068, and, pending that motion, asks unanimous consent that general debate on the bill shall continue through the balance of the afternoon, one-half the time to be controlled by himself and one-half the time by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER]. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I merely take this opportunity to ask the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] when we can expect the deficiency bill on parity payments?

Mr. TABER. Well, not today. I do not know. Frankly, the hearings that have been held so far do not justify the resolution. Information has been asked from the Department of Agriculture as to what the facts are. What they are, I do not know. Whether that information will be available tomorrow or not, I do not know. I cannot tell anything about it until I do know.

Mr. STEFAN. I merely want to state to the gentleman that the farmers of my district who have been promised these parity payments for the 1939 crops are very anxious to receive them. I take this opportunity merely to ask when we can expect this bill in the House.

I withdraw my reservation of objection, Mr. Speaker.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Indiana.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 8068, with Mr. HOBBS in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 55 minutes. Mr. Chairman, at the outset I wish to express my profound appreciation to my colleagues on our subcommittee, Democrats and Republicans alike, for their friendship and for the fine spirit of cooperation which at all times pervades our committee circle. Our deliberations are entirely free from partisan rancor. I said once before in presenting an appropriation bill that the members of our subcommittee park their politics with their hats in the anteroom, and that still holds true. We appraise the proposals that come before us and reach our decisions on the basis of what we believe to be for the best interest of the country and on no other basis whatsoever. The framing of a large appropriation bill is a long and laborious process, requiring close attention to innumerable details. First we had weeks of hearings and then in executive session we gave careful consideration to the various items, in the light of the justifications and the testimony that had been elicited by cross-examination across the committee table. To the seven able men who serve with me on our subcommittee—Messrs. O'NEAL, JOHNSON, MAHON, CASEY, TABER, MCLEOD, and KEEFE—I tender my heartfelt thanks for their undeviating faithfulness to the public interest and their generous tolerance of the shortcomings of their chairman. Our clerk, Marcellus C. Sheild, has had so many compliments showered upon him year after year for his marvelous ability that any pane-

gyric of mine would seem like needless repetition. I shall not try to run the gamut of praise in referring to him but will simply say that our subcommittee's appreciation of Mr. Sheild cannot be expressed in words.

The total of the 1941 bill making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments is \$1,032,154,612, as against appropriations for the same Departments amounting to \$1,772,577,527.05 for the fiscal year 1940, a reduction of \$740,422,915.05. This reduction is explained by the fact that in the reorganization of the Government, the old-age reserve account, a major item, the United States Public Health Service, a large activity, and the Public Buildings Branch of the Procurement Division have been transferred elsewhere, while only the Lighthouse Service, a relatively small establishment, has been transferred into our jurisdiction.

TOTAL CUT \$11,491,900 BELOW BUDGET

However, in harmony with the urge for true economy, which seems to be so essential in charting the way to better times, we have cut estimates sometimes very deeply, wherever we thought it possible to do so without injury to essential activities. We have cut \$8,057,150 from the estimates of the Treasury Department and \$3,434,750 from the estimates of the Post Office Department and we bring before you the bill for the combined Departments cut \$11,491,900 below the budget. The appropriations carried in the bill for the Treasury Department are \$218,691,530 as against \$978,557,563.05 for the current year 1940. For the Post Office Department the total of appropriations recommended by us for 1941 is \$813,463,082 as against appropriations of \$794,019,964 for the present fiscal year, 1940.

We feel that in bringing the proposed 1941 appropriations of the Treasury-Post Office bill \$11,491,900 below the budget estimates we have accomplished a real achievement, especially when the nature of the two Departments is taken into consideration. Both are distinctively service departments, and there is always less room for cutting in such items than there is in the case of many appropriations that are non-service in character. The mails must be moved, Government fiscal operations incident to the relief program and other very expansive activities in which our Government is engaged must be serviced, and the personnel necessary to do these things must be furnished. The Post Office Department, for instance, is showing an upsurge in the volume of mail, and the mails must be handled, whatever the volume may be. So our opportunities to cut have been limited, but we have cut wherever we could do so, with reason and common sense, and we believe that not in any instance where we have applied the pruning knife have we done injury to any essential activity. We have been very careful to provide all of the personnel necessary to enable both Departments to function properly and efficiently.

The admirable committee report prepared by Mr. Sheild which accompanies this bill, explains its provisions very thoroughly and I shall not venture into too much detail but shall content myself with a discussion of some of its main provisions. Let us first look at the postal picture. By and large, it is an attractive picture, for while the total of appropriations we recommend for the Post Office Department in 1941, \$813,463,082, seems a large amount it is comforting to realize that the Treasury will be recouped almost entirely for this expense by the revenues of the Postal Service.

POSTAL SERVICE PRACTICALLY SELF-SUSTAINING

The Postmaster General estimates that the postal revenue for the fiscal year 1941 will be \$760,000,000 which, if it materializes, will be the high-water mark of income of the Postal Service. This compares with an estimated income of \$755,000,000 during the current fiscal year 1940 and an actual income of \$745,955,075.24 during the fiscal year 1939 and \$728,634,051.36 during the fiscal year 1938. The appropriations for the Post Office Department carried in this bill, as previously stated, are \$813,463,082, or an amount \$53,463,082 in excess of the anticipated revenue in 1941. The Department estimates that the nonpostal items, that is to say the departmental penalty mail, the congressional franking mail, the domestic and foreign air-mail subsidy and other nonpostal

items, will amount to \$51,000,000 in the fiscal year 1941, which would reduce the gross estimated deficit of \$53,463,082 to an estimated net deficit of less than \$2,500,000.

Furthermore, it is the opinion of the Post Office Department officials that the estimated increase in postal revenue of only \$5,000,000 over the estimated revenue for 1940 errs on the side of conservatism and that the increase in revenue, judging from all present forecasts, will really be much greater than \$5,000,000, in which event the Postal Service may come out of the "red" and have a surplus by the end of the fiscal year 1941. That would not be a new experience, for after deducting nonpostal items the Department had a surplus in 1935, 1937, 1938, and 1939. The 1939 surplus was \$14,547,795.30.

Recent added costs resulting from decisions of the Civil Aeronautics Authority increasing the pay of air-mail contractors, the granting of vacation and sick leave to substitutes as provided by a recent act of Congress, etc., have increased postal expenditures, and there is an anticipated net deficit for the current fiscal year of \$2,290,079. In testifying before our subcommittee, Mr. W. W. Howes, the First Assistant Postmaster General, predicted that the small net deficit estimated in 1941 "will disappear completely if, as we have every reason to believe, the earnings from 1941 postal service exceed the forecast."

That this is not a wild guess but a reasonable assumption is indicated by the growth in the volume of postal business which is general throughout the country and which promises to reach still higher levels. The United States Postal Service is a service organization with a total of 263,601 employees, and there is no thought or purpose on the part of those connected with its administration to convert it into a money-making establishment, but it is interesting to know that it is one department of Government that virtually pays its way.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE PROMOTIONS

We are carrying in this bill a provision in reference to administrative promotions which is identical with the provision in the independent offices bill that passed Congress last week. It conforms to a policy agreed upon by the Appropriations Committee to be carried in all of the regular 1941 appropriation bills. The subject of administrative promotions was brought to the front when the Budget Bureau sent to Congress with the Budget estimates a few weeks ago a proposed formula for general administrative promotions. In the report on the Treasury-Post Office Departments' appropriation bill for 1940 we suggested that the Budget Bureau make a study of this perplexing question with a view to recommending a plan for uniformity in promotions. Heretofore promotions have been haphazard and irregular, based on lapses and savings, and it was thought that a promotion method might be devised that would iron out these injustices and irregularities.

To give a one-step promotion to all Government employees who come within the scope of the Budget's formula would require about \$3,000,000 of new money and an estimated \$4,000,000 more to be derived from lapses and savings. The Appropriations Committee decided that, with national finances in the shape they are at present, a plan as comprehensive as was proposed in the Budget formula could not be justified at this time. It was decided to eliminate the new money proposed for administrative promotions and to authorize a distribution of the \$4,000,000 estimated lapses and savings according to a provision which is carried in the independent offices bill and in this bill in the following language:

The total amount used on an annual basis for administrative within-grade promotions for officers and employees under any appropriation or other fund made available in this act shall not exceed the amount determined by the Bureau of the Budget to be available for such purpose on the basis of the Budget estimate for such appropriation or fund exclusive of new money in any such Budget estimate for such administrative promotions.

