



# WANTED: A VICTORY CONGRESS

Record of a day in Congress. How a compact little group of defeatists fosters legislation-as usual, and worse. First of a series by Bruce Minton, with the assistance of Charles Humboldt.

This is the first of an important series of articles by our Washington editor, Bruce Minton, on the 77th Congress and the outlook for the next one, to be elected in November. The series has been written as a unit, but is being published in several parts because of space restrictions. The first article presents an actual typical day in Congress. On that day, as on so many others, the minority of appeasers and reactionary disrupters had things pretty much their own way. This series is being published in the belief that this situation can be changed and as a contribution toward helping effect that change. As the first article points out, "The nucleus of active war supporters already exists in both the Senate and the House." Working with this nucleus of those who can be relied on to back President Roosevelt's policies with deeds and not mere words, the American people have the opportunity in the next few months to transform their Congress into a powerful democratic instrument for total victory over the Axis.

Next week Mr. Minton will examine the record of the 77th Congress since Pearl Harbor.—The Editors.

Washington.

THE weather had turned cold, after a week of false spring. The wind swept off the Potomac, raw and biting—a typical Washington day in late winter. A typical day in Congress, too; the issues under discussion two months after Pearl Harbor were neither crucial nor trivial, neither conducive to dramatic clashes nor so routine that they failed to interest the legislators or the public. A typical day—Feb. 19, 1942—with a large number of congressmen going about their business as usual.

The United States of America had entered the mightiest and most crucial war in history. *Time* magazine characterized the week preceding as "The worst week of the war . . . a worse week for the United States than the fall of France; it was the worst week of the century. Such a week had not come to the United States since the blackest days of the Civil War."

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THE great majority of legislators were in Washington. Only a few failed to arrive at their offices that morning, bundled in heavy overcoats against the sharp bite in the air. Some handful were sick or had returned to their states on business, official and otherwise. But by ten o'clock most of the senators and representatives had greeted their secretaries and had begun



to run through their mail. Those on committees wandered into conference rooms more or less punctually. The others dictated or prepared a few remarks to be delivered that afternoon, or saw callers asking for help, advice, or patronage.

Rep. Robert L. Doughton of North Carolina, looking very fit and determined, strode into the New House Office Building, and made straight for the Ways and Means Committee chambers to the left of the entrance. As chairman, he liked to be early. He nodded to the clerks in the outer office, hung his hat on the coat rack, ran a hand over his bald head, and settled himself at the head of the long mahogany table in the conference room.

The other committeemen arrived presently. John D. Dingell of Michigan seemed a little belligerent and hostile as he pulled off his overcoat; the rest had the calm demeanor that is part of a congressman's equipment.

They ranged around the table, lighting cigars and cigarettes, polishing eye-glasses, talking quietly among themselves. Representative Doughton tapped lightly with the gavel for order. The hour had come to vote on disposition of HR 6559.

