

## The Dies Committee

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENT E. KELLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, January 26, 1939*RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. KENT E. KELLER, OF ILLINOIS, ON  
JANUARY 20, 1939

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, I feel compelled to call the attention of the Members of this House to the hearings before what is almost universally known as the Dies committee. Three volumes of these hearings are already off the press, and a fourth one, the last, is expected soon. These hearings are for the special use of the Members of this House and are to be had from the committee for the asking. They should all be obtained by every Member and should be studied carefully, including the fourth volume, before any action should even be contemplated, either by the members of the Committee on Rules or by the Members of this House.

A casual reading of these hearings will show that very many of the Nation's outstanding educators, thinkers, philanthropists, divines, and statesmen are classed therein as Communists or fomenters and abettors of communism.

It is an astonishing fact, but a fact, nevertheless, that the names of most of the forward-looking men and women of the past 25 years are printed under this classification as Communists or encouragers or abettors of communism. Not only are the great and the good now living thus smeared in this Government print, under the seal of this House, but the memories of the great dead are not sacred against these infamous attacks.

I am preparing a partial list of these to be submitted to this House and to the country at large. As a suggestion of what this list will contain, it is only necessary here to say that it includes the name of Jane Addams, one of the unselfish, sainted women of America, who gave her whole life to the service of humanity, now dead these many years. In this list is the name of Helen Keller, whose life and achievements have for many years been an inspiration to the handicapped children of the world. It contains the name of one of the colleagues of the members of the Dies committee who voted his confidence in these men in supporting the resolution which created that committee, Herbert Bigelow, one of the able outstanding courageous men of America, upon whose revered head these hearings heap the ignominy of "Communist sympathizer."

There are hundreds of innocent men and women whom these hearings accuse—not a few only, but literally hundreds, who had no notice of any such accusation and who have had no opportunity of facing their accusers and demanding proof of their crimes or being permitted to defend their characters. These accusations are wholesale, and never a single person has been notified of the accusation, nor a single one been given the opportunity of defending his good name, though every one whose name is printed in these hearings will be proscribed if these infamies are permitted to go by unchallenged, if the wronged citizens are subjected to such un-American abuse. What is going to be the reaction of these American citizens to these charges when they learn they are classed as Communists or Communist abettors and sympathizers? And what excuse can this House give if it votes to extend the time of the Dies committee without first studying with great care these mass accusations? Because it must be clear to anyone that if this House votes to extend the time of the Dies committee, by that vote it approves the statements made in these hearings and makes them permanent in the records of the American Government.

I am told there is already an understanding among a majority of the members of the Committee on Rules to rush through this new resolution extending the life of the Dies committee, even though the hearings are not yet printed and no study of the hearings has been made. I am loath to believe any such rumor because that alone would be contrary to the customs of this House, or of any and all other legislative bodies.

There is no need for speed in the consideration of this resolution.

If a new committee were appointed, the rules and customs of this House would not justify its going into action during this vitally important session of Congress.

But more important than all this, the House could not justify the assassination of the characters of hundreds of American citizens as the record now stands, without first hearing all before condemning any.

Let all who are on these lists of the proscribed be notified of the accusations against them. Then let them be heard by the Committee on Rules or an independent committee to be appointed for that purpose. When all the evidence of guilt has been presented and the evidence in defense has been considered, let Mr. Dies retract his charges against all who are found innocent and then blazon the names of the guilty to the skies. Such a hearing of the accused alone can justify any action by this House to further put within the hands of this committee the power to smear American citizens by irresponsible pronouncement.

I therefore appeal to the Members of this House to get a full understanding of the tragic importance of these hearings in considering any extension of the life of a committee which has in the name of this body accused so many and tried none.

We cannot justify any action until this whole matter of guilt or innocence has been threshed out and finally decided.

It is perfectly evident that the House does not know what the committee has done in regard to the "character assassinations" and "smearings" in which it has engaged. I am sure that if the House can be informed on this subject the action on the resolution will be an entirely different one from what it will be if the matter is permitted to be rushed through.

