

salary. He cut his own salary from \$75,000 a year to 15 percent less than \$75,000 a year, and we cut our own salaries from \$10,000 a year to 15 percent below \$10,000 a year. That was a gracious thing for us to do. That was a gracious thing for the President to do. It is a gracious thing for the President and for Congress voluntarily, by their own actions and by their own votes, to cut their own salaries 15 percent. It left the President with 15 percent less than \$75,000. He gets only about sixty-six or sixty-seven thousand dollars and we get only about \$8,500 under this reduction.

But we are called upon now to cut the compensation of men who are wounded, who are hungry, who are disabled. We are called upon to take away the pitiful compensation that is being drawn by widows and by orphans. We are called upon to say whether or not we are going to take our own \$10,000 salary, that we would not reduce more than 15 percent, and whether or not the President is going to take his own \$75,000 salary, that he would not reduce more than 15 percent, and then take the little widow and two orphan children, who are getting \$40 a month, and cut it 65 percent; and take the poor blind man, who is getting \$100 a month, and cut that 80 percent; and take the poor devil here who was wounded all over the back, and operated on eight times, and reduce him from \$67 to \$8 a month. We are called upon to say whether or not it is justice and right under the living, shining stars of heaven to sit here tonight and take away 65, 75, 80, and sometimes 100 percent of the amount that some poor little widow or orphan or wounded veteran is drawing when we are not willing to take away

more than 15 percent from our own salaries of \$10,000 a year.

That is what we are called upon to say here tonight, gentlemen of the Senate. We are called upon to say whether or not there is such a thing as justice. Some poor little widow, some poor blind man, waiting on himself, waiting for the Reaper to come, and praying that he will come soon enough to relieve him of the distress that he is in; the poor blind devil who lies there, never to see the sun's light again, never to see the face of his child again, starving and hurt and bleeding, praying for the day when the Almighty will take him and relieve him from this distress—we are called upon to say tonight whether we will take \$80 out of the little \$100 he is getting, and will not take more than \$15 out of the hundred dollars we are getting ourselves.

That is what we are called upon to decide.

No; I will not participate in the Democratic victory tonight, Mr. President. I have participated in many Democratic victories and in many Democratic defeats. I have been a participant; but, so help me God, when we have won a victory it has been against strong and stalwart men. It has been against monopolies. It has been against giants of finance. We have grappled with them and won; but I do not care for my share in a victory that means that the poor and the downtrodden, the blind, the helpless, the orphaned, the bleeding, the wounded, the hungry, and the distressed, will be the victims of a victory in which I am to participate in the Senate.

OUR CONSTANT RULERS

SPEECH

OF

HON. HUEY P. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 26, 1933

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I had not intended to say anything about the publicity that is being given in the papers and in the congressional committees to the investigation of the house of Morgan; but such statements have gone into the papers, one of which I am going to refer to, that it seems as if someone from this side of the Chamber should say something on the subject.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LONG. I yield to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. FRAZIER. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following

Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Clark	Kendrick	Robinson, Ark.
Ashurst	Costigan	Keyes	Robinson, Ind.
Austin	Couzens	King	Russell
Bachman	Dale	La Follette	Schall
Bailey	Dickinson	Lewis	Sheppard
Bankhead	Dieterich	Logan	Shipstead
Barbour	Dill	Loneragan	Smith
Barkley	Duffy	Long	Steiwer
Black	Erickson	McAdoo	Stephens
Bone	Fletcher	McCarran	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Frazier	McGill	Thomas, Utah
Bratton	George	McKellar	Thompson
Brown	Glass	McNary	Townsend
Bulkley	Goldsborough	Metcalf	Trammell
Bulow	Gore	Murphy	Tydings
Byrd	Hale	Neely	Vandenbergh
Byrnes	Harrison	Norris	Van Nuys
Capper	Hastings	Nye	Wagner
Caraway	Hatfield	Overton	Walsh
Carey	Hayden	Patterson	Wheeler
Connally	Hebert	Pope	White
Coolidge	Johnson	Reed	
Copeland	Kean	Reynolds	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ninety Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I desire to send to the desk, with other exhibits, a clipping of which I ask the clerk to read the headline and the first paragraph only.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

ROOSEVELT SON BACKS MORGAN

BOSTON, May 25.—Beginning his address with the history of the Morgan family and its close relation with Boston and New England, James Roosevelt, son of the President, defended "the unquestioned honesty and integrity of the house of Morgan and its head" over the radio tonight.