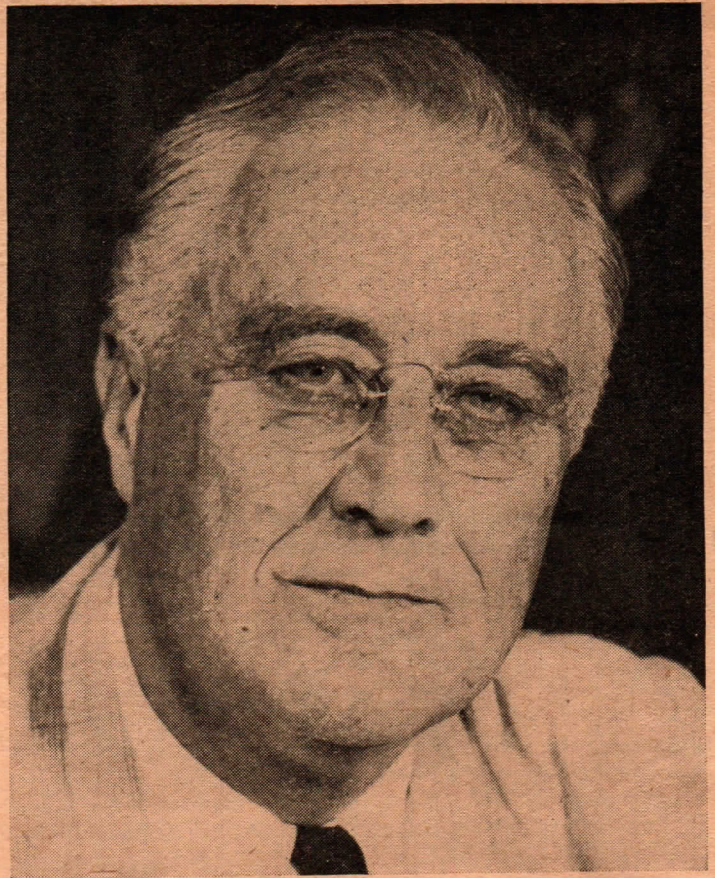
The committee had been hearing evidence since February 11—six days, morning and afternoon, except for the single session held on Saturday. The measure before them was of utmost significance: in a message to Speaker Rayburn a month before, President Roosevelt had written, "There will be widespread distress unless the federal government takes appropriate action to cope with the situation which is directly attributable to the war program. The present state and territorial unemployment compensation laws . . . are quite inadequate."

The proposed bill would appropriate \$300,000,000 in the form of unemployment benefits to war-displaced workers. Three or four million in all parts of the country (particularly in Detroit and other localities where automotive plants were located) would be idle within the next few weeks because of shutdowns accompanying conversion to war production. The Ways and Means Committee was asked to recommend legislation authorizing payments to these displaced workers of sixty percent of their wages (but not more than twenty-four dollars a week), and to train many of the temporary jobless for work in war industry. The administration considered the bill vital for morale, for the well being of an important section of the population, and particularly for speeding war production once conversion had been accomplished.

**T**HE evidence had been very complete. Sidney Hillman, Director of Labor, War Production Board, had testified at the first hearing in support of the bill despite its inadequacies. So had spokesmen of both the AFL and CIO, Paul V. McNutt, Mayor LaGuardia, Rt. Rev. John O'Grady of the Catholic Charities Conference, and many others. But eleven state governors or their proxies had expressed unqualified opposition.

The committee retired into executive session so that the record would not reveal the vote of individual congressmen. After patiently allowing Representative Dingell to excoriate them, they took final action.

The vote was based—so said the congressmen—on the fact that the legislation tended to violate "state's rights," tended to promote "federalization." The state governors objected to administration control of unemployment benefits—they wanted to hand out what patronage there might be for themselves. The administration protested that the federal government would leave all details to the states. The governors were not convinced. And those on the Ways and Means Committee who were hostile to the administration and quite apathetic to the war effort leaned toward the governors. The appeasers like Harold Knutson of Minnesota knew from the start how they would vote. Allen Treadway of Massachusetts, Benjamin Jarrett of Pennsylvania, Daniel Reed of New York, Donald McLean of New Jersey, and Frank Carlson of Kansas, all Republicans, had consistently opposed every administration



*Warning the nation against politics-as-usual, President Roosevelt told a press conference, February 6, as reported by the New York "Times," "that the United States at war needed congressmen regardless of party who will back up their government and who had a record of backing up the country in an emergency regardless of party."*

measure of importance since the war began. Chairman Doughton boasted a very mixed record—usually hostile to Roosevelt policies. The same could be said of the Democrats Aaron Ford of Mississippi, Wesley Disney of Oklahoma, Milton West of Texas, Frank Buck of California, and John Boehne of Indiana.

The committee supported 16-8 Representative Disney's motion to table. One newspaper commented that war-displaced workers must consider themselves tabled too. But as Frank Buck (so close to the big business-controlled Associated Farmers) remarked, the committee's decision eliminated any incentive to idleness. Workers couldn't try to get benefits instead of jobs. And Harold Knutson could feel satisfied that his sarcastic proposal a few days before to pay General MacArthur and his men time and one-half for overtime had produced results. Mr. Knutson cried, "Will Americans bow down to all the totalitarian decrees which will restrict their sugar, their motor cars, their oil, their apparel, their way of life, and their pocketbooks simply to satisfy the ambitions of those who understand victory to be the complete overthrow of their enemies?" Mr. Knutson prided himself on a sense of humor.