I, therefore, make this suggestion that you use your acquaintance with the members of the Rules Committee and with your congressional friends to prevent any action by the Rules Committee until the last volume of the hearings is printed and sufficient time given to study the whole 3,000 pages before any report shall be made. Providing for the extension of the life of the Dies committee will be accepted as an expression of the belief of the House in the truth of these statements. It, therefore, occurs to me that every action ought to be taken to prevent any consideration of the extension of the Dies committee until the testimony is all printed and carefully studied. Furthermore, I suggest that each man who has been smeared should demand of the Rules Committee the right to appear before that committee and face Mr. Dies who is also a member of the Rules Committee, and demand proof of his allegations or an official retraction and thoroughgoing public apology.

I am writing to 50 men and possibly a hundred along this same line. If it strikes you as it does me, it will be unnecessary for me to suggest that you wire the chairman of the Rules Committee, Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH, and Miss Mary Thompson, clerk of the Committee on Rules, and demand these two things: The delay here suggested and the right to appear and face Mr. Dies in a public hearing.

I am submitting for the RECORD as a part of my remarks a radio address which I delivered over a national hook-up over WOL, Washington City, Friday evening, January 20, 1939, as follows:

## SCHOOL FOR SLANDER

The American people very properly always want to know the facts about everything that interests them or that may affect them.

I think this is especially true at the present time concerning what is known as the Dies committee.

The so-called Dies committee was authorized by House Resolution 282 "for the purpose of conducting an investigation" into the facts of un-American activities in the United States.

It was not for the purpose of going out and attacking either the institutions or the personnel of the American Government.

The Dies committee heard more than 100 witnesses, filled four thick volumes with testimony printed at Government expense, and has filed a report with the House of Representatives.

In this report, Chairman MARTIN DIES declares that he has looked upon his work and finds it fearless and free from partisanship. On the basis of past performance he now asks the House of Representatives to continue his committee for 2 years and to appropriate \$150,000 for its work.

On the basis of past performance, I am forced to disagree with Mr. DIES and to charge that the real purpose of his committee, as conducted by him, was not to uncover facts relating to foreign influences, but to engage in partisan politics.

The history of congressional investigations is a long and, for the most part, honorable one. Past congressional investigating committees have been distinguished for the scrupulousness with which they sought and handled the evidence which came before them.

They first attempted to lay basic ground work of knowledge on the general subject which they were to study. When they were well grounded in basic facts they set about to accomplish their field work. They were careful to secure from reliable sources such basic documents as bank records, books of account, correspondence, etc. They questioned all possible witnesses to establish a basis for corroborating particular facts and examined the credibility of witnesses before bringing them to the stand. It has been the standard practice of congressional committees to invite or subpoena to their hearings all persons whose names or activities might be attacked or mentioned adversely by the other witnesses and give them the opportunity to defend themselves. It has been the standard practice to put not one witness, unsupported by documents or previous study, on the stand, but as many as may be found necessary. These are the practices which have been followed in practically all investigations which had respect for fact and veracity.

But there has been an exception, and that a most notorious one. That exception has degraded the high prestige of congressional investigation. It has violated all the canons of common sense, all the rules of congressional decency, and all the examples set by previous congressional committees. This exception is the committee headed by Hon. MARTIN DIES, of Texas. Under his direction it has evolved a technique of investigation peculiarly its own.

Witnesses were summoned without regard to their credibility or allowed to testify at their own request and at their own expense without examination into the motives that animated them.

Not the slightest attempt was made either in the field or after these witnesses arrived in Washington to examine any documents, books of account, or correspondence, or to obtain any corroborating information as to their reliability.

A few feeble gestures in this direction were made during the last days of the hearings, but by that time the record was full of a type of "evidence" for which Mr. DIES has been apologizing ever since. Mr. DIES claims that his evidence would be admitted by any court in the land. I agree with Mr. DIES that courts would accept the evidence presented before his committee. They would accept it, however, not to establish the facts testified to but to reveal the mental state and the disreputable character of the witnesses themselves.

Practically all of the evidence was hearsay. It came not from people who are participating in un-American activities, or those who knew the facts directly, but from people telling about other people and what they thought or had heard it whispered that these other people did, said, or believed. Not one of the principals actually engaged in un-American activities was brought before the Dies committee to be confronted with documentary evidence and to admit or disclaim guilt. No reputable officer of any organization alleged to be found engaging in un-American activities investigated by Mr. DIES was called by him to testify. The documents offered were not those secured and examined by the committee and identified by responsible persons. They were whatever books and papers witnesses happened to bring with them. The record is absolutely barren of any examination of books of accounts or records of any organization concerned.

