PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. CELLER:

H. R. 9787. A bill relating to the traveling and subsistence expenses of judges of the Court of Claims, the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, and the United States Customs Court; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H. R. 9788. A bill to repeal obsolete statutes and to improve the Code of Laws of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Revision of the Laws.

By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 9789. A bill to further provide for and promote the national defense, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H. R. 9790. A bill to provide for exercising the right with respect to red cedar shingles reserved in the trade agreement concluded November 17, 1938, between the United States of America and Canada, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

H. R. 9791. A bill to ament the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. NICHOLS:

H. R. 9797. A bill to provide for the construction, maintenance, and operation of a national stadium, parade field, swimming pools, and other recreational facilities to be located in the District of Columbia and for the creation of a corporation for effectuating the purposes of the act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BARNES:

H. R. 9792. A bill for the relief of Mrs. James Griffith; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

By Mr. CULKIN:

H. R. 9793. A bill for the relief of William C. Griesmyer; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KRAMER:

H. R. 9794. A bill for the relief of Kazue Oda Takahashi; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

H. R. 9795. A bill for the relief of William Merrion Little; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. POAGE:

H. R. 9796. A bill for the relief of Abigh E. Norris; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

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

8283. By Mr. FULMER: Concurrent resolution submitted by James E. Hunter, Jr., clerk, house of representatives, of Columbia, S. C., requesting the passage of a bill in Congress authorizing the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette near Georgetown, S. C., on June 14, 1777, and known as House bill 8941; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

8284. By Mr. GOSSETT: Petition of the Church of Christ of Electra, Tex., attested by the signatures of five elders and seven deacons of the congregation of said church, expressing conscientious objections to compulsory military service, and asking same treatment as that accorded the Quakers or Society of Friends in the event of war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

8285. By Mr. HARTER of New York: Petition of the Niagara County Volunteer Firemen's Association, Inc., opposing the Saint Lawrence Waterway project; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

8286. By Mr. JOHNS: Petition of Anton Bretl and 38 other citizens of Forestville and Sawyer, Wis., soliciting support of the Wheeler-Jones-La Follette bill, concerning rate of interest on Federal farm loans; to the Committee on Agriculture.

8287. By Mr. MICHAEL J. KENNEDY: Petition of the Electrical Square Club, Inc., No. 420, of Greater New York, opposing procedural conduct of Department of Justice in prosecuting certain labor unions; to the Committee on Labor.

8288. Also, petition of the Building and Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, urging that $50,000,000 of relief funds be earmarked for equal division between flood-control and river-harbor work; to the Committee on Flood Control.

8289. Also, petition of the National Conference of Women on Unemployment, Chelsea committee, urging enactment of the American Works Standards and Assistance Act; to the Committee on Labor.

8290. Also, petition of the National Association of Engine and Boat Manufacturers, Inc., opposing House bill 9477, which would place certain motorboats under steamboat-inspection laws; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

8291. By Mr. ROMJUE: Petition of the Southwest Aviation Conference in session at Tulsa, Okla., requesting the Congress of the United States and Federal agencies to construct all new National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics and other aeronautical research laboratories in that interior portion in the United States which offers the greatest strategic protection; and a resolution approving the principles of legislation embraced in Senate bill 3620 and House bill 9049 and urging its adoption in this Congress; this proposed legislation provides for Federal aid in the construction and maintenance of a nationally integrated system of airports; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

8292. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the International Union United Automobile Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations, South Bend, Ind., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to United States Housing Authority program; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

8293. Also, petition of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Maryland Branch, Baltimore, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the neutrality law; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

8294. Also, petition of Dr. J. W. Dixon, Golconda, Ill., and others, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to flood waters; to the Committee on Flood Control.

8295. Also, petition of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, Brooklyn, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the National Labor Relations Act; to the Committee on Labor.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, MAY 17, 1940

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m., and was called to order by the Speaker.

Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., pastor of Gunton Temple Memorial Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, the source of our life and the guide of these, our pilgrim days, we are the creatures of Thy power and the beneficiaries of Thy bounty. As Thou hast made us rich in blessing, so make us rich in humility and gratitude.

We pray that Thou wilt keep us from pride when we are prosperous, from despair when we are in want, and from bitterness when we are in distress. When earthly lights are extinguished by adversity and affliction, wilt Thou show us the eternal stars and lift upon us the light of Thy countenance. May we daily be enabled to manifest unto our fellow men faces made glad with a vision of the Lord God omnipotent and hearts made strong and courageous by His glorious companionship.

Hear us in our prayer of intercession for our struggling and suffering humanity. Thou who art the support of the

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weary and the consolation of the sorrowing, we pray that Thou wilt open unto them large windows of hope and fill their desolate hearts with that blessed faith that Thou canst do for them exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think. In the name of the Christ. Amen.

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

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed concurrent resolutions of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. Con. Res. 45. Concurrent resolution authorizing the temporary placement in the rotunda of the Capitol of a painting of the scene at the signing of the Constitution and the holding of ceremonies in connection therewith; and

S. Con. Res. 47. Concurrent resolution rescinding the action of the two Houses in appointing conferees on H. R. 8438, the Naval Appropriation Act, 1941.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7079) entitled "An act to provide for the appointment of additional district and circuit judges."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and to include in the Appendix of the RECORD letters to me from the State Department and the Navy Department concerning the Government's expedition to the Antarctic to investigate natural resources.

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

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING

Mr. CULLEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Mines and Mining may be permitted to sit during the session of the House today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CULLEN]?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman tell us what the bill is that is going to be considered?

Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, does the bill pertain to the Federal Mine Inspection Act?

Mr. CULLEN. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I object.

THE CENSUS

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CROWE. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, recently I heard considerable discussion on the floor of the House concerning the questions that were to be asked in the coming census. I had some apprehensions because of this. Accordingly I wrote to the census enumerators in my district, asking them what results they had and whether or not they received many complaints—whether or not people had refused to answer the questions asked. I wanted to know whether the questions irritated the people who were being interviewed. I have an average district. Constituents of my district are well qualified to know whether the questions are proper or not.

I have had a number of replies, and on checking these I find there were very few, if any, complaints to the questions asked. One expression reported by one of the census enumerators was the party being interviewed said, "Is that all the questions there are? I thought from what I had read there would be many more." Others said, "We do not see anything wrong with those questions. We are glad to answer them." All in all, there seems to have been no complaints, or very few, if any.

To cooperate in this census, I had very carefully informed the district supervisor to see that the best possible census would be taken and to impress upon everyone the need for courtesy and diplomacy by everyone on the staff. I asked that each census enumerator use good judgment and be diplomatic and do the best job possible—otherwise a census would be of little value. I believe a good job has been done and much credit is due to the supervisor, the officers, the enumerators, and the entire personnel of the census organization in the Ninth Indiana Congressional District.

THE W. P. A.

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, anyone who reads the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and is not advised of the facts will undoubtedly come to the conclusion immediately that the Federal Government is assuming the burden of taking care of the great majority of the unfortunate people of this country who are unable to secure employment. If there were a tabulation of what is spent by the States, subdivisions of the States, and private charities, the amount would far exceed the appropriations made by the Federal Government.

There came to my desk this morning the thirty-ninth annual report of the Catholic Charities of St. Louis. I regret exceedingly I do not have a complete report of charities of all denominations in my city. Dozens of charitable organizations managed by Protestants, Catholics, and Jews are operated in the city of St. Louis for the benefit of deserving people. I am only going to refer to a few, most of which happen to be in my congressional district.

First, let me say this report is prepared by Rev. John J. Butler, president of the Catholic Charities of St. Louis. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul has 98 parish conferences. I am going to use round unmbers. Aside from assistance in many ways, given to thousands of people, the expenditures of this organization was $133,000, of which $68,000 came from the united charities.

Let it be understood that while these organizations are known as Catholic Charities, like the Protestant and Jewish organizations, they are operated without distinction of nationality or creed.

Many years ago Rev. Timothy Dempsey organized what is now known as Father Dempsey's Hotels, Inc. Since Father Dempsey's death, Rev. James P. Johnston has been in charge of the operation of the hotels. During the year 1939, at Father Dempsey's hotel for workingmen, 47,280 were given free lodgings and 142,000 free meals were furnished. At St. Patrick's Hotel for working women, operated by the same corporation, 17,000 free lodgings were given as well as 50,000 free meals. Every dollar necessary to keep up these organizations is donated by Protestants, Catholics, and Jews.

In 1932 when Father Butler saw men sleeping in doorways in the middle of winter he secured control of an old hospital and opened the Ozanam shelter for men. It has been operated since that time for unemployed white men, regardless of nationality or creed. In 1939 lodgings were furnished for 113,000, 312,000 meals were served, 3,000 pieces of clothing and shoes were given to the men, as well as provisions made to keep their clothes and shoes in repair. Nineteen thousand treatments were provided in the clinic. The only direct assistance outside of donations received for the upkeep of this shelter is $4,087 from the United Charities of St. Louis. If time and space would permit, I could enumerate 100 organizations in St. Louis that are aiding the unfortunate people, the great majority of which are supported by the generosity of public-spirited citizens. Regardless of creed, our citizens who are able donate funds to these activities.

We must not overlook direct relief, which is a State and local activity.

I now want to make some comments in reference to the pending legislation. I cannot agree with the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] that we hold the appropriation for the Work Projects Administration to the amount originally suggested by the President. It is my feeling that a serious crisis will result if we do not at least carry out the last recommendation of the President and appropriate the amount asked for in the President's letter to the Speaker of the House of April 18. Aside from this, there are provisions in the bill that must receive our most careful consideration. In my opinion, the requirement that 25 percent of the total cost of the project be furnished by the sponsor will result in many communities not being able to participate in the W. P. A.

Do not take my word for it but I appeal to you to read Colonel Harrington's testimony before the committee on this subject. Likewise the 18 months' furlough provision which I opposed last year. There are many objectionable provisions in this bill aside from the amount involved, some of which are certainly going to close the door of W. P. A. in some places where assistance is needed. If you will acquaint yourself with information furnished by Colonel Harrington, you will be able to fully understand why some of us will offer amendments to the bill next week.

Take my own city, St. Louis, alone. Of course, information from the mayor of St. Louis is the best that can be secured concerning conditions there upon this subject. I am including as part of my remarks a letter the mayor addressed to Mr. Paul V. Betters, the executive director of the United States Conference of Mayors. Here you have the picture that confronts us. The letter follows:

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,
City of St. Louis, May 1, 1940.

Mr. PAUL V. BETTERS,
Executive Director, the United States Conference of Mayors, 730 Jackson Place NW., Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BETTERS: The present W. P. A. regulations will place a burden on all municipalities and counties in general which operate under W. P. A. It seems to me that this is a matter which should be given first consideration by the Conference of Mayors.

The present regulation requires 25 percent of the total cost of the project to be furnished by the sponsor (that would mean the city of St. Louis). In the St Louis district the average monthly wage of workers as paid by W. P. A. is about $62.50. The area requirements of 25 percent of the total would be $20.83 per worker per month. On the present load the area would be required to supply $354,170 per month at the 25-percent rate. If this load is increased this fall to the preceding winter load, the above amount will be increased to $624,000 per month, or almost double; or in the next 12 months—estimating 6 months at $350,000 and 3 months at $625,000—the area requirements would be approximately $5,850,000, of which the city's contribution would be approximately $4,680,000 and the county's $1,170,000, which is prohibitive for St. Louis.

We have in the past 7 years employed on various Federal projects in the St. Louis area from 10,000 to 40,000 men on permanent constructive programs, which improvements will last for many years. However, on the completion of these projects, the burden on our city for maintenance has been greatly increased; in fact, it has necessitated our increasing materially the personnel to operate our city government to keep these projects operating after completion.

We believe that regulations governing types of projects should be more lenient and liberal in large municipalities, where the relief load is the heaviest, and enable the larger cities to help their local relief loads, which are not so serious in counties, by extending the use of W. P. A. labor to maintenance and repairs, to cleaning, and in winter to removing snow.

Unless the Government reduces the sponsor's contribution to at least a maximum of 10 percent instead of 25 percent, we do not believe the city of St. Louis will be able to carry on under W. P. A. In order to take care of our local relief problem and live within our income, it has been necessary for us to put a toll on our municipal bridge, to pass an unpopular cigarette tax, and other nuisance taxes, to relieve this serious problem. We have been forced to adopt these nuisance taxes in order to avoid any increase in the general tax rate which will fall upon real estate alone. Real estate in St. Louis is not able to carry any larger burden than it is now carrying. As a matter of fact, tax delinquencies in recent years represented altogether too high a percentage of the total levy, and resulted in the sale of properties for taxes, many hundreds of parcels of which the city was compelled to buy to protect its tax lien. The city found itself going rapidly into the real-estate business, and in 1939 succeeded in having passed in the State legislature a law revising the procedure for the collection of delinquent taxes. How this law will work out it is too early to predict, but it is certain that with the present economic conditions existing in St. Louis, an increase in the general tax rate is out of the question.

I trust I have made clear this situation as it confronts the city of St. Louis, and no doubt there are other cities which find themselves in this same situation.

I ask you to bring this important measure forcibly to the attention of the cities included in the Conference of Mayors, so that immediate action and consideration can be taken to change this part of the W. P. A. program.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,

BERNARD F. DICKMANN, *Mayor.*

In view of this situation, I appeal to you to support an effort to reduce the 25-percent contribution to 10 percent.

We all regret the necessity for the continuance of W. P. A. I do agree with the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] we should look upon it always as a temporary activity rather than a permanent activity, although no one can tell now how long we will be required to continue making appropriations for W. P. A. It is all right for us to say we should place these unfortunate people in jobs in private industry, but who is able to find the jobs, and who is willing to provide them?

The gentleman from Virginia yesterday cited the case of a very unfortunate family in my district. He referred to Mrs. Hughes Easley, who came to Washington and was named "Mrs. Unemployed Mother." He called attention to the fact that Mr. Easley, her husband, was an unemployed electrical worker, and said if we would provide jobs for electrical workers, the situation that confronts the family would not exist. I immediately advised the gentleman from Virginia that Mr. and Mrs. Easley are the parents of eight children, and that they are on direct relief, receiving $68 a month. I further informed him that if he would provide 100,000 jobs for electrical workers, Mr. Easley, on account of his physical condition, would not be able to accept one. I know the businessmen of St. Louis well enough to say that if Mr. Easley was able to go to work, some businessman would certainly find a place for him. Remember, when Mr. Easley and his family are on direct relief this money is not supplied by the United States Government but by the locality. Sixty-eight dollars a month for a man and his wife and eight children, the youngest being 3 years old. Think of it! Only one child is employable, and that child is making $2 a week working as a domestic.

I think a very fair appraisal of the situation will be found in an editorial in the St. Louis Star-Times of Wednesday, May 15, which I include as part of my remarks. It follows:

A JUST COMPROMISE

The American public may logically prove reluctant to support the President's request that the $900,000,000 W. P. A. appropriation for 1941 contain authorization that it may be spent in the first 8 months of the year.

The Nation has watched virtually all of the economies projected at the opening of Congress being abandoned. Now the President has made a proposal relative to W. P. A. that might wipe out the saving of $500,000,000 originally planned in relief.

The thoughtful American, eager to halt reckless spending and to restore his country to a sound fiscal and social philosophy, confronts a real dilemma. In many essentials the relief of the destitute is the most compelling of all Government emergency services. Their demand upon the Nation is one of elemental human need, transcending the desire of wheat and cotton farmers for some arbitrary parity price.

W. P. A. appropriations have already been drastically reduced. Five hundred million dollars were lopped off last year, and this will make necessary the dropping of 700,000 persons between April and June this year. This sweeping demobilization of W. P. A. rolls has already meant real suffering and a very serious burden upon direct municipal relief.

Reasonable doubt may therefore exist if it is wise national policy to decide at this moment that, regardless of circumstances, we will impose another $500,000,000 cut on relief appropriations, leaving ourselves no escape if there should develop a sharp business recession.

Despite the country's impatience to be through with excessive spending, the President has probably suggested a wise compromise between those who would appropriate $1,500,000,000 regardless and those who would allocate $900,000,000 on an equally inflexible basis. He has proposed that we consider the $900,000,000 the limit of our expenditures only over the first 8 months, thus allowing some latitude both in the timing and amount of our expenditures.

Such a solution is just. It still reposes upon the administrators the obligation to make every economy consistent with our resolve that "no one should starve." Only genuine need would warrant

their failure to spread the appropriation over the entire year. But if there is such need, can the Nation honorably turn its back upon it?

Mr. Speaker, there are some localities in this country that absolutely do not need assistance such as is furnished through W. P. A. I make this statement because several Members of Congress told me that their districts were in such condition that they could get along without W. P. A. The great metropolitan centers of the country, however, are the ones most seriously affected. It is not pleasant for me to state that the city in which I reside must appeal to the Federal Government for help. How happy I would be if I could stand on this floor and say, we do not need Government funds for this purpose, we are in a position to take care of the situation ourselves. As I stated yesterday, the city of St. Louis is doing its part to meet the situation that confronts us, and it will continue to do so, but it cannot shoulder the entire responsibility.

As we prepare our balance sheets, do not overlook the fact that while we are spending this money annually, thus creating additional liabilities, nevertheless, we are adding to our assets by initiating projects that result in beneficial and lasting improvements.

Those of us from the cities have been most liberal in supporting the appropriations for the farmers. Analyze the roll calls in the last 10 days when the conference report on the agricultural appropriation bill was under consideration and you will find the Representatives from New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore, Detroit, San Francisco, and other large cities voting with you who represent the rural districts. We from the cities now appeal to you to be generous with your vote to help us meet a situation that is just as critical, if not more critical, than your farmers face.

This is not a political issue and should not be made one. No matter which political party is in power, so long as present conditions exist, the Congress of the United States will be required to pass legislation of this character.

Mr. Speaker, in order that the House will be properly informed I include excerpts from the hearings before the Appropriations Committee. They follow:

TWENTY-FIVE-PERCENT REQUIREMENT PROVISION FOR SPONSORS

(See p. 465 of appropriation hearings)

Colonel HARRINGTON. Despite the encouraging growth in the proportion of sponsors' contributions, which I believe has been due in large measure to the fact that they have become increasingly aware that good work can be done for them by the W. P. A., the requirement of a minimum 25-percent average contribution in each State has introduced difficulties in some areas. Unemployment does not recognize State and county lines nor municipal boundaries. It is generally true that in areas where unemployment and need are greatest public agencies are in such financial condition as to be least able to meet the 25-percent requirement. In other words, this requirement creates a tendency to move employment out of the poor communities where the need for it is most acute.

We attempt to use the latitude given to us under the language of the act to average out sponsors' contributions within a State so that wealthier communities shall pay more than 25 percent and the poorer ones less. As a practical matter, however, this is quite difficult. Sponsors have a tendency to regard the 25-percent requirement, which was written into the law as a minimum, to be practically a maximum, and it is difficult to persuade them to provide more than this proportion.

Mr. LUDLOW. In some of the poorer counties of the State of Indiana, where they have need for employment, if they were forced to put up more than 25 percent it would mean the absolute denial of W. P. A. work, because they could not raise it.

Colonel HARRINGTON. Of course, it would be difficult in those areas. The same thing is true of many other States. On the other hand, if you attempted to give special consideration to those poorer counties other communities in the State of Indiana would demand the same thing, and we would be immediately in trouble.

Mr. JOHNSON of West Virginia. Do you have any suggestions along that line?

Colonel HARRINGTON. Yes, sir; and I will pass to that right now.

The 25-percent provision also raises a quite acute problem in connection with nonconstruction projects, especially those of the white-collar type. In this class of work there is usually very little nonlabor cost, the total in many cases being 10 percent or less. Therefore, even if sponsors paid all costs other than for certified labor, they would still be far below the required 25 percent.

To meet this general situation it is my suggestion that the control of Federal expenditures among the States be on the basis of a limitation on the amount of Federal funds that may be used for nonlabor purposes in each State. This provision, already in the present act, requires that not more than an average of $6 per man per month shall be spent from Federal funds for nonlabor purposes in any State. Under this provision Federal funds for nonlabor purposes are definitely controlled, and the sponsors must put in whatever is necessary to construct the projects over and above the $6 nonlabor limitation.

This seems to me to achieve the necessary control and yet at the same time leave enough flexibility in the program to meet the problems of areas with high unemployment and limited resources. Thus in areas having financial difficulties the W. P. A. can operate a sufficient number of projects to provide needed employment, but the projects will be of a character having a relatively low total nonlabor cost. In other areas, where the sponsors can afford it, more expensive types of projects can be operated, with the sponsor putting in the additional funds. In both instances, however, the amount of Federal funds used would be restricted to $6 per man per month, but the amount of sponsors' funds used would vary according to the ability of sponsors to finance projects.

I recommend, therefore, that the 25-percent provision contained in section 1 (d) of the act be eliminated and that the $6 nonlabor limitation contained in section 1 (c) be retained.

A problem which arises in connection with sponsors' funds is occasioned by the language of section 11 (c) of the current act, which requires the determination of what constitutes a "financial burden" upon sponsors. It seems to me that all items of contribution essential to project operations or necessary for completing a facility should be recognized. Application of the "financial burden" may fall unequally on different sponsors. For example, certain civil divisions which have constructed public buildings in the past find that no credit for the use of space in such buildings can be allowed, whereas the sponsors that follow the practice of renting instead of owning buildings can qualify for space credits because they are in a position to establish a current out-of-pocket financial burden. This is simply one example of the many inequities resulting from this amendment which seems to me to cause unnecessary complications of administration. Accordingly it is recommended that this language be omitted from next year's act.

ADVISABILITY OF DISCONTINUING 25 PERCENT SPONSOR'S CONTRIBUTION

(From p. 731)

Mr. DITTER. Colonel, do you favor the continuation of this 25-percent contribution?

Colonel HARRINGTON. No, sir; I do not, because I do not think it is necessary. I think the same result can be achieved without it.

Mr. DITTER. Is your objection due to the fact that it brings about a degree of conflict in this philosophy of shifting responsibilities from the municipalities to the Federal Government?

Colonel HARRINGTON. No, sir; it is not in that connection. My belief on that is based on the fact that we can more completely meet local situations if we do not have the 25-percent requirement; that we can go into a "busted" community and do projects of a less costly type, and with a less than 25-percent contribution, because we are completely controlled in the amount that we spend for purposes other than labor by another provision of the act, which only allows us to spend $6 per worker per month for material.

Mr. DITTER. So you would prefer the $6 or $7 proposition and the elimination of the 25-percent feature?

Colonel HARRINGTON. Yes, sir; I would.

Mr. DITTER. Would you suggest or recommend that any percentage contribution should be in the act, or should it be eliminated entirely?

Colonel HARRINGTON. I think it should be eliminated entirely, because if you drop the 25 percent to 20, all the sponsors look on that minimum as being a maximum, and if they come to us with a project that ought to have a 30-, 35-, or 40-percent sponsor's contribution, if there is a percentage written in the act, they will say, "You are only required to ask us for 20 percent and why are you asking us for something else?" Whereas under the nonlabor money control you get at the thing automatically. If they want a project that is 70-percent labor and 30-percent materials, they obviously have to finance the cost of materials that goes over and above our $6 limitation.

Mr. DITTER. Would the elimination of the 25-percent feature tend to increase the bargaining power of the local municipality as it deals with you or would it decrease the bargaining power of the municipality, in connection with projects?

Colonel HARRINGTON. I do not think it would affect it at all, except that in municipalities which were in real difficulties they would probably propose less-expensive types of projects on which the nonlabor cost was lower. But in general I would say it would neither increase nor decrease bargaining power.

Mr. DITTER. Have you found during the last year that this 25-percent sponsor contribution has in any way affected the bargaining power of the municipalities?

Colonel HARRINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. DITTER. It has not had any effect whatever?

Colonel HARRINGTON. No, sir; I think not.

Mr. DITTER. Would the elimination of the 25 percent tend to increase the Federal costs?

Colonel HARRINGTON. It would be without effect on the Federal costs.

Mr. DITTER. By that do you mean that the sponsor's contribution is valueless in this relief program?

Colonel HARRINGTON. No, sir; not at all. I mean that the sponsor's contributions would continue to come in, and I mean that

the Federal cost, which is made up of wages, materials, and administration, would be neither increased nor decreased by the elimination of the 25-percent requirement. The proportion of sponsors' participation in the program increased progressively over the years before the 25-percent requirement was put in, and I think that increase would continue. But the cost of the Federal part of the program is not affected one way or the other by the 25 percent or any other percent requirement.

Mr. DITTER. Colonel, is your recommendation for the elimination of this 25-percent contribution prompted by your fear that the time might be approaching when municipalities will not be in a position to provide a contribution?

Colonel HARRINGTON. No, sir; it is not.

Mr. DITTER. Is it prompted by reason of the fact that relief loads are heavier in certain districts where they are least able to provide a sponsor contribution?

Colonel HARRINGTON. It is prompted exactly by that; yes, sir.

Mr. DITTER. So that would mean that the municipality would shift from its shoulders its responsibility for the relief of its needy to other shoulders?

Colonel HARRINGTON. I do not follow that, sir.

Mr. DITTER. I say if you are prompted in the suggestion that the relief need is the greater in those places where the ability to contribute is smaller, then it seems to me inevitable that that community where that condition existed would be shifting from its shoulders its responsibility to look after its needy onto the shoulders of some other community or group. That is a reasonable conclusion, is it not?

Colonel HARRINGTON. Which is better able to bear it. If these States of ours, for example, mean anything more than colored areas on a map, included within a boundary line——

Mr. DITTER. To some of us they do.

Colonel HARRINGTON (continuing). Then I think that the problem or problems of the State as a whole should receive consideration as a whole, and that in a State where there are areas that are definitely financially distressed it is only fair that the Federal assistance that is given should go into those areas in greater degree than into other areas in the same State that are in relatively good financial condition.

Mr. DITTER. That would be so, of course, even though that local municipalities' lack of ability at the present time were due to profligacy, mismanagement, misrule, or other derelictions in times past, would it not?

Colonel HARRINGTON. It would. It is a fact, and what brings the fact into being is history.

Mr. DITTER. By the same token, then, I assume that you would recommend or favor that that responsibility could not only be shifted from municipality to municipality and from State to State, but also from section to section in the country?

Colonel HARRINGTON. I think that in the poorer municipalities, the poorer counties, the poorer areas, the extent of local participation required should be less than elsewhere.

Mr. DITTER. Would that contemplate the shifting of responsibility, for instance, from the South, where there are those who feel either less ability or less inclination to provide for relief needs, to other sections where that responsibility has been assumed, and where probably a greater ability to bear it exists?

Colonel HARRINGTON. Such a shift would not be possible under the requirement for control which I recommend for insertion in next year's act, which is a State control of nonlabor money. You could not make any shift as between regions in the United States.

Mr. DITTER. Has not the 25-percent contribution tended to compel municipalities to increase their expenditures for relief?

Colonel HARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DITTER. So to that extent it has been a helpful feature, has it not?

Colonel HARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DITTER. And is it not a fact that there has been a tendency, prior to the time of this contribution feature, for cities or States to shirk their duty in providing relief?

Colonel HARRINGTON. By "relief," do you mean local relief or participation?

Mr. DITTER. I mean that which would be helpful in any way to the needy.

Colonel HARRINGTON. I can only speak insofar as sponsors' contributions are concerned, because that is the part of this work with which I am concerned. The cities as a whole have been increasing their contributions to the W. P. A. program continuously over the period since W. P. A. was established, and they have also been increasing their expenditures for direct relief at the same time, and the movement that is occurring is an increased assumption of this over-all responsibility by these cities.

Mr. DITTER. Did you not make a statement in your Birmingham speech this year that in the period from July to December of 1939 expenditures for direct relief in 15 representative southern areas were only one twenty-fifth of the Federal W. P. A. expenditures?

Colonel HARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DITTER. And that in one instance, one of the southern cities, it amounted to one-ninetieth of the Federal expenditures?

Colonel HARRINGTON. I did.

Mr. DITTER. And did you not in that same speech say that the financial position of the southern sponsors has improved and that they are able to support relief better now?

Colonel HARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DITTER. So that to that extent the elimination of the 25-percent contribution feature would not in any way be harmful to the southern cities, would it?

Colonel HARRINGTON. No, sir; it would not.

Mr. Speaker, I also include a statement relative to the situation in the various States that gives the picture in every part of the country. How after reading these statements anyone can refuse to vote to reduce the 25-percent contribution it is beyond me to see:

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ADVERSE EFFECTS OF THE REQUIREMENT THAT SPONSORS PROVIDE 25 PERCENT OF THE COSTS OF W. P. A. PROJECTS

ALABAMA

It has been difficult in the past to obtain an adequate number of useful projects in Jefferson County, and the 25-percent requirement has magnified the problem to a great extent. The 25-percent requirement will necessitate an immediate 40-percent reduction of the work load in Walker County. The most thinly populated or rural counties are having difficulty in meeting the 25-percent requirement on road projects, since they own little road equipment.

ARKANSAS

Generally it is believed that the 25-percent sponsors' requirement will create a tendency to move the program out of the poor communities where the need is the greatest. Since this requirement constantly introduces problems of determining sponsors' credit on trivial matters, our program would operate better by using the $6 per month for material as a basis of control; this control accomplishes the purpose of the 25-percent requirement.

In Pulaski County (whose county seat is Little Rock), which has a population of approximately 140,000 and an assessed property valuation of approximately $60,000,000, it is difficult to secure a sufficient amount of sponsors' funds to reach the 25-percent requirement because of the high case load and the fact that sponsors have already reached the limit of their resources. For this reason it is necessary to depend on larger sponsors' contributions in small counties to bring up the average. It is difficult to secure adequate sponsors' funds for projects to employ women. The sponsors are doing about everything they possibly can within legal limitations on their financing.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

The 25-percent requirement has had an adverse effect on the program generally. It has tended to eliminate white-collar projects in order that funds may be used on construction projects, and it has tended to restrict contributions in excess of 25 percent because this amount is considered the maximum as well as the minimum.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

This requirement has had an adverse effect generally; in thickly populated areas the adverse effect has been intensified. The city and county of Los Angeles, where most of the unemployed are located, have been unable to finance sufficient projects on a 25-percent basis to employ the eligible workers. In many instances projects are available, but sponsors do not have sufficient funds as a result of statutory limitations on local tax rates.

COLORADO

Six or seven counties are financially unable to supply the required 25-percent sponsors' contribution, and it is anticipated that considerable difficulty will be experienced in securing the required amount in 12 other counties, including Denver County.

FLORIDA

The 25-percent sponsorship requirement is having an adverse effect on the professional and service projects. Local conditions in several counties in the lower east coast area of the State have made it increasingly difficult to obtain sponsorship in accordance with the provisions of the current E. R. A. Act. Greater difficulty is anticipated as work projects approved subsequent to January 1, 1940, go into operation. The cities of Key West, Perry, and Tampa, and Hamilton County and various cities and counties in the Lake Okeechobee area have stated that they are not in a position to provide the necessary sponsors' contributions on construction projects, and others are hard pressed to do so. In a large number of instances the municipalities and counties throughout the State are heavily burdened with bonded indebtedness and experience considerable difficulty in providing and maintaining the necessary sponsors' contribution for the efficient operation of the program.

GEORGIA

Two cities, Augusta in Richmond County and Columbus in Muscogee County, are experiencing difficulty in meeting the 25-percent limitation for a sufficient number of projects to employ their full quota. Also there are numerous communities in the rural areas of the State that are having a difficult time because of their financial inability to sponsor a sufficient number of projects to participate fully in the program.

ILLINOIS

Shortage of sponsors' funds in Chicago is being remedied temporarily by use of relief funds; difficulty in securing the required amounts is expected in Peoria.

INDIANA

Twenty-three counties are financially unable to meet the sponsors' requirement. This situation is particularly acute in the stone and coal sections where unemployment is especially high and the need for a work program is greatest. Local tax rates have already increased to the point of being practically confiscatory, and tax delinquencies are correspondingly high. Theoretically, the State administrator could average these sections out with other areas in the State. However, it is impossible to overcome the losses incurred

in low sponsor contributions with correspondingly higher contributions from other localities for the reason that sponsors in general demand equal treatment. In consequence of this fact it is a financial impossibility for certain distressed areas to maintain a sufficient number of projects for their local eligible unemployed.

KANSAS

A critical situation exists in the areas where drought has been continuous over a long period. The program is now operating largely on projects approved prior to January 1, 1940, and the situation will become more acute as approvals after that date increase.

KENTUCKY

Although high-type projects with satisfactory sponsors' pledges are available at the present time in the cities of Louisville and Paducah and in 30 of the poorer counties, worth-while projects cannot be operated because the financial condition of the localities prohibits their contributing to the extent of project pledges. This condition will be aggravated as limitations of projects approved prior to January 1 of this year are reached and new projects approved since the first of the year are placed in operation. Although a State highway department program is developing that will provide pledges of sponsors' contributions in excess of the required minimum, it is nevertheless true that if the required sponsors' contribution is held at a minimum of 25 percent the condition in the poorer counties will not be entirely alleviated. In order to comply with the minimum sponsors' contribution requirements it may be necessary to reduce employment in a number of counties to a comparatively small percentage of the available certified persons.

LOUISIANA

The 25-percent sponsors' requirement is having such an adverse effect on the operation of construction projects that it has been impossible to operate enough projects to fill the quotas. Many of the sponsors, particularly in the rural areas, are financially unable to contribute any more than they have in the past and repeated demands have had the effect of discouraging them. There is a growing feeling among some sponsors that all they are expected to do is put up 25 percent on their projects, and that it is up to the sponsors on other projects to do the same. It becomes increasingly difficult to explain that certain projects do not have high nonlabor costs and consequently do not carry high sponsors' contributions and that certain sponsors lack the financial ability of others.

MAINE

There are 13 or 14 bankrupt communities in Maine and in these communities a great deal of difficulty is anticipated in maintaining a 25-percent level for sponsors' contributions.

MARYLAND

There are insufficient construction projects in Somerset, Dorchester, and Montgomery Counties and in parts of Washington County and insufficient approved nonconstruction projects in Baltimore. The chief reason for the lack of available projects is financial inability to meet the 25-percent requirement.

MASSACHUSETTS

The regulation that requires an average of 25-percent sponsors' contribution will cause a great many difficulties, since our experience has shown that this figure is considerably higher than that which we have averaged in the past. The question as to whether the individual communities will be financially prepared to operate the projects in our reserve is one of grave concern to us. Boston will be seriously affected by this requirement because of the huge expenditures for snow removal, for which no provision was made in the city's original budget. The "white collar" program and those manual-labor projects which require few additional materials to complete the work will be most seriously affected. Many desirable projects on which it is impossible to average 25-percent sponsors' contribution will be excluded from the program. Inasmuch as the majority of the people are employed on projects with low nonlabor costs, the 25-percent provision will have an appreciable effect on the program. In general it is expected that cities and larger towns will be hardest hit.

MICHIGAN

The officials of both Flint and Pontiac state that they are financially unable to provide sufficient projects having 25-percent sponsors' funds to employ all the workers awaiting assignment. The officials of Wayne County state that they are financially unable to meet the 25-percent sponsors' provision.

MINNESOTA

Objections to the 25-percent requirement have been raised throughout the State, particularly by sponsors of road projects. In St. Paul the effect of the financial inability of the city departments to meet the sponsors' 25-percent requirement is becoming more acute. In the northern part of the State an extensive and very desirable program of forestry conservation work is available for operation, and this type of work is located in a number of counties where the certified quota is large and where local sponsors are least able to participate in local projects. The nature of the work is such that nonlabor requirements are low. Since this work does not yield a sponsors' contribution of 25 percent its prosecution cannot be extensive under the 25-percent provision. Prospects for suitable professional and service projects during the next fiscal year are not encouraging if the minimum requirement of a 25-percent sponsors' contribution is continued.

MISSISSIPPI

The vast majority of the counties in Mississippi are financially unable to provide sponsors' contribution that would enable operation of a work program within the 25-percent limitation. Consequently, the operation of enough projects to fill the State's quota will depend on whether sufficient aid is extended from the State.

MISSOURI

The rural territory lying south of the Missouri River comprises two-thirds of the State's area and provides employment for 50 percent of the State's quota. The availability of projects in this section of the State is generally limited, due to the financial inability of sponsors to meet the 25-percent requirement. In one county where the certified load numbered over 400 people, and W. P. A. funds are spent at the rate of about $225,000 a year, tax returns for all sponsoring bodies are in the neighborhood of $40,000. Naturally in such a county—and there are more like that one—employment on W. P. A. projects must be curtailed because of the limited funds which can be contributed by sponsors.

The metropolitan areas within the State likewise find it difficult to meet the 25-percent requirement; these areas include the city of St. Louis, St. Louis County, Kansas City, Springfield, and Joplin.

MONTANA

The city of Butte has cooperated to the extent of its ability but has reached the limit of bonded indebtedness, and work in the city is carried on with deficient sponsorship. Flathead, Lincoln, Missoula, and Ravalli Counties, due to present statutory regulations, are financially unable to continue present employment on county-sponsored projects and meet the 25-percent requirement. The eastern third of the State has a shortage of tax revenues, due to drought and continuation of adequate sponsorship under the 25-percent provision is uncertain. The 25-percent requirement is having a particularly adverse effect on water-conservation projects which are so necessary to rehabilitation of Montana.

NEBRASKA

A great deal of difficulty is experienced in operating sufficient projects in certain counties (Douglas, Dakota, Thurston, and Boone) because of financial inability to meet the 25-percent requirement. A critical situation exists in the areas where drought has been continuous over a long period, and in the rest of the State the program is still operating largely on the projects approved before January 1, 1940.

NEVADA

Difficulty is being encountered in obtaining sufficient sponsors' contribution for professional and service projects.

NEW MEXICO

The 25-percent requirement has had a general adverse effect on the program in seven counties, containing 43 percent of the certified load, because of the financial inability of the county commissioners and city officials to provide the required sponsors' contribution on county-wide and city-wide road and street projects. Although the 25-percent requirement has had little adverse effect on building, paving, and sewer projects, it has seriously affected conservation, soil erosion, reforestation, and water-development projects, as well as the road and street work.

NORTH CAROLINA

In two of the nine districts in the State considerable difficulty has been encountered in obtaining sufficient projects for operation. The difficulty results from the 25-percent provision. In district 1 the various municipalities have a bonded indebtedness up to the limit established by the law for the State, and therefore are not in a financial position, except in a few instances, to sponsor projects which carry sponsors' contributions of 25 percent or more. A few public bodies have refused to sponsor projects, particularly certain of the professional and service projects, on a 25-percent basis. In district 9 some of the towns and counties are bankrupt, have unmet maturity and interest obligations, and are unable to finance projects requiring a 25-percent contribution. In the other districts there has been serious difficulty in obtaining contributions of as much as 25 percent of total cost.

NORTH DAKOTA

Throughout the western half of the State, where the drought has been continuous over a long period, it will be difficult to maintain the program quotas under the 25-percent requirement, since the financial condition of all the political subdivisions in that area is very bad. A similar condition is true of many smaller towns throughout the State.

OREGON

Difficulties are encountered in obtaining sponsors' contributions of 25 percent on all types of projects, except building and utility projects. Throughout the State the adverse effect is characteristic.

In most instances the difficulty results from financial and legal inability on the part of sponsors to assume the required share of the cost. In some cases the difficulty is related to the 6-percent tax increase limitation that is in effect in Oregon. The uncertainty of the program and employment fluctuations in some localities have made good planning and budgeting difficult for sponsors.

PENNSYLVANIA

Sponsors' willingness to cooperate is generally good, but it is frequently limited by financial conditions. Many desirable projects cannot be put into operation because the sponsors are not able to finance such a share of the cost as is made necessary by the 25-percent provision.

RHODE ISLAND

The 25-percent sponsors' contribution requirement is seriously restricting the diversification of projects in Rhode Island. Projects that now carry sponsors' contributions of 25 percent or more are blanket projects of relatively large size which were approved prior to December 31, 1939. Projects submitted after January 1, 1940, are of the type which do not have large sponsors' contributions. This situation tends to prevent the operation of certain kinds of projects needed to furnish the varied types of employment required in the State.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Although the counties are very willing to cooperate and sponsor projects, they are experiencing considerable difficulty in continuing to provide 25 percent of the cost of operations. They must raise all revenue from direct property taxes and many residents have been unable to pay taxes, particularly in sections of the State where drought has been prevalent over a number of years.

TENNESSEE

In three counties that were formerly coal-mining counties difficulty is encountered in securing the required sponsors' contributions.

TEXAS

The 25-percent sponsors' requirement has had an adverse effect on the program in a large portion of the State. At least 27 counties and some of the cities are financially unable to participate sufficiently for the operation of enough projects to employ their proportionate share of the relief load.

VIRGINIA

Difficulty is encountered in some localities in obtaining a sufficient amount of sponsors' funds to operate enough projects. Roanoke City has a shortage of projects as a result largely of retrenchment plans. There is also a shortage of projects in Smyth and Wise Counties, where the relief loads are relatively large.

WASHINGTON

Difficulty is experienced in obtaining 25-percent contributions on "white collar" and certain types of construction projects. This condition is general, in that all counties, and the cities of Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma, Bellingham, and Everett, are affected. Many worth-while projects of the professional and service type are available on which all costs other than the relief labor would not approximate the 25-percent requirement.

WYOMING

Drought counties and counties with low property values are experiencing financial difficulty in obtaining adequate sponsors' contributions. Financial inability of sponsors may also develop in Natrona and Crook Counties before the end of the fiscal year.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include a letter from the mayor of St. Louis and newspaper articles.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a radio address delivered by me on the subject Let's Be Pro-American and Keep the United States Out of War.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a resolution adopted by the Clan-Na-Gael, Inc., of Greater Boston, touching on the question of the St. Lawrence Waterways Treaty and the war debts.

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

There was no objection.

THE HONORABLE EDWARD T. TAYLOR

Mr. LEWIS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LEWIS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Colorado, the Honorable EDWARD T. TAYLOR, chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House, the beloved dean of our Colorado delegation, has been presented by interested friends, by the mayors of cities, by Governors of States, and by heads of various bureaus and departments of the Federal Government with many gavels as tokens of appreciation of his outstanding service throughout his 32 years in the Congress of the United States, and for many years before in the State of Colorado. This collection is indeed unique.

Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, last Friday morning, May 10, in the art gallery of the Department of the Interior, presented a gavel to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR] on behalf of the thousands of youth of the Civilian Conservation Corps employed in the Grazing Service camps. This gavel is in the form of a gold-plated hammer, such as is used by the enrollees in posting notices and fastening wires to miles of fences erected on the public domain under the supervision of the Grazing Service.

A large number of employees of the Grazing Service, high officials of the Interior Department, and other departments of the Government, and some Members of the Congress were present on this occasion in order to evidence by their presence the affectionate regard and esteem in which they hold the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR].

The remarks of Secretary of the Interior Ickes in making the presentation were as follows:

Mr. TAYLOR, this gavel is unique and I hope that it may remain symbolic among your rich collection of gavels. From thousands of boys in the Civilian Conservation Corps who are doing their part in making the public ranges better comes this token of esteem and honor. An implement both useful and significant, this gold-plated hammer represents the millions of staples, the thousands of posts, the miles of fence that have been erected on the Federal range to facilitate the handling of livestock, protect the vital range resources, and stabilize the livestock industry which, after all, is the ultimate goal of the Taylor Grazing Act which you fostered.

On behalf of the American youth, who have found new purpose in life and who have so genuinely conducted themselves in the conservation program of the Grazing Service, I have the honor to present to you this symbol of their respect and esteem.

In accepting the gavel the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR] said:

Mr. Secretary, I appreciate more than I can express this action of esteem and appreciation and good will. It is an inspiration to me and I hope that it may be an inspiration to the thousands of young people throughout the country, that it may be a lesson to them that public service is worth while, and that the people, after all, do appreciate it. If that objective is accomplished, I will certainly be richly repaid for all the efforts I have taken in this movement to conserve the public domain.

I may say that it is not a new feature with me. When I was a member of the Colorado State Senate before I came to Congress I passed a law regulating the range in the State of Colorado which provided that no scrubby stock should be put on the range to overgraze and that the State should apportion the use of it in a systematic way. I have had a long fight for that, but today you do not see a scrubby animal on the range in Colorado—they are all the Hereford white face—and it may prove beneficial to that State. I know that this same system is going to be a wonderful conservation not only of the range but of the stock, and I hope it will be a conservation also of the young men of our country.

It is a great privilege and a great opportunity which I have had and especially it has been a wonderful gratification to me. I hope that the good will of all of you may go with me from now on until I reach the end of the trail down the western slope of life.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LEWIS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include a brief statement by the Secretary of the Interior and a brief statement in response by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR].

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

There was no objection.

PUBLIC-OPINION POLLS

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Speaker, I have before this House a resolution providing for a congressional committee investigation of polls of public opinion, as they affect elections and legislative matters. I am not concerned with the regulation or understanding of polls about church attendance, or shorts and topless bathing suits, New Year's resolutions, nor the Star-Spangled Banner. I am, however, much concerned that Members of Congress, and others who have the responsibility for important decisions, should understand

the mechanism which produces the printed polls everywhere given so much publicity, and exercising a very apparent influence. The weaknesses and limitations of such expressions of public opinion can be made clear only after most careful study by statistical students. The social implications and the personal reactions call for study by sociologists and psychologists. For instance, the influence and the accuracy of personal interviews as compared with mail-order ballots might well be measured by someone who has an understanding of the reluctance of most people to express themselves fully and freely when interviewed for a purpose; especially when interviewed by strangers. The statisticians might be concerned to learn whether there has been some flagrant violation of logic or the science of statistics. They will talk about expressing errors in terms of "average error," or about the shift of the base on which errors are computed, or the change of the size of the samples, or the circumstances under which range of error would not allow correct prediction. The average man who wants to know whether the polls do reveal public opinion accurately is quite helpless in the face of the statistical studies necessary for a complete understanding of them.

Members of Congress, knowing the importance attached to the polls of public opinion, should, in my judgment, insist that such a study be made by employees of a committee of this Congress. We all understand that such polls are very powerful publicity agencies which, by selection and statement of questions, may become propaganda agencies exercising a potent influence. I believe that facts presented in a very interesting study made by a statistician will arouse the public to the need for investigation of the "scientific polls." Certainly the public stands to gain by being able to learn methods of correctly appraising these polls. This is a matter which touches very near the heart of things in our political lives, and I hope it will have wide study.

I was interested in Dr. Gallup's statement that he came within 1 percent in predicting the division of public opinion in the congressional elections of 1938. I believe he claimed this to be his most difficult and most successful pre-election poll. Results were measured in terms of the national division of political opinion. Now, that poll concerned your election and mine. Are we going to admit that we are elected by a show of hands in the Nation? The forecast was not made in each district, but was made sectionally, and it is possible that there was a real error involved as candidates are limited to more restricted geographical boundaries.

Such questions are analyzed in a paper, which has impressed me so much that I am asking to place it in the RECORD today. The paper to which I call your attention also sheds some light on the polls published in 1936. You will recall that these were will-o'-the-wisp polls, lighting first on Roosevelt, then on Landon, then back to Roosevelt. Apparently the size of the sample was constantly changing. It makes quite a difference whether the poll represents 1,000 or 10,000 or 100,000, and whether succeeding polls are of the same size and cover the same territory. Unless there is some adherence to established principles, drawing straws from a hat would be just as accurate and might be just as right as the most elaborately reported poll.

When I first introduced bills about straw ballots the only published book which I could get was one by Dr. Robinson, who was later associated with the Gallup polls. He demonstrated the fact, which had been developed earlier by Dr. Fabian Franklin, that the accuracy of a straw poll in a Presidential election could not be judged by the success in predicting from the polling of a few people, but must be tested by the accuracy with which the straw polls have forecast the division of opinion in each State.

In a democracy, where the people's choice should have some weight, we are very naturally interested to get the results of public-opinion polls. We are however, also concerned to learn whether the sample honestly and fairly represents the whole piece of goods. Now, judge the polls from your own experience when you were polled or from the experiences of your friends as related to you when they were polled. I never was polled. I never knew a pollee, and I have learned of but two pollers in my section. These two charming young ladies polled an infinitesimal number of the small population of two western villages, which we call cities. In both cases it would seem that pollees might have felt some reluctance to unbosom themselves to these pollers because of personal local associations which are more often imperiled in rural settlements than in the anonymity of our great cities, where people are strangers. Even those who most loudly assert convictions about public affairs do take refuge in the secrecy of the ballot. Many of the people whose opinions would be valued locally would be decidedly uncommunicative when visited by the young lady pollers. We have just recently had in the United States Senate a blast against the census taker, who might not make any inquiry about private opinions but would incur resentment in regard to inquiries in relation to bathtubs. Will those Americans who are so disturbed over census questions be inclined to yield up to the poller their sacred and private opinions on important public matters?

To prove the "band wagon" theory, which has particularly intrigued me, there would be required a combination of investigation by the historian, the statistician, and the psychologist. I am not proposing to attempt that. After all, it is not my purpose to argue against public-opinion polls, but to secure investigation and understanding of their purposes, methods, and results. These polls are so often quoted in this House and elsewhere that I feel that those who quote them should know whether they are quoting authority. I understand that the debaters in one of the colleges in my State are not allowed to cite public-opinion polls as authority for any statement made in an intercollegiate debate, but we often hear them cited in this House. I do not expect that we can change the trend of political gossip, but public opinion is a most important factor in a democracy, and we have a right to know whether the privately owned newspapers, which are subscribers to any certain press service, are entitled to be considered as speaking authoritatively for the public on major political issues. This will become increasingly important as our foreign relations become more critically involved.

Since my proposals for congressional investigation of the public-opinion polls have been publicized, I have received many interesting and valuable statements and comments. Among them is one from Mr. Abe Blanar, graduate assistant in statistics at the University of Missouri. He has been remarkably successful in analyzing these complex matters and in stating them in an interesting manner. I am told by his professors that this young man is of outstanding ability and recognized as a careful student and investigator. With this recommendation and the very valuable and interesting paper which he sent me, and because of the importance of the subject to all Members of this House, I now ask permission to revise and extend my remarks, including as part of them the article by Mr. Abe Blanar not previously published elsewhere.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able paper by Abe Blanar on this same subject. This may be slightly longer than the two pages allowed, but I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed notwithstanding the cost.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a statement I made before the Committee on Ways and Means.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an article by Emanuel Hertz and comments by former Senator Albert J. Beveridge on the Herndon manuscripts on Lincoln.

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

There was no objection.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. RICH. 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 Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, at a Workers Alliance dinner in Washington last week the announcement was made that 7,865 Washingtonians are starving. At the same time, the C. I. O. announced that there were 11,577,000 persons idle in the United States. The Workers Alliance had a meeting last night at Zion Baptist Church in Washington, and the speakers were Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Sidney Katz, secretary-treasurer of the Maryland and District of Columbia C. I. O.; David Lasser, national president of the Workers Alliance; Robert Robinson, vice president of the District of Columbia Workers Alliance; and others.

The Workers Alliance is admitting and does admit that the program of relief Congress has established in the last 7 years has failed. Everybody admits it is a failure. Yet you go on and on in the same way. More workers are unemployed today than when the program started, according to the report given out this week by C. I. O. of over eleven and one-half millions, and the claim is made that 7,865 people in Washington are starving. That is pathetic. No one had to starve and no one should starve. It seems to me this ought to be an admission of defeat on the part of those who are trying to put across a program of giving everybody what they want without their doing anything to get it—putting a premium on indolence and destroying private initiative. I cannot see that this administration is doing anything to put men back to work. That is what we need in this country—jobs. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

Mr. McLEOD. 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 Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. McLEOD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I placed on the Speaker's desk discharge petition No. 33, in the hope that it may tend to expedite the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 55, which reads as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Sente concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress of the United States that any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow by force of the form of government of the United States established by the Constitution should not be recognized as a political entity, and the Congress recommends to the several State legislatures the enactment of legislation prohibiting the recognition of any such political party or organization on the official ballot of such States for the election to any office within such States, and for the choice of electors of the President and Vice President of the United States and for the election of Senators and Representatives in Congress.

By enacting this resolution into law, we will have taken the first definite step to prevent the boring from within which is slowly but surely freezing the very arteries of pure democracy. I contend, further, that by stamping out the subversive groups and movements which are boring from within, we will have accomplished the first and most important step for our national defense.

Today, when a large part of the world is again convulsed in one of history's cyclonic episodes which is imprinting an ineffable stain upon the vaunted civilization of our 20 Christian centuries, a person who tells America to awaken, that the undermining of democracy is in progress, can no longer be called an alarmist. On the other hand, the person who today still refuses to listen to facts and listlessly scoffs at the un-American progress and entrenchment about us is nothing less than a traitor.

So far, in the European conflict, it has been shown that enemies within the overrun countries have been as dangerous and as damaging as the actual armed forces of the invaders. The "fifth columns" in Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium give adequate testimony to the effectiveness of traitors in causing the complete break-down of all internal defense. We need no more pointed examples to show us that the real enemies of our country may well be found within our own borders. "Fifth column" and Trojan horse tactics are by no means unknown to us in this country, as we find foreign ideologies have sprung up and flourished under the guise of democracy, with little or no protest from the majority of our people. Let us recognize these forces for what they are and take steps to frustrate their contemptuous plans.

We are either for America or against America. There can be no divided allegiance when our country and our American institutions are concerned. If we are for America, we must be strong and courageous enough to declare that no longer will we coddle or tolerate dangerous wildcat-doctrine spreaders who would destroy the form of government which affords them protection. No longer can we let the word "liberalism" include that kind of free speech and be the subterfuge for slander, degradation, and the destruction of America.

No longer can we carry on as just passive, silent, inactive, or perhaps just happy-go-lucky Americans. There are responsibilities facing us which we cannot shirk. If we are Americans, and 100 percent for America, we will not want to shirk these responsibilities; rather we will protect and pass on our heritage for generations to come. On the other hand, if we refuse our responsibility and prefer to live in an ultra-liberal state, letting this land of ours be known to all the world as the clearing house for all crackpot ideas and the experimental ground for all oppressive doctrines by reason of misuse and misinterpretation of free speech, let us say so.

We are opposed to the doctrine and philosophy of communism, nazi-ism, and fascism; they are all contrary to the sacredness of Americanism. Yet at the present time we are officially condoning and protecting communism by its place on the American ballot. So far this is the only one of these three plagues which appears on the ballot. However, no one will deny that by the same token a Nazi ticket or a Fascist ticket would have the same right to space on our ballots if Hitler or Mussolini so decreed it. If we encourage and foster one of these scourges to grow and spread in our land by a place on our ballot, then in all fairness we should extend the helping hand to the others.

I am not, however, of the opinion that we should be that fair. We want none of them in America. I do not believe that we need communism in this country to combat nazi-ism; nor nazi-ism to combat communism. What we do need—and it is the thing for which I am pleading now—is more Americanism fighting both of them.

Let the passage of this resolution be a message to the warring nations abroad that the United States of America is not a stooge nation for destructive political movements. Let them know, once and for all, that our domestic freedoms cannot be violated with impunity. I have said many times before that freedom of speech and freedom of assembly can never be interpreted to mean what the enemy agitator argues. Let us meet these arguments with House Concurrent Resolution 55.