**W**HILE the Ways and Means Committee delivered the administration its worst defeat on domestic affairs since Pearl Harbor, the sub-committee on rubber of the Truman investigation into the national war program also gathered in executive session. Hearings in the little room at the Senate Office Building were also held behind closed doors—but not for the purpose of concealing votes. Information developed before the committee might very well have military importance. Caution was considered imperative.

The investigation concerned the failure to produce sufficient synthetic rubber—a question of major importance to the coun-



# CONGRESSIONAL SCREEN TEST



*W. M. Whittington*

*Harry F. Byrd*

*Clare E. Hoffman*

*Frank Boykin*

try, particularly since the recent loss of Singapore. Senator Truman, looking like an efficient high school teacher, dropped in for a short time to keep in touch with the sub-committee's progress. Tom Connally asked permission to attend because he wanted to be on hand to "protect" the chief witness, the political boss of Connally's state, the man from Texas—silver-haired, jovial, six-footer Jesse Jones, Secretary of Commerce, and holder of more administrative posts than any other man in Washington. Secretary Jones, as head of the Rubber Reserve Corporation, had been asked to explain the failure to produce synthetic rubber. He had resisted proposals to manufacture synthetic rubber until after December 7. Then abruptly he had announced a program to supply 400,000 tons by mid-1943. Soon he admitted this forecast had been over-optimistic. He had not yet been able to get construction of synthetic rubber plants under contract. It seemed after further thought that Jesse Jones could promise nothing before 1944.

The committee hopped all over the Secretary. Soft-spoken Senator Connally, an old-timer with the self-confidence of a man who can depend on the poll tax to return him to office whenever the unpleasant need to campaign rolls around, had come to protect, but catching the prevailing mood, decided to shift ground and attack. Poor Jesse Jones had a rough time. The Secretary was, however, used to rough times. Senators could shout and deplore—he still held the purse-strings, he still made policy.

The session was the first of a series on rubber. The senators picked up their notes as Secretary Jones hurried to assure them that the Standard Oil Co. had not withheld any formula for making synthetic rubber. In fact, just a week past—Wednesday to be exact—Standard Oil had offered its formula to the government. Naturally, the company wanted to be recom-

pensed. Its cooperation was most gratifying to the Secretary.

Jesse Jones advised the sub-committee not to worry about Standard Oil. The staff of hard-working, progressive young men who supplied the crusading members of the Truman investigation with hard facts, looked unconvinced. For his part, Jesse Jones seemed uneasy. Those who had gone before had found the Truman boys hard-hitting and diligent in the search for truth. And if the Secretary of Commerce had premonitions, he would soon find that his fears were justified. He was not going to be able to talk himself out of blame.

OVER in the Capitol building, in the ornate room past the Senate elevators and down the corridor to the left, the Committee on Education and Labor discussed defense housing in Washington, D. C. A lot of expert testimony was offered on the need for more hospitals, recreation facilities, apartments, roads, sewer systems. The influx of people to Washington created a serious and immediate problem. The senators fidgeted and whispered among themselves. Of course, it was well known that the House Lanham committee had stymied most war housing. Nor had the junket led by Rep. Frank "Made-for-Love" Boykin of Alabama helped; it had been costly enough for ten junkets, and worse, it had left a bad taste in the mouth of communities which had undergone the Boykin visitation. "Made-for-Love" ("Yes suh, would yuh b'lieve it, couple years ago a friend, he goes to Paree, sits down and writes a postcard—should of seen it—and all he puts on it is 'Made-for-Love, USA.' By God suh, it came right to me. Ev'ryone knows Made-for-Love. Yes suh, they all knows it—nice sort of way to be called, now ain't it?")—well, "Made-for-Love" hadn't done war housing any good, and now the Senate should act to clean up the mess.