Congressman DIES has made much of the fact that he was limited as to funds and failed to get cooperation from administrative agencies of the Government. He has used this argument to excuse his committee for setting an all-time record for what President Roosevelt characterized as "unfair and un-American" methods of procedure.

In choosing its chief investigator it was not lack of funds but lack of even the most elementary regard for the public interest that led the committee to select Edward F. Sullivan for the job. Any inquiry into Mr. Sullivan's past would have revealed its unsavory character and established the total unfitness of Sullivan to serve as anything but the object of investigation himself by a committee authorized to look into un-American activities. Government agencies, of whose uncooperative spirit Mr. DIES has complained, would have been glad to tell him the facts about Sullivan.

Sullivan was at one time on the pay roll of the Railway Audit & Inspection Co., a notorious antilabor detective agency. Just what Mr. DIES' ace investigator did in the line of labor espionage is not known. But the un-American activities of the Railway Audit & Inspection Co. in fomenting labor disputes for its own profit and interfering with the rights of workers are matters of public record.

Mr. Sullivan's part in these activities might well have been a matter of interest to the Dies committee.

Affidavits in the possession of Labor's Non-Partisan League establish that Sullivan had long been busy in labor affairs. Sometimes he was trying to bribe labor representatives to make false statements about their union or union officials. On at least one occasion he offered to make a cash sale to labor representatives of information damaging to the employer representative with whom they were negotiating. With apparent impartiality, Eddie Sullivan would sell to either employers or workers if the bid was high enough.

Sullivan did not confine his work to the labor field but also took a flier in politics. Like the Dies committee which hired him he played anti-Roosevelt politics, and played them in the name of Americanism. During the 1936 Presidential campaign the malodorous James True and Associates came into considerable prominence. Operating under the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo-Dies slogan of "save America from the Jewish Communists," this subversive outfit conducted a campaign of slander against the President of the United States. The associates in James True and Associates were none other than Chief Investigator Sullivan. Typical of the kind of un-American propaganda spread by True and Sullivan is the following quotation from their bulletin, Industrial Control Reports, of August 1, 1936:

"Previous to Communist outbreaks in Europe, the Governments of Germany, Hungary, Spain, France, and England became infested with a preponderance of Jews, just as our Government has become infested under the reign of Roosevelt. This also follows the scheme of the protocols of Zion and is another fact that must be faced."

Sullivan, as chief investigator, naturally did not see fit to call James True as a witness before the Dies committee, nor to investigate his own anti-Semitic and anti-Roosevelt past.

The report of the Dies committee stresses the importance of racial and religious tolerance to the American way of life. Yet it put in charge of its investigation a man who had instigated prejudice not only against American Jews but had carried on anti-Catholic propaganda as well.

Mr. Sullivan's past was a secret only from the committee that employed him. It was so well known to labor and progressive groups and to the newspapermen who covered the Dies hearings that in due time it caught up with him. A storm of protest demanding that the Dies committee investigate its own investigator finally broke. Weeks later, the committee let Mr. Sullivan go—"for reasons of economy" as Mr. DIES was at pains to explain. The committee has never offered the public any apology or explanation for the character of its "ace sleuth" nor for its failure to investigate his past record before or after hiring him.

So remarkable an "investigator" naturally turned up some remarkable witnesses. And naturally he showed a great reticence to inquire into their records and credibility. Sullivan was as ready to accept witnesses on their own recommendations as the Dies committee had been to accept him.

Mr. DIES has repeatedly insisted that he didn't believe everything he heard. But he has never disclaimed the testimony of particular witnesses, nor made available to the public the facts that bring their credibility into question. He has never explained to the public, nor to the Congress, that Alvin Halpern, a witness brought to Washington by Investigator Sullivan, has a police record in Massachusetts, and was sentenced for larceny in a District of Columbia court on the same day he told all to the Dies committee.

