

Let us quit trying to change our form of government and reform everything and everybody and quit placing them in a strait jacket under the bureaucrats here in Washington. Give the people a chance. Let the Government get out of private business. Give the American markets to American farmers, to American industry and American workers; take these millions of aliens off of relief in this country; give the preference of the jobs to American citizens; give the preference in business to American producers and American workers.

Nazi Investigation Is a Scapegoat to Cover What We Have Not Done—Investigating Nazis, and So-Called "Un-American Activities" Unnecessary—We Have Enough Information Now to Correct Situation—Headlines Do Not Fill Stomachs, Nor Speeches Educate a Child

SPEECH

OF

HON. MAURY MAVERICK

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1938

The House had before it House Resolution No. 282, introduced by Mr. DIES, to provide for an investigation of un-American propaganda, diffusion of subversive and un-American propaganda instigated from foreign countries or of domestic origin, and all other questions in relation thereto.

INVESTIGATION—INVOLVES FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

Mr. MAVERICK. Mr. Speaker, first I want everyone to know that I have no unfriendly feeling for the various gentlemen who have spoken in favor of this resolution. I concur with one of my friends in his praise of the flag—I concur with another one on his praise of constitutional liberties. But I disagree with methods and conclusions of these gentlemen.

And, gentlemen, this is an extremely serious question. We are now getting into fundamental questions of government, and some of those who seek to help certain groups in this country may be doing them an extreme injury.

In the first place, a measure like this with the same purposes was overwhelmingly voted down by this same Seventy-fifth Congress. It was the Dickstein resolution.

And this resolution is the Dickstein resolution and not the Dies resolution. All of the propaganda made in favor of it, before and since this resolution has been introduced, has been made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN].

Bear in mind this is to investigate Nazis, not Communists, all of the agitation, all the talk has been against the German-American bund, the so-called German-American Fascists or Nazis. Of course others will drag the red herring around and talk of Communists and the "red menace."

CERTAIN GROUPS WILL BE HURT AND NOT HELPED

Now, I wish to say something in line with my statement that many times people who think they are helping certain groups often harm them. What I say is also a delicate question.

But I earnestly and sincerely believe that this character of legislation will engender race hatred, and will be, in the end, of considerable danger to the Jewish people of this country, and probably other minority groups.

I believe that this is the entering wedge of religious persecution.

We must be perfectly frank and agree that should racial hatred be engendered and should we unfortunately go the route of other countries, the Germans will get the best of it because there are more persons of German extraction here than there are Jews. I very much fear that this resolution will be the beginning of hard feeling between the German and Jewish elements in this country—both of which elements are, of course, as good Americans as any other groups of Americans.

As you know, the Jewish people are now being unjustly charged as being communistic as a race, and, of course, it is not true. But I obtain a great deal of correspondence which is indicative of a feeling which might be stirred up, because the American people are human beings like all others. What I fear is that if we begin an investigation like this, that it will be the beginning of various groups accusing each other of all kinds of unfortunate faults.

HUNGER IS THE BASIS OF VIOLENCE AMONG PEOPLES

Historically, hunger has always been the basis of religious or racial persecution, and violent action among peoples. In Greece, if someone expressed an unorthodox idea, he was called a Persian; when Rome got to have hard times, they accused a man of being a Greek if he did not agree with orthodox economic opinions.

In this country today, we have a tragic situation of millions of unemployed. Eight, ten, or twelve millions. If once the spark of intolerance and hatred is ignited, if people are hungry, if we who are in Congress haven't sense enough to settle true fundamental problems, it may be the match that sets off the persecutions that now exist in Europe.

Mr. Speaker, there is another thing—this investigation concerns, or might concern, international relations. It might cause international repercussions and do this country a great deal of harm. Such matters should be handled by the State Department.

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

Mr. MAVERICK. Very briefly.

Mr. McCORMACK. Does the gentleman intimate that the Americans of German blood in this country will become bigots?

Mr. MAVERICK. No; I do not believe they would be bigots. They are like all other people.

Mr. McCORMACK. I believe the gentleman ought to clarify his statement in the RECORD, because that would be a very unfair position in which to leave a great group of American citizens.

Mr. MAVERICK. The gentleman speaks about the great group of German people in this country. I have lots of Germans in my district, too, and I see no difference in them than in other good people.

When the matter came up before in the gentleman's other investigation, the gentleman's committee complimented the Germans because there were so many Germans, but gave the Russians hell.

That is the way it always is. It is human nature to damn anybody when he is not present. You can go to a Tammany meeting and cuss Republicans because there is none of them there.

Mr. McCORMACK. I challenge the gentleman to show that in the report anybody was damned by the special committee of which I was chairman.

Mr. MAVERICK. Well, my friend, it was the conclusions that were reached.

Anyhow, it was stated today the Nazis claim 480,000 members in this country—and that a member of the German Bund advocated the assassination of the President of the United States.

To this I can only say that from any viewpoint, this might be interpreted as a charge that approximately 500,000 members of the German Bund—one half million—desire to overthrow this government, or that there are now one half million German-American traitors in this country.

It may be there are traitors in this country; but if there are, they are very few, and if anyone advocates or conspires to kill the President, we have laws governing this situation now. Moreover, if such an assassination had been attempted, it would have been known immediately to the Secret Service or the Department of Justice and it would have been attended to. If someone intends to assassinate the President, the thing to do is to act at once, and not to make speeches about it and investigate for the next seven months after the deed has been accomplished. Personally,

I think it better to refrain from talking about assassination of the President—and if anyone has any remote information of that kind, to report it immediately to the proper authorities.

This is an example of what we may expect of this curious resolution, which is going to investigate everything "Un-American." What the resolution is going to do is give blanket powers to investigate, humiliate, meddle with anything and everything in people's affairs in America, from the German Saengerfest to B'nai B'rith, and every other organization or individual in America.

A CONGRESSMAN'S HOUSE IS PICKETED—THEREFORE A NATIONAL INVESTIGATION

I want to show you this resolution is absolutely unnecessary. It is said that the Communists went out and picketed a Congressman's house. Do you mean to tell me a congressional investigation is going to stop picketing in a local place? Not under the American Constitution.

That is all hypocrisy, and you know it.

It was also said that "they"—nobody knows who—painted the Plymouth Rock red.

Do you suppose if an august body of Congressmen assembles it will keep people from painting Plymouth Rock red, white, blue, green, or any other color? The painting of rocks is a local matter, and everybody knows it; and certainly investigations are not going to stop such practices, whether done by Communists with malice aforethought or by college boys as a prank.

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA AGENCIES ALREADY REQUIRED TO REGISTER

Mr. Speaker, there is one further demonstration of the fact that this bill is unnecessary. There is a bill which was fathered in this House by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK], H. R. 1591. It requires the registration of persons employed by agencies to disseminate propaganda in the United States. It goes into the details of what is meant by a foreign principal—and says that is the government of a foreign country, a foreign political party, or any foreign business, partnership, or association, or individual. It requires, as I have just indicated, a registration of all such persons engaged in foreign propaganda.

I have talked to Mr. McCORMACK, and he believes that this bill covers that particular situation. We cannot by an investigation—or by investigating for the rest of our natural lives, or by passing a law, prevent the "dissemination of propaganda"—or to put it into better language, the expression of ideas as originated in this country. We have freedom of speech, and we must protect it as long as we protect the Constitution.

Concerning the report on the bill, of which Mr. McCORMACK is the author, it says:

This required registration will publicize the nature of subversive or other similar activities of such foreign propagandists, so that the American people may know those who are engaged in this country by foreign agencies to spread doctrines alien to our democratic form of government or propaganda for the purpose of influencing American public opinion on a political question.

Now let me read further from the report. It says—

This bill does not in any way impair the right of freedom of speech, or of a free press, or other constitutional rights. On the other hand, this measure does provide that an alien coming to or in the United States for propaganda purposes of a political nature, and American citizens who accept foreign political propaganda employment, shall register; and this was found necessary, in a number of cases, through the revelations of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

which brings out important points, that is, it will not violate constitutional rights, will protect us against foreign propaganda—and that a committee has already made the investigation and another one is not necessary.

And note the effectiveness of the legislation—

We believe that the spotlight of pitiless publicity will serve as a deterrent to the spread of pernicious propaganda. We feel that our people are entitled to know the sources of any such efforts, and the person or persons or agencies carrying on such work in the United States.

And already having such facilities, why waste the taxpayers' money on a fake side-show?

My friends, this bill is already in conference, and will be enacted. So this matter is thoroughly covered.

If the matter is covered already by a previous and similar investigation, why go on investigating again? It is like getting an automobile, and then investigating it instead of riding in it.

The answer is that this investigation will merely stir up some trouble, and will do no good whatever.

WILL AN INVESTIGATION TAKE TITLE AWAY FROM NAZI CAMPS?

Now, they talk about the fact that the Nazis have camps. Suppose we have a congressional investigation, could we by that investigation divest some bund of the fee simple title to some camp? You know we could not do that. Not under our Constitution.

THE KU KLUX KLAN RAISED ENORMOUS SUMS AND OWNED PROPERTY

Do not forget that the Ku Klux Klan raised enormous sums and owned a great deal of property. They owned property in various parts of the United States. People got excited about it. As I remember it, I did so myself.

I fought the Ku Klux Klan, and considered it a troublesome and disturbing element. But what happened? They got bigger and bigger, but American public opinion, which can always be depended upon, wiped them off the face of the map.

I do not want to make any odious comparisons, because the Nazis are of foreign origin and have no place in our country. But as I have said, a considerable amount of legislation is already on the books in reference to this, we are about to pass the legislation indicated by Mr. McCORMACK, and we have enough information to pass any additional or necessary legislation.

And then people tell me that Nazis break up meetings. So do the police. So do Communists. The answer is that the various States can enact laws if necessary—that disorder is protected in every State, city, community in America, and can be stopped by the police. But no investigation we make will affect the situation.

Then they talk about the Communists. Of course, I do not know whether we are chasing Nazis or chasing Communists, but it is the same old stuff, and I will now try to explain some legislation. We have a report from the Department of Justice, and we have the bill that has been introduced by the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS].

WE PASS THE BUCK—INSTEAD, LET US ACT

Gentlemen, we have plenty of proposed legislation before this House right now that will cover this situation. Further, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] and his committee did a good job, or at least uncovered information and analyzed the principles of this question. Certainly then, no further investigation is necessary.

There is no use in kidding the public, much less ourselves, for we know enough now to pass the necessary legislation to cover the situation fully.

But what are we doing?

We are passing the buck.

We are coming in here and making pompous "patriotic" speeches, "Oh, how we love the flag! Oh, how we love America!" And then we are going to traipse out of Congress, doing nothing. The American people are going to laugh at us and say, "What did you do for us?"

"Oh, man," we can answer, "we fixed you up. We passed a resolution to investigate un-American activities."

SWEATING AND BELLOWING, THE KING'S ROYAL DRAGOONS

Yes, my friends, we can tell the people that we passed a resolution, and there will be lots of pictures in the papers. The flash-bulb boys and the photographers will rush back and forth, and there will be a lot of sweating and oratory about the flag.

But I ask you: This inquisition, this pompous going about the country, like the King's Royal Dragoons, swaggering about the country like inquisitors, is it going to increase dividends in business?

Is this dragoonade going to put any groceries in anybody's stomach? Will it educate a single child?

Is this investigation going to put 12,000,000 people to work?

What good, I ask you, is this resolution going to do? It is evasion, I tell you, evasion.

Oh, you say, we are going to investigate "un-American activities." Un-American! Un-American is simply something that somebody else does not agree to. If you are for the wages-and-hours bill, if you are for freedom of speech, if you are for a fair living wage—that apparently is un-American to some people.

Here, let me read you something else—I have in my hand a very finely written brochure, a part of which is as follows:

"Mr. Opposition: I am opposed to the wage-and-hour bill. It is un-American. It limits our freedom and liberty."

There is no telling what "un-American" means to some people. It is apparent that even the Supreme Court has held unconstitutional—and hence, un-American I suppose—the State and District wages-and-hours laws. By now, these same laws are held constitutional, and hence not against our form of government.

The Supreme Court has changed its opinions on dozens of legal principles and laws in the last 1 or 2 years.

Nobody knows what is un-American.

I ask you, What is un-American?

Mr. KNUTSON. The goose-step.

REPUBLICANS SAY ROOSEVELT IS UN-AMERICAN—WILL HE BE INVESTIGATED?

Mr. MAVERICK. Oh, principally it is un-American if you do not agree with somebody. That is what un-Americanism is, I suppose.

I do not know what this committee is going to investigate. All you can find out is that seven men, each according to his own judgment will investigate "un-American activities." Judge not, lest ye be judged.

The Republicans say that what Roosevelt does is un-American, and other people may say that some other thing is un-American. The Republicans on the committee can investigate Mr. Roosevelt and the Democrats can investigate Mr. Landon, Mr. Browder, Mr. Thomas—everybody who ran against Roosevelt. This will be the greatest fishing expedition that Congress ever undertook in the history of the United States.

WE HAVE SUFFICIENT INFORMATION NOW—A WASTE OF MONEY

Further, this is a waste of money; there is no question about it. There is no reason for this investigation, because we have right now all the information necessary.

We all know about the Nazi camps, where they are, and everything else. We all know that a Congressman's house has been picketed—not one but several.

LET THE PEOPLE EAT—HEADLINES INSTEAD OF GROCERIES

We do not have to investigate to find out what we already know; and if we do investigate, the only reason for our investigating will be for us to go around here and scare the people with exciting stories, making them suspicious of their fellow Americans, which will get the committee members headlines in the papers; in other words, the motto will be, "Feed the people headlines instead of groceries and jobs." [Applause.]

WHY NOT INVESTIGATE REAL FACTS—THE INEQUALITIES OF THE SOUTH?

Now, what could we do that might be of benefit to the country? We hear a great deal about the South. We hear a great deal about the inequalities of the South, and I want to tell you serious inequalities actually exist.

If we really wanted to be somewhat or slightly statesman-like, if we really wanted to be students, if we really wanted to look into the economic welfare of this country, why doesn't this House that is getting so big-hearted and patriotic pass a resolution to investigate the inequalities of freight rates and the other inequalities affecting the people of the South so they will be enabled to comply with the requirements of the Minimum Wage Act? [Applause.]

This is something that is sincere.

This is something that is honest.

But this investigating "un-American activities" is simply fourflushing and ballyhooing around before the people of the United States, propagating more hysteria to sidetrack the real questions—and I want to tell you that the economic

questions of this country will never be solved until you solve the problems of the South, and I am not a professional southerner or a bairter of southerners, either.

WHY NOT INVESTIGATE UNEMPLOYMENT?

There is another thing I want to bring to your attention. We had numerous requests for investigation of unemployment, but what did we do at the last session?

We sat together like a covey of scared quail and passed a resolution to have a 1-day census of the unemployed, and flew away to our districts. As a result, at this very moment we do not know the cause of unemployment, nor even have any idea about it.

We refused to investigate the question of unemployment. Now, what's more important than that?

What is going to stop communism and fascism and all the violations of our Constitution except we go into these problems, these fundamental questions, instead of indulging in this superficial ballyhoo?

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to make this statement about the resolution: We have had these resolutions before, and, as far as I know, they did not do any good; but if they did do any good, they have procured all the information that is necessary, and we do not need any more resolutions like this.

I want to say this to the Democratic Party: We are charged with the responsibility of governing the people, and we ought to do it. And I want to say this to the Republicans: If you join in this, you are joining in ballyhoo and stupidity.

We have got problems to meet, and we do not meet problems properly in any such manner as this. This resolution is a slipshod written one, and if we leave this Congress in the shape we are in now, we will leave it on a sour note and we will leave it on a note of tom-tom beating, and we will not be accomplishing anything for the welfare of the American people.

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

Mr. MAVERICK. I yield.

PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS—THIS ONE TO FIND WHO PAINTED THE PLYMOUTH ROCK RED

Mr. FLETCHER. I asked the gentleman to yield to make this inquiry: I believe the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish] made a very extensive and detailed investigation of this matter at one time under the inspiration of various organizations. Was anything ever done as a result of his findings with respect to this subject, that the gentleman recalls?

Mr. MAVERICK. Well, we have had one Republican investigation that caused some furor, and that was the Fish investigation; and then we had the other one by Mr. McCormack and Mr. Dickstein. I think we have had about a 50-50 proposition on these foolish things, and that ought to be enough.

I do say that out of the McCormack resolution the very thing that we are talking about is in conference right now, which I mentioned earlier in my speech. Gentlemen here voted for it, and that was to make it so that foreign organizations or agents have to register. That meets the situation, and what we are proposing to do now is to investigate the picketing of a Congressman's house and the painting of Plymouth Rock red. Nonsense!

Mr. JOHNSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAVERICK. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. The gentleman said that the resolution is somewhat narrow. On the other hand it is general. On the first page there is the language:

All other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

Under that they could investigate Old Faithful geyser in Yellowstone National Park.

Mr. MAVERICK. Certainly. You have a resolution here that covers every question of fancy, fact, or imagination on the earth.

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

Mr. MAVERICK. Yes.

Mr. FLEGER. The gentleman said something about the unemployment situation. Is not unemployment the germ

that creates racial hatred and prejudice that is brought about? Is not that what we are trying to remedy now, and does not that exist in the world today?

Mr. MAVERICK. That is true.

We should attack the unemployment situation.

That is what brought on nazi-ism in Germany. It was unemployment, distress. That is the reason that the Nazis got away with that stuff.

So we ought to attack the unemployment situation.

But I want to answer another argument that was made here. They say if you go to Germany or to Russia they will not let you criticize over there. No; we still have freedom of speech, press, and religion here, and that's the reason that the United States of America is a great country. [Applause.] It is because we let the Jew or the German or anybody else who lives here say what he pleases, even if he criticizes our form of government, our President, or our flag, because our form of government, our flag, and our country stand against all the onslaught of mere speech. Truth, in the end, decides. The essence of democracy is freedom of speech and religion and the security of government lies in each man having a right to live like a human being.

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

Mr. MAVERICK. Yes.

Mr. KNUTSON. I think the gentleman is right when he intimates the purpose of this resolution is merely to provide a group of Congressmen with board and room during the summer months.

Mr. MAVERICK. I do not mind the board and room—what worries me is the trouble that will be caused.

Mr. FORD of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAVERICK. Of course.

Mr. FORD of California. Does the gentleman believe that people in camps heiling Hitler and saluting the swastika are engaging in activities that we ought to permit in the United States?

Mr. MAVERICK. No! But since you say it and it is common knowledge, why spend 7 months investigating what we already know? The answer to it is to be found in the Voorhis bill or similar legislation. Pass such legislation and you can stop uniformed bullies.

We have all the necessary information. But what we are doing here is merely evading the issue by a lot of loud talk, and I conclude by saying that I hope we will vote against this resolution.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAVERICK. I yield to my friend.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I have not had an opportunity to investigate the Voorhis resolution or bill. Does the gentleman from Texas recommend the Voorhis bill, and will he vote for it, if it comes up?

Mr. MAVERICK. I do not know that I shall vote for it letter for letter, but it has been referred to the Military Affairs Committee because it involves military uniforms, and, in effect, "private armies."

So let me repeat, we already know that the Nazis are walking around in uniforms, and I do not believe this country should permit any private army. The Congress of the United States has a right to protect the Constitution and its laws, and we do not have to have an investigation in order to do that. In fact, it is our duty to do so, and when we have the information upon which to legislate, and we don't do it, we are not doing our duty, and are bamboozling the public.

We already know all we want to know about these Nazis, as well as Communists. This resolution is merely an excuse to do nothing.

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

Mr. MAVERICK. Sure.

Mr. STARNES. The House Immigration Committee has before it a bill, which it tabled, which would handle this very situation without the necessity of an investigation.

Mr. MAVERICK. Mr. Speaker, if we pass this resolution we are just passing the buck, and the American people will know it. It is a mania—it comes every now and then, about every 3 or 4 years. If we adopt this resolution it is adopting a scapegoat for the things we should have done.

We know very well that if we set our minds to it, we can pass the necessary legislation to cover all situations discussed today. We know very well that this resolution is to raise a big smoke screen, for us to go home without really meeting fundamental questions. Remember, my friends, headlines do not fill people's stomachs, nor loud speeches educate a child. [Applause.]

Un-American Activities

SPEECH

OF

HON. MATTHEW A. DUNN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1938

The House had under consideration House Resolution 282, to investigate un-American activities

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Speaker, the resolution which is being considered before the House today is for the purpose of appointing a committee to investigate the un-American activities that are supposed to be going on throughout our country.

According to statistics there are, at the present time, approximately twelve to thirteen million people unemployed in the United States, which means that a big percentage of the population is suffering because of the lack of food, shelter, clothing, and other essentials. In my opinion, this inhuman treatment of our fellow men is abominable, outrageous, and very much un-American. The committee should be authorized to investigate the cause of this unemployment condition.

President Roosevelt and some of the Members of Congress have tried to remedy the unemployment situation. If all the Members of Congress would think as much of their fellow men as they do of themselves there would not be any unemployment in the United States; all those who would be able to work would have a job at a saving wage; the aged and others who, because of a physical disability, cannot be employed would be given adequate pensions; sweatshops, child labor, slum district, and poorhouses would not exist.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).