If promotions are made under this rule the burden will be placed on bureaus and agencies of finding promotion money in lapses and savings. This can hardly be regarded as a definite and final solution of the promotion problem but at this time when so many of our fellow citizens are jobless, with no income at all, it is not considered likely that the public

sentiment of the country would approve a general plan of promotions in the Government service. Pursuant to the formula of the Appropriations Committee we have deleted all of the items for administrative promotions for the Treasury and Post Office Departments wherever they appeared in the estimates submitted by the Budget Bureau. It will be permissible to make promotions only where money can be found in lapses and unexpended balances.

#### ALL SERVICE ITEMS ALLOWED IN FULL

For all of the main functions of the Postal Service requiring personnel, we deemed it prudent to allow the full Budget estimates. It is a truism that the mails have to be moved and it would be bad business to deny the personnel necessary to handle them. The principal Budget estimates for personnel which we allowed in every instance in toto are as follows: Clerks, first- and second-class post offices, \$205,000,000, and this is the largest item, I may say, in the Post Office Appropriation bill; clerks, third-class post offices, \$8,000,000; clerks in charge of contract stations, \$1,600,000; city delivery carriers, \$143,480,000; Railway Mail Service, \$56,283,000; Rural Delivery Service, \$91,840,000.

Our subcommittee did not subtract a dollar from the budget estimates for any of these groups and if the volume of mail should increase to an unexpected and sensational extent the substitute rolls can be drawn upon for the additional personnel needed. A table on page 13 of the hearings shows that the number of clerks in first- and second-class offices on November 30 last was the highest of all times. On that date there were 76,469 clerks in the service, or more than double the number employed in the prosperous years 1928 and 1929. The number of city delivery carriers in the service on November 30 last, 57,459, also established a peak record for all time in the carrier service, as shown by the same table. These high personnel levels will be carried forward into the fiscal year 1941. Should funds for these service operations become exhausted at any time the doors of the deficiency subcommittee are always open for additional appropriations and we feel that we have made ample provision for all postal services in allowing the full budgetary estimates.

#### MONEY ALLOWED TO EXTEND RURAL DELIVERY

We have provided in this bill for a reasonable extension of the Rural Delivery Service by allowing \$100,000 for new routes and \$245,000 for extensions, in addition to the cost of maintenance of existing service. The Department estimates that this will permit the establishment of 75 new routes and 4,000 extensions. Under the program allowing this additional money, all of the new routes that have been approved can be established. The Department has on hand 2,018 applications for extensions that have been approved. In other words, the number of approved applications for extensions on hand is only about half the number that can be established under the money provided in this bill. The amount recommended for the Rural Delivery Service in this bill is \$91,840,000, which is \$240,000 more than the amount for the current fiscal year.

The Budget estimates sent to us proposed the creation of 25 new positions as inspectors in the Postal Service. This increment of new personnel would have cost \$65,000 a year in salaries, with commensurate increases in the travel item and the clerical expenses at headquarters in Washington. We are loath at all times, and especially in a period of distressed national finances, to increase the permanent office-holding personnel unless there are imperative reasons for doing so. In this instance it appeared that enlargement of the inspection force might be deferred, without prejudice, and we disallowed the increase. There are now 615 inspectors and without disparagement to the outstanding importance of this arm of the Postal Service it may be pointed out that Congress has been fairly liberal in building up this force. In 1936 we allowed 15 new inspectors; in 1937, 35; in 1938, 15; in 1939, 10; and in 1940, 5; or a total of 80 additional inspectors during the last 5-year period.

#### DOMESTIC AIR MAIL

We have made provision for the continuance of domestic air mail on the basis of the maintenance of the existing Service

with \$96,005 additional for increased frequencies. The Budget submitted an estimate of \$50,000 to create a new set-up which would function as an agency to advertise the air mail. The ultimate magnitude of this new creation was not indicated, however, by the limited size of the proposed initial appropriation but the fact that the Department asked the Budget to approve \$200,000 to start the new enterprise pointed to the probability that this unit, once established, would seek expanding appropriations. We tried to look at the proposal objectively, with a view to the best interests of the Service, and with due regard to the fact that it involved an entirely new policy, since no other postal facility has ever been singled out for such advertising.

The use of the air mail is growing rapidly without this proposed artificial promotion; the air-postage revenue for 1939 being \$16,326,358.27, or more than three times the revenue in 1930 and almost double the revenue from this source in 1936. The prevalent thought in our subcommittee was that an excellent postal facility like the air mail is certain to advertise itself, and we disallowed the item without prejudice and without closing the door for consideration again at some appropriate time in the light of further developments. The domestic air-mail service is a comparatively new activity, but it seems to be making satisfactory progress in every way, and the testimony taken by our subcommittee—page 130 of the hearings—shows that the subsidy in this service is already being washed out to the vanishing point. One deterrent to putting on an air-mail advertising campaign is that every letter sent by air mail deprives the Post Office Department of the revenue from the sale of a 3-cent regular postage stamp, and often also the revenue from the sale of a special-delivery stamp, and it did not seem to your subcommittee that much advantage would accrue from building up one branch of the service at the expense of another.

The domestic air-mail appropriation carried in this bill does not provide for any new routes, the reason for that being as follows: Under recent legislation new domestic air-mail routes can only be established by the Civil Aeronautics Authority on a basis of convenience and necessity. Our committee has a settled policy of not appropriating for new routes until such routes are authorized by the Civil Aeronautics Authority. Otherwise we would be in the position of appropriating for routes which conceivably may not be established at all. When new routes are established, the Civil Aeronautics Authority has only to certify that fact to the subcommittee on deficiencies for deficiency appropriations. The amount provided in this bill carries on all of the existing domestic air-mail service at the rates of pay fixed by the Civil Aeronautics Authority.

#### FOREIGN AIR MAIL

We now come to the foreign air mail service. There the financial picture is not quite so attractive for the subsidy, instead of being near to the vanishing point, amounted to \$5,313,532.14 in the fiscal year 1939. However, every passing year more clearly emphasizes the great importance of the foreign air mail service to the United States, both politically as well as in the sense of trade and commerce. The trans-Atlantic service, which we authorized a few years ago, is exceeding all expectations and if it were not for the dislocations and impediments imposed upon this service by the war in Europe it would already be producing a handsome revenue based upon the established postage rate of 30 cents a half ounce.

We are carrying in this bill \$1,301,035 for a full year's service to New Zealand, which opens the way to Australia with its teeming millions. It is not anticipated that air mail on the long Pacific reaches, either to New Zealand or to Hong Kong and Manila, will ever be self-sustaining from mail revenue but those services are important from the standpoint of maintaining American prestige and building up ties of friendship and commerce. The trans-Atlantic service, on the other hand, promises in normal times to become lucrative from the revenue standpoint. With conditions as they are in Europe the estimated revenues of trans-Atlantic service rose for the first time above the \$100,000 mark last October

or, to be exact, \$114,371, which was 66.19 percent of the operating cost. It is easily conceivable that with the return of peace this service will become a valuable revenue-producing operation.

We now come to an important item of increase in air mail service to South America which we have approved in this bill. We have allowed \$1,926,462 to provide additional frequencies in the air service to that continent. This will permit an additional round trip per week on the present route on the east coast of South America from Port of Spain to Buenos Aires and on the west coast from Mexico City to Buenos Aires. The present air service does not provide for a frequency which can be expected to properly develop air-mail service and trade relations between the United States and South American points. The increased frequencies provided for should prove of great benefit in developing new business.

#### IMPORTANCE OF FOSTERING FRIENDSHIP OF LATIN AMERICA

Nor could we overlook in the consideration of this bill the political implications involved in fostering a closely knit community of nations in the Western Hemisphere, with common interests and ties, bent on enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. It seems that whatever we can reasonably do to bind the nations of the Western Hemisphere together in bonds of commercial intercourse and amity will be wisely done. There was testimony in abundance that these additional frequencies will go a long way toward establishing closer, better, and friendlier relations with our neighbors at the South and that the effect would be to harmonize perfectly with Secretary of State Hull's program of drawing all nations of this hemisphere closer together.