The committee had printed at public expense hundreds of pages of "testimony" by one Walter Settle. Did the committee base its report, or any part of its report, on Steele's testimony? Mr. DIES has not told us. But the report itself would seem to indicate that the committee put some credence at least in Steele's smear of every organization in the United States, from the Catholic Association for International Peace to the Junior Red Cross. Excepted only were the 114 organizations Settle himself claimed to represent. And these included the American Vigilante Federation, the Associated Farmers, and the American Indian Federation. The Associated Farmers, untouched by DIES, are now under investigation by another congressional committee which has startling evidence of their un-American activities. The American Indian Federation is a racket which preys on poverty-stricken Indians, extorting \$1 from them on the promise that they will each receive \$3,000 in return from the Federal Government.

Mrs. Alice Lee Jemison, another spokeswoman for the American Indian Federation, smeared the Department of the Interior and the officials of the Indian Service before the Dies committee. Later she appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee to protest the appointment of Felix Frankfurter to the Supreme Court.

Finally, the American Vigilante Association, which Steele also represented, and to which he presumably gave a clean bill of health, has been roundly denounced by the late Speaker of the House, the Honorable Henry T. Rainey.

The Dies committee did not question Mr. Steele about his questionable sponsors, nor did it embarrass him by asking about his own activities. Steele is editor of a scurrilous, un-American magazine, the National Republic. This magazine and Walter Steele himself are tied up with the anti-Semitic and un-American Silver Shirts. But this also was a matter of no interest to the Dies committee. It would take all the time and money that the Dies committee had at its disposal to expose the shady histories of its star witnesses.

It heard with interest the story told by William Gernsey, who, by his own confession, worked as a labor spy in the employ of the Corporations Auxiliaries, a private espionage agency.

It heard Jacob Spolansky, who perjured himself before the committee when he testified under oath that he had never been a labor spy; this in spite of the fact that the records of the General Motors Corporation show that they paid him \$480 for labor espionage; this in spite of the fact that Spolansky also did labor espionage for the National Metal Trades Association and for the Chrysler Corporation.

It heard C. Nelson Sparks, one time mayor of Akron, and respectfully addressed him as "Mayor Sparks." But it did not ask him about his work as coorganizer with Pearl Berghoff, of the notorious Akron Law and Order League; nor did it remind him that the strong-arm methods in which he engaged with "Stinkfoot" McVeagh and "Chowderhead" Cohen, legendary figures in America's strikebreaking history, elicited a sharp rebuke from the press and the chamber of commerce of his own city.

Perhaps some of the witnesses to whom the Dies committee gave its critical attention belong in the category of Edwin Banta, whose flights of imagination can be explained on the ground that he has been an inmate of the Bellevue psychopathic ward. To this class belongs Albert Littock, who was expelled from the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota as a mental case.

But most of the witnesses were not so crazy that they didn't know that they had been called in to do a political job.

Mark Gehan, who brought Kittcock on from Minnesota, was well aware of the election that could be influenced by testimony before the Dies committee. He and his brother were both active in the campaign of the Republican candidate for Governor in Minnesota. Gehan met Dies in Detroit and showed him the cooperation Federal agencies are charged with withholding. Gehan saved Dies a lot of trouble by getting six blank subpoenas, dashing home to round up witnesses to smear Governor Benson and the Farmer-Labor Party, and hauling them back to Washington to testify. By Gehan's own admission, there would have been more than the six anti-Benson witnesses who finally appeared, except for the fact that Dies had imprudently run out of subpoenas.

Harper Knowles is perhaps the most vicious example of the committee's political skulduggery during the election campaign. For some time prior to 1936 Knowles was head of the California American Legion's committee on subversive activities. His misconduct in this capacity was so notorious that the State convention of the Legion held in Hollywood in 1936 repudiated Knowles. Without authorization from the Legion and entirely on his own hook, Knowles then set up what he called a "radical research department." He told the Dies committee that he spoke for the California Legion's "radical research committee," of which he was chairman, and that the voluminous brief he had prepared was submitted on behalf of the American Legion, Department of California. The Legion promptly denied both Knowles and his brief. But Mr. Dies did not take out the statement of Knowles or announce the Legion's repudiation of his story. Knowles' closest associate is Col. Henry R. Sanborn, professional vigilante and leader of the ax-handle brigade in the Salinas lettuce strike of 1936. Knowles has been the secretary of the Associated Farmers for some time. In September he took leave of absence from this position, probably to prepare for the Dies hearings.