Mr. LONG. At the conclusion of my remarks I shall ask that the entire article may be included in the RECORD, but I desire to have it back at this time in order to be able to refer to it.

Mr. President, I had not intended, and I had hoped that I would not, and that none of us on this side of the Chamber would be called on, to say anything with regard to the unsavory disclosures going on in the investigation of the house of Morgan. They were a source of considerable humiliation to the members of our party who fought for the success of the ticket in the last campaign. They were a source of even more humiliation to many of us who were actively engaged in the pre-convention work of nominating President Roosevelt. I feel that the publication of these disclosures is not only doing the party harm but it is unjustly reflecting upon the man who sits at the head of the executive department of this country.

The disclosure relative to the participation on the part of a Cabinet member; the disclosure of the participation on the part of the former chairman of the national Democratic committee, Mr. Raskob, and his apparent desire to "reciprocate" for the favors which he has received, followed by the very unfortunate statement, which I have sent to the desk, from the President's son that he considers the reputation and integrity of the house of Morgan and of Mr. J. P. Morgan to be above question, without some ex-

planation from this side of the Chamber, we would leave it to be understood that the President of the United States feels that he can rely upon the course of conduct of the house of Morgan for the care and protection of the people of this country.

Mr. President, the condition in which the Democrats of this country find themselves is a very unfortunate one. They are almost locked up in the same house with the recent administration of the Republican Party that was voted out of existence by the people of this country in November. After having pledged the people to drive the money changers from the temple, after having given the people to understand that there would be a turn to the right, a turn to give the people of this country control of the Government, we find lists flaunted in our faces where stocks being marketed on the exchange at \$37 a share were supplied to people high up in the councils of both of the great parties at \$20 a share, with the right to have them immediately sold and the profit, as shown by the difference between the purchase price and the market price, immediately to be transmitted to the beneficiary of such practices.

Why? I have heard of several religions whose advocates say that the only way to be certain of inculcating certain religious beliefs in the minds of people is to get them when they are young; that a child taught along certain lines until he is 5 or 6 or maybe 10 years of age becomes of a certain religious leaning and belief, from which he will never depart, regardless of what he learns in the course of his future life.

Mr. President, this disclosure as to the house of Morgan, and as to the financial market-rigging set-up of this country and of the whole world, shows that they have taken the prospective persons of influence, the great and the near-great and the maybe-to-be great, and have absorbed them in the incubator. They have reached them in their days of youth and in their days of growing promise. They have bandaged them and they have banded them. They have given them the balm of Gilead that the house of Morgan gives only to the select, and those whose services may be of some benefit to the country, so that when the fateful hour may have arrived no man will have escaped the confidence of the house through which he has been a recipient of the blessings of this kind of conduct, assuming, therefore, that he will be in no position to do anything to upset it if he reaches a place of power in the life of the Government where he might be of service to the people.

Mr. Morgan says that he has paid no income tax; and this brings me to say to the Senate and to the country that when we were in the convention in Chicago, undertaking to nominate Franklin Roosevelt, President, the one thing that was brought to the ears of men like the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] and myself was that unless an assurance could be given that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General were not going to be inimical to Wall Street certain influences were not going to allow Roosevelt to be nominated President of the United States.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. LONG. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I recall, in the President's inaugural address, a very strong statement something to this effect, which I think impressed the country:

The money changers must be driven from the temple.

I am glad the Senator from Louisiana has the courage with reference to these matters to point out some of the facts in connection with the money changers. I am sure all of us will be glad to help the President drive the money changers out of the temple.