For those who are everlastingly complaining that we must not infringe on the rights and privileges of so-called dissident minorities and nonconformists, let me direct their attention to that part of our population—some 150,000 persons—who for one reason or another showed so little respect for the welfare of their fellow citizens that they now find themselves temporarily removed from society and in prison. I do not hear anyone suggesting that we respect the viewpoint of this minority, nor their philosophy that there are no crimes against our American society except that of being apprehended. You will agree with me, I am sure, that there are some minorities which cannot be allowed to act in utter disregard of the general welfare of our great Nation.

The analogy I have drawn between those who break the law and those who would destroy the law is fair. I stand on the premise that, of these two evils, those forces who would destroy our American institutions are far worse and far more dangerous than those who violate the mandates of our institutions.

These truculent forces cannot be eradicated by wishful thinking or by sitting idly by and hoping that those who see no good in our form of government will some day come to believe in it, its heritage, and its destiny. There must be some positive action which will deter these forces.

I will wager that there are any number of American voters who have never before given thought to the fact that, even though they now recall having seen the Communist Party on their ballot, are now in our day of awakening shocked at the realization. They have suddenly discovered to their disdain that we are unquestionably liberal to the extreme.

There can be no oblique approach to the real issue. The question is presented clearly and without equivocation in my resolution. Members of this House should, and I believe will, welcome the opportunity to express themselves on this bill. The people who sent you here should be allowed to know whether their Representative is willing to give aid and comfort to the enemies of our democracy. I sincerely feel, after long study, that my proposal is the sensible approach to an immediate and most important problem.

Who will say that we are jeopardizing freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, if we recommend the removal from the American ballot of those parties which advocate the overthrow of this Government by force? I assure you that no real American will. I cannot believe that anyone with the interests of America at heart would even suggest that we are doing such in passing this bill. On the contrary, this measure protects our freedoms and insures them to our children. I ask all who love America to unite behind this resolution. Its enactment will emphasize and reaffirm our love of country. Its enactment will manifest clearly our course, our beliefs, and our determinations for America. [Applause.]

Mr. MASON. 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 Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, the Communist Party is not a political party in any sense of the word, as the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, the Prohibition Party, and the Socialist Party are. It is definitely an agent of a foreign government, and evidence to that effect has been given that would be good in any court of the land. Its official organ is registered with our State Department as an official agent of a foreign government, and it advocates the overthrow of government by force. It takes its orders from Stalin, the dictator of all Russia. It should never be permitted to appear on any ballot in this land. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DONDERO. 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 Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, I do not indulge the patience of the House very often, but I want to commend the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. McLEOD] on the introduction of his resolution. The purpose and objective of the resolution (H. Con. Res. 55) is to suggest to the several State legislatures the removal from the ballot of such States recognition of any party that seeks or advocates the overthrow by force of the American form of government. Any party that has for its sole objective the destruction of this Government is not a political party. A political party seeks to elect candidates to office who will administer the established form of government. A party that is subversive in its objectives simply desires to elect candidates to office not to administer the established form of government but to destroy the form of government that is established, and as such it is not a political party at all; it is a revolutionary party and has no place in the political life of this Nation.

It may be surprising to the Members of this House to know that there are more than 36 national Communist youth movements; and more than 122 national labor and racial Communist unions and clubs; and more than 100 Communist cultural chapters, some designated by high-sounding names; and more than 300 Communist newspapers and magazines circulated throughout the Nation; and millions of books and pamphlets, un-American in their nature and tenure, being passed from hand to hand. This wave of un-Americanism must be stopped. It is alien, and seeks the destruction of the best government on earth today, the last refuge of a free people.

I commend my able and distinguished colleague from Michigan for his effort and attempt to induce the legislatures of the several States to remove from the American ballot recognition of any subversive party which is openly seeking the destruction of the Government of the United States. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

NATIONAL SECURITY

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. 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 South Dakota?

There was no objection.

LET US "SPEAK SOFTLY AND CARRY A BIG STICK"

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, every real American today is thinking about his country and its security. Every Member here listened thoughtfully to the special message of the President of the United States yesterday.

To three of us, his words on the strength and condition of our Army had special meaning. We had just returned from a trip in an Army plane to witness the mass maneuvers now being conducted by the Army in the Sabine country in western Louisiana. These are the largest peacetime maneuvers ever conducted by the Regular Army. In them 70,000 troops were engaged, troops that have been in the field for many months, all equipped with the latest equipment that the Army has.

The three of us were the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SNYDER], chairman of the appropriations subcommittee for the War Department; the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BROOKS], a member of the Military Affairs Committee; and myself, a member of Mr. SNYDER's committee. We were accompanied by three officers from the General Staff, and were assisted at the field by other officers in getting the best possible picture of the United States Army in action under the nearest possible approach to actual battle conditions.

Yesterday the President said:

> Loose talking and thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own Army and Navy are not first rate, or that money has been wasted on them.

From my observations I would join with him when he said—

> Nothing could be further from the truth.

But would add it has been equally loose and dangerous thinking to assume that America could turn the tide of any battle.

The Army is, as he said, "at its greatest peacetime strength." It is the best-equipped Army we have ever had. It is the swiftest Army we have ever had. It is an army on wheels. We saw the new 4-by-4 trucks in action, carrying men, carrying guns, carrying supplies, carrying the new gasoline field ranges, carrying hospital units, operating room, sterilizing room, dispensary, and all. Similar equipment is available to the National Guard. This new army will move all right—unless it runs into too much mud.

We saw the new guns, antiaircraft guns accurate at 10,000 feet, antitank guns, machine guns and submachine guns—yes, and the New Garand rifle, which I saw fired, and fired

when a platoon of Blue troops infiltrated behind a troop of Red cavalry, and had to be wiped out to the satisfaction of the judges. The rifle fires with practically no recoil. Of course, we were using blanks, but the boys who used it on the range said there was little difference with regular shells. Personally I would be prejudiced in favor of the old Springfield, but I am confident that the Garand is a good piece and an effective weapon.

Money will provide equipment. We must give thought to men—men who will be quickly available to use the equipment if our security is threatened. We must also take steps to prevent any possible enemy from getting comfort and aid by use of "fifth column" tactics. People who do not believe in the American way of life should be taken from the public pay roll even though we have to revise our civil-service laws to eliminate them.

And one thing more—we must not ignore the effect of our foreign policy. The President, on another occasion, reminded the country that the day-to-day decisions are the steps that carry a nation to war. There is only one test to apply to international policy: Is it a good thing for the United States? It is folly today, as much as it was in Washington's time, to expect disinterested favors from one nation to another. These are times for teamwork and I believe that the Congress will work with the President, whoever he may be, for the welfare and peace of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, since September 1939, every week, indeed, has brought new lessons. We will provide every defensive weapon needed, rifle, tank, plane, or battleship. We only ask, as representatives of the people must ask, that our security in arms be not lost on other fronts. We must maintain at home the free government we arm to protect. We must maintain in foreign affairs the independence our fathers died to win.

This, Mr. Speaker, if ever in the life of this Republic, is a time "To speak softly"—and, I might add, seldom—"and to carry a big stick." [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

PLACING OF PAINTING TEMPORARILY IN THE CAPITOL ROTUNDA

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk Senate Concurrent Resolution 45 for immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the Senate concurrent resolution, as follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 45

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the commission authorized to employ an artist to paint a painting of the scene at the signing of the Constitution, created by Public Resolution No. 11, approved April 20, 1939, be, and it is hereby, authorized to place temporarily in the rotunda of the Capitol the painting by the artist employed by the said commission, and to hold ceremonies in the rotunda on the said occasion.

The Architect of the Capitol is hereby authorized to make the necessary arrangements for the ceremonies, the expenses of which shall not exceed the sum of $1,000, of which one-half shall be payable from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the commission.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I see the resolution calls for the placing of this painting in the rotunda temporarily. What is the object of that? Why not place it there permanently?

Mr. KELLER. If the gentleman would look at the immense size of the picture, he would realize it would not fit in there at all; in other words, you already have all the paintings in the rotunda that the space there will provide for, and there is no other space there which could receive this painting. It would be the ideal thing, I confess, if there had been a space immediately across from the picture of the Signing of the Declaration of Independence to put this painting of the Signing of the Constitution, but that is not possible.

Mr. RICH. Is it going to cost $1,000?

Mr. KELLER. No; the expense will not exceed $200, I can assure the gentleman.

Mr. RICH. Then why not make it $200, because this provides 400 percent more than necessary?

Mr. KELLER. I will guarantee that it does not cost over $200.

Mr. RICH. The gentleman will guarantee it? The gentleman is the first man I have seen around here that has any money. I shall not object.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I shall not object, but I simply wish to say that I hope the gentleman's resolution will pass unanimously. This is one of the greatest paintings this country has ever seen, and I only wish that the entire American Nation could see it.

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

There was no objection.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR WORK RELIEF AND RELIEF, 1941

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 544) making appropriations for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941.

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 further consideration of House Joint Resolution 544, with Mr. LANHAM in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES].

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Texas 30 minutes.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Chairman, democracy and the principles for which it stands are seriously challenged throughout the world today. Both as a form of government and as the spirit of free peoples, democracy is still young in the world. Democracy is everywhere threatened more seriously than it has been during the century and a half since our fathers drafted and proclaimed the Declaration of Independence. No man knows what new crisis for democracy each succeeding week holds. The paramount duty and the principal concern of every American must be the preservation of liberty and constitutional democracy.

We in America are not now in danger of any invasion of foreign enemies. Fundamentally no power or combination of powers could ever successfully invade our country even if they dare to try, so long as we are adequately prepared and stand united in allegiance to the God of our fathers and the Constitution upon which our economic and political institutions are founded. This confidence that we are invulnerable to attack rests only in part upon the strength of our armed forces, which we must maintain at maximum efficiency according to our defensive needs.

This confidence—if it is to be an enduring trust in our capacity for self-protection—must rest even more upon that strength of unity which we derive from the sacred commitment of all of our people to the principles of Americanism. It is this unity of our commitment to Americanism which the "fifth column," through Trojan-horse tactics, is now seeking to undermine. It is this unity of our commitment to Americanism whose strength we have not properly valued as a measure of national defense.

The safety of a modern republic lies, first of all, in ideological and spiritual defense erected throughout the length and breadth of its territory, in the hearts and minds of its people. It is this fundamental national defense which we have been far less diligent in building than we have been in preparing to stop armies and navies at our borders and coasts.

The experience of this generation, more than that of any other, has demonstrated that the enemies within a country constitute its greatest menace. Treason from within rather than invasion from without has been the cause of the speed with which modern governments have collapsed in the face of totalitarian assaults. Stalin and Hitler have pushed their Trojan-horse tactics to the point of perfection.

This Trojan-horse policy was adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow. It was

described by George Dimitrov in an address to the congress on August 20, 1935, in the following language:

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls; and the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemies' camp. We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics.

Years ago Adolf Hitler described in detail this new and diabolical method of destroying the governments and liberties of other countries. I ask you to ponder his words:

When I wage war, troops will suddenly appear. * * * They will march through the streets in broad daylight. * * * No one will stop them. Everything has been thought out to the last detail. They will march to the headquarters of the general staff. * * * The confusion will be beyond belief. But I shall long have had relations with the men who will form a new government—a government to suit me. We will find such men; we shall find them in every country; we shall not need to bribe them. They will come of their own accord. Ambition and delusion, party squabbles and self-seeking arrogance will drive them. * * * Our strategy is to destroy the enemy from within, to conquer him through himself.

The Trojan-horse minorities within Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, and Holland made it impossible for these countries to offer any serious resistance to foreign invasion. The subversive work of Nazi and Communist sympathizers in the countries overrun by Hitler and Stalin has everywhere constituted a major factor in the spectacular success of the German war machine. In Czechoslovakia the Government permitted the formation of a Nazi organization of 1,500,000 citizens and noncitizens residing in Czechoslovakia. The fuehrer of this organization was Comrade Henlin, a traitor to his own country and an agent of Adolf Hitler.

During the early stages of this Nazi movement in Czechoslovakia a few wise and patriotic statesmen of that Republic warned the Government that this movement was disloyal to the Republic and that Henline was contemplating the betrayal of his country.

The world has not yet appreciated the important role played by this Nazi organization in the easy conquest of Czechoslovakia by the Nazi legions. It is a fact, however, that this treasonable organization delivered the Republic into the hands of Hitler.

The next victim of the "fifth column" was Poland, with a population of 35,000,000 people and a standing army in excess of 1,000,000 soldiers. Polish officers now in exile have testified to the fact that there were so many Nazi and Communist agents and sympathizers in Poland, and their aid to Hitler and Stalin was so valuable and important, that the Polish Army, with thousands of traitors in its rear and with the ruthless war machine of Hitler in its front, virtually collapsed.

After the easy conquest of Poland, Hitler admitted in a public statement that he knew the military plans of the Polish high command 6 weeks before he gave the order to invade Poland.

In Finland we see another example of the success of Trojan-horse tactics. The Communist Party in Finland, which had been tolerated under the free institutions of that heroic country, set up a puppet government and furnished the pretext for the Communist invasion. Their treasonable cooperation with Stalin seriously handicapped the brave people of Finland in their immortal defense.

American correspondents who witnessed the working of this new combination of internal revolution and foreign invasion in Norway have reported its shocking details for our American newspapers. Editors all over the country have commented upon its despicable character. It has not been generally reported, however, that the Communist Party of Norway fully supported the invasion by Hitler's troops, and that the Communists of Norway, like the Nazi sympathizers in the country, welcomed the setting up of the Nazi totalitarian regime in Oslo. The Daily Worker, official Communist Party newspaper in the United States, even points with pride to this treasonable role of the Norwegian Communists. The Daily Worker of April 17 publishes in full a manifesto of the Norwegian Communist Party. In this manifesto there is not one line of criticism of Hitler's invasion. On the contrary, the entire blame for the present fate of Norway is laid at the door of England, which the Norwegian Communists accuse of violating the country's neutrality. The Communist Party of the United States has itself taken exactly the same line as that taken by the Norwegian Communist Party, and both act as Trojan-horse traitors for Stalin.

The most recent example of the fifth-column strategy is the case of Holland. It is not generally known, but it is a fact, that a Nazi organization composed largely of Dutch citizens and to some extent augmented by noncitizens of Holland, with a membership of 60,000, cooperated with the German soldiers in the conquest of that great country.

In the year 1935 the strategy of the Nazis, the Communists, and the Fascists underwent certain fundamental changes designed to perfect the Trojan-horse tactics. It is sometimes overlooked that nazi-ism, fascism, and communism were promulgated as world theories. In Mein Kampf Adolf Hitler advances his cult of nazi-ism as a world theory to be embraced and spread throughout the world with the zeal which characterized the early disciples of Christianity. The same thing is true with reference to fascism. In his book What is Fascism? Mussolini describes it as a world theory which cannot, and should not, be compressed within the narrow boundaries of any one country. In the many speeches and writing of Lenin, Karl Marx, and the other founders of communism it is stressed repeatedly that communism is a world theory, not to be confined to any one country, but to embrace the proletariat of every country. This being true, Italy, Germany, and Russia established organizations throughout the world which masked themselves as political parties in some instances, and in other instances as social, patriotic, or fraternal societies.

In France, Moscow played an important part in the formation of the Popular Front. The Communists were the most militant and aggressive group which comprised the Popular Front; and as a result of this militancy they exercised a preponderant influence in the front. They elected many members of the party to the Parliament, and they became so powerful that they were able to prevent France from adopting adequate measures of national defense. In the face of German aggression, the Communists and their allies threatened a general strike. And it was only by resort to oppressive and democratic methods that France was finally able, though too late, to prepare herself to resist the war machine of Adolf Hitler.

I stress the experience of France in order to illustrate the danger and effectiveness of a program which is able to go into a country and enlist the support and sympathy of some of its citizens in order to destroy the liberties and freedom of that country. I also desire to emphasize another truth that is sometimes overlooked. For 2 years I have been stressing the fact that communism, nazi-ism, and fascism are fundamentally alike. When Mussolini approved the definition of fascism—"Everything for the state, nothing against the state, nothing outside the state"—he was expressing in different language the philosophy of Adolf Hitler, who declared that the highest duty of the individual is to subordinate himself to the state. This declaration was not original with Mussolini and Hitler; it was merely an expression of Marxian theory predicated upon the erroneous premise that the individual should be nothing and the state should be everything; that the individual should lose his dignity and identity as a human being and become a cog in a collectivistic system.

Now, what I propose to do—and I wish I had more time to go into it—what I first propose to do is to show you that the Communist, Nazi, and Fascist organizations in this country are not political parties as some of them pretend to be; that they are not social or fraternal societies as others pretend to be, but that, as a matter of fact they are foreign conspiracies under the control of foreign dictators.

Lenin, who is the undisputed authority on which the Communist Party bases its teachings and tactics, describes the Communist Party as—

A small kernel consisting of reliable, experienced, and steeled workers with responsible agents in the chief districts and connected by all the rules of strict conspiracy.

In that same book on organization Lenin mentions the word "conspiracy" 20 times. Not only does he emphasize the fact that the Communist Party is a conspiratorial organization, but in the program of the Communist Internationale, under which the American Communist Party operates, it states bluntly that legal methods must unfailingly be combined with illegal methods. That accounts for the fact that leaders of the American Communist Party, such as Browder, Wiener, Dozenburg, and others, have recently been indicted and convicted for violation of our laws as a result of one investigation. That accounts for the fact that the Communist Party in the United States openly violated the laws of this country when it enlisted and sent to Spain some 5,000 recruits.

In the city of Detroit indictments were returned against 17 of them for a violation of the passport laws, but, as a matter of fact, the committee received evidence from other sections of the country showing that the Communist Party as an organization, and in obedience to orders from Moscow, recruited American boys and sent them to Spain, often under phony passports, and paid their expenses to Spain in many instances.

Lenin said, "Revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are very poor revolutionaries."

Earl Browder, the present head of the Communist Party in the United States, has himself estimated that there are nearly 2,000,000 Americans who go with the Communist Party all the way to its full program. Let me analyze the growth of the Communist Party, the German-American Bund, and the various Fascist organizations in the United States.

The Communist Party, according to Earl Browder, has 5,000 branches in the United States, members in 42 States, district organizations in 36 districts. In 1929 the party claimed 7,000 members; in 1935, 25,000; and from 1935 to 1939, the membership, according to Browder, grew from 25,000 to 100,000 members. The party claims 28,000 members in New York City, 7,000 in Chicago, 6,000 in California, and 4,000 in Washington and Oregon. But let me caution you not to accept—at face value—the statement of Communist leaders with reference to their full membership. When the committee obtained certain documents and files in Chicago it found membership books with membership numbers in excess of 100,000. In the spring of the revolution in Russia the Communist Party claimed to have had 60,000 paid members, and yet they were able to seize the Government of Russia.

In China the party claimed to have 416,000 members and yet they were able to control one-fifth of China.

In Germany the Communists were claiming 220,000 members in the fall before the Hitler election and at election they polled nearly 6,000,000 votes in Germany.

In Spain, according to their own documents, the Communists claimed, in 1933, 800 paid members in the party, and yet that fall they polled 400,000 votes.

I mention these facts to illustrate that it is the policy on the part of the Communist organizations, as well as the Fascists and Nazis, to underestimate their strength, in order to lull the people into a sense of false security.

In an official pamphlet of the Communist Party of the United States Leon Platt has this to say, and this was put out by the Communist Party:

American workers when called upon to go into this war against the Soviet Union must refuse to fight the Russian workers and go over on the side of the "red" army. The American workers, like the Russian workers in 1917, must turn an imperialistic war into a civil war against their real enemies, the capitalist class of the United States, which exploits and oppresses the American working class.

Earl Browder before our committee testified that he would try to precipitate this country into a civil war in the event of a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Now, let us get the plan of the United Front. Prior to 1935 the Communist Party had their own labor organization in the United States under what was known as T. U. U. L. They formed a number of labor organizations in this country that never did recruit any considerable membership. However, in some unions they had quite a number of members. I could read the names of those unions, but it would require too much time.

However, I would like for the Members to read on page 232 of the hearings the names of such unions as National Miners Industrial Union, Needle Thread Workers Industrial Union, National Textile Workers Union, and other unions that were a part of the T. U. U. L.

Then there came orders from Moscow directing the Communist Party of the United States to abandon its own separate labor organizations and to go into the American Federation of Labor, which they did. They went into the American Federation of Labor and they stayed there until finally they received new orders from Moscow directing them to sponsor and agitate for a split with the American Federation of Labor and the formation of unions along industrial lines.

On May 6, 1929, Stalin, in a speech before the American Commission of the Presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International, said:

And when a revolutionary crisis develops in America, that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historic moment prepared and of assuming the leadership of the impending class struggle in America. Every effort and every means must be employed in preparing for that, comrades. For that end the American Communist Party must be improved and bolshevized.

The pamphlet of the United Mine Workers, which was prepared and published in 1924 at a cost, I am informed, of some $30,000 to the United Mine Workers, should be read by every Member of this House because it was so accurate and valuable that the Senate of the United States published it as a Senate document and it was widely distributed throughout the United States.

In this report the United Mine Workers, of which Lewis was president, charged that the Communist Party, acting upon orders from Moscow, was undertaking to gain a foothold in the American trade-union movement for revolutionary purposes, and the United Mine Workers outlined the methods that the Communist Party was seeking to put into effect to seize control of the American trade-union movement. I might summarize these methods by simply saying that the United Mine Workers charged that the Communist Party wanted to establish industrial unions in the United States under a central control, and, furthermore, it was charged that $1,110,000 had been brought from Russia in order to defeat Mr. Lewis and to enable the opposition to gain control for the Communist Party.

The May 1, 1928, issue of the United Mine Workers Journal, the official organ of the United Mine Workers of America, said:

For months past "the save the union committee," under the leadership of John Brophy, Powers Hapgood, and a few others, has been doing its dirtiest to capture the United Mine Workers and to transfer that splendid union into a Communist organization. In carrying out this campaign "the save the union committee" has had the full and complete support and assistance of the entire Communist element in America and foreign countries, including Russia.

On page 97, volume 1, of our hearings, under the testimony of John P. Frey, is the following statement:

Some time afterward Brophy was a member of a delegation to Russia, which was sponsored by the Communist Party of the United States and approved by Moscow. After his return to the United States the United Mine Workers' Journal accused him of being a paid agent of the Soviet Government, saying editorially: "The save the union committee" became extremely busy in its efforts to wreck the United Mine Workers shortly after John Brophy returned from Russia. The very minute he came back it seemed to have plenty of money. It should not be difficult to guess where part of the money came from to finance the campaign of destruction.

Because of the predictions set forth in the statement of the United Mine Workers of America, which was printed as Senate Document No. 14 of the Sixty-eighth Congress, have come true in so many instances, as revealed by the evidence received by our committee, I desire to set forth excerpts from that document. Among other things, the United Mine Workers of America, in their statement, said:

The United Mine Workers of America with this article begins an "exposé" of the Communist revolutionary movement in America, as promoted and fostered by the Communist International at Moscow, and dealing with it as it involves the welfare of the miners' union, and other similar labor organizations, and the interests of the American people as a whole.

The purpose and object of the United Mine Workers of America in bringing to the attention of the American people the far-reaching and intensive activities of the Communist organization in this country is twofold. The United Mine Workers of America wants the public to know what this thing is. It wants the public to know something about the fight which the miners' union is waging to stamp it out. First, it desires to reveal and make known the sinister and destructive groups and elements attempting to "bore from within" its own ranks and membership and to seize possession of the organization, and through such seizure to later gain possession of all legitimate trade unions; second, to inform the American people of the scope and purport of the hostile and inimical movement being carried on within their midst. * * *

The major points in this revolutionary program of the Communists as aimed against the United Mine Workers of America and other legitimate trade unions and the people of the United States and Canada are:

1. Overthrow and destruction of the Federal, State, and Provincial governments, with the elimination of existing constitutional forms and foundations.

2. Establishment of a Soviet dictatorship, absolute in its exercise of power, owing allegiance to and conceding the authority only of the Communist or Third International at Moscow as a "governmental" substitute.

3. Destruction of all social, economic, and political institutions as they exist at this time.

4. Seizure of all labor unions through a process of boring from within them, and utilizing them as a strategic instrument in fulfillment of their revolutionary designs upon organized and constitutional government.

5. Invasion of the United Mine Workers of America, with the ouster of its present officials and leaders and the substitution of a leadership of Communists, that it may be used as an instrumentality for seizing the other labor unions of America, and for eventually taking possession of the country.

6. A well-organized movement is being promoted within the 4 railroad brotherhoods and 16 railroad trade unions to amalgamate all railroad workers into one departmentalized industrial union controlled by a single leader of Communist principles and affiliation and owing allegiance to the Communist organization.

7. Seizure of the American Federation of Labor, with the ouster of its officials, and through such seizure gaining control of all its affiliated units and trade-unions.

8. Conversion of all craft trade-unions into single units of workers within an industry known as "industrial unions," with coordination under a super-Soviet union owing allegiance to, and accepting the mandates of, the Communist Internationale and its subsidiary, the "red" Trade Union International, at Moscow.

Now quoting further from the report:

Immediately before the start of the miner's strike on April 1, 1922, the sum of $1,110,000 was sent into the United States, by way of Canada, from Moscow for the purpose of enabling the Communist agents to participate in the strike. Behind this move was the scheme to overthrow the leadership of the union and then convert the strike into an "armed insurrection" against the Government of the United States. * * * Three times in 3 years the Bolshevik leaders at Moscow have attempted armed insurrection and revolution in the United States. * * * In each of these strikes the Communist agents, working under instructions which originated at Moscow, have sought to turn them into revolutionary uprisings that would accomplish the overthrow of government in America and establish in its place a proletarian dictatorship that recognized and accepted only the mandates of the Communist Internationale. * * * They have been particularly active in trying to bore from within the United Mine Workers of America for the reasons that it is the largest single labor organization in the country, includes a larger number of races and nationalities among its members, and is the nearest approach, in their opinion, to one big union, which is their ideal conception of a labor union, and their objective for all labor unions. * * * In this attempt these Communists have met with the determined opposition of President Lewis and other strong leaders of the miners' union, who are determined that the union shall not be converted into a Bolshevik institution. * * * In these unions they have recognized an opportunity to get in close contact with the labor masses, establish relations and connections with them, and imbue them with hatred and hostility toward the existing order of things. * * * Officials of the miners' union had known for a long while that the time was approaching when the strength and cohesion of their organization would be sorely tried.

Late in 1920 the Communist coterie at Moscow decided to launch a new movement in America to capture the trade-unions. Their effort through their political branches to bring about an uprising in conjunction with the steel strike in 1919 and the "outlaw" switchmen's strike in 1920 had resulted in failure. Samuel Gompers, with stinging denunciation, had driven back the wave of communism in the unions. In only one industry, the so-called needle trades, had the Communist movement met with any degree of success, but these organizations were isolated from the rest of the labor movement. It was therefore manifest that victory in America could not be achieved solely through the mediumship of the existing Communist political units. A readjustment was necessary, and it was made. A separate organization, fashioned as a national labor movement, intended to work within the unions as a part of them—employing the process of boring from within—was put into the field. Samuel Gompers, they hoped, would be overwhelmed by it, for it was apparent that with his unyielding opposition the American Federation of Labor could never be seized or controlled by them as long as he remained in it.

With these objects in view, Zinoviev, Losowsky, and Lenin proceeded during the next 12 months to organize the Trade Union Educational League. This project was put under the control of and made amenable, as far as its work was concerned, to the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, and it remains so today. William Z. Foster was selected to lead this movement. In the spring of 1921 he went to Russia, and the understanding was that he went there to get his instructions for the organization of the Trade Union Educational League, gather facts about the Communist work in Soviet Russia, the functioning of Communist ideals and theories, and learn how the officials of the Communist International wanted these ideas and theories applied in America through the Trade Union Educational League.

On pages 156 and 157 of the record of the hearings of our committee will be found the Communist instructions as set forth in Senate Document No. 14. We suggest that the entire Senate Document No. 14 be read because it reveals the definite beginning of the Communist policy of boring from within the labor unions. It describes the plan of the Communists and their activities at that time to seize control of strategic positions within labor unions in the mass-production industries.

In the 1926 convention of the American Federation of Labor, Delegate John L. Lewis made a very strong statement, which is taken from the minutes of the convention verbatim. It reads:

I question and seriously doubt that the average trade-unionist is particularly concerned with the manner in which the people of Russia govern themselves and direct their own destiny. We are fundamentally concerned, however, when that interest which now exerts a dictatorship over 130,000,000 people in Russia systematically and persistently attempts to impose their philosophy and impose their theories of government and impose their own particular machinery and their own specific ideas upon the workers of all the other countries of the civilized world—and there is the precise hub of this entire situation. When it comes to pass, as it has come to pass and as it now exists, that the people of Russia are being taxed and their moneys are taken from them to finance and pay for expensive propaganda in America for the precise purpose of controlling the basic trade-union movement, then it is, indeed, time for the trade-unionists of this country to awaken to the necessity of the protection of their own affairs and the maintenance of the institutions which they erected throughout the land. This is not the first experience of the United Mine Workers with Communist activity. For years past our union has been subject to their deceitful attacks, to the intrigues, and to their conspiracy. Many of you will remember that 3 or 4 years ago the United Mine Workers of America published a résumé of Communist activities in America.

Thus, we have seen what the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis had to say with reference to the policy and practice of the Communists in "boring from within" the trade-union movement. Let us now see what the Communists had to say.

On November 16, 1935, Jack Stachel sent the following directions or instructions to the districts—not to the members but to the district organizers of the Communist Party:

1. The fifty-fifth convention marked the beginning of the decline of the extreme right wing of the executive council of the A. F. of L. The forced resignation of Woll from the Civic Federation, the 11,000

votes cast for the industrial form of organization, and the final vote for a labor party showed that the militancy of the rank and file is cracking through the hard crust of upper officialdom precisely in the decisive sections of organized labor, and is aggravating the contradiction in which the top bureaucrats are involved. Although the bureaucrats are fighting among themselves for power upon the control of the executive council, their struggles, at times verging on savagery, are in response to the tremendous pressure being brought to bear upon them by the rank and file, led by an increasingly more conscious and more efficient rank-and-file leadership which in turn is forcing to the fore the most advanced progressive forces (local officials).

This condition alone is responsible for the militant character and progressive moods of the convention. The fifty-fifth convention was different from any other convention of the A. F. of L. since 1917, in that its struggles were based on principles—supplied by the rank and file—and that for the first time in the history of the A. F. of L. its delegates assembled in convention got down to bedrock issues—the organization of the unorganized.

Although Green succeeded in having an amendment voted to the constitution—an amendment so weakened that it cannot have any effect on any Communist or militant not devoid of a modicum of common sense—even this amendment—entirely for face-saving purposes—must be acted upon by the local and State councils, a majority of whom in the basic industries have gone on record against any such amendment.

The amendment adopted by the convention made it impossible for any member of the Communist Party to be a delegate to a convention of the American Federation of Labor representing a Federal labor union, a central labor union, or a State federation of labor.

The old, conservative leadership of the A. F. of L. is tottering. Although reelected for another year, its power to sabotage the leftward swing of organized labor has been paralyzed. Henceforth organized labor is definitely on the road toward bitter and gigantic class battles—becoming consciously aware of its increasing revolutionary role.

This set of circumstances opens new, far-reaching perspectives for the party, particularly on the question of united front. The party and the districts must immediately set about to exploit this unprecedented favorable situation (opportunity) by winning over to the party program and tactics (trade-union field) all of the best elements in the A. F. of L., including State officials.

The districts must set themselves the tasks of forging working united fronts with all progressive officials—and those officials who for whatever reason show leftward and (or) progressive tendencies—regardless of their past record—on the following main issues:

1. Labor Party.
2. Industrial form of organization.

At the same time, the struggle to win over the rank and file—united front from below—must become the main task of the factions.

The districts, sections, and units must take special care to integrate all their campaigns for united fronts from below and above into their present local and national control tasks—the struggle against fascism and war.

The districts, sections, and units must take special care to integrate all their campaigns for united fronts from below and above into their present local and national control tasks: The struggle against fascism and war; hands off Ethiopia; defend the Soviet Union; the fight for a labor party; united labor tickets; the struggle to organize the unorganized; 100 percent union towns; and the organization of the relief workers—"a local for every Works Progress Administration project."

The "Org-Dept" deems it imperative that detailed reports on the manner in which the above directives are being carried out should be sent in weekly to the center.

The resolution adopted at the central committee of the Communist Party meeting, January 15 to 18, 1935, in New York City, and which will be found on pages 180 to 186 of the record of our hearings, will corroborate the instructions issued by Jack Stachel as to the manner in which Communists should infiltrate trade-unions and seize control of strategic positions.

In the Daily Worker, January 13, 1937, will be found an article written by William Z. Foster, which is as follows:

ROLE OF THE C. I. O.

The C. I. O. led so progressively by John L. Lewis, is doing a historically important thing in carrying on its vigorous campaign to organize the armies of exploited workers in the mass-production industries. As we have seen, this campaign has within it possibilities for a fundamental strengthening and reorganization of the whole American labor movement.

The C. I. O. has become the actual leader of the trade-union movement. The executive council of the A. F. of L. has shown itself opposed to this vital organization work and, because of its narrow craft union and personal interests, has refused for many years past to do the organizing that the C. I. O. is now undertaking. Had it so desired, the A. F. of L. could have easily organized the steel workers during the war, or during the Coolidge period of prosperity, or during the strike upheavals under the N. R. A. in 1933–34. But the A. F. of L. wanted nothing to do with the organization of the steel workers. And worse yet, now that the C. I. O. unions which are awake to the basic importance of this task to themselves, and all other workers, are proceeding to accomplish the organizing work that the executive council has so long neglected or prevented, the executive council actually suspends them, one-third of the whole labor movement, from the A. F. of L., and thus traitorously splits labor's forces in the face of the enemy. Never, even in the shady history of the A. F. of L., has misleadership sunk to lower levels. The A. F. of L. executive council has surrendered the actual leadership of the trade-unions into the hands of the C. I. O.

The Communist Party heartily supports the C. I. O. organizing campaigns in steel, automobile, rubber, glass, textile, etc., and it mobilizes all its forces to assist in this work. It extends this aid for the same reason that it supports every forward movement of the workers wherever it may originate or what form it may take, whether it be a strike, an organization campaign, the carrying on of independent working class political activity, or what not. The Communist Party has no interests apart from those of the working class, and every victory of the workers is a victory for the Communist Party.

William Weinstone, who is a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, wrote a book known as The Great Sit-Down Strike. Mr. Weinstone was the district organizer of district No. 7, Communist Party headquarters, Detroit. He was born in Russia; joined the Socialist Party in this country in 1915; one of the first members of the executive committee of the Communist Party. When the central committee was created he became one of the leaders.

In connection with his report on the automobile organizing campaign and the automobile strike, we quote from pages 36, 38, and 45:

In the first place must be mentioned the work of the Communist members of the union as well as the work of the Communist Party itself.

What were the activities of the Communists? The Communists and the Communist Party gave the most loyal backing and support to the strike, to the aims, policies, and activities of the union and the C. I. O. The Communists worked ardently and earnestly in helping to build up the union, and tried in every way possible to properly prepare the strike so that it would rest upon a strong foundation. In the strike itself the Communists sought to imbue the strikers and the workers generally with the greatest discipline, organization, and perseverance. There is no doubt that where the Communists were active and took an outstanding part, particularly at the most decisive points of the struggle, there the strike was strongest, and this made for the success of the whole battle.

The existence of groups of Communists within the shops was undoubtedly of great help because thereby a corps of experienced people were in the shops to help in the solution of the new problems connected with the sit-down. The shop form of organization, the shop groups [units], has more than justified itself. Where the party organization paid attention to these units, there the efforts of many years of work were fully rewarded.

In conclusion, the strike of the automobile workers reveals the new forces that are at work within the country, forces which are driving toward an extension and strengthening of the labor movement, and which are welding also the unity of the working class and of all progressive-minded people, a process which is giving rise to the growth of a real people's movement—a real people's united front—a movement which will embrace also the most aggressive revolutionary-minded section of the working class—the Communists and the Communist Party.

Mr. Chairman, it may be that some Members may discount the testimony of a man like Joseph Zack, who testified before our committee; but Joseph Zack was at one time in charge of trade-union work in the United States for the Communist Party of this country and the Communist International at Moscow.

It may be that some people will seek to discredit the testimony of Gitlow, who was once the secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. But I invite your attention to one fact that cannot be denied. We obtained and placed in the record of the hearings the original minutes of the Communist Party of the United States, covering a considerable period of time. In these minutes you will find the names of men who have since become officers in certain labor unions in this country. You will also find that various sums of money were appropriated by the Communist Party to aid these men in carrying out the program of the Communist Party.

Let me make myself clear. The committee has said, and properly so, that the great majority of working people in both unions are loyal, patriotic American citizens, but the committee has unanimously designated 10 national unions

as being under the control of Communist leadership, or, rather, that Communist leadership was intrenched in those unions.

Not only did the Communist Party by their policy seek to gain a foothold in the trade-union movement in the United States, but likewise it established a number of so-called front organizations. What do we mean by "front organizations"?

We can take the International Workers Order as an illustration, although there are numerous other organizations that this committee has unanimously found to be under the control of Communists. What evidence do we have to support such statements? I merely want to illustrate the type of evidence in order to convince you that the question is not even open to serious debate.

Here is the International Workers Order that now has 165,000 members in the United States, 1,900 branches or lodges scattered throughout this country. It maintains a school for the training of youth. This organization grew from 5,000 members in about 1930 to 165,000 members today. Who is the president of it? William Weiner, the financial secretary or treasurer of the Communist Party of the United States.

Who is secretary of the International Workers Order? Max Bedacht, who is a high functionary in the Communist Party, head of the International Publishers Association, which prints and distributes Communist literature and books in the United States. Here is one of the pamphlets issued by the International Workers Order. It was issued by the campaign committee of the International Workers Order in 1932. In this pamphlet they openly advocate the election of Communist candidates for office. I cannot take the time to read excerpts from this, but it is a document prepared by the International Workers Order openly sponsoring Communist candidates.

We charged the American League for Peace and Democracy with being one of the organizations under the control of the Communist Party. There was a great hue and cry throughout the United States. We based that charge upon documentary evidence, upon printed and verbal admissions, and upon what I conceive to be absolutely indisputable evidence. The American League, in obedience to the Trojan horse policy dictated by Dimitrov in 1935, succeeded in obtaining recruits or members throughout the United States and at one time during the height of its power in this country it claimed 4,000,000 members, directly and indirectly affiliated with it. Of course, no one is intimating that those 4,000,000 members were all Communists. The great majority of them were not Communists.

I wish to illustrate for the benefit of the House the cleverness, the subtlety, the intrigue, and the strategy of the Communists in setting up so-called liberal organizations in the country for the purpose of deceiving many gullible people who otherwise would not associate with the Communist movement.

As I said a moment ago, according to the report of our committee, Communist leadership is entrenched in 10 of the labor unions affiliated with the C. I. O. Do you know that a trade union of technical men led by the Communist Party has a unit in every navy yard in the United States and that the total membership of this union of technicians is 7,000? I show you here the confidential reports of the Communist Party of California, reports prepared and issued in the strictest confidence for the purpose of sending the information to the central committee of the Communist Party in New York.

In this confidential report, beginning with 1937 you will find positive instructions that the party build up members in every basic industry in America. You will find that particular stress was laid upon the aircraft industry and upon every basic industry in this country. You will also find in these confidential reports that in the aircraft factories in California alone, according to their own confidential reports, they have 50 members of the party. They were directed to form units of Communists throughout this country in every basic industry. Not only have the Communists succeeded in seizing important positions in vital industries, but the same is true with reference to the Nazi and Fascist organizations, as I shall show you.

I want to quote excerpts from the confidential report and the resolutions of the Communist Party of California. On page 24 of the resolutions and proposals adopted at the Los Angeles County convention of the Communist Party, held on March 27 and 28, 1937, are found the following instructions:

1. Build shop units: Every section of the party shall consider as one of its major tasks the establishment of shop units in the important basic industries in our county, as follows:

(a) Aircraft: To pay careful attention to the newly organized shop unit in aircraft, establishing a functioning leadership, giving assistance to the issuance of a shop paper. All other comrades in the industry shall be combined in one unit to concentrate the building of a shop in the N plant. The Bay Cities, Centinella Valley, San Fernando sections shall strengthen the existing aircraft concentration units for work around the important aircraft plants. To establish one Y. C. L. shop unit in the Douglas plant.

(b) Oil: To set up a shop unit in one of the major oil refineries and to guarantee the regular issuance of the Oil Worker.

(c) Rubber: The Goodyear and Belvedere sections shall work to establish a shop unit in the G. plant and reestablish the Rubber Worker. A joint committee of the two sections shall be established to coordinate the work in rubber.

(d) Railroad: The industrial section to assist the railway unit to set up a shop unit in the L. C. Railway.

(e) Auto: To set up at least one shop unit in one of the auto plants in Los Angeles.

To guarantee the establishment and functioning of these units, the county committee shall assign one of its members to each of these concentration points.

2. Industrial units: The past 6 months of the existence of the industrial units have proven their value in improving the quality of work in the trade-unions, maintaining of members activizing a greater portion of the membership, etc. The task now remains of improving the political life of the units and the improvement further of the industrial form by concentration on specific local unions or shops for the setting up of units.

(a) Maritime: Consolidate our forces in the I. L. A. by bringing them into a unit and recruiting from among the many contacts established during the strike.

(b) Rubber: To set up an industrial unit of all rubber people outside of the G. plant.

On page 5 of the same document we find the following:

Our party must become the driving force in the organization campaign, giving special support to the C. I. O.

1. On the basis of the party registration to send every eligible comrade into his trade-union and wherever there is no union into his shop to take steps toward union organization. This must become the responsibility of every unit bureau in the county.

2. By immediately organizing our party forces in the C. I. O. unions and committees.

3. By intensive concentration work of the following territorial sections: Goodyear—rubber, auto, and steel, Santa Monica, and C. V.—aircraft harbor—oil and auto.

On page 8 is found the following instruction:

Build shop units in auto, rubber, oil, aircraft, and Los Angeles Railway. Establish industrial units in other important industries. This to be accomplished by June 1.

In the following year, on May 14 and 15, 1938, at the California convention of the Communist Party, a resolution was adopted which contains the following statement:

The convention therefore reemphasizes the importance of concentrating on large shops and basic industries, especially marine, railroad, rubber, aircraft, oil, auto, steel, to build functioning shop organization in the large plants as the best means of keeping and activizing the new members and recruiting hundreds of fighting workers into our ranks. (Pp. 29 and 30 of the proceedings of the California Convention of the Communist Party, May 14 and 15, 1938.)

On page 25 of this report of the proceedings of the convention is found the statement that the Communists have 50 aircraft workers in the Los Angeles territory.

You must realize, Mr. Chairman, that these people, whether they are Nazis or Communists, are fanatical followers of their pagan religion. I have sat in the committee day in and day out for 2 years, and I have had an opportunity to study very closely people who are leaders of, or who are involved in these movements. I have seen the gleam of fanaticism in their eyes. You ask them the question, "Would you support the United States in the event of war with Russia?" And they say "No." And when you threaten them with con-

tempt for their failure and refusal to produce the records of their organizations, they prefer the jail to a violation of party discipline. In other words, you are dealing with a pagan fanaticism that has swept throughout the world, and with people who are working in complete unison in accordance with central instructions. As a result of the materialistic philosophy which they have embraced—and they are in many instances sincere in their attachment to the philosophy—you are dealing with no ordinary people. You are dealing with people who are willing to follow the dictates of foreign governments even if this involves the betrayal of their own country.

In the confidential minutes of the Communist Party of New York is the following statement:

> At the present time, while all are not functioning perfectly, we have, nevertheless, some 300 fractions in the trade-unions, and in about 150 trade-unions there are party comrades who are either fully or partially in the leadership of these unions.

Fred Howe, secretary of Local No. 2 of the American Communications Association, recently testified that there were 150 radio operators in our merchant marine in the Communist Party, and that it was an easy task for these operators to transmit messages to Moscow or Berlin.

It may be interesting to the Members of this House to know that as a result of the audit of the bank accounts of the Communist Party and their controlled organizations—I am speaking now of organizations where they are in control through secretaryships and presidencies of the organization or through the executive committees which they control—the audit that our committee made of their books shows that their receipts in the United States total about $10,000,000 a year. You are dealing with an organization that is able to collect $10,000,000 and to distribute some 600 publications throughout the United States. Let us take certain typical examples of it. Here was William Browder, brother of Earl Browder, who was secretary of the Communist Party of the State of New York.

The audit of his bank account showed that he ran an account in one New York bank of $1,300,000 for 1 year and 11 months. He testified before the committee that the funds belonged to the Communist Party. But, as a matter of fact, there was nothing in the record of the bank deposit to indicate that the funds belonged to the party. I asked him the question: "Did you render an income-tax return, did you pay an income tax on this?" And he said he had not. I then called this fact to the attention of the Internal Revenue Department. Now, let us inquire somewhat further into their financial transactions in the United States, because I want to convince you that you are not dealing with a small and poorly financed movement. According to Earl Browder in his testimony before our committee much of their revenue comes from thousands of contributors and the contributions range from $10 to $3,000. Some of the men who are the backbone of this movement in the United States, are men like A. A. Heller, who is a wealthy man in New York and who has financed the International Publishing Co. since the day of its inception by subsidizing it.

These contributors are not people who are in dire financial straits; they are people who are able to make contributions from $10 to $3,000, according to the testimony of the head of the Communist Party; and, according to Earl Browder's statement, something like 50,000 members of the party are now members of labor organizations in the United States. He said further that two-thirds of that number are in the C. I. O. and one-third in the A. F. of L., as I recall his testimony. Let us consider the financial transaction in the case of Sam Carp, who, according to his own admission, went to Moscow to see his brother-in-law, Molotov (Premier of Russia), and there received a commission to spend $100,000,000 in the United States for supplies, largely military equipment. He is a citizen of this country through naturalization, and he returned to the United States from Russia with $100,000 in $1,000 bills, according to his testimony. But when we checked his bank account we found that he had made other cash deposits totaling about $400,000. We traced $52,000 of it and found that this amount had been spent to buy political influence. We have not yet traced the remainder of the cash brought from Russia, although I have information where that money went, and I hope before long we shall be able to show the country where at least some of it went.

I think I have shown you that the Communist Party is not a political organization, that its members, according to the testimony of Earl Browder, William Weiner, and the other leaders, must obey the decisions of the party leadership upon penalty of expulsion. Communist leaders have also admitted in their testimony before the committee that the Communist Party of the United States must obey the decisions and follow the policies of the Communist International if it is to continue its affiliation with the International. The Communist International is controlled by the Presidium, a small group that governs when the Congress is not in session. This Presidium is completely controlled by Joseph Stalin. For a period of 7 years the Congress of the International did not meet and during that interval the dictator of Russia, Joseph Stalin, was not only in absolute control of the Communist Party in the United States but of every other country.

We asked a Communist leader, James Dolsen, who, by the way, was lecturing on a W. P. A. project in Pittsburgh, whether it would be the duty of a Communist to give information to his party leadership, and, in answer to the question, he frankly said that it would be the duty of a Communist to give such information. This means, in effect, that we have an espionage system in the United States which Russia does not have to pay for. This new method has many new advantages over the orthodox system employed by other countries. In the first place, Stalin and Hitler are able to enlist the services of many sincere and fanatical followers who can be depended upon to be loyal, faithful, and zealous. In the second place, the system can be operated at a profit to Stalin and Hitler. Through it they have been able to obtain financial aid. In addition to these advantages, the espionage agency is able to carry on its activities and propaganda under the cloak of legality. While the primary function of this espionage system is to gather important industrial and military information to transmit to Russia, the ultimate objective is to promote class hatred and overthrow the free institutions of America by force and violence and, in the interim, to undermine the unity of this country as the Communists and Nazis were able to do in France and Poland, and as they have been able to do in every other country in order to prevent adequate preparedness.

The Communists have formed many "front" organizations in the United States. For 2 years our committee has repeatedly warned everyone with reference to the identity and aims of these "front" organizations. When we expose one organization like the American League for Peace and Democracy and it dissolves, immediately another organization is established.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

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

Mr. TABER. That particular man—James Dolsen—was being supported by the Government of the United States.

Mr. DIES. He had no business being on the W. P. A., because he was using his position to lecture on communism.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. That is not a reflection on the management or the administration of the W. P. A. here in Washington?

Mr. DIES. No; he was not connected with that.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIES. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. In that connection, this man did give a case history of himself, in which he alleged he had been employed by certain firms in the United States during the past 8 or 10 years, yet on his own sworn statement before the committee he showed that during that time he was in

Russia and other sections of the world instead of in the United States. Is that correct?

Mr. DIES. That is true.

I have dealt with the Communist Party, and I hope to be able to deal at similar length with the other side of the picture.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

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

Mr. REED of New York. I believe the gentleman has inadvertently omitted something. The gentleman referred to the specific instructions given to these men in airplane plants to report to their headquarters.

Mr. DIES. That is right.

Mr. REED of New York. The gentleman did not tell us what the instructions are.

Mr. DIES. The instructions are to form units in the aircraft plants. These were the instructions contained in the reports, and very cleverly camouflaged is the purpose of the formation of these units or colonies. Of course, in order to understand this set-up, whether you are dealing with the German-American Bund or the Communist Party, you must realize that these dictators abroad cleverly conceal the strategy of the "fifth column." The "fifth column" is not, as the President seemed to think yesterday, composed solely of noncitizens who are residing in a country. The "fifth column" is largely composed of citizens of the country.

In the case of the Communist Party of California, its report shows that one half of the membership was born abroad and the other half in the United States. In the case of the German-American Bund, I venture to say that 95 percent of the 100,000 members of that organization are Germans who came to the United States after the World War and have become citizens of the United States through naturalization. Many of them served in the German Army during the World War.

Let us take up that organization. What is its constitution?

> To be and remain worthy of our Germanic blood, our German motherland, our German brothers and sisters, and to cultivate our German language, customs, and ideals, and to be outstandingly proud of these principles.

This organization has in the United States 100 units, and a unit must have not less than 20 members, according to the testimony of the head of that organization. It has 47 districts in the United States. It has a membership composed of regular members who have voting privileges and sympathizing members who do not have voting privileges but who pay dues without any record being kept of their affiliation with the organization.

New York City has 5 bund units and New York State has 15 bund units; New Jersey has 4 bund units; New England has 7 units; California 9 units; Philadelphia 1 unit; Pittsburgh 1 unit; Wheeling, W. Va., 1 unit. There are units in Chicago, Detroit, and Flint. The application blank, written in German, calls for a person who will vouch for the applicant in Germany. In other words, the applicant has to furnish a German witness, living in Germany, for reference. Initiation fee is $1, and monthly dues amount to 75 cents per month per member. One-third of the fees that the members pay their local units goes to the headquarters. Voluntary contributions from members and outsiders for the last half of 1938 and the first half of 1939 amounted to $18,000. The German-American Business League is a separate organization but closely affiliated with the bund. It is composed of German-American merchants who pay $3 a year to be registered in a special book which the Business League puts out. The league has a membership of 800 in New York. There are similar German-American business leagues located in 11 other States. The Prospective Citizens' League is affiliated with the bund. To be eligible for membership the applicant must have first papers and establish a residence of at least 2 years in this country. The bund cooperates with the Christian Front, Christian Mobilizers, and the Christian Crusaders. The head of the bund states that its purpose was to establish a separate political party. The bund maintains summer camps, and the youth movement where boys and girls are trained.

In the Weckruf, dated May 12, 1937, page 3, is an article which includes a reprint of literature which was sent in by George Deatherage, president of the American Nationalist Confederation. In the issue of June 23, 1938, is a report from the Los Angeles chapter of the bund, stating that Roy Zachary, field marshal of the Silver Shirts, declared in an address to the bund that the Silver Shirts were similar to the bund. The Weckruf published James True's material. In the Weckruf, dated May 26, 1938, is an article by Edmondson. And it was also admitted by bund leaders that the Italian Fascist groups cooperated with the bund. Seven different Italian groups and organizations met with the bund upon different occasions. On June 18, 1937, at Camp Nordland, a large group of Italian black shirts were present and participated in a demonstration. The Weckruf for May 26, 1938, contains an item from the Los Angeles bund paper concerning a meeting of 100 Italian Fascists, attended by a man by the name of Ferri, who spoke to the organizations of the bund, and at the close of the meeting there were three cheers for Hitler and three for Mussolini.

The Committee received evidence with reference to an organization in Chicago composed entirely of German citizens with a total membership of approximately 1,000. We discovered that most of them were working in the important industries in and about Chicago. As a matter of fact, the 100,000 members of the German-American Bund in the United States are, for the most part, working in basic industries, and many of the members of the bund are skilled workmen, such as chemists and technicians.

In the 1937 yearbook of the German-American Bund is a statement from Adolf Hitler to the bund members of the United States in which he uses the expression, as translated:

> Your fatherland is Germany; love it more than anything in words and in accomplishments.

The German-American Bund sent a delegation of its members to Berlin. This delegation carried $3,000 in cash, which was donated to the winter relief campaign in Germany. These delegates were American citizens. They saluted and marched under the swastika. They were addressed by Goebbels and upon their return they published the special message to them of Adolf Hitler. Let me make it clear that the great majority of the people of German descent in America. are loyal and patriotic Americans, let us make no mistake about that. We are dealing with minority groups with respect to nationalities and labor unions. But the people who compose these minority groups are so imbued with zeal and enthusiasm for Nazi Germany or Communist Russia or Fascist Italy that they cannot conceal it.

I do not mean to imply that all the members of the Communist Party and the German-American Bund are traitors to this country, but fifth-column technique is to use innocent and sympathetic people for the purpose of obtaining valuable military and industrial information, and to support the foreign policies of the dictatorships and to undermine national unity.

Fascist Italy has used the same tactics in this country. The committee received evidence that there are Fascist organizations in this country; that these organizations are seeking to train and indoctrinate American boys and girls in Fascist ideology; that they have raised funds to aid the Fascist regime in Rome; and that they have cooperated with the German-American Bund. For instance, the committee received in evidence a letter written by Consul Decicco, of New Haven, Conn., addressed to all Italian-American fraternal societies. In this letter the consul says:

> There are a big number of Italian-American societies in the State of Connecticut. It is necessary that this office be in possession of the names and addresses of all those who belong to such societies. Therefore, I would appreciate it very much if you would send me the names and the addresses of those who belong to your society.

The committee also received evidence that there is a branch of the Italian Government secret service known as

the O. V. R. A., which corresponds to the G. P. U. of Nazi Germany. There are letters from other members of the Italian consular service, which may be found in volume 2 of the committee's hearings.

I have examined some of the textbooks used in the Italian schools which glorify the Fascist regime in Italy. American children of Italian descent have been sent to Italy as guests of the Italian Government. These children were given Fascist uniforms and taken to training camps. They have participated in services, meetings, and parades on the streets of Rome, Genoa, and other cities.