What is the Associated Farmers? The La Follette committee has just completed its investigation of this organization, which is probably the most dangerously un-American cabal to flourish on American soil. It is financed by big industrialists, the railroad and utility magnates, and the corporation "farmers." It has a 100 percent anti-New Deal program.

If the La Follette committee holds hearings on the Associated Farmers and makes the full story public, we shall have a startling exposure of what un-American activities really mean and of the sources from which the overthrow of democracy is threatened.

Why did Dies shield the Associated Farmers and use their secretary as a star witness? The reason was purely political. The Republican candidate for the Senate in California, Phillip Bancroft, has long been active in the Associated Farmers. He withdrew from the position of vice president of the Associated Farmers in order to run for the Senate. Knowles' purpose in offering his services to the Dies committee (at his own expense) and Dies' purpose in giving him the opportunity to testify were the same. Knowles appeared before the committee in order to smear Sheridan Downey, Bancroft's Democratic opponent in the election, and the Democratic candidate, Governor Olson.

The Knowles-Bancroft-Associated Farmers-Dies plot was defeated by an aroused electorate in California. The Democratic candidates were elected and the Associated Farmers suffered, their candidates and their program were repudiated. But this victory for the New Deal and its progressive supporters should not blind us to the dangers inherent in what Chairman Dies is pleased to call his "unbiased and nonpartisan" method of conducting an "investigation."

In Michigan the job against former Governor Murphy, now United States Attorney General, was done by the perjurer Spolansky, by Ralph Knox, an expelled member of the auto worker's union, and by Paul V. Gadola, among others. Gadola is the Republican judge whose writs ordering the evacuation of the two strike-bound Fisher Body plants in February 1937 the sheriff refused to execute.

Speaking of the need for national unity, the President, in his opening address to the Seventy-sixth Congress, said:

"The nation is well organized for a strictly period of time, meet defeat if it

is unnerved by self-distrust, endangered by class prejudice, by dissensions between capital and labor, by false economy, and by other unsolved problems at home."

In the name of Americanism and of racial, religious, and class tolerance, the Dies committee has fomented mutual distrust among all sections of the American people. The very character of the witnesses to whom it gave a forum is evidence of that fact. The testimony to which it listened without rebuke is rife with prejudice and incitement to prejudice. The committee's report expressly calls for an investigation of the National Labor Relations Board, presumably along the lines which have characterized the committee's antics in the past. Such an investigation would permit the Board's enemies to air their views as "facts." It would allow lawbreaking employers to make a case against the Board before a congressional committee, ignoring the fact that courts where rules of evidence and the practices of American jurisprudence prevail have in most instances decided the case already, and in favor of the Labor Board.

Ex parte proceedings against Cabinet officers, the President's wife, elected officials, and the representatives and organizations of labor do not make for tolerance nor for national unity. They sow distrust of government, of progressives by other progressives, feed the unfortunate division in the ranks of labor, and undermine by discrediting the democratic process itself.

The introduction of racial and religious prejudice into a national election campaign is no service to party or national unity. Anti-Semitic propaganda was rife in New York, California, and Minnesota during the fall campaign. Yet the Dies committee, far from investigating the sources of this propaganda, piled fuel on the flames. It accepted with complacent approval attacks on the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League and the American League for Peace and Democracy, joining in the cry that those who protest against Nazi instigated anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism do so only to camouflage their own Communist aims.

One member of the committee subscribed to this view openly when he backed up his charge that the distinguished Nobel prize winner, Thomas Mann, is a Communist. Newspaper reporters, indignant at the charge, reminded the committee member that Thomas Mann is known and respected throughout the world for his service to the cause of democracy. But the committee member gave the answer of Hitler and of all the Dies committee witnesses. He said: "Thomas Mann is against Hitler, isn't he?" So are the overwhelming majority of the American people against Hitler. Does that make them Communists? Does that make them subject to investigation for un-Americanism?

The Dies committee's pro forma jibes against the openly Fascist German-American Bund may fool some people, but it doesn't fool the bund's leader Fritz Kuhn. Kuhn and the bund have gone on record requesting that the House appropriate more funds for the Dies committee. What are we to think of a committee to investigate un-American activities which receives the endorsement of the very groups it was delegated to eradicate?

The committee has other friends and supporters besides the German-American Bund. Many of them were present at the banquet given on December 8 by the New York Economic Council to honor MARTIN DIES. They included representatives of the Hearst and Morgan interests, of the big utility trusts, of the Republican Party, and of the Tory Democrats—along with six representatives of the bund itself. And, for good measure, one Henry W. Fletcher was there, though perhaps he left at home the medal he received from Mussolini for services rendered to Italian fascism.

Why do agents of foreign dictatorships and American friends of fascism and nazi-ism join in paying tribute to MARTIN DIES and in trying to prolong the life of his committee? Because they know that the Dies committee directs its attack against one "ism" and one "ism" only. That is the progressivism of the New Deal.

If you believe that progress is un-American, if you believe that the New Deal is un-American, then you belong with those who subscribe to the work of the Dies committee. But if you are one of those millions who support the foreign and domestic policies of the present administration in Washington, then you had better stop MARTIN DIES before he stops the march of progress.

You can take it from no less an authority than MARTIN DIES, himself, that this is true.

In every radio speech he makes—and he makes a great many—he blasts away at the "campaign of propaganda" which is going to get us into another world war. And by that campaign of propaganda he means nothing more or less than the foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration. Ask MARTIN DIES where he stands on the question of rearmament in the face of aggressions by Fascist nations abroad. Ask him where he stands on the question of a positive peace policy as outlined in the President's message to Congress. Ask him how he stands on the question of constructing a united democracy on firm foundations of social and economic security. Ask him, and in his answers you will find the answer to why aggressor nations abroad applaud his works.

You don't have to ask MARTIN DIES how he feels about the domestic program of the New Deal. There is plenty of evidence already to show why anti-New Dealers from both parties support the Dies committee. It served their purposes well in the November elections. It serves them well today and will continue to serve them on every issue coming before the Seventy-sixth Congress. Already, in the first few weeks of this session, the Dies committee has been used by those who want to cut the relief appropriation and throw 4,000,000 people out into the snow and cold of the next few months. You will hear about the Dies committee during debate

on expanding the social-security program, on revoking the Wagner Act by amendment.

DIES is already echoing the cry of "dictatorship" which has been raised at every forward step taken by any administration in American history. DIES has only been shadow-boxing with foreign "isms." His real blows are reserved for an "ism" that is home grown and deeply rooted in the soil and the hearts of America. His real blows strike at the progressivism of the New Deal, and thereby at the welfare of the American people themselves.

And he says as much. In his radio speech of December 17, DIES said:

"It is futile and inconsistent for a man to oppose communism, nazi-ism, and fascism if at the same time he advocates paternalistic governments, which seeks to regiment the people under a system of planned economy."

And again:

"The activities of the Communists, the Nazis, and the Fascists are bad enough, but worse than these activities is the advocacy by many politicians in our country of the very principle upon which all of these totalitarian governments are based."

Unemployment is the most ominous question that has ever faced the industrial world. To solve this question of unemployment is the job of the New Deal.

We cannot solve that great problem in the presence of prejudices and dissension. It will require the clearest possible cooperative thought in view of all the facts involved.

The question of unemployment has awaited solution for many generations. Palliatives have been, and are now, plentiful, but actual solution has not even been attempted. For more than a century and a half vast numbers of men, women, and children have starved through recurrent depressions, suffering untold and untellable hardships, in the very presence of the ever-increasing fortunes which their labor had made.

Civilization has formulated extensive national policies to prevent the starvation that results from enforced idleness. But no attempt has ever been made to prevent enforced idleness itself. That is the task before us. We cannot shirk it without turning coward. We cannot desert it without turning traitor. Necessity demands and duty compels that we face courageously and solve intelligently the question of unemployment.

Any minor thing that tends to take our attention from the central question involved is the most subversive thing that we have to deal with at the present time, and whether or not it is literally true, it seems to me that Mr. DIES' whole activity has tended to discredit and discourage the various organizations that have built up and provided, or intended to provide, for the welfare of man.

