

introducing a joint resolution calling for the creation of a special commission on old-age pensions which will have for its purpose and function the formulating of a national policy with respect to old-age pensions based upon the two general principles that payments should be made on a pay-as-you-go basis out of current revenues of the Government and should be adequate to provide a comfortable standard of living for the beneficiaries.

In my speech last Wednesday I stated my intention to introduce such a resolution after the anticipated defeat of H. R. 6466, then under consideration.

The salutary reasons for the adoption of this resolution are too numerous and obvious to require reference to all of them.

It cannot be gainsaid that the creation of such a commission will save the old-age pension problem from continuing to be a political football, a bone of contention for party strife, and will save the aged from exploitation.

Its creation will facilitate and expedite the enactment of a sound, constitutional, practical, and comforting old-age pension policy.

The thought back of this resolution is not new, so I have discovered since last Wednesday. Something similar was proposed by my colleague from New York, Mr. HAMILTON FISH, 10 years ago. Had a commission been created then, it is safe to assert that we would have no old-age pension problem today.

My colleague, Mr. BRUCE BARTON, introduced in the last Congress a similar resolution pertaining to a proposed amendment to the Social Security Act.

Favorable action on his resolution probably would have obviated the experiences of Wednesday and the action Thursday.

Since discovering these similar measures I am convinced that others have had the same idea, all of which indicates that the resolution is worthy of earnest and sincere consideration.

Furthermore, I have been encouraged, advised, and requested to introduce the resolution by certain of my colleagues, as well as by constituents and others, including loyal Townsendites, who were informed of my intentions.

I therefore respectfully request that the committee to which this resolution will be referred give prompt attention and action to it. [Applause.]

#### DIES COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. THORKEKELSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at this point in the Record.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. THORKEKELSON. Mr. Speaker, Wednesday, May 31, it was my pleasure to attend a session of the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, and imagine my surprise when I found it to be a trial instead of an investigation. It was a trial of a patriotic citizen who did not have the benefit of counsel. I regret to make this statement, but the trial was, to say the least, extremely unfair.

General Moseley, with two Distinguished Service citations by Congress, was not permitted to present his evidence. I should say not. That might have exposed some of the higher Communists. He was instead instructed by the chairman to answer questions asked by a young interrogator, Mr. Whitley. As I listened to the testimony, I learned that General Moseley had evidently been "talled," his mail opened, photographed, and that he had been "dictographed" as well. He had been treated to the same dose as a Member of Congress who had a dictograph placed in his room in the House Building—Evening Star, May 31.

Congress, of course, appropriated money to the Post Office Department to have snoopers open our mail and photograph it. We recently appropriated \$300,000 to the F. B. I., which is evidently used to spy upon us, the people, and install dictographs in our offices, and I presume eventually in our homes. What a smell of the OGPU!

I suggest that the Dies committee investigate these Russian activities, for they are certainly not only un-American but in addition most foul and putrid, and, of course, a realistic and true picture of the Asiatic communism as practiced in those countries that subscribe to it.

Well, the whole procedure was a grand farce. The first day the questioner attempted to smear General Moseley and at the same time whitewash or protect the invisible government and "hol polloi" in communism. No attempt was made to investigate the Communist. Certainly not. There is no reason for that, because there are too many of them, so they are too easy to find.

In the Evening Star, I note, "Fourteen persons arrested, blackjacks seized in auto strike." What of it? Nothing, except that a few days ago I quoted, in one of my talks before the House, a statement to the effect that the Communists voluntarily came out in support of the C. I. O. The author, Mr. Foster. This strike is going on in Detroit. Let the committee investigate who is behind that.

Are any of these strikes investigated by the Dies committee for un-American activities? No. Yet the Communist Party, in their own booklets, describe how the United States Government is to be transformed, and this prediction is within their reach if the American people remain in the same comatose condition they have been in for a number of years. The first plan in this great venture was to have the invisible government own and control all real money, and they are now holding \$15,000,000,000 in gold certificates, and, of course, control our Nation's gold wealth. We have make-believe money, and I believe in Rochester, N. Y., if the papers are correct, the merchants are accepting blue and yellow chips for purchases. The Congress has appropriated millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money to have Federal snoopers in various departments open the mail, photograph it, spy on us, by dictographs in our rooms, and treat us like coolies. Of course, nothing I can say will change it because I realize very well that I am only 1 in 130,000,000 people, and that not one of the subsidized press would publish any part or parts of what I may say or write on un-American activities, when it is not to their interests. Let us not forget the Constitution of the United States is our fundamental law, which we swear to preserve, to protect and defend with our very lives. Anyone, no matter who the official may be, who departs from this obligation, is un-American, and those who subscribe to it are patriotic Americans, and do not make a mistake about that.

It is always the minority that begins destruction and, like a small leak in a dam, it gets larger and larger until the whole structure is washed away. This is happening to us today. We are a tolerant people, slow to be aroused, and we have failed to notice the danger from within. This failure is now apparent, and it is for that reason patriotic units are being organized throughout the Nation. These organizations are creatures of necessity and represent a definite reaction to Government failure in eradicating subversive activities. No one is to blame for that but the Government itself, because officials therein have sworn to preserve, protect, and defend the people's rights, and when they fail to do so, the people themselves must, in order to preserve the Nation, stand forth in their own defense. If the American liberties and rights are not worth protection, if they are not worth fighting for, they are not worth having, and the people are firmly convinced that there is nothing better than the republican form of government we have always had. These patriotic organizations are not un-American, because they are born as a defense reaction against un-Americanism. They may, of course, become too zealous, and for that reason we find some of them acute patriots, or the zealous type, similar to those who enforced the old "blue laws," and no different from those who enforce religious laws too zealously, as was done during the inquisitions. Be that as it may, they are not inherently wrong, and they are certainly much preferable to the extreme left organization, which has for its only purpose the destruction of our Government, no matter whether it costs lives or

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be expected to remember. After having tried to recall, or, I should say, rather, forced to answer by orders of the committee on the threat of contempt, General Moseley was then confronted with letters seized or photographed by the Intelligence Service—I hesitate to designate it thus. This material consisted of his personal letters, speeches, and correspondence of other persons. Paragraphs were selected from various communications—his own and others—and questions were asked by the interrogator, Mr. Whitley, or

nize the gentlewoman from New Jersey on Monday to move to suspend the rules and pass that bill.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Has that bill been printed, so the Members may know what it contains?

Mr. RAYBURN. I understand the bill was reported yesterday or today.

On Tuesday, if the Committee on Ways and Means is ready, we shall start general debate on the amendments to the Social Security Act. Of course, Wednesday will be Calor-

not. So I say we must be fair, give and take on both sides, but above all let us stand today on the Constitution as it was given to us by the founders of our country—persons who were familiar with all sorts of unsound governments because they had lived in the midst of them, a people who, because of personal experiences, drafted an instrument for our protection, for the Nation's security, with a full measure of justice and protection even for the "un-American."

Un-American activities are those in conflict with the Constitution and began with the first unconstitutional law enacted by Congress. From the passing of such laws we now have the present un-American activities which are destroying our Nation today. We need not hunt for un-Americans, for they are here in Washington, if the committee has the slightest desire to find them. I realize, of course, that we are now faced with a different or changed government, in which the power lies entirely with the majority. The Members of the Senate and the House are all elected by this majority, and therefore its representatives, instead of representatives of their States. That is the great stumbling block in the administration of a republican form of government, for there is no direct State representation in Congress.

It is for this reason that I have said that we cannot go on as we are, for all governments must have a responsible regulatory body. This was the constitutional duty of Congress; but having capitulated to the White House crowd, a dictator will not only be born but a semidictator now sits in Washington, whether you believe it or not. Evidence of this is found on every hand, in the investigations of private citizens and in all those activities which I have already mentioned before in this talk. There is one thing left that may disturb this power today: Elect men to Congress who will assume their obligation with full responsibility, as set forth in the people's law and mandate, the Constitution of the United States.

General Moseley knows we have nothing to fear from our own people, but he also realizes that we have everything to fear from the invisible government whose members are disciples of Marxian philosophy. The danger is not entirely to be found in those who control this Government but is, instead, to be found in the method they use in employing subversive elements, or people to destroy and disseminate pernicious propaganda through their own publications. Socialism itself is not particularly dangerous, but socialism becomes destructive when it falls into the hands of vindictive and mercenary people. Let us now see how this works out.

Communism was bred in the byways and alleys of the world. I believe some of the early advocates of this philosophy in the United States lived in New York before they left for Russia to organize the government which is now ruling that nation. In this transformation of government there was no Christian spirit or kindness in their hearts. They killed, killed, and killed—innocent men, women, and children—until by sheer murder they emerged through a lake of blood into power. That is communism. Would we like that in the United States. I can hear 129,000,000 people say "no." After this communistic government gained control in Russia, they began their work, indirectly and directly, as planned by the invisible government—the international invisible government, if you please.

The next step was to sow the seeds of dissension, destroy patriotism, ridicule the patriots by foul and false propaganda, no different from that used today to besmear General Moseley in some of the daily papers. He did not say that he believed in nazi-ism, so called, which is a term that no one can define, not even the Dies committee itself. But the inquisitor, in his persecutory investigation, inferred that General Moseley was not a good American; and at this point I want to say that if General Moseley is not a sincere, patriotic American, there was not one in the room. I want to go a little further than that and say that I have not found anyone in the Army and Navy who is not a sound and staunch patriotic citizen.

Let us now continue analyzing communism. Being centered in Russia it immediately began to spread the poison from its fangs into such nations as tolerated communism. So the Communist invaded China and spread its poison there, to the destruction of the Chinese Empire. And do not forget,

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Russia has deprived China of northern Mongolia—a "brotherly" policy of communism. Communism then spread into Spain, fomented and created revolution, and in the process of that killed and destroyed lives without justification or common reason, except to promote its own nefarious practices. These are facts that we must remember when we flirt with communism.

The same element has worked successfully in France and is keeping the French Government in a boiling condition because of its tolerance to socialism and the proponents of it.

The same thing happened in Austria when thousands of innocent lives were destroyed during the riots and liquidation when communism's own emissary was in power there.

This Communist element is also found in England and the leaders are well entrenched in high places there. We find the same condition in the United States with those in high command in top places directing the subversive activities within the United States. This condition is generally recognized and our people feel apprehensive over the Government's indifference to this menace. The same crowd controlled Germany at one time and promoted a destructive inflation, but they were discovered and kicked out for the general welfare of the German people and the safety and security of the German nation. That is all I am going to say about that, because I will now be called a Nazi by the Communist or the communistic servile press.

How is it possible to discover this breed bent upon destruction of the world for its own mercenary purposes? It is not hard, and if the intelligence service will spend its time investigating along the line I am now proposing it will find more evidence than it will in the mailing envelopes of our private citizens. The intelligence personnel subscribes to an obligation, and they must honor that. The service will not be respected until it protects the Nation and the people from subversive activities.

I shall now propose this, and in the proposal of it, mind you, I follow President Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy, that he has advocated time and time again—the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would they would do unto you." That is the President's policy, and I am for it.

Let us take every organization that is anti-Russian and investigate the members of such organization, particularly to find out why they are anti-Russian. Let us then take the anti-Italians in the United States and find out why they are anti-Italians, and their reason for it. Let us take all the anti-Nazi or anti-German leagues and investigate their pet aversions and hatreds. In other words, let us call on the anti organizations with hatred toward other countries, have them up for investigation, and find out why they hate other countries, why they have gone directly contrary to our President's views, that of the "good neighbor" policy. He preaches the milk of human kindness, but he poisons the minds of our people toward such nations as he does not want to have milk.

The Dies committee may also find the names of a number of societies which will give them, if they so desire, complete and full information about those who should be investigated. I receive letters and information every day. Some of it may be good and some of it bad, but in the investigation of it we will find those with queer philosophies. We as a nation should hold no hatreds in our hearts toward any foreign nation or toward any place; but, by the same token, those nations should not hold hatreds toward us.

I do not believe there is a nation in the world today that despises the United States or hates us, except for the gold that is now stored in our holes and burial grounds in various parts of the United States. This gold, by the way, is not owned by the American Government, and it is not owned by the people of the United States, but it is owned and controlled by the international invisible government, of which we have representatives in the United States. The Dies committee may obtain evidence, at least enough for investigation, if they want to go to bat for the American people.

The second day of the trial was a repetition of the first. General Moseley was asked questions by the inquisitor, Mr. Whitley, concerning letters and episodes which no one could

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be expected to remember. After having tried to recall, or, I should say, rather, forced to answer by orders of the committee on the threat of contempt, General Moseley was then confronted with letters seized or photographed by the Intelligence Service—I hesitate to designate it thus. This material consisted of his personal letters, speeches, and correspondence of other persons. Paragraphs were selected from various communications—his own and others—and questions were asked by the interrogator, Mr. Whitley, or anyone on the committee—a sort of "free-for-all" to smear General Moseley.

When the general imparted information of value and it was not to the liking of the committee, it was ordered to be stricken from the record. I have seen many trials, but never one like this, in which every effort was made to keep evidence out of the record. To cap the climax, General Moseley's final statement was ordered stricken from the record in toto. This, in my opinion, was a grave error on the part of the committee, which I am sure it will regret some day. Everyone I saw afterward, and with whom I talked, seemed to have the impression that the committee acted under orders, or was not interested in obtaining information with respect to un-American activities. Whether this is true or not remains with the committee, but it leaves a bad impression on those present when the Nation's life and security is at stake. This is particularly true when we are right in the midst of un-American activities, or rather, communistic activities. In this I include socialism, which is the basic foundation of all so-called un-American activities. Communism is behind all the strikes and strife here in this country. The Communists are the ones who will destroy us if we continue to remain asleep.

The Dies committee was appointed by the Speaker, with the request and consent of the Congress of the United States. It follows, therefore, that Congress is responsible for the manner in which the investigation is conducted and also for the result obtained from such investigation. The taxpayers are being charged \$100,000 so that this committee can obtain and discover the truth. Congress is responsible to these people and should, therefore, endeavor to determine the facts. The purpose of the committee is for investigation into the very roots of all un-American activities, and not what the committee thinks we ought to know. The committee has no right to strike any evidence from the record, because all information belongs to Congress and the people. The people in the United States today want the truth in its simple nakedness. This committee conducted a trial of General Moseley instead of an investigation, but the committee did not pronounce the sentence. They tried to prepare cause for punishment of the general, but instead of finding an "un-American" they found a most sincere and loyal citizen and patriot.

I regret to hold the viewpoint I do with respect to the activities of the committee, but I am here as a representative of the people of my State, and in the interest of all the people of the United States, but not as a convenience to departments or bureaus in this planned government.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS NEXT WEEK

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of the majority leader if he has the program arranged for next week?

Mr. RAYBURN. Yes; as definitely as can be arranged at the present time. On Monday, of course, we will consider bills on the Unanimous Consent Calendar. The so-called Roosevelt library contribution will be on that calendar. If it is objected to, it is my understanding that the Speaker will recognize the gentleman from Illinois to move to suspend the rules and pass the bill. It is also my understanding that the Committee on Labor has reported a revised wage and hour bill, and I believe it is the intention of the Speaker to recog-

nize the gentlewoman from New Jersey on Monday to move to suspend the rules and pass that bill.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Has that bill been printed, so the Members may know what it contains?

Mr. RAYBURN. I understand the bill was reported yesterday or today.

On Tuesday, if the Committee on Ways and Means is ready, we shall start general debate on the amendments to the Social Security Act. Of course, Wednesday will be Calendar Wednesday. The remainder of the week we shall continue the consideration of the social-security legislation.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Has the gentleman any knowledge of how long general debate will run on the social-security bill?

Mr. RAYBURN. I have not discussed that with the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. I always go along with what the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. DOUGHTON] and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] agree on.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. There probably would not be any chance of that bill being voted on on Tuesday?

Mr. RAYBURN. Oh, no.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. General debate would run at least through Tuesday?

Mr. RAYBURN. Yes. I believe quite some time will be taken in the debate.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, may I say that the Committee on Ways and Means is still in session this morning, so the chairman is detained at that meeting. Unless the gentleman has seen the gentleman from North Carolina quite recently, I might add that he has called a meeting for this afternoon to see if we cannot complete the consideration and preparation of the social-security bill. The gentleman from North Carolina hopes to present the revised bill before the House adjourns today, I believe, but there is a good deal of work to be done by the committee yet, and whether or not that will be accomplished remains to be seen.

Mr. RAYBURN. Of course, under the unanimous consent that was given, if the committee does not complete its work by the time the House adjourns we can ask unanimous consent that the committee may have until 12 o'clock tonight or tomorrow night to report the bill.

Mr. TREADWAY. I believe it would be advisable that the gentleman ask that permission, or I will request it if the gentleman wishes me to, because the chairman has told us that he would call us in session tomorrow if we could not complete the consideration of the bill at an evening meeting tonight.

Mr. RAYBURN. Let us let it go along until a little later in the day.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LEWIS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD at this point by including a short newspaper article from the New York Herald Tribune describing an amusing incident that occurred in the House of Commons last week.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LEWIS of Colorado. The article is as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of May 26, 1939]

BETTER BE DUMB THAN BORING, SPEAKER ADVISES GAGGED M. P.'S—HE RECALLS DISRAELI'S ADVICE THAT THE NEW MEMBERS BE SEEN BUT NOT HEARD

LONDON, May 25.—Stern, bewigged Captain the Right Honorable Edward Algernon FitzRoy, who is Speaker of the House of Commons, but never makes a speech, was confronted today by two M. P.'s who complained that Government leaders and opposition "big guns" had taken up 8 of the 11 hours allotted for the Palestine debate on Monday and Tuesday, thereby robbing many "back benchers" of a chance to air their views.

"Disraeli," recalled FitzRoy, "was once asked by a new member whether he would advise him to take part in debates. Disraeli said, 'No; I don't think you ought to do so, because it is much better that the House should wonder why you do not speak than why you do.'

country he really measures up to what the gentleman from Pennsylvania has stated.

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

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

Mr. CULKIN. If the gentleman will permit me to make

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Is the man created for the position or the position for the man?

Mr. LEA. I would say that this is a case where the man is created for the position, because there is nothing from a financial or political standpoint that is an inducement for