It is clear from the evidence that there are in the United States certain Italian organizations which are Fascist in principle and belief.

Now, what are we going to do about these organizations? There has been a demand that we suggest legislation, and the committee is undertaking to do so. The gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS], a very sincere and tireless worker on the committee, as is indeed true of every member of our committee, has conferred with the State Department and the Justice Department with reference to the preparation of a bill requiring the registration of these organizations, but I would not be honest and truthful with you if I led you to believe that the solution of this problem is through new legislation. The first thing you have to do is to enforce existing law. [Applause.]

Now, we might as well be frank about this. I wrote letters to the State and Justice Departments about a year ago naming organizations in this country that are the agents of foreign governments, and recommending that these organizations be prosecuted for failure to register in accordance with the provisions of existing laws.

If the Government of the United States and the States in which the Trojan-horse agencies are incorporated will enforce existing laws without fear or favor, we can go a long way toward solving this problem. In the enforcement of these laws, however, the Federal Government and the States must be prepared for the opposition which they will encounter from certain influences in the C. I. O. Before we had any hearings of the committee, we invited Mr. John L. Lewis to appear before the committee and give us the benefit of any information which he had. Mr. Lewis did not see fit to accept this invitation. At a later date, when the testimony of certain witnesses who appeared before our committee was challenged by Labor's Non-Partisan League, I invited the representatives of that organization to appear before the committee and deny under oath this testimony. They declined to do so. The committee unanimously found that on the basis of the evidence submitted Communist leadership is entrenched in the following organizations: National Maritime Union; United Cannery, Packing, and Allied Workers; Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians; Fur Workers' International Union; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Transport Workers' Union; United Office and Professional Workers' Union; American Communications Association; United Electrical, Radio, and Mechanical Workers of America; and the United Furniture Workers of America.

These unions exist in and largely control vital and basic industries in America that affect our whole national defense. I hope that the Members of this House can read the testimony of witnesses dealing with these unions, and especially the testimony of the heads of these unions, such as Joe Curran, Michael Quill, and Merwyn Rathbourne. It cannot be stressed too often that the enforcement of existing laws is absolutely essential if we are to check these undemocratic minorities in our midst. We must enforce our laws dealing with immigration, deportation, income-tax evasion, registration of foreign agents, passport requirements, and so forth.

I recognize the fact that many people in this country have been deceived by the insidious wiles of foreign influence. There were some sincere liberals in the United States who were deceived by the pretensions of the Communist Party that it was a democratic organization. On the other hand, there were some so-called patriots who, on account of racial and religious prejudice, joined organizations that were used by foreign governments for their own purpose and benefit in the United States. There is no longer any excuse for these misguided people to continue their affiliation with organizations which our committee has exposed as agents of foreign countries.

It is true that we can supplement existing laws by making more stringent our deportation and immigration requirements and by requiring registration and full publicity of Fascist, Communist, and Nazi organizations in this country. I hope and believe that our committee can offer legislation along these lines at an early date. However, I am now pleading for positive and vigorous action on the part of the Federal Government of the United States in the enforcement of existing laws. I do this not in the spirit of rancor but because the national welfare requires it without further delay. The strengthening of our national defense is necessary and urgent, but it will be wholly inadequate if we fail to check the progress of the enemy within our country and the "Trojan horse" organizations under which he masks his treasonable designs and activities.

This committee has been fair to John L. Lewis. It has found in its report that a great majority of the members of his organization are patriotic Americans. It has specifically exonerated Mr. Lewis of being a Communist. But I say to Mr. Lewis that it is his patriotic duty to expel men like Quill, Joe Curran, and Harry Bridges, and certain other leaders in these vital unions and thereby make known to the American people that there is no place for such men in the American trade-union movement. If Mr. Lewis will accept this challenge, the C. I. O. can clean its own house, and when it does this committee will give it a clean bill of health. We are dealing here with a vital question—a question as to whether or not we shall permit agents of foreign governments and their dupes, who are masquerading under high-sounding titles and objectives, to do in the United States what they did in Poland and what they did in Czechoslovakia and other European countries, or whether through democratic processes and in accordance with the Constitution of the United States we will here and now reckon with them and say to them: "At least it is not a violation of the Bill of Rights to enforce the laws of this country."

This Government should have deported Harry Bridges. [Applause.] There was sufficient evidence before our committee to justify his deportation, and in justice to the American people it should have been ordered.

There are some mistaken ideas and misunderstandings in official Washington but I plead with those in control, first of all let us enforce the laws of this country. This committee will submit supplemental legislation, but you must remember that in dealing with this question in peacetime it is not an easy matter. There is always the charge that if we undertake in the slightest manner to expose these subversive organizations we are violating the Bill of Rights. We subpena them to bring their records, and they arrogantly defy the committee. We have sat there for 2 years and endured the insulting remarks, arrogance, defiance, evasions, and perjury of these groups not because we wanted to, but in order that we might make a record of who these people are and what they are doing, so that in the event of a great national emergency we will at least have some means to check them and to deal with them.

Our great mistake was to sit idly by during the period in which they increased from a few thousand to the several million that now comprise, either wittingly or unwittingly, the Fascist, Nazi, and Communist movements in the United States.

There was a time when these organizations operated so openly and boldly that it would have been easy for the Department of Justice to obtain the names of all of their officers and make a permanent record. I am sorry to say that was not done. Five months ago when a representative of the Department of Justice came to my office and when I tendered him our fullest cooperation—he was a friend of mine, a former Member of this House—he frankly admitted to me that they knew very little about the subject, and had no valuable or dependable information.

I say that, although I run the danger of having someone charge that I am attacking the Department of Justice. I am not. This is a new problem that has baffled the peoples of every country. It has deceived England, it has deceived France, and it has deceived all the countries. All I am asking as a Member of this House, in a spirit of good will and harmony, is that the Government of the United States here and now cooperate with this committee to the fullest extent possible. We are now in such a critical condition throughout the world that there is no justification for the slightest feeling between any agencies of government. We need the help of this Government. We have never had more than seven or eight investigators.

In dealing with the most difficult problem that the Government can deal with we have been handicapped in every conceivable manner. I say to this House and to our Government that we need your help. We need the help of the F. B. I. We need trained men in order that we may do a full and complete job, and for that help I now plead.

I appreciate very much the opportunity I have had to bring some of these facts to the attention of the House. I want to make myself perfectly clear, that there is no indictment or intended indictment of a great majority of the American people. But minority movements, highly organized, constitute the greatest threat to modern democratic governments. We have seen the ability of a small group, tightly organized as a kernel, holding strategic and vital jobs in utilities, in shipping, in transportation, and in communications, to deliver a whole country over to an invading host.

We have seen their ability to promote strife and hatred in a country in order to divide it into hostile camps either along racial, religious, or class lines. We have seen the disastrous results that have come to other republics and other democracies by such a course.

If we are to be preserved as a democracy we must match the brains, the ingenuity, the patriotism of men who believe in democracy against this new and sinister influence. We must revitalize democracy and offer it as a challenge to the fanatical followers of Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini. I believe that democracy can develop a tremendous enthusiasm for the principles of freedom and constitutional government. I believe that through voluntary and cooperative union on the part of all classes in America, labor and capital, all races and all creeds, that we can meet the challenge that has been flung at every democracy on the face of the earth; and, as one people under one God, regardless of our differences of race, religion, or class, we can unite in the defense of the greatest democracy the world has ever seen. [Applause, the Members rising.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER].

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I am sure you will agree with me that the gentleman from Texas who just addressed us has, indeed, rendered yeoman service in ferreting out the activities that we might well call pernicious that now operate in this land of ours. I am one of those who would willingly subscribe to an immediate remedy which might be embodied in the pending bill. I would be perfectly willing to add this amendment: That no relief whatsoever, no W. P. A. job, or employment should be given under any circumstance to either a Communist, a Fascist, or a Nazi who owed allegiance to any foreign prince, potentate, or government. I do hope that somebody will see fit to add that as an amendment to the pending bill.

With reference to the pending bill particularly, I want to address myself to sections 11 and 24.

Section 11 of the pending bill seeks to limit in a very unreasonable way funds that may be used for building and construction. If section 11 as now written remains in the bill, beyond peradventure of doubt, W. P. A., in common parlance, will go out the window. I say that advisedly, and particularly with reference to conditions that obtain in cities like New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, and in cities generally where we would not be able to construct anything of consequence because of that limitation.

Last year's act contained a restriction providing that no funds could be expended on any Federal building the total estimated Federal contribution to which exceeded $52,000. This limitation in last year's bill served no useful purpose. Colonel Harrington testified before the Committee on Appropriations that those limitations tended to prevent the operation of projects needed to furnish adequate employment to many classes of workers certified as being in need. He recommended that that limitation be removed. The Committee on Appropriations failed to heed his excellent advice.

The pending bill, instead, as reported, makes the restrictions more stringent by providing that no W. P. A. funds shall be expended on any project for the construction of any building, bridge, viaduct, stadium, underpass, tunnel, or other structure. The dictionary defines a structure as being anything that can be constructed. Section 11 would, therefore, include the entire construction program of W. P. A. insofar as projects exceeding $50,000 in cost from Federal funds was concerned. This simply means no W. P. A. funds with usual local sponsorship and 25-percent financial contribution could be used for any building, bridge, viaduct, stadium, or any structure if the cost is over $50,000. Try to find such a structure in any city under $50,000. Yes; you could build a dog house. You could build an outhouse. But what else?

Mr. Chairman, the construction program of W. P. A. constitutes, I am informed by Colonel Harrington—and the testimony bears me out—from 75 to 80 percent of the W. P. A. program. In other words, from 75 to 80 percent of the W. P. A. program is involved in construction of projects having an estimated cost of $50,000 or more. If this amendment is passed, it would mean that jobs on different kinds of projects would have to be found for workers affected—obviously an impossible requirement.

The adoption of this amendment, I say, would completely wreck W. P. A. It would mean that, in order to secure employment for those engaged on construction, either skilled or unskilled workers, you would have to place them on jobs like leaf-raking, pruning of trees and bushes, and similar work. Perhaps they can fence with each other or play music with their shovels, their saws, their pickaxs. The whole business is ridiculous. The distinguished mayor of New York City and the mayors of almost all cities are very much exercised over this limitation. Mayor LaGuardia, in his capacity as mayor of the city of New York and in his capacity as head of the United States Conference of Mayors, sent a very interesting telegram to the dean of our New York delegation, our distinguished colleague the gentleman from New York [Mr. CULLEN]. I am going to read that wire to you.

MAY 15, 1940.

Hon. THOMAS CULLEN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

I have just sent the following wire to SAM RAYBURN personally, and, as president of the United States Conference of Mayors, may I call your attention to the fact that proviso in section 11 of W. P. A. appropriation bill limiting buildings, bridges, viaducts, stadia, underpasses, tunnels, or other structures to $50,000 is tantamount to destroying the very purpose of W. P. A. appropriations? To make it clear means either leaf raking and "boondoggling" idleness or a dole without any benefit to the country or to the State or to a community. I can assure you that very few, if any, cities will contribute 25 percent for useless and unnecessary work. The country has received value for money spent on W. P. A. In addition to that, it will demoralize the very people whose morale and skill, self-respect, and dignity as American citizens we have been able to maintain through useful work assuring full value of work for the money paid to them in wages. We know that this proviso was suggested, inspired, sponsored, and lobbied by the General Contractors Association. Today I publicly offered to withdraw every New York City W. P. A. project if they would assure me that they could employ all of the unemployed in the building trades and take care of them when they have no work. Frankly, I say that the appropriation will be 90 percent wasted with this proviso remaining in the bill. Please help all you can.

F. H. LAGUARDIA, *Mayor.*

That wire speaks volumes. Do you think the contractors' association accepted the challenge of the mayor and offered

to give decent, proper employment to all those skilled artisans and unskilled laborers who would be thrown out of work by virtue of section 11? Indeed, they did not accept the challenge. They could not accept the challenge. Mr. Chairman, it is a very serious situation. It goes to the very heart of this bill, and I hope that on sober thought section 11 will be eliminated.

The contractors' association recognized this to be an impossible requirement, and I refer to section 11. On page 977 of the appropriation hearings, Mr. Zachry, president of the Associated Contractors of America, testified as follows—and this is a colloquy between a distinguished member of the Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON], and Mr. Zachry. Mark you well this colloquy on page 984 of the hearings:

Mr. CANNON. You make this statement:

"It is admitted that a large percentage of the W. P. A. workers who are now assigned to construction projects are totally unfit for this type of work. From the best advice we are able to secure, of the 2,300,000 W. P. A. workers, about 600,000 are assigned to noncompetitive nonconstruction projects of various kinds, and that the balance, or approximately 1,700,000, are now assigned to the competitive construction projects."

Now, according to that statement, you would take 1,700,000 men off the construction projects. What would you do with them? You go further and say:

"We believe that the number of workers that could be assigned to noncompetitive nonconstruction projects could be practically doubled if a lower sponsor's contribution were required on these types of projects."

That would be 600,000, and if you doubled it, it would give you 1,200,000. Now, what would you do with the other 500,000 workers you are throwing out of work and for whom you make no provision?

Mr. ZACHRY. They are on relief of some kind.

Mr. CANNON. They are working now on W. P. A. and you want to take them off.

Mr. ZACHRY. It is not construction work, but they could do other types of work.

Mr. CANNON. What other type of work? Do you mean leaf raking? Do you favor boondoggling?

Mr. ZACHRY. No, sir.

Mr. CANNON. You do not favor the dole?

Mr. ZACHRY. No, sir.

Mr. CANNON. Then what would you do with them?

Now, listen to what the answer was to that question, "What would you do with them?" This is what Mr. Zachry said:

I would put them in the Army, and those that did not want to go in the Army could be put on the dole.

Mr. CANNON. You would put them in concentration camps?

Mr. ZACHRY. No, sir; I would put them in the Army and give them military training so they would be of service to the country.

Mr. CANNON. You would take them away from their homes and families and put them in the Army?

Mr. ZACHRY. Yes, sir; I would put them in the Army and train them. I would teach them discipline, so they would be of value to this country.

Mr. CANNON. I am glad to have your solution of the problem. You would take these men away from their homes and families, and put them in the Army. You would send them to concentration camps or to the Army and teach them discipline.

That is the answer of this man who is head of the contractors' association and head of one of the greatest lobbies, that unfortunately influenced the members of the subcommittee of the great Committee on Appropriations to put this amendment in the bill and to strike at and ostracize honorable, decent W. P. A. employment in the large cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and many other communities of the land; an amendment that prompted the mayor of the city of New York, as well as the United States Conference of Mayors, to send this wire to the House and rightfully caused said mayors to inveigh against—to protest with all the vehemence within them. We cannot get jobs for these men. We have to construct buildings. We have to construct viaducts, schools, and bridges. But here you say, "You cannot use any of the money for that type of construction," and very significantly the words "other structures" are used. What does that mean? That is as broad as a barn door. It just means, as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] said, you are going to relegate all these dignified, honorable, decent, God-fearing laborers in my city and yours to leaf raking and boondoggling. You are going to wound their pride. You encourage them to radicalism and resentment. There are thousands of men in my district, decent, honorable fellows, who want to work, but because of this contractors' lobby, because of this insidious organization, you are taking work away from them. There are millions out of work, and I plead that they should not be placed on a dole but should be given jobs.

The proposition of the General Contractors is shown by their resolution printed on page 987 of the Appropriation Hearings:

Resolved by the Georgia Branch, Associated General Contractors, That Congress be petitioned: (1) To retain Work Projects Administration as a relief agency but to confine its operation to work of a nonpermanent character which requires a minimum of skilled labor and no expert supervision.

This whole drive is the result of a propaganda campaign put on by the Associated General Contractors, even despite the fact that private contractors have obtained more business from the Federal Government in recent years than ever before in the past. They make this attack on the work-relief program despite the billions of dollars that have been made available to them through the P. W. A., the Bureau of Public Roads, the Corps of Engineers, the Public Buildings Administration, and the other regular construction activities of the Federal Government, together with the $280,000,000 of equipment that they have rented to the W. P. A. itself. They take this attitude despite the fact that the W. P. A. itself has provided for a management form of contract whereby contractors can participate in W. P. A. work where conditions are appropriate for their participation. (See p. 1230 of the Appropriation Hearings.)

This whole drive is reminiscent of the propaganda campaign put on by the utilities during the debate on the Holding Company Act. The whole thing is exposed by the series of letters, beginning on page 985 of the Appropriation Hearings, where the Associated General Contractors sent out form letters to employees, specimen letters, and proposed telegrams to be sent in to Members of the Congress. In this connection, on page 989 of the Appropriation Hearings, in connection with one of the specimen letters, the statement along with one of the specimen letters says:

We attach a specimen letter. It should not be followed literally by any member. If each member makes changes, each of our letters will differ.

Again, in connection with the proposed telegrams, on the same page, it is found that—

For your convenience and guidance two proposed telegrams, neither of which is to be followed literally, are attached.

Read pages 985 to 997 in the hearings, and you will get some idea of the gigantic propaganda initiated by the Associated General Contractors of America. They went so far as to threaten to discharge their men, skilled and unskilled workmen, unless they sent cards and letters to Congressmen recommending the limitations aforesaid. They were threatened with discharge unless they would write such letters and postcards to the Congressmen. Let me again quote the gentleman from Missouri, Representative CANNON, in this regard, on page 993:

Mr. CANNON. Furthermore, I notice that you have been vigorously disseminating propaganda and bringing pressure to bear on this committee by sending instructions to your people, as a result of which the members of the committee have received a continuous flow of letters and telegrams. It has very evidently been done in the same manner in which the same thing was undertaken in one of the crusades against the "death sentence" legislation, where they took the telephone directory and indiscriminately signed the names of people taken from the books. We have received large numbers of letters, each one in identical language. We also received them from workers, and it is evident they were told that if they did not write, and did not influence the committee to get your legislation through, they would lose their jobs.

The only justification for such a provision in the report of the committee appears on page 9 of the report:

It is believed that this is a sound limitation, for the joint resolution is designed to give work relief, and it has been demonstrated that the larger the structure the lower the proportion of relief labor used on it.

This statement is without any foundation of fact. The committee apparently found one or two sizable projects having a large proportion of nonrelief labor, but as a generalization, the larger projects as a whole have a larger proportion of relief labor than the smaller projects. The reason for this is obvious. On large projects it is necessary to have fewer supervisory persons in relation to the number of relief workers than on the smaller projects.

The relation of this amendment to administrative costs is humorous in a way. The committee is interested in cutting administrative costs to the bone and, in fact, cut the Budget estimate by 10 percent, which, incidentally, if adopted, would completely disorganize the program even without this amendment. But with this amendment it becomes utterly fantastic to think of any reduction in administrative costs. As a matter of fact, this limitation would necessitate so many additional project applications coming in to Washington to put the necessary number of people to work that greatly increased administrative costs would be involved in processing these applications.

I repeat that this section 11 will be especially burdensome and damaging in the cities where skilled building and construction laborers exist. Many school buildings in these cities are unsanitary. They are fire hazards and a menace to good health. The cities cannot secure help from the Federal Government to build the schools that are necessary, especially in the poorer localities. The same applies to college buildings, county buildings, armories, hospitals, and other public structures.

Because building-construction projects have a well-established community value, project sponsors have exhibited great interest in such projects and are generally willing to make the larger contributions that are necessary for such projects because of the relatively greater requirements for nonlabor items. These exceptionally high expenditures by sponsors for materials constitute a strong stimulus to the industries that are engaged in supplying these materials.

Since the provisions of section 12 of the present law were given wide publicity, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the limitations have precluded the submission of building projects. However, we do have definite information concerning 260 building projects that, in the absence of this limitation, would have been submitted for inclusion in the program in 38 States and the District of Columbia. Of these 260 projects, the estimated cost was not shown for 20 of the buildings. The remaining 240, however, had an estimated cost in excess of $55,000,000. Ten States reported no specific building projects, but indicated the reason was undoubtedly due to the fact that the limitations of the present act were well known. The sponsors' contribution on these 240 projects would have been slightly in excess of 40 percent of the total cost. As most of the sponsors' funds would have been used for materials, it may be safely assumed that execution of the projects would have involved purchases to the extent of at least $20,000,000 from the industries engaged in supplying building-construction materials.

Included in these 260 projects are several where State legislatures had appropriated funds anticipating Federal assistance. A specific instance is an armory, for which $200,000 was appropriated by the State for the project in anticipation of Federal funds of $250,000. In two States where State armory boards have been created by the legislature with authority to issue bonds, applications were submitted in connection with which the State armory board, by formal resolution, had authorized the issuance of bonds as sponsor's contribution prior to July 1, 1939. The estimated cost of these projects in Federal funds was in excess of $52,000, and they were disapproved because the General Accounting Office held that the projects were not ones for which an issue of bonds had been approved at an election held on or prior to July 1, 1939.

The 260 projects which I mention are shown on the attached list. These buildings were practically all schools, college and university buildings, armories, city buildings, and buildings for State institutions.

State	Number of buildings	Total estimated cost
Alabama	3	$950,000
Arizona	1	186,000
Arkansas	2	202,000
California	56	14,158,000
Colorado	2	255,000
Connecticut	1	
Florida	8	2,078,000
Georgia	10	3,588,000
Illinois	3	2,143,000
Indiana	8	2,849,000
Iowa	2	203,000
Kansas	3	332,000
Kentucky	15	
Maine	1	
Maryland	2	886,000
Massachusetts	5	732,000
Michigan	(1)	
Minnesota	13	1,672,000
Mississippi	1	
Missouri	2	
Montana	3	339,000
Nebraska	6	939,000
Nevada	2	550,000
New Jersey	13	3,575,000
New Mexico	11	2,120,000
New York	8	3,113,000
Ohio	5	409,000
Oregon	1	220,000
Pennsylvania	28	4,969,000
South Carolina	2	
South Dakota	6	846,000
Tennessee	6	498,000
Texas	11	1,890,000
Utah	4	1,092,000
Vermont	1	450,000
Washington	4	671,000
Wisconsin	5	2,957,000
Wyoming	3	590,000
District of Columbia	3	275,000
Total	260	55,737,000

[1] Several contemplated.

A complication introduced by this limitation has been that in a number of the building projects mentioned above attempts have been made to evade the limitation by breaking down the larger building projects into several smaller sections or units. These have been refused consideration in the States or have been disapproved in Washington, but these attempts have created difficulties in administration and control.

In view of the wide variety of conditions to be met in a program as extensive as that of the Work Projects Administration it is not logical to govern the establishment of projects on the basis of cost limitations. Precautions must be taken to avoid involving the Administration in work that ordinarily would be executed by the sponsor through contract or otherwise. These precautions can be observed through examination of each project on its individual merits, but they are not necessarily made effective through the application of any specific limitation on costs.

In the light of all the circumstances outlined above, it is felt that any cost limitations at all may prohibit the execution of building-construction projects which are needed for the employment of certified labor and which would be of definite benefit to local communities. It is also felt that dependence may properly be placed on the administrative controls already in effect to assure the avoidance of projects not suited to the Work Projects Administration program. Accordingly Colonel Harrington recommends that the limitations established by section 12 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1939 be removed.

Instead, you make matters worse, make confusion more confounded. You retain section 12 of the old law as section 11 of the new bill and add to it many ridiculous restrictions and limitations.

Instead of following the advice of the expert Colonel Harrington, you follow the advice of selfish interests, the Contractors Association. Colonel Harrington has been examined fore and aft. He is an efficient administrator. He has come out of his ordeal of investigation and inquiry personally without a blemish. There is no blot upon his escutcheon. His advice should be taken and followed. He now advises that section 11, with the limitations I have indicated, be

deleted, just as he advised the limitations of section 12 be deleted.

I want to get jobs for men willing to work. There are over 8,000,000 of them. The restrictions of section 11 will hamper to the *n*th degree the procuring of necessary jobs. When the time comes I shall offer an appropriate amendment. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CROWE].

Mr. CROWE. Mr. Chairman, I am interesting myself in House Joint Resolution 544, making relief appropriations. With the changed order in the economy and life of the Nation, there is likelihood of relief appropriations being made for many years to come, at least until the placement of labor has caught up with the displacement caused by the machine.

One report I saw, which I considered authentic, stated that 11 percent more goods was manufactured in 1939 than in 1929, but with 3,000,000 less employed. That, together with the life span, which has increased greatly in the last 10 years, is reason why much unemployment will continue for some years to come. It will continue until some process is worked out that will absorb the unemployed in gainful labor.

I regret that work must be done by W. P. A. I regret that everyone cannot be employed by the regular processes of employment; but since there are the unemployed, and since we have the problem, W. P. A. has saved the homes and lives of countless numbers of people.

The work that is done, the worth-whileness of the projects, are no better nor no worse than the effort the sponsors put into the various programs. I have had considerable experience with much of the work. I live in a city where the city and county for a number of years have had as high as one-third of the population on relief. There probably would not have been any business of any kind or nature in that town that would not have gone bankrupt during the past 8 years had it not been for W. P. A. and other relief organizations. In that town of Bedford, Ind., the credit goes to the sponsors, to the mayor, and the local administrator for proposing worth-while projects. The Administration is and will be a lasting monument to those in whose hands this work has been assigned. Accordingly I heartily support House Joint Resolution 544.

One of the functions of the W. P. A. is conservation of natural resources, soil, water, forests, fish, game, fowl, and other wildlife; to aid in flood control, drainage, irrigation, and soil erosion. In many sections of Indiana are thousands of acres of cut-over forest lands and many other acres of rolling land that has been cultivated which has been worn out and badly eroded. Much of this land is beyond the ability of the present owners to handle. They can no longer make a living on this land. Many of them are a charge to the local governments and are on relief and must have relief labor. Much work could be done in restoring these waste lands by soil conservation and by reforestation. This would raise the water level and conserve the water. It would again bring forests which are so badly needed in my State. After a few years of proper treatment, valuable timber can again be taken from land which is now all but worthless, and on which fires are constantly taking their tolls. W. P. A. labor could make trails, could clean out undesirable growth, could aid in recovering waste eroded land, making dams, and so forth. Much work has been done along this line, and much more yet needs to be done.

To anyone who thinks this is all a loss and waste, I desire to refer you to the State forest in Clark County, Ind. The purchases began in 1903. There is a total area now of 8,000 acres, on which 1,600,000 board-feet of timber is being grown annually, which timber is selling in southern Indiana now at $15 per thousand, it being good hardwood. These 8,000 acres cost the State a total of $56,000, whereas today the increase in the value of timber alone is $24,000 per annum. The value of the increase in timber alone is more than three times the operating expense per year of this land. The timber value, mind you, is only part of the value of this State forestry. It gives steady employment to a number of families on the land itself. It replaces a shortage of timber for building purposes in that part of the State, which, in turn, for mills and factories will add much labor during the coming years. Accordingly W. P. A. labor that is employed in projects of this kind will not only be employed on worth-while projects at the present but through the years to come the value will enhance manyfold.

Of course, there will be some errors, some money wasted, some employed who are not entitled to it. Some will not be able to secure employment who should have jobs. That is true in every endeavor of life, but by and large the W. P. A. is doing a great job for the Nation and for humanity throughout every State and throughout the entire Nation. [Applause.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DITTER].

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, we heard a very eloquent and patriotic appeal delivered this morning by the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES]. I believe it was a timely warning. I believe it was a warning that should be heeded. I believe that warning has a direct pertinency to the bill we are now considering. I have nothing but the highest degree of confidence in the honesty of purpose and the integrity of the man who is presently the Administrator of the Work Projects Administration. However, I think it is unfortunate that the record discloses that the dangers against which the gentleman from Texas warned this morning apparently have not been made plain to the Work Projects Administrator. I refer to the record of the hearings when the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH] made inquiry with reference to the oath-of-allegiance provision of the present act.

I refer to page 682 and the pages immediately following. During the course of the examination by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH] the following questions and answers appear of record, and I read from page 685:

> Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. You do not know of any organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government?
>
> Colonel HARRINGTON. No, sir.

I interject at this time that that is positive, that is unequivocal.

> No, sir—

Said Colonel Harrington—

> the Communist Party does not, according to its constitution and its platform of 1936. In the Presidential election they did not advocate the overthrow of the Government. I do not think that the gentleman who ran for Congress in New York last month advocated the overthrow of the Government.
>
> My position in this matter is that if Congress wants members of the Communist Party barred from the W. P. A. they ought to say the same thing concerning them that the act now says concerning aliens, and then we will keep them off. But I confess that I cannot at the moment name any organization in this country that advocates the overthrow of the Government.

It seems to me that it is a regrettable thing if an Army officer who, for the time being, serves as the administrator of a colossal agency such as the Work Projects Administration presently is, dealing as it does with intensely human problems, having at his command an extensive investigation bureau and a wide research department, makes the statement that he has no knowledge of any organization which has for its purpose the overthrow of the Government. It seems to me one of two things must be true. Either the gentleman from Texas has indulged in an overstatement, in an exaggeration—and for myself I believe that he has not—or we must admit that an agency of the Government commanding, as W. P. A. does, the tremendous personnel which presently is on its pay roll——

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

What is the charge that the gentleman is making?

Mr. DITTER. I have not yielded, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I think the gentleman ought to yield for a question.

Mr. DITTER. I have not yielded, and I do not intend to be taken off my feet.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman is making a charge here. Why not tell what the charge is?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. NORRELL). The gentleman from Pennsylvania will proceed. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. DITTER. Now, to return after that uninvited interruption, I say that we have the alternative on the one side of extreme exaggeration and overstatement by our distinguished colleague the gentleman from Texas and I believe that with almost unanimity the House has confidence in the gentleman from Texas, or else we must admit the complacency and willingness to close its eyes of a great Federal agency to the imminence of a danger against which the gentleman from Texas warned this morning.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri and Mr. VOORHIS of California rose.

Mr. DITTER. At this point I yield to my distinguished colleague from Missouri.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman has read a statement by Colonel Harrington in which he says——

Mr. DITTER. I yield for a question, otherwise I assume the gentleman will yield me additional time.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. That the constitution and the platform of the Communist Party in 1936 did not say it is against the United States Government. I am asking why the gentleman has read this, and what it has to do with the matter at hand. I am asking if the gentleman is charging that this man is a Communist, or that W. P. A. is communistic or under Communist influences. What is the charge the gentleman is making?

Mr. DITTER. I can answer the gentleman from Missouri at this time by saying that if I have not made myself clear to him——

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman has not made himself clear to others.

Mr. DITTER. I think I have made myself clear to others when I said that either the gentleman from Texas exaggerated in his statement or else the Work Projects Administrator has been complacent in the matter of the dangers against which the gentleman from Texas warned.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The testimony of the gentleman from Texas in no way contradicts the statement that is made here.

Mr. DITTER. I yield no further, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DITTER. I yield to my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WALTER. When the last relief appropriation bill was passed, I offered an amendment that was adopted making it impossible to pay any part of the appropriation to any person belonging to an organization the purpose of which was to advocate the overthrow of the Government through force and violence. Does the gentleman contend that that provision has been ignored?

Mr. DITTER. As usual, my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, with forethought and care, made provision which should have been a barrier against such conditions as presently exist. Unfortunately, that provision which the gentleman from Pennsylvania believed, and honestly believed, would provide the barrier, has by the interpretation placed upon it proved of little value.

Mr. WALTER. Then it seems to me that some of us ought to offer an amendment mentioning the Communist Party by name.

Mr. DITTER. I understand that such an amendment will be offered. I hope that my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania may be the father, and I assure him that the support which is usually accorded to all his constructive suggestions will be wholeheartedly given on the Republican side.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DITTER. I am sorry I cannot yield further; I wish that I might.

Mr. Chairman, yesterday the President addressed a joint session of the Congress. One paragraph of that message is just as applicable in the consideration of the relief measure now before us as it was in the preparedness address. In describing the characteristics of a free people, the President said:

> Our security is not a matter of weapons alone. The arm that wields them must be strong; the eye that guides them clear; the will that directs them indomitable.

I believe that to be true. And because I believe it is true I am compelled to be critical of a relief program that has palsied by paternalism the arm that should be strong; that has dimmed by disappointment the eye that should be clear; that has broken by benevolences the will that should be indomitable.

Yesterday the President presented a serious problem—and rightly so—the need for an immediate examination of our defensive strength against any possible danger. He was right when he said "these are ominous days." But, no matter how urgent this examination is, no matter how potential any danger may be, I believe, Mr. Chairman, work instead of war should be our first concern today, and that the mobilization of the manpower of America in productive private enterprise is as much of a compelling challenge toward which our attention should be directed as the disquieting fear of a foreign invasion. America busy at work will mean America invincible in war. [Applause.]

Our situation calls, first, for calm judgment and cool action. Patriotism must avoid the pitfalls of hysterical decisions. Solid measures of national defense can stem only from the deliberate will and clear purpose of the American people.

These fundamentals may be assured by faithful adherence to the traditional principles and forms of orderly representative government. We should bear in mind constantly the admonition of Woodrow Wilson:

> The highest and best efficiency is the spontaneous cooperation of a free people.

I believe that the defense of democracy never can begin with the abandonment of democratic processes.

Seven years ago this House voted the first appropriation for unemployment relief under the present administration. It was looked upon as an emergency measure—a temporary expedient—to tide over until the forces of recovery could be brought into operation. The predictions which were made at that time by the majority were certainly not predicated on the assumption that 7 years later we would still be called upon to appropriate a sum such as it now suggests is necessary for unemployment relief. A more abundant life could hardly be said to include a contemplation of this kind. Certainly no one on the majority side would have admitted at that time that after 7 years no effective remedy would be found for continued widespread unemployment, and that a relief administrator would express the opinion in 1940 that a colossal relief agency appeared to be a permanent necessity for years to come. To clamp down upon the American people the hardships of a temporary emergency as a permanent way of life by the establishment of an extravagant, inefficient, and wasteful relief program was neither promised nor predicted by the majority party.

And yet, that is just what we have, nothing more, nothing less—a temporary emergency program transformed into a permanent way of living, a subsistence standard instead of a working wage, a socialized unemployment bureau instead of a recovery plan in the interests of private enterprise.

After Seven Years. That is a rather interesting title. I believe it is the title of Ray Moley's book—After Seven Years—you know after 7 years what the record is, mark you, not the charges, not the indictment of an opposition party, but the record itself establishes certain indisputable facts from which certain other conclusions inevitably must be drawn about recovery and relief.

Let us see what that record establishes in the way of facts. First, during all of my time in the House the one defense that I have heard from the Democratic side, when the charge has been made that the efforts at recovery have collapsed,

I say the one answer has always been, "Look at the conditions in 1932." Now, I submit that a lot of water has gone over the dam since 1932; and a lot of money has been spent since 1932; and a lot of promises have been made since 1932; and a lot of wild-eyed, star-gazing theorists, with an abundance of experiments have been let loose since 1932, with little to show for it all. So I challenge the majority, as you bring the picture of 1932 to the country as your only answer for the collapse of your own efforts, for goodness' sake be honest enough to say that 7 long years have elapsed since then. Let the record show that billions and billions of dollars have been spent and that, despite these expenditures, unemployment is almost the same today as it was 7 years ago. Secondly, it is an established fact that there has been no sustained and substantial recovery during the intervening period in these last 7 years.

Oh, yes; we had the war boomlet of last fall. I would hestitate because of my feeling for my distinguished friend from Missouri and my feeling for some of my other Democratic colleagues to read at this time from the record the indictment not framed by a Republican, but the indictment of Colonel Harrington himself, about the collapse of the war boomlet of last fall. Read the record. Read why the President changed the plan that he originally submitted when the Budget was presented, why more funds are requested. I am making no charges, mark you. My regard, my friendship, my feeling for these friends on the Democratic side would not permit me to make a charge, but I want you to read the record of what Colonel Harrington has said as to what happened to the war boomlet of last fall. The same thing is true year after year. A continual record of ups and downs, the toboggans, so to speak—up she goes and down she goes—but nowhere a level of sustained or substantial recovery.

So I submit a second fact is established, not by the charge of a Republican, not by the charge of a minority, but established by the record itself and those in charge of the administration of relief.

I believe the record establishes a further fact. I believe the record definitely establishes that this gigantic agency called W. P. A. has been honeycombed with politics and has been sabotaged by inefficiency. Page after page of these hearings give recitals of facts, the details of which I need not dwell upon, but which establish beyond the shadow of a doubt the part that politics has played in relief and the inefficiency which has made such participation possible.

I cannot help but refer to the fact that the committee which investigated W. P. A. is a committee of the House, with the majority substantially represented on that committee. There were far more Democrats than Republicans on that committee. I must call attention to the fact that this investigation was not sponsored or urged by the opposition party seeking political advantage. I commend the majority. I commend it for the spirit which prompted it to investigate its own agency. The record of that investigation is a record made by a majority of Democrats and a rather small representation of Republicans. That record establishes waste, inefficiency, extravagance, political—I was going to say cunning, but I shall not use that word and shall say political craftsmanship as a part of this agency. That record establishes what the conditions are in W. P. A. I cannot breach the confidence of the committee. Would that the record might be read of where able Democrats stood with reference to what this record proves. Read the part that some courageous, honest, fearless, capable Democrats took as they established the record of inefficiency and extravagance in dealing with the relief of the needy. The defense will undoubtedly be made that all this was prior to 1936—that a change has taken place. To some extent that is true; improvement has been made.

It is fortunate that erring souls become penitent. Heaven would not be ours were it not for the fact that we come to the point of penitence and in the spirit of contrition seek forgiveness and ultimate salvation.

But, had it not been for the investigating committee of the House, there is grave doubt whether either the sins of omission or commission of W. P. A. would ever have been called to the attention of the Congress and the country. I remind the House today that W. P. A. has its own investigating organization. It has had it from the beginning. Let us see how much it has spent on that organization. I point out to you that the Division of Investigation of the W. P. A. since 1935 has spent $1,170,600 for salaries and $380,000 for travel. And what did it produce?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 10 minutes additional.

Mr. DITTER. I submit that with that money expended, W. P. A. should have come to the House, it should have come to my distinguished friend from Missouri [Mr. CANNON], and should have told us of the sins, of the mistakes, and mismanagement which are now admitted. With that splendid forthrightness which the gentleman from Missouri at all times manifests, with that courage and conviction with which he always defends his position, I feel confident that the gentleman would have informed the House of what was going on in the W. P. A., and which should have been discovered by its own investigating committee. I submit that this record has been established, not by the charges of Republicans but established by the acts of omission and commission of this agency itself.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot help but refer to a statement made yesterday by our distinguished colleague from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM]. I think I quote him correctly when I say that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] made the declaration yesterday, "We are on the wrong road," and if I do quote him incorrectly, I stand correction at his hands.

Said the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM], "We are on the wrong road." That is a statement as to the present and I concur in that statement 100 percent. No truer words were ever uttered in the Well of the House than the statement, "We are on the wrong road," but I wish he had added just one more thought. I wish he had said, "We are on the wrong road, and we have been on the wrong road for the last 7 years." Then we would have had before us a complete statement of the facts; for, after all, it is because we have been on the wrong road for the last 7 years that we are faced with the difficulty which presently confronts us. It is because we have been on the wrong road that the record is what it is. For instance, if we had not been on the wrong road we would not have had the record of the purchase of 1,000 wheelbarrows for the use of 100 workmen.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DITTER. Did you get that? One thousand wheelbarrows for one hundred workmen. I know the dexterity of some people, and I know the facility with which they can handle wheelbarrows, but I confess, however ambitious a man may be, however dextrous he may be, I cannot imagine how one man could handle 10 wheelbarrows.

Mr. CREAL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DITTER. I am sorry. I wish I had the time to do it, and if the gentleman will get the time from the gentleman from Missouri, I would be very glad to yield to him.

I feel I would not be discharging my duty to the House were I not to call these matters to your attention. This record is voluminous. You are busy men. You may not have an opportunity to read it.

We were on the wrong road when 800 axes were bought to cut down 50 trees.

Eight-hundred-and-odd axes—I think the figure was 824—eight-hundred-and-odd axes to fell 50 trees. That takes a lot of chopping. I have been to California and I have seen the giant trees there. I have been up in the New England States and I have seen them there; but I cannot imagine—and I challenge your imagination as it takes its wildest flight—I cannot imagine the need of 824 axes to fell 50 trees. Oh, I know the explanation that was made. The explanation was made that they should not have gotten there; that those 824 axes should not have been on that job; and that the 1,000 wheelbarrows should not have arrived there; it was just a mistake.

Well, I say this, and I say it in all seriousness, that we have only scratched the surface in this investigation. We picked up the 824 axes. We picked up the 1,000 wheelbarrows, and I venture the suggestion that if an exhaustive examination were made, if the whole lid were taken off, if this thing were looked into from beginning to end, you would find axes upon axes, wheelbarrows upon wheelbarrows, of which these are but types, multiplied many times. I have charged in no way that these 900 extra wheelbarrows were stolen. They probably arrived at some other job.

I have not said that these extra axes which the woodsmen could not use to fell 50 trees were stolen. They probably did some chopping some place. I do not believe they ever chopped very much at administrative expenses. [Laughter.] Probably they did some chopping. But I do say this, that it indicates a looseness; it is an evidence of poor bookkeeping; it is an evidence of faulty administration; it shows a degree of inefficiency. If these wheelbarrows and axes are characteristic of what is going on in W. P. A., then the sooner we take the suggestion of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM]—and, mark you, not a Republican—and say to this colossal agency, "The time of your departure has come," the better the Government will be, and the better the needs of our unemployed millions will be met.

Mr. VOORHIS of California and Mr. EBERHARTER rose.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. DITTER. I decline to yield.

The message to W. P. A. should be, the time for your departure has come. The swan song must be sung. The curtain is to be called down. All of the forces of private enterprise are going to be permitted to go to work. This extravagant experiment, called a relief agency entailing thousands upon thousands of dollars of travel; travel to Kentucky Derbies; travel to the choicest football games; travel to the sunny sands of Florida should be ended. Return relief to the States where the neighbors know the needs. The curtain should be dropped on W. P. A. and the forces of private enterprise, with wages which American workmen want to earn, should be encouraged to adventure. The monkey-wrenches which have been thrown into the wheels of industry as it wants to get going, should be removed. Abusive methods, holding up to scorn private investment, private capital, private profit, the right to reward, and proper reward for the investment of time and money and energy and initiative should come to an end. The W. P. A. has played its part. The fact that it has failed is a disappointment to many. The record has been written. If there are those who draw the conclusion from that record that W. P. A. has been wasteful, extravagant, and inefficient, it, and it alone, is responsible for the facts from which such conclusions are drawn. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, it has been my good fortune to serve with the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DITTER] on many subcommittees, and I have a great admiration for him personally and officially. His legal acumen is a valuable asset to any committee and he always makes an interesting speech. My only regret is that he never seems to be able to see anything good on this side of the aisle.

But the gentleman mentioned one matter which I think should have a little attention, an apparent attempt to connect W. P. A. with communism. In the committee hearings, which have been going on intermittently for a long time, more attention has been given, more time and money has been spent, more men have been employed in an attempt to connect W. P. A. with communism and subversive influences than any other feature that has been investigated. They have never anywhere been able to connect in any degree whatever W. P. A. management with communism or with communistic influence or with subversive control. I ask you to read the testimony from page to page.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Yes; I yield to my friend from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DITTER. Just for a short observation and the gentleman's concurrence, if he sees fit to give it. The gentleman does not in any way suggest that I have either read incorrectly from the record, or attempted an interpretation thereof, that the surrounding circumstances and facts would not warrant.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. What the gentleman read was correct, but he read it here in opening his speech, and with an intimation which cannot be mistaken. There could have been no other purpose but an attempt to connect the W. P. A. with communism.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield again to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DITTER. Am I to understand from that that the gentleman did not feel, as I did, that the very splendid and eloquent warning sounded by our colleague from Texas should have gone unheeded, and that we had really no purpose in accepting the warning of the distinguished gentleman from Texas? It was only because of his splendid appeal that I felt constrained to make the observation which I did.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Of course the gentleman felt constrained. But the gentleman from Texas himself, in response to my question, said that there was absolutely nothing in the instance he cited to indicate any connection of any kind between W. P. A. and communism. He said that this man happened to be 1 of the 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 W. P. A. workers. That was merely incidental. His case had no more to do with this bill than any other of the two or three million of his associates.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Members on the other side of the aisle, and particularly our good friend from Pennsylvania, speak about turning things over to the business people of this country. They forget that that is just what was done without reservation from 1929 to 1933, and the result was that in 1933 we had 15,000,000 people out of work. Not a single obstacle was put in the way of the previous administration.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will my good friend from Missouri permit me to answer that statement by the gentleman from New York?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania for a brief reply.

Mr. DITTER. I regret exceedingly that the gentleman from New York was not here at the time I began my speech.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I am, too. I should like to have heard all of the gentleman's statement, for I like to hear his speeches.

Mr. DITTER. I know he was busy on the public business. May I point out to the gentleman from New York, however, that the first statement I made in connection with the establishment of the record was the fact that thus far I have heard no other defense for the failure of the New Deal than to refer us to 1933.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. What excuse has the gentleman?

Mr. DITTER. A great deal of water has gone over the wheel since then, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to my good friend from Massachusetts.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Merely in the interest of accuracy I may state that Mr. Dolsen, according to the record, was a lecturer, or teacher on the adult education program and not merely one of the project workers.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. He was one of millions of employees of W. P. A. He was certified by the local certifying agency as a needy unemployed teacher. The W. P. A. had no knowledge of his political or sectarian affiliations. Even if it had been known, the W. P. A. could no more refuse to employ him because of personal views than a Baptist or a Democrat.

Mr. DITTER. Does the gentleman include Republicans in that, too?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Under the law the W. P. A. cannot refuse employment to any one on account of church or political affiliation. Last year's law contained the proviso that no person shall be employed on a W. P. A. project who is a member of an organization which advocates or teaches the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence.

I think it was the gentleman from Massachusetts who inquired of Colonel Harrington why Communists were allowed to have employment under W. P. A., and Colonel Harrington made the reply that has been cited. As Colonel Harrington well says, this provision of law does not prevent Communists from being employed, because the only official information W. P. A. had upon which a refusal of employment could be predicated is the last platform of the Communist Party, and that platform contains no commitments which bring that party within the purview of the law.

Now, I am opposed to putting Communists on Government pay rolls of any kind, anywhere, under any circumstances. I have no sympathy with them or their doctrine; and Colonel Harrington, as an officer of the United States Army, of course, has no connection or sympathy with any individual or collection of individuals advocating overthrow of the United States Government. Such a charge against Colonel Harrington is ridiculous. Colonel Harrington is a World War veteran. He served with distinction and was promoted for meritorious service. He helped organize the engineer school at Belvoir. After the war he was district engineer for 4 years at Baltimore, Md.; was assistant engineer on the Panama Canal in charge of the locks; served on the General Staff School of the Army at Fort Leavenworth; served 4 years on the War Department General Staff in Washington as executive of that division; attended and was graduated from the Ecole de Guerre in France, the French school for the training of officers of high command; was detailed to duty with the W. P. A. and voluntarily relinquished the salary of $10,000 which the position pays and accepted his Army pay, which is two or three thousand dollars a year less. His administration in W. P. A. has so impressed the members of the investigating committee that the committee unanimously included in the pending bill a clause qualifying him for retention as a member of the administration board. This voluntary action by a critical committee is the highest testimonial to his integrity and efficiency that could be paid him. It is inconceivable that he could be subject to a subversive influence, and no quotation of any isolated sentence from the hearings can possibly implicate either him or the W. P. A. in any communistic relation.

Mr. Chairman, throughout this investigation every effort has been made to connect W. P. A. with communism—and all to no effect. You can look through the record and you will not find a single instance in which they were able to show any relation between W. P. A. and any communistic or other subversive influence. To show to what extent they went in the attempt to connect W. P. A. with communism, they went to New York and brought down to Washington at Government expense a Negro woman and put her on the stand and had her testify that she was a Communist. They produced her card showing membership in the Communist Party, and they said:

> There! You see W. P. A. is communistic. Here is a Negro woman who has a card showing membership in the Communist Party.

And I asked:

> Is this woman on W. P. A.?
> No.
> Has she ever been on W. P. A.?
> No.
> Have you any information that she ever will be on W. P. A.?
> No.
> Has she any connection with W. P. A.?
> No.

The woman had no connection with W. P. A. whatever, yet they brought her down here to testify in this investigation. They went further than that; they did something that is seldom done in committee hearings. They incorporated a picture in the hearings. That is something unusual, and whenever it is done it involves additional cost to the Government in the printing of the hearings. What do you suppose that picture was? It was a picture of a card showing the membership of this Negro woman in the Communist Party. What did that have to do with the investigation? She said she never had been on W. P. A., that she never had any intention of going on W. P. A., that she did not know anything about W. P. A.; yet they brought her down here to testify at Government expense, and they put a photograph of that card in the hearings. They might as well have put in the hearings a picture of a card showing the membership of Joseph Stalin in the Communist Party. It would have been just as relevant. But it shows how anxious they were to tar W. P. A. with the odium of communism.

I want to know from my friend from Massachusetts why they tried to show that that woman was connected with the Communist Party and why they printed her membership card in the hearings. I yield to him to reply.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Will the gentleman deny that the record indicates that 13 out of 20 supervisory officials on the New York W. P. A. writers' project were known or admitted Communists?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I have asked the gentleman a reasonable question, and he tries to avoid answering by asking another question. When he answers my question I will answer him.

Will the gentleman answer my question? What was the purpose of bringing that woman to Washington? What was the purpose of printing that card in the hearings? What was the connection with W. P. A.?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. The woman had been a member of the Communist Party herself by her own statement. She seemed to be well qualified to give the testimony which she was called upon to give.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Had she ever been on the W. P. A.? Will the gentleman answer that question?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I do not think this particular witness had been. How about answering my question?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman says she had not been on the W. P. A. Why did you print her card?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. The witness had knowledge of the people connected with it.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. She gave absolutely no testimony that would connect W. P. A. with communism. No such testimony can be cited in the hearings. If she made any such statement, I yield to the gentleman to read it. Her testimony and the card were wholly irrelevant to the investigation. The evidence would not have been admitted in any court of law in the land, from the Supreme Court to a justice of the peace court. Still they brought her down here at considerable expense to the Government and waste of time to the committee. And they went to the extraordinary length of making a photograph of the card and printing it in the hearings. It was the most unethical and unfair attempt to discredit W. P. A. that could have been attempted, and now the gentleman in debate by bringing in a disconnected quotation from Colonel Harrington's testimony, again raises the question, although there is not one scintilla of evidence to support it after months of futile search for something that would lend color to it.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The Labor Board would let it in.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I wonder if the gentleman from Missouri is going to answer my question.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman has not answered mine yet.

Mr. DITTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. In just a minute. I want to get through with the gentleman from Massachusetts. The gentleman concedes that this woman had no connection with W. P. A. and knew nothing about it. Yet they spent Government money to bring her down here.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. How much?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. And they printed her card in the hearings. It had nothing whatever to do with the question. It was just an attempt to smear the W. P. A. with communism. Now I am going to answer the gentleman's question. What is the gentleman's question?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. My question is whether the gentleman from Missouri will deny that thirteen out of twenty W. P. A. supervisory officials on the New York writers' project were shown to be known or admitted Communists?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. There were in the United States tens of thousands of supervisors. Now they come in here and say that because 15 of those happened to be Communists the whole W. P. A. is permeated with communism. Why, the W. P. A. did not know what their connections were, did not know what their religion or their politics or other beliefs were. Mr. Chairman, under the law, whenever a needy unemployed man comes and makes an application and qualifies they cannot ask that man to what organizations he belongs. They cannot ask him what church he attends. They cannot ask him with what political party he is affiliated. They can only ask if he is needy, if he is qualified, if he is properly certified, and on that basis they must employ him. Out of thousands of supervisory employees they say 13 were Communists, and they do not tell you the 13 were all fired long ago, and on that they attempt to smear the whole W. P. A. with communism.

Mr. DITTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DITTER. I want to express to the gentleman from Missouri my deep regret at the agitation I have apparently caused him at this time. May I quiet him probably in a better way by saying that Colonel Harrington, as I quoted originally, said that he knew of no organization that had as its purpose the overthrow of the Government. So, with that cautionary word I feel much of the gentleman's agitation can very properly subside.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I congratulate the gentleman that he seeks to make a pleasantry of it but the gentleman's quotation speaks for itself.

Mr. KITCHENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. KITCHENS. It seems that something over $6,000,000,000 has been spent by W. P. A. during the last few years. It has now simmered down as far as I am concerned to a question whether or not we can explain about the thousand wheelbarrows and 824 axes. If the thousand wheelbarrows were not stolen by anybody and if the 824 axes were not stolen, but were found at a place where they should have been, I think when that is explained the other side will be perfectly satisfied with the expenditure of this more than $6,000,000,000 in relief for the people of the United States. If the gentleman will explain that to me I am ready to adjourn the Congress for the day.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I am very glad to have the gentleman call attention to that matter. In the last 4½ years we have given employment to millions of men. We have saved 29,000,000 people from destitution. We have spent seven and one-half billion dollars. That record is before the American people. The W. P. A. has done a good job. It has achieved the purposes for which it was created, and the only criticism they can make is that a thousand wheelbarrows and 800 axes were purchased. They do not explain to you that every one of those wheelbarrows and axes were needed. They tried to make it appear that these were all for one project, when we had thousands of projects. The gentleman answered his own criticism when he went on to say that not one was stolen, not one was wasted, not one was lost. Every one was utilized. Men could not have worked without them. Then why are they making all this comment about them? It simply shows the poverty of their cause. It shows how little they can find to complain about.

The gentleman also stated that only the surface has been scratched; that if you took the top off of this, you would find a lot of rottenness underneath. Why, they combed W. P. A. projects from coast to coast. Every possible lead that gave the slightest promise of criticism of W. P. A., any possible chance that they could find something with which to smear the Government, to smear the administration, to smear the W. P. A., was taken up and was worked to the very bottom. No stone was left unturned. And at the end of this long investigation, costing nearly $100,000, all they have to report is 1,000 wheelbarrows and 800 axes—and they concede that they were properly accounted for to the last wheelbarrow and the last ax.

If you will take this record of the hearings and read each case in full, there is not a single instance to the discredit of W. P. A. Of course, there were irregularities. Every department has them, but every one was promptly remedied.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The gentleman answered his own question when he said that the W. P. A. had cleaned its own house.

Mr. DITTER. I ask the gentleman to yield to me. He is quoting me.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The testimony will show that practically every one of these cases brought up in this investigation were dead cats; they were disposed of long ago. W. P. A. investigated them as fast as they came up and remedied them. Practically all of them were taken out of the files of W. P. A. after the W. P. A. had found them and had remedied them and had closed the files.

Any department of this Government has irregularities. We have sent more men to the penitentiary from the Post Office Department than from W. P. A. in the same length of time. We have sent more men to the penitentiary from the Treasury Department than have been sent from W. P. A. in a like period. When you take millions of men from all walks of life and from all sections of the country inevitably you are going to get some who do not measure up. You cannot expect any department to be 100 percent perfect, but I say, comparing them department for department, man for man, record for record, the record made by W. P. A. is one in which every American citizen can take pride—pride in the ability of democracy to govern itself, pride in the integrity of its civil administration. Every red-blooded man should resent this attempt to besmear an organization unparalleled in the history of the human race in its contribution to human philanthropy. [Applause.]