Mr. LONG. I thank the Senator. I want to undertake, in the few moments at my command here now, not only to help drive the money changers out of the temple but to impress this country with the fact that President Roosevelt

is not responsible for what apparently is a policy by which today the money changers have been put in the pulpit instead of being driven out of the temple. I do not want the country to think that we have reached back on the back seats and hauled up the Wall Street element and put them in the choir to sing songs, which apparently the kind of publicity that the party is getting at this time would lead us to believe, if we did not know to the contrary.

Now, Mr. President, I want to review just what is the policy of the Treasury Department, not only now but formerly; and I do not blame our present policy, except for having continued what has been, and rather seems, according to the old song, destined to continue indefinitely:

What has been is to be, and forever will be; world without end. Amen.

[Laughter.]

I want to review what cropped out in this matter. Under the Treasury Department's ruling of past years, when anything came in there, anything from Morgan and from Morgan's partners, or from Morgan's clients, or even vouched for by Morgan, there was a notation made that there was to be no investigation made of the return made by J. P. Morgan, or by his partners, or by one for whom Morgan's house stood sponsor, regardless of what income he reported. That went into the record of this investigation. That was not anything we did not know. We did not have the proof of it, as this hearing has developed, but we knew they were doing that all the time.

We have been talking about the honor of men. A man has been chosen to go into the Treasury Department of the United States whom we find mired all over with the mud of Wall Street interests, but it is said, and we believe, he is an honest man; he is a bright and capable man, and will do nothing dishonest. Then a man is chosen to be his assistant, and we find he is mired up with the house of Morgan, and it is said that he is an honest, capable man, and that he will do nothing except what is fair and honorable in his administration. Then a lawyer for the same department is chosen, and we find that he is messed up with the house of Morgan, and we come in and chant the blessed song that he is a fair and honorable and righteous man, and that he will do nothing except what is right in the department.

Men of the Senate, you do not have to eat a whole beef to tell it is tainted. Do you think you are going to be able to pull men out of that environment and make them Secretary of the Treasury and Assistant Secretary and Solicitor of the Treasury Department, men who have come out of the house of Morgan, mired with him, and a part of the market-rigging practices in which he has been indulging in this country under the Republican Party and under the Democratic Party for the last 20 years, and let them run the Treasury Department, and expect them to reverse a policy that has always been the policy of that Department? There is not as much chance of the people of the United States getting relief at the hands of that kind of an administration as there is for a snowball to stay in existence going through hell. [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. President, we face the humiliating fact that, after having succeeded, after the candidate's platform has been endorsed, and after an inaugural address was delivered pledging to the people of this country that the money changers were going to be driven out of the temple, we see today, instead of being out of the temple, they not only inject themselves in the temple but they sit in the seats of the mighty and pass judgment on the balance of us who waged that fight to deliver this country back to the American people.

They tell us that this is a question of unquestioned honor. Yes; how unquestioned is the honor? I want to say, Mr. President, that I was never more disgusted with political life than I am now, and I never realized how difficult it was to do a little good in public affairs until I reflected upon the result after we went out bowing and raking and scraping and scrimping and begging the washerwoman and begging the laboring man and begging every man in the

country to give his dime, his quarter, or his dollar, or whatever he could give, in order that we might carry on a campaign throughout this country to liberate the people from the bondage of the power and the control of financiers over this Government and their illegal and unscrupulous practices that have brought the people almost down to the point of serfdom. What brigands we seem when we consider how we went into the plowed field, into the factory, out on the roadside and begged money from the people—50 cents, a dollar, two dollars—for which I have been criticized—and now see those people facing a spectacle where the empire of the whole country is to be concentrated apparently into the hands of the favored clients of J. P. Morgan, passing judgment upon the lives and fortunes of those people.

Mr. President, we promised the American people relief, not from the Morgan practices so much, not from the Rockefeller practices so much, but we promised the American people deliverance from a system. We promised the American people—the Democratic Party and the Republican Party too, almost—a better enforcement of the antitrust law. That is one thing we promised them. We promised through the words of our candidate that we were going to decentralize wealth. We promised that we were going to drive the money changers from the temple. We promised these people that if they would elect the Democratic ticket we were going to deliver the country in such a way and into such hands that the burdens of government would be borne by those who were able to bear them, that the right to labor would not be denied one able to perform it, and that the chance of an occupation and the chance of a livelihood would be guaranteed in this country as long as we had plenty to eat and plenty to wear and work to do. That was our promise.

It does not make any difference, Mr. President, what kind of a law we enact to curb these interests so long as they are made the masters of the law. We can enact all the laws we wish to regulate the conduct of the financiers, the bloated masters of fortune and power, but it does not make any difference what kind of a law we write on the books so long as we make them the masters of the law. Remember that, Mr. President. It does not make a bit of difference what kind of law we write. I say it again; I say to all the Senators here from Rhode Island and Tennessee and all the other States that it does not make any difference what kind of an income-tax law we write, it does not make any difference what kind of inheritance-tax law we write, if we are going to put the administration of that law into the hands of those whom we are trying to regulate we might as well never have written the law; we might as well say that we are going to put the gangsters out of this country and that we are going to make Capone the coordinating chief in order to put the gangsters out of America.

In other words, suppose we wrote a law appointing a supreme chief to oust the practice of gangsterism from the United States and appointed Capone to be the chief. I am putting the case rather extreme. Manifestly nobody would expect Mr. Capone to do anything. Mr. Capone would come right here before the Senate and hold up his hand and take the oath of office to support the Constitution and laws of the United States, just the same as anybody else would do, but we would all know that the minute he went away he was not going to do anything about it.

Yet we come here promising we are going to deliver the country from the money changers, and we hear presented to a senatorial committee the proof that these people have not only controlled legislation, have not only controlled parties, but they have so rigged up the Government of this country that there is not a chance under the ordinary course of things to relieve ourselves of their masterful influence in the course of two generations. We have no chance at all. We may go down the road in the nighttime. There is a house on one side of the road and one off on the other side. We go into the house on the left and we find it is full of bandits and brigands, and we manage to flee from it after 4 years of punishment. Then we go into a house on the

right side of the road and we find the same set or something just like them inside of that house, too. In other words, we got ourselves loose from the set in the house on the left that has been in control of the Government for 12 years, and we prayed to the Lord for deliverance and we got it; but lo and behold, we stepped into the house on the other side of the road, and there was Mr. Raskob, who wrote a man a letter on the other side that he “hoped to be able to reciprocate for the favors received”; and here is another man who said, “I am grateful for what you did for me, old boy. What do you want me to do with this stranger I got in here last night?” [Laughter.]

I know it is easy enough to go over the country and paint some of us as radicals. That is awfully easy to do. All anyone has to say is that “they are radicals and a bad set of men.” But, Mr. President, there is one thing we have not done. We have not told the American people one thing and done the other. There is another thing we have not done. We have not supported any candidate on any set of principles until that candidate came out and stated them to the American people just like he stated them to us.

There is another thing we have not done. We have not sat here and seen the Democratic Party murdered in the house of its enemy, and we are not going to do it. That is another thing we have not done. We promised the people a change. I was one of the men who promised them, though I might not have been one whose word was accepted, but at least every State which I entered turned out a handsome majority for the Democratic Party in spite of anything I might have done in the State, and the State from which I hail was a banner Democratic State in the last election, I believe, or one of them. But in spite of that, we told the people in the last campaign that if this party of ours began to manipulate the affairs of the Government with that same old type of chicanery that had dominated the last 12 years of this Government, we were going to speak aloud and undertake to see that it was put on the proper keel and directed on the proper course.

Here now comes a man into the house of this country, almost under the dome of the Capitol itself, and what does he say? “I have a list. It does not make any difference who you name. You can name the Republican politicians living in this country today and some who are not alive; you can name the Democratic politicians who are alive, and I will give you a card index whenever you get one of them named.”

Here we searched the country with a fine tooth comb trying to find someone upon whom we could depend to give relief and deliverance to the people of the country, to give us a chance to breathe the breath of new life, and yet after we have combed the country from Dan to Beersheba and got hold of one, we find out that he was a bed mate of the man we had put out! [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I am told that this thing was not only so manipulated, but I am actually told that the influences which had caused one man to accept one of these good offices were the same influences that told our man to take the same office. Here we have today painted before us this sign. Here is a masterful organization. I do not blame them for using the Government as they have used it, because they have been told they could use it. I am blaming the system that permits it. I would not vote to impeach the judge from the northern district of California for the same practices for which the Federal judiciary has been famous for a hundred years. I would not pick out one little judge and vote to impeach him when he has been doing just those things the whole Federal judiciary has been doing for the last 100 years.

Now they come here, all of them telling us that we must relieve ourselves of these conditions; and how do they tell us to relieve ourselves of them? They tell us to vote for a sales tax. In other words, Mr. Morgan has shown us that as a result of keeping those whom he wants to keep in the Treasury Department, we are not going to collect any tax from him anyway. Therefore, he says, “Amend the law,

and put a sales tax on the little man at the fork of the creek and the little man in the field, so he will have to pay the tax, and you will not be looking to me for anything that you are not going to get anyway, whether you like it or not." [Laughter.] In other words, he offers us relief.

We have been looking around here trying to get something out of Morgan, a man worth some three or four or five or six or seven hundred million dollars, maybe a few billions, and he has shown us that we cannot collect it, for a number of reasons: First, because he has a way of writing it off in losses. Second, because there has been an order given there in the Treasury Department that the income-tax returns he makes are not to be investigated anyway.

So he has shown us that we cannot collect anything from the bloated financiers of the house of Morgan anyway. Therefore he says, "Now, stop looking under my coat for anything, because you are not going to get it if you find it. Put on a sales tax and collect it out of 120,000,000 American people if you expect to get anything."

Then we see coming along the Rockefeller house. The Rockefeller house, they tell us, is against affiliates with banks, and that the Morgans were wanting to keep the bank affiliates in existence. The facts of the case are that they both would want to keep them in existence; but when we got to investigating them all down here we investigated the National City Bank, and that looked pretty bad, and the Rockefeller house was about next on the list to be investigated; so about that time it threw up its hands and created one of these smoke screens, something like the poker game I got into when I first went West. There were two men sitting on opposite sides of the table, and it looked like one of them was going to throw the lamp at the other one every minute, and I sat there gambling with them, trying to keep them from fighting, and when we wound up there was not any fight, but I lost my \$20. [Laughter.]

They are sitting around here, pulling off that old skin-game trick again, trying to make it look as though there is some difference between the house of Morgan and the house

of Rockefeller, and what are they all trying to do? Why, the whole gang of them are going down here telling us that the thing for us to do is to put on a sales tax and to repeal the income tax, and then Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller and all the balance of them will get out of it, and we will never have to call them before another Senatorial committee, because by law we will have exempted them even from the right to look into them to see whether we ought to have gotten anything or not.

This is a wonderful system of government we are experiencing. Come, holy blessings that we have prayed for and apparently got in the form of a consistent rulership that we thought we were voting out of existence here on the 8th day of last November.

Our President has made some mistakes, and so have some of us. They came in here with the economy bill, pleading that something had to be done as a result of the pleas of the Economy League. We have developed the contributors to the Economy League, and we find that nearly every one of them—I do not know how accurate this is, but I think almost to the point of complete accuracy—we find that nearly every one of those who have admitted that they have been paying the Government nothing whatever were the leaders in this movement to throw the soldiers out of the hospitals and take them off the compensation lists. They come along here today, shown up as having avoided paying the taxes that they say they paid in other countries. They come along here, showing that they rigged the market, making the poor, unsuspecting public pay \$37 for something they sold to a favored few for \$20. They come here showing that they have been able to keep this thing in their own hands; and when they wanted to decide upon a method of relief they said, "Get the soldiers off the pay roll of the Government to relieve the condition of financial distress in which the country now finds itself." They relieved us by taking the soldiers off the roll, throwing them out of the hospitals, and now they come here, and we find that they are entrenched in the place of the mighty.