Aside from the advantages that might accrue in the field of international relations there was testimony, very impressive testimony, that with European air services to South America bogging down on account of the war we are face to face with a golden opportunity to entrench ourselves for future trade and commercial advantages if we lose no time in strengthening our air service to South America. It was an impressive showing and our subcommittee was unanimous in believing that these additional frequencies should be granted.

There was one provision in the postal estimates which we felt obliged to deny, notwithstanding its very strong humanitarian appeal. It was an item in the estimates for power-boat service appropriating \$55,000 to carry mail, passengers, and freight by steamboat or other powerboat of American registry on the route from Seward by points on Kenai Peninsula, Kodiak Island, Alaska Peninsula, the Aleutian Islands, to Umnak Island and points on Bristol Bay and vicinity and back under a schedule to be prescribed by the Postmaster General.

Testimony showed that this was an effort of persons outside the Postal Service to achieve a worthy humanitarian purpose by tying it to the fiction of a postal item. The Alaska Steamship Co. has withdrawn service from that section and this has marooned the unfortunate residents of that out-of-the-way region and has deprived them of the means of ingress and regress. It was testified that one small boat makes occasional trips in that region, but that its capacity is utterly inadequate and that if an epidemic should break out there would be no way of transporting the sick to the nearest hospital. In fact, it was stated that one good-hearted captain who operated a Government small boat actually carried a sick man to a hospital at one time on his boat and was fined \$1,000 for his good Samaritan act. The appropriation was strongly urged by the diligent Delegate from Alaska [Mr. DIMOND], but he did not attempt to justify it as a postal item. The postal revenue from the operation would be practically nothing.

#### A DIFFICULT DECISION

We were faced with the decision as to whether we should establish this purely humanitarian service under the guise of a postal expenditure. The Post Office Department is already carrying the burden of a lot of items that are not

postal in character, such as the sale of baby bonds for which it is only partially reimbursed, the excess of expense, over cost in handling country newspapers, and so forth, and we did not feel that we would be justified in foisting this additional nonpostal activity on the Postal Service, as much as we sympathize with the people of Alaska and their able champion, Mr. DIMOND. It is our hope that some arrangement may be made to have United States Government vessels of the Coast Guard or some other service reorganize their schedules so as to furnish the boat service which the people of that region so sorely need.

#### COTTON VERSUS JUTE

There is one other postal matter to which I desire to direct attention before I proceed to the Treasury items. In the 1940 Post Office appropriation bill the following language was inserted, after a strenuous controversy:

Not more than three-fourths of the funds herein appropriated for the purchase of twine shall be expended in the purchase of twine manufactured from materials or commodities produced outside the United States.

Under that law, experiments have been conducted which show that cotton twine and jute twine are equally serviceable for postal uses. The price differential, so far as shown by the experiments up to date, is in favor of jute but in a warring world anything may happen, and in reply to a question, Mr. Purdum, the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, said it is conceivable that conditions may arise as a result of international relations whereby jute will become more expensive than cotton. It seemed to us, therefore, only fair that the experiments should continue and we are carrying the same language in the 1941 appropriation bill. I may add that Mr. Purdum, who administers the law, strongly recommended that this be done.

#### DECISION IN RE EMERGENCY PERSONNEL

For a number of years we have been faced in the Treasury estimates with requests that blocs of personnel that are being paid from emergency funds be transferred to and fused into the regular organization of various offices. The representation that usually is made is that these employees have for a long time been engaged on regular work and that they are needed as permanent employees. Some of the emergency agencies are disappearing from the picture, and others apparently will be liquidated before many months or years, and this helps to create an urge among emergency employees to get on the regular rolls where they will be more secure and less tempest-tossed.

Wherever it appeared that a bona fide and conclusive case had been made for the conversion of emergency employees into regular employees, we have fused the emergencies into the regular staffs in preparing this bill, but we propose to put an end to the practice by asking the subcommittee on deficiencies to include the following language in the next relief act—

No employees shall be paid from relief funds who are engaged in work of the Treasury Department not incident to relief.

We believe that this language, if adopted, will establish a permanent line of demarcation between regular and emergency personnel and will avoid the danger of loading down the regular rolls with emergency employees who have not been inducted through regular civil-service channels.

#### INTRODUCING A NEW PERSONNEL DIVISION

In this bill we have set up in the Treasury Department a new title and a new division to be known as the Personnel Division. The new division will absorb the old Division of Appointments, with added latitude of authority in bringing about a more uniform and better administration of personnel problems, which was the objective of the President's Executive order of June 24, 1938. We have set up this division on the basis of the status quo of December 15, 1939, with 57 employees, salaries aggregating \$115,360, and 7 other employees with salaries aggregating \$19,240 engaged in personnel work in other bureaus who will be transferred under the provisions of this bill to the Division of Personnel. The Budget asked for the considerable sum of \$185,000 to create this Division

with more personnel than we thought justified. We believe that an effective working set-up can be made on an appropriation of \$134,600, or \$50,400 less than the Budget estimate, and with the limitations above described.

#### THE VINSON-TRAMMELL ACT

In recent years, multifarious acts of Congress have imposed new duties on the Bureau of Internal Revenue and this, of course, requires an expanding personnel. It is axiomatic that if Congress desires a proper execution of the duties it imposes it must provide personnel adequate to do the job. Among the statutes passed by Congress is the Vinson-Trammell Act under which contractors for the construction of naval vessels must pay to the Treasury all profit in excess of 10 percent on the contract price, and contractors for Army and naval aircraft must pay to the Treasury all profit in excess of 12 percent. With an enormous defense expansion program under way, the Bureau of Internal Revenue is about to feel the full impact of the Vinson-Trammell Act. So far 3,900 contracts and subcontracts have been let which will be subject to the Vinson-Trammell Act.

The total money volume of all contracts on record is in excess of \$450,000,000. Obviously the detailed examination of all of these contracts to determine the factors of cost and the proper basis on which to apply the law will require an enormous amount of detailed work. The recaptures to date have been about \$3,000,000 but this is only a start. The maximum single contractor's profit reflected on any one of the reports that have so far been considered amounted to \$570,891.47 and represented 27.45 percent of the contract price.

The large appropriations for national defense purposes are causing the work to flow into the Bureau of Internal Revenue in such volume that an increase of force is absolutely necessary to do the work imposed by the Vinson-Trammell Act and to protect the interest of the Treasury. The Budget submitted an estimate of 7 new employees at headquarters here, 100 field agents and 25 clerks with a combined salary roll of \$360,240 to perform the duties of the Vinson-Trammell Act. We allowed the headquarters personnel 75 field agents and 15 clerks, a total of 97 persons with salary and other expenses aggregating \$281,840 and we believe that with careful administration this provision will be sufficient.

The total amount carried in the bill for the Bureau of Internal Revenue is \$104,968,760, an increase of \$2,822,060 over the current 1940 appropriation and \$860,900 under the budget request. The principal cut in the budget estimate is \$539,500 which had been set up for administrative promotions, \$55,500 in Washington and \$484,000 in the field.

#### INCREASE FOR TAX REFUNDS

We approved the full budget estimate of \$42,000,000 for refunding ordinary internal revenue collections, although that amount is \$4,000,000 above the 1940 appropriation. However, a deficiency of \$29,000,000 for 1940 is indicated which brings the total amount for this fiscal year up to \$57,000,000. Expenditures during the first 5 months of the present fiscal year ran at an annual rate in excess of \$65,000,000. It is good business to pay these refunds as soon as possible since under the law they draw interest at the rate of 6 percent per annum. The Government can borrow money at a fraction of that interest rate and accumulated refunds pile up a charge on the Treasury that can be avoided by prompt payment.

#### GRATIFYING DECREASE IN DRUG ADDICTION

Our subcommittee was well pleased with a report by H. J. Anslinger, Chief of the Bureau of Narcotics, showing a marked decrease in drug addiction, and we allowed the Bureau the full amount of its estimate for operating purposes so that its good work may continue. Testifying in regard to the progress that has been made in controlling this evil, Mr. Anslinger stated that in 1924 there was 1 drug addict to every 1,000 population in the United States, whereas there is today, at most, 1 to every 3,000 of the general population. I quote as follows from Mr. Anslinger's testimony as shown on page 431 of the hearings:

So far as opium, morphine, heroin, and cocaine are concerned there is a very decided decrease in the number of addicts. About

the year 1880 there was 1 drug addict to every 400 inhabitants. At that time there was hardly a family that did not have a drug addict somewhere in the connection. Opium was the popular method used in committing suicide. Infants were fed soothing sirup containing opium. At that time 350,000 pounds of opium were imported into the United States for a population of only 47,000,000. Today we import 150,000 pounds for a population of 130,000,000. In the United States the consumption of drugs has decreased from 53 grams per capita to 8 grams per capita. Whereas at one time we received 5 tons of illicit heroin from one European country, we do not receive any today. European governments have now enacted legislation and do not export drugs unless an importation authorization is issued.

Mr. Anslinger recommended amendatory legislation providing heavy penalties for dope peddlers, ranging as high as 10 years in the penitentiary to take the confirmed offender "out of circulation," as he expressed it. He gave the Harrison Act, passed in 1914, credit for reducing drug addiction 50 percent.

A very important service is the Coast Guard.

Recognizing that the Coast Guard has very trying duties to perform, both in its regular and emergency activities, we have been very liberal with it in framing this bill, in respect to both its A and B budgets. Its A budget is its regular budget and its B budget has reference to its duties in enforcing the neutrality law. We have found Admiral Waesche, the head of the Coast Guard, to be a very alert and capable official who knows how to take care of his own in his battles for adequate appropriations. Although on general principles we are averse to a merger of separate appropriations we have granted a consolidation of eight titles in the Coast Guard appropriations under the new head of "General expenses, Coast Guard." The titles consolidated are "Outfits," "Fuel and water," "Rebuilding and repairing stations," "Communication lines," "Contingent expenses," "Repairs to Coast Guard vessels," "Repairs to Coast Guard aircraft," and "General expenses, Lighthouse Service."

#### LARGE SAVING PROMISED

We have approved this consolidation rather hesitantly, but on the promise of the Coast Guard Commandant that he will guarantee a saving of \$960,800 a year as a result of it and his further assurance that he will make as complete a detailed annual statement to the Appropriations Committee of his operations and expenditures as he has heretofore made. The advantage claimed for the consolidation is that it will make possible greater flexibility and efficiency of administration.

The total amount recommended in this bill for the Coast Guard A and B budgets is \$41,463,035, and while that seems a large amount, compared with former appropriations, it is a reduction of \$3,594,035 below the Budget.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUDLOW. I yield.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I was just wondering if the gentlemen could tell us whether or not, in his opinion, the United States is going to be able to enforce this neutrality zone regarding which agreement was had with the South American republics?

Mr. LUDLOW. I may say to the distinguished gentleman from South Dakota that that is the theory on which this B budget has been submitted to the committee and the theory on which these appropriations were made: That the Coast Guard had a function to perform in the enforcement of our neutrality. I am not prepared to say that its function extends as far from shore as the limits of the zone which the Panama Conference sought to establish.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. My purpose in asking that question is because the gentleman, as everyone knows, has been a real student of international relations. I am wondering if the gentleman, in his opinion, feels that we are wise in attempting to implement the Coast Guard with funds to enforce a neutrality zone of 600 miles.

Mr. LUDLOW. The gentleman, I take it, wants my individual opinion on that.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. The gentleman is qualified to give an opinion on this subject.

Mr. LUDLOW. I cannot speak for our subcommittee, but I myself do not believe it is a wise policy. It is inconceivable

to me that we should voluntarily assume the obligation and the hazard of enforcing a neutrality zone of such width, but I understand the funds in this bill would be needed for enforcement of neutrality regardless of the dictum of the Panama Conference.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUDLOW. Certainly.

Mr. MAHON. In making this appropriation we do not propose to limit the work of the Coast Guard to enforcing any particular neutrality law. There is a lot of other work irrespective of this neutrality zone, additional work that the Coast Guard must perform. Is not this true?

Mr. LUDLOW. The gentleman is absolutely correct. The B budget, as my colleague knows, is based on the enforcement of our neutrality. That embraces many duties besides patrol work, although that is, of course, important.

Mr. MAHON. Yes.

Mr. LUDLOW. It is not entirely devoted, of course, to patrol work, for there are many other functions, as the gentleman from Texas so well says, in connection with the enforcement of neutrality for which money is provided. The neutrality patrol is cooperative between the Coast Guard and the Navy. I think this answers the gentleman's question.

The Budget Bureau recommended a large appropriation, amounting to \$2,199,000, for additional Coast Guard airplanes, with which it was proposed to purchase eight long-range seaplanes at a cost of \$1,520,000 and seven intermediate planes at a cost of \$679,000, for enforcement of neutrality. We felt that this estimate was excessive in view of the fact that naval airplanes in large numbers are actively engaged in neutrality patrol work. We reduced the item from \$2,199,000 to \$500,000 without seeking to apply the lesser amount to the purchase of any particular type of aircraft, but leaving that to the discretion of Admiral Waesche and his associates.

#### UNDERWATER SOUND DEVICES DISAPPROVED

One Coast Guard item which we disallowed was an estimate in the amount of \$1,820,000 for the installation of underwater sound-detecting devices on 70 Coast Guard vessels, 21 cutters, and 49 patrol boats. The unit cost of these proposed installations would be \$40,000 per cutter and \$20,000 per patrol boat. While I am sure that all of the members of our subcommittee believe in adequate preparedness, it seemed that this estimate was a little extreme. My personal reaction to it was about the same as that of Chairman VINSON of the Naval Affairs Committee when he was moved the other day to disapprove the expenditure of half a billion dollars for naval vessels for which there appeared to be no real necessity. Admiral Waesche, Chief of the Coast Guard, testified—page 671 of the hearings—that he would not have suggested this appropriation for sound-detecting devices if he had not been asked to do so in a letter from the Navy Department. I call attention to the following testimony on page 671:

Admiral WAESCHE. I would not say that if it were to be used exclusively for regular work we would be justified in asking for \$1,800,000 for the use we would get out of it in the peacetime work of the Coast Guard.

Mr. LUDLOW. You would not have suggested this if it had not been for the Navy, would you?

Admiral WAESCHE. No, sir.

The Navy, which cooperates with the Coast Guard in patrol duty, now has 281 vessels equipped with the underwater sound-detecting device and it will soon have 168 more, or 449 in all. It was testified by Admiral Johnson—see page 668 of the hearings—that it would require only about 15 days to equip a vessel of the first-class type with one of these devices. In case of war, or an emergency approaching war, the Coast Guard would immediately become a part of the Navy automatically, and the Navy would have funds available to make these installations out of naval appropriations. The brief time required to make the installations would indicate that the item can be deferred without jeopardy. It seemed to your subcommittee that under these circumstances it would be the part of wisdom to hold the Coast Guard for the present in a peacetime status, as far as this equipment is concerned, and allow developments to demonstrate the need of a future program.

#### WE BELIEVE OUR BILL IS SOUND AND JUST

This bill, as I stated at the outset, covers a vast latitude of governmental operations. The United States Postal Service is the largest civil organization anywhere in the world.

Mr. JACOBSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUDLOW. I yield.

Mr. JACOBSEN. Will the gentleman tell me whether consideration has been given to the air-mail pick-up service; will the gentleman tell us something about this?

Mr. LUDLOW. I may state to my colleague from Iowa that adequate provision has been made to continue the pick-up service. The reports of the Post Office Department officials were quite flattering as to the success of this service. It has been experimented with only a short time, of course, but there is every disposition and intention on the part of the Department and on the part of the committee to continue the experiment, because we feel there is something good in it and that a continuation of the experimentation and of the appropriation is justified.

Mr. JACOBSEN. Will experiments be continued on additional routes?

Mr. LUDLOW. This, of course, has been left to the determination of the Post Office Committee. In our bill we did not try to specify any of the routes.

If there are no further questions, Mr. Chairman, I will conclude. I have discussed only some of the high lights of the bill, as obviously I could not do more. We have prepared a bill which we believe to be sound in principle and reasonable and just in its details. In commending it to your consideration I wish to thank you for your patience in listening to me for so long a time. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MCLEOD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 23 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DONDERO].

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, representatives of the Canadian Government are here in Washington today. They are in conference with representatives of our State Department, discussing a subject of vital importance to the people of this Nation. That subject is the consummation of an agreement between the United States and Canada looking toward the completion of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway, a project which I want to designate today as the master project of the North American Continent.

Mr. Chairman, on the 11th day of January this year in the city of Detroit, Mich., a part of which I have the honor to represent as a portion of my congressional district, the Seventeenth of Michigan, the General Motors Co. held a celebration of the building of the twenty-fifth millionth automobile by that company. On that occasion Mr. Charles F. Kettering, noted and famous engineer, inventor, and manufacturer, delivered a very stimulating and appropriate address. Among other things, he said:

The world isn't finished. In fact, it isn't started, because we are just now learning how to get out of the great difficulties which most people think we have gotten ourselves into. We have an excess of men, money, and materials not because we have too much engineering, not because we have too much technological development, but simply because we haven't enough. With excess of men, money, and materials, what on earth can cause that but a lack of projects? We haven't enough projects.

This appeal for more and new work coming from so distinguished an authority will focus anew fresh attention to a project that has been justly described as the master project of the North American Continent, namely, the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway, with its great potential power possibilities incidental thereto.

When this mighty venture has once secured the approval of the Canadian Parliament and the Congress of the United States it will undoubtedly be administered by a two-country—United States and Canada—Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin commission.

Regardless of objections and obstacles raised by interests which may not clearly comprehend the great importance of this proposed undertaking to a vast inland empire comprising more than one-third of the population of our country, there is a steady and forward march toward the time when the Governments of the 2 countries named will have consummated an agreement which will make possible the final act to complete the last link of 48 miles in a water highway of a thousand miles. It will open the neck of the bottle in a deep-sea waterway that will lead directly to the markets of the world. It will make a dream that has stirred men's vision for two centuries come true. Then for the first time will move

unvexed to the seven seas the enormous production of farm and factory of the Middle West and the Great Lakes States. Duluth, Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, Toronto, Buffalo, together with some 75 other lake ports in both Canada and the United States, will become ocean ports with direct communication to the seaports of the entire world.

There is no comparable area on this earth that includes so many of the requisite qualifications for a master project as the Great Lakes region of the United States. In it is found a temperate but invigorating climate, unlimited quantities of iron ore, coal in abundance or near at hand, oil and mineral salts, varied but fertile soil conditions, adequate rainfall, immense agricultural areas, numerous industrial and commercial cities, ample labor, skilled and unskilled, boundless tracts of virgin timber, unnumbered square miles of recreational expanse, and in the center of it all, an all-wise and generous Providence planted five deep blue, fresh-water seas, the Great Lakes, to provide low cost transportation for raw materials and fabricated products, totaling more than the combined foreign tonnage of all the seaports of the United States. In the latest report of the Chief of the Army Engineers it is shown that the total commerce of the United States for the fiscal year 1938 amounted to 467,000,000 tons, while the total commerce of the Great Lakes was more than 98,000,000 tons, or 21 percent of the entire commerce of the United States moved on the breast of the fresh-water seas, while our total foreign commerce amounted to but 89,000,000 tons.

This vast region, the Great Lakes Basin, embracing the granary and the pantry of two friendly nations, is entitled to consideration, for in it are included 17 States or parts of States of the Union; inhabited by 35 percent of our population. Compared to the total wealth of the United States it produces 38 percent of our manufactured products; 32 percent of the agricultural products; 50 percent of our live stock; 52 percent of our dairy cattle; 72 percent of our hogs; 66 percent of the butter; 45 percent of the eggs; 76 percent of the corn; 64 percent of the wheat; 82 percent of our oats; 33 percent of our wholesale trade; 40 percent of our retail trade; 45 percent of the wages paid to industrial workers; and 41.6 percent of the wages paid to wage earners.

These figures are taken from Senate Document No. 116, Seventy-third Congress, second session, and may therefore be considered as official and reliable.

This mighty seaway with its incidental potential power possibilities—the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence—this master project of the North American Continent will, when completed, create a new seacoast with 3,576 miles of shoreline connecting the very heart of the continent with all the commercial arteries that lead to the ports of the world.

It is indeed a master project. It will serve to stabilize many important industries in their present mid-western location, anchor them there for the benefit of the railroads as well as the utilities which will be supplied with greater power facilities, and for the benefit of all other public conveniences which thrive in prosperous communities.

The people of this country owe a debt of gratitude and an obligation of sincere thankfulness to the pioneer railway builders, and to courageous men and women who risked their capital in the development of private power facilities.

Westward the course of Empire took its way, but not in reality until the indomitable will and courage of American pioneers stretched the lengthening bands of steel, the railroads, and penetrated that boundless domain.

The resulting material profit and progress to the whole country cannot be overemphasized. Cultural values followed in the wake of these daring pioneers, but progress and development have outgrown the limitations of the land-locked period of the Great Lakes Basin. It has reached a stalemate in its history. There can be no standing still in the growth and progress of a region. When progress ceases, decay begins. This great midwest section needs new transportation facilities for further expansion, and that facility is the master project which I am discussing.

Its size and international character challenge the attention of the world. It will provide navigation for large sea-going ships and accommodate 85 percent of all the ships on

earth along this international boundary of 2,700 miles. Its cost is moderate when compared with other Government spending. After deducting the sale of power, which will be developed as incidental to the main project, \$18,000,000 a year for 10 years has been estimated sufficient to complete the project.

The time allotted to me does not permit a detailed statement of all the economies which might be marshaled to justify this undertaking, but I shall register a few trite illustrations to show the tremendous importance of low-cost water transportation to an immense section of the country that is now being stifled and retarded in its growth and expansion.

Once the St. Lawrence seaway is opened, more of the manufactured products of the Great Lakes industries, and more of the agricultural products of the Prairie and Midwestern States will reach intercoastal and foreign markets which are now denied to them.

A new market for goods is created only when the cost to reach it is reduced, and the sale of a product is achieved often in the saving of its transportation costs, no matter whether it comes from the factory or the farm.

As an example of the low cost of water transportation a ton of coal can be shipped from Buffalo, N. Y., to Duluth, Minn., a distance of 1,000 miles, for about the same cost required to move it from the curb in front of your home to your cellar window.

About two and one-half million bushels of American apples reached European markets last fall, but not one bushel came from my State of Michigan, a great apple-producing State. Why? Because the cost of transportation to the seaboard is prohibitive. Just as soon as ships can be provided for this trade into the Great Lakes, there will be new markets opened for Michigan apples, and the railroads will lose nothing in freight, for they never had this business. On the contrary, the railroads will gain new business shipping apples to the lake ports once they have been transformed into seaports.

Bread is the staff of life, therefore I consider it most appropriate and fitting to consider wheat. During the crop year 1939 the United States produced 754,971,000 bushels of wheat. This is a decrease in the amount produced in 1915, in which year the United States harvested 1,025,000,000 bushels. Last year the United States exported 63,000,000 bushels of wheat and nearly 8,000,000 barrels of flour. But that was less than the amount exported in 1920 from this country when we exported approximately 218,000,000 bushels of wheat and nearly 20,000,000 barrels of flour. This loss of foreign markets for the "staff of life" is one of the underlying causes which has necessitated Government aid, and last year our Government loaned \$114,000,000 on approximately 164,000,000 bushels of wheat. The statement of December 15, 1939, of the Commodity Credit Corporation shows that we purchased outright 1,300,000 bushels of wheat with Government funds.

I do not argue, neither do I advance the theory, that the present railway structure is alone responsible for the drying up of American wheat production and export of that commodity. We must all recognize that the production of wheat outside of the United States has increased in recent years, but it is also true that if the St. Lawrence waterway had been opened from Duluth to the markets of the world, we would have been able to compete on a more equitable and fair basis with the rest of the world in maintaining our markets in foreign fields for that commodity.

Sugar-beet factories in the Great Lakes area, now operating 60 to 90 days per year and many of them entirely shut down and dismantled, might operate all the year round, or a large portion of the time, by utilizing Cuban raw sugar in the off-season period of the year for beets, if the shipment of that commodity could be economically justified by water transportation.

Some consideration and thought might be given to the probable plight of the Michigan petroleum refining industry, when the Michigan oil fields become exhausted. We all know

that oil fields do cease to yield and those in Michigan undoubtedly will be no exception, because we know their formation of limestone, low porosity, thin sands, and low rock pressure. I do not believe that it is an unreasonable journey in the field of speculation to say that the St. Lawrence waterway would enable the petroleum refiners of Michigan to bring in oil from Texas by tanker for less than the pipe-line price to Chicago.

Living costs would be reduced for the people in the Great Lakes region and Midwestern States when this seaway is once in operation. Perhaps the Members of the House are not all familiar with the fact that studies of rates on commodities generally consumed in that great midwestern section are now being made in a survey conducted by the Department of Commerce in relation to the economic aspects of the waterway. Honolulu pineapples, California and Florida oranges, Central American bananas, and Texas grapefruit would be consumed in increased quantities if the cost of transportation of these commodities could be reduced.

#### IT WILL HALT COSTLY DECENTRALIZATION

With the automotive industry that is now undergoing the same experience of every basic industry—decentralization—it is vital to capture for the future all the adverse experience of the past in order that every helpful economy in transportation may be availed of without delay. If this is not done, that industry may gradually diminish and eventually disappear from its present location.

New business blueprinted as a gift of the completed St. Lawrence seaway, cannot be charged as a loss to other types of transportation. There would be no expansion into uncharted markets except for the low-cost water transportation. The St. Lawrence seaway is a transportation unit that will carry its own rewards with market terminals dependent upon relief in freight charges that it alone can offer. When a ship from the Great Lakes region has once reached the Atlantic coast, any port on earth may become its destination.

I desire to point out that in addition to the new local business developed for the railroads and trucks in and out of the lake ports, that will have been transformed into seaports, there would be an increased volume of east- and west-bound rail traffic for more than 5 months of the year when a part of the St. Lawrence waterway is closed. Traffic experts contend that it is impossible to enhance the trade of a region for a part of the year without automatically creating an increase for the remaining portion of the year. When production is speeded up for a portion of the year, there is a natural overlapping of the freight demanding movement into the remainder of the year which, in the case of the St. Lawrence seaway, can be handled by the railroads, and would be handled by the railroads alone.

Chicago is nearer to New Orleans via the St. Lawrence route than New York is distant from San Francisco by way of the Panama Canal, through which passes more than 30,000,000 tons of freight each year. The Mississippi River, with all its tributaries and channels that range from 6 to 9 feet in depth, handles approximately 100,000,000 tons of freight annually. The tonnage of the present 14-foot St. Lawrence-Great Lakes seaway channel going to or coming from lake ports is indeed not very impressive, compared to the two water routes mentioned. However, the best unbiased experts estimate that the increase in the volume of trade from the Great Lakes Basin through deepening the St. Lawrence canals to 27 feet for ocean-going ships, would be so great that both routes would be needed and utilized to their capacity. One is the complement of the other.

When a suit of clothes becomes too small for a growing boy, his parents do not hesitate to provide larger garments. That is precisely the predicament of the Great Lakes region of the United States. It has reached the stage when its commerce requires more room at the throat, and that room can be provided only by loosening and deepening the depths of the St. Lawrence River.

Surely, the vision of Mr. Kettering, proclaimed by him in his recent speech in Detroit, should serve as an inspiring

stimulus to the final authorization and completion of this continent's master project—the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway. [Applause.]

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the Chair, Mr. HOBBS, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 8068, the Treasury-Post Office Department appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1941, had come to no resolution thereon.

#### SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

Bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 134. An act providing for continuing retirement pay, under certain conditions, of officers and former officers of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps of the United States, other than officers of the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, who incurred physical disability while in the service of the United States during the World War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 457. An act to amend the World War Adjusted Compensation Act; to the committee on Ways and Means.

S. 1935. An act 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 supplementary thereto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2122. An act to authorize the sale of the Wilmot National Guard target range, Arizona; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 2264. An act for the relief of Frank P. Hoyt, to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 2289. An act for the relief of the Leesburg Welding & Garage Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2420. An act relating to certain inspections and investigations in coal mines for the purpose of obtaining information relating to health and safety conditions, accidents, and occupational diseases therein, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

S. 2782. An act for the relief of Harold W. Kinderman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. J. Res. 153. Joint resolution to approve the action of the Secretary of the Interior in deferring the collection of certain irrigation charges against lands under the Blackfeet Indian irrigation project; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 2953. An act authorizing States owning lands or interests therein acquired from the United States to include the same in certain agreements for the conservation of oil and gas resources;

H. R. 3931. An act for the relief of Charles H. LeGay;

H. R. 7171. An act to amend section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act; and

H. R. 7293. An act to amend section 355 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, to make permissive the acquisition of legislative jurisdiction over land or interests in land acquired by the United States.

#### BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 2953. An act authorizing States owning lands or interests therein acquired from the United States to include the same in certain agreements for the conservation of oil and gas resources;

H. R. 3931. An act for the relief of Charles H. LeGay;

H. R. 7171. An act to amend section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act; and

H. R. 7293. An act to amend section 355 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, to make permissive the acquisition of legislative jurisdiction over land or interests in land acquired by the United States.

#### ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 48 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 24, 1940, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

##### COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a hearing Wednesday, January 24, 1940, at 10 a. m., before the Committee on Naval Affairs on H. R. 8026, to establish the composition of the United States Navy, to authorize the construction of certain naval vessels, and for other purposes.

##### COMMITTEE ON ROADS

The Committee on Roads will continue public hearings in the Roads Committee room, 1011 New House Office Building, at 10 a. m., Wednesday, January 24, 1940, on H. R. 7891, a bill to assist the States in the improvement of highways.

##### COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House in room 1310, New House Office Building, at 10 a. m., Wednesday, January 24, 1940, for the consideration of all bills pending before the committee relative to taxation of Tennessee Valley Authority properties.

##### COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization Wednesday, January 24, 1940, at 10:30 a. m., in re H. R. 5228.

##### COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold hearings at 10 a. m. on the following dates on the matters named:

Tuesday, January 30, 1940:

The following hearing was at first scheduled for Friday, January 5, but was later postponed until Thursday, January 25, 1940. Now it has been postponed again, this time being Tuesday, January 30, 1940, at 10 a. m.

H. R. 7357, to amend section 4472 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., 1934 ed., title 46, sec. 465) to provide for the safe carriage of explosives or other dangerous or semidangerous articles or substances on board vessels; to make more effective the provisions of the International Convention for Safety of Life at Sea, 1929, relating to the carriage of dangerous goods; and for other purposes.

Tuesday, February 6, 1940:

H. R. 7527, to make effective the provisions of the Minimum Age (sea) Convention (revised), 1936, and for other purposes.

Hearings will be continued Wednesday, February 7, 1940, at 10 a. m., on H. R. 6130, to provide for mandatory or compulsory inspection and permissive or voluntary grading of fish, fishery products, fishery byproducts, shellfish, crustacea, seaweeds, and all other aquatic forms of animal and vegetable life, and the products and byproducts thereof, and for other purposes.

Tuesday, February 13, 1940:

H. R. 1780, to amend section 7 of the act of June 19, 1886, as amended (U. S. C., 1934 ed., Supp. III, title 46, sec. 319), relative to penalties on certain undocumented vessels and cargoes engaging in the coastwise trade or the fisheries, and for other purposes.

H. R. 5837, to amend section 221 of the Shipping Act, barring certain aliens from participating in the benefits thereof.

H. R. 6770, to amend Revised Statutes 4311 (U. S. C. 251).

H. R. 7694, to amend section 4311 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

#### COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS

The Committee on Invalid Pensions will hold public hearings in the committee room, 247 House Office Building, at 10 a. m., on the following dates on the matters named:

##### DEPENDENTS OF REGULAR ESTABLISHMENT VETERANS

Thursday, January 25, and Friday, January 26, 1940:

H. R. 7191. A bill to make more equitable provision for pensions for the dependents of deceased veterans of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard.

H. R. 7522. A bill to equalize the pensions payable to the dependents of veterans of the Regular Establishment with those payable to dependents of veterans of the World War whose death is due to service.

H. R. 7652. A bill to grant pensions and increase of pensions to widows and dependents of certain deceased members or former members of the military or naval service.

H. R. 7734. A bill to equalize the pensions payable to the dependents of veterans of the Regular Establishment with those payable to the dependents of veterans of the World War whose death is due to service.

##### MEDAL OF HONOR PENSIONS

Thursday, February 1, 1940:

H. R. 3385. A bill to liberalize the provisions of the Medal of Honor Roll Act of April 27, 1916.

#### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at 10 a. m., Wednesday, January 24, 1940, on H. R. 6652, to aid consumers by setting up standards of quality based on performance as a guide in the purchase of consumer goods.

Hearings will begin Monday, February 5, 1940, at 10 a. m., before the Petroleum Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. State regulatory bodies will be heard first.

#### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

On Monday, January 29, 1940, at 10 a. m., there will be a hearing before the Special Subcommittee on Bankruptcy and Reorganization of the Committee on the Judiciary on the bills (H. R. 7528 and S. 1935) 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 supplementary thereto (sec. 75). The hearing will be held in room 346, House Office Building.

On Wednesday, February 14, 1940, at 10 a. m., there will be a hearing before the Special Subcommittee on Bankruptcy and Reorganization of the Committee on the Judiciary on the bill (H. R. 8016) 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 supplementary thereto (municipal compositions). The hearing will be held in room 346, House Office Building.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

1292. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV a letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting draft of a proposed bill to amend the act approved May 24, 1938 (52 Stat. 1317, ch. 271), enacted by the Seventy-fifth Congress, third session, entitled "An act for the relief of the Comision Mixta Demarcadora de Limites Entre Colombia y Panama," and for the relief of Jose Antonio Sossa D., was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Claims.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. BLOOM: Committee on Foreign Affairs. S. 2973. An act for the relief of Inez Gillespie (Rept. No. 1523). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. TAYLOR. Committee on Appropriations. H. R. 8067. A bill making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1525). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. LUDLOW: Committee on Appropriations. H. R. 8068. A bill making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1526). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri: Committee on Appropriations. House Joint Resolution 434. Joint resolution making not to exceed \$11,000,000 of the appropriation for parity payments in the Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act, 1940, available for parity payments under the Price Adjustment Act of 1938; without amendment (Rept. No. 1527). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. THOMASON: Committee on Military Affairs. S. 1820. An act to provide for the transfer of certain land owned by the United States to the State of Texas and certain other land to the county of Galveston, Tex.; without amendment (Rept. No. 1528). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. MAY: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 7941. A bill relating to the citizenship and compensation of certain employees on military construction work in the Panama Canal Zone; without amendment (Rept. No. 1529). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

#### ADVERSE REPORTS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. BLOOM: Committee on Foreign Affairs. House Resolution 356. Resolution concerning inquiry of plot to sabotage Boulder Dam (Rept. No. 1524). Laid on the table.

#### CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, the Committee on Invalid Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 7996) granting a pension to Katherine R. Salmon, and the same was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. ANGELL:

H. R. 8069. A bill to reform the lease for the Sellwood station of the Portland, Oreg., post office; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. DEMPSEY:

H. R. 8070. A bill to authorize a preliminary examination and survey of the Rio Grande and tributaries, New Mexico, with a view to the control of floods; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 8071. A bill to authorize the construction of armories in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARTER of Ohio:

H. R. 8072. A bill to provide allowances for inactive-status training for certain officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps of the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNS:

H. R. 8074. A bill to permit contributions and gifts to the Republic of Finland to be deducted in computing net income for income-tax purposes to the same extent that charitable

contributions are deductible; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KILDAY:

H. R. 8075. A bill to grant wartime grades for retirement purposes to enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard who served during the World War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LANHAM:

H. R. 8076. A bill to authorize the furnishing of steam from the central heating plant to the National Academy of Sciences, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. MAY (by request):

H. R. 8077. A bill to authorize certain officers of the Army of the United States to accept such medals, orders, and decorations as have been tendered them by foreign governments; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PIERCE:

H. R. 8078. A bill to convey to the Hermiston irrigation district and to the West Extension irrigation district of the Umatilla reclamation project in the State of Oregon all the interest of the United States in the Umatilla reclamation project, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. R. 8079. A bill to extend the time within which applications for benefits under the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, may be filed, and to enlarge the class of dependents under such act, as amended; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H. R. 8080. A bill to provide financial credit for national defense in time of war without incurring public debt, to regulate the volume of such credit, to prevent post-war depression, and to provide for orderly transition from a war economy to a peace economy; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WHELCHL:

H. R. 8081. A bill to amend Public Resolution No. 24, Seventy-sixth Congress; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. CREAL:

H. R. 8082. A bill to enable certain former employees of the classified civil service of the United States to apply for and receive annuity as provided under the provisions of the Retirement Act of May 22, 1920, as amended to date; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. FADDIS:

H. R. 8083. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to furnish certain markers for certain graves; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 8084. A bill authorizing the sale of fuel, electric current, and water at isolated naval stations; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 8085. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to accept, without cost to the United States, a fee-simple conveyance of 16.4 acres, more or less, of land at Floyd Bennett Field, in the city and State of New York; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WALTER:

H. R. 8086. A bill to make it a crime to wreck or attempt to wreck a train engaged in interstate commerce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ALEXANDER:

H. J. Res. 436. Joint resolution authorizing an appropriation for the purchase of dairy and farm products to be distributed among the distressed women and children of Poland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNS:

H. J. Res. 437. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim Citizenship Recognition Day, for the recognition, observance, and commemoration of American citizenship; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H. J. Res. 438. Joint resolution extending time for construction of work-relief and public-works projects until January 1, 1941; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:

H. Res. 366. Resolution requesting leave to expunge certain remarks from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to the Committee on Rules.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Virginia, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their House Joint Resolution No. 16, with reference to embargo on tobacco; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. R. 8087 (by request). A bill to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of certain insurance companies heretofore reported to Congress by the Secretary of War arising from the explosions and fire at the plant of the T. A. Gillespie Loading Co., at Morgan, N. J., October 4 and 5, 1918; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BOLAND:

H. R. 8088. A bill for the relief of Ella F. Gulick; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BYRNE of New York:

H. R. 8089. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon certain claims arising out of an accident involving a Government-owned automobile; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CLASON:

H. R. 8090. A bill for the relief of J. Walter Bowers; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HARTLEY:

H. R. 8091. A bill for the relief of May C. Taylor; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:

H. R. 8092. A bill for the relief of Clarence M. Pool; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JENSEN:

H. R. 8093. A bill for the relief of Henry Jefferson Black, deceased; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 8094. A bill granting a pension to Grace E. Butler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of West Virginia:

H. R. 8095. A bill to amend the military record of James Ledosome, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland:

H. R. 8096. A bill for the relief of certain disbursing officers of the Army of the United States and for the settlement of individual claims approved by the War Department; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 8097. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act for the relief of Mrs. A. R. Barnard, Charles A. Stephens, Donald W. Prairie, and dependents of Vern A. Needles," approved July 15, 1939; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 8098. A bill for the relief of Roy F. Lassly, former acting chief disbursing clerk, Department of the Interior; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 8099. A bill for the relief of James L. Kinney; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KILDAY:

H. R. 8100. A bill granting a pension to Rose Frances Butler; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KING:

H. R. 8101. A bill relating to the citizenship of William Lawrence Tan; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. McARDLE:

H. R. 8102. A bill for the relief of Emelie I. Sweeney; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROBISON of Kentucky:

H. R. 8103. A bill for the relief of William Solomon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Utah:

H. R. 8104. A bill for the relief of George H. Crow; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHANLEY:

H. R. 8105. A bill for the relief of Austin L. Tierney; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 8106. A bill for the relief of Peter J. Petersen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 8107. A bill for the relief of Martin J. Connellan; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. TENEROWICZ:

H. R. 8108. A bill for the relief of Johannes or John, Julia, Michael, William, and Anna Kostiuk; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky:

H. R. 8109. A bill for the relief of Daisy Mims, administratrix of the estate of Arthur Mims; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 8110. A bill for the relief of C. M. Sherrod; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 8111. A bill granting a pension to Maud Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VREELAND:

H. R. 8112. A bill for the relief of Michael Riley; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 8113. A bill for the relief of Charles F. Stone; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Missouri:

H. R. 8114. A bill granting a pension to Nancy Jane Berry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

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

6210. By Mr. ANDERSON of California: Resolution adopted by the Peace Officers Association of the State of California in convention at Santa Cruz, Calif., October 21, 1939, and signed by James T. Drew, secretary, pledging our continued friendly and enthusiastic cooperation with Director J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in aiding in the defense of our country, its principles and institutions, against the attack of enemies both foreign and domestic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

6211. By Mr. CARLSON: Petition of J. C. Rapp and 23 others, of Norton County, Kans., favoring the Patman chain-store tax bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

6212. Also, petition of C. C. Frevert and 18 others, of the Sixth District of Kansas, favoring the Patman chain-store tax bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

6213. Also, petition of August J. Karl and 22 others, of the Sixth District of Kansas, favoring the Patman chain-store tax bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

6214. Also, petition of E. S. Toll and 20 others, of the Sixth District of Kansas, favoring the Patman chain-store tax bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

6215. By Mr. DELANEY: Petition of the Kings County American Legion, Flatlands Post, No. 391, urging favorable action for the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6216. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Westend Post, No. 1061, urging favorable action for the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6217. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Windsor Terrace Post, No. 1175, urging favorable action for the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6218. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, County Child Welfare, urging favorable action for the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6219. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Uniformed Firemen's Post, No. 1171, urging favorable action for continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6220. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Dolly Madison Post, No. 115, urging favorable action for the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6221. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, E. E. Bennett, Jr., Post, No. 725, urging favorable action for the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6222. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Brooklyn Nurses Post No. 967, urging favorable action for continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6223. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Brooklyn Post No. 500, urging favorable action for the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6224. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Edward J. Bell Post No. 790, urging favorable action for the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6225. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, County Americanism, urging favorable action for the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6226. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Victory Post No. 1084, urging favorable action for continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6227. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Brownsville Post No. 33, urging favorable action for continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6228. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Williamsburg Post, No. 1104, urging favorable action for continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6229. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Boro of Brooklyn Post, No. 1180, urging favorable action for continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6230. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, One Hundred and Sixth Infantry, urging favorable action for continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6231. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Forty-seventh Infantry Post, No. 147, urging favorable action for continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6232. Also, petition of the Kings County American Legion, Joyce Kilmer Post, No. 55, urging favorable action for continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6233. By Mr. FLAHERTY: Petition of the Gloucester Sea Food Workers' Union, Gloucester, Mass., opposing the continuance of the reciprocal-trade pacts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

6234. Also, petition of Labor's Non-Partisan League of Massachusetts, Boston, Mass., opposing antialien bills; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

6235. Also, petition of the Cambridge City Council, Cambridge, Mass., urging legislation to eliminate furlough provisions in Relief Appropriation Act; to the Committee on Appropriations.

6236. By Mr. FULMER: Resolution of the board of directors of the South Carolina Public Service Authority, that the two United States Senators and the Members of the House of Representatives from South Carolina be, and they hereby are, requested to have incorporated in the bill making an

appropriation for the construction of the Clark's Hill hydroelectric and navigation project on the Savannah River a proviso requiring that in the sale of the power generated preference shall be given to public bodies and the rural electrification cooperative associations in line with the provisions made for other Federal water-power projects; to the Committee on Appropriations.

6237. By Mr. HART: Petition of the New Jersey State Industrial Union Council of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Newark, N. J., urging that no further appropriations be made for the continuation of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6238. Also, petition of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, Local No. 16, Jersey City, N. J., requesting that provision be made to exclude the importation of refined sugar made by cheap tropical labor in order that American workmen can regain the work they have lost; to the Committee on Agriculture.

6239. By Mr. HOUSTON: Resolutions of the board of directors of the Wichita Chamber of Commerce, opposing the passage of House bill 7372 as being contrary to the best interests of the Nation, the States, the consuming public, and the petroleum industry; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

6240. By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON: Petition of A. B. Walker & Son, of Corsicana, Tex., favoring House bill 7466, to amend part 1 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, with respect to the use of refrigerator cars; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

6241. By Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY: Petition of Private Chauffeurs Union, Local No. 800, New York City, endorsing the program of the Central Trades Council of Greater New York concerning restoration of the prevailing wage on all Government projects; to the Committee on Appropriations.

6242. Also, petition of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., expressing approval of the work of the Dies committee and urging support for the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6243. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of Private Chauffeurs Union, Local 800, New York City, concerning the restoration of prevailing wage on all Government projects; to the Committee on Appropriations.

6244. Also, petition of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., favoring the continuance of the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6245. Also, petition of F. J. Cacciola, president, Brooklyn Army Base Local 43, of the United Federal Workers of America, concerning the Ramspeck bill (H. R. 960); to the Committee on the Civil Service.

6246. By Mr. LEAVY: Resolution adopted by the Twisp Valley Grange on January 5, 1940, opposing the appropriation or expenditure of more than \$100,000,000 per year for war preparedness; pointing out that large numbers of our citizens are still in need and that the expenditure in excess of this amount for preparedness makes it more certain that the United States will become involved in the conflict abroad; to the Committee on Appropriations.

6247. By Mr. LESINSKI: Petition of John Nestor, of Dearborn, and other residents of Detroit, Mich., urging the enactment of the Patman chain-store tax bill (H. R. 1); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

6248. By Mr. ROUTZOHN: Petition of 70 residents of Dayton, Ohio, and environs, protesting against the levying of excise or any other form of processing taxes on bread and other everyday undispensable necessities of life; in particular, protesting against the passage of Senate bill 2395; to the Committee on Agriculture.

6249. By Mr. SUTPHIN: Petition of the New Jersey State League of Municipalities, opposing the proposed tax on interest on municipal bonds; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

6250. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Local 1250 of United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America, urging the

consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6251. Also, petition of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Chicago, Ill., urging consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6252. Also, petition of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D. C., urging consideration of their resolution with reference to un-American activities; to the Committee on Rules.

6253. Also, petition of the American Youth Congress, New York, urging consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6254. Also, petition of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, New York City, urging consideration of their resolution with reference to the Dies committee; to the Committee on Rules.

6255. Also, petition of the State Industrial Union Council, Local No. 151, of California, urging consideration of their resolution with reference to expansion of United States housing program; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

6256. Also, petition from the office of the city engineer, city hall, Los Angeles, Calif., urging consideration of their resolution with reference to Public Works Administration; to the Committee on Appropriations.

6257. Also, petition of Liga Pro Democracia, San Juan, P. R., urging consideration of their resolution with reference to the grave economic crisis of Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1940

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rt. Rev. John Z. Jasinski, D. D., Bishop of the Polish National Catholic Church of America, Buffalo, N. Y., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Our Gracious God and Most Merciful Father, we humbly stand before Thee in worship and supplication. Let us feel the inspiration of Thy presence. May Thy kingdom come more perfectly in our hearts, as we grow in years, may we grow in the beauty of holiness and human kindness. In the days of prosperity may we not forget Thee, and in the days of affliction we know that Thou will not forget us. We thank Thee for Thy watchful providence in the past and for the promise of Thy guidance in the days to come. Enlarge our hearts that we may have a great vision of national righteousness, of civic integrity, of social service, and conquest of international sin.

O God, exalt our purpose; make divine activities of our vocation. O Lord, in our discouragement, speak to us; in our encouragement, speak to us; in our culture, speak to us; in our ignorance, speak to us; in our gracelessness, speak to us; in our graciousness, speak to us.

O Lord, increase our faith in our American institutions, and encourage us to form our plans and assume our duties and responsibilities in accord with Thy holy will. Almighty God, bless our country, make it great for good and liberty. Make us all good, so that we shall all be after God's manifest nation of greatness.

Our dear Heavenly Father, the high and mighty Ruler of the universe, we beseech Thee most heartily, bless Thy servant, the President of the United States, the Members of the House of Representatives of the Seventy-sixth Congress and all others in authority; and so replenish them with the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, that they may always incline to Thy will, and walk in Thy way. Grant them in health and prosperity long to live; and finally, after this life to attain everlasting joy and felicity. Through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.