Under the leave to print, previously granted, I append the additional views accompanying the report of the committee:

ADDITIONAL VIEWS

Following the business depression which reached its height in the early thirties, the Government found itself confronted with the problem of providing for an army of unemployed variously estimated at from 12,000,000 to 18,000,000 and dependents in urgent need of food and shelter in numbers unprecedented in the history of the Nation. To meet this situation the Works Progress Administration was created May 6, 1935.

The new agency was faced with a task of staggering magnitude. Every community in the land must be serviced promptly and effectively. Personnel must be assembled, projects authorized, routine established, work or direct relief provided for every needy family, and billions of dollars disbursed honestly, accurately, and effectively. By December, 2,800,000 were employed. Early in 1936 the number was in excess of 3,000,000. The problem had been solved. In testifying before our committee the chairman of the Conference of Mayors, representing the mayors of every major city. in the United States, stated that without that program hardly an American city could have survived.

The salient feature of the program was that it was a work program. Under it men earned their bread by the sweat of their brow. In that respect it was a typically American solution of the problem. In addition the projects were of a character to add materially to the assets of the communities which they served.

Expended in the form of a dole, the funds used in the program would have left behind no visible results, no tangible evidence, save the improved economic conditions which it primarily sought to achieve. But when applied to the construction of public works and facilities it has provided the same measure of relief and rehabilitation and, in addition, has brought to every community in the land permanent contributions to the assets of States and municipalities which could not otherwise have been supplied and the value of which cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents.

The four and one-half years of the operation of the Work Projects Administration, up to January 1, 1940, witnessed the addition of vast increments to the public assets of every State in the Union and practically every city and town of the Nation.

One-seventh of all the highways, roads, and streets in the United States, or more than 457,000 miles, have been built, reconstructed, or improved by W. P. A. workers in 4½ years of operations.

In addition to roads and streets, the largest single classification of W. P. A. projects, the first report covered the construction of airports, airways, and other transportation facilities. For every 10 miles you drive, an average of 1½ miles have been built or improved by W. P. A. workers.

Adopting a familiar form of comparison, the total mileage of highways, roads, and streets built or improved by W. P. A. in 4½ years would be approximately equal in length to 147 transcontinental highways from New York to Los Angeles or Seattle.

Twenty-three thousand new public buildings, including more than enough school buildings to supply one to each of the 3,070 counties in the United States, are among public improvements the Nation has received in exchange for its work-relief program during the last 4½ years.

But this inventory of construction, imposing as it is, constitutes the least important part of the achievements of the program. For full appraisal of the program it is necessary to consider not only the permanent contributions to communities in the form of physical assets but also the health, educational, cultural, and service programs conducted through W. P. A. nonconstruction projects.

On the professional and service side of the W. P. A. program, the report shows adult education to be an outstanding activity. In addition to 309,000 enrollees studying for citizenship or learning to read or write, vocational-training classes claimed 195,000 students and correspondence work 48,000 in a 2-week period studied. Forums and lectures conducted by W. P. A. project employees had an aggregate attendance of 162,000.

W. P. A. also operated 1,550 nursery schools, providing scientific care and preschool training during the 2 weeks for 43,700 children of unemployed and destitute families, the report shows. Special instruction was given 4,200 institutionalized and handicapped children.

In the health program, it was found in a typical 2-week period that nearly a quarter of a million examinations and treatments were given in W. P. A. operated or staffed medical and dental clinics, and in schools and homes to children and adults who were unable to pay for such services. Nearly 82,500 tests for specific diseases, and more than 17,000 immunization treatments were reported.

Closely related in the effect on the Nation's physical welfare were more than 1,000,000 lunches served by W. P. A. workers on a single day to needy and undernourished children in more than 11,000 schools, the housekeeping assistance given 57,000 needy families in a single month, and manufacture of 218,000,000 garments for the destitute during 4½ years.

Educational services provided by W. P. A. are reaching adults in classes with an aggregate enrollment of more than 1,000,000, the Nation-wide report shows, and more than 300,000 are enrolled in literacy and naturalization classes alone.

On the basis of a special survey last year, when the rolls were larger, the public-recreation activities, supervised by trained W. P. A. workers, were found, in a typical week, to be equivalent to participation for 1 hour each by 15,000,000 persons. Nearly half of this was physical recreation, both indoors and out, and the rest was divided principally between social and cultural recreation. The benefits of such supervised leisure-time activity are readily apparent, particularly in communities with much unemployment, short working hours, and low income.

While the W. P. A. construction program has been building up the physical plant of the Nation, the professional and service projects have been contributing to its health and culture. Most of the millions of persons who this report indicates are deriving benefits from the "white collar" projects are in the lowest-income brackets and could not afford the important services and assistance our project workers have been able to provide. There are communities today in which the only public-health facilities are those provided by W. P. A. or where the only library is staffed by them, or the only opportunity for adults to study is afforded by W. P. A. teachers.

Medical clinics operated by W. P. A. or staffed with W. P. A. assistants provided 119,000 examinations and treatments and dental clinics; 35,000 during the first 2 weeks in January, the report shows. Home visits by W. P. A. nurses and doctors provided 17,000 examinations and treatments. In the schools, 35,000 examinations and treatments of various kinds were given.

Traffic safety also was enhanced by the painting of control lines totaling 4,576 miles in length and the erection of 638,848 traffic signs. In improving road and street lighting, 21,696 light standards were installed, equipping nearly a thousand miles of thoroughfares, and an additional 55,312 light standards were rebuilt or improved along 1,378 miles. Thousands are alive today and able-bodied who but for these safety facilities supplied by W. P. A. would have been principals in the long list of fatalities and casualties which are incident to unheeded hazards of highway and street.

Sewing projects, up to January 1, had completed 48,000,000 men's garments, 59,000,000 women's garments, and 110,000,000 garments for children and infants. Other items, such as towels, sheets, and surgical dressings, aggregated 66,500,000. The articles, produced by sewing projects, which comprise the largest single aspect of the W. P. A. nonconstruction program, were distributed by public relief agencies to needy persons.

A feature which is too often overlooked was the preservation of self-respect. By giving the unemployed jobs on useful public projects we have also kept them off local relief rolls and preserved—in many cases, improving—their skills in preparation for the time when they could again find private employment.

In view of this magnificent record unparalleled in modern or ancient history it is startling to read the report of the committee and find no mention of the two outstanding features of the W. P. A.—the millions supplied with work and self-respect and sustenance, the uninterrupted economic routine of the Nation, and this vast increment of permanent improvements unequaled in any land in any similar period. The committee dismisses this stupendous record of accomplishment with the single grudging sentence: "One cannot depreciate the beneficial achievements of W. P. A. either from the standpoint of the work relief furnished to needy persons or from the standpoint of the public improvements that have resulted." And after reading the questions propounded to witnesses by the committee it is plain that the reason they did not "depreciate" them was only because it would have been absurd to have attempted it. Inasmuch as the committee report raises the question of impartiality, those who take the time to read two voluminous transcripts of the investigation will note that there were two classes of witnesses heard by the committee. The first class was made up of the paid investigators and the witnesses they subpenaed. The other class consisted of those who appeared voluntarily, the Governors, the mayors, and a representative of the National Conference of Catholic Charities.

The first class of witnesses invariably testified against W. P. A. Everything they brought in was in criticism of some isolated project or some minor detail of local administration. Much of their testimony was irrelevant. Some of it was later recanted. Some of it, as the Administrator said in his statement to the committee, was "completely untrue," and a great deal of it was past history and obsolescent.

All other witnesses uniformly commended W. P. A. as serving the purpose for which created, providing worth-while projects, under efficient supervision and free from political or subversive influence. Look through the hearings of the printed hearings on this investigation. It is a voluminous record, but it is worth your time because of the remarkable difference in the cross examination accorded the two groups of witnesses. Invariably the statements of those who criticized W. P. A. were unchallenged and the only inquiries addressed to them were for the purpose of bringing out further criticism, while the only questions directed at witnesses who commended W. P. A. took issue with the witness and were of a nature to discredit the favorable testimony. Look through the hearings for yourself, and in all the 2,600 pages you cannot find one question that challenges a criticism of W. P. A. or one question that approves a commendation of W. P. A.

But the most arresting feature of the evidence submitted in this hearing is the fact that in all the debate on the floor in the previous session, the evidence of those criticizing W. P. A. was repeatedly cited, while no favorable testimony of those who approved W. P. A. has been mentioned. The committee had before it some of the most eminent men of the Nation, men especially versed in the subject under investigation and of unimpeachable integrity, testifying under oath, and yet in all the debate in support of this bill there is not a word from any of them, while the testimony of ne'er-do-wells, fired or demoted by W. P. A., men whom W. P. A. had refused to employ, men with a grudge against W. P. A., is set forth in detail.

The most eminently qualified witness who appeared before the committee during the hearing was Monsignor O'Grady, who has been actively engaged in welfare work since 1912, is the author of books on the subject and has supervised the construction of hospitals, schools, and other church buildings. He is the secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities and has set up most of the local agencies of that organization throughout the United States. He has within the past year visited more States and more counties in the States and has personally inspected more W. P. A. projects than any other witness who testified before the committee. His testimony is the most pertinent and the most authoritative of the entire hearing.

We also had before the committee a man who had never been able to hold a job in his life. He could not even hold a W. P. A. job. So far as W. P. A. was concerned, he had never been outside his own State until he came to Washington with expenses paid by the committee.

The testimony of these two men did not agree on any point. They testified on the same subject, and in no instance were they in even remote agreement. And yet when the testimony of witnesses was cited yesterday in the debate here by the gentlemen on both sides of the aisle in charge of this investigation, Monsignor O'Grady was not even mentioned. His testimony was ignored and discredited by citation of the unsupported opinions of the ne'er-do-well who had contradicted him.

Of course, an expenditure of such unprecedented amounts—in so broad a field, along new and untrodden paths, without blueprints or formulas from the past—is inevitably attended by complaint and criticism, and no doubt there is ample occasion for both. "Men given work who do not deserve it"—"men denied work who should have it"—political exploitation—waste—favoritism—by village, State, or Nation. Militant delegations of Democrats call, write, telegraph, protesting against the prostitution of W. P. A. by Republican foremen for political purposes. Militant Republicans vigorously protest against the use by Democratic foremen of W. P. A. positions to control the election of constables and school directors,

not to mention Senators and Presidents. And all of them are more or less justified. For in the enlistment of personnel in a huge organization extending across the continent you cannot change every Democrat and every Republican to a cloistered, nonpartisan eunuch in the twinkling of an eye or in any other space of time. They are still Democrats. They are still Republicans. They still have their personal prejudices and their local interests to serve. And no amount of announcement of precept or policy from Washington can neutralize them. In every Red Cross drive and every Community Chest campaign, in every church and fraternal program for local relief, the supervising administration is confronted by precisely these same problems. Those receive who do not need. And those who deserve are neglected. And political support in church or lodge or school election is solicited on the strength of largess so distributed. But it is a testimonial to American efficiency and American integrity, and a matter of gratification to every American citizen, that in the distribution of billions of dollars through W. P. A. from the back rooms of that dingy yellow brick building on a side street in Washington—from which the W. P. A. was administered—not a dime of the billions that flowed like an avalanche through its doors ever stuck to the hands of the Administrator or the efficient staff that occupied the building with him. That record is one of the brightest chapters in American history and one in which every citizen of the Republic can take pride.

And among all the welter of attempted political maneuvering by the local small-fry ward heelers of all parties, one conclusive and irrefutable record stands out. In the interest of President Roosevelt and Administrator Hopkins, the election in Michigan took precedence over the election in any other State. It was the only State—outside of his own State of New York—in which President Roosevelt went on the air to specifically urge the election of his personal candidates. Certainly if the weight and prestige of the W. P. A. was to be used in any State it would be used in Michigan. What actually was the course of W. P. A. in the Michigan campaign? In September 1938 W. P A. expenditures in Michigan reached $14,-251,125.45. In October—just when the campaign was hottest and sentiment was crystallizing—expenditures were reduced to $11,-243,614.37. And in November—the month of the election—expenditures were further dropped to $9,489,342.44. On September 3, 1938, W. P. A. was employing in Michigan 202,296 men—potential voters. On September 17 the number had been reduced to 197,943; on October 1, to 181,176; October 15, to 172,424; October 29, to 165,264; and by the day of the election, November 8, the number had dropped to 159,139. If W. P. A. was being used for political purposes anywhere in the United States, it would have been used in Michigan. Additional men would have been employed—larger sums would have been expended. But during the heat of the campaign—when the issue hung in the balance—steadily through September and October the number of men was decreased and the amount of money expended was reduced. There could be no more striking or convincing evidence of the nonpartisan integrity of the high command in charge of this stupendous army of voters and the fabulous sums of money being daily expended in every community in the Nation.

A study of the Pennsylvania election is equally convincing. Pennsylvania did not even get the quota to which the State was entitled, much less a plethora of jobs for political purposes. And a scrutiny of the rolls shows that the major increases just prior to the election were in the South where there could not possibly have been any occasion for political coercion. The Louisiana charge of political complicity was wholly without foundation and no connection was ever found or could have been found between W. P. A. and local political factions. The Department of Justice made an exhaustive investigation of the State W. P. A. administrator and completely absolved him of any connection with local scandals.

It may be said just as emphatically that the statement in the report that misdeeds "were known to the W. P. A. and nothing was done about them" is not sustained by the facts.

But the one outstanding feature of this investigation has been the attempt to show control of W. P. A. by Communists. It runs throughout the hearings, the effort to show subserviency by the administration of W. P. A. to subversive elements. More time was given to this feature of the investigation than to any other. Paid investigators were sent out to secure reports on it. Whole sessions of the committee were given to the question as to whether the Workers Alliance was communistic or not, a question wholly beside the point because they were never able to show that the Workers Alliance or the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O. controlled W. P. A. in the slightest. Evidence was submitted showing that all three made efforts to keep their membership on the rolls, and that members of all three organizations were on the rolls. but no evidence was ever produced to show control of W. P. A. by any of them. The lengths to which the committee went in its fruitless effort to tar the administration with communistic control is shown by two illustrations which were incorporated in the printed hearings. One is a facsimile of signatures of Communists in a book presented to a Communist by the name of Banta. The only connection was that these men worked on a W. P. A. project. It was never shown that they or any of them in any way controlled W. P. A., had anything to do with the administration of W. P. A., and the book had no bearing on the investigation. It could not have been admitted as testimony under any law of evidence.

The other was a photostat of a membership card in the Communist Party issued to a Negro woman by the name of Frankie Duty. This woman was never employed by W. P. A. at any time, and testified that she had no connection with W. P. A., and her testimony could not have been admitted by the remotest stretch of the imagination, but it was printed in the proceedings and the photograph of her membership card with it. No court of record would have admitted any of this evidence. It had nothing to do with the investigation authorized by the House.

It was shown that Communists worked on projects—along with every other creed and every shade of political and religious belief—but there was not the slightest testimony to show that the W. P. A. was under any subversive influence. The testimony of every unpaid witness was emphatic in denial of any such connection or control. Every mayor, regardless of party, including prominent men of all parties, and in widely separated sections of the country, testified unequivocally to freedom of the W. P. A. administration from subversive influence of any character.

Mr. Speaker, the miracle is that serious criticism can be made of the policies and administration of the W. P. A. The extent and diversity of the activity taxes the comprehension of one not familiar with its rapid development.

Considering the scope of the program operated by the W. P. A., it is interesting to note the statement by Colonel Harrington on April 23 in testifying before the committee:

"It seems to me that the investigators' remarks in this connection were based on a complete lack of comprehension as to the size and character of the operation which the W. P. A. is conducting in the field, and I would like to say that this is a difficulty which we often encounter. During the past winter we had at least 1 State in which the W. P. A. organization was employing a number of people equal to the entire enlisted and commissioned strength of the Regular Army of the United States. The total number of employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad System last year was approximately 100,000, which is considerably less than 5 percent of the employment on the W. P. A. program during the past winter months. Employment under many of our district offices is in excess of 25,000 It is very easy for a person drawing knowledge only from what he sees in the Washington office, and especially a person with little experience in operation, to fail to comprehend the very large and complicated operations that are going on in the field."

During its relatively short life the W. P. A. has employed 7,700,000 different persons, each of whom represents a wage earner for a household. Inasmuch as there are about 3.8 persons per family of W. P. A. workers, this means that more than 29,000,000 persons have received some part of their income from the W. P. A. The W. P. A. has operated 250,000 different projects. It has spent over seven and one-half billion dollars of Federal funds and has spent them in such a manner that 85 percent of the total has gone for wages of project workers, 11 percent has gone for the purchase of materials and the rental of equipment, and only 4 percent of all the money has gone for overhead.

It is a record in which every advocate of democratic government may take pride. When it became necessary to provide either work or charity for millions of unemployed—a situation without parallel in the history of the Nation, or of any other nation—it was necessary to adopt programs, institute agencies, and develop an organization without precedent or blueprint. It was necessary to provide and spend money on a scale undreamed of except in time of war. The administration met that situation. It formulated a program covering continental United States. It developed an organization comprising millions of employees. It raised and dispensed billions of dollars. It was an undertaking so vast and so intricate as to stagger comprehension. And the investigation shows that in that stupendous undertaking there is no evidence of corruption or malfeasance on the part of any major official. Of course, in an enterprise of that character without previous experience to serve as a guide, and dealing with every calling, profession, and industry, and with every conceivable class of individuals, there may have been mistakes. That is inevitable. But they have been honest mistakes and they have been corrected and are being corrected as rapidly as they develop. Colonel Harrington charged before the committee that testimony adduced in the investigation was inaccurate, unfair, and obsolete. And his statement was not challenged by any member of the committee. The conditions which he described were too patent to warrant debate, and yet, notwithstanding admission of such testimony, the chairman of the committee conceded that "so far as the honesty and integrity of the administration of Works Progress Administration is concerned, our investigation has not revealed anything to the contrary."

Of course, it is not 100-percent perfect. That is true of any department of the Government, and would be even more true if they were suddenly organized without previous experience. But that is not to the discredit of the Administration. More men have been sent to the penitentiary from the Post Office Department, for example, in the same length of time than from W. P. A.

The facts which will stand out when history is written is that the administration of the W. P. A. as been honest, efficient, and effective. It has achieved the purpose for which it was created. It has provided jobs. It has prevented chaos. It has saved privation and suffering. It has brought men self-respect. It has tided the Nation over an abyss the depths of which cannot be plumbed.

CLARENCE CANNON.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DITTER].

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, in order that the RECORD may be right, I want to direct the attention of the gentleman from Missouri to this fact: At no time during the course of my presentation did I make the admission that W. P. A. had cleaned its own house; at no time.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri rose.

Mr. DITTER. I do not yield.

I make this further declaration at this time, that this investigating committee, this smear which the gentleman from Missouri has referred to, has not been a smear effort of the Republicans. The Republicans were outvoted two to one on that committee. This has not been the minority. If anything has been shown, it has not been the minority alone but the majority joined by the minority. This has been the honest, fearless, conscientious work of Democrats, joined by the Republicans, to let the American people know what the conditions are and what they have been in connection with W. P. A. So I resent the effort on the part of the gentleman from Missouri to impute to the minority an effort to smear. This effort to disclose the facts, to tell the truth, to establish the record, was made by a group of Republicans supporting Democrats who had the courage of their convictions.

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

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 additional minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DITTER. I yield to my colleague from Georgia.

Mr. COX. I should like to read into the gentleman's remarks a telegram I have just received:

The following story appeared in the Miami Herald today: Al Berlin, who gets $75 a week and a liberal expense account as president of the investigated Miami Bartenders and Waiters Union, was revealed by the Herald Thursday as having been until recently on the W. P. A. pay roll here while holding down his union job. Another Miami union official, described only as Mr. Bagley, was assigned with Berlin to teach workers the Constitution. Roy Schroder, State director of the relief project which has just dropped several thousand of the indigent from its rolls because of exhausted funds, admitted Berlin had been on the pay roll. Pair given clean bill. Schroder did not assign Berlin to his job. That was done while the State organization was headed by Robert J. Dill, who, a House investigation in Washington on Wednesday revealed, was permitted to quit. Berlin, however, remained on the rolls until a probe was started by G. A. Worley, State attorney, into the union where he has as business agent and right-hand man, Danny Coughlin, brother-in-law of Al Capone.

When not busy with union affairs Coughlin sometimes guards the gate at the Capone mansion, 93 Palm Island, where he lives. Worley's investigation failed to show anything irregular with the Berlin-Coughlin management of the union and the State attorney gave the pair a clean bill of health. The investigation also failed to disclose Berlin's income from work supposedly limited to the poor and otherwise jobless.

The Herald learned that a heavy attack of the jitters ran through at least a part of the W. P. A. high command when this investigation of Berlin started, and efforts were made then and since to keep the information from being made public.

One office worker was quoted as saying, "Hell will be raised if the newspapers hear about this."

"He was put on the job before I took over," Schroder said when reached in Jacksonville by long-distance telephone. "This educational program is one of about 900 in the State, and it's possible the assignment came from Jacksonville, because Jacksonville is headquarters for this project."

"Did the investigation reveal that he was a $75-a-week union executive with a drawing account?" Schroder was asked.

"That, also, I am unable to answer without referring to the records. His appointment was before I took over."

"When did he go to work?"

"I don't know."

"When did he resign?"

"I don't know."

"Do you know that Berlin was one of a group all appointed in one letter?"

"I do not until I can refer to the records."

"Will you make this letter of appointment public?"

"I'm afraid now that you are asking me questions that I will not answer without referring them first to Colonel Harrington (W. P. A. Administrator) in Washington."

"What was the nature of the work to which Berlin was assigned?"

"To teach the workers things—like the Constitution and such. I'd have to refer to the records to give an exact outline."

"How much was he paid?"

"A little bit of a wage. I don't think it was over $75 a month."

Ralph Bagley, official of the Carpenters' Union, could not be reached Thursday night with a question as to whether he is the Mr. Bagley who shared the W. P. A. educational responsibilities with Berlin. Says he worked diligently.

Berlin, reached by telephone, admitted he had been on the rolls "for just a little while." He said he worked diligently for 70 hours each 2 weeks for the $67 a month he received. He described the work as "teaching union men parliamentary law so they could conduct meetings."

He denied his resignation was simultaneous with the start of Worley's inquiry, which was started after Westbrook Pegler, Herald columnist, charged the union he heads was "a racket of the new Capone mob."

Asked how he happened to land the job, Berlin replied:

"I just heard talk around the union that such jobs were available, so I put in for it, not being very active in the union at the time. I just put the application through the regular channels and got the job."

Under questioning by Worley, Berlin mentioned no break in his union job; no time when he was not on salary.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, I do appreciate the contribution from the distinguished gentleman from Georgia. I am happy to make this one observation, and that is that there can be no suggestion whatever that the indictment which has just been framed comes from the Republican side. I want the RECORD to show that very definitely. The distinguished gentleman from Missouri by inference and by the use of the pronoun "they" left the impression that we on this side were the ones who had attempted——

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, let us not make politics of it. Let me make this statement.

Mr. DITTER. I yield to the gentleman at this point.

Mr. COX. Let me say to the gentleman that I heard this story this morning and made inquiry about it, and this telegram was sent me confirming the report. I had never read it until I read it a moment ago.

Mr. DITTER. The gentleman has made a factual presentation, but I must insist that the RECORD should be kept straight, and that the Republicans in no way attempted to make political capital out of the investigation. If a disclosure of conditions is distasteful, no one is to blame but those who are responsible for the conditions. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

May I ask the gentleman from Georgia a question? Summarizing the telegram, what is it intended to show?

Mr. COX. I very frankly say that it shows to me that a very rotten condition exists in the W. P. A.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. What sort of rotten condition? The telegram does not show any rotten condition. It merely claims that some men got jobs who were related to a man sent to the penitentiary. W. P. A. is not authorized to inquire if an applicant for a job has any relatives who have been sent to jail. Does the gentleman mean that men are employed who are not entitled to employment?

Mr. COX. Here is the W. P. A. going out and engaging the services of a gatekeeper of Al Capone to teach parliamentary law to W. P. A. workers in order that they may know how to conduct meetings.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I am glad this telegram has been brought in here just at this time. It is typical of all the rotten stuff offered in the attempt to discredit W. P. A. in this investigation. There are over 2,000,000 people employed by W. P. A. at this minute in all parts of the United States on all kinds of projects. All of them have been recommended by the local certifying agency. The W. P. A. must depend on the certifying agencies to investigate each case and certify that the applicant is a needy unemployed worker and otherwise conforms to the requirements. Naturally in 2,000,000 workers in the United States there are instances in which the certifying agency has been imposed on and men have been certified who are not eligible. But that is no reflection on W. P. A. Any man in this room, if he were hiring 2,000,000 people, would unavoidably include one once in a while who did not come up to all the qualifications. It is absurd to claim that it reflects on W. P. A. in any way. Of course, neither Colonel Harrington nor any of his staff would know whether an applicant for a job was related to Al Capone or Joe Louis or George Washington. Of course not.

Mr. CANNON of Florida. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. In just a minute.

You can be certain the W. P. A. knew nothing about this particular man's relationship, because if there is anything that has been brought out in this investigation, it is that W. P. A. discharges a man the instant they find he is not qualified, or

that he is not entitled to employment. They fire him on the spot. They are firing 6,000 people every day for just such reasons. I cannot think of anything more ridiculous, and more beside the point than to bring in a telegram saying somebody is employed on W. P. A. in Florida who had an income from some other source, or who is, in some way, identified with a gangster.

That is a fair sample of the irrelevant junk they bring in here in the attempt to indict W. P. A. If you followed out their line of reasoning to its ultimate conclusion, they would say that out of the 2,000,000 people on W. P. A., 1,999,990 are deserving of employment and the rest are not deserving, and so, because 10 fellows mislead and misrepresent and slip by and get a job, the whole thing is rotten.

I am very glad to hear my good friend over on the other side protest. He says he resents the charge that they are trying to smear. I think he ought to resent it. I think it is something to be resented because that is what this is, an attempt to smear W. P. A., an attempt to smear its administration, and they have not produced, out of all the millions of cases of work relief in the United States, one single case of delinquency in which W. P. A. has not taken immediate and drastic action just as soon as it was called to their attention. And I want to say that as emphatically as it can be said.

Mr. CANNON of Florida. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CANNON of Florida. I will say to the gentleman that a cursory examination of the wire just read by the gentleman from Georgia does not reflect that the said wire bears a signature. May I ask the gentleman now speaking and also the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox], to advise me who sent the telegram?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. It makes no difference who sent the telegram, because there is nothing in it that reflects upon W. P. A. In every department of the Government there are men who get jobs through fraud.

Mr. CANNON of Florida. I humbly submit to the gentleman that it makes a lot of difference who sent the telegram.

Mr. COX. Does the gentleman wish an answer to that question?

Mr. CANNON of Florida. I do, sir.

Mr. COX. I will say that the largest daily of the city in which the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANNON] resides, was called upon for the information and the telegram, as I read it, was handed to me.

May I ask if the gentleman questions the authenticity of it?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. It is wholly immaterial whether it is authentic or not. It makes no difference who sent it or what the source of it was. Even if true, the telegram contains nothing that reflects in the slightest on W. P. A. It merely says that some fellow, who was not entitled to a job, came in and got a job along with thousands of others.

I yield to my colleague the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON of Florida. I would like to ask the gentleman from Georgia by what method the message was transmitted to him. I still note that the telegram bears no signature, and I want to know whether or not it was transmitted through the Western Union wires.

Mr. COX. The telegram was handed me by a clerk in my office at the door of the Chamber here, just a second before I read it on the floor, and it speaks for itself.

Mr. CANNON of Florida. Does the gentleman know how it was transmitted?

Mr. COX. Does the gentleman question the truth of the statement made in the telegram? [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Florida. The gentleman seeks the truth. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GREEN].

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, quite a bit has been said about this telegram. I think if you will notice the contents of it you will find that the person in question was not a friend of Al Capone, but that it was another person who was a friend of Al Capone. The whole thing boils itself down to this: The W. P. A., under the existing law, has the right to employ as much as 5 percent nonrelief clients.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN. Not now; if the gentleman will give me more time, I will yield.

Is it a crime for a man to be a member of a labor union? Is this any reason why he should not be entitled to a portion of the money paid to the 5 percent who are noncertified relief clients? This man was a member of a labor union. He was unemployed. He was given employment by the W. P. A. under the nonrelief quota. What is wrong about that? Is it right to penalize a man because he is a member of a labor union? The W. P. A. in my State does not usually penalize men for that reason, and the administrator of my State, Mr. Roy Schroder, is conducting one of the cleanest and ablest W. P. A. administrations in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Florida has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK].

Mr. HALLECK rose.

Mr. HENDRICKS. Mr. Chairman, before the gentleman begins, will he yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. HALLECK. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. HENDRICKS. Mr. Chairman, before we close this matter about that Florida telegram, what I am wanting to know—and I am not asking the gentleman who has yielded to me—is who sent the telegram and why the sender would not sign his name to it? There is no name on the telegram, and whoever sent it accuses the administrator of Florida with doing something wrong. That man might have lied to get his job. I am tired of having these insinuations hurled about here without proof.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, like all the rest here, I am sure this matter just called to our attention involving a situation in Florida is entirely new. I had never heard of it before. To my mind, it is not particularly important who sent the telegram. The real issue is whether or not that communication speaks the truth. I take it that in due time the people who are interested, Members of this body, will have an opportunity to inquire into the truth of the communication; and I think it likely, if it does speak the truth, there would be considerable hesitancy in rushing in to defend the situation that is there alleged to exist.

Mr. CANNON of Florida rose.

Mr. HALLECK. I refuse to yield.

Mr. CANNON of Florida. Just for a question.

Mr. HALLECK. Very well; I yield.

Mr. CANNON of Florida. Does the gentleman know of a better way to determine the truth or falsity of the communication in question than to seek and find its author?

Mr. HALLECK. As a matter of fact, if the gentleman from Florida will permit me, if a person of unquestioned integrity and responsibility sent the telegram, then that probably would contribute to the view that it speaks the truth; but I suggest for my part that the real test as to the truth or falsity of the communication will best be determined by an investigation of the facts at the source. After all, the identity of the person who happened to send the communication is not the real issue.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. It is immaterial whether it is true or not. Even if true, it has no bearing on the proposition before the House. It is merely a matter of whether a man or three or four have deceived the local certifying authorities and secured employment under false pretenses. W. P. A. is no more involved than the Treasury Department would be if the same man had cashed a check on a forged endorsement.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I did not get the floor to engage in any controversy with my good friends from Florida

or anywhere else, but I am willing to concede that in a great program like this, one isolated instance of wrongdoing, or of wasted money standing by itself does not indict the whole program, but I do say that circumstances and instances like that multiplied time after time, in some measure indicate that probably the program has not been carried on as efficiently and as carefully as it might have been. Whatever may be said, whenever someone goes onto one of these jobs in a supervisory capacity, in particular when he does not need the help, and he does not need the money, when he has a source of income from some other place, some person who really needs relief, for whom this whole program has been devised, finds himself unable to obtain the benefit of the money appropriated by Congress, and I challenge anyone to question the truth of that statement.

Mr. Chairman, there has been a lot of talk here in this debate about 1932 and about 1929. Of course, lots of folks forget that many people would like to go back to some of those days before 1932. We talk about parity payments. These payments refer to the prices that existed prior to 1932. Of course our friends on the Democratic side always like to point out the situation that existed in 1932, but I say to them that up to date they have not made much progress in getting us away from those times of 1932. That is the thing about which the American people are complaining.

The New Deal came into power in 1933, when unemployment was widespread.

Farm prices were low. Farmers could not find markets for their crops. Unemployment was then, even as it is today, the No. 1 problem confronting the country. The question then and the question today is, how shall we solve the problem of unemployment, because after 7 years of the New Deal we still have it with us in almost as great proportion as it was in the former days.

Now, in connection with this particular matter before the House, the appropriation of money for relief—we used to call it relief and recovery—I do not like to hark back to 1932 any more than some of you people do. But we have been in a number of positions in respect to the spending of money since those days of 1932. I would like to remind my friends across the aisle that their candidate for the Presidency went up and down this land and said:

> I consider the reduction in Federal spending as the greatest contribution that Government can make to business.

Again, he said:

> Excessive governmental spending is a brake upon return to normal business activity.

What is normal business activity? It is factories working, farms producing, men with jobs, and good prices for the farmers. That is what normal business activity means. Undoubtedly at that time those people who were running on the platform of the party and who were subscribing to the views of the candidate for the Presidency actually believed that the way to promote recovery in this country was to cut down on Federal spending.

Then the New Deal came into power in 1933. We did have an economy program at first. We were going to cut down 25 percent. The economy began and ended, I think, principally with the veterans of the United States, and with some of the people in the regularly established governmental agencies. After that had been done the pledge to economy was kicked out the window and the promises of that earlier day were reversed.

In 1933, or shortly after the beginning of that year, the country was embarked upon a policy and theory which held that the way to promote recovery was to spend a lot of Government money; that the first important thing was not particularly to provide relief, or to relieve distress and suffering, but to get the money out, and get it out quickly. We were going to prime the pump. I think that every fair-thinking, right-thinking person today recognizes that that program has been an absolute failure, insofar as promoting recovery is concerned.

I recall back in 1936 and 1937, shortly after I came to Congress, talking to one of my colleagues who sits on the other side of the aisle, and he said to me, "Charlie, I am going to vote for this big appropriation this time"—it was one of those that ran up into astronomical figures—he said, "I am going to vote for this big appropriation this time, but if this one will not prime the pump and get us going, then I am not going along hereafter."

Now, I am happy to see on every hand evidences that today the Congress and the country, by an overwhelming majority, by an overwhelming sentiment, recognizes the failure of pump priming as an essential element of economic recovery. On the contrary, I think more of our people are beginning to realize that we must again get back to the declarations that were made by your candidate in 1932, when he was the candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

Now, why is that true? Why should our people begin to feel that way about it? They are beginning to feel that way about it because even the W. P. A. worker does not want that way of living clamped down on him as a permanent status. He longs for a return of the day when he can have a real job again. He has been misled by a lot of promises. Oh, he still wants work relief, and I, for one, stand ready to give it to him, but he is beginning to question the theories and doctrines of the Government and the administration that after 7 years must recognize its absolute failure to start him back in the direction of a real job.

After all, ladies and gentlemen of the House, isolated circumstances and instances of wrongdoing in the W. P. A., insofar as they may be said to indicate a failure of the W. P. A. program, are not the really important propositions. The really important thing is that that program and other policies and principles of government that have gone hand in hand with it have absolutely and utterly failed to solve the real problem of this country, to provide economic recovery, a real, permanent cure for the problem of unemployment.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. I yield for a question.

Mr. KELLER. What would you do to remedy the situation?

Mr. HALLECK. If I have the time I wish to talk about that. There has been a lot of debate about that. What I am talking about is this particular program and its absolute failure to do the job of curing unemployment.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. No. I want to say something here.

When you people came into power you were going to solve this problem. There was a fanfare of trumpets and a heralding of the great approach that Government was going to make. After all, the best proof of the pudding is in the tasting and this one after 7 years does not taste so good. You talk about the days before 1932. Well, I do not say that we are going back to everything that existed before that time, and I do not want to, because along with my colleagues on this side, we have supported some of the constructive and forward-looking legislation that the gentlemen believe in and I believe in, but I say to you that the principal reason why we are still in this depression is the absolute refusal and failure of the New Deal to recognize any error or any mistake in anything that you have done. [Applause.]

You sit here day after day, time after time, and refuse to permit one single solitary line to be written into legislation you put on the books, even though the changes are supported by the overwhelming sentiment of the people of this country. They demand that there be change. And let me tell you something else: If you do not get busy and recognize that there must be some changes made, there are some people who are going to make changes for themselves.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. I yield.

Mr. KELLER. What does the gentleman propose? If he has the remedy what is it? And I do not ask this for any unfair reason. I want to know.

Mr. HALLECK. That is a fair question, and if I had time to tell the gentleman what the Republican platform will be

that we are going to adopt at Philadelphia, he would have a complete answer.

It is not the employers of labor alone, or the business people, or the manufacturers, or the chamber of commerce, who are dissatisfied with the progress that has been made. Why, John L. Lewis said this—and I am telling you it might even be considered a good Republican speech—he made this statement not so long ago:

The Democratic Party, after 7 years, finds itself without solution for the major questions of unemployment, low national income, mounting Federal debt, increasing direct and consumer taxation, restricted foreign markets. There still exists the same national unhappiness that they found 7 years ago.

The American Federation of Labor and its leadership recognizes that the only permanent solution for the problem of unemployment in this country is the providing of more real work opportunities. I take it the gentleman from Illinois agrees with me in that?

Mr. KELLER. Absolutely. Now tell us how you are going to do it.

Mr. HALLECK. The unfortunate thing about it is that after all these years we are yet confronted with the absolute necessity of coming in here and providing money for relief and work relief.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. I yield.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Notwithstanding the fact that during those 8 years the Democrats have spent more money than the combined administrations from Washington's, in 1789, through the World War period and Wilson.

Mr. HALLECK. Of course. Everyone who has followed the figures realizes that we are spending tremendous sums of money. I was astonished to find out the other day that this country, at peace—until the British budget was revised just a few weeks ago—that this country, at peace, is spending more money every day than England at war.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. I want to continue my statement. The gentleman can get time on his own side. I decline to yield.

To get back a little closer to the issue before us, I said a little while ago that when W. P. A. started—it and its predecessor—tremendous emphasis was placed upon the mere fact of spending money. Somehow or other, any way, every way, the money should be rushed out and spent. What was the effect? The effect was waste and extravagance, the dissipation of money, its payment to people other than relief clients for whom it was intended. I think the time has certainly arrived when we ought again to recognize that reduction in Federal spending is the greatest contribution government can make to business and avoid waste and improper use of funds wherever possible.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. No; I refuse to yield. Business, those who operate the factories need some consideration in order that they may provide jobs for those who want them. But until real jobs are again available the problem of furnishing relief is yet before us. It must be met, but unless we subscribe to the view that the way to promote recovery is to spend more money, we should, in this program, begin to stop up every loophole, every gap, and every leak that is permitting the use of money for things other than those necessary to take care of the people who yet need relief.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. HALLECK. No; my time is running out. I cannot yield further.

There is no reason why we ought not to begin to pay more attention to the matter of spending for domestic affairs. You sat with me yesterday and heard a request for over $1,000,000,000 additional money for national defense. I am for national defense. I am not willing to admit, and I will not admit, that this country is going to get into this war, but we should be ready for any eventuality. Our armed defenses must be in order, and the internal affairs of our people and of our Government must be in order so that this country can defend itself from all aggression. Unfortunately, the message of yesterday did not say anything to the American people about where we were going to get the money. It may well be said that when national defense is concerned, when the peace of the country is threatened, somehow or other we can get the money. But we are not yet at war, and somehow I cannot help but believe that we ought yet to pay some attention to the proposition of where we are to get the money and of maintaining our national solvency. For my part, clearly useless and unnecessary waste of money should be avoided wherever possible.

I would like to say to the American people that if we are in an emergency by reason of the international situation now existing, if the security of America is threatened, and if a budget already out of balance is to be further unbalanced by the necessary demands for additional national defense and protection, then maybe the time has come when the American people are going to have to tighten up their belts a little and dig in.

The investigation of the W. P. A. has been heretofore referred to. Some say it has just scratched the surface, while others say it has gone to all lengths in an attempt to dig up everything that might be found. Whether either of those contentions is correct I do not know. But I have had an opportunity to read part of the report of the investigators and to give it some thought although I have not studied all of it. I have read those parts of that report, however, that have to do with the situation as it affects W. P. A. and its administration in the State of Pennsylvania. In order to forestall some of the criticisms that have been voiced heretofore in this debate I say frankly that I have not read all of that report and I am not undertaking to say what the report as an entirety and as it covers the whole thing would say or prove. However, I have an idea that any one of these situations existing in a given State may well be typical of what might be found in many places over the country.

As we have gone along and listened to these arguments year after year about the administration of relief money and the carrying on of the work of relief, we have heard a lot of general charges made. Some of them we have only substantiated by our own observations. Some of them have been substantiated in a measure by isolated instances of wrongdoing, malfeasance, or misfeasance. This investigation, however, in my opinion, has pointed out with definiteness some of the things that have been occurring, things that in my judgment corroborate charges that have heretofore been made.

One of the things we have heard constantly has been that W. P. A. rolls are loaded up for elections, loaded up for political purposes. I submit every one of us recognizes that ethically it is indefensible to load up the relief rolls for the purpose of procuring votes in an election. It corrupts the sanctity of the ballot, and I do not believe the most ardent admirer or friend of this program will say that sort of a practice should be condoned. Furthermore, it is a practice which likely results in the hiring of people who really do not need relief, and at a time of the year when relief is not as badly needed as it is at other times. So I say it is a bad practice. It wastes money.

What has been disclosed in respect to Pennsylvania?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I have here a copy of the report of the investigators, which discloses that in January of 1938 there were on the rolls in Pennsylvania 176,000. In May 1938, the month in which they had a primary up there—it was not Democrats fighting Republicans; it was an interparty matter—they had upped those rolls to 240,000. This was in the springtime, with the flowers in bloom and the warm

weather at hand. Coming into November 1938—and you will remember we had an election that year—they upped the rolls to 285,000. I have some very interesting correspondence I am going to refer to in a minute that indicates why this was done. In February 1939, after the beautiful autumn days were gone and the cold of dread winter had set in in that fair State of Pennsylvania, the rolls were reduced to 243,000. In May 1939, when there was no primary up there, the rolls were reduced to 200,000.

I would like to point out if I can why that happened, because I believe it is illuminating. The gentleman from Missouri stated that there is nothing in this report which cannot be explained. I hope he explains this before he gets through.

On September 23, 1938, David K. Niles, Assistant Administrator, addressed a letter to—

MY DEAR SENATOR: This will acknowledge your telegram of September 23, addressed to Mr. Hopkins, urging an increase in the amount of W. P. A. employment in Pennsylvania.

The employment authorization to the States for September totaled 3,168,094 persons. These figures included small increases in employment in those States where the need for W. P. A. jobs was the greatest. The State of Pennsylvania was included in this group.

Now pay attention to this next paragraph:

If further increases in W. P. A. employment were to be made at this time, I believe that serious difficulties would result and that we would thus use in advance the funds necessary for meeting the unemployment situation on anywhere near an adequate basis during the winter months.

That sounds like good common sense to me.

Indications are that although employment conditions may be better during the fall and winter months, there will not be a sufficient number of persons securing jobs in private employment to materially reduce the total W. P. A. employment during the period for which our appropriation was made.

Because of these conditions, we are convinced that it would be impossible to authorize further increases in W. P. A. employment at this time. I regret that we are unable to take favorable action on your request.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID K. NILES,
Assistant Administrator.

This is all in the report. Then there is another communication on the letterhead of the Pennsylvania Democratic State Committee headed:

HARRISBURG, PA., *Setember 29, 1938.*

Mr. J. BANKS HUDSON,
Administrator, Works Progress Administration, Harrisburg, Pa.

DEAR MR. HUDSON: The Senator has asked me to forward you copy (attached) of letters received under date of September 23, from David K. Niles, Assistant Administrator, regarding his request in urging an increase in the amount of W. P. A. employment in Pennsylvania.

The Senator regrets that the Washington authorities could not see their way clear in increasing Pennsylvania's quota; however, he will assist in any way possible in keeping our request before the administration.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER L. MILLER.

Here is what finally happened. After W. P. A. in Washington said in substance, We cannot do this, it would mean that we would have to cut down our rolls in the winter months when people need help, we have some newspaper information for immediate release from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Governor's office, Harrisburg, as follows:

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., October 3, 1938.

The Honorable GEORGE H. EARLE,
Governor of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pa.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR EARLE: I am writing in further reference to your telegram of September 20, 1938, regarding the need for additional W. P. A. employees in Pennsylvania.

After reviewing the situation in the State and reconsidering our financial situation, we have found it possible to authorize the addition of 10,000 persons to our projects in that State. While this increase is placing a serious burden on our financial situation, reports regarding the unemployment situation in Pennsylvania which have come to us have made us feel that we must stretch every resource in an effort to meet this need insofar as we are able.

Sincerely yours,

AUBREY WILLIAMS.

A remarkable coincidence, that about a month before election, after all of this pressure, it was discovered that the unemployment situation in Pennsylvania was so bad that we had to put on 10,000 more people, even though, as the figures indicate that I have heretofore pointed out from the records, in the cold winter months that followed that October and November the rolls were drastically reduced.

Further, I should like to point out that immediately after that information came from Washington, telegrams were sent to about all of the regional offices in Pennsylvania with these words, "Build up to this quota as rapidly as possible."

As further evidence of the loading of relief rolls for elections in Pennsylvania in 1938, I refer to page 861 of the report of the investigators, where the following appears:

Mary E. Lucot, of Pittsburgh, Pa., senior or chief clerk under Joseph E. Newman, project supervisor, in charge of road projects in boroughs and townships, furnished an affidavit in which she stated that prior to the primary on May 17, 1938, they "worked 3 or 4 weeks assigning 6,000 additional men from the relief rolls"; that she wrote some of the requisitions, and others wrote some; that on May 18 they immediately started to reduce their rolls, and they knocked 6,000 off, starting May 18; * * * that the personnel officer, O'Conner, came to her, and she told him it was impossible to load the jobs any more; that he told her to make the requisitions, and to report the men on the job on May 18, and, "If Kennedy doesn't win, don't let them go to work," and he also said, "Tell them the jobs are overmanned, and they will not know the difference; that in that way, there were 150 to 200 men in supervisory capacities."

The figures on W. P. A. employment over the State during 1938, which I have heretofore cited, corroborate the statement just referred to.

On page 862 of the report, there is further evidence of the loading of relief rolls for election purposes in the following paragraph:

Howard E. Decker, supervisor of employment for W. P. A. from early 1938 to May 1, 1939, furnished a written statement that they increased around 1,500 men about election time in Luzerne County, and they did not start laying them off until a grand-jury investigation started; that they had a quota during election of 20,000 men, and they were down to 12,000, he thinks, on June 15, 1939.

In the past it has been frequently charged, and in some measure proved, that campaign contributions have been solicited and exacted from W. P. A. personnel and relief clients. Any such exaction of money certainly cannot be defended. It is an outrageous practice which should not be tolerated. In the first instance, to exact, either by direction or indirection, money for political purposes from a man on relief is to take from him money that he sorely needs. No one could need it more, else he would not be on relief. To exact political contributions from either advisory or administrative personnel or relief clients is to take indirectly from the Government funds for campaign purposes.

Some of the facts developed by the W. P. A. investigators in Pennsylvania clearly indicate that political contributions have been solicited and obtained. On or about August 27, 1938, a picnic was held at Hershey, Pa., for the benefit of the Democratic Party. Tickets were sold State-wide and in other States. It was estimated that from 145,000 to 160,000 of them were sold. Walter L. Miller, office manager for W. P. A. for the entire State of Pennsylvania, took leave from his employment and handled the sale of tickets to W. P. A. workers, both security-wage earners and supervisory, at $1 each; and then, when the election was over in November, he returned to his employment with W. P. A., where he remained until his $4,800-a-year job was reclassified, and in May 1939, rather than stay with W. P. A. at $3,800 a year, he resigned and went to the Bituminous Coal Commission.

Clark C. Reisch, employed in the W. P. A. at Allegheny County, Pittsburgh office, left his W. P. A. job to help Miller sell and handle the Hershey tickets and reported to Miller. Reisch had an office in the Bakewell Office Building, Pittsburgh, where he instructed W. P. A. workers to go to him and pay for the tickets. After the November 1938 election, Reisch returned to his W. P. A. employment and remained there until March 13, 1939, when he was dismissed on order of the then State administrator.

As further bearing upon the use of W. P. A. in obtaining campaign funds, I refer to page 863 of the report of the investigators, where these words appear:

Mary E. Lucot, former chief clerk under Joseph E. Newman, project supervisor, W. P. A., for Allegheny County, furnished an affidavit

saying that Clark C. Reisch came to her office in the Federal building during working hours, handed her 10 Hershey tickets, and told her he would expect her to go to room 231, Bakewell Building (where he had an office) and pay him $10 for them; that he told her everybody was buying them; but she never paid for the tickets; that Reisch also requested her to call the engineers in from the field and tell them to have their supervisory personnel to report to him (Reisch); that Reisch told her she would be well protected; that about a week before the Hershey picnic, Reisch wanted her to send a bulletin to the engineers in the field to get word to the men that he wanted a prompt response on the Hershey tickets; that Walter L. Miller was in from Harrisburg and wanted the money as soon as possible; that there were other tickets sold for political purposes, for picnics, raffles, etc., as she knew from receiving word from the ward chairman; that the workers receiving $1,000 or more were supposed to contribute 5 percent of their last year's salary; that lists were made by W. P. A. for Reisch, she knows, from seeing the work done, and Reisch never could have gotten the names otherwise.

And again, on page 864 of the report, there is reference to the action of political leaders in soliciting campaign contributions from W. P. A. truck drivers and others. The following words appear:

Harry J. Williams, branch office manager, W. P. A., for Luzerne County, furnished statements in writing to the effect that he knew that Democratic headquarters at Wilkes-Barre sent postal cards to W. P. A. workers requesting them to call at headquarters in Wilkes-Barre during the 1938 campaign; that when they did call demands were made on them for political contributions; that the postal cards were sent by Democratic headquarters to W. P. A. truck drivers, truck owners, and to other W. P. A. workers and employees; and that employees of his own office investigated and found those facts.

Another charge which has frequently been made in the past is that supervisors on W. P. A. have frequently been added to the rolls for the principal purpose of aiding in political campaigns. And if my memory serves me correctly, I have heard some of my brethren across the aisle complain here on the floor of the House of the use of such tactics against them in primary elections of their own party. To waste the money which should go to relief clients by appointing unneeded supervisors for political purposes is equally reprehensible, whether it occurs in a primary or a general election. The added expense for the salaries involved simply means that some person who really needs relief will be deprived of that relief. Such unneeded supervisors perform no real service for the Government for which they should be paid. I well recall that a few years ago, when the lists of the salaried personnel of the W. P. A. were published, many persons in various communities scattered throughout the land were astounded to learn that some of their neighbors were on the pay roll of the W. P. A.

The report of the investigators refers in several places to the addition of supervisors. On page 861 reference is made to an affidavit in which it is stated that the personnel officer came to the affiant and said to her:

Tell them that the jobs are overmanned and they will not know the difference; that in that way there were 150 to 200 men in supervisory capacities.

On the same page of the report there is reference to an affidavit in which it is alleged that in 1938 a number of people were put to work in order to further the Democratic campaign, and that at the same time they would be putting on supervisory personnel.

The limitations of time prevent me from discussing further some of the startling disclosures in respect to W. P. A. administration in the State of Pennsylvania, as contained in the report of the investigators' committee. However, I have attempted to include some of them in the hope that the membership of the House, at its first opportunity, will obtain copies of the report, read the report, and then form its own conclusions as to whether or not some of the charges involving maladministration in the W. P. A. have been established.

It is clear that the economic condition of the country is such that the Congress must make reasonable provision for the extension of relief. But I urge again that, so far as possible, waste of the money made available should be avoided. We should do everything possible to see to it that the money which we appropriate goes for relief. It should not be diverted for purposes or uses other than those contemplated by us when we appropriate the money.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, one of the fathers of the House, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. TAYLOR], such time as he may desire.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, in relation to the President's message, which was delivered to us yesterday, many inquiries have been addressed to me about the course of procedure in handling such estimates as the President may present. I may say that the deficiency subcommittee held a meeting this morning and decided that the proper course, although we have not yet received the estimates and are not advised as to the details, is to have the estimates considered by the deficiency subcommittee. I am going to call a meeting of the deficiency subcommittee to consider the President's message for next Monday morning at 10 o'clock. I can assure the House and the country that the estimates will be very expeditiously handled, at least as far as I can bring that about, and I am certain that is the sentiment of the Appropriations Committee of the House. There is not going to be any delay or any undue interference with carrying out the President's proposals, but, on the other hand, we feel that we should follow the regular order, and the regular order is to proceed as I have indicated. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 12 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FADDIS].

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Chairman, in considering this problem of W. P. A., I have very reluctantly come to the point where I am satisfied that we can no longer regard unemployment as a temporary problem, but must regard it as a permanent one—one which is with us, if not to stay, at least for quite a long time. It is a problem that will remain with us until we can adjust the industrial affairs of this Nation to take up the unemployment which has been created by the increase in machinery. I can see no way to solve this problem of unemployment except to put those who are unemployed back to work in some productive capacity. All of the money we have expended for relief so far has brought no permanent benefits to the unemployed. Oh, I know it has left streets, sewers, sidewalks, and other public improvements, but it has left the unfortunate unemployed more impotent than it found them. As far as I know, not one of them has been assisted to provide a living for himself and family off of relief.

Mr. Chairman, wealth is the result of the practical application of labor to the resources of the earth. By this process we obtain production which fulfills the desires of mankind for necessities, comforts, conveniences, and luxuries. It is very easy to trace the fulfillment of the desires of mankind as he has progressed from the stage of savagery to his now civilized state. The more he desired, the more he produced. The more he produced, the more he desired. This brought on civilization and increased wealth.

Before the time of Christ it was positively determined by both statesmen and economists that no state could long maintain more than 1 percent of its population, either in arms or in idleness, without being exhausted. Much earlier than this time it was universally recognized that only production could create wealth. It was known that it was vitally necessary to keep the balance between consumption and production nearly equal. It is imperative to the success of any system of economy that all of its units produce as much or more than they consume. No system of society, from the simplest to the most complex, has ever been able to long survive by any other system.

There is no reason to expect that we can very long escape the inevitable consequences of violating one of the most fundamental laws of economics. It is therefore imperative that we devise some system of putting our nonproducers to producing. If we do not do so, we will soon be in the position where we will be absolutely unable to assist these unfortunate people, even in the unsatisfactory manner in which we are now assisting them.

It has become apparent that unemployment is not a temporary proposition. Labor is fast being displaced by machinery. Some method of putting those displaced by machinery

back to work at private industry must be devised, or we must institute a public policy to make them as nearly self-supporting by production as possible. We must recognize unemployment as permanent, discontinue our present policy of long-term borrowing, and include the necessary financial arrangements to care for our unemployed in our Budget allowances. If we do not do so, our financial structure will collapse, and our political, social, and economic structure will collapse with it. This is just what many of those who are continually urging vast public expenditures wish to see happen, in order that they may then gather all the selfish pressure groups together and form their idea of a communistic nation.

Every time we issue bonds to provide for unemployment relief, we are passing on to posterity a new series of annual debt charges to be paid at some future time. If we continue this practice long enough, the total interest on these debt charges can and will become as great or greater than the annual borrowing. Where will we be in that case?