*Burton K. Wheeler*

*Tom Connally*

*Dennis Chavez*

*Robert L. Doughton*



*These legislators have not passed it. Their record is not all-out for victory in the war.*



*Robert F. Rich*

*John E. Rankin*

*Millard E. Tydings*

*Walter F. George*

AT NOON the Senate convened. Sen. Robert Reynolds and "Cotton Ed" Smith were both ill and therefore absent. Senator Reynolds had recently been accused of being a member of the Cliveden set. He had failed to deny the charge—as had Senators Nye and Wheeler. These two appeasers were present on this typical day. Senators Pepper and Murray gave statements to the press, in which they warned against Cliveden activities.

After a formal prayer the senators drifted casually around the chamber. For several minutes Senators Hayden of Arizona and Walsh of Massachusetts paid tribute to one Ansel Wold, clerk of the Joint Committee on Printing. It was Mr. Wold's fortieth anniversary in government employ. McKellar offered a report on a conference with the House. Other senators submitted petitions, resolutions, and more reports, and received permission to extend remarks in the appendix of the Congressional Record. As the preliminaries ended, Senator Hill of Alabama suggested the absence of a quorum, the clerk called the roll, and the senators rushed in from the ante-rooms to answer to their names.

The session was on. Sen. Harry Flood Byrd rose to direct the debate on repealing a bill granting pension privileges to members of Congress which he had originally introduced. The bill had aroused angry public opposition—largely because it had been misrepresented. When the House and Senate approved pensions for themselves, a "Bundles for Congress" movement had frightened the legislators. The "Bundles" movement was a fake. It had been promoted—behind the scenes and with the intention of harming the nation's unity—by a man, according to Senator Mead of New York, who had "for many years represented Japanese business interests in this country," while another active participant was at one time "the accredited

representative to this country of one of the Axis nations."

Senator Byrd, head of the "economy bloc" (devoted to the tactic of badgering the administration by shouting extravagance at every opportunity) introduced a repealer to his pension bill. Senator Byrd is a very serious and powerful gentleman from Virginia; he looks like a slightly inebriated comedian but in truth he is neither inebriated nor funny. He got off to a long start followed by Burton of Ohio who talked of "setting a precedent as to what we regard as essential or non-essential expenditures." La Follette rose to object to the way Senator Walsh monopolized the floor for the Byrd supporters: "I make the point of order that neither the senator from Massachusetts nor any other senator can retain the floor indefinitely and farm it out." Vice-President Wallace in the chair agreed and so ordered.

Everything went smoothly until Senator Downey of California offered a substitute for the Byrd repealer providing thirty dollars a week in benefits for the destitute aged sixty years and over. This precipitated a debate on procedure. Downey withdrew his substitute and offered the benefit plan as an amendment to the Byrd amendment. On further objection, he agreed to let the Byrd repealer come to a vote and then to offer his old-age pension proposal as an amendment to a Naval Affairs Committee bill. While Downey's intentions were good, his proposal was hardly timely in view of the need to concentrate on measures which are immediately required for the war effort.

THE Senate defeated congressional pensions—thirty-seven reversed original votes—after Byrd yielded the floor to Chavez of New Mexico. In a burst of grass-roots sentiment, Chavez read excerpts from letters similar to the one he de-



*W. Lee O'Daniel*

*Harold Knutson*

*Leland Ford*

*Gerald P. Nye*



scribed as coming from "a small country town, but from a Christian, patriotic American mother." Every letter had a strong America First flavor to it—they asked impossible feats to help General MacArthur, they used the plight of the American defenders in Bataan to heap abuse on the administration and the war effort. "Is our government going to permit these New Mexico men to die like rats in a trap?" demanded a "Committee of Fathers and Mothers." A lady describing herself as "An American Mother" wanted to know "Are there no red-blooded men in the air forces of the Army and Navy . . . are there not a few red-blooded men in command?" Chavez could not resist including letters that charged: "It looks like we are sold out to the British . . ." and "Why shouldn't the soldiers strike for better pay? . . ." and "They know they will be deserted, yes, cold-bloodedly deserted. . . ."

Senator Chavez was making his contribution to prosecuting the war—with a deluge of defeatism. Not so long ago, the Senator had delivered speeches fed to him by Louis Ward, Coughlin's emissary. Today, no one bothered to answer Chavez's libelous remarks. But Senator Tydings appreciated the tribute paid him by Chavez for a speech delivered some days ago in which Tydings had called the government "an overgrown monstrosity from top to bottom." Chavez declared that this sentiment expressed the thoughts of the mothers of New Mexico.

Downey's old-age plan kept the Senate in session overtime. Majority leader Barkley challenged figures on cost, and Downey lost his temper—apologizing somewhat later for his sharpness. Walter George of Georgia got up to drag into the debate a subject close to his heart—the evil-doing of the administration. Said George, apropos of nothing: "They [the public] sense the existence of things which should be corrected. . . . A few things float to the top—a dancer appears on the stage and a moving-picture actor is brought here from California to do something, God only knows what." George's attempt to revive the onslaught of a few days before on the Office of Civilian Defense, Mrs. Roosevelt, Dean James M. Landis, and the administration in general, elicited no response. The senators were temporarily sick of the subject. George got credit for the try. But he had selected the wrong moment. Some other time. . . .

After countless words, in which everyone voting against Downey's proposal made very clear that he loved and respected the aged, particularly those old people who didn't have enough to eat, old-age benefits were defeated 49-22. The senators hurriedly passed a bill legalizing the planting of 75,000 acres of guayule rubber in the Western Hemisphere. Without further ado, they provided increases of twenty percent in basic pay for enlisted men, ten percent for officers serving the Army and Navy in foreign countries. They authorized a new canal lock at Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.

Senator O'Daniel of Texas—"Pass the Biscuits Pappy"—who got elected by singing hill-billy songs and by paying homage to his mother, his wife, his children, and himself, introduced a measure to stop violence in labor disputes. There had been almost no strikes, let alone violence, since Pearl Harbor, but O'Daniel was not to be dissuaded. Although it was late and most of the senators had departed, he cried out: "While we read of battles raging on many fronts and hang our heads in grief and sorrow at the loss of our loved ones, our foreign enemies read of hand-to-hand fighting in front of our defense factories and rejoice because this force and violence is stopping production of guns, ammunition, and war equipment so sorely needed by our armed forces. . . ."

No one bothered to point out that the senator from Texas was deliberately lying. To the credit of the senators, however, they did not accept O'Daniel's anti-labor proposal. They voted it down and went home.

The session had been unusually long. The senators had

approved more legislation of greater importance than they had passed in many a day.

OVER on the other side of the Capitol, the House session proved a good deal livelier and three hours shorter. The House passed no legislation. The appeasers and the labor-haters monopolized the floor and permitted little relevant discussion. Some representatives made extended speeches for the record. Representatives are always making speeches for the record. And being more numerous and younger and not so important as senators, their conduct usually appears more animated.

As they gathered on this afternoon of February 19, General MacArthur reported heavy Japanese pressure on the right flank of American forces in Bataan. President Roosevelt canceled a press conference because of a cold, but saw top defense leaders on shipping, and spent some time with Dr. T. V. Soong going over Chinese military and supply problems. Secretary of War Stimson told the press, "We are building an offensive force on the land and in the air, and we shall seize every opportunity for attack. . . ." The Navy Department released the first list of 2,208 American prisoners of war. Prime Minister Churchill shook up his Cabinet in response to demands from the British people for more strenuous prosecution of the war. Soviet armies pushed into White Russia, threatening German winter headquarters at Smolensk. Enemy submarines shelled the US base of Aruba and sank several tankers. Burma was threatened and the Chinese rushed reinforcements to aid the British forces.

On February 19 the debate in the House bore little relation to events in the rest of the world. In fact, no hint was heard in the House of the testimony given in a Washington courtroom by George Hill, secretary of Rep. Hamilton Fish. Hill had linked a number of legislators to the German agent George Sylvester Viereck—among them, Hamilton Fish, Martin Sweeney, William Stratton, George Tinkham, Clare Hoffman, Harold Knutson (as well as Senators Reynolds, Nye, and Brooks). These appeasers, along with their far too numerous friends, ran the show in Congress on this typical day. The progressives in both chambers remained silent. They lacked leadership on the floor of Congress. They had been slapped around so much that they now fought back only on major issues. The noise came from reaction; the House progressives (like Eliot and Casey of Massachusetts, Coffee of Washington, Marcantonio of New York, Hook of Michigan, Fitzgerald and Kopplemann of Connecticut, Sabbath of Illinois—to name only a few) still had not found the way to exert their full strength at every possible opportunity in every session.

After the House prayer and routine formalities, Bradley of Michigan rose to favor the building of a canal lock in Sault Ste. Marie. Rich of Pennsylvania, isolationist and hater of the administration, asked "Is this that 'pork barrel' bill that the gentleman's committee is going to bring in here?" Rankin of Mississippi, high-voiced and excitable, who was called a "real statesman" by Gerald L. K. Smith, blurted out: "No; it is what the gentleman from Pennsylvania may call a 'pork barrel' bill since it is not all in Pennsylvania. . . ."

The Sault Ste. Marie locks were forgotten. The conduct of the House is apt to be chaotic, passing from one subject to the next without apparent transition. February 19 was no exception. In the glass-roofed, half-mooned chamber, with bald, complacent, fat Speaker Rayburn presiding, the representatives flitted from subject to subject. In the galleries a few tourists came to listen and be edified, but found it hard to make out what was going on. The correspondents in the balcony over the Speaker's desk leaned with heads on their hands staring into space. The radio gallery was deserted except for one girl and a man whispering intently. In the press room, the poker game helped pass the time.





ARMS  
FOR  
VICTORY

HARRY  
BRIDGES

"Deport That Man!"

BIDDLE

GP



Leland Ford, beak-nosed, considered by friends to resemble an eagle, and by his many enemies to be a dead ringer for a buzzard, took the floor. He shouted: "We have Fritz Kuhn. . . . We have Robert Noble. . . . We have Harry Bridges. . . . I hope the House will begin to think seriously about getting rid of some of these subversive interests. . . ."

Ford of California sat down, content. He had smeared Harry Bridges as per schedule. Woodrum, Rich, and Jarman paid tribute to Ansel Wold, forty years in government service. Fitzpatrick of New York protested against certain remarks by Rich of the day before. Rich, looking like a cartoon depiction of the typical prohibitionist, had said: "If the President of the United States wanted to do something for America, he would stop his political meddling . . . he would at least try . . . to win the war he successfully maneuvered us into all over the world." Fitzpatrick demanded an apology for the last sentence.

Rich: "I do not apologize for those remarks."

Fitzpatrick reprimanded Rich. McCormack of Massachusetts, majority leader, told Rich "statements of that kind are the best tools that could be furnished Hitler and the Japanese."

The subject was dropped. Mrs. Norton of New Jersey offered an amendment to the Employment Stabilization Act of 1931 to permit certain surveys to be made in relation to post-war planning. The President, supported by the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and War, the Federal Works Agency, and the Bureau of Budget recommended such surveys. The administration requested House approval.

Dirksen of Illinois, consistent reviler of the President's foreign policy, questioned the cost of planning. He remarked: "And for what purposes will this money be used? For surveys!"

Whittington of Mississippi: "In all charity, this bill is wholly unnecessary in the first place, and in the second place it is exceedingly unwise." With hands on his considerable bay-window, scowling through his bushy eyebrows in imitation of John L. Lewis, Representative Whittington delivered the opinion that the National Resources Planning Board produced "boondoggling and other fantastic projects. . . ."

Mrs. Norton pointed out that the bill had received the unanimous approval of the Labor Committee.

The amendment sanctioning the surveys was defeated 252-104. Cox, Dies, Anderson of California, Smith of Virginia, Thomas of New Jersey, Sumners, Brooks, Leland Ford, and Vinson joined the happy majority defying the administration.

After the vote, and while Faddis of Pennsylvania praised the House for defeating "visionary, impractical, star-gazing planners" and "all of their rattle-brained ideas in regard to post-war planning," most of the representatives left the chamber. Some lounged behind the balustrade in the rear, chatting and smoking (smoking is allowed in the corridor circling the last row of leather seats). Some went downstairs for lunch, where Representative Dies sat in lonely splendor yelling across the room at the other diners. But many returned to their offices where they saw visitors and finished up their correspondence. The page boys lolled in the corners, or idled to one side of the speaker's rostrum.

The speaker recognized Clare E. Hoffman, appeaser, pro-fascist, friend of Gerald L. K. Smith. He came to the microphone, and began his usual tirade against organized labor. Rep. Hoffman wears suits without pockets—a peculiarity never explained. One colleague suggested that Hoffman had foresworn pockets because of the company he keeps. The gentleman from Michigan looks something like Will Rogers—and knows it. He tries to sound like Will Rogers—but it is generally conceded that he fails.

"Then the War Board, this creature of the President. . . ." thundered Hoffman. Gifford of Massachusetts, the wit, asked

for the floor. Hoffman yielded. "God help the employer in every instance these days, as I see it," said the supercilious Gifford. He sat down. Hoffman continued: "This administration does not care as much about winning this war or about national defense . . . as it does about keeping the good will of labor leaders. . . ."

Leland Ford jumped up. He decried "false philosophy preached to our country by groups who are still in our government. . . . You cannot have a government half socialistic, paternalistic, or communistic and half democracy. . . . This country may lose the war. . . ." He denounced Philip Murray, Harry Bridges, Secretary of Labor Perkins, Sidney Hillman, Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers. . . .

Hoffman (interrupting in his best Will Rogers drawl): "This man Reuther is the same man that the administration was taking around in a plane when he was trying to give us some idea of what the Reuther plan was?"

Ford (grabbing the bait): "Yes. I think he is in a better position now to sabotage the program than at any time before."

Hoffman: "He is the one who with his brother went to Russia and sent back the message to fight for Soviet Russia?" (Reuther was in the Soviet Union in 1934. He said nothing about fighting for Russia at the time.)

Ford: "Yes. He is the same one who advocated bloody revolution in this country. . . . This government is shot through with these mealy mouthed, half-baked, socialistic, racketeering incompetents. . . . I am a friend of the President of the United States and a friend of the administration and the American people when I beg them to see the light. . . ."

The House adjourned at 3:50 PM.

IN THE evening New York Rep. Vito Marcantonio, leading progressive, defender of the trade unions, supporter of the administration, and wholeheartedly devoted to building national unity in the interests of a victory over the Axis, addressed a nationwide radio audience. He charged: "I have been informed by the Department of Justice that at no time has Mr. Dies turned over to it any of the information which he stated would have prevented Pearl Harbor. . . . Instead of giving the Attorney General information which he said he had, Dies gave the Attorney General mere evasions, commonly known as the good old-fashioned run-around."

While Marcantonio spoke, Sen. Walter George and Rep. Robert L. Doughton, chairmen respectively of the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee, met with heads of the Treasury Department in Senator George's apartment at the Hotel Mayflower. They discussed the administration's tax program. Senator George let it be known later that all points of difference would be ironed out—he hoped. But the chairmen of the congressional committees also let it be known that they favored a stiff sales tax—and if the administration continued to oppose this measure, perhaps there would have to be a showdown in Congress. . . .

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FEB. 19, 1942. The wind died down in the evening, but the weather remained cold and severe. Tomorrow was another day. The poll taxers, the compact little group of fascists and appeasers, the labor haters—they, and the old timers who had forgotten democracy for machine politics, would make the next session a replica of the one before.

But the United States is engaged in a dangerous war for national survival. The nucleus of active war supporters already exists in both the Senate and the House. It is time, indeed, for the American people to begin reclaiming Congress from the minority of disruptionists who defame representative government and debase the democratic process of a free people. For this minority has betrayed a high trust.

BRUCE MINTON

(with the assistance of Charles Humboldt)