The era of scarcity ended and the era of plenty began at the same time the Declaration of Independence was written. America, therefore, was born with the passing of necessary poverty. It came into existence as a government at the very time that labor-saving machinery was ushered upon the stage of mankind. It grew up in the midst of the hum of the wheels of industry. It has no binding tradition back of the age of iron and the age of steam. The American Revolution and the industrial revolution were born together—twins of the eighteenth century. One came to give and finally has given political equality. The other came to give and must give economic equality. One has made political democracy safe for the world. The other must and will give industrial democracy to that same world. Political democracy born of political revolution, industrial democracy born of industrial revolution—one was the answer to oppression and the other must become the answer to poverty. Neither can exist permanently without the other.

We cannot go back, for there is nothing to go back to except panic and poverty, unemployment and rags. We are going forward whether we want to or not. It is purely a question of how fast we are going to move and how little we are going to stumble on the way.

Men are marching toward the sunrise; if we be still, we can feel the earth tremble under their tread; if we listen, we can hear the trumpets call; if we look, we can see the banners flying; if we open our hearts to the music of the moving mass, we shall be conscious that we, too, are soldiers in that march, shouting, singing, keeping step with the throbbing drumbeats of humanity.

### Aviation Day

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, January 28 (legislative day of Tuesday, January 17), 1939*

ARTICLE FROM THE ST. PETERSBURG (FLA.) INDEPENDENT

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article from the Independent of St. Petersburg, Fla., of the issue of January 12,

1939, in regard to setting aside a day each year to be known as Aviation Day in honor of our air heroes and particularly Wilbur and Orville Wright.

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

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Independent of January 12, 1939]

AVIATION GROUP WILL URGE DAY OF OBSERVANCE—LOCAL MEN CONNECTED WITH MOVE TO SECURE BILL SETTING AVIATION DAY

The Aviation Defense Association will place a bill before Congress to create August 19 of each year Aviation Day, in honor of our air heroes and particularly Wilbur and Orville Wright, the "fathers of flight," it was announced today.

Among the honorary members of the national directors are Maj. Gens. R. L. Bullard and E. B. Winans, United States Army, retired; Bernard Macfadden; Gov. F. P. Cone, Florida; Robert Kloepfel; Col. James A. Moss, United States Army, retired, the president general of the United States Flag Association; F. R. Francke, lieutenant commander, Naval Reserve; Col. L. M. Gable, Medical Reserve, United States Army; C. G. Taylor, president of the Taylor Aircraft Corporation; Harry Playford, director of Southern Air Lines; and Edward A. Spence, all on the national advisory committee for aeronautics, of the Aviation Defense Association.

It has been proposed that Col. J. E. Meyers, United States Army, retired, national secretary, prepare a national Aviation Day program, in cooperation with the civilian and Army and Navy and other service units of aviation, which will coordinate all the State associations in a celebration of the day.

The programs will include parades, airplane exhibits of school children, air circuses and races, model airplane contests, etc.

W. F. Kirchhaine, chairman of the St. Petersburg Jaycee aviation committee, sponsors of Aviation Day, has designated Robert Stewart to contact the State Jaycee clubs in connection with aviation. He will be assisted by R. E. Gabel, national organizer, who has charge of the organization work throughout the country.

The members of the national association are of the opinion that aviation is of great importance to our national defense and that superiority in the air is vital to our peace and safety.

### Denison-Durant Dam on Red River

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSH LEE

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Saturday, January 28 (legislative day of Tuesday, January 17), 1939*

EDITORIAL FROM OKLAHOMA CITY TIMES

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, yesterday I obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a portion of an editorial from the Oklahoma City Times regarding the sources of material of the Governor's speech concerning the construction of the Denison Dam. There is a supplemental and additional comment on the same subject by the same author. In justice to the author and to the newspaper, I feel that I should also ask permission to have the additional matter printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

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

[From the Oklahoma City Times of January 24, 1939]

THE TINY TIMES

Evidently I was wrong the other day when I said the basic material in Governor Phillips' argument against the Denison Dam came from O. G. & E.'s research department. Governor Phillips said I was wrong; that Bill Coe had worked it up. Mr. Davis, of the O. G. & E., said I was mistaken; that neither Coe nor anyone from Phillips' office had used their stuff, although they would have been glad to be of service. I must be getting old. In the middle of a sandwich I asked an O. G. & E. man about the background of Phillips' argument the night after the message was given the legislature. I understood him to say that they had turned their studies over to the Governor. Just goes to show, a fellow shouldn't depend too much on his ears when his mouth is full of hamburger.

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