Another and very serious objection to this long-term borrowing is that it is proving to be entirely too attractive and profitable as an avenue for the investment of idle capital. Capital invested in long-term Government securities is unproductive and does not promote national progress. If it were forced to seek other avenues for investment, it would develop new enterprises and furnish employment for workers and products to consumers. As we are now operating, capital which is lured into unproductive channels by our present system of long-term borrowing is reducing production. This results in an increase of unemployment, which makes necessary more long-term borrowing, and around the vicious cycle we go again. We have too much 2-percent and not enough 6-percent money.

We cannot create jobs by decreasing production, because employment can only be created by increasing consumption, which in turn increases production. Almost everyone knows this to be true. Every new home, every new structure, and the products of every new factory create jobs for the industrial worker, who, becoming a larger consumer, creates new or increased jobs for others.

When people are able to consume in accordance with their desire, they buy more of the products of the farm and an additional demand is created for wheat, corn, pork, beef, eggs, butter, cotton, wool, and other agricultural products. This consumption creates new jobs for the farmer, who in turn consumes more of the products of industry. Thus more men are put to work, who consume more farm products. We then start around another cycle—but this time a beneficial one.

The desires of mankind always increase. They never decrease. Most people desire more than they are capable of securing. The people of every generation desire to see their children possess more of the necessities, comforts, conveniences, and luxuries than they themselves enjoyed. If they have the means to do so, they will buy. If they buy, they will create wealth by creating production, which is the sole and only source of wealth. Anyone who argues that wealth can be produced in any other manner is as foolish as he who would seek the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. It is, therefore, a fact beyond dispute that whatever interferes with production is an obstacle to the solution of the unemployment problem, because this problem can only be solved by production.

Are we, the citizens of the most enlightened and wealthiest Nation on the earth, ready to admit that we are confronted with a problem which we cannot solve, especially when it is purely an internal problem? Are we, the descendants of the American pioneers, the most adaptable and practical people the world has ever known, to continue following the will-'o-the-wisp of national paternalism until we are inextricably bogged in the quicksands of national bankruptcy? Are we to continue to be hypnotized by the sentimental songs of the sirens of professional welfare workers, whose only program is to reduce the unemployed to impotency? Are we to continue to listen to the prattle of the economic quacks and the drivel of the would-be levelers of class, and continue to take from the rich and give to the poor, until we have only the poor and the poorer?

This problem of unemployment can be solved if we undertake its solution in accordance with the natural and immutable laws of economics. If we continue to disregard and disobey these fundamental laws of economics our body politic will sicken and perish, just as our body corporal will sicken and perish if we insist upon ignoring the fundamental laws of hygiene and health. In all justice to ourselves, in all justice to our posterity, in all justice to the unemployed, we must attack this problem of unemployment from the standpoint of making these unemployed once more self-supporting by production.

First. In order to solve this problem by making the unemployed productive, Congress itself must get its mind in the right gear. We must begin to think more in terms of employment and less in terms of relief. We must be more practical and less sentimental. I know this will be difficult for many, but I hope they will either attempt to do so or keep quiet and allow others to work the matter out.

Second. We must make a thorough survey of those who are unemployed, determine their capabilities, and catalog them accordingly. This must be done conscientiously and in an efficient manner. A man who is in reality only a tinker must not be allowed to classify himself as an unemployed mechanic. A girl who is capable of only clerical or maid service must not be allowed to classify herself as a secretary. If a man has ever had any experience at agriculture, the fact must be determined.

Third. We must change the psychology of the man who believes that the world owes him a living to one where he recognizes that the world only owes him an opportunity to earn a living. The present attitude has been fixed in the mind of the unemployed by the action of the Congress, and only the Congress can change it.

Fourth. We must produce a program which will fit men into jobs which they are capable of filling. We must undertake to train those who need training. We must place those who are experienced in agriculture on suitable plots of land where they can raise their own food. We must assist others in establishing handcraft industries and in marketing their products. We must make it mandatory that those who receive public assistance abide by the program and assist themselves to the full extent of their ability to do so.

Fifth. We must provide for smoothing out the many difficulties which will be encountered because of the competition of the unemployed and their products with labor, industry, and agriculture.

Sixth. We must recognize that the solution of the problem of unemployment, because of the many varying conditions of industry, season, climate, personalities, and so forth, is a local problem. We must fix the responsibility upon the smaller subdivisions of government and insist that those subdivisions furnish the most of the financial support. We must, at the same time, protect these subdivisions of government from the influx of those whose care and regulation are the duty of other subdivisions of government.

I have introduced House Joint Resolution 503, which contains what I believe to be the framework of a solution to our problem of unemployment. It attempts to solve this problem by productive relief in order that we may restore self-respect and confidence to those on relief and make them into national assets. Let us use relief funds and Federal loans to make those on relief self-supporting, taxpaying, independent citizens. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MANSFIELD].

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, on April 8 I put in the RECORD an extension of remarks on the Wheeler-Lea transportation bill in which I called attention to the fact that the bill was originally drafted by the President's Committee of Six, all representing railroad interests. Traffic World, a railroad publication, took offense at this statement. In its

issue of April 13, 1940, in an editorial under the caption "Congressional liars," it says:

Chairman MANSFIELD, of the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, in an attack on S. 2009, the transportation bill, reported elsewhere, makes several statements not in accord with the facts. He says "the bill was drafted by the President's Committee of Six." That committee made recommendations and embodied them in a bill, H. R. 4862, but it was not approved by either the Senate or the House committee.

On page 5885 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 9, 1940, in the speech of the gentleman from North Carolina, Congressman BULWINKLE, in closing the debate in favor of the transportation bill appears the following language:

Who started this bill anyhow? Why, the President of the United States. On September 20, 1938, he appointed a committee consisting of three railway executives and three railway labor executives. The railway executives were Mr. Clement, Mr. Gray, and Mr. Norris. The railway labor executives were Mr. Robertson, from whom you received a telegram, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Jewell. The House committee put in the House bill the identical words that were contained in the report of these six men.

The gentleman from North Carolina, Congressman BULWINKLE, was one of the most outstanding advocates of the transportation bill. He was one of the conferees who signed the conference report, and the man honored by the gentleman from California, Chairman LEA, to close the debate in behalf of the measure. His statement above quoted is a sufficient answer to the editorial in Traffic World, as to the authorship of the bill, as presented in the House. As to the Senate version, see page 4 of the hearings of April 3, 1939, before the Senate committee. The following appears:

Senator BARKLEY. If I understand the matter, Senate bill 2009 is more or less of a redrafting of the bill suggested by the President's committee?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

The chairman in this instance was Senator WHEELER.

From the well-known reputation of the editor of Traffic World for truth and veracity I feel highly complimented when he refers to me as a "congressional liar." I feel doubly complimented when he pluralizes me in that respect, I being the only one referred to in his editorial under the caption "Congressional liars."

I also feel highly honored when for veracity the record places me in a category with the chief proponents of the measure, the Senator from Montana and the Congressman from North Carolina, a class the antithesis of that to which the editor of Traffic World belongs. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LUDLOW], a member of the committee.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, I had not intended to speak on this bill until I heard the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DITTER], and then the spirit moved me. I listened with great interest to the always brilliant and entertaining gentleman from Pennsylvania. He very vividly pointed out many flaws and deficiencies in the administration of the W. P. A., and God knows he might have pointed out many more. He might, for instance, have referred to some slight peccadillos in my home State of Indiana. [Laughter.] Colonel Harrington freely acknowledged these defects. They do not have to be proven, they are admitted. No one could be more conscious of them than he or more ready to admit them or more anxious to profit by the lessons of experience.

We should not lose sight of the fact that the W. P. A. is the greatest relief organization of all time, that it grew up like a mushroom, and that, without any chart or compass to go by, progress has necessarily been largely by trial and error. I hold no brief for the W. P. A. I think it is about the most illogical plan of relief that ingenuity could devise. I think it never should have been created, and that it should be liquidated as soon as we can safely let go of the bear we have by the tail. It makes fish of one and fowl of another. It gives a subsistence wage to 2,000,000 people and denies employment to an estimated 1,000,000 more who are just as worthy and just as eligible as those on the rolls. The unfortunate 1,000,000 must subsist on food orders or the meager hand-outs of township trustees, amounting at most to a few dollars a week. This discrimination is in utter violation of the principles of democracy and our professed devotion to the philosophy of equality of opportunity.

While I entertain these views, I realize that we must look at the relief problem in a realistic way. It is perfectly obvious that we cannot break off the W. P. A. and substitute some less objectionable relief plan in the 6 weeks remaining before the beginning of a new fiscal year. I therefore see no alternative except a continuance of the present system for another year, and meanwhile I sincerely hope that Government, by pursuing a more conciliatory and helpful attitude toward business, will make possible the only recovery that will ever be permanent and satisfactory, and that is a recovery in which business and industry will be able to take over into regular jobs those now on the relief rolls.

As long as we are to have this illogical system of relief, expensive as it is, I, for one, shall vote all the money that is necessary to make it operate and relieve distress, for I cannot conceive that we are going to let people starve and go naked in this great commonwealth under the American flag. [Applause.] That is why I am supporting the pending bill and the full amount provided in the Budget estimate.

While I listened to my friend from Pennsylvania carefully in his indictment of the W. P. A., I did not hear him present any count charging gross dishonesty.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Indiana 2 additional minutes.

Mr. LUDLOW. His indictment was mainly on minor counts. I think it has been truly amazing that this vast W. P. A. operation, exceeding anything ever dreamed of in size, has been conducted with as little taint of scandal as has attached to it. There was more scandal connected with Teapot Dome in 1 hour than could be charged against the W. P. A. in all of the years of its operation. If those who are criticizing the W. P. A. feel that they must be exercised over its flaws and defects and petty scandals, I suggest that they reread the newspapers and congressional reports of Teapot Dome days if they want to get a whiff of real scandal.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUDLOW. I would rather not; I only have 2 minutes.

Mr. DITTER. I wish the gentleman would secure additional time so that he might yield to me. The gentleman has referred to me, and I think the gentleman should yield.

Mr. LUDLOW. Under that very persuasive argument I cannot help but yield to my dear friend from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DITTER. I knew the fairness of the gentleman and I knew that he would do that.

The gentleman does feel, however, that I was entirely correct in the responsibility which both the gentleman and myself share in drawing the attention of the House and the country to the mismanagement that prevailed in W. P. A. and which, as he recalls, is a part of the record acknowledged by the Administrator.

Mr. LUDLOW. I certainly think so. I think the distinguished gentleman and I, if I may say so, have collaborated in a very worthy purpose, and the result will be beneficial to the country.

Mr. DITTER. I thank the gentleman.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Indiana 2 additional minutes.

Mr. LUDLOW. I desire now to read from the hearings at page 296. The scene was our committee room, and the time was April 22, 1940. At the time I was examining Colonel Harrington, the Work Projects Commissioner; and I read from his testimony as follows:

Mr. LUDLOW. Colonel, how much money has W. P. A. disbursed from the beginning?

Colonel HARRINGTON. Over seven and a half billion dollars of Federal funds. I can file the exact figure.

Mr. LUDLOW. That is near enough. I wanted to ask what, according to your information, has been the extent of defalcation, or of money that has been dishonestly spent, since the beginning. Would you have a figure on that?

Colonel HARRINGTON. Projected against that sum, it is practically infinitesimal.

Mr. LUDLOW. Could you give us a figure on the percentage?

Colonel HARRINGTON. It would come out at about eighteen thousandths of 1 percent.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that a relief operation that has spent the astronomical sum of $7,500,000,000—a sum that is almost inconceivable to the human mind, amounting to $3,866,000 for every year since the birth of Christ—with only eighteen-thousandths of 1 percent of dishonesty is a perfectly wonderful operation, and I wanted to submit this observation for the RECORD. [Applause.]

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN].

THE REASON FOR OUR UNPREPAREDNESS AND THE WAY TO BANISH POLITICS FROM THE NATIONAL-DEFENSE PROGRAM

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, section 34 of the bill contains this language:

None of the funds appropriated by this joint resolution shall be used for the manufacture, purchase, or construction of any naval vessel, any armament, munitions, or implement of war for military or naval forces.

I wonder why that was put in there. Was it anticipated at the time that language was put in the joint resolution that the President would come before us and ask for $1,182,000,000 more for national defense? Why should not a part of this vast sum be used for the manufacture of munitions or in the construction of naval vessels if men who are on relief, men who cannot find jobs, can be used for that purpose? Is it because the bill also contains a provision as to the wage which shall be paid to those who are on relief? Yesterday, as always, the President was asking for money, and yesterday, as always, he was asking for more power. It is regrettable that the President did not have the courage of his convictions and tell the Nation, as long as he knew, that the granting of his request would increase the amount of the national debt far above the limit now fixed by law; that we should raise the money by taxation. It is regrettable that he did not talk less like a candidate for office.

There is no question but that the overwhelming majority of this House will vote any and all reasonable sums for national defense, and a message sent to the House, as well as one delivered personally, would have accomplished that purpose. But the President must make a dramatic appeal. He must aid the propaganda of the third termers, who would give the impression that the man Roosevelt is the only man fit to guide the destinies of our Nation in the coming days. He must use the war scare, as relief money heretofore has been used, for political purposes.

It has long been said that a candidate for office is in favor of all appropriations and against all tax measures. In his attitude yesterday the President assumed for a moment the position taken by Dr. Townsend when he appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means a year or two ago. After the doctor had explained his plan, told what it was, he was asked, as I recall, by the chairman of that committee, where this country was to get the money to finance the plan. The good doctor leaned back, put his thumbs in the armholes of his vest, smiled at the committee and at the good chairman of the committee, and in substance said, "Well, gentlemen, I thought of the plan. I have told you what it is. Now it is up to you to get the money."

The President took the same attitude yesterday when he appeared here. Why did not the President tell us, why did he not recommend a tax bill? If he has courage, why did he not say, "Gentlemen, we need $1,182,000,000 for national defense; our debt has reached the limit, and unless we change the law we cannot borrow any more. As I advised you long ago, many a nation has been wrecked on the rocks of a loose fiscal policy; as, on another occasion I informed you, if we continue to borrow, we are on our way to national bankruptcy. It therefore becomes necessary for me to tell you that the burden of this program of national defense must be, as we all know, paid by the people, and I, therefore, recommend to the Congress that it now proceed to bring out a tax bill levying this burden, or, at least a substantial portion of it, upon the present generation of taxpayers"?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Because I agree with the gentleman about a tax bill. I ask the gentleman whether he is familiar with the bill that I have introduced to levy excess-profits taxes on industry that has profited especially out of the war situation.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I understand there is such a bill; I favor such a bill; and I wonder if the gentleman included in it a provision, in the event the Navy or the Army, in their construction work, adopt a 24-hour day, working in three shifts, whereby the men who are going to work will be prohibited from drawing, for example, as Mme. Perkins suggested, on a Government job, a wage of 90 cents an hour for common labor, a corresponding wage for skilled labor, or, as she prescribed in certain steel industries, 62½ cents an hour for common labor and also time and a half for overtime? It has been said that if these wage provisions prevail under the Walsh-Healey Act and the Wage and Hour Act, it will cost us anywhere from thirty to fifty million dollars more than it would if those acts did not prevail. Is the gentleman going to include a provision in his bill which will prevent labor, as well as capital, charging an unjust rate on Government projects for national defense?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Oh, this is only a tax bill.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Yes; a tax imposed on only one class, only on industry, on the industrialists, the men upon whom the President must rely. You may recall that, during the war, while men were serving in the Army and Navy, here at home and abroad at a nominal sum per day, those employed in essential industries received many times that amount. Is there any reason why a law which prevents profiteering on war contracts by one group should not be made to apply to everyone?

Mr. THILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. THILL. The President blithely yesterday suggested a production schedule of 50,000 airplanes a year. Can the gentleman give us any estimate of what that might cost?

Mr. HOFFMAN. No. I do not know and I do not think the President does. Do you know of any occasion on which, when asking for money, he ever counted the cost to the taxpayer of any of his experiments?

The President told us yesterday that we are unprepared.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts rose.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I cannot yield now. He said that we are unprepared. Grant that statement to be true; who is to blame for it? The President has one excuse which has some semblance of reason behind it, and that is the one that new methods of warfare have been developed. But that excuse is not as sound as it appears to be because we all know that the President has had his special, personal representatives across the seas in Europe. We all know that he has means of information which are denied to others, and perhaps rightly so. He had ample warning of Germany's activities of her production of planes and tanks.

If today we are unprepared, we are unprepared after a period of 7 years, during which the President had every dollar for which he ever asked for national defense; during which he had all the authority for which he ever asked and which a Congress could grant.

It comes with ill grace from him who has had his every request for money, for authority, granted; who has had at his command billions of dollars not only for preparedness but other billions for other purposes, to come before the Congress and the American people and tell us that we are now confronted by a great and impending danger which may bring us disaster because we are unprepared.

He has not the shadow of an excuse for the condition in which he says he finds our Nation. He has had a rubber-stamp Congress. He has had in positions of authority surrounding him men who have been willing to and who have obeyed his slightest wish.

His statement that, after 7 years of unlimited authority, of the expenditure of the millions which have been placed at his disposal, this Nation is now comparatively defenseless, is a confession of failure; of either ignorance or a lack of ability and courage to face the fact.

As well might the good housewife say when you come home to dinner that it is not ready, when all the time she has had in the house the provisions for the meal and all she had to do was to put them on the stove and then on the table. There is no excuse for coming before us here at this late date and telling us, after he has had full charge, after he has had a rubber-stamp Congress doing his will, that we are unprepared. If we are unprepared, then the responsibility for that condition rests squarely upon the shoulders of the gentleman in the White House.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Not now.

Now, it is futile to talk about the way in which W. P. A. money has been spent, because it is gone, unless we learn some lessons from the things which we discover by the investigation. But it takes something more than money to prepare for national defense. You cannot step out with a million or a billion or two billion dollars and buy warships or buy planes or munitions of war. Neither battleships, pursuit planes, bombers, nor cannon can be purchased at a 5- and 10-cent store. They must be manufactured or fabricated. There must be factories and skilled workmen and there must be time in which to build ships and planes. There must be in charge men with executive ability, with knowledge and experience.

You all recall in this country there is a class of men who have been bitterly abused during the last 6 or 7 years. They have been called economic royalists and many other names with which you are familiar. They have been described as being greedy, avaricious, selfish, and unpatriotic. They have been held up to public scorn by the President of the United States. They have been branded as lawless, slave-drivers—yes, and even as murderers—in the reports of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee. Now, when comes the danger, if danger it be, as the President says, of foreign invasion, the fact remains that if this country is to be armed, the officials of the Federal Government will be forced to rely for national defense upon the very industrialists that they have been damning and cursing for the last 6 or 7 years. There is no question about it. How are you going to manufacture motor transportation? How are you going to get trucks? Tanks? How are you going to get airplanes? How are you going to manufacture munitions, with the bureaucrats in charge? It cannot be done, and everyone realizes it. Will the Senate Civil Liberties Committee or its investigators do it? Will the National Labor Relations Board do it? Will John L. Lewis do it? No; the President—because he must—will call in the economic royalists.

So those to whom the President referred when he said they had met their match in his first administration and whom he hoped would meet their master in his second administration, are now the men in his first line of defense; the men who, if we are to have adequate national defense, must supervise, direct, the operations through which it will come. To some of those very men, who the President and some of his mouthpieces have belittled, reviled and charged with being public enemies, must go the President of the United States and the people of the United States and have them prepare now adequately for the national defense.

Let the President go with his hat in his hand; let him go in all humility, as he should go, and accept—he need not ask—their aid. He will find them ready, willing—yes, eager—to give to the utmost of their strength and ability to aid in our national defense; to rectify the errors and the mistakes which he has made.

The President says we must have unity. Does he intend to give those industrialists; the men, who, because of their experience, of their technical knowledge, are best fitted to give us the defense which the President says we need, an opportunity to aid by their executive ability, by the use of their plants and by their resources?

Perhaps to him and to Frank Murphy will come the thought that it was a mistake to let John L. Lewis and his Communist allies, with impunity violate the laws of Michigan, defy the orders of her courts. Then he, and Murphy, and Secretary Perkins, by their inaction, upheld the hands of Lewis and those who insisted upon crippling or destroying industry. Will he now, when he needs these industrial leaders and plants, turn to Lewis, to Frankensteen, to the Reuther brothers, and the horde of other Communists who profited by his inaction? No; knocking on his door, begging for the chance to help, he will find them all.

Does he intend to pull away from the throat of industry those who are throttling it through governmental restrictions and through unlawful activities? Does he intend now to say to the businessmen of this country that no longer will they be persecuted, their ability to produce curtailed, their activities halted, by the demands of labor racketeers and the rulings of the Labor Board?

Are we next week or the week after to do our part toward national defense by putting a crimp in the activities of the Labor Board, or are we to let that Board go on its destructive way, lending aid to the American "fifth column"?

Do you recall that not more than a few weeks ago I called your attention to the fact that in the city of Detroit the Navy itself was asking for the manufacture of castings to put into airplanes, into trucks to be used for transportation, where they needed those supplies down at the navy yard in Philadelphia? Do you remember a letter from the then Acting Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Edison, where he said that a small C. I. O. group in Detroit had for 24 days in one case, for 41 days in another, refused to permit representatives of the Navy to take the Navy's own materials, the Navy's own patterns, out of the plant of the Bohn Aluminum & Brass Corporation and ship them down to Philadelphia so they could be used in the navy yard there in carrying on our program of national defense? Have you forgotten it? Did the President forget it yesterday when he called upon us to appropriate all this money? Is he now going to curtail the activities of those groups which are preventing the carrying out, and which will continue to prevent the carrying out, of the very activities for which he asked us to appropriate more than a billion dollars?

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. In view of the President's record, do you think this Congress should give him a blank check for $200,000,000 on our almost bankrupt Treasury, which he requested, even though his son, Elliott, is an experienced high-priced former military airplane salesman for the Douglas outfit?

Mr. HOFFMAN. There is no reason, unless we are utterly incompetent to represent the people who sent us here, that we should fail to do our constitutional duty and earmark those funds. So far as I know, during the present administration is the first and only time in the history of our country that any man has ever been given a blank check either for money or power, and he has had both. He has had both; and yet he said, as you heard him yesterday, we are unprepared, after he had the money and after he had the authority, and after he had had ample time to prepare.

In his message of January 3, 1936, the President told us:

> In 34 months we have built up new instruments of public power. In the hands of the people's government this power is wholesome and proper. But in the hands of political puppets of an economic autocracy such powers would provide shackles for the liberties of the people.

Of course, he assumes that he is the people's government, and that in his hands all this power is wholesome and proper. He forgets that we know that he has delegated and caused Congress to delegate a large part of these instruments of public power to various Government boards and agencies. He forgets or ignores the fact that we know that some of those in whose hands this power now rests listen to the advice and the theories and the political ideas of those who are political puppets of the Russian Government; that we know now that some of these powers have been and are being used

by members of the N. L. R. B. and by their employees to "provide shackles for the liberties of the people."

By the address of the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] made on the floor today was painted a picture which gives us some idea of those who are exercising these powers; of those who are providing the shackles for the liberties of the people.

The President on yesterday asked for unity. He wants us all to join with him. We all can see that there must be a unity of purpose—the preservation of our Nation, which means the preservation of the liberties and the independence of the individual. If a nation is to put forth its utmost efforts in time of war there must be a unity not only of purpose but of action. We all join the President in a desire for unity, but I ask you, should we join him and obtain unity by sacrificing our independence, our liberties, our constitutional guaranties of freedom, of free speech, of a free press, of due process of law.

Did it ever occur to the President that not all of the wisdom, and not all of the patriotism of this country, rests in his heart, and mind, and soul?

"We need the whole team" reads the caption of the editorial in the Washington Daily News today. That editorial continues:

> Republican leaders on Capitol Hill have laid aside partisanship and are cooperating with the Democrats, which is what they should do in times like these.

With that statement we all agree; but that statement does not mean, nor does cooperation mean, that the President is the whole team. Once he likened himself to a quarterback of a football team. We are willing to let him call the signals until his term expires but he seems to think that he is the whole team, that he is always to be quarterback. The editorial continues:

> But Congress will not have done its duty if it merely votes the money and then goes home, which seems to be what the President has in mind. To be sure, he promised to call Congress back into special session if the national defense requires it. "The Congress and the Chief Executive," he said, "constitute a team where the defense of the land is concerned."
>
> For the congressional part of the team to sit on the bench while the Chief Executive carries the ball without interference—that is not what this emergency demands.
>
> Congress has rallied to the Chief Executive's leadership, but Congress should not go home until it has also taken steps to rally the forces of private industry, from which our weapons and means of defense must be drawn.

Yes; we all want unity, but I ask you, is there any reason why we should join with the President when he has a Secretary of Labor who for months has taken under her wing and sheltered Harry Bridges, the Communist, the man who is able to and has on more than one occasion blockaded the port of San Francisco and other ports on the Pacific coast; who holds in the hollow of his hand the power to prevent the sailing of the vessels of our Nation from the Pacific coast?

Join in unity with the President? Yes. But can the President expect us to join him so long as he and his Secretary of Labor, Mme. Perkins, are in unity with Bridges, and protect that alien Communist, who stands in a position to lead a "fifth column" to victory on the West coast?

Unity! Under what flag? The flag of a Hitler?

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. No. Is that the unity in which we are to join? I have not forgotten, and it is a matter of common knowledge, that the Communist Party seeks the overthrow of this Government by force. I have not forgotten that within the year, since the beginning of the year 1940, the wife of the President of the United States through the press told the people of the United States, in substance, that it was none of our business if she chose to entertain Communists in her Hyde Park home.

Quite true; the President's wife, as an individual, may entertain whom and where she will. But she is also the wife of the President, and none knows better than she that she cannot separate her official from her personal status. None knows better than she that entertaining those who advocate the overthrow of this Government by force gives to them a certain standing and influence which they would not otherwise have. Her recognition of them, her acceptance of them as her guests, aids their cause and promotes their activities, which are inimical to our form of government.

Join in unity under what kind of a flag—the flag of "red" Russia? Is that the unity the President wants? Oh, no. We have a flag of our own. It is the flag of the Stars and Stripes; it is not the "red" rag of Russia. [Applause.]

Why should we not refuse to join him in that kind of a unity? There is no room under our banner for a Bridges, for a Frankensteen, for a Reuther, for a Brophy, for a Browder. Yes; we will play on the teams, with the President as quarterback. We will serve humbly and faithfully in the ranks, letting him call the signals. But on our team we will not tolerate either the Communists, the Fascists, or the Nazis. Let him get rid of the Federal employees who sympathize with the Communists; who lend their aid as Government officials; or, while holding Government positions, to the Communist cause.

There are many of us who will never go into a camp where the Communists or any other subversive group are in a position to betray us to the enemy. Let the President cast aside and publicly rebuke his "red" supporters and his "pale" or "bright pink" advisers. Let him repudiate the aid of Browder and publicly denounce him and all his communistic crew. Let him purge from his political organization and refuse to accept the help of all subversive groups, and so set his house in order that loyal, patriotic Americans, when they join in unity with him, will find themselves at home and not in the presence of aliens who are here only to destroy us.

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

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield.

Mr. COX. If the author of the bill to deport Harry Bridges can get recognition to move to suspend the rules on Monday, can he put it through by unanimous consent?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I can speak only for myself, though I know of no one on the Republican side who will object to such a request or who will not vote for the bill.

The President said that this is a time to lay aside politics. I agree with that; there is no question about it. But there is one thing that we must not forget, and that is our duty to our country. When we find the President of the United States coming up here and suggesting to us that we join with him—I am only repeating what I said a moment ago—let him get away from those who preach the doctrine of a Hitler, of a Mussolini, and of a Stalin.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. For just a question.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Does the gentleman want to make no reference whatsoever to the fact that the Communist Party of America is probably the most bitter opponent of the President at the moment that there is?

Mr. HOFFMAN. At the moment. The gentleman is right, if we accept the statement of Earl Browder, who not so long ago expressed his indignation that the President had shown himself to be ungrateful for all the help which the Communist Party had extended to him. But the President, during the last campaign and in the campaign in Michigan, where the President's "stooge," Frank Murphy, was a candidate for Governor, had and accepted without protest the political support of the Communists and of the Communist Party as an organization.

Have you forgotten how the President received without disclaimer the aid of the Communists? Have you forgotten how the President's wife went over before the Dies committee and lent her moral support to the young Communists who were there? Have you forgotten how she entertained them at the White House?

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire if it is in conformity with the rules of the House for a Member to refer to a Justice of the Supreme Court as a "stooge" of the President?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Oh, I did not refer to the Justice of the Supreme Court as a "stooge" of the President. I referred to the former Governor Murphy, who was drawing pay as Lord High Commissioner of the Philippine Islands while he was running for Governor of Michigan. That is the one to whom I referred. I do not know what he is now and make no reference to him as a member of the Supreme Court. I was just talking about his background. As Saposs says, "Background is often so necessary in the trial of these charges against industrialists."

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Michigan 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I yield.

Mr. TABER. I wonder if the gentleman can explain why, if the Communists are so opposed to the President at the present time, he does not remove some of the gang in the Labor Board that are manifestly and notoriously Communists?

Mr. HOFFMAN. The use of those kind of Federal agents is a more recent practice of political activity on the part of the administration with the reason for which I am not wholly familiar. There are times, you know, when you do not want your friends to be known. You are glad to have their votes but you do not want it advertised.

Here is what I wanted to say in conclusion: We are all for unity if the President will forget his political ambitions and confine his activities to his duties as Chief Executive of our Nation. But he is greatly mistaken, if he thinks that, by assuming that he is the only man in the country or in the Democratic Party who can safely guide us through the future, he can prevent all criticism, no matter how just; assume and exercise the power of a Hitler and deny to a free people their constitutional rights.

Seven years of his record are behind him and they are a record of his failure to solve our domestic problems. By his own admission of yesterday, he made public his failure to prepare our Nation for the threatened invasion which he now says confronts us.

England had her Chamberlain, who made a similar mistake, and who, because of that mistake resigned, or, as you will, was repudiated by the people of England. Yes; England had her Chamberlain and the United States has its Roosevelt.

Would not that be the way to get politics out of the situation; or is it true that the Democratic Party has no other man who can safely lead us through the coming days? Yes; England had her Chamberlain, and we have our Roosevelt. The records of the two run parallel. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I am not amazed to hear that applause, coming as it did from the Democratic side. It is what is known as the "raspberry."

I just said the records of the two men—Chamberlain and Roosevelt—run parallel. Chamberlain failed his country in time of need; Roosevelt, according to his statement of yesterday, has failed us in our time of need. Chamberlain resigned, and the parallel should be carried out. Roosevelt should renounce his personal political ambition.

When I called attention to the fact that the records of the two ran parallel, some of those on the majority side applauded. It is not often that men will applaud the comparison of the record of their leader with the record of another public man who has failed. It is not often that for 7 years any group of men will, figuratively speaking, lick the boots of another man and then applaud the fact of his failure and by that applause show that they wish to do the same thing for 4 years more. [Applause.]

England obtained unity through the resignation of Chamberlain. If the President wants unity in this country; if he wants all parties united for national defense, why does he not do the obvious thing? If he wants politics out of the situation, as he says he does, why does he not set us an example by frankly and at once telling us in no uncertain terms that he is not, that he will not be, a candidate for a third term? That he will not accept a nomination? That he will refuse, if nominated, to run as a candidate? [Applause.]

Is it because he believes there is no other man in his own party capable of rendering service of equal value? Oh, we all know a dozen or more men in the Democratic Party—yes; some of them in this House; some in the Senate—who are fully as capable as is the President; men who have not made the mistakes which he has made; men who will keep their campaign promises; who will stand steadfast on their party platform; men who will not assume that they cannot be guilty of error; men who will not charge, directly or indirectly, that all those who differ with them are either lacking in charity or in patriotism.

Let the President say to the Nation and to those Federal officeholders, those coattail hangers who hope that he can continue them in power, that he believes it to be his patriotic duty to call upon all parties now to support him loyally while he is in office, and that at the end of his present term he will retire to private life, leaving it to the good sense and the judgment of the people of our country to determine without influence from him or his political officeholders who they will have as their standard bearer.

Yes; we will all join with the President, not only in a program for national defense, but we will go farther than that. We will go to the end of the road, wherever that may be, for the preservation of the form of government guaranteed us by our Constitution, and of the President we ask only this: That he, while he remains in office, will do his utmost to see that our liberties as individuals are not taken from us; to see that the rights guaranteed to us under the Constitution remain inviolate; and, until the threatened dangers have been fully dissipated, we ask that he keep those in his official family and all those in the public service who believe it to be their prerogative to remake America, down somewhere in the basement or a deep, dark dungeon, out of our sight and hearing, so that we can, without being distracted by their presence, without being required to watch them, the better give to the vital problem—the defense of our country—our whole attention, all our energy.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SECCOMBE].

Mr. SECCOMBE. Mr. Chairman, no one appreciates more than I the many weeks of time and effort that the subcommittee has given to the present relief bill. I just returned a week or so ago from a W. P. A. investigation in one of the counties of my district. That investigation brought out many facts I hope will be discussed when the bill is being read for amendment.

I intend to offer many amendments because I am convinced that some of the experiences of the past year should benefit us when we change the present bill. Last year I opposed the enforced 30-day lay-off after 18 months' continuous work and I intend to offer an amendment this year to strike out the 30-day provision because in the experience of my congressional district no man or woman has ever returned to work after being off 30 days, and I have here the transcript of an investigation that has been verified by the State administrator. It has taken them anywhere from 60 to 90 days to get back on the roll and even longer in many cases.

There is another provision in the present bill that should be eliminated. I realize this was inserted in the present bill to encourage men to return to private employment. I have evidence here to prove that men were on W. P. A., then worked in private employment and got anywhere from $175 to $200 a month. As soon as they left this private employment they were immediately reassigned back to W. P. A. That to me is absolutely unfair and is especially unfair to those who have been awaiting reassignment from 3 to 4 months.

I have evidence here to show that a man, the head of a family which included 10 children, could not be assigned to W. P. A. because one of his boys helped him to the extent of $5 a month. The State administrator admitted this to me—and

it is verified here—that this same condition would have existed if the man had only received $1 a month from one of his children. This man had 10 children and is unassigned for work.

I am going to offer an amendment also in reference to the wage rate set up for the various communities in your respective counties. In my congressional district I have three wage rates in effect and I want to draw a direct parallel and paradox. There was one W. P. A. project in one of my counties along the main artery of a city and a man on one side of the street was drawing $39 a month, the lowest rate for labor in that particular county. There was another man on the other side of the street, but living in another county, making $52 a month. Both were working on the same project and both dealt at the same grocery store. I ask you if there is any fairness in a differential of $13 a month when both men are working side by side? I intend to offer an amendment to set up the wage rates by States rather than by counties, and I am positive that our experiences of the past will benefit us in preparing this bill for the future.

I realize we can find many faults here with the W. P. A., but that is only natural, because the W. P. A. is a large project. I am not going to stand up here and attempt to engage in faultfinding. I am going to confine my efforts, when the bill is read for amendment, to correcting some of the unfair practices of the past, and I hope all the Members will do the same thing.

I have evidence to show that men had to ride approximately 18 miles to a W. P. A. project when there was a project right across the street from where the men lived. The State administrator admitted to me that they turned the heat on the mayors of various municipalities to have projects submitted. You all know that a project cannot be submitted if the pocketbook of a particular municipality cannot afford to pay for it.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. SECCOMBE. Mr. Chairman, there is another instance where men went out to a project, 50 or 60 of them, and because the implements were not on the job they had to return home. Another man, according to this investigation, received a check for 37 cents, which constituted a pay day for 2 weeks because the project was finished. I also regret very much that no appropriation has been made for P. W. A. as this Federal agency was one of the best, especially for those in the building trades.

I have all of these things here, but I am going to be just as tolerant as I can when the bill is being read for amendments. I also favor a bill which is on a 12-month basis instead of an 8-month basis. I am conscious that during the next month or two there will be many men and women laid off all over the United States unless this being an election year the number of people to be employed will be increased rather than decreased. May I say in a spirit of fair play that I appreciate the cooperation of State Administrator Watson in this investigation, and in closing, I hope when we study this bill we will come back here next week prepared to take out some of the provisions in this bill which to me are absolutely unfair and unjust to those unemployed. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO].

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, it is indeed most unfortunate that at a time when Congress has reserved some of its precious time for the discussion of the most important domestic problem which confronts the American people, instead of discussing that problem and instead of dealing with it as people who feel a responsibility toward the unemployed of this country, we have permitted ourselves the extravagant indulgence of a travelog commencing with Harry Bridges in California and stopping with the umbrella of Mr. Chamberlain in London. We have also witnessed during the debate on this relief appropriation a new American pastime. Heretofore it has been baseball and football, but America's number one legislators have created for themselves a new American pastime. We are now jockeys, we are riding horses, we are riding Trojan horses over the prostrate forms of the unemployed of America, who are seeking some consideration at the hands of the Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States. Therefore, permit me to be out of place and to discuss the problem of relief for the unemployed.

We have here before us a bill which at most will inadequately provide for 2,000,000 persons to be employed on W. P. A. What I am concerned with is first, why should we restrict this employment to only 2,000,000? What justification is there to restrict the employment to only 2,000,000? In 1936, with unemployment estimated at 7,599,000, we had 2,545,000 on W. P. A. I am talking in terms of calendar years. In 1937, with unemployment at 6,372,000, we had 1,795,000 average on W. P. A. In 1938, with unemployment estimated at 10,000,000, we had 2,764,000 on W. P. A.

In 1939, with unemployment estimated at 9,067,000, we had 2,414,000 on W. P. A. In 1940, in January, with unemployment estimated at 9,185,000, we had 2,216,000 on W. P. A., and in June of this year, with unemployment now estimated at 9,500,000, we will have 1,700,000 on W. P. A. Under the proposed plan, the top we will ever reach, and that is not the average for the year, because the average will be less than 2,000,000, will be about 2,000,000 on W. P. A. If in 1938, with practically the same number of unemployed estimated then as today, with a difference of only one-half million, we employed an average of 2,764,000 on W. P. A., almost 3,000,000 men on W. P. A., what justification can there be with the same number unemployed in 1940 to employ almost a million less than we employed under the same unemployment conditions in 1938? Unemployment is practically the same; you cannot get away from that. Hence, why the cut in the W. P. A. rolls? Some people are expressing the wishful thought that war purchases are going to cause an absorption of the unemployed in private industry. You who come from the steel mills of Pennsylvania know better than that. Steel is beneficiary No. 1 from war purchases. You know very well that despite war purchases, despite the increase of the purchase of steel, due to the highly technical development in those mills these purchases have made very little difference in that industry from the standpoint of reducing the number of the unemployed. It has made hardly a dent in the ranks of the unemployed, and the steel towns are still ghost towns with the specter of unemployment still hovering over them. This is what has happened in communities which are favorites of war purchases. What can you expect in other communities?

The President himself sent a message in which he stated that the indices of industrial production have gone down to 105. From 127 we have reached a low of 105, and we are still in a tailspin. Hence, how can you justify a program for only 2,000,000? What are you going to do with the other unemployed?

The gentleman from Virginia yesterday suggested that some of the 11,000,000 are the responsibility of the local authorities. Yes; and most of the local governments are caring for them at indecent standards. He also failed to tell you that there are very few local authorities in the United States today that can withstand any additional load on their relief rolls. The city of New York and all the other cities in this Union are with their backs against the wall when it comes to the proposition of taking on additional relief cases.

Again I ask, How about the other unemployed? The gentleman from Virginia suggests that we give them an American wage. Fine. I want that, too, for the unemployed. However, who destroyed the American wage on W. P. A.? Who made the miserable security wage possible on W. P. A.? It was the gentleman's offensive against the prevailing wage in the bill last year that destroyed and abolished the American wage, the prevailing rate of pay on W. P. A. It was his bill that made possible the wage cuts.

My objection to this bill is that not only is it grossly inadequate but it continues for the unemployed an un-American,

inhuman, and indecent standard. You are not going to alleviate the unemployment situation by low standards on W. P. A. I have introduced a bill that provides, at American standards, for 3,000,000 jobs; that does away with the 18-month clause; and that does away with the wage cuts. Imagine women working in the various mattress and sewing projects being cut in the cities up North from $5 to $9 a month. That is exactly what has happened and what you continue under this bill. My bill would restore those wage cuts. My bill would remove those restrictions which make it impossible for many of the localities to establish and erect those very things which the gentleman from Virginia spoke about yesterday—buildings, projects of a permanent and useful nature, where you can employ carpenters, where you can employ bricklayers, where you can employ the skilled and unskilled labor of America who are seeking work and cannot get work because of the break-down in our economic system; labor would receive the prevailing rate, with hours not less than 120 nor more than 130 monthly. In no case will the national average monthly wage be less than $70. My bill also provides for assistance to States on condition that the States will extend relief to their people at decent American standards.

Now let me go back to those who feel that the unemployed will be given work as a result of domestic and foreign war purchases. Are we going to base the economy of America on these war purchases? If we do that, first of all, we are not going to do any good as far as absorbing the unemployed is concerned. Second, if we are going to permit the economy of this country to depend on war purchases, then remember we are increasing the economic pressure which will drive America into active participation in the World War. Adequate appropriations for jobs and decent standards for the unemployed will relieve this pressure and will aid in the preserving of our peace.

Most unfortunately, however, I do not expect that the unemployed in this country will receive much consideration from this House because many things have happened since the recommendation came to the Congress with regard to this bill. A great deal of war hysteria has been worked up in this House. Remember, however, that you are not going to forever solve the problem of unemployment in America by giving the American unemployed the job of stopping bullets and shrapnel at the front. The American workers want overalls; they do not want soldiers' uniforms. You talk about saving democracy. You want to save democracy in this country. You know deep down in your hearts that American democracy cannot survive another war. If we go into war our Bill of Rights, our freedom, everything for which our country has stood, will be destroyed, and it will take many and many a year before we can restore democracy to the American people after active participation in a war.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from New York 2 additional minutes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I say, therefore, let us go back and place the emphasis on our domestic problems. Let us emerge from this war hysteria and dedicate our attention to the most vital problem of our people. Let us get away from the hysteria which Trojan-horse jockeys are trying to work up in this country and let us immediately recover from the hysterical "blitzkrieg" on the peace of the American people which was pulled on the American people yesterday. Let us get back to our domestic problems. Let us get back to this problem of unemployment. Let us calmly, carefully, as patriotic Americans, owing a great responsibility to the people whom we represent, give adequate attention to the No. 1 problem of America.

American civilization rests or falls on the status of the American unemployed. Rome and its civilization fell because the unemployed of Rome became slaves. Whenever the unemployed of any country, whenever the lower one-third of any country are forced into abject misery and you smash their opportunity for a decent standard of living, that country falls.

I want to preserve my Nation. Anybody can take a gun, anybody can go out and fight, but I think what we need is intellectual and moral courage to solve our economic problems, to improve our social and economic order, to preserve our peace and freedom, and to guarantee to the unemployed of this country a standard of living which befits an American. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. AUSTIN].

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, I trust it may be a matter of interest when I say that in the minutes allotted to me I expect to discuss the bill now before this Committee, which, as I understand, is the purpose of the Committee. Let me say further that it appears to me that the general debate has now proceeded to a point where it may be possible for us to examine the debate and therefrom draw deductions, which deductions may be looked upon as fundamentals, and with these fundamentals in mind it may be possible to find a remedy suitable to the conditions.

Do you know, occasionally my mind goes back to the days when I practiced medicine. In the pursuit of that profession there is one thing which is absolutely necessary, and that thing is to be able rather rapidly at times to separate the unimportant from the important; in other words, to diagnose the conditions by getting at the very bottom fundamental of the diseased condition, and after we have that and our conclusion is reached, then attempt to apply the remedy.

I wonder if we might in a few moments follow such a course. There are certain things about which you and I cannot disagree. There are certain things which must be taken as accepted by this Committee, and the first thing is that we have a problem in front of us, which problem arose a few years ago. To my mind it is quite unnecessary to discuss whether this man or that man is to blame for the condition. I think those who are well informed and intelligent must today agree that the condition under which we have been suffering was not man-made. It is a condition existing, and the condition must be attacked.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I hope the gentleman will excuse me, as I prefer not to yield.

The situation existing throughout these years, sometimes with help and sometimes without, still confronts us after a period of treatment of about 7 years. Now, if that is the case, it must be admitted that when this began the Government very properly intervened. We had a social problem in this country which had to be met—a condition which could not be met by any individual or any small group of individuals. It had to be met by Government intervention, even in spite of the fact that Government intervention in social problems has only recently been looked upon as a possible function of our form of government.

The present scheme before us, whereby relief is afforded to those of our population who need it, seems to be the result of many methods which have been tried. Suppose we now look and see what the present method is—whether or not it is satisfactory—and, if it is not, why not. Then we know that the medicine which we have applied will no longer do any good to this patient. What is the trouble? One of the troubles is that we are not able under the present scheme of things to reach all of those who deserve relief. The reasons for that are many, and need not be gone into at this time, but it is apparent that there is still a large number of our people needy and deserving who are not getting the relief they ought to get. It is also very easy to say that there are certain features of the present plan which are not satisfactory. In the first place, the present method of relief is not constructive. It does not get us anywhere as a finality. It is no more and no less than throwing water on the smoke of a burning building in the hope of putting out the fire. What we need to go with this method of relief is a constructive program which ultimately will get us somewhere.

I think that all of us are ready to admit that the method that has been employed has been wasteful. There is no need to stand here, in my opinion, and accuse this one or that one, this group or that group, of wasteful extravagance. Let us take the situation as it is. There has been waste. That is one of the troubles with this plan. There is too much overhead, too much has been required for the administrative part of this plan, and as a result of that not all of the money appropriated has gone to the place where it was intended to go. And it has been brought out many times, and I know perfectly well that when we are fair and honest with ourselves, when every man in this Committee sits down and analyzes the condition confronting us, he is willing to admit one of two things. One is that the present plan lays all of us altogether too much open to pressure. That is the fact, and I know you must agree with me. I know, in your heart and conscience, you must agree, and this without reflection on anybody or anything else than the method, that the present plan has been and perhaps is open to political maneuvering, and that we do not want.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. No; I cannot yield. The system is full of abuses, it has been brought out, and some of them may have been criminal in character. Let us be honest and say that it is probably so. That does not help us in the solution of the problem. Whatever has gone has gone, and whatever was is all over. Let us hope that it cannot happen again. The worst criticism of the present system is this.

It is not a businesslike way of attacking the problem. Gentleman, you know as well as I do, that if you and I were heads of a private business, not for 5 minutes would we allow conditions to exist that now exist, and not for 5 minutes would we continue to pursue our business as this is carried on, for the reason that private business would not get anywhere under those conditions. The situation amounts to this: There is a large proportion of our people who are in need. This large proportion of our people must be taken care of, because that is the way we do things here. They must be taken care of. How can it be done after the appropriation is made—and the appropriation must be made—so as to get the best out of the money that we spend? To begin with, the plan which we adopt must be flexible in operation. That means that the plan of distribution must be such that when the greater need exists, the greater amount of money is there, and when the lesser need is present, only a lesser amount of money is required. Let us provide stringent penalties for abuse, whether criminal or not. Let us make up our minds whether it is better to give direct relief or work relief, or a combination of both. Would it not be a wise provision to see to it that the able-bodied, the more skilled, are not included, in the hope that those will be the ones who will be absorbed by private industry?

There is another mighty important thing to me, and that is that in the matter of employing on relief projects there be no conflict with what we speak of in general terms as "labor." I have been inclined at times to disagree with statements which I have heard made, that the fundamental prosperity of our country depends upon the fundamental prosperity of agriculture. I am inclined to believe, gentlemen, that there is more than one fundamental on which prosperity depends, and I think one fundamental is that of a satisfied and employed labor. Look back over the years and you will find that when labor has been busy, when industry has absorbed labor, everybody in this country has been prosperous.

The method of distribution is most important. I am aware of the fact that the suggestion has been made today, but I presume again to bring it to you perhaps in little different terms. It occurs to me that the proper way to attack this financial problem is to attack it by the distribution or allocation of the funds directly to a bureau or agency in each individual State; and if that be not now in existence, to provide that such be created. From there the allocation to the different towns or cities or municipalities is to be made.

Now, be ready to be startled, because I know this plan will be challenged. Somebody has yet to convince me that in every town, city, or community in this country there is not a sufficient number of able, capable, and responsible men and women who are willing without remuneration to assume the responsibility of the choice and direction and distribution of the funds allocated to that particular community. It was done in the draft boards. Men were selected for these boards because of their standing in the community. I think you did not hear very much about dishonesty there. I do not think you heard any well-founded criticism of that particular system. If it worked there, why will it not work now? I have sufficient faith in the patriotism, in the willingness to serve, of all responsible men in every community, to take up this particular kind of work and carry it through. What is the result? Greater efficiency is the first result. There is a loss of overhead. There is the improbability of anything which could even approach the possibility of political maneuvering; anything which could approach the possibility of the present system of abuse. Can you not see that the more you lower your overhead and the less money it takes to administer the more money goes directly where it is intended to go—that is, to the needy and deserving poor of this Nation? If that is done, then we know that the money which has been appropriated will do what we expect it to do. There is no question of waste; no question of ill-directed efforts. Then we are doing exactly what you want to do and what I want to do; that is, to give the money which we appropriate to the poor and needy who deserve it. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY].

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, Brussels has fallen. The world is on fire. If ever there was a time in the history of this Nation when we ought to drop our contentiousness, our bickering, our squabbling, and strive to attain national unity, this is the time.

I believe that the first step we ought to take in achieving our goal is to put our country in order and help make the democratic principle of government work here.

We are confronted with the proposition of aiding those who are unemployed through no fault of their own; yet while we discuss this momentous question, what a pitiful handful of men there is on this floor. Millions of Americans are involved and are dependent upon the action we take here. The welfare of our Nation is at stake.

This problem, as the gentleman from Connecticut has well said, was not created by the Republican Party. It was not created by the Democratic Party, but can we not get together and try to solve it as Americans? It is here.

Other nations have tried to solve the problem confronting us. It is not an American problem alone. It is an international problem. We may think because the world is on fire now, because we are preparing our defenses, that that will take care of the unemployed. If so, we are lulling ourselves into a feeling of false security. That is not true. Do you know that the problem of unemployment in Great Britain has not decreased because Great Britain has gone to war? In fact, the problem of unemployment becomes more critical because of preparation for war. When you prepare for war, other industries are neglected. Export trade declines. Ah, no; we cannot take care of the problem of unemployment because of war preparations. As Americans we believe that the American citizen who wants to work, who needs work, and who is able to work ought to be provided, under democratic processes, with an opportunity to work. We talk about life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—all empty platitudes unless we can give them real life and meaning. Where is there any happiness that has any substance to it unless a man has an opportunity to work and to feed and clothe and house his wife and children and those dependent upon him? All talk of happiness or the pursuit of happiness or of life or liberty is meaningless unless you can provide that citizen with an opportunity to provide for those dependent upon him.

If private industry can provide them with jobs then I say God bless private industry. But the fact remains that we have an immediate situation for which no one has a solution, and I say we ought to meet the situation bravely. We are stepping up production, but stepping up production does not decrease unemployment appreciably.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 additional minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Let me quote some figures; and, after all, this is to a large extent a matter of figures. The figures show that the number of regular jobs last year, that is, 1939, was about 3,000,000 less than 10 years earlier. This point needs emphasis. In 1939 there were about 3,000,000 fewer people at work than in 1929. To be precise the figures are 47,000,000 at work in 1929 compared with 44,000,000 at work in 1939; yet we produced as much in terms of goods and services as was produced in 1939. Because of technology we produced as much with 7 percent fewer people employed. Although 3,000,000 fewer people were employed, some 6,000,000 more people wanted jobs. We have got to take these figures into consideration, we have got to understand that no reasonable expectation of an upturn in production is going to take care of the people that we need to take care of here.

There are on the rolls of W. P. A. at present men who have been certified by local relief agencies, men and women, to the number of 1,950,000. There are on the relief rolls not employed on the W. P. A. program 1,200,000. This makes a total of 3,150,000 people who are certified. Most of them are heads of families. I say it is our duty to meet the situation squarely, not to discriminate against any of them, to put our house in order by appropriating the necessary amount to take care of 3,000,000 people. They are there on the rolls, they want to work, they are out of work through no fault of their own. They are unable to work because industry cannot give them that employment. Meeting the situation squarely, courageously, and honestly, we ought therefore, next Tuesday, when this bill will come up for passage, to see to it that it provides the amount of money necessary to take care of 3,000,000 people who are looking to us to provide an opportunity for them to go to work and earn a living in order to support themselves and their dependents.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Is the gentleman going to offer an amendment to put such a provision in the bill?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I am going to offer such an amendment.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I shall be happy to support the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I am not particularly happy about W. P. A. I do not think it is anything approaching a desirable or a perfect solution, but I do not know of any other alternative that can be put into effect immediately. I do not know how else we are going to take care of the situation.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. RICH. The gentleman on yesterday heard the logical reasoning of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] as to why we should support P. W. A. rather than W. P. A. Would not that in great measure accomplish the need of giving jobs to these people, and accomplish it at one-third the expense?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I believe the gentleman has an idea. I do not mean that W. P. A. is the only type of program that can provide jobs. I say that the W. P. A. program costs us less than the P. W. A. program to get money into the hands of the consumer. Let me quote figures.

The cost per man-year on W. P. A. is $744. We get that money into the hands of those on the lowest rung of the economic ladder. For P. W. A. the cost is $4,000 per man-year. I am trying to get dollars into the hands of those who need them most, those at the bottom. I know of no program that can handle that so well as the W. P. A. It is not perfect, but to my mind it seems more desirable in these times of extreme stress than P. W. A., although I do not want to abolish P. W. A. I think the two can be made to dovetail.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. KELLER. I would like to ask the gentleman whether he would be willing to vote for the appropriation necessary to put into effect a real P. W. A. program as well as take care of the men at the bottom as the gentleman has suggested be done.

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I shall be very happy to support such a program.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, the gentleman from Connecticut who had the floor preceding the gentleman from Massachusetts spoke about the cost of overhead, saying that the cost of overhead on W. P. A. was so high. I did not have opportunity to point out to him, but I ask the gentleman if he considers 3 percent for administration an exorbitant overhead cost?

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. I think that shows we are administering this form of relief at the very lowest cost and on a most economical and efficient basis. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER].

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, seven of the investigators of the W. P. A. investigated, in pursuance to a resolution, the entire program of the State of Pennsylvania. These men spent, according to the report, what would be approximately the equal of a 60-day investigation by a two-man team. Throughout the entire State in a great program, the benefits of which were carried to every corner of the State, they found 20 things they were able to criticize. I have analyzed each one of these 20 cases and have prepared what in my judgment is a complete answer to each of the charges.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to insert this material I have prepared at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The matter referred to follows:

1. CAR-RAIL REMOVALS (P. 19, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The W. P. A. removed streetcar rails, ties, power lines, and poles and repaved roads or streets affected thereby upon completion of such removal. It is impossible to give the amount of money expended on this type of program in Pennsylvania, as they are included under highway construction and the city-wide street-improvement projects. This work was done by W. P. A. notwithstanding the public-utility charters required the public-utility company to do same without cost to the city or town. One of the methods to qualify this type of project has been for the public-utility company to deed back to the city the property rights of said company. In certain cases the cities have received cash payment and salvage material in exchange for such agreement.

1A. CAR-RAIL REMOVALS (P. 19, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

Under certain circumstances, work of this type has been carried out by the W. P. A. for project sponsors. The assumption by a local governmental agency of responsibility for such work under an agreement with a utility company does not in itself mean that work must be considered to be without public character.

Appropriate action has been taken in those cases found not to be of public interest, as in a case in the Wilkes-Barre area which reflected that W. P. A. had, under a State road project, resurfaced a portion of a traction company's roadway. It was found that about $13,000 of sponsor's material and $7,046 of W. P. A. labor had been diverted to this purpose. W. P. A. has claimed restitution in the amount of Federal funds involved, and the State of Pennsylvania is seeking recovery in the amount of sponsor's material involved.

It is definitely certain that at the present criteria for determining public character, no work relative to car-track areas, which was previously a responsibility of a private corporation, can be done by W. P. A. unless the necessary assurances are provided with respect to public responsibility for and character of the work.

On projects of this type a careful review is made to eliminate any possibility of Federal funds being expended to satisfy an obligation which rests either in part or in whole with a private corporation.

2. HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION PROJECT, LOOK OUT (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

This project is supposed to be on the roadway of the State highway department and is an overlook. The secretary of the State highway department insists that the project is on property of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Co. It has not been accepted by the highway department. Although W. P. A. reported

the project as having cost $101,100 it is estimated that at least $400,000 has been expended on same to date. The secretary of the State highway department stated that he did not consider the Look Out as a useful project, but as a waste of public funds.

2A. HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION PROJECT, LOOK OUT (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The project referred to as Look Out was not done under a separate project, but was included in the county-wide highway program sponsored by the Pennsylvania Department of Highways for the county of Luzerne, and, in view of this fact, no costs are available for the specific site.

Look Out is located on a hillside along U. S. Route No. 11, overlooking the Susquehanna River and the city of Wilkes-Barre, and consists of two low circular pylons, 33 feet in diameter, connected by a walled flagstone promenade 320 feet in length. The pylons and walls are of a cement-coursed rubble-masonry construction varying in height from 5 to 27 feet. The area between U. S. Route 11 and the promenade (48 by 425 feet) has been filled in with 10 inches of native stone base roadway material.

This work was performed under the sponsorship of the Pennsylvania State Department of Highways. No question regarding the public ownership of the property involved was apparent to W. P. A. at the time operations were initiated and the desirability of the proposed work appeared adequately established by the responsibility of the sponsor.

3. MINE SEALING (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

These projects are on private property. The work has been carried on in 26 counties, the State spending about $48,908 and the W. P. A. $2,440,880. The project was adopted as a sanitation program, but was discontinued on January 9, 1939, on recommendation of the United States Public Health Service, based on the fact that the State-wide project submitted did not show that it was necessary as a health measure. On the basis of the same set of facts the project was originally approved.

3A. MINE SEALING (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The mine-sealing program, which operated in 26 counties in the State of Pennsylvania under the sponsorship of the Pennsylvania Department of Health, who are authorized by law to perform this work, was undoubtedly a worth-while program from a public-health standpoint.

The sponsors of the project, together with the United States Public Health Service, maintained strict supervision over its operation and conducted the project in such a way as to insure proper advance planning in order that the results would be most beneficial to public health. It has been established by the Pennsylvania Department of Health that at least a million pounds of acid a day were removed from the streams of Pennsylvania. Further, such health benefits are evident from the fact that fish can now live in the Allegheny River, from which the city of Pittsburgh obtains its drinking water.

Not only was this a public-health benefit to communities but it aided in reducing expenditure of taxpayers' money for chlorine and other chemicals which the acid water required to be purchased in quantity.

The reduction in the use of chlorine not only saved the taxpayers' money but made the water they drank more potable.

It is true that this project closed down completely in January 1939, due to the fact that funds on the approved projects for mine sealing had become exhausted and approval of the new State-wide mine-sealing project could not be obtained. However, its activities were curtailed drastically from July 1938 because the United States Public Health Service withdrew its technical supervision, due to lack of funds resulting from a reduced appropriation.

It is believed that worth-while work can now be done under a project of this type which would result in large public benefits if a proposal were presented to the Administration by the sponsor which would conform to the current act of Congress, and if there could be a mutual understanding between the local sponsoring agency and the United States Public Health Service as to their individual responsibilities in the proper conduct of such a project.

4. PRIVY BUILDING (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

These projects have been and still are operating in 40 of the 67 counties of the State under a State-wide project. The projects call for the building of sanitary privies to replace unsanitary structures in connection with a general State-wide health program. The W. P. A. has expended $2,727,585 and the sponsor has contributed $1,217,761. This work is done on private property, and it would appear that the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Bethlehem Steel Co. and other corporations as owners of land are the chief beneficiaries.

4A. PRIVY BUILDING (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The community sanitation project operated in 66 of the 67 counties of the State of Pennsylvania, under the sponsorship of the Pennsylvania Department of Health, and during the time covered in the report of the investigators, more than 43,000 units were constructed. In addition to the supervision afforded this project by the Pennsylvania State Department of Health, technical supervision was supplied to the project by persons paid from funds furnished by the United States Public Health Service.

The statement of the investigators that it would appear that the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Bethlehem Steel Co. were the chief beneficiaries of this work is probably due to the fact that they have lost sight of the existence of company towns, in the State of Pennsylvania. In many instances entire towns are situated on lands owned by large coal companies and railroad companies, and certainly to deprive people living in these communities of the health benefits afforded by the construction of sanitary units, would defeat the primary purpose of the project.

It can be said that in most instances these units are of necessity constructed on private property, but in view of the large public health benefits derived from a project of this type, it must undoubtedly be considered a public project, under the terms of the current Emergency Relief Appropriation Act.

5. TRANSPORTATION OF WORKERS (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

It has been the policy of the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania to transport workers from points near their homes to places of work. It is impossible to state the amount of money which has been expended by the W. P. A. under this policy. There occurred in Philadelphia some time ago an example of what can happen under this policy. The procedure was to transport workers from Philadelphia to the outlying counties. Over $200,000 was paid to the railroad companies to haul workers between Philadelphia and the places where they were working. The procedure was to haul the workers from Philadelphia via train beginning at 8 a. m. to the point of destination, arriving there at 8:40 a. m., from which place hauling via truck to the project was begun. The hauling of the workers to the project via truck was completed at 11:30 a. m. The hauling back to the station would begin at 1:40 p. m., ending at 4 p. m., at which time the trains would depart for Philadelphia. Approximately 2 hours of work per day was done by the men.

5A. TRANSPORTATION OF WORKERS (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

It is true that confronted with a tremendous problem of unemployment for certified workers in Philadelphia during the period January 1, 1936, to June 30, 1937, W. P. A. did provide the transportation for workers mentioned in the report at a cost per round trip of about 50 cents, or less, per day per worker. Undoubtedly the charge that workers were thus unable to perform a full day's work is to some extent true, but the transportation of the workers was carried out as expeditiously as possible. Assignment of these workers to projects in Philadelphia would most certainly have been done had sponsors in Philadelphia cooperated in sponsoring projects of a character and magnitude suitable for the employment of these workers.

At the present time no Federal funds are being used to defray the cost of transporting workers. However, some workers are being transported to and from projects, but these costs are defrayed entirely by the sponsoring agency or by themselves.

There is one exception where assistance is given a sponsor in this connection, and that is in the case of project sponsored by the Pennsylvania Department of Military Affairs, wherein the Work Projects Administration furnishes gasoline and oil for their convoy trucks.

6. CONTINUED EMPLOYMENT OF W. P. A. OFFICIALS UNDER INDICTMENT (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The W. P. A. in Pennsylvania has continued to employ persons notwithstanding their indictment for fraud in connection with W. P. A. An example of this is the case of Charles M. Emerick, State director of adult education, at Harrisburg, and Walter F. Jones, district supervisor, at Pottsville, Pa. The indictment alleged fraudulent claim for wages for labor alleged to have been performed by one Michael Cuff in amount of $1,449.48.

6A. CONTINUED EMPLOYMENT OF W. P. A. OFFICIALS UNDER INDICTMENT (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

Records of our administration reveal that Charles M. Emerick, former State director of Division of Adult Education and Recreation, and Walter F. Jones, district supervisor of adult education and recreation, at Pottsville, Pa., were continued in their W. P. A. employment in and after indictment by Federal grand jury.

The Division of Investigation completed a case involving Michael Cuff, former W. P. A. head teacher at Shenandoah, Pa., who was alleged to have received W. P. A. salary for time during which he did not perform his W. P. A. duties. The investigation revealed that certain of the evidence indicated that the charge was substantiated, further reflecting that only Cuff received the benefits of the improper payments.

The evidences were conflicting as to the employees' supervisors responsible for this irregularity. Michael Cuff, Jones, Emerick, and three other employees were indicted on presentation of the case to the grand jury by the Department of Justice.

Apparently because of this conflicting testimony, the former State administrator continued Emerick and Jones in their employment pending settlement of the case by the Department of Justice. Shortly after assuming office, the present administrator, on learning that Jones and Cuff were under indictment, suspended these employees, pending the result of the trial.

The case was investigated in August of 1937.

7. HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION, LACKAWANNA COUNTY (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

Up to March 31, 1939, the W. P. A. had expended in Lackawanna County on State highway projects $24,505,134, with the sponsor's contribution amounting to $1,494,117. There are 202.23 miles of State highway in Lackawanna County. Thus the amount expended per mile on this project is $148,312. No definite cost system was set up for these highway projects. No detailed plans were prepared for any of the jobs by the highway department. Retaining walls were built only to be later torn down in connection with the widening of the same roads. The evidence shows in one instance a retaining wall was built 15 feet above the bottom of the bank.

As a result the space between the wall and bottom of the bank is being filled in. In another instance, according to affidavit of property owner, the bank never washed or fell before the wall was constructed but since the building of the wall difficulty has been had continually.

7A. HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION, LACKAWANNA COUNTY (P. 20, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

Of the amount reported expended on these projects to March 31, 1939, $21,524,563 was directly paid workers, of whom 95 percent were taken from the relief rolls.

The W. P. A. followed the plans and specifications of the Pennsylvania Department of Highways on the various road projects operated in Lackawanna County. No work was performed on any of the highways in this area without the consent and approval of the Department of Highways district engineer or representatives of that department. In view of the emergency character of the program, there was no definite cost system set up at the beginning of the program for each particular job.

Remedial measures have been taken to provide for efficient operations with respect to the present situation. Projects, after they have received all necessary approvals, are now selected for operation, as they are needed to employ available men, and if the sponsor is desirous of doing the work. Their operation is under the field supervision of field engineers and supervisors attached to our various district offices, together with foremen and general foremen that are assigned to the individual projects.

A close check of the operations being conducted on highway projects is maintained by our district offices, and a further operating check of these projects is maintained by the State office through its State engineering inspectors. This close supervision by these responsible personnel results in the maintenance of a high standard of efficiency and workmanship on the projects.

The Pennsylvania State Department of Highways now maintains a central office and various district offices throughout the State. By effecting a close cooperation between their central office and the central office of the Work Projects Administration, and between their district offices and the W. P. A. district offices, the work program on highways is carefully planned and includes only those worth-while projects which will result in constructive improvements of a permanent nature.

Federal funds are allotted for the operation of State highway projects on a county-wide basis. A system of recording and checking progress, and maintaining cost data has been evolved in connection with work on State highways, and under this system of control, before a specific job unit on an individual route is released for operation, a detailed cost estimate is prepared. The Pennsylvania Department of Highways and the Work Projects Administration must be in agreement on the work set up and the cost estimates before operations are commenced.

After the inception of operations on a particular job the daily costs and quantities of work accomplished are recorded and from these data reports on unit costs, relationship of accomplishment to expenditure, and relationship of actual progress to scheduled progress is determined.

Work, of course, is prosecuted on highway projects in accordance with plans and designs developed and furnished to us by the sponsor, which, in this case, was the Pennsylvania Department of Highways. The sponsor also obtains all the necessary titles, leases, etc., to property not owned by them, as well as all necessary approvals or releases from other governmental agencies before any work is undertaken.

The Pennsylvania State Highway Department reported road mileage in Lackawanna County, Pa., in 1938 as follows:

State highways—primary system, 198 miles. Of this, 140 miles were classified as township, 41 miles as borough, and 17 miles as city roads under the primary State highway system.

State rural roads, 219 miles. Of this, 164 miles were classified as township, 44 miles as borough, and 11 miles were classified as coming within the jurisdiction of cities under the State highway system.

8. HIGHWAY AT THORNHURST, PA. (P. 21, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

This road is in the southern corner of Lackawanna County approximately 8 miles from the main highway leading into the city of Scranton. The road is in the heart of one of Pennsylvania's numerous hunting areas. Large signs were noted reading: "Hunters, caution—W. P. A. workers nearby." In addition, W. P. A. workers on their shoulders wore a red piece of cloth. There are no cost figures, specifications, or plans available to show the work done and the cost of same on this road. It is stated by persons familiar with the project that approximately 300 workers were employed there continuously for 3 years and that they were transported there daily in 30 trucks, which trucks were used in connection with the building of this road. On the basis of an average of $60 per month the labor cost would be $1,080,000. On the basis of $208 per truck the cost would be $224,640. The sum total cost of the road as of May 18, 1939, would therefore be $1,304,640. The road is approximately 6 miles long and as of that date approximately 1 mile was unfinished. On the basis of these figures the cost per mile would be $212,440.

8A. HIGHWAY AT THORNHURST, PA. (P. 21, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The highway referred to was one which was constructed under the county-wide highway project in Lackawanna County, which was sponsored by the Pennsylvania State Department of Highways. No detailed information is available from the files relative to costs, etc., of this particular operation because it was part of a county-wide project on which costs were not broken down into units.

In excess of 85 percent of the Federal funds, expended on this project was paid directly to workers, of whom 95 percent were taken from the relief rolls.

As stated above, under "Highway Construction, Lackawanna County," definite remedial measures have been taken to provide for effective operations, and now costs on any unit of any highway project can be definitely ascertained.

9. HIGHWAY AT EYNON, PA. (P. 21, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

This road is 2 miles in length and runs from one highway into Eynon, Pa. This town is on three other highways, two of which lead to the same road to which this highway runs. There are no figures available as to the cost of this project. It is stated by persons in a position to know that 200 men worked there with 20 trucks continually for 2 years. On the basis of $60 per month per man the labor cost would be $288,000 and on the basis of $268 per month per truck that cost would be $99,840. The total cost of the project therefore up to the date of investigation would have been $387,840. Bearing in mind that the road is 2 miles in length the cost per mile would be $193,920. As of the date of the investigation the road was approximately 50 percent complete.

9A. HIGHWAY AT EYNON, PA. (P. 21, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The highway referred to was one which was constructed under the county-wide highway project in Lackawanna County, which was sponsored by the Pennsylvania State Department of Highways. No detailed information is available from the files relative to costs, etc., of this particular operation because it was part of a county-wide project on which costs were not broken down into units.

In excess of 85 percent of the Federal funds extended on this project was paid directly to workers, of whom 95 percent were taken from the relief rolls.

As stated above, under "Highway Construction, Lackawanna County," definite remedial measures have been taken to provide for effective operations, and now costs on any unit of any highway project can be definitely ascertained.

10. MALONEY PARK, OXFORD PLAYGROUND, AND DUNMORE ATHLETIC FIELD (P. 21, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

These projects show lack of planning, a waste of money, and inadequate cost records. Photographs are in the file showing the present condition of these projects after the expenditure of not less than $141,592.73 of Federal funds on Maloney Park, $60,846.05 on Oxford Playground, and $128,062.67 on the Dunmore Athletic Field. W. P. A. reports on the expenditures of the Maloney Park and Oxford Playground show a much less sum-total expenditures for these projects than the sponsors' records, which records reflect both W. P. A. and the sponsor's expenditures.

10A. MALONEY PARK, OXFORD PLAYGROUND, AND DUNMORE ATHLETIC FIELD (P. 21, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

Maloney Park: Concerning the project for improvements to Maloney Park it is probably true that there was a lack of planning of this work. However, the record reveals that the project was set up primarily for putting men to work in the early stages of the program, in 1936. The project was set up, not as a mechanized one but primarily as one to use a large amount of hand labor. During the latter part of 1937 the record reveals that the city of Scranton was requested to furnish equipment for the proper operation of this project, but this was not done, evidently because during the year 1937 the city of Scranton did not make any provision for W. P. A. in its budget.

Oxford Playground: The statements of the investigators concerning Oxford Playground are essentially correct, and the record reveals that the project costs were probably excessive. However, the record in this particular case also reveals that considerable riprap on the top of a 60-foot embankment was done and thus saved the city of Scranton considerable money in the future maintenance of this playground. The playground affords a recreational area to thousands of people throughout the summer months.

Dunmore Athletic Field: Concerning the construction of the Dunmore Athletic Field, this field was constructed adjacent to a new high-school building which was built under the Public Works Administration. The record concerning this project reveals that it was considered one of the best projects for the construction of recreational facilities in Lackawanna County and affords a means of conducting all athletic activities for this high school.

11. REDUCTION IN NUMBERS ON PAY ROLLS AND NEEDS SURVEY (P. 21, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The records show that in connection with reduction in the force a review was made of the pay-roll records for each classification of workers and elimination of every fifth person. As to the review of need accomplished in Pennsylvania under instructions from Washington, this review was based largely on the signed statement of each worker. It was admitted that workers had a tendency to leave out such information as did not show necessity for retention on rolls. Evidence was also received that security workers here were fired at random.

11A. REDUCTION IN NUMBERS ON PAY ROLLS AND NEEDS SURVEY (PP. 21 AND 22, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

In connection with the reduction of persons employed on W. P. A.; this was accomplished as far as practicable on the basis of information obtained during the review of need. Consideration

also was given to the amount of savings that would accrue to the Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance by separating from employment first those cases with relative budgetary differences.

It is also important to point out in this connection that the review of need was accomplished in a short period, and it was not considered practicable under the circumstances to effect an intensive home investigation regarding the needs of each individual case. Furthermore, it is significant that the Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance maintains adequate facilities for investigating needs, and the certifications of need made by that agency are recognized by the W. P. A. as being valid.

At the present time employment on W. P. A. and retention in employment is being carried out in Pennsylvania in accordance with the provisions of section 16 of the E. R. A. Act of 1939 and administrative regulations issued pursuant thereto.

12. IMPROVEMENTS TO PRIVATELY OWNED PROPERTY OF W. P. A. OFFICIALS AND OTHERS (P. 22, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

It is shown that retaining walls were built, roads constructed, buildings moved and improved, and dams built on private property as well as on private property owned by W. P. A. officials. It is likewise shown that roads were built which would peculiarly benefit certain individuals. It is impossible to give the exact costs of these various items for the reason that they are included under official projects and were accomplished out of funds and with labor assigned to official projects.

12A. IMPROVEMENTS TO PRIVATELY OWNED PROPERTY OF W. P. A. OFFICIALS AND OTHERS (P. 22, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

Inasmuch as under this particular heading the statements of the investigators do not refer to the property of any particular individual, no comments can be made in this case.

We do wish to state that at the present time, to the best of our knowledge, there is no property owned by W. P. A. officials being improved with Work Projects Administration funds.

13. RELOCATION OF HIGHWAY AND IMPROVEMENTS ON LIEBER PROPERTY BY W. P. A. LABOR—MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PA. AP. 22, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

(a) The original plans provided for the rebuilding by W. P. A. of road known as the Walton Road situated at township line and Walton Road, Montgomery County, Pa. This road ran from one end of the estate of Mr. Francis Lieber to the other, passing directly in front of the house owned by the aforementioned Mr. Lieber. There was very little frontage between the site of this old road and Mr. Lieber's home.

Before work was begun as originally prescribed, it was decided to relocate the road in question with the result that the road instead of being constructed on the old site running directly in front of Lieber's home it was relocated far out in front of the said home, thus enhancing the estimated value of the property in question to the extent of several thousands of dollars. State highway officials as well as W. P. A. officials disclaimed any knowledge as to the authorization for the relocation of this road. Further benefits derived by Mr. Lieber included the building of a dam on his property, improvement of ramps leading to his barn, construction of a new lawn, the planting of trees and shrubbery, the relocation and installation of new fences, the installation of stone and cement drainage intakes, the construction of a new driveway and the use of fill material to complete a section of his low ground.

Photographs and affidavits are made a part of this report and substantiate the above.

13A. RELOCATION OF HIGHWAY AND IMPROVEMENTS ON LIEBER PROPERTY BY W. P. A. LABOR—MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PA. (P. 22, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

(a) There is nothing in the records of this Administration concerning the allegations of the investigators relative to irregularities in the construction of Walton Road, Montgomery County, Pa., adjacent to the estate of Mr. Francis Lieber.

14. RETAINING WALLS IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY—SLINGLUFF AND CAVANAUGH PROPERTY (P. 22, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

(b) A retaining wall was constructed by W. P. A. labor to protect the property owned by Mr. Slingluff who incidentally is supervisor of roads for the township. A similar type of retaining wall was erected by W. P. A. on what is known as the Cavanaugh property across the road from the aforementioned Slingluff property.

14A. RETAINING WALLS IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY—SLINGLUFF AND CAVANAUGH PROPERTY (P. 22, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

(b) There is nothing in the records of this Administration relative to the allegations of the investigators concerning the construction of a retaining wall which they allege was for the protection of property owned by Mr. Slingluff and Mr. Cavanaugh.

15. RETAINING WALLS (GENERAL) (P. 22, (COUNSEL'S REPORT)

(c) Further investigation in Pennsylvania with regard to erection of retaining walls by the W. P. A. labor reveals the following specific cases:

1. Erection of retaining wall in front of the Hudson Coal, the Ashman, and the Elvidge properties at Throop, Pa.

2. Erection of retaining wall and steps in front of private property at Blakeley, Pa.

3. Wall in front of coal company property at Peckville, Pa.

4. Erection of retaining wall and culvert constructed on coal company property at Peckville, Pa.

5. Erection of retaining wall constructed on private property near Cortez, Pa. The wall constructed here was on the privately owned property of Harold Swift and Leonard Boland, both of whom were W. P. A. officials. Swift was assistant district manager and Boland was a zone engineer. Both are related through marriage.

(NOTE.—There are no cost figures available to show the amount of money expended upon these properties. These improvements were included in the State highway program. The reason given for the construction of these walls is that they became necessary because of damage done to the property during the work being done on the road project.

Both W. P. A. officials and Pennsylvania Highway Department officials stated the responsibility for damage done to private property during the construction of highways rested with the highway department. In other words, W. P. A. in the construction of those walls assumed a liability that was the responsibility of the highway department.

With further regard to the construction of such walls, the highway department officials stated it was not their policy to construct walls on the highways and that these walls were not constructed except in rare instances such as railroad underpasses. These officials further stated that given their choice of paying cash damages or constructing the walls on the basis of W. P. A. costs and efficiency they would in every instance pay the damages as such procedure was by far the cheaper.

Highway department officials further state that the department is not liable for damages to property where the damage is within the right-of-way, and that in such instances the property owner is left to his own remedies.

W. P. A. officials insisted that these walls are within the highway department right-of-way.)

Photographs were taken in each of the above-mentioned cases and are made a part of this file.

15A. RETAINING WALLS (GENERAL) (PP. 22 AND 23, COUNSEL'S REPT.)

(c) 1. Concerning the erection of a retaining wall in front of the Hudson Coal, the Ashman, and the Elvidge properties at Throop, Pa., it cannot be determined as to why these particular citations are made by the investigators. At the time these walls were constructed no definite procedure existed on which their eligibility was to be determined. However, it goes without saying that in most instances retaining walls are constructed either in front of or on private property, but it can be definitely stated that under the present administration it is predetermined that the construction of any retaining wall, whether it be on private property or abutting private property, is primarily for the benefit and protection of the general public.

2. The same comments as stated directly above are applicable to this statement.

3. The same comments as stated directly above are applicable to this statement.

4. This statement of the investigators refers to the construction of a retaining wall and culvert on property owned by a coal company at Peckville, Pa.

Work of this nature is now being carried on by the W. P. A., but as stated above, where it becomes necessary for the protection, or benefit of the general public, or for the successful prosecution of the work being performed on public property, it may legitimately be done, provided the proper releases, etc., are obtained by the sponsoring agency. A careful check is made by this administration before work of this nature is undertaken to determine that it complies fully with all the legal requirements as set forth in the act and supporting procedures.

5. Concerning the erection of a retaining wall on property owned by Harold Swift and Leonard Boland, the records reveal that inspection of this wall was made by the special field agent of the W. P. A. Division of Investigation, and his report stated that the wall in question was constructed within the highway right-of-way, and as stated above since no procedure existed on which the eligibility could be determined, no charges were made.

16. IMPROVEMENTS TO PROPERTY OWNED BY W. P. A. OFFICIALS (P. 23, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

An investigation was undertaken with respect to the allegations of improvements on property belonging to private individuals in Jefferson Township purchased on or about July 1937 by Leonard Boland, W. P. A. engineer in the Scranton, Pa., area and Harold Swift, employed as W. P. A. supervisor of operations in that area. Boland incidentally is a brother-in-law of Swift, brother of Joseph Boland, and a first cousin of one Edgar Kearney, all of whom were employed by the W. P. A. in that area.

The evidence reveals the presence of a retaining wall as well as a road in front of the Swift-Boland property constructed by W. P. A. labor. There is also evidence to substantiate the fact that W. P. A. labor was used to riprap the driveway and an approach to the driveway on the Swift and Boland property. Evidence also shows that a dam was constructed on said property, and by Boland's own admission W. P. A. trucks hauled and dumped 20 loads of rock and dirt on his property for the construction of the dam. An affidavit was secured from a W. P. A. foreman (still employed) alleging that with other W. P. A. workers he engaged in the demolition of a building on behalf of Boland and that the salvage was hauled to the property owned by Boland. An affidavit was also secured from one, Ralph M. C. Hale, W. P. A. timekeeper, wherein he states that he turned in time for W. P. A. laborers engaged in work on the dam on

the Boland-Swift property. Further affidavits and statements taken in connection with this matter appear to support the allegations of improvements on the Swift-Boland property by W. P. A. labor.

W. P. A. Division of Investigation exonerated Boland and Swift of the charges that they used W. P. A. labor to improve their property. Investigation was made by Agent John J. McEwan, who, according to charges made by one John L. Kilcullen, complainant in this case, borrowed money from Kilcullen and was entertained daily by Boland during the period of the investigation.

A memorandum under date of September 30, signed by Roger J. Bounds, Director of W. P. A. Division of Investigation, stating the case was closed, makes the following observation:

"The evidence submitted indicates that the trees were planted in Boland's yard during W. P. A. working hours, but without Boland's knowledge or instruction and also that of the foreman. Accordingly, in view of the triviality of the matter, the case should be considered closed and a copy of the report referred to State Administrator Hudson for his information."

16A. IMPROVEMENTS TO PROPERTY OWNED BY W. P. A. OFFICIALS (PP. 23 AND 24, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The Division of Investigation's records reflect that two investigations were made of alleged diversion of W. P. A. labor to the improvement of private property of W. P. A. officials. First complaint alleged that W. P. A. labor and materials had been diverted to dismantle two sheds and transport the salvaged material to a cottage at Cortez, Pa., owned by Harold A. Swift. This investigation determined that two abandoned powder sheds which had been given to Boland by the Dupont Powder Co., of German, Pa., were dismantled by W. P. A. workers on their own time, and the truck drivers donated their services in the transportation of the salvaged material to the Swift cottage at Cortez, Pa.

The second complaint was investigated in August and September 1937 and closed on September 29, 1939, since there was no evidence that there was diversion of W. P. A. labor and material. The investigation made in September 1937 determined that two trees had been delivered and planted on the property of Boland and Swift, and two other trees had been delivered at the home, but not planted, at the home of Reap. Evidence reflected that this required the work of two men for a 3-hour period. One of the workers, Daniel J. Flanagan, testified that this had been done on W. P. A. time, whereas the other worker, Michael Flanagan testified that this had been accomplished on their own time and not on W. P. A. time. Since the case involved only 6 man-hours or approximately $2.10 and the evidence to whether it was done on or off W. P. A. time was conflicting, as between the two workers who performed the work, the case was referred to the State administrator by the Director of the Division of Investigations, with the following comment:

"The report reflects that Daniel J. Flanagan and Michael Flanagan, W. P. A. workers, planted two trees each on the private property of Leonard Boland, a W. P. A. engineer; Harold A. Swift, an assistant district director; and William A. Reap, a W. P. A. office manager. Daniel Flanagan stated that the delivery occurred during W. P. A. working hours, while Michael Flanagan maintained the delivery was made outside working hours. No evidence was obtained to indicate that Swift, Reap, and Boland had knowledge that the trees were delivered during working hours.

"In view of the triviality of the matter and the contradictory statements of the principal witnesses, the case is considered closed in this office."

In order to be complete, the report should reflect that Agent John J. McEwan borrowed $25 from John L. Kilcullen, complainant, in making an unanticipated trip to Boston, Mass., in answer to a subpena. On his return to Cass County, shortly thereafter, the amount was repaid in full to Kilcullen by McEwan in the presence of Special Field Agent N. R. Rogers.

Agent McEwan categorically and emphatically denies the allegation that he was entertained daily by Boland during the period of investigation.

17. FIRE HOUSE, CASS TOWNSHIP, SCHUYLKILL COUNTY (P. 24, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

There are two W. P. A. projects, one involving the renovating of a building to be used by the Clover fire company and the other to improve the grounds surrounding the same as well as perform work on another fire company. According to the project proposal W. P. A. was to expend $12,413.40 and the Cass Township supervisors were to expend $4,629.62 on the building. The other project covering ground improvements, etc., calls for W. P. A. expenditure of $44,666 with a sponsor's contribution by the Cass Township supervisors of $11,138.

Total W. P. A. limitations	$57,079.40
Total sponsor's proposed contribution	15,767.62

According to sworn affidavit of Thomas F. Breen, secretary-treasurer of the board of supervisors, the annual income of the township is approximately $5,000 and the town's annual expenses were approximately that much. At the time of the affidavit, July 15, 1939, there was $800 in the treasury. The Clover Fire Company has no fire equipment and insofar as the records show there is no possibility of immediate purchase. The property in question is owned by the Philadelphia and Reading Coal & Iron Co., who in turn leased the same to the Ancient Order of Hibernians for $15 per year. The Hibernians subleased the property to the Cass Township Board of Supervisors. The Cass Townsend board of supervisors in turn leased the property to the Clover fire company of Heckscherville, the building being used as a clubhouse and has a bar in the basement which is open to members and their guests. The original lease granted use and occupancy of a strip of land 40 by 80 feet together with the right and privilege of erecting a two-story building thereon. The first project is concerned with the renovation of this building. The second project is concerned with the improvements of the grounds surrounding the building. There is no lease or other instrument in existence giving anyone the right to use those grounds. Both project proposals stated the land is owned by Cass Township and private coal companies. The second project is also concerned with work on the Clover Fire Company, the property of which is owned by the township. However the township does not own anything at the Heckscherville fire house. The township's interest here extends no further than a 30-day lease as a clause in the original lease provides for the delivering of peaceable possession of the demised premises whenever required upon receiving 30 days' written notice, etc.

The Federal Government spent a sum total of $14,059.84 on these projects while the sponsors spent a sum total of $4,629.62.

The sixth clause of the lease avoids liability to the lessor for damages that may hereafter occur to the demised premises or building, improvements of property, real or personal, located thereon for or by reason of disturbance or subsidence of the surface of the said demised premises on account of mining operations heretofore or hereafter conducted beneath the same. This project was called to the attention of Colonel Harrington under date of July 27, 1939. Under date of October 31, 1939, Colonel Harrington reported: "There is no question with respect to the propriety of the work performed by the W. P. A. on the aforementioned projects * * *."

17A. FIRE HOUSE, CASS TOWNSHIP, SCHUYLKILL COUNTY (P. 24), COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The division of investigation conducted an investigation and submitted a report dated August 18, 1939, which reflect that three projects were approved covering improvements to the buildings and grounds of the Forestville Fire Company, Forestville, and the Heckscherville Fire Company, Heckscherville. To the date of the investigation Federal funds amounting to $25,321 and sponsor's funds amounting to $9,558.19 had been expended on these projects.

The investigation revealed that the land upon which these projects were prosecuted was owned by coal companies. The land occupied by the Heckscherville fire company was known as the Clover Fire Company and is owned by the Philadelphia and Reading Coal & Iron Co., and leased to the Clover Fire Company through an assignment from the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The lease is dated October 1, 1895, for the period of 1 year, at a rental of $15 yearly with the privilege of erecting a two-story building thereon, and is renewable from year to year. However, there is a clause requiring the lessee to give possession of the premises whenever required, upon receipt of 30 days' written notice from the lessor.

Examination by an agent of the division of investigation of the property of the Clover Fire Company revealed a barroom on the first floor where liquor is served under a club license, permitting sale only to members. In the rear is space for a fire truck, which members state, will be delivered on August 23, 1939. The second floor is an auditorium and dance floor, and in a small attic is a W. P. A. housekeeping aid project. Joseph W. Campion and Aloysius R. Callaghan, secretary-treasurer and president, respectively, of the Clover Fire Company, state that the fire house was used as a community enterprise; that social affairs are held from time to time to raise money for fire-fighting apparatus and to keep the building in repair.

The land occupied by the Forestville Fire Company is controlled by the Susquehanna Collieries Co., which company controls the Lytle Coal Co. Nathaniel R. Jones, assistant chief clerk of the Susquehanna Collieries Co., produced for the inspection of an agent of the division of investigation, a lease—No. 740—dated April 4, 1934, between the Lytle Coal Co. and the Citizens Volunteer Fire Company of Forestville, Pa. The lease gives the fire company permission to erect a building and calls for a rental of $1 per year and is renewable annually.

Thomas F. Breen and William Murphy, the president and secretary, respectively, for the supervisors of Cass Township, in a signed statement stated that the "township supervisors had bought apparatus for both companies; recently the sum of $250 was paid on a truck for the Clover Fire Company, which will be delivered on August 23, 1939.

"As to the ownership of the property being in the name of the coal companies, this is common in this part of the State * * *. We can certify that there is no attempt in submitting the above projects to benefit any private individual or private organization, contrary to the spirit of the sponsorship of W. P. A. projects, or that these projects have been anything other than normal public benefits in behalf of the community."

Officials of the above-mentioned coal companies and the W. P. A. supervisor of operations at Pottsville, Pa., stated that it is common knowledge that a good many of the public buildings in the anthracite region are on leased property of the coal companies. However, the coal companies rarely lease land which, in their opinion, would ever be disturbed by mining operations, and that the procedure followed was common in coal-mining areas.

The Cass Township supervisors were instructed that since the work accomplished under these projects was undoubtedly for the public benefit, that the expenditure of Federal funds may be legalized by the township authorities obtaining rights to the property or by obtaining leases to the property of sufficient duration to justify the expenditure incurred.

The supervisors report that immediate action in this matter cannot be secured due to litigations now pending in Philadelphia. However, they will continue their efforts to secure long-term leases.

"FIRE HOUSE, CASS TOWNSHIP, SCHUYLKILL COUNTY"[1]

Subject: Committee's counsel's report refers to "* * * two W. P. A. projects, one involving the renovating of a building to be used by the Clover Fire Company and the other to improve the grounds surrounding the same as well as perform work on another fire company." However, three, not two, fire-house projects have been sponsored by Cass Township, as follows:

Addition to fire house at Forrestville (Citizens Volunteer Fire Company); started December 9, 1937; completed December 23, 1938.

Alterations to township building to be used as a fire house at Heckscherville (Clover Fire Company); started June 6, 1938; completed February 10, 1939.

Improvements to lands and buildings of both fire companies; started May 17, 1939; still operating and reported 44 percent complete in May 1940.

Charges: Counsel's report makes three major points:

1. By inference from an affidavit dated July 15, 1939, the township's annual income allows no surplus sufficient to finance the "total sponsor's proposed contribution."

2. "The Clover Fire Company has no fire equipment, and, insofar as the records show, there is no possibility of immediate purchase."

3. The township's title to the two properties is defective: "There is no lease or other instrument in existence giving anyone the right to use those grounds * * * the township does not own anything at the Heckscherville fire house. * * * The township's interest here extends no further than a 30-day lease * * *" and reference to a clause in the lease freeing the lessor of liability for damages on account of mining operations.

Titles to project sites: The fire-house property at Heckscherville is held by Clover Fire Company under assignment of lease date 1895, renewable from year to year and containing a 30-day cancelation clause, while that at Forrestville is held by Citizens Volunteer Fire Company under a similar lease dated 1934, both leases being for nominal rentals and containing no unusual provisions not customary in the anthracite-coal region. Established local practices and the relatively long period during which the fire companies have had undisturbed possession would seem a practical answer to a technical charge.

Fire apparatus: While the Roberts' report found "no possibility of immediate purchase" of fire apparatus to equip the fire house at Heckscherville, Cass Township records disclose that the board of supervisors in April 1939 contracted for the purchase of a combination chemical and hose truck for delivery in August 1939, and made a down payment thereon. The township also furnished funds for equipment at Forrestville.

Relationships between township and volunteer fire companies: The legal and fiscal relationships between Pennsylvania townships and volunteer fire companies have an important bearing on the financing of sponsors' contributions to these projects.

In townships of the first class,[2] Pennsylvania statutes permit the board of township commissioners to provide and maintain suitable places for the housing of engines, hose carts, and other apparatus for the extinguishment of fires.[3] The public character of volunteer fire companies in the Commonwealth rests upon firm statutory grounds: An annual tax of 2 percent on gross premium collections in Pennsylvania is levied against out-of-State fire-insurance companies,[4] the entire net amount being distributed to the relief-fund associations of local fire-fighting organizations, whether paid or volunteer.[5] Moreover, boroughs are required to appropriate the amount necessary to secure employees' compensation insurance for volunteer firemen injured in the performance of their duties.[6] This principal was reaffirmed as recently as June 1939 when the legislature took the position that volunteer firemen are employees of the respective city, borough, town, or township and as such come under the provisions of the Pennsylvania Workmen's Compensation Act.[7]

In the light of the foregoing, there can be no doubt as to the close legal and fiscal relationships existing between the township and the fire companies, or as to the propriety of their joint sponsorship of the construction and equipment of the fire houses.

Method of raising funds: Evidence exists that both fire companies are going concerns, essentially community organizations with continuing revenues derived from nontax sources, that they were able to finance their respective shares of the cost of constructing and equipping these projects on long-term credits with local material dealers and contractors, and that the sponsors' pledges to the two completed projects have been substantially met. Contributions supplied by the fire companies are not fully reflected in the books of the township. Thus, the comparatively limited income of Cass Township itself has no important bearing on the financing of sponsorship contributions to project operations. When two or more agencies join together in the sponsorship of a project, it is not sufficient to examine the finances of only one in the search for potential contributions.

Conclusion: The evidence fully supports Colonel Harrington's statement of October 31, 1939, referred to in committee counsel's report, that "There is no question with respect to the propriety of the work performed by the W. P. A. on the aforementioned projects."

18. COLLECTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM WORKERS BY SPONSORS TO MAKE UP SPONSOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO PROJECT (P. 25, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The records show that in certain instances money was collected from W. P. A. employees to meet sponsor's contributions. According to the affidavit of Jerry Muldowney, dated July 14, 1939, 34 men on a road project contributed $34 every 2 weeks to be paid on a truck which was supposed to be supplied by the sponsor. According to report from A. G. Mercer, W. P. A. branch office manager, Pottsville, Pa., upon discovery of this matter the practice was ordered discontinued.

18A. COLLECTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM WORKERS BY SPONSORS TO MAKE UP SPONSOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO PROJECT (P. 25, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

Allegations of the investigators relative to money being collected from W. P. A. employees to meet sponsor's contributions are essentially correct, as revealed from the records, but it was done in connection with the operation of sewing projects. This was discontinued immediately upon its coming to the notice of those persons directing this phase of the program.

Relative to the affidavit of Jerry Muldowney, dated July 14, 1939, that 34 men on a road project contributed $34 every 2 weeks to be paid on a truck to be supplied by the sponsor, this office has no record of this irregularity.

19. DAMAGE TO PENNSYLVANIA CAPITOL BY THE WORKERS' ALLIANCE (P. 25, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

In connection with the so-called hunger march of the Workers' Alliance and other pressure groups in 1936, they occupied the State Capitol of Pennsylvania and refused to leave. During occupancy serious damage was done to the furniture and the building. According to reports more than $1,139.77 was expended by the State in connection with repairs to the senate gallery and State property. The above figure does not represent the only expense to the State in connection with this affair. Photographs are in the file showing David Lasser and others engaged in this rioting.

19A. DAMAGE TO PENNSYLVANIA CAPITOL BY THE WORKERS ALLIANCE (P. 25, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

What relation this has to W. P. A. is not clear. The W. P. A. was in no way concerned with what may have happened in the State senate chamber.

20. PROPOSAL BY WORKERS ALLIANCE OF READING, PA., AT MEETING HELD MAY 9, 1939, TO PICKET THE CORNERSTONE LAYING AT WHICH CONGRESSMAN MOSER WAS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK (P. 25, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The affidavits of persons who attended the meeting as well as others who talked to those who did attend the meeting show that discussion took place concerning a resolution to picket the cornerstone laying at which Congressman MOSER was to speak. All those present with the exception of Villett Rivers denied that any proposal to kidnap Congressman MOSER was sponsored or discussed. The secretary of the meeting did not keep a complete report of what took place, and there is a wide discrepancy as to the statement of the different individuals. Persons who were not at the meeting state that they were told that a statement was made at the meeting in a facetious manner that Congressman MOSER should be kidnaped. The evidence shows that certain officials of the Workers Alliance of Reading were Communists.

20A. PROPOSAL BY WORKERS ALLIANCE OF READING, PA., AT MEETING HELD MAY 9, 1939, TO PICKET THE CORNERSTONE LAYING AT WHICH CONGRESSMAN MOSER WAS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK (P. 25, COUNSEL'S REPORT)

The W. P. A. can in no way be held responsible for any propaganda or action taken by the Workers Alliance.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALTER. I yield.

Mr. DITTER. Before we proceed further I would suggest to the gentleman that in addition to the record which is disclosed in the printed hearings, a very substantial accumulation is in the file of material, evidence of further investigations, which I know the gentleman's usual fairness would certainly prompt him to include as a credit to the investigators.

Mr. WALTER. No. I would not go that far. I realize, of course, that many things have gotten into the files for political purposes, perhaps, but I do not agree that there is anything in either the official or unofficial investigations that

[1] P. 24, Report of J. O'Connor Roberts, counsel, "subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations Investigation of Work Projects Administration activities."

[2] Purdon's Pennsylvania Statutes: Title 53, sec. 19092–201, states that townships of the first class must have at least 300 inhabitants to the square mile. Cass Township is reported to have nearly 400 inhabitants per square mile.

[3] Ibid., title 53, sec. 19092–1501, XVII.

[4] Ibid., title 72, sec. 2261.

[5] Ibid., title 72, sec. 2262.

[6] Ibid., title 53, sec. 13351.

[7] Ibid., title 77, sec. 22a.

have been made of the program in Pennsylvania that would cause any of us to hesitate for a moment in appropriating money to continue a program that has meant so much to so many people.

Mr. Chairman, in examining carefully these criticisms I have been unable to find anything that you would not expect to find in a program that is administered by men, particularly in connection with a program that was set up, as this one was, practically overnight.

I call to the attention of the Members of the House the fact that in the district I have the honor to represent there are hundreds, yes, thousands of hard-working coal miners who have given, according to the people in charge of the several projects, $1.50 worth of work for every dollar in wages these men received. These men, and thousands of others like them, were and are patriotic enough to try to do well any job given them. The same thing is true of the hard-working steel workers, and other artisans who wanted and do want an opportunity to earn—to earn, mind you—a living, giving a dollar's worth of work for every dollar received. It is important to remember that men have undertaken willingly, jobs they never worked on before this program was inaugurated, and I am very proud of the things that they have accomplished in Pennsylvania. Bricklayers, clerks, miners, machinists, silk weavers, all of them have contributed to the wealth of America, through their unselfish, hard work on the W. P. A. program.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALTER. In just a minute. Of course, there have been many things that have occurred in my State of which I do not approve. There are many things that have occurred that nobody could put the stamp of approval on. For example, in my district there was a teacher on an adult teachers' project who was dishonorably discharged from the United States Army for communistic activities and who was sentenced to serve 26 years at Alcatraz, part of which sentence was accordingly served. It was not possible to get that man off his job until after my amendment was inserted in the last relief bill. That man today is a candidate for Congress in my district and 1,034 citizens signed a petition placing the name of this jailbird on the Communist ticket. This man had his stooges pass nominating petitions around my district, and fine Americans, unmindful of the consequences, took the step that insulted the intelligence of the people I have the honor of representing by signing this petition. I do not approve of that. I know of many isolated instances of things that might be used to reflect on the program, but, Mr. Chairman, we owe to those people who want to work the opportunities that are given them under this bill. I trust the Members will not be in anywise persuaded by any of the things that have been developed in this investigation to reach the conclusion that the entire program is wrong, because it is not wrong, and I insist that if every Member of this House will examine carefully the report, he will not find a thing in it that may cause him to pause for one moment in appropriating the amount sought in this bill. [Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RICH].

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. In view of what the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER] has said, I think it might be worth while for the RECORD to show, among other things, that the cost per mile of road construction under W. P. A. in Allegheny County amounted to $57,700; that for the city of Pittsburgh it amounted to $64,800, and that for boroughs and townships it amounted to something like $38,900. I am sure the gentleman from Pennsylvania would not accept any such expenditure as evidence of the efficiency of W. P. A.

Mr. WALTER. May I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that these costs are considerably less than the cost of the same type of work performed by the Highway Department of the State of Pennsylvania?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. If the gentleman will consult the record, I think he will find that labor costs generally are more than 50 percent in excess of the normal cost of similar work.

Mr. DITTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DITTER. I should like to correct my distinguished friend the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER] when he compares the cost with the highway-department cost in Pennsylvania. It probably is the same as the costs were under the Earle administration. That probably is true. But under the ordinary and reasonable operative cost, the General Accounting records disclose that W. P. A.'s construction costs per mile are very, very excessive and far in excess of that which a private contractor could build the same road for.

Mr. WALTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WALTER. Of course, the gentleman realizes that, under the system employed by the present Republican administration at Harrisburg, machinery is being used for the same type of work which men were employed to perform before.

Mr. DITTER. That was only because we did not want to have leveled at us the possible charge of resorting to purely "horse and buggy" days.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I am interested in the relief bill now before us because I think the American Government owes to every man, woman, and child a livelihood, but I make that statement with many, many reservations. I make it with the reservation, for instance, that to every man in America who is able-bodied and who is capable of working we ought to furnish a job. We ought to give him a vocation of some kind. We ought to furnish him with an education. Then we ought to expect him to work. I am a firm believer in work, and I do not say that because I happen to be a Member of Congress. Many people have the idea you can come here to Congress and not do anything, but I believe in working in Congress the same as I do in my little town back in Pennsylvania. I believe in putting in good hours. I am not much of a man to think about a 6-hour day or a 7-hour day or an 8-hour day. If a man has the physical ability, I think he ought to put in 8, 10, or 12 hours, and if he is interested in his work he will. A man who is interested in his work wants to do something. He wants to succeed. He wants to get ahead, and the only way to get ahead in America, under our form of government, is to have opportunity, and if you have opportunity and if you have the will, there is just the same opportunity under this great Constitution of ours today as there ever was. Every man who has the disposition, ability, and integrity will get out and hustle. If he has a job, he will work diligently and faithfully at it. By this spirit he will create jobs for all Americans who want them. In this fact I am sure. Relief should be relief, not Government in business, as it now is so constituted and administered.

What we need in Congress and elsewhere is men with good red blood in their veins and with a will to do something. I am sick and tired of the people today who have a wishbone where their backbone ought to be. Wanting a hand-out, something for nothing. Too many of our people are doing it. Let us create jobs. We can do it if Congress only wills.

In this relief bill we are asking for relief for 8 months. It seems to me that is most ridiculous. Why have you come here with an 8 months' relief bill and asked $975,000,000? At the same rate that would amount to $1,462,500,000 for a year. Why do you not ask for the full sum of $1,462,500,000? That would show the country that it would be about 30 percent more than you wanted last year, another way to camouflage the people. In other words, you are figuring on more relief for the coming year than you had during the past year. To bring in a bill of this kind is downright asinine; it is downright ridiculous; and the Members of this Congress who are promoting a bill of this kind certainly ought to know better. I would not be a member to such trickery in trying to fool the people.

I want to quote to you a statement made by the President of the United States in his message to the Congress on March 10, 1933. First, may I say that when the President of the United States was running for office, and when he was in office a short time, he made some of the most wonderful statements that any man ever made—sound, sensible, and substantial. I quote:

And on my part, I ask you very simply to assign to me the task of reducing the annual operating expenses of your National Government. We must move with a direct and resolute purpose now. The Members of Congress and I are pledged to immediate economy. When a great danger threatens our basic security it is my duty to advise Congress of the way to preserve it. In so doing I must be fair not only to the few but to the many. It is in this spirit that I appeal to you. If the Congress chooses to vest me with this responsibility it will be exercised in a spirit of justice to all, of sympathy to those who are in need, and of maintaining inviolate the basic welfare of the United States.

That was a sound statement for the President of the United States to make, but what I want to know is how he got so far off the track from the promises he made in 1932 and 1933 in what he is doing today. Who are his advisers; who are the men who are going down there and getting his ear and having him recommend to the Congress the legislation we have had to swallow in the last 4 or 5 years? It is admitted by most all that the New Deal has failed. In his message to us yesterday the President made what seemed to be sensible statements in regard to preparedness and the fact that we as a people should get together, that the Congress and the President of the United States should be one. Certainly they should be one. But when we tear down our Government by doing things that are not common sense and permit to go on for 4 or 5 years things that he promised he would not do, I cannot see where the common sense comes in. Why did he not get together long, long ago?

The recommendations of the President in his message yesterday I cannot approve in total, because he wants us to give him $200,000,000 to use in spending as he sees fit in case of emergency. If the Congress does what it is supposed to do it will be here ready to act on a moment's notice; it will be here ready to do the things in conjunction with the President that are vitally essential to the welfare of this country. As the gentleman from Massachusetts said a few moments ago, we want to work together shoulder to shoulder. Fine; I believe in that; I am in sympathy with it; but I am certainly not going to give up the ideas that I have of what we ought to do for the welfare of the American people.

I have not yet surrendered to the Chief Executive the powers that were vested in me by the people back in the Sixteenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, and as long as they send me here I do not propose to surrender them. I am going to be here ready at all times to exercise the prerogatives that are incumbent upon this office and I am going to do the best job I know how to do for the greatest number of American people.

Let me quote the President's acceptance speech in Chicago on July 2, 1932:

I know something of taxes. For 3 long years I have been going up and down this country preaching that government—Federal and State and local—costs too much. I shall not stop that preaching.

Have any of you heard him say anything about expenses in the last 4 or 5 years? Have you heard the President say that he was going to operate this Government as economically as he possibly could? There has not been a man here who has heard one such word in the last 3 years; not one word after he made that solemn promise that he would keep our credit good, that he would give recognition to the fact that if we want a stable country we must have a good financial structure back of it.

Consider the appropriations we have made this year, together with the amounts that were requested yesterday for additional war equipment. Taking them together we will have appropriated over $10,700,000,000 if we pass this relief bill and the extra war bill. This does not include what we can expect the Senate to add to the appropriation bills that are now in conference or that have not been passed by the Senate. This means you are going to spend over $5,500,000,000 beyond your receipts, because your receipts will be, according to the estimate, only $5,547,000,000, as estimated by the President.

This is the point I want to make. With all this spending, with all this inefficiency of government, with all the inefficiency of the W. P. A.—and it was shown here in the last 2 days that in some instances it is costing 50 to 60 percent to administer W. P. A. projects—if we could cut the political leeches off this expenditure of Government funds, it would be the best thing we could possibly do, and we could take care of these poor people who need financial aid and assistance.

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield to my colleague from Pennsylvania.

Mr. McGRANARY. Will the gentleman indicate where in the RECORD I might find that it costs 50 to 60 percent to administer W. P. A. projects?

Mr. RICH. Read the statement yesterday of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

There have been a number of instances in the last 3 or 4 weeks presented here showing the enormous overhead cost of these W. P. A. projects. If you are interested in trying to do the right thing to take care of these people and preserve this country financially, why do you not take the proposition that was given to you by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] yesterday? Why do you not do that instead of going around here and squandering and "blowing in" all this money? That is the trouble with you fellows. You have so much confounded New Deal stuff that never did work and never will work, and you are never going to save this Nation and you are not going to be able to take care of the people of this country simply because you have not displayed the ability to pass the laws that are necessary for good, sound, sensible business. If you would cut loose from these unsound proposals of the New Deal and get down to sound, sensible, sane business procedure, you would probably save this country millions and hundreds of millions of dollars, and you would give the needy people of this country the things they need to live on. You would restore confidence to the businessman of this country, and you would be able to survive the financial disaster that is bound to come to the children of future generations, and you fellows who have been responsible for these large and unsound appropriations are going to see the time when you will rue your action in passing such unsound bills. And this bill is unsound as it is written.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICH. I yield to my colleague from Pennsylvania for a question.

Mr. WALTER. Will the gentleman tell me how he reconciles what he is saying now with the letter he has written to some of my constituents in which he states that his business is in better condition than it has been in its history?

Mr. RICH. When did I write such a letter?

Mr. WALTER. Not so long ago; I do not remember the date.

Mr. RICH. I could write that letter about one plant, but that is because we are just doing good, sound, sensible, sane business [laughter and applause], and we are not doing a lot of crazy, foolish things, but how many business interests are holding their own? How many little businesses are making any money? I am in the little-business class.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Pennsylvania 2 additional minutes.

Mr. RICH. Today if a man is going to operate his business successfully he has got to keep his head on his shoulders and his feet on the ground. He has got to treat his employees right. He has got to live an honest, consistent life. He has to put every ounce of energy he has into his business, and then he is only one step ahead of the sheriff most of the time.

The trouble is we have encouraged too many big-business concerns in this country, and we have been hard on the little fellow. The little-business men came here and advised the President what he should do, the same as the big-business men. You turned a deaf ear to the small-business men, and we did not give them the help they needed or the assistance that they wanted; and today you are coming here and asking for these billions of dollars for relief, for a dole. If you had given aid and assistance to those little-business men in your district and in my district, we would not have 3,000,000 people out of work coming around here asking for a hand-out—and think of the 11,000,000 unemployed—and you would be sensible enough to take care of them in a way that would give them the aid and assistance that they need, and we would not have to do the radical, ridiculous, and asinine thing we are doing now. We would not have to bring in a bill such as you have here at this time; and not only that, but bring it in here for only 8 months, figuring you are not going to be in power next year and it will be necessary for the Republicans to handle the situation that you fellows have developed in the worst possible way. You figure we will have to first bring in a tax bill. Well, that will be necessary; why not do it now? We will have to bring in a tax bill here if we are ever going to save this Nation, and why in the world do you not bring it in? Your first duty, however, is to cut out worthless expenditures. Why do you not tell the people back home that if we are going to squander money as we have squandered it in the last 4 or 5 years, you will have to tax them? More spending, more taxes I oppose, and have opposed the squandering. Where are you going to get the money? Why do you not tell them that we have got to make them pay the bill instead of waiting for our children and our children's children to handle the job? [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS].

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I have listened to this debate for 2 days rather impatiently. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY] said the thing that I wanted to say in the beginning of my speech. He said, and I repeat with quiet emphasis, that if there ever was a time when it was important for the American Congress to consider matters on their merit, to face honestly the problems that it has before it, without partisan or bitter consideration, that time is now. I do not know how the other Members of the House feel, but for my part I feel as if I have to clutch as hard as I can clutch every value I ever held dear in all of my life, and that is what I am trying to do. I have been deeply disappointed at part of this debate, but I pay my respects to two gentlemen on the Republican side, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SECCOMBE] and the gentleman from Connecticut, Dr. AUSTIN, for having, in my judgment, saved this debate from becoming a bitter partisan proposition so far as the Republican side of the House is concerned. They made speeches with which I do not necessarily agree, but in each of which there was the note of honest concern about our problems, and in each of which credit was given to other people for trying to solve those problems.

THE "FIFTH COLUMN"

We heard earlier today a speech by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES], which is the point of departure I want to take for my remarks. He brought to our attention certain matters regarding what he termed the "fifth column." In recent months we have read tragic things about "fifth columns" in Europe. It is well for us to be concerned. I desire to sound two warnings. There was a great warning sounded yesterday by the President of the United States. We have heard today several warnings, but I give you one or two more. The first one is this: That the work of the Dies committee, the work of any such group as that, will miss its mark unless not only our committee but other people as well make a very careful distinction between a real "fifth column," by which I mean people in this Nation whose loyalty is elsewhere than to this Nation, on the one hand, and people who simply and honestly in their own hearts believe that progressive or even radical economic change would be best for the America they love and for which they would gladly die. [Applause.] I have feared sometimes because people who do not know the difference between a Communist and an honest middle-of-the-road Democrat attempt to interpret the findings of the Dies committee and use them as a means of unjustly attacking their political opponents. I do not refer to any member of the committee when I say that, because they have been too close to the picture. They know a little bit about the situation. The second warning I give is this: That when you are looking for a "fifth column" in America do not always look to the people who suffer most economically and do not always look in the ranks of those who labor. True, the Communist Party has tried to use that labor movement, and in some instances has to some degree prostituted it for its own ends. Labor has its fight on that score. But it is also true that if you go to some of the most exclusive clubs in America and to some of the highest places economically you will find people who are not sorry that the legions of Hitler are smashing through Europe, and who still give utterance to the sentiment that, "after all, we have too much democracy in America." These people's attitude is just as disloyal, in my judgment, and far less excusable. What we need is to gather together the people who really mean it when they say they believe in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and who are willing to go through with an attempt to solve our problems within the framework of our Constitution, even though it be difficult. And it is difficult, as illustrated by the thing we are wrestling with here today. But only in times when greatness is demanded do men do great things, and I pray this hour may call forth those qualities in us and in people high and humble throughout our country.

FUNDAMENTAL SOLUTION TO UNEMPLOYMENT MUST BE AND CAN BE FOUND

We come in year after year and face this relief bill. I have been in Congress only 4 years, but every year I have been here I have introduced a bill to give us a long-range public-works program, to give us a program where you could have part of the program run by Government force-account projects and part run on a P. W. A. basis on private contracts, where that is practical. But never have I got any consideration for those measures. More recently in this current session of Congress about 50 to 70 Members, including every party in the House, have gathered together for a basic study of the problem of unemployment and to work out a program for its solution on which men of good will can unite and agree. The W. P. A. is not an answer to that. What it is is this: It is the giving of a minimum of human justice to the people who have been cast on the outside economically. It is a chance to work instead of being on a dole, a chance to earn bread and butter for one's family.

MONOPOLY

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] the other day in the course of his remarks made mention of the fact that competitive conditions do not everywhere exist today, and that therefore there is not always a chance for the little man nor opportunity for the youth. He said nothing else more true than that. If that be true, either you have to come to grips in determined fashion with that problem of monopoly and bring about restoration of real conditions of competition and fair play or else you have to take measures to protect farm prices, promote Government projects in certain fields, and have programs like the W. P. A.—one of the two.

WHAT IS THE REAL DANGER?

The third warning I give you is this, that those people who really believe in a totalitarian dictatorship and who would like to see the downfall of our democratic Government, wait for just one thing.

A lot of cheap talk about people being entertained here and there and so on makes me a little bit ill, because the basic thing is that these people who would like to see democracy destroyed and a totalitarian dictator put in its place are waiting for what they call a revolutionary situation. The

Communists, Nazis, and Fascists alike wait for the same thing. The two groups of people I mentioned a little earlier wait for the same kind of situation. There is no difference between them as far as that is concerned. That revolutionary situation is a situation in which people become hopeless and confused and worried and concerned about the support of their families and the slowness of the progress being made in the meeting of their Nation's problems.

WE SHOULD DISCUSS REAL ISSUES

In the course of this debate I think it is too bad that we have not had more discussion about the W. P. A. as such; that we have not heard more about what we need to do to meet the existing situation of unemployment of some 10,000,000 people in this country. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY] gave you some of the facts regarding it. I am not going into them in detail.

I am a little amused sometimes to hear on the one hand the charge that W. P. A., when it is efficient, is competing with private industry, and when it is inefficient, that it is boondoggling, and therefore it is all bad. On the one hand, somebody who ought to have been on the program was not on the program, and somebody else who should not have been on the program was on it; either there were too many on it or too few, but in any case it is all bad. The people who decide who is going to be on the W. P. A. and who are responsible if the wrong people are employed are the State supervising agencies, the very people to whom some Members would like to turn back the whole program again. [Applause.]

WHY PEOPLE NEED W. P. A.

Now, it may be a comforting thought to some to try to believe that of these 10,000,000 people a very large proportion are unworthy; that they do not want to work, and so on and so forth. Thus you can shift off your feeling of responsibility; but I do not think that is true. The reason I do not think so is because I know these people; because when I am home they come to see me; because I go to their homes; because I know their problems and what they are up against; because I know how those people by the thousands would give anything to get any kind of a job in private industry if only they could find it. [Applause.] The reasons that those people are on W. P. A. or would like to be on it is, first, because part of them are people who never did have a job—young people who have come out of school and never had a job yet; and, second, part of them have a little gray around the temples up here, so industry tells them it is through with them.

I want to compliment this committee from the bottom of my heart for having exempted men 45 years of age and above from that 18-month rule. That should have been done last year, as some of us tried to do. They never should have been affected by that rule.

Mr. BEAM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield, but before I do I will say that I do not want to yield again until I have finished my speech.

Mr. BEAM. I was very much interested in the statement the gentleman made with reference to the number of unemployed in America, particularly following the statement made by the gentleman from Massachusetts. I wonder if the gentleman could give the House any enlightenment as to the number of employables who every year become eligible for work?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. About 600,000.

Mr. BEAM. Who are unable to obtain unemployment?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. That does not mean that those are necessarily unable to obtain employment, but there are about 600,000 a year added to that number. Those are the flower of American young manhood and womanhood.

Mr. McKEOUGH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Yes; I yield.

Mr. McKEOUGH. Following the question raised by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BEAM] of the 600,000 employables leaving the schools each year, the W. P. A. and the present national administration has accomplished something in the direction of securing employment for men by reason of general improvement in the country?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. What has been done by the present administration has been to reduce unemployment from its 1932 peak of some 15,000,000 and then to keep the unemployment from increasing over the figure of about 10,000,000 or 11,000,000. It has put to work what you might call all the net increase. We have not solved the problem, but we have done that much. We need to do much better, but the situation would have been desperate without this program.

PRIVATE JOBS, OF COURSE, BUT HOW?

Now, it has been mentioned many times that what we want to do is to get people back into jobs in private industry. Of course, it is. There is no dispute about that between anybody. But note carefully while I read in the report of the committee that brings us this bill, on page 11, the following very significant statement:

> The ratio of persons on W. P. A. to total unemployment in the United States ranges from 24 in the present fiscal year to 34 in the fiscal year 1937.

Thirty-four percent of the unemployed people willing to work were in the fiscal year 1937, beginning in the summer of 1936 and ending in the summer of 1937, at work on W. P. A. The problem of unemployment is not a problem that is going to be met by the production of heavy goods like armaments. It is not even going to be met under present circumstances by a great increase in production in the heavy industries, because those industries are equipped to produce vastly more than they produce now, with a small increase in personnel. Primarily unemployment is a problem of consumer purchasing power. It is a problem of mass consumption.

I have a chart here. It is a chart of private employment in the fiscal year 1937. There is the fiscal year 1937, and right there at that time is the time that Congress came in in 1937 and cut W. P. A. in two. There is what happened to private employment. It rose all through the fiscal year 1937 and dropped like a rock right after Congress took that action. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, if you want to get people to work in private industry, you have to look to the bread-and-butter dollars of the man that is at the bottom of the economic heap.

If you want to be sure that the recovery of private industry is sustained you have got to see that there are enough bread-and-butter dollars, and I believe we are confronted with that problem right now. With the utter tragedy that is going on across the water and the—I am ashamed to say it—shameful business that it gives us, together with a courageous action such as that suggested by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CASEY] today, I am not sure but that we might really begin to get the best of this thing, although I think there are many better answers to it.

WILL OFFER P. W. A. AMENDMENT

Indeed, when the bill is read for amendment I shall offer an amendment to set up a P. W. A. program on the basis of a $500,000,000 fund to be lent to States at 1 percent interest for public works. That will increase employment. It will be altogether recoverable expense. And I am going to watch and see how many votes I get from people who have been talking about P. W. A.

There are two considerations that we have primarily before us: One is help to the people who need work and want it but cannot get it; the second is the effect of this program on the economic conditions of the Nation generally.

NATIONAL DEFENSE NECESSARY

I think we have got to go to work on this problem of national defense. I do not see how anybody can disagree about that. I am not going to argue against it, I cannot. I think the President is right fundamentally. I think we have got to consider it carefully, seriously, as calmly as we can even

though it must be with grim hearts. But I do not want us to get into anything in the way of saying that we are going to let armament replace what we need to do to put the unemployed to work, even though, as one of the Republican speakers said today, we get down to business and pass a tax bill. Suppose we do. I believe we should. Let us see to it that the burden of this American effort for adequate national defense and for economic and social justice is carried by all the people, including ourselves, in proportion to their ability to carry that load. [Applause.]

WHY NOT A SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS ON UNEMPLOYMENT?

I have already said that I thought that this was a time when of all times it was important for us to cling to those values that we have known as American values. I do. Somebody this afternoon said we should try to improve this program as we go along. Well, we should. Some time I would like to see a special session of Congress called for nothing but the consideration of the unemployment problem, and I would like to see us spend weeks debating what kind of public-works program we ought to have—a program that could coordinate flood control, soil conservation, highways, public health, hospitals, slum clearance, housing, and all the rest of it into one coordinated program that we would consider carefully. That is what we should do. Until we do that, Mr. Chairman, and until we stop having a social-security program as deflationary as the one is now; until, instead, we build it on the basis of paying national pensions to the people of advanced years on the basis of their age and right; until we find out what money and credit really are and how they can be used—yes; for national defense in the truest sense—we will not approach a solution of the problem.

IMMEDIATE TASK

But now, today, we have to do the best we can with the situation as we find it—and that is the bill that is before you. It is not a question of how many wheelbarrows were misplaced or wrongly delivered, or what happened in some place where a fellow "chiseled" and got on the program and then got thrown off again. After all, there are millions of people involved in this thing; and may I point out that the job that W. P. A. has been given—the job that Colonel Harrington has been given—is a big one and a tough one? He is trying to do the best he can and everyone admits it, yet there are those who go out of their way to try to pick up little picayunish reasons for criticizing him and defeating the program. His has been one of the most difficult jobs of employment ever given to anybody in all the history of the world. It is his job to deal with all those people nobody else wants to hire at a certain time; he has got to take the people nobody else wants; he has got to try to fit them into worth-while projects in cooperation with the officials of thousands of towns and cities; he has to try to supply needs no one else will supply. He comes to Congress and is told at one time to lay 700,000 people off his program in a few brief weeks. He has been told to reduce the W. P. A. rolls at times when more people than ever were certified to the rolls. His job has been a heartbreaking, soul-trying job, and he has been doing something very worth while; and, on top of all his problems of administration, he has to try to please the Members of Congress. Good God, what a job! I will say for my part that—yes; taking all its faults and shortcomings into account—I think it has been damned well done. [Applause, the Members rising.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania if he will allow me to yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. NICHOLS] before he yields time on his side?

Mr. DITTER. The gentleman from California [Mr. CARTER] was supposed to be recognized at this time.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Chairman, to accommodate the situation, I will not press for recognition now.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. NICHOLS].

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from California for his kindness.

Mr. Chairman, the answer in a very few words to the challenge laid down a few minutes ago by a distinguished Member of Congress from Pennsylvania on the Republican side, wherein he hurled the challenge at the Democrats that they should bring out a tax bill at this session of Congress, insofar as I am concerned, is simply this: I am perfectly willing—and I think every American is willing—now, in this session of Congress, to levy a special tax and to earmark the funds to reimburse the Government for the money expended in this additional national-defense program. [Applause.] I, for one, am ready to vote for it.

If there is any excuse for the W. P. A. program—and I am sure there are many—basically that excuse is to relieve destitute individuals in destitute and distressed communities. If the program worked as this Congress intended that it should work every year that we have appropriated money, it must go first to those individuals who are in the greatest need; and, second, to those communities made up of those individuals who placed the community in the greatest need.

Last year, when this bill was passed, it carried a provision which defeated that purpose. That was the provision in the bill which required and made it compulsory that local sponsors put up 25 percent of the cost of the project or they could not have the project.

Why, Mr. Chairman, that defeats the very spirit of W. P. A. I have here a report from 42 States in the United States given by W. P. A. administrators for each State as to how the requirement of the 25 percent sponsor's contribution has curtailed the program in their respective States. I have prepared them from these reports, and they will be included in my remarks at this point in the RECORD. I want to read to you first from my own State; and if this is not a logical, common-sense statement that anyone who professes to be in sympathy with the unemployed, with the underprivileged of this country can agree with, then I do not know how any statement could be prepared that everyone would be in agreement with.

A sufficient number of projects carrying the 25 percent sponsor's contribution is available in Oklahoma to give employment to the State quota.

There are enough projects in Oklahoma to give employment to the State quota.

The unfortunate thing about the situation, however, is that in those sections of the State where the need is the greatest the ability of the sponsor to put up the 25 percent is the least. This has resulted in a very uneven distribution of the quota throughout the State. In some counties of the State three-fourths of the case load has been assigned to W. P. A. jobs because there are available projects carrying the 25-percent contribution. These counties are, as a rule, those that are most prosperous and best able to care for themselves.

Mr. Chairman, this is not my argument. This is a report from the State administrator of W. P. A. in Oklahoma. Now, listen to this:

In other counties not more than one-third of the case load has been assigned to W. P. A. These counties are those that have been hit the hardest by drought and other economic disasters. Obviously they not only have no funds available for sponsor's contributions, but they have no means of providing direct relief.

In general eastern Oklahoma is most seriously affected. If the 25-percent provision remains in the bill the situation there will become intolerable.

Mr. Chairman, I will now take them up State by State.

Alabama: It has been difficult in the past to obtain an adequate number of useful projects in Jefferson County, and the 25-percent requirement has magnified the problem to a great extent. The 25-percent requirement will necessitate an immediate 40-percent reduction of the work load in Walker County. The most thinly populated or rural counties are having difficulty in meeting the 25-percent requirement on road projects, since they own little road equipment.

Arkansas: Generally it is believed that the 25-percent sponsors' requirement will create a tendency to move the program out of the poor communities where the need is the greatest. Since this requirement constantly introduces problems of determining sponsor's credit on trivial matters, our program would operate better by using the $6 per month for material as a basis of control; this control accomplishes the purpose of the 25-percent requirement.

Mr. Chairman, these are reports from all over the United States prepared by as many different men under as many different circumstances.

Continuing with Arkansas:

In Pulaski County (whose county seat is Little Rock), which has a population of approximately 140,000 and an assessed property valuation of approximately $60,000,000, it is difficult to secure a

sufficient amount of sponsors' funds to reach the 25-percent requirement because of the high case load and the fact that sponsors have already reached the limit of their resources. For this reason it is necessary to depend on larger sponsors' contributions in small counties to bring up the average. It is difficult to secure adequate sponsors' funds for projects to employ women. The sponsors are doing about everything they possibly can within legal limitations on their financing.

Northern California: The 25-percent requirement has had an adverse effect on the program generally. It has tended to eliminate white-collar projects in order that funds may be used on construction projects, and it has tended to restrict contributions in excess of 25 percent because this amount is considered the maximum as well as the minimum.

Think of that. The 25 percent as the minimum immediately becomes the maximum, because no matter how rich a community is, if its neighboring community gets W. P. A. assistance on a 25-percent contribution, why, of course, the other community, despite the fact that it is more able to put up a higher contribution, says, "No," because 25 percent is the rule.

Southern California: This requirement has had an adverse effect generally; in thickly populated areas the adverse effect has been intensified. The city and county of Los Angeles, where most of the unemployed are located, have been unable to finance sufficient projects on a 25-percent basis to employ the eligible workers. In many instances projects are available, but sponsors do not have sufficient funds as a result of statutory limitations on local tax rates.

Colorado: Six or seven counties are financially unable to supply the required 25 percent sponsor's contribution, and it is anticipated that considerable difficulty will be experienced in securing the required amount in 12 other counties, including Denver County.

Florida: The 25 percent sponsorship requirement is having an adverse effect on the professional and service projects. Local conditions in several counties in the lower east coast area of the State have made it increasingly difficult to obtain sponsorship in accordance with the provisions of the current E. R. A. Act. Greater difficulty is anticipated as work projects approved subsequent to January 1, 1940, go into operation. The cities of Key West, Perry, Tampa, and Hamilton County, and various cities and counties in the Lake Okeechobee area have stated that they are not in a position to provide the necessary sponsors' contributions on construction projects, and others are hard pressed to do so. In a large number of instances the municipalities and counties throughout the State are heavily burdened with bonded indebtedness and experience considerable difficulty in providing and maintaining the necessary sponsors' contribution for the efficient operation of the program.

Georgia: Two cities, Augusta in Richmond County and Columbus in Muscogee County, are experiencing difficulty in meeting the 25 percent limitation for a sufficient number of projects to employ their full quota. Also, there are numerous communities in the rural areas of the State that are having a difficult time, because of their financial inability to sponsor a sufficient number of projects to participate fully in the program.

Illinois: Shortage of sponsors' funds in Chicago is being remedied temporarily by use of relief funds; difficulty in securing the required amounts is expected in Peoria.

Indiana: Twenty-three counties are financially unable to meet the sponsors' requirement. This situation is particularly acute in the stone and coal sections where unemployment is especially high and the need for a work program is greatest. Local tax rates have already increased to the point of being practically confiscatory and tax delinquencies are correspondingly high. Theoretically the State Administrator could average these sections out with other areas in the State. However, it is impossible to overcome the losses incurred in low sponsor contributions with correspondingly higher contributions from other localities for the reason that sponsors in general demand equal treatment. In consequence of this fact it is a financial impossibility for certain distressed areas to maintain a sufficient number of projects for their local eligible unemployed.

Mr. LUDLOW. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NICHOLS. Briefly.

Mr. LUDLOW. I am acquainted with the situation in Indiana. I am personally in sympathy with the gentleman's contention. What it amounts to is a denial of relief to communities that need relief the most?

Mr. NICHOLS. That is exactly right. Now, Mr. Chairman, proceeding, I take up next the State of Kansas:

Kansas: A critical situation exists in the areas where drought has been continuous over a long period. The program is now operating largely on projects approved prior to January 1, 1940, and the situation will become more acute as approvals after that date increase.

Kentucky: Although high type projects with satisfactory sponsors' pledges are available at the present time in the cities of Louisville and Paducah and in 30 of the poorer counties, worthwhile projects cannot be operated because the financial condition of the localities prohibits their contributing to the extent of project pledges. This condition will be aggravated as limitations of projects approved prior to January 1 of this year are reached and new projects approved since the first of the year are placed in operation. Although a State highway department program is developing that will provide pledges of sponsors' contributions in excess of the required minimum, it is nevertheless true that if the required sponsors' contribution is held at a minimum of 25 percent the condition in the poorer counties will not be entirely alleviated. In order to comply with the minimum sponsors' contribution requirements it may be necessary to reduce employment in a number of counties to a comparatively small percentage of the available certified persons.

Louisiana: The 25-percent sponsors' requirement is having such an adverse effect on the operation of construction projects that it has been impossible to operate enough projects to fill the quotas. Many of the sponsors, particularly in the rural areas, are financially unable to contribute any more than they have in the past and repeated demands have had the effect of discouraging them. There is a growing feeling among some sponsors that all they are expected to do is put up 25 percent on their projects, and that it is up to the sponsors on other projects to do the same. It becomes increasingly difficult to explain that certain projects do not have high nonlabor costs and consequently do not carry high sponsors' contributions and that certain sponsors lack the financial ability of others.

Maine: There are 13 or 14 bankrupt communities in Maine, and in these communities a great deal of difficulty is anticipated in maintaining a 25-percent level for sponsors' contribution.

Maryland: There are insufficient construction projects in Somerset, Dorchester, and Montgomery Counties and in parts of Washington County and insufficient approved non-construction projects in Baltimore. The chief reason for the lack of available projects is financial inability to meet the 25-percent requirement.

Massachusetts: The regulation that requires an average of 25 percent sponsors' contribution will cause a great many difficulties, since our experience has shown that this figure is considerably higher than that which we have averaged in the past. The question as to whether the individual communities will be financially prepared to operate the projects in our reserve is one of grave concern to us. Boston will be seriously affected by this requirement because of the huge expenditures for snow removal for which no provision was made in the city's original budget. The "white collar" program and those manual-labor projects which require few additional materials to complete the work will be most seriously affected. Many desirable projects on which it is impossible to average 25-percent sponsors' contribution will be excluded from the program. Inasmuch as the majority of the people are employed on projects with low nonlabor costs, the 25-percent provision will have an appreciable effect on the program. In general it is expected that cities and larger towns will be hardest hit.

Michigan: The officials of both Flint and Pontiac state that they are financially unable to provide sufficient projects having 25-percent sponsors' funds to employ all the workers awaiting assignment. The officials of Wayne County state that they are financially unable to meet the 25-percent sponsors' provision.

Minnesota: Objections to the 25-percent requirement have been raised throughout the State, particularly by sponsors of road projects. In St. Paul the effect of the financial inability of the city departments to meet the sponsors' 25-percent requirement is becoming more acute. In the northern part of the State an extensive and very desirable program of forestry conservation work is available for operation and this type of work is located in a number of counties where the certified quota is large and where local sponsors are least able to participate in local projects. The nature of the work is such that nonlabor requirements are low. Since this work does not yield a sponsors' contribution of 25 percent its prosecution cannot be extensive under the 25-percent provision. Prospects for suitable professional and service projects during the next fiscal year are not encouraging if the minimum requirement of a 25-percent sponsors' contribution is continued.

Mississippi: The vast majority of the counties in Mississippi are financially unable to provide sponsors' contribution that would enable operation of a work program within the 25-percent limitation. Consequently, the operation of enough projects to fill the State's quota will depend on whether sufficient aid is extended from the State.

Missouri: The rural territory lying south of the Missouri River comprises two-thirds of the State's area and provides employment for 50 percent of the State's quota. The availability of projects in this section of the State is generally limited due to the financial inability of sponsors to meet the 25-percent requirement. In one county where the certified load numbered over 400 people and W. P. A. funds are spent at the rate of about $225,000 a year, tax returns for all sponsoring bodies are in the neighborhood of $40,000. Naturally in such a county, and there are more like that one, employment on W. P. A. projects must be curtailed because of the limited funds which can be contributed by sponsors.

The metropolitan areas within the State likewise find it difficult to meet the 25-percent requirement; these areas include the city of St. Louis, St. Louis County, Kansas City, Springfield, and Joplin.

Montana: The city of Butte has cooperated to the extent of its ability but has reached the limit of bonded indebtedness, and work in the city is carried on with deficient sponsorship. Flathead, Lincoln, Missoula, and Ravalli Counties, due to present statutory regulations, are financially unable to continue present employment on county-sponsored projects and meet the 25-percent requirement. The eastern third of the State has a shortage

of tax revenues due to drought and continuation of adequate sponsorship under the 25-percent provision, is uncertain. The 25-percent requirement is having a particularly adverse effect on water-conservation projects which are so necessary to rehabilitation of Montana.

Nebraska: A great deal of difficulty is experienced in operating sufficient projects in certain counties (Douglas, Dakota, Thurston, and Boone) because of financial inability to meet the 25-percent requirement. A critical situation exists in the areas where drought has been continuous over a long period, and in the rest of the State the program is still operating largely on the projects approved before January 1, 1940.

Nevada: Difficulty is being encountered in obtaining sufficient sponsors' contribution for professional and service projects.

New Mexico: The 25-percent requirement has had a general adverse effect on the program in seven counties, containing 43 percent of the certified load, because of the financial inability of the county commissioners and city officials to provide the required sponsors' contribution on county-wide and city-wide road and street projects. Although the 25-percent requirement has had little adverse effect on building, paving, and sewer projects, it has seriously affected conservation, soil erosion, reforestation, and water-development projects as well as the road and street work.

North Carolina: In two of the nine districts in the State, considerable difficulty has been encountered in obtaining sufficient projects for operation. The difficulty results from the 25-percent provision. In District 1, the various municipalities have a bonded indebtedness up to the limit established by the law for the State, and, therefore, are not in a financial position, except in a few instances, to sponsor projects which carry sponsors' contributions of 25 percent or more. A few public bodies have refused to sponsor projects, particularly certain of the professional and service projects, on a 25-percent basis. In district 9, some of the towns and counties are bankrupt, have unmet maturity and interest obligations, and are unable to finance projects requiring a 25-percent contribution. In the other districts there has been serious difficulty in obtaining contributions of as much as 25 percent of total cost.

North Dakota: Throughout the western half of the State, where the drought has been continuous over a long period, it will be difficult to maintain the program quotas under the 25-percent requirement, since the financial condition of all the political subdivisions in that area is very bad. A similar condition is true of many smaller towns throughout the State.

Oregon: Difficulties are encountered in obtaining sponsors' contributions of 25 percent on all types of projects, except building and utility projects. Throughout the State the adverse effect is characteristic.

In most instances the difficulty results from financial and legal inability on the part of sponsors to assume the required share of the cost. In some cases the difficulty is related to the 6-percent tax-increase limitation that is in effect in Oregon. The uncertainty of the program and employment fluctuations in some localities have made good planning and budgeting difficult for sponsors.

Pennsylvania: Sponsors' willingness to cooperate is generally good, but it is frequently limited by financial conditions. Many desirable projects cannot be put into operation because the sponsors are not able to finance such a share of the cost as is made necessary by the 25-percent provision.

Rhode Island: The 25-percent sponsors' contribution requirement is seriously restricting the diversification of projects in Rhode Island. Projects that now carry sponsors' contribution of 25 percent or more are blanket projects of relatively large size which were approved prior to December 31, 1939. Projects submitted after January 1, 1940, are of the type which do not have large sponsors' contributions. This situation tends to prevent the operation of certain kinds of projects needed to furnish the varied types of employment required in the State.

South Dakota: Although the counties are very willing to cooperate and sponsor projects, they are experiencing considerable difficulty in continuing to provide 25 percent of the cost of operations. They must raise all revenue from direct property taxes and many residents have been unable to pay taxes, particularly in sections of the State where drought has been prevalent over a number of years.

Tennessee: In three counties that were formerly coal-mining counties, difficulty is encountered in securing the required sponsors' contributions.

Texas: The 25-percent sponsors' requirement has had an adverse effect on the program in a large portion of the State. At least 27 counties and some of the cities are financially unable to participate sufficiently for the operation of enough projects to employ their proportionate share of the relief load.

Virginia: Difficulty is encountered in some localities in obtaining a sufficient amount of sponsors' funds to operate enough projects. Roanoke City has a shortage of projects as a result largely of retrenchment plans. There is also a shortage of projects in Smyth and Wise Counties, where the relief loads are relatively large.

Washington: Difficulty is experienced in obtaining 25-percent contributions on white-collar and certain types of construction projects. This condition is general in that all counties, and the cities of Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma, Bellingham, and Everett, are affected. Many worth-while projects of the professional and service type are available on which all costs other than the relief labor would not approximate the 25-percent requirement.

Wyoming: Drought counties and counties with low property values are experiencing financial difficulty in obtaining adequate sponsors' contributions. Financial inability of sponsors may also develop in Natrona and Crook Counties before the end of the fiscal year.

Mr. Chairman, when this bill is read for amendment I shall offer an amendment to the bill to take out of it the 25-percent requirement, and let me tell you the equity of the thing. Here is the way the program ought to work. If there is a community that has a W. P. A. project in it which by reason of local conditions is a wealthy, stable community, then maybe that community should pay 60 percent of the sponsor's contribution. I have a little county in my congressional district that is so blessed. It should pay 60 percent, maybe 65 percent, because that county can afford it.

I have other places in my district not so fortunate. For instance, I have the little town of Hanna, which has a population of five or six hundred people. It is right in the heart of the Cotton Belt and they have had 5 straight years of drought. The children are going to school there in a school building where the floors on the second story are separated from the walls by 8 inches.

That community cannot build a new school building, because its bonded indebtedness is at the top and to the limit. It cannot even give 15 percent of what it would cost to build a new building. But unless a new building is built in that little school district, and if they continue to send their children to school there, some of these days a great disaster will occur that may cost the lives of hundreds of children because of the 25-percent requirement in this law. That community is the least able to provide a 25-percent contribution. In that little community you will find a high percentage of people in destitute circumstances. They are the people, that is the community, which needs a program designed to aid and give assistance to, and I hope the Members of the House will join me in supporting this amendment to strike out the 25-percent provision.

Mr. PATRICK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NICHOLS. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. PATRICK. I want to add my agreement with what the gentleman from Oklahoma has said. I have just received some communications recently from Birmingham, in my district, in which it is stated that the most necessary matter they have had to pursue under this program has been denied them because they are unable to make the sponsor's contribution.

Mr. NICHOLS. Of course, no one needs to be furnished proof with reference to that. Someone once said, "That is elementary." Those who have the least are the people who are the least able to give a sponsor's contribution.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include my own statement with reference to the conditions in these various States.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. MURRAY].

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Chairman, when I was a candidate for Congress I had the following as one of the planks of my platform:

(10) I have always had a sincere and sympathetic interest in the people on W. P. A. I haven't developed it as a means of trying to pick up some votes. This has always appeared to me as a subsidy to unorganized labor, and compares favorably with corn-hog and soil-conservation subsidy checks to farmers; and tax-exempt bond subsidy to capital. I believe that the management should be more in the hands of local people to eliminate costs of operation, and I believe in a gradual reduction by new jobs through improved agricultural and business conditions. I believe that if American labor, and the American farmer had produced and processed the 86,337,000 bushels of corn, the 371,243,453 bushels of barley malt; the 11,110,162 pounds of butter; the 494,000 head of livestock; and the enormous other agricultural and industrial imports that both labor and agriculture would be in better shape

today. Let us abolish $10,000 soil-subsidy checks to big corporation farmers, and quit issuing tax-exempt bonds to the rich while we are working out this problem of the unorganized labor people.

The W. P. A. has been used beyond question for political purposes. Cheap politics and politicians here wasted vast sums of the appropriated money, but the W. P. A. worker getting $12 per week cannot be held responsible for the political waste and political pap.

The graft and waste of the W. P. A. are more evident because everyone can see the W. P. A., but other New Deal agencies are suffering from cheap politics just as much as the W. P. A.

Why should the Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation buy over $1,900,000 worth of fluid milk for Boston when other cities received none? Why should relief whole milk in New York City be exchanged for powdered skim milk to then be distributed to the relief people of this Nation?

Why should fourth-class postmasters that are under civil service be solicited for funds by the Democrats? Why should fourth-class postmasters be solicited to subscribe for the paper known as the United Democrat? Why should the State administrator for the Farm Security Administration be really squeezed out because he did not contribute to the $25 Democratic dinners?

Why has the United States Tariff Commission, that is supposedly a fact-finding institution, degenerated into a New Deal propaganda mill, in support of the reciprocal-trade treaties?

These New Deal agencies are more interested in cheap politics than they are in helping the people of this country. I do not believe we should take it out on the W. P. A. workers of our country, and try to put all blame on this unprotected group of our people.

We continue to issue tax-exempt bonds, and we give farm benefit checks of thousands of dollars to Members of Congress, and over $200,000 a year to big insurance companies and big corporation farmers.

We should discontinue the above appropriations while we are working out the problems of this great group of unorganized citizens of our country.

It is time to quit "barking at the rich and biting on the poor."

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MASSINGALE] such time as he may require.

Mr. MASSINGALE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in connection with a resolution which I introduced this afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. CARTER].

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Chairman, we are considering House Joint Resolution 544, making appropriations for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941. We have had a number of similar appropriations. I want to say here and now that I have voted for these appropriations and that I propose in the future to continue, as long as the need lasts, to vote for reasonable appropriations for carrying on this work. Much has been said as to the manner and method in which this work has been carried on, and I desire in the few minutes I have to call your attention to some facts in connection with the administration of this work.

Various reports have percolated into Washington for many months relative to maladministration and bad management on the part of those administering the W. P. A.; in fact, those rumors and reports were so strong that this House by resolution a few months ago authorized the Appropriations Committee as a whole or any subcommittee thereof to conduct an investigation. An investigation has been conducted in a number of States, according to the report of this investigating committee, and I have a portion of the report before me. They only scratched the surface.

What I am saying with reference to the facts I desire to bring out here is said in a nonpartisan spirit, because this is a tremendous undertaking. I am making these criticisms in the hope that they may be constructive and in the hope that the Members of this House, when they return to their various districts, will take an interest in what the W. P. A. is doing and thereby prevent in the future a recurrence of some of these things.

In making this report this committee states:

Much of the criticism of W. P. A., aside from that arising from political activity, has resulted from the precipitate inauguration of the program. Inherent weaknesses of administration, both of organization and management methods, had opportunity to become rooted and their elimination has been difficult and slow.

We do all know that this program was gotten together in very short order, and of necessity the best kind of an organization could not be set up. I am not saying that a more perfect organization should have been set up because that would have meant delay, and you cannot delay when people are in need and when people are hungry.

To continue with the report:

The investigation has divulged many past misdeeds. Some were known to W. P. A. authorities and nothing was done about them.

I think that is very lamentable. When facts are called to the attention of the W. P. A. authorities and they do nothing to remedy the conditions, I believe they are deserving of the severest kind of censure.

Some were not known to them and W. P. A. authorities disputed the findings or defended the practice. Some W. P. A. is willing to admit. The category runs all the way from minor abuses to major offenses. The chief sources of abuse of public funds occur in the improvement of private property at public expense, the lack of proper supervision, the employment of persons not in need, the operation of projects of doubtful public utility, padded sponsors' contributions, purchase of excess of equipment and hire of equipment at excess rates, operation of projects on which a high percentage of nonrelief labor is required, etc. These and other matters are set forth in the counsel's summary report.

The report continues:

It is incomprehensible that Federal officials, at least in Louisiana, were not cognizant of the waste and diversion and misapplication of public funds that were taking place there. It is to the credit of Colonel Harrington that he has made some changes in the administrative organization in Louisiana and is cleaning up the situation although the Federal State administrator during this period is still in office.

I do know that some steps have been taken to help the situation, and I commend those in authority for doing that.

I want to call the attention of the Members present to certain facts and incidents that took place in the State of Indiana in the actions of Mr. John K. Jennings, who was State Administrator of W. P. A. According to the vouchers that were submitted by him and that were examined by these investigators, it seems that Mr. Jennings was quite a traveler. I do not have one word of criticism to say about any travel that he did that was absolutely necessary and essential in carrying out his duties as Administrator of that State. I for one believe that it would be far better for this country if the Members of Congress themselves did more traveling, if they investigated more of the Federal activities throughout the various parts of the country. I believe it would be money in pocket for the Federal Government if we did more of that. Therefore, I am not criticizing this State director for any of the travel that was necessary, but I do want to direct attention to a few of these facts and let you draw your own conclusions.

Examination of the travel vouchers submitted by John K. Jennings, Administrator of the W. P. A. for the State of Indiana, between March 25, 1937, and August 27, 1939, shows that 106 trips were made within the State of Indiana.

Of this number, 65 were made between Indianapolis, the location of the State headquarters of W. P. A., and Evansville, where Mr. Jennings resides. On these trips claim was made for $702.25 per diem, $108.70 for railroad fare, $43 for

Pullman fare, $5.50 for taxi fare, $761.16 for travel in his personally owned automobile, or a grand total of $1,621.61.

Mr. KELLER. For how long?

Mr. CARTER. This was during the period I mentioned in 1937 to 1939.

I do not know what kind of automobile Mr. Jennings was driving, but I do know that during that period he was compensated for the use of that car $761.16, and that is not all the compensation, by any means, that he received for his personally owned automobile.

Mr. Jennings' vouchers also indicate 27 trips to various points in the State of Indiana other than Evansville and French Lick, for which he was paid for travel in his personally owned automobile, $247.17. His total travel for the period within the State of Indiana was $2,258.09, covering a period of the 2 years I have mentioned. He also filed vouchers and was paid for 41 trips outside the State of Indiana, although he was only director for the State of Indiana and received $1,078.37 for this. He received for travel in and out of the State of Indiana a total of $3,336.40 between March 25, 1937, and August 27, 1939.

It is interesting to note that the above-described travel between Indianapolis and Evansville, his home, that all trips, with the exception of one, were made at week-ends, but they were made at Government expense just the same.

In connection with the trips to French Lick, these trips, according to the report of the investigators, and all the facts that I am giving you here can be substantiated by reading the report of the investigators, were made at a time when political rallies were being held at French Lick. The trip to Evansville and French Lick, which were paid for by the Government, amounted to $1,865.27.

This report I have referred to shows that the State administrator's chauffeur was a W. P. A. employee. In fact, he had a number of chauffeurs at different times, all of whom were W. P. A. employees. One of these chauffeurs, Carl M. Tevis, stated that on May 6, 1938, he drove Jennings to New Albany, Ind., and then on to Louisville, where they remained until after the Kentucky Derby.

We had some talk here yesterday about the Kentucky Derby and some Government officials suddenly finding that they had business in Louisville about the time of the Kentucky Derby, and I presume that Mr. Jennings had just as much business there as any of these other Government officials, and probably went there for about the same purpose. It was stated that on the morning of May 7, while they were at French Lick, Ind., they proceeded to Louisville and were accompanied by an Indiana State police escort to the city limits of Louisville, Ky., at which point the Indiana State police were relieved by a motorcycle escort of the Kentucky State police, who escorted them to Churchill Downs race track, where the derby was being run on that day.

Tevis also stated that on October 5, 1938, he drove Jennings to Chicago, Ill., remaining there for 3 days. This was at the time the world series baseball games were being played at Chicago, and Mr. Jennings made statements indicating that he had attended the ball games. Tevis stated that his expenses were all paid from relief funds while acting as chauffeur for Jennings. Mr. Jennings submitted vouchers for the dates of May 6, 7, and 8. That was the time he was in attendance at Louisville, Ky., and attended the Derby and was paid $12.50 per diem and $11.50 for mileage traveled in his personally owned automobile. During those dates he was in attendance at the Kentucky Derby in Louisville. He also filed vouchers for and received per diem and mileage for the trip to Chicago at the time of the world series baseball games.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. CARTER. Another W. P. A. worker, Mr. Ryan, stated that on the dates of May 7, 8, 9, in 1937—this was the year before the period that I have just been speaking about—he drove Jennings from New Albany, Ind., to Louisville, and he recalled that this was the time of the running of the Kentucky Derby of that year. Ryan stated that his expenses were paid from the Governor's commission on unemployment relief.

CAFETERIA OPERATED IN BUILDING LEASED BY W. P. A. FOR SEWING AND RECREATIONAL PROJECTS, EVANSVILLE, IND.

A W. P. A. sewing project was established at Evansville and housed in a building owned by the Crescent Furniture Co. As several hundred were participating in this project, it was thought desirable to establish a cafeteria in the building.

The State administrator, Mr. Jennings, granted the concession for this cafeteria to Mr. and Mrs. Harry Kornblum; they were to pay $25 per month for the cafeteria space. The State administrator, John K. Jennings, admitted that he was associated with Harry Kornblum in the operation of a theater enterprise in Evansville, but claimed that this did not influence in any way the award of the concession to Mr. and Mrs. Kornblum. The rental was afterward reduced to $15 per month; and under date of September 2, 1937, Mr. Jennings wrote to one Joseph A. Betts, stating:

> I am inclined to believe that the rental should be reduced, if not entirely done away with.

The Kornblums informed the investigators that the receipts ran between $12 and $30 per day.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I think these are some of the things that the membership of this House might look into when they return to their respective districts.

If these officials know that the Members of Congress are on the job, and that they are going to check up on them and see what they are doing and how they are carrying out their work, I believe they are going to be a little more careful.

There is one other project in Indiana that I desire to call to the attention of the House, and that is the matter of the rental of a dragline in a flood-control project at Indianapolis. I have not the time to go into the details of it, but this was a very unusual transaction. Let me summarize it by stating that the services of a dragline were necessary.

The caterpillar drag line with serial number 12664 and with the services of an operator was rented to W. P. A. under the name of the Brown Rosenbarger Gravel Co. and A. G. Ryon & Sons Co. from May 10, 1937, to November 8, 1939, on which 15 purchase orders were issued by the Treasury Procurement Office for use of all equipment above described in connection with W. P. A. project sponsored by Marion County Flood Control Board, and the purchase orders issued caused payment to the above-described owners of $46,246.29 for the use of a machine with an operator, which, according to the statements of the owners, had a valuation of approximately $20,000. They paid in rental in excess of $46,000, which, according to the statement of the owners filed at the time they submitted their official bid, was worth in the neighborhood of $20,000.

It does not do us any good to criticize these things, unless we do something about it, and I for one am going to take a very active interest in the projects that are in my district when I reach my home, if we should get home. I believe it is our duty to do that. I hope that we will be able to work out some sort of a system of administration that will be better than the system that we have had in the past, but these sums must be administered in the most efficient way possible. I know that each and every Member of the House of Representatives is absolutely against any exploitation of these funds. I do not care on which side of the aisle he sits, I am firmly convinced that each and every Member wants the people on relief to get advantage of this money and to have it for their benefit. I hope if we are not able to change this system that we will investigate what is going on in our respective districts when we go home, to the end that the needy may get more of the money rather than having it spent in a most unwise manner.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CARTER. Yes; I yield for a question.

Mr. LUDLOW. In yesterday's RECORD I submitted a full explanation of Mr. Jennings' travel pay account by himself, and I would like to have the House take that in connection with the gentleman's statement.

Mr. CARTER. Of course, the gentleman is privileged to submit anything that he desires, but the facts are—the undisputed facts—that Mr. Jennings submitted per diem vouchers on the day that he attended the Kentucky Derby. If that is not true, then the investigators have filed a false statement here with the committee.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield now to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from California [Mr. CARTER], who preceded me, was bitter in his criticism of the relief program in the United States. Several other speakers have voiced similar criticisms. Undoubtedly some of the criticisms are justified. If any officials of the W. P. A. have been guilty of misconduct with relief funds intended for needy people they should not only be kicked out of their jobs but should have the condemnation and contempt of decent and respectable citizens everywhere. [Applause.]

I am sure that no Member of Congress condones wrongdoing by W. P. A. officials, high or low. But may I suggest that merely because a few isolated cases have been discovered where those in responsible positions have abused their authority is not conclusive evidence that the entire relief program is a fraud and a failure, nor is it any excuse for voting against continuing a relief program so long as there are millions of unemployed who are begging for an opportunity to work and earn more than they are now paid.

I fully agree that the relief program, except possibly for highly technical and important administrative positions, should be only for those unemployed citizens who actually need jobs. The present relief law provides very clearly that so far as the relief projects are concerned only those in need can possibly qualify.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. WOODRUM] in a very eloquent discussion offered many criticisms of the W. P. A. program. Some of his criticisms are constructive and should be helpful. But I do not agree that the W. P. A. is a boondoggling set-up as he has repeatedly charged. It may be in Virginia but it is not the case in Oklahoma.

I do not pretend to speak for the W. P. A. in the State or Nation, but I am convinced that a vast majority of the projects in the district I represent in Congress have been worth while and desirable. We have no leaf-raking projects. now. I have heretofore pointed out that in Oklahoma the W. P. A. has constructed more than a thousand school buildings and many hundreds if not thousands of miles of farm-to-market roads. Very few of these miles of roads and public buildings could have been constructed if we had not had this worth-while program.

The gentleman from Virginia and other bitter opponents of the pending relief bill contend that, inasmuch as Congress will be called upon within a few days to materially increase the program for national defense, this should eliminate the necessity for a relief program in the United States. But there is no justification for such a contention, considering the destitution and unemployment. I shall, of course, support the preparedness program as asked for by the President yesterday. I consider adequate preparedness a practical insurance policy against war, and certainly no true American wants to take a chance on the ravages of war ever blighting our land. But there is no reason or excuse for using a preparedness program, which will be considered by Congress very shortly, as an excuse to deny needy and hungry people from the opportunity of earning a livelihood for themselves and their dependent families. [Applause.]

Although the increased-armament program will, to a small extent, help the skilled workers and others along the Atlantic seaboard, it will not relieve the heavy relief loads in Oklahoma and other Midwestern and Southern States where drought conditions and a series of crop failures have made it impossible for thousands of honest, deserving, and desperately needy citizens to secure any kind of jobs on farms or in private industry. When the President's defense program gets under way it will, of course, materially help conditions in the East. Therefore it occurs to me that it would be reasonable to suggest that those States to be helped by this program should be willing to take a material reduction in W. P. A. and help our States in the Middle West, like Oklahoma, that will not reap any material benefits from a national-defense program so far as relieving unemployment is concerned.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The gentleman from Oklahoma is a recognized leader and distinguished member of the Committee on Appropriations. I have noticed that he has consistently supported these relief bills and also that he has been a real champion of farm tenancy, rural electrification, parity payments to farmers, the N. Y. A., and especially the C. C. C. camps.

Now, may I ask if the gentleman thinks that the W. P. A. was set up to solve the unemployment problem or whether it was set up as an emergency until such time as we have normal conditions that might solve the problem?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I thank my good friend the distinguished gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. DEMPSEY] for his generous compliment. May I say that I have never considered the W. P. A. as set up to solve the unemployment problem. Nor do I feel that such a thought was in the mind of our great President when he asked Congress to embark on this program of work relief. I am certain that the President and Congress thought of it then as now as a stop-gap until the time should come when industry might be able to absorb larger portions of the unemployed. But until that day comes we cannot close our eyes, our ears, and our hearts to the serious unemployment problem and say it is no concern of ours while millions of people go hungry.

Let me add here I have always maintained that an overwhelming majority of those now on work-relief jobs would much prefer real jobs with decent wages in private industry if such jobs were available. Yet Members hurl criticisms and slurs at the average relief worker as an excuse not to vote funds to keep the W. P. A. program going.

Mr. CARTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. CARTER. I stated that I had voted for relief bills in the past and that I propose to vote for what was necessary to carry on the work in the future.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. He bitterly assails the whole work-relief program and then votes for it. I thank my good friend from California for his statement. Of course the gentleman and I may not agree on the amount of funds necessary to carry on the work in the future, but may I make the suggestion that if the gentleman actually votes to take care of the needy and deserving unemployed heads of families and people who really want to work in the United States, he will undoubtedly be compelled to vote to increase the appropriation above the amount requested for relief by the President of the United States.

Then again, if the gentleman really expects to vote for sufficient funds to continue to carry on the urgently needed relief program in the United States, like the building of farm-to-market roads, thousands of additional school buildings and other public buildings, the construction of dams to preserve water and the terracing of eroded farms to preserve and reclaim the precious topsoil, the opening of many new city and town parks and playgrounds, and other needed work and construction, he will find that the present relief bill is far too inadequate to carry out such a comprehensive, well-rounded program on a national scale.

Mr. Chairman, I have no apology for my full support to the pending relief measure. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONNERY] such time as he may desire.

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Chairman, with the horrifying developments in the great war crisis abroad, with our newspapers emblazoning the sordid details in page after page of each edition, and with our broadcasters continually pouring into

our ears throughout the day and night the terrible happenings, I fear lest in all this excitement we may lose sight of the importance of the bill before us which calls for relief of our unemployed millions.

Yesterday we listened in this very Chamber as our great President gave us warning of our own great inadequacy of defense and presented to us a proposition whereby a billion-dollar program will be entered upon that the people of this country may be protected in order that they may continue to enjoy the great privileges guaranteed them under the democratic institutions which make up our Government, which institutions were set up by the people themselves. There is no question but that every Member of this House will wholeheartedly support our President in this patriotic plan to protect our land and its people.

But in taking this great step toward national defense we must not become so hysterical and blinded to the extent that we will overlook our economic problems. It still remains a fact, sad to relate, that our unemployment problem still faces us, and we have now before us a bill which provides relief through W. P. A. work jobs for those who are unable to secure absorption into private industry.

It is again interesting to note that there are those who are constantly advocating reductions in the appropriations for these jobs on a purely economy basis regardless of the fact that such reductions will mean the throwing of these unfortunate individuals into the bread lines of the country. To my mind, it is a crying shame that in this, the richest country in the world, we boast, we can spend millions upon millions for every conceivable purpose, from expeditions to the South Pole to the eradication of beetles, and, yet, a hue and cry go up when some effort is made to put bread and butter into the mouths of our people, who, through no fault of their own, find it necessary to appeal to their Government for temporary assistance.

I am not one of those who feel that the W. P. A. is a solution of our unemployment problem; but I do feel that it is at least a stopgap until a solution is discovered. Our greatest economists, businessmen, and statesmen have been wrestling with this problem for many years without finding that much-yearned-for solution. And until we do find the answer we cannot let the people of this country go hungry.

It is our duty to insure them against want and privation and therefore, while I feel that the provisions of the bill before us are entirely inadequate, I hope that not only will the Members of the House favor this measure but also amend it to increase the quotas, thus allowing a greater number, already eligible, the opportunity of securing this much-needed relief.

In my opinion the 30-day lay-off after 18 months provision should be stricken out as it has been shown that thousands of families suffer through the enforcement of this clause due to the fact that the 30-day lay-off in practically all cases has been extended into month after month of waiting for reassignment. In countless instances this has resulted, because of quota reductions in the interim of waiting, in permanent lay-offs.

The W. P. A., regardless of all criticism, the greater portion of which I feel is greatly exaggerated, has been a godsend. Let us not at this time, when its benefits are so greatly needed, perform any act which will in any way cripple a program which means so much to those less fortunate than ourselves.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. D'ALESANDRO] such time as he may desire.

Mr. D'ALESANDRO. Mr. Chairman, this Congress is faced with great responsibilities. If the European war continues, ours will be the task to keep America at peace by every honorable means. If peace comes to Europe, our problem will be to safeguard the economic and political interests of America under the conditions that are certain to result from the present European and Asiatic chaos.

I am heartily in favor of President Roosevelt's recommendation to Congress for national defense. It may be that with the passage of the national-defense program much of the unemployment situation will be solved.

However, at this time I think the unemployment situation makes W. P. A. necessary. It is generally recognized that the most serious problem which we, the Representatives of the American people, are confronted with today is unemployment. The district that elected me to represent them in Congress is typical of the many others that are troubled with such conditions. In dealing with unemployment we are dealing with the problem that has wrought upon millions untold hardships and misery.

Can we remedy this situation in some small way? Yes, my colleagues; by the approval and allocation of additional funds for the continuation of W. P. A. for the coming year. In dealing with W. P. A. we are directly dealing with the welfare of the needy unemployed; we are directly dealing with a remedy that has made available to innumerable families a source of livelihood; we are providing for the care and nourishment of many unfortunate children who are directly affected by this dreadful unemployment situation that has existed now for nearly 10 years.

Let us not assume the attitude of the survival of the fittest, but let us assume the role of the benefactor and the provider.

Are we going to make ourselves responsible for the thousands upon thousands returning to the system of dole? No; but let us meet this horrifying condition by planned and coordinated public-works programs. We cannot permit these unfortunates who, through no fault of their own are unemployed, to shift for themselves.

Look at the situation in the light of humanity. Make them not the tools of economy, by which we will continue to spread misery and privation. Unless funds are provided for the continuation of such works, we are failing to provide for the welfare of the people who have placed their trust in us; we are failing to provide for the alleviation in part of such striking conditions.

The upturn in business and employment that was expected in 1939 did not materialize, making it necessary for the Government to continue aiding the needy unemployed, to increase the purchasing power, and advance economic recovery by the promotion of useful public works.

The 30-day furlough provision should be eliminated. It is evident that in the city of Baltimore—and I know in my district—people who came within the 18-month provision are now in need and asking for relief, and private industry has not helped much, particularly when it fails to employ persons 45 years of age or over. It is gratifying to note that this act will provide for such men. I signed a petition to bring this provision of the act to the floor, and wish to thank the committee for accepting same. This is a humanitarian piece of legislation, and I urge its adoption. It may cause industry to take special recognition of men of 45 years of age or over who are heads of families.

It is therefore my duty and your duty to support the appropriation of adequate funds for the continuation of such programs as will be necessary during the coming year to preserve the right to work and to prevent further suffering on the part of the unemployed. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. GEYER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Chairman, I have listened today to many remarks against the W. P. A. These critics are searching with a microscope for mistakes. When found they are magnified and used as an excuse for voting to allow our people whom industry will no longer employ the American right to work for a living.

We are told that these people are lazy and unwilling to work—that they would not work in private industry if they had the chance. I know better. I know these people. They are of America's finest. They are good, loyal citizens and have a right to expect a democracy to make conditions such that they may care for a home and a family.

This amount provided in this bill is not enough by one-half.

I am going to support all amendments to increase the amount until I feel the money is adequate to care for our people.

I hope we will be fair and just to our people, who, through no fault of their own, find themselves in desperate straits.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KELLER] 10 minutes.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, I regret that the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] is not present at this time, because I am going to reply to some of the things he said about unemployment officials and the W. P. A.

Turning to page 6242 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I want to call the attention of the House to this statement by Mr. TABER.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. Why should I yield before I have said anything?

Mr. DITTER. I thought, since the gentleman referred to the gentleman from New York, that he would permit me to say that the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] at the present time is engaged on a matter of public business which prevents his attendance in the House.

Mr. KELLER. He will be able to read my remarks, I assure the gentleman.

On page 6242 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at the bottom of the first column, I find this statement by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER]:

> I think it is fair that I should call attention at this time to some of the situations that have been presented and developed by the committee with reference to the W. P. A. I am going to call attention to some of the prima donnas of the W. P. A. and I shall start with the Deputy Administrator, Mr. Howard O. Hunter. Notwithstanding what I am going to tell you, and notwithstanding the attitude that Mr. Hunter displayed when he was before our committee, he is still on the pay roll.

From that I naturally assume that the attitude of the gentlemen who appear before the committee must be very humble or else go off the pay roll. I had not understood that before. I shall hold it in mind when I appear before the Appropriations Committee some day.

He further stated:

> His record is something like this: On page 576 of the investigation hearings we find where over a course of Mr. Hunter's 5½ years with the W. P. A., he charged illegally to the Government transportation in the amount of $1,764.42, and that he was obliged to pay back.

I make the statement that he never received a single, solitary penny illegally, never paid back a penny he had received from the Government, and never was asked to pay back a penny. No man who has ever traveled for the Government or associated with those who have traveled for the Government, but who knows that some of the items that are entirely legitimate under the ordinary rules of business, are rejected by the Accounting Department, and when they have been rejected they simply are never paid. That is all. Now, the Accounting Department requires very careful and stringent rules along that line, and they are enforced, as they ought to be, with the greatest vigor.

I want to say something else. Howard Hunter had a right to take with him his secretary at Government expense if he had desired to. The item would have been allowed under the law, but it is a notable fact that he never asked for one penny travel expense for his secretary, who happens to be his wife. Mrs. Hunter has been his very active and efficient secretary for all this time and has never received one penny pay and does not ask for any. When she has accompanied Mr. Hunter on these business trips he has always paid her expenses himself, though by signing a slip the Government would have paid her travel expenses beyond question under the law.

You will find a lot of implications in this statement of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] but I have answered it specifically and directly, and stand by my answer. Mr. Hunter has been accused of looking after his business at Government expense and on Government time. I can state frankly and certainly that he has no business, has not had any business during the entire time he has been serving the Government, except the Government's business, to which he has devoted all his time and the full measure of his splendid energy. If there is a man in this Government who has given efficient, honest, and constant service to his Government that man has been Howard O. Hunter. I know him and know him well, and he does not need any vouching from me, though I am glad to do it.

Mr. Chairman, I call attention to this further statement made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. I cannot yield at the present time. I do not want to be interrupted in my presentation. Before I finish I will gladly yield, of course.

Mr. DITTER. Save the time, I ask the gentleman.

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I will do that.

Mr. Chairman, I believe in congressional immunity, because sometimes a man makes a mistake on the floor of the House and ought not to be held to account for it. But where a man deliberately puts things into the RECORD he ought to be willing to go outside and stand up and say them so as to make himself responsible to the man who is injured or attacked. If the gentleman from New York is willing to do that I would like to see exactly what the result would be; and I challenge him to do it. I suggest that if, on second thought, the gentleman from New York does not believe this statement he made about Mr. Hunter, that he come up here like a man, admit his mistake, apologize, and receive the forgiveness of this House and the friends of Howard O. Hunter.

> The evidence we have indicates that the W. P. A., the labor and that sort of thing, on a lot of the work is not more than 50 percent efficient anywhere, and the worst they get is probably 25 percent, and sometimes they get in between. The result of this situation is that all over the country we have jobs that take, lots of times, 3 months to do work that ought to be done in 2 weeks. We have a mixed-up mess as to planning and organization.

Coming now to the question of efficiency and inefficiency; if you give men rakes they cannot do anything but rake. If you give them only rakes, shovels, picks, and wheelbarrows they cannot use anything else. A rake is good for one thing only, and that is to rake stuff with whether it is leaves or something else. It certainly is not efficient for moving large amounts of dirt. Neither is a wheelbarrow, or shovels, picks, and mattocks.

While there has been and still is inefficiency in the W. P. A., it has been brought about very largely because this Congress did not know anything about efficiency in the varied operations which W. P. A. carries on or has been unwilling to give the tools and materials necessary to get efficiency. That is exactly what I am talking to you about. When we started out into this unemployment question it was a new thing; we had to learn, and we had not had time to plan it as we ought to have done. Therefore there was necessarily some inefficiency at the beginning. But if we had started out as soon as we could and planned the program and furnished proper tools and proper equipment and materials, we would have multiplied the amount of work actually achieved by our W. P. A. men beyond any question and beyond any doubt. The men were ready and anxious to get results. It was and is a heartbreaking experience to see men discouraged and disheartened by being denied the materials and equipment they knew was required in their work for doing a good job. It is a disgrace. The Congress did not see the point.

W. P. A. is the greatest engineering project in the world.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. I would like to finish my statement before I yield.

Mr. DITTER. Will not the gentleman indulge me just for one moment?

Mr. KELLER. I must refuse to yield. I do not intend to have my statement broken up willingly.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois declines to yield.

Mr. KELLER. W. P. A. is the greatest engineering project in the world. It requires more varied engineering training and experience to do the work in hand than any other industry in the world. Government engineers of high training and long and varied experience give information to the Appropriations Committee, but that committee, without a single engineer on it, with two lawyers dominating it, reject

the evidence of the engineers for the Government and substitute their own opinions formed without training, without experience, without knowledge. These lawyers give opinions on these engineering problems concerning which they know nothing.

I have insisted from the start that the Appropriations Committee call in the best engineers in the varied work being done by the W. P. A. to check on the Government engineers. The committee finally did call in an engineer, and he was a very competent engineer in his line. He was a refrigeration engineer. He knew how to freeze things, and I presume that is why he was called in by the committee considering the W. P. A.—to freeze it up.

Now, I want to call your attention to what that means in relation to efficiency.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KELLER. As soon as I have finished I will yield.

We have heard so much about shovels and everything that misrepresents men on the W. P. A. that I must call your attention to the other side—the real side of the picture. I happen to have an instance in my own district that I want to call attention to. The State of Illinois gave a contract under competitive bidding for the building of a road requiring a certain amount of grading and fill. At the same time, and within a mile and a half of that fill, the W. P. A. carried on a project with an almost exactly equal amount of dirt removed and distance carried and fill made. Comparing the cost of the work done by contract with the amount it cost the W. P. A., there was an advantage in favor of the W. P. A. workmen to the extent of $23,000, because in that one instance the W. P. A. boys had proper equipment for doing that work.

We could have had this same efficiency from the beginning, and we can have it now if we, the Congress, would provide proper equipment and materials. But instead of that we put out $6 a man-month when the industry of the country, which carries on the same kinds of work that we carry on with the W. P. A., spends on an average of about $17 a man-month. Yes, W. P. A. is inefficient, simply and only because our appropriations committee has never been willing to grant the amount of money necessary to provide proper equipment and material for efficient work that ought to be granted. Then many Members of this Congress who prevent efficient work sit around and make remarks about shovel-leaners, boondoggling with rakes, leaf raking, and so forth. When you give the men the equipment that they are used to and entitled to, they will equal every time the men working under private contract and very often beat them, as was the case I cited in my district, which happened under my own eyes and that I know thoroughly well. The skimpers and pinchers got control in the Congress and completely wiped out any possibility of efficient work. That is where the inefficiency lies, with the pinchers and scrimpers in Congress; they know nothing about economics and refuse to learn.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KELLER. Now I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I understand that the gentleman has made some remarks about me.

Mr. KELLER. Yes; I have. I will read them to you if you like.

Mr. TABER. I would like to have the gentleman do that.

Mr. KELLER. I said that Howard Hunter never took a penny illegally and never paid back a penny and never was asked to pay back a penny that he had received from the Government.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, this gentleman knew at the time he issued travel orders that they were illegal, and he admitted that on pages 603 and 604 of the hearings. He admitted that those travel orders were illegal, and the amount of them was deducted from Mr. Hunter's per diem when he settled.

Mr. KELLER. He was never paid a penny, was he?

Mr. TABER. I did not say he was paid. I said in my statement that they were deducted from his per diem.

Mr. KELLER. I will read your statement, because the gentleman has evidently forgotten. Here is the statement on page 9534, about the middle of the first column:

> I am going to call attention to some of the prima donnas of the W. P. A., and I shall start with the Deputy Administrator, Mr. Howard O. Hunter. Notwithstanding what I am going to tell you, and notwithstanding the attitude that Mr. Hunter displayed when he was before our committee, he is still on the pay roll. His record is something like this. On page 576 of the investigation hearings we find where over a course of Mr. Hunter's 5½ years with the W. P. A. he charged illegally to the Government transportation in the amount of $1,764.42, and that he was obliged to pay back.

Mr. TABER. That is true, is it not?

Mr. KELLER. And that he was obliged to pay back?

Mr. TABER. Being charged is the same thing, and the gentleman knows it.

Mr. KELLER. It is not the same thing at all, and the gentleman knows it.

Mr. TABER. Being charged is the same thing. If I put in an account that is not right, it is wrong.

Mr. KELLER. If the gentleman went out on a Government expedition, he would have the same experience with some of the items. They may be fairly charged, but rejected under the rules of the accounting department. The gentleman knows that and so do I.

Mr. TABER. That is not the situation at all, and the gentleman knows it.

Mr. KELLER. That is the situation.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I made some statements about Howard O. Hunter, who is the First Deputy Administrator of the W. P. A. In that position he is charged with a sacred trust to take care of the relief of the unemployed. In that position went authority to issue travel orders. What did he do? He deliberately issued travel orders which he himself, on pages 603 and 604 of the hearings, admitted were wrong, and he knew it when he issued them. Those travel orders were charged back to him by the General Accounting Office and deducted from other money coming to him. That is the same thing as making him pay the money back.

I am opposed to racketeering in relief and this effort on the part of Howard Hunter is racketeering with relief. [Applause.] I do not propose to let a man who has that kind of a record get by without being exposed, and that is why I have told the truth about Howard Hunter, and I intend to stick to it. [Applause.]

This is just one of thousands of cases of abuses in connection with W. P. A. The most serious thing of all is that the W. P. A. officials and some Members of the House have so little sense of responsibility to the public and so little sense of right and wrong that they attempt to gloss over deliberate wrongdoing. These things have been referred to repeatedly because they show the total failure of W. P. A. management and the need for getting rid of racketeering in relief, and to do that we must get rid of W. P. A. and substitute for it an honest system of relief. That is what I am asking the Congress to do. Be big enough to be honest with the poor, who have suffered from dishonesty and mismanagement.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, it is indeed unfortunate that partisan politics have played such an important part in relief. I want to vote for a relief bill that will take care of the people who need relief, but I am convinced that the present bill can be pared down tremendously and I want to see it pared down in the interest of the taxpayer and in the interest of building up the morale of the people in the country generally. I want to submit a little factual evidence, which may help us do this very thing.

As a matter of fact, nobody really knows how many unemployed people there are in this country today. It will be admitted by all impartial observers that results of the so-called census of unemployment taken 2 or 3 years ago were not conclusive. When persons, women in particular, have been

asked whether they would take employment, they would say "Yes," and were consequently listed as unemployed. Many persons on present relief rolls appear to be there primarily for the latter reason. This is evident from fragmentary data assembled in various sections of the country. Take, for example, the situation in Lancaster County, Pa., one of the four or five wealthiest agricultural counties in the United States. According to the official Pennsylvania Census of Productive Enterprise, there were 595 industrial establishments in Lancaster County in 1929 employing 25,538 persons.

By 1938, which was a relatively poor year for business, the number of such concerns had decreased to 577, but their employees had increased to a total of no less than 31,662 persons—an increase of over 6,000 workers. In August 1929 there were 692 persons on relief in Lancaster County and in 1938 the Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance reported 9,041 persons who were cared for by pubic funds, an increase of over 8,000 people. The factories were running, the farmers of the county were prosperous. Why, then, with 6,124 more people employed in the industrial establishments of Lancaster County in 1938 than there were in 1929, should there have been 8,340 more people on relief? In 1939 the number of persons receiving public assistance had increased to 9,575. Making due allowance for population increase and greater average age, these figures supply a startling object lesson as to what happens in a representative democracy when local affairs and local expenditures are divorced from local control and local taxing power.

I sincerely hope that this matter will be dealt with next week from a nonpartisan standpoint. If the relief rolls were pared down probably 50 percent they still would take care of all the worthy poor and build up the morale of the people generally in the interest of the taxpayer. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KELLER].

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Chairman, I simply want to call the attention of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] to the difference between a man believing an item is fair and deliberately committing a fraud. That is the question involved here at the present time. I know the Members of the House have very often—I know I have, and I know others have—sent telegrams that I thought were legitimate Government business that were ruled out by the Accounting Department. I have had to pay for them, as I ought to have done, although I did not think so at the time. I have conformed to the rules of the Accounting Department, as I am sure every other man does when he comes into contact with them. That is the thing I am charging here, that a difference in opinion in what is legitimate or what is not is no great fault much less a crime, and that is the idea I am standing on. I regret as much as anyone can that any colleague of mine should attack a Government official who is doing his duty as I know Howard Hunter has done his.

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 minutes.

I do not intend in any way to enter into this unfortunate overbubbling of enthusiasm on the part of the defense, but I would like to direct the attention of the distinguished gentleman from Illinois to page 728 of the hearings, in which the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH] pointed out very definitely the unfortunate mistake that Mr. Hunter made when he had a national hookup, at which time he advised incorrectly with reference to the advocacy of certain parts of the relief bill of 1939. I hope that my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Illinois, will have available to him when we meet again the same type of defense that he has resorted to in this instance with reference to the unfortunate mistake of Mr. Hunter in connection with that broadcast.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I was very much surprised and somewhat disappointed when debate opened on this bill. We are considering here a measure of great importance to the Nation, a matter which involves some of the most serious problems confronting the American people today; problems which challenge the most profound statesmanship Congress is able to supply. Still, when the debate opened and the other side was recognized to take up this question, a matter which involves the employment at the present time of over 2,000,000 men, and the living of more than 2,000,000 families, as well as the expenditure of over $7,000,000,000, we naturally expected them to approach the question from a broad point of view. We took for granted they would discuss fundamental principles. Instead, they opened the debate with a discussion of the expense account of an employee of W. P. A., and followed that up with a description of a hen house, and closed by complaining that a demonstration project had fed children without buying the food under competitive bidding. It was the greatest anticlimax I think I have seen in many years in the House.

And I was astonished when one speaker quoted from the testimony of Thomas C. Elder, from the General Accounting Office, in which Elder spoke of the W. P. A. as the rottenest organization with which he had come in contact. Nothing could be more misleading than the citation of this discredited testimony. In the cross-examination the statement was thoroughly disproved. It was shown that he did not examine any case that had not previously been investigated by W. P. A. itself and fully adjudicated with credit to the Administration and the organization; that no instances were found which in any way differed from those regularly occurring in all Government departments and the witness further disqualified himself by stating that 2 men used 120,000 travel requisitions in 1 year.

Here are excerpts from his testimony:

Mr. CANNON. You say the W. P. A. is rotten. You would not say that an organization is rotten when it cleans up such cases, would you? This organization cleans up its own irregularities and then you say it is rotten. The committee asked for facts and not opinions.

Mr. ELDER. I was asked to say what appeared.

Mr. CANNON. You gave it as your opinion that it was rotten, and by this testimony here you have shown that the opinion is not correct.

Mr. ROBERTS. I would like to correct one statement, if I may. I did ask the question, based on Captain Elder's experience as an investigator for the General Accounting Office and the work which he has done in W. P. A. and other Government departments, as to whether he found a higher percentage of irregularities in W. P. A. than he found in other departments, and his reply was in answer to that question.

Mr. CANNON. He did not say he found a greater percentage or a lesser percentage, but he said it was the rottenest. That is an innuendo involving moral turpitude and venality. There can be no other construction.

He has shown by his testimony that of their own accord they remedied every complaint he has made. His testimony is the highest compliment that could be paid any department of the Government.

Mr. ROBERTS. May I say that in connection with this investigation we endeavored, as best we could, to keep our investigators on questions of fact. As a matter of fact, we have been most severely criticised by witnesses for not having expressed opinions and gone into questions of policy.

Mr. CANNON. I do not think you were ever criticized for failure to express an opinion; certainly this man's opinion was entirely gratuitous and wholly out of place, and what is more to the point it is not justified by any of the facts he submitted.

You say you requested suspicious cases, that you requested information on suspicious cases. Have you found suspicious cases in other departments and addressed requests for explanations of suspicious cases to other departments?

Mr. ELDER. Quite so.

Mr. CANNON. In other words, the W. P. A. is like any other department, except that it has handled its delinquencies most efficiently and most commendably?

To further show your bias, the gentleman from Indiana asked you a very pertinent question. He asked you if other departments followed the practice of making these reports to the General Accounting Office. You did not answer that question fairly. You did not say "Yes" or "No." You deliberately tried to avoid the facts and mislead the committee by answering "By and large."

Mr. ROBERTS. In a spirit of fairness, have you any right to interpret or question a man's motives?

Mr. CANNON. I am not questioning his motives; I am questioning his testimony.

He refused to say "Yes" or "No," and left the impression that all of them did it. That was not the case, as he had to concede.

I think we have had no witness before us who has given us evidence that was more complimentary to the efficiency and integrity and especially to the excellence of the management of the W. P. A. than this man who has just testified, and also as to the utter futility and uselessness of this inquiry. He has testified, and it is

not disputed, that everything which has been done by his department would have been done, if this committee had never been appointed.

Mr. LUDLOW. In the interest of fairness, I want to ask you if you have found the W. P. A. administration alert and watchful in running down malefactors?

Mr. ELDER. So far as I know they have been.

Mr. Chairman, when the annals of our times are written, the record of this great humanitarian program will be one of the outstanding features of the history of our Nation, and Members of this Congress who have participated in the legislation which created and maintained it will in future years look upon it as one of the outstanding accomplishments of their service in the House. It is to be regretted that the debate this afternoon has been pitched on such a low level. It is as if, while we stood looking at a beautiful piece of statuary, somebody says, "Why, there is a flyspeck on its little finger." That is the tempo in which this criticism has been voiced here this afternoon. I trust that during the remainder of the debate we can discuss the issues and principles involved, rather than trivialities which cannot affect the legislation we are trying to formulate in such a way as to bring the greatest good to the greatest number and to reflect credit both upon the Congress and the Nation. [Applause.]

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ALEXANDER].

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Chairman, I think there is always something to be said for orthodoxism, but I cannot for my own part plead guilty to being exactly tied to the principles of orthodoxy, and that probably is because of the fact that my middle name happens to be the same, and I come through my mother from the same family as the great general of the Civil War who won that war, as I understand it, because he did not always follow the orthodox principles and rules.

It seems to me that what we should do as statesmen, so called, and leaders of this Nation, having these two problems that are now confronting us, the one which was presented to us yesterday by the Chief Executive when he came in and asked us for an appropriation of some $1,182,000,000 for national-defense purposes, and here today in this bill for the W. P. A., where we are again another year being asked for $975,650,000, or a total of approximately $2,157,000,000—I say it seems to me that if two and two is still four that what we ought to do in the name of common sense is to put these two problems together and save ourselves about one-half, or at least one-fourth of this total of over $2,000,000,000.

Here we have on the one hand a need, which is not denied, I think, by any intelligent citizen in the Nation for national defense and for preparedness, judging from the letters which I am receiving daily and from the long petition which I received yesterday with over 100 names on it, begging that we get busy on this problem which is intensified by the daily developments in Europe and in Asia. I say, judging from the fact that we need to do something along that line, which is more or less generally conceded—and I am not condoning this situation—and judging from the fact that we have upward of 10,000,000 people unemployed and needing jobs, why not put the two problems together and say that we will not follow the orthodox; in other words, we will take out this section 34, page 31, of the bill, which says that none of this money that we are being asked to appropriate for the W. P. A. can be used for national defense, as I get that section. Let us take it out. It can only be in there for one of two reasons, as I see it, and neither of them very valid. It is either in there to protect the fellows who are going to make a tremendous profit on this national-defense program, and there are plenty of them out to do that very thing and already doing it; and I for one, as I said the other day in the debate on the veterans' bill, would be in favor of taking every dollar of their profit and sequestering it and setting it aside against the day when we will again need to support the widows and orphans and dependents of those who will give their health and their lives in this thing which is growing daily. Either this section is in there to protect the profit maker and therefore has no place in the bill, or it is in there for some fake, specious reason that somebody has suggested that we should not use the W. P. A. people to build naval vessels, armament, munitions, implements of war, and so forth.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I yield.

Mr. GEYER of California. What would the gentleman think about this taxation program of which he speaks using this money to pay this W. P. A. bill, instead of setting it aside where it will be tied up?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well, I do not know that I could give an answer on that immediately, keeping in mind the past treatment accorded our veterans. I would have to think the thing through, but it does seem to me that in view of the things which I have suggested here and the need to provide work, the need to provide national defense and a preparedness program where we are asked to spend over $2,000,000,000, we should divide it in two and put these problems together and accomplish both objectives with half or three-fourths the money. Is not that common sense? It seems to me nobody can deny that it is just like two and two is four.

I do not know what process we have to go through with in our national thinking or with our statesmanship to correct the situation, but it seems to me that it is as plain and simple as the nose on your face, that here we have two great problems staring at us which could be settled together to a large degree, and yet we putter and monkey around here, wasting the people's money, getting nowhere with the unemployment problem, and I might add getting almost nowhere with our national-defense needs, and still we do nothing about it but continue to ask the Members to squander and waste the people's money. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. DARDEN].

Mr. DARDEN of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, the hour is late, it is past 6 o'clock, and it is not my intention to trespass unduly upon the time of the Committee. When this bill is read for amendment I want to offer an amendment, on page 4, line 15, and insert, if possible, this provision:

Provided further, That projects looking to the national defense shall have priority.

I do not believe that I am overestimating the gravity of this situation when I tell you that this country is facing one of the most critical periods in all its history. The collapse, or virtual collapse, of the democracies in front of the armed power of the totalitarian powers of Europe must give us all concern. The problem in America is not only to provide the necessary money to prepare this country but to translate that money into the necessities of war. There is not a man in the Chamber who does not hope that the United States will be able to avoid war, but there is not a thoughtful person in this Chamber who does not know that we are unprepared to defend the country. Our naval problem is particularly acute, made so by the fact that today we are building in our yards great naval ships which can be destroyed by a concentrated attack from the air. They can be destroyed while we are unable to protect or defend them. Our continued strength at sea depends upon our ability to carry on without interruption, our naval-building program.

The problem is immediate. We are not going to be given months to meet the difficulty which lies in front of us. The difficulty is here now, and those of us charged with the defense of the country must assume the responsibility. I can appreciate the observations of those who feel that the sums voted for defense should make unnecessary expenditures for relief. However, I do not believe that the two efforts can be so combined. As the gentleman from California [Mr. VOOR-

HIS] said in his excellent talk a short time ago, it is not possible to use many of those on relief in the heavy industries, while it may not be possible to use them in providing much of the equipment needed for defense, it is possible to use them in the preparation of aircraft bases and in the construction of roads to those places vital to the defense of America. I am not asking that the funds be cut or diverted in any way. I am simply asking, where projects are put forward, that those projects having to do with national defense should receive priority. I think it is of the utmost consequence; I believe that the gravity of our situation requires it, and I hope this is an amendment to which the House when it considers the bill will agree. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. COFFEE].

IMPERATIVE WE SOLVE UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Chairman, it would be presumptuous for anyone to attempt to take much of the serious time of this House in the discussion of a vital problem embracing unemployment in America at this late hour, but I think we would be remiss in our duties if we failed to recall that the lesson of history has been that those nations which suffered for any considerable length of time from a continuation of the curse of unemployment have gone down. Max Nordau in his work, Degeneration, speaks repeatedly of the curse of employment afflicting nations from the dawn of history. The precept of the centuries has been that those nations which failed to take adequate care of their unemployment have sounded their own death knell. [Applause.]

WIN THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY

We today are considering again an appropriation for the W. P. A., an appropriation which I regard as inadequate. This bill fails to recognize that the most serious war with which we are confronted is the war against our domestic iniquities and inequities; not a foreign war, but a war against the curse of despair, hopelessness, and lack of future, against the sequels of unemployment.

PETTY PIN-PRICKING CARPING

I have heard in this distinguished assemblage contentions made by our colleagues to the effect that there have been evidences of graft and corruption characterizing the administration of the W. P. A. That seemed to me about analogous to the position of warts on a dill pickle. They are like the gentleman from Missouri said, they see but the insignificant spots on a famous piece of statuary. They cannot see the forest for the trees. Let them propose an alternative. Shall we condemn the unemployed to starvation? Can they not get the proper perspective and realize that in a gigantic undertaking, embracing as it does so many ramified and diversified enterprises, so many recondite engineering problems, that the administration must inevitably have a few isolated examples of corruption, racketeering, and discrimination? But let us get the whole picture. Let us proceed on the program that while this is not a cure for unemployment, it is at least a palliative. It is a stopgap. It will tide us over until such time as we realize the dynamics of the situation; that is, that we must do something; that we must grapple with this situation and enact legislation designed to accomplish genuine employment for all of the American people; an opportunity for youth; a genuine old-age pension for the elderly of this land. [Applause.] Until we do that we must continue these palliatives and give at least a modicum of relief to a portion of those who are unemployed.

OUR MENACE IS FROM INTERNAL AILMENT

The danger that we have is not from the outside. The danger is from those within our own midst who are afflicted with despair. Let us recall the lesson that Germany taught us.

PREHITLER GERMANY SHOULD WARN US

Prior to the coming in of Hitler the Weimar Republic, representing the Government in Germany, was struggling with unemployment. The needy asked for help and they were given a stone. Repeatedly they asked for an opportunity to secure employment with a reasonable degree of future. They were turned down cold-bloodedly, crassly, by those in power. About 1933 along came a messiah, an incredible house painter from Austria, and he said, "Take me to your hearts. I will solve the unemployment problem. No more unemployment will afflict the German people. I will repudiate the treaty of Versailles, but I will provide jobs for the youth of Germany." He said, "They—the youth—shall take a prominent place in the National Socialist Party."

HITLER HEEDED THE PLEAS OF THE FORGOTTEN

They took him at his word. They accepted him. That party went into power in 1932; and, regardless of the methods he employed—and I hold no brief for him; God knows I despise everything he has done and his sanguinary modus operandi—nevertheless, the youth of Germany became an integral part of the National Socialist Party, and today they are the backbone of the Nazi Government, the party in power, and the German Army.

CONTINUED UNEMPLOYMENT AND NATIONAL MORALE ARE INCOMPATIBLE

The President said yesterday that the hand that guides our national defense must be steady. The eye that directs it must be clear. In order to achieve and maintain these laudable qualities, we must build up the morale of the American people by providing them an opportunity for work. We must eradicate unemployment without fail. Win that goal and that would be our greatest victory.

At the head of the unemployment conference of the House of Representatives is the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS]. Under his able and brilliant leadership, 50 or 75 Members of the Congress have been attempting in their feeble and halting way to arrive at some common denominator; some conclusion as to what best should be done; to propose legislation to the Congress designed to effectuate the objective that we all seek to attain—a cure for unemployment. We studied the effects of monopoly on unemployment.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

We studied the aspects of foreign trade and unemployment and studied about 12 different categories of unemployment. The different phases of unemployment have been pursued, and serious and intelligent discussion has been had as to what might be proposed to this Congress as a course to take to solve the problem.

We have recognized that unemployment is America's problem No. 1; and while the emphasis in America and throughout the world today has been placed upon the need of national defense—and no one must deprecate the need of proper defense nor underestimate the urgency of making appropriate provision for national defense—it seems to me that the surest way to accomplish a building up of morale for the United States is to build up the morale of the plain people who comprise our population. [Applause.]

THE W. P. A. ORGANIZATION, ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS, HISTORY, AND PROGRAM

The Works Progress Administration was created on May 6, 1935, for the purpose of employing as many needy unemployed persons as possible on useful public-work projects. The Congress decided at that time that the Federal Government should concentrate on the provision of useful work as a means of meeting the problem of unemployment relief and to leave the administration of direct relief to the States, cities, and counties.

In the latter half of 1935 employment on projects of the Work Projects Administration increased from 0 to 2,800,000. The record is clear. One can have only the greatest of admiration for the brilliant job of organization and administration that such an achievement required. By the end of December the objectives laid down by Congress were achieved, and the last grants to States by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for relief were made.

Once the major objective of employing 3,000,000 people was accomplished in early 1936, the W. P. A. concentrated on improvements in administration and management, which resulted in better planning and greater efficiency on projects

and the innumerable improvements on all fronts that can always be made in any new organization which was built up rapidly.

ITS PROGRAM

This was a new program and a big one. It would be unrealistic to expect all kinks to be ironed out in a short time. New procedures had to be devised, and these procedures are tightened up as imperfections appear. New relationships were being worked out between Federal, State, and local governments.

ITS SIZE AND SCOPE

The program management was improved from day to day, and this to be sure is one of the important parts of such a program. However, the significant thing is the major accomplishment in meeting the primary objectives for which the Work Projects Administration was created; that is, of giving work to needy unemployed people for whom there was neither food nor work for willing hands.

In some ways it is almost impossible to realize the size of the W. P. A. and the scope of its operations. It operates construction projects of nearly all kinds. To provide employment for unemployed women, unemployed "white collar" workers, it developed a diversified program of work outside of the construction field. This took courage. At first, the attempt was made to discredit this type of work through the use of the term "boondoggle." This attempt was abandoned and the word now has little meaning in the face of the accomplishment, not only in terms of wealth created on construction work, but also on the achievement of the "white collar" and production projects. These achievements cannot be laughed off. These accomplishments are well known to this Congress and certainly were admirably set forth by my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 4, 1940, and further in his report on the investigation of the W. P. A. under House Resolution No. 130.

In relation to the size and scope of the W. P. A. program, in light of the amazing record of accomplishment in putting millions of unemployed persons on useful work, and in getting the Federal Government "out of this business of relief" and in view of the wealth created as a result of the work on these projects, all of the charges contained in the voluminous documents printed by the investigating committee fade into insignificance.

FULMINATIONS OF FURY BASED ON LITTLE OF TANGIBLE NATURE

The investigation of the Work Projects Administration has been in progress something over a year, and I have read with a great deal of interest the material presented before the committee by its investigators. I note wild and rash statements inferring gross mismanagement and irregularities. I also note that these statements, in the main, melt into oblivion when an opportunity was given for the presentation of facts.

I note charges made by investigators whose expressed opinions are based on partial truths only. The evidence presented might indicate a condition existing today in the management of this program, whereas in reality upon questioning, it developed that reference was made to conditions existing years ago and proper remedial measures had long since been taken. I feel the publicity given to these "dead cats" at this time is certainly irrelevant insofar as the future operations and opportunities for employment of needy unemployed people are concerned today. It looks to me as if the charges presented by the investigators were surrounded by innuendoes and are little more than a pious hope that some skulduggery might have existed.

I think the House of Representatives should congratulate the W. P. A. on the integrity, courage, organizational ability, and the devotion to the interest of the unemployed shown by the officials in the W. P. A., both at the present time and those who preceded them. It is to the credit of these officials who carried out this vast and meritorious undertaking that not a thin dime has ever stuck to their fingers.

W. P. A. AND THE PENDING APPROPRIATION

Spreading the appropriation of $975,650,000 for the W. P. A. over the entire fiscal year 1941 would necessitate a 33⅓-percent reduction from the level of W. P. A. operations during the present fiscal year.

Employment over the entire fiscal year 1940 will average about 2,000,000 workers per month. Next year the average would have to be reduced to 1,311,000. At the present time there are 2,000,000 employed on the program and about 1,000,000 others who are in need and who would be employed on W. P. A. projects if funds were available. If the proposed appropriation were made on a 12-month basis, it would be necessary to begin to discharge hundreds of thousands of workers immediately in order to get down to the average of 1,311,000 for fiscal year 1941. Drastic reductions would have to be continued throughout the summer and by next fall the total number at work would probably be about 1,000,000, or about one-half of the number now employed and about one-third of the number now in need of employment.

THE EXTENT OF CURRENT UNEMPLOYMENT

The recession which has occurred since the end of 1939 has destroyed any prospect of sufficient improvement in business and employment conditions to permit such drastic reductions in the W. P. A. program. While industrial production was booming during the last 6 months of 1939, when the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production increased from 101 to 128, nonagricultural employment as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics increased by about 1,400,000. Practically all of these gains have now been lost. The Federal Reserve Board index of production declined to 109 in February and 103 in March. Unemployment was estimated at 10,380,000 in January by the American Federation of Labor; 10,593,000 in February; and, in spite of the fact that seasonal improvement ordinarily occurs in the spring, remained at 10,348,000 in March.

In the past the W. P. A. has provided jobs for about 25 percent of the unemployed, as estimated by the American Federation of Labor. This year W. P. A. employment will probably average about 20 percent of unemployment. It is clear that W. P. A. workers cannot expect to get more than 1 of every 4 or 5 new jobs which become available. The experience of 775,000 workers who were discharged last summer under the 18-month provision demonstrates the effect on individual workers of large-scale lay-offs which are not justified by private employment opportunities. Even though private nonagricultural employment increased about 1,000,000 between August and November, 87 percent of the 775,000 W. P. A. workers discharged in July and August were without jobs in November. Furthermore, half of those who had jobs were earning less than the W. P. A. security wages they had previously earned.

WHAT W. P. A. MEANS

Remembering that, on the average, the W. P. A. worker will get one of every four new jobs in private industry, let us consider the implications of this proposal to reduce the W. P. A. appropriation by more than one-third. Using the 4 to 1 ratio, and allowing for the normal increase in the number of gainfully employed workers, private industry would have to employ throughout the year about 3,500,000 more workers than were employed during the fiscal year 1940. However, such an increase in employment could be realized only through an enormous increase in business and industrial activity which would go far beyond the most optimistic forecast that can possibly be made in the light of existing conditions.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

In 1929 the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production stood at an all-time high of 119 for the entire year. An index of 125 for the fiscal year 1941 would represent an increase of 15 percent from the expected average for the fiscal year 1940 and would be more than 20 points higher than the present level. Even such an unlikely increase in production would carry with it an increase in employment of only about 1,600,000 workers, or less than one-half the increase necessary to justify the proposed reduction in the W. P. A. appropriation.

If such an increase should occur as a result of the proposed expansion in the national-defense program and a general increase in productive activity, unemployment would average about 9,000,000 for the fiscal year and the W. P. A. would have

to provide 2,250,000 jobs rather than 1,311,000 in order to employ even the 25 percent of the unemployed who, on the average, have had W. P. A. jobs in the past few years.

The actual course of production, unemployment, and need, of course, cannot be forecast accurately for as long as a year in advance. However, it is perfectly clear from the facts of the present situation that at least $975,000,000 will be necessary to operate a reasonably adequate W. P. A. program during the coming 8 months. It is equally clear that to spread this appropriation over the entire year would bring hardship and suffering to hundreds of thousands of American families.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK].

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Chairman, I listened attentively to the addresses here this afternoon and my mind went back to the day just a short while ago in the State of Michigan when 700 sponsors of W. P. A. projects met in the city of Lansing. About 600 of them were Republicans. They unanimously endorsed the W. P. A. program. They unanimously gave praise to the administration of W. P. A. in Michigan. They did not mention politics. They are not interested in anything other than service to their communities and the unemployed. I think those men and those women who represented the sponsors of projects in the great State of Michigan represent the feeling of sponsors throughout the United States. They give praise to the program which means so much to them.

Something else came to my mind. There has been talk about the travel pay of those who are administering this gigantic undertaking. I notice that investigators seem to be going throughout the United States investigating W. P. A. travel-pay vouchers. Then on the floor of this House, Members from the Republican side claim as facts those things that are based on rumor. Letters are written to the investigating department of the different regional offices. It happened that just 2 weeks ago in the regional office of which my State is a part letters went in claiming that an investigation would show irregularities in the travel pay of the director of operations of the W. P. A. area which includes my district.

These letters were not based on facts but, in my opinion, was a part of a political plot to smear. When those letters are received, it is the duty of the W. P. A. officials to investigate. I am informed that the investigator went to a number of the Democratic county chairmen and ex-chairmen inquiring of them whether or not the director of operations at any time in the last few years talked to them. Certainly he had talked to them. He had talked to probably all of them. Socially? Yes. I hope they are friends of his and he of them. The thing that interests me is that it seems that this letter-writing campaign is Nation-wide; and when we checked the letters down, 9 out of 10 were written by Republicans or disgruntled Democratic politicians.

I am wondering whether there is a concerted effort directed, not locally but nationally, on the proposition of sending throughout this country word to have letters written charging irregularities in travel pay. Let us be fair in this matter. The fact that the gentleman from California took up the bludgeon for Indiana and the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] made an unwarranted attack on Mr. Howard Hunter as a signal for a general blast leads me to the conclusion that there must be a purpose behind all of this, and that the purpose is to discredit the agency by the Republican propaganda machine.

The best part of it is they have not found the things they expected to find. But they have caused some extra expense and caused the officials some embarrassment.

I have given very thorough study to this W. P. A. situation. It is a problem in my district that is serious. I listened when the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SECCOMBE] spoke this afternoon. His problems are my problems; his problems are the problems of most of the Representatives in this House. He met them fairly and squarely, and I am interested to know that he was working on practically the same amendments to which I have been giving attention. The amendments will be offered. I have not time to go into them this afternoon, but I know that when they are presented I will explain them fully. I hope that this Congress will consider them when they are presented, without any question of politics. If it does, the amendments will be adopted which will be for the best interests of this bill and the best interests of the unemployed of this country. I am going to read some of them to you now:

Amend section 14 (a), page 18, line 11, by inserting after the words "difference in the cost of living" the following words: *"Provided,* That adjacent counties being in the same geographical area in a State and having similar living costs, but who do not have concentrated-populated cities, be given similar monthly earning schedules."

Amend section 14 (a), page 18, line 15, strike out all after the comma following the word "Commissioner" down to and including the word "month," in line 17, and insert in lieu thereof "shall require a lesser number of hours of work not to exceed 65 hours per month."

Amend section 15 (a), page 19, line 4, after the word "needs" and before the word "and" insert: *"Provided, however,* That the fact a person has an insurance or benefit policy which he or she has carried 12 years or more or which has a cash loan value of $500 or less shall not be considered in determining the actual need of such employment."

[Applause.]

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, if no one desires further time for debate on either side I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. COOPER, having resumed the chair, Mr. GARRETT, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration House Joint Resolution 554, making appropriations for work relief and relief, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, had come to no resolution thereon.

ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. COOPER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an article entitled, "Consumers and Chain Store Taxation."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HART]?

There was no objection.

Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. STEARNS]?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein the text of an amendment which I intend to offer to the relief bill, which reestablishes the P. W. A.

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

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 15 seconds.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

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

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. DARDEN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, and to include therein a letter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. DARDEN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an editorial.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED]?

There was no objection.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, one to include a prize high-school essay, and the other to include a newspaper article.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington [Mr. COFFEE]?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein an exceptionally fine editorial appearing in today's Washington Daily News, entitled "We Need the Whole Team."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SCHAFER]?

There was no objection.

Mr. D'ALESANDRO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a letter from the Federal Board of Hospitalization.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. D'ALESANDRO]?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK] may have permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD and to include extracts from the hearings and reports of the investigating committee.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a radio address delivered by my colleague from Illinois [Mr. SMITH].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. DEMPSEY]?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made this afternoon in Committee and also to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a resolution by the Iron River Business Men's Association.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the subject of construction work of the W. P. A. as a competitor of private business.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. REED of New York, Mr. BOREN, Mr. LEMKE, and Mr. WHITE of Idaho asked and were given permission to extend their own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the gentleman from California [Mr. LELAND M. FORD], I ask unanimous consent that he may be permitted to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER]?

There was no objection.

CONSENT OF CONGRESS TO THE STATES OF MONTANA, NORTH DAKOTA, AND WYOMING TO ENTER INTO COMPACTS FOR DIVISION OF WATERS OF THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER

Mr. CANNON of Missouri submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (S. 1759) granting the consent of Congress to the States of Montana, North Dakota, and Wyoming to negotiate and enter into a compact or agreement for division of the waters of the Yellowstone River.

ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, May 20, 1940, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Naval Affairs Saturday, May 18, 1940, at 10:30 a. m., a continuation of the inquiry into the status of the progress of shipbuilding.

COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING

The Subcommittee on Mines and Mining that was appointed to consider S. 2420 will continue hearings on May 21, 23, and 24, 1940, at 10 a. m., in the committee rooms in the New House Office Building. Further dates will be announced if necessary.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds at 10 a. m. Tuesday, May 21, 1940, for the consideration of H. R. 9116.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

There will be held before subcommittee No. 4 of the Committee on the Judiciary a hearing on H. R. 8963, to amend section 40 of the United States Employees' Compensation Act (to include chiropractic practitioners). The hearing will be held at 10 a. m., Wednesday, May 22, 1940, in the Judiciary Committee room, 346 House Office Building.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries will hold the following hearings at 10 a. m., on the date specified:

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on Tuesday, May 21, 1940, at 10 a. m., at which time the committee will consider the subject of maritime unemployment insurance.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on Monday, May 20, 1940, at 10 a. m.

Business to be considered: To continue hearings on S. 280 and H. R. 145—motion pictures. All statements favoring the bill will be heard first. All statements opposing the bill will follow.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization on Wednesday, May 22, 1940, at 10:30 a. m., for the consideration of H. R. 9774—To deport aliens. Also private bills.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

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

1639. A letter from the Acting Postmaster General, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill which would give the Post Office Department sufficient authority to take care of unusual mail-transportation difficulties within the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

1640. A letter from the past adjutant general of the Grand Army of the Republic, transmitting the Journal of the Proceedings of the Seventy-third National Encampment, held at Pittsburgh, Pa., August 27 to September 1, 1939 (H. Doc. No. 752); to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

1641. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting emergency supplemental estimates of appropriations for the sum of $895,770,364 for the further strengthening of national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, to be immediately and continuously available until expended (H. Doc. No. 753); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. GREGORY: Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. H. R. 8422. A bill relating to the classification of substitute driver-mechanics in the Postal Service; without amendment (Rept. No. 2202). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BROOKS: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 9192. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to grant permission for pipe lines; with amendment (Rept. No. 2203). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho: Committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses. S. 1759. An act granting the consent of Congress to the States of Montana, North Dakota, and Wyoming, to negotiate and enter into a compact or agreement for division of the waters of the Yellowstone River (Rept. No. 2236). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII,

Mr. KENNEDY of Maryland: Committee on Claims. S. 3091. An act for the relief of Barnet Warren; without amendment (Rept. No. 2204). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. KEOGH: Committee on Claims. H. R. 9418. A bill for the relief of Eberhart Steel Products Co., Inc., with amendment (Rept. No. 2205). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Claims. S. 1239. An act for the relief of Priscilla M. Noland; without amendment (Rept. No. 2206). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. EBERHARTER: Committee on Claims. S. 1445. An act for the relief of Bruno Arena; without amendment (Rept. No. 2207). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SASSCER: Committee on Claims. S. 1474. An act for the relief of Thomas G. Abbitt; without amendment (Rept. No. 2208). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. GATHINGS: Committee on Claims. S. 1649. An act for the relief of Alan C. Winter, Jr., and Elizabeth Winter; with amendment (Rept. No. 2209). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. PITTENGER: Committee on Claims. S. 1839. An act for the relief of Le Roy Breithaupt; without amendment (Rept. No. 2210). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FENTON: Committee on Claims. S. 2268. An act for the relief of Roxie Richardson; without amendment (Rept. No. 2211). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey: Committee on Claims. S. 3071. An act for the relief of Luther Devoe; without amendment (Rept. No. 2212). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey: Committee on Claims. S. 3073. An act for the relief of Verle S. Ward; without amendment (Rept. No. 2213). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LEONARD W. HALL: Committee on Claims. S. 3092. An act for the relief of Maj. John R. Holt; without amendment (Rept. No. 2214). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey: Committee on Claims. S. 3233. An act for the relief of C. T. Jensen; without amendment (Rept. No. 2215). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. GATHINGS: Committee on Claims. S. 3328. An act for the relief of Dorothy Crossing; without amendment (Rept. No. 2216). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 775. A bill for the relief of W. M. Hurley; with amendment (Rept. No. 2217). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FENTON: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1528. A bill for the relief of Augusta Brassil; with amendment (Rept. No. 2218). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FENTON: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2106. A bill for the relief of Charles Flack; with amendment (Rept. No. 2219). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2151. A bill for the relief of James P. Bruce, Jr.; with amendment (Rept. No. 2220). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. JENNINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2286. A bill for the relief of Wasyl Kulmatycki; with amendment (Rept. No. 2221). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2354. A bill for the relief of S. T. Enloe; with amendment (Rept. No. 2222). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. EBERHARTER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2580. A bill for the relief of Barbara Kosick; with amendment (Rept. No. 2223). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. GATHINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2628. A bill for the relief of John Engblom; without amendment (Rept. No. 2224). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2946. A bill for the relief of Naoma Kinder, a minor; with amendment (Rept. No. 2225). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. KEOGH: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3964. A bill for the relief of H. S. Wayman; with amendment (Rept. No. 2226). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4202. A bill for the relief of Fred T. Gordon and Bert N. Richardson; with amendment (Rept. No. 2227). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. WINTER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5297. A bill for the relief of Stanley V. Smith; with amendment (Rept. No. 2228). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5303. A bill for the relief of Solomon Brown; with amendment (Rept. No. 2229). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. GATHINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5464. A bill for the relief of Don E. Hicks; without amendment (Rept. No. 2230). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5571. A bill for the relief of Minnie Lowery and Winell Lowery; with amendment (Rept. No. 2231). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LEONARD W. HALL: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5771. A bill for the relief of Louis St. Jacques; with amendment (Rept. No. 2232). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. JENNINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5776. A bill for the relief of Albert DePonti; with amendment (Rept. No. 2233). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. JENNINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 6095. A bill for the relief of Wilbur P. Riddlesbarger and Josephine Riddlesbarger; with amendment (Rept. No. 2234). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FENTON: Committee on Claims. H. R. 6548. A bill for the relief of Isobell Shanks; with amendment (Rept. No. 2235). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 9798 (by request). A bill to establish a system of unemployment insurance for the maritime industry, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BUCK:

H. R. 9799. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, for the purpose of extending the marketing-quota provisions thereof to lettuce and to melons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GUYER of Kansas:

H. R. 9800. A bill amending the act of June 22, 1936, to authorize construction of cut-offs at and in the vicinity of the Liberty Bend of the Missouri River, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. IZAC:

H. R. 9801. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, for the purpose of extending the marketing-quota provisions thereof to lettuce and to melons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MAY:

H. R. 9802. A bill to expedite the strengthening of the national defense; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

H. R. 9803. A bill to authorize employees of the United States to testify on behalf of the District of Columbia and employees of the District of Columbia to testify on behalf of the United States and of the District of Columbia without loss of salary or annual leave; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 9804. A bill to amend and clarify section 6, subsection 2, of the act approved June 1, 1938, known as Juvenile Court Act of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SMITH of Washington:

H. R. 9805. A bill to authorize an appropriation to assist in defraying the expenses of the Columbia River International Exposition, a historical and electrical exposition to be held in Washington and Oregon during 1942; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. KELLER:

H. R. 9806. A bill to permit the Smithsonian Gallery of Art Commission to purchase a model of the winning design for the proposed Smithsonian Gallery of Art, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. LEA:

H. R. 9807. A bill to amend section 3 (b) of the Securities Act of 1933, as amended, so as to increase the maximum limit of the amount of an issue of securities which the Securities and Exchange Commission may exempt from such act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona:

H. R. 9808. A bill to authorize exchanges of lands within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Ariz.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BOREN:

H. J. Res. 545. Joint resolution authorizing the issuance of non-interest-bearing preparedness bonds in the amount of $2,000,000,000 to obtain funds to finance the national-defense program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RYAN:

H. J. Res. 546. Joint resolution to prohibit the abandonment of Army post; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. HALLECK:

H. R. 9809. A bill for the relief of Roy Gard; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HULL:

H. R. 9810. A bill for the relief of Elsie T. Bergerson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JONES of Ohio:

H. R. 9811. A bill granting an increase of pension to Lillie E. Chambers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 9812. A bill for the relief of Mary M. Canning; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. McLEOD:

H. R. 9813. A bill to authorize the presentation of a Distinguished Service Cross to Thomas E. Lane; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. O'LEARY:

H. R. 9814. A bill for the relief of Thomas V. Corey; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:

H. R. 9815. A bill granting a pension to Jack N. Nelson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

H. R. 9816. A bill granting a pension to Cornelia Jane Dalton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SWEENEY:

H. R. 9817. A bill for the relief of Sam LaSpina; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

PETITIONS, ETC.

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

8296. By Mr. ANDREWS: Resolution adopted by the Common Council of the City of Buffalo, N. Y., urging the enactment of the Wagner-Steagall housing bill; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

8297. Also, resolution adopted by the Board of Supervisors of Erie County, N. Y., urging enactment of the Federal Highway Act of 1940 (H. R. 9575); to the Committee on Roads.

8298. By Mr. BOLLES: Petition of the Board of Supervisors of St. Croix County, Wis., requesting that the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation be strongly urged to add Wisconsin cheese to its purchases of commodities; to the Committee on Agriculture.

8299. Also, petition of the Polish-American Club, Kenosha, Wis., representing approximately 300 citizens of Polish extraction, endorsing House bill 8654, for the relief of civilian population of Poland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

8300. Also, petition of the Federation Life Insurance of America, endorsing House bill 8654, for the relief of the civilian population of Poland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

8301. By Mr. FITZPATRICK: Petition of Harold F. Godfrey, of Bronx, New York, N. Y., protesting against the passage of the proposed Federal chain-store tax bill (H. R. 1) in its present form; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

8302. By Mr. FLAHERTY: Petition of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, Boston, Mass., urging the adoption of the so-called Norton bill (H. R. 9195); to the Committee on Labor.

8303. By Mr. HART: Petition of sundry voters and workers of the State of New Jersey, presented by Frank H. Westphal, Jersey City, N. J., protesting against the campaign against organized labor by Assistant United States Attorney General Thurman Arnold, under the Sherman Antitrust Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

8304. By Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY: Petition of the building and trades department of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., urging that $50,000,000 of relief funds be earmarked for equal division between flood-control and river-harbor work; to the Committee on Flood Control.

8305. Also, petition of the Electrical Square Club, No. 420, Inc., of Greater New York, concerning the Sherman Antitrust Act; to the Committee on Labor.

8306. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of the Metropolitan League of Savings and Loan Associations, New York City, favoring the passage of House bill 6971; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

8307. By Mr. O'BRIEN: Petition of sundry citizens of Rochester, N. Y., urging enactment of House bill 5620, the general welfare bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

8308. By Mr. SPRINGER: Resolution of Local No. 371, United Automobile Workers of America, New Castle, Ind.,

pertaining to the use of the Espionage Act and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation by certain employers; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

8309. By Mr. VREELAND: Resolution of the New Jersey State Identification Association, endorsing the policies and practices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its Director, J. Edgar Hoover; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

8310. By Mr. WHEAT: Petition of the Illinois National Farm Loan Association of Champaign, Ill., opposing the Jones-Wheeler farm-credit bill; to the Committee on Agriculture.

8311. By Mr. WOLCOTT: Petition of Mrs. Elias Plane and 61 others, of Mayville, Mich., requesting that I give my aid to House bill 8264, known as the Townsend Old Age Pension Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

8312. Also, petition of C. J. Thornton and 110 others, of Millington, Mich., and nearby towns, requesting that I vote for the discharge petition to bring upon the floor of the House House bill 8264, known as the Townsend bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

8313. By the SPEAKER: Petition of A. A. Richards, of Dayton, Ky., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to foreign affairs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

8314. Also, petition of the Montgomery Electrical Contractors' Association, Montgomery, Ala., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to United States Housing Authority program; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

8315. Also, petition of the Southwest Aviation Conference, Fairfax Airport, Kansas City, Kans., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House bill 9049 and Civil Aeronautics Authority; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

8316. Also, petition of the International Lodge, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers of North America, Pittsburgh, Pa., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to National Labor Relations Act; to the Committee on Labor.

8317. Also, petition of the National Public Housing Conference, New York City, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Senate bill 591, United States Housing Authority program; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

8318. Also, petition of the Coast Laborers Local No. 1153, supporting Senate bill 591; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

SENATE

MONDAY, MAY 20, 1940

(Legislative day of Wednesday, April 24, 1940)

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

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

Eternal God and Father of mankind by whose spirit we are moved to hear Thy voice calling us to an ever deeper devotion to Thy service: Grant unto us a continual sense of Thine abiding presence and overruling guidance in our daily life, that every gift of Thy bestowal may be dedicated unto Thee. As we live in the light of Thy divine love for us, may we bring to other lives the spirit which has its source in Thee alone, the spirit of peace, good will, and understanding.

In these days that try men's souls let the watchword of our Nation be singleness of heart and mind with Duty as the ruling principle. Do Thou bestow upon our leaders the commanding qualities of intellect, unwearied energy, unbounded courage, with masterful intensity of will to bring our world, the world for which Christ died, back to the ideals for which we were created when man, made but little lower than the angels, was to be crowned with glory and honor, with peace regnant in the hearts of men. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day of Thursday, May 16, 1940, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries, who also announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts and joint resolutions:

On May 7, 1940:

S. J. Res. 252. Joint resolution to amend section 5 (b) of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended, and for other purposes.

On May 11, 1940:

S. 3098. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to accept on behalf of the United States a bequest of certain personal property of the late Dudley F. Wolfe.

On May 14, 1940:

S. 1542. An act to authorize the Director of the Geological Survey, under the general supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, to acquire certain collections for the United States;

S. 1780. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire property for the Antietam battlefield site in the State of Maryland, and for other purposes;

S. 3198. An act to provide allowances for uniforms and equipment for certain officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps of the Army;

S. 3262. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to grant a right-of-way to the highway commission of the State of Montana;

S. 3470. An act to amend the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, as amended, to provide for enlistments in the Army of the United States in time of war or other emergency declared by Congress, and for other purposes;

S. 3654. An act to amend section 10, National Defense Act, as amended, with relation to the maximum authorized enlisted strength of the Medical Department of the Regular Army;

S. 3661. An act to amend the Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act, 1930, as amended, and for other purposes;

S. 3675. An act to authorize the establishment of boundary lines for the Wilmington National Cemetery, N. C.;

S. J. Res. 200. Joint resolution to provide for participation of the United States in the Golden Gate International Exposition at San Francisco in 1940, to continue the powers and duties of the United States Golden Gate International Exposition Commission, and for other purposes; and

S. J. Res. 217. Joint resolution to amend the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution authorizing Federal participation in the New York World's Fair, 1939, authorizing an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes," approved July 9, 1937, to provide for participation in the New York World's Fair, 1940, to authorize an appropriation therefor, and for other purposes.

On May 15, 1940:

S. 3633. An act to amend section 24e, National Defense Act, as amended, so as to add an alternative requirement for appointment in the Dental Corps.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 45) authorizing the temporary placement in the rotunda of the Capitol of a painting of the scene at the signing of the Constitution, and the holding of ceremonies in connection therewith.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President: