

[Early draft]

"one quote"

Mr. Chairman:

As indicated by news dispatches from foreign countries during the past week, the eyes of the world are focussed today upon the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In every capital city these hearings will be reported. *what happens at these hearings* From ~~your conduct of them~~ the peoples of the earth will learn by precept and example precisely what America means when her strong voice calls out to the community of nations for freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, freedom from secret police, the civil rights of men standing accused by government agencies, the vitality and strength of private enterprise, the inviolable right of every American to think as he wishes, to organize and assemble as he pleases, to vote in secret as he chooses.

The quality of *our* ~~your~~ devotion to these principles will be weighed by most thoughtfully by all who have been urged to emulate the American way of life. Whether we wish it or not, *and its witness* this committee <sup>and its witness</sup> appears before the world as a living test of American democracy in action. By reason of this we have all been committed to a very heavy responsibility.

I shall therefore pass quickly over the hearsay and slander of *classified as friendly to this committee* friendly witnesses as well as other evidence already established as perjury.

I call your attention only briefly to the political coincidence by which nearly all friendly witnesses have supported the Republican Party during three presidential campaigns, while without exception the unfriendly witnesses have been most active in their support of the Democratic Party. *Roosevelt* I shall make no comment at all on the petty professional jealousies, the private feuds and the intra-studio conflicts which here have been elevated to the dignity of the record. And only with reluctance and shame do I feel it necessary to recall how fulsomely this committee has complimented witnesses who have proposed that all who disagree with them be deprived of citizenship and handed over to the mercy of mobs.

There are three principal points which I wish to make in my statement to this committee:

of management against the encroachment of the corporate state and the secret police.

Second: The committee in its hearings has clearly and consistently attacked the constitutional guarantees of a free press, which is a principal bulwark of those freedoms which the committee professes to ~~administer~~ respect. Motion pictures are a medium of communication, and as such are completely beyond the investigatorial powers of this committee. No committee of the Congress can dictate ~~to the motion picture industry~~ what kind of films the motion picture industry shall make, not to the public what kind of films it may be permitted to see.

But the committee menaces not only the freedom of the screen. Already it has ~~made~~ announced its interest in radio. During these hearings it has gratefully accepted evidence against the publishing business, the theatre, and the press. This attack upon all rights of free expression ~~is~~ weaves a consistent thread which binds together the testimony thus far presented. The committee has indicated to the motion picture <sup>industry</sup> ~~industry~~ what ideas it must not advance, and has repetitively pointed out what ideas the committee considers it must advance in order to avoid further illegal persecution. The witnesses and the gentlemen of the committee have ~~formally~~ demanded a slave screen, subservient to the cultural standards of J. Parnell Thomas and the humanitarian convictions <sup>of</sup> John E. Rankin.

Third: This committee in its testimony has consistently approved ~~of~~ of even the grossest attacks upon the right of the creative artist to ~~writes~~ express his ideas freely and honestly in his work. You have also attacked his right to function in trade unions organized for ~~his~~ the advancement of his interests. You are now attacking his right to think. No ~~power~~ <sup>man</sup> on earth possesses this right. No power on earth can invade the privacy of a man's mind, and command him to make public confession of his thoughts. No free government can inquire into the religion, the

Under our constitution and its Bill of Rights you violate the most elementary principles of American democracy when you dare ~~ask~~ require of a citizen that he reveal for your approval his ideas upon race, religion or politics. No idea---even the most dangerous, even the most detestable---is subject to your review. Abraham Lincoln said: "This government and its institutions belong to the people . . . . " <sup>neither</sup> This committee ~~cannot~~ nor a thousand such committees ~~cannot~~ erase such thoughts from the American tradition. I urge you to remember in your ~~frantic efforts~~ efforts to set up standards of conformity to which all Americans must subscribe, that the German people have been condemned before the world for their failure to resist precisely the kind of repressive ideas and legislation which this committee has sought to see imposed upon the American people. <sup>If we had us rightfully should</sup> and others like you <sup>be subject to such condemnations</sup>

Already you have produced in this capital city a political atmosphere which stinks of fear and repression; a community in which anti-Semitism finds safe refuge behind secret ~~key~~ tests of loyalty; a city in which no union leader trusts his telephone; a city in which men and women who dissent even slightly from the orthodoxy you seek to impose speak with confidence only in moving cars and in the open air; a city in which old friends hesitate to recognize each other in public places; a city in which the secret police flout every principle of the rights of private citizens to arrange their lives as they wish. You have produced a capital city on the eve of its Reichstag fire. There is the smell of smoke in this very room, for those who can remember Germany in the autumn of 1932.

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*Our secret police  
Even slightest  
invasion should  
be met with  
permeable*