CONGRESSIONAL RECORD-HOUSE

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The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, to include a letter on our foreign relations which I have received from the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of a resolution—House Concurrent Resolution 8—which I have sent to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 8

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the first paragraph of House Concurrent Resolution 4 of the Seventy-sixth Congress is hereby amended to read as follows: "That in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First Congress of the United States under the Constitution, begun and held at the city of New York on Wednesday, the 4th of March 1789, the two Houses of Congress shall assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives at 12 o'clock meridian on Saturday, March 4, 1939."

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD to include an address which I delivered this afternoon at the United States battleship *Maine* memorial services, held at Fort Myer, Va., under the auspices of the United Spanish War Veterans.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend in the RECORD two statements which I made in support of the bill (H. R. 2) before the Committee on Ways and Means.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include a speech I made. The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include a resolution from the National Student Legislative Council.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Friday, February 17, 1939, immediately after the reading of the Journal and disposition of other matters on the Speaker's desk, I be privileged to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include therein a Lincoln Day address by the Governor of South Dakota before the National Republican Club of New York.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the RECORD may be corrected on page 1996, in the last column of the table appearing on that page, so that the sign will read a plus sign instead of a minus sign.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks by including in the Appendix an address by my colleague, Hon. THOMAS E. MARTIN, Representative from the State of Iowa.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. SACKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that leave of absence be granted to my colleague, Hon. JOSEPH A. MCARDLE, on account of illness.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 minutes. I have asked the permission of the gentlemen who have special orders.

The SPEAKER. Is that agreeable to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN] and the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. PETERSON]?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is agreeable to me, Mr. Speaker. Mr. PETERSON of Georgia. That is agreeable to me, Mr. Speaker.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania (at the request of Mr. KINZER), for 1 week, on account of illness in his family;

To Mr. THOMAS F. FORD, for the balance of the week, on account of illness.

DIRECT RELIEF AND WORK RELIEF

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CULLEN). The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] for 2 minutes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, 8 days have elapsed since the President of the United States requested an additional \$150,000,000 for the Works Progress Administration. Only 44 days remain before approximately 2,000,000 people on the W. P. A. will be laid off.

The overwhelming majority of the American people demand action. Why is it that the Appropriations Committee is not acting on this request which is so vital to the welfare not only of the unemployed of this country but so vital to the welfare of the entire Nation? Why is it that the committee indulges in this delay? There can be no alibi or excuse for any delay. We face an emergency. The President stated in his message, "I ask that the Congress commence immediate consideration of these simple and alarming facts." Immediate consideration means now and not a month from now, today and not tomorrow.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I do not see any member of the majority on the Appropriations Committee here at the moment, but I may say in fairness to them that the President said he would report to the Congress again the first week in March. This would give the Appropriations Committee plenty of time to make an additional appropriation for the 3 remaining months until July 1 if they so desire.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous special order of the House the Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN] for 30 minutes.

(Mr. DICKSTEIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks.)

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, now that the committee presided over by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] has been reorganized and is ready to proceed with its work, I deem it my duty to address this House on the subject of the committee and on what I consider would be the important angles of inquiry to be pursued by it.

A few days ago, along with other Members of the House, I had occasion to speak of the work of the committee and its record up to that time, which was by no means inspiring. I then saw fit to point out some of its shortcomings, not by way of destructive criticism but by way of constructive suggestions as to how the committee might best serve the interests of the country.

After all, this is a committee of the House of Representatives, and all of us owe a duty to this House as well as to the country at large, a duty which must be discharged in an honest, straightforward, and patriotic manner, and I have no fear that a few suggestions might go a long way toward the achievement of that object.

It is unnecessary for me to tell you in detail as to my particular reasons for being so vitally concerned in the success of the committee's work. After all, the committee is my brain child and far back in 1933, when most of the Members of this House did not even know or suspect the existence of foreign propaganda, it was I, as chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, together with eight members of that committee, who undertook to make a thorough study of this situation. After holding hearings during the recess of Congress, we obtained enough evidence to focus the attention of the country upon the existing menace of foreign propaganda. It was only after earnest pleading with the Members of the House that I finally succeeded, on March 20, 1934, in obtaining the appointment of a committee to investigate subversive propaganda in the United States. This committee was created by House Resolution No. 198, reading as follows:

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives be, and is hereby, authorized to appoint a special committee to be composed of seven Members for the purpose of conducting an investigation of (1) the extent, character, and objects of Nazi propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation.

That said special committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States—whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned—to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, by subpena or otherwise, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpena shall be issued under the signature of the chairman and shall be served by any person designated by him. The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives was authorized to appoint this special committee, and the then Speaker, the Honorable Henry T. Rainey, who is now deceased, promptly communicated with me urging me to accept the chairmanship of that committee. I declined this honor, feeling that my work would best be done if another Member of the House were to be selected as the chairman of that committee, and the Speaker thereupon appointed the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack] as such chairman. I was made a member of the committee and elected the vice chairman thereof. It was then that this committee conducted a very intensive and thoroughgoing investigation with a very small appropriation, \$30,000. Very carefully, prudently, and without undue publicity, the committee then pursued its task of obtaining for the benefit of this House and the country at large the knowledge of such facts as would enable the House of Representatives to pass remedial legislation to do away with subversive propaganda.

The situation was very serious. From the right and from the left pressure was brought on the American public to do away with our time-honored democracy and to reorganize our constitutional set-up by way of fascism or communism. The pressure from the right and the pressure from the left was beating on our democracy, and the business depression which had then been in existence for a number of years made this country a fertile ground for the reception of foreign "isms." It was at this stage of the world's affairs that our committee set itself the task to educate the people of our country to the dangers of intolerance and hatred. We tried to make the people realize that intolerance and bigotry could not help to lift us out of our depression, but on the contrary, would result in a feeling of suspicion and distrust engendered against our fellow citizens and ultimately would bring about a cleavage and division among the members of our citizenry which could bode no good to the continuance of our democratic institutions. Our investigation was conducted along constructive lines and we prepared a report which showed the dangers of both fascism and communism to the continuance of our democratic institutions. We did not subpena ex parte investigators, but subpenaed James Ford, Browder, and other Communist leaders. We did not slander or attack the reputation of prominent Americans without having any definite evidence as to their guilt. May I suggest that the Dies committee follow this line of procedure? It certainly does not enhance the reputation of the committee, nor does it result in having the committee held in esteem, if it attacks the officials of our home Government and criticizes the conduct of our public officials who are doing their best to help eradicate from our midst any insidious attempts at the destruction of our form of government. We surely do not want to give aid and comfort to the enemy by attacking our own public officials. If the object of the committee is to show the dangers of foreign propaganda, let us not unnecessarily involve officials of our own Government who are the living exponents of our own democratic form of government.

In addition to foreign organizations, to which I will refer again in a moment, let me at this time briefly mention some of our domestic organizations which are as obnoxious to the maintenance of our democracy as are foreign groups working toward the same aim, that is to array citizen against citizen, or one group, one religion, one class, or one race against another. Among these dangerous and malignant groups are some 120 organizations. The committee presided over by the gentleman from Texas says there are some 60. A superficial examination of these organizations shows the diversity of the elements composing the sources of the assault upon our democracy. There are, as I said before, elements of the right as well as of the left, which are equally obnoxious and equally a necessary subject for investigation by this committee.

In addition to these organizations there are other sources of subversive activities in the United States. There are subversive groups of alien origin working in our navy yards, in our National Guard, and among the contractors employed by the agencies of our Government in the manufacture of munifions, airplanes and other scientific instruments. Those are the groups which seek to sabotage naval and military plans in the event this country should be drawn into war. Those are the groups which seek to obtain information about our national resources and our military and naval equipment. Those are the groups which communicate to foreign governments the result of their espionage activities.

The committee until the present time has not in any way submitted to the attention of the public any of these facts, nor has the committee made a study of the vast possibilities of destruction which face us if the activities of spies and saboteurs are allowed to go unchecked. For they eventually may result in another Black Tom or Kingsland explosion.

In March of last year one of my investigators made a study of the situation prevailing in the National Guard of the State of New York and found that there was a large number of aliens, both of German and of Russian origin, serving in the ranks of our State militia. It was with the cooperation of the Governor of the State of New York, to whose attention this matter was brought, that within 24 hours after advising the Governor about it an order was issued discharging from service every alien then serving in our National Guard, and requiring that hereafter only citizens should be eligible for service in our State militia. This is an instance of prompt official action when the facts were brought to the attention of the proper authority of our Government. It is such prompt action which should be imitated by this committee. and undoubtedly results will be just as effective. I do not know how many States in the Union suffer from the same situation at the present time, but perhaps a little activity on the part of the committee will ascertain the facts and cause the respective Governors of other States to take action similar to that heretofore taken by the Governor of my own State.

The German steamship lines have established a thorough system of bringing into this country tons of material used for vicious antidemocratic propaganda against our President, officials of our Government, and many groups of our citizens. This propaganda eminates from a totalitarian country, and the committee has done nothing to ascertain its sources or to stop its further operation. There are also uniforms for storm troopers, youth groups, and other totalitarian organizations being shipped on these boats, but nothing has been done by the committee to ascertain the origin of this type of propaganda. There are also books which have been withdrawn from circulation in this country because of their vicious and un-American character, only to be reprinted in Berlin and other places and to be sent back to us on German boats. This has likewise been ignored by the committee and not been investigated.

I take it for granted, or at least wish to express my hope that when the committee resumes its activities it will make a thorough study of the so-called German-American Bund, and that it will ascertain its objects, purposes, manner of organization, and particularly the source of its funds. It is unthinkable that out of the meager contributions levied on German merchants in this country it should be possible to manage a totalitarian organization like the bund which not only keeps up a network of activities stretching from coast to coast, but also embraces the North American Continent from Canada to Mexico. These bunds maintain over 30 camps in various parts of the United States, camps which are nothing but the training grounds for military drills and for the organization of a private army in opposition to and contrary to our own Army and Navy. To permit a foreign group to maintain an army on our own soil is, to say the least, the height of complacency. We surely cannot permit such unchecked activity, and it will be up to the committee to make a thorough study of this phase of foreign activities.

There are also chemical laboratories to manufacture noxious gasses and bombs for the destruction of our Army and Navy. There are secret laboratories, to work out dangerous processes, conducted by men who had experience in the chemical warfare service of other nations and who wish to utilize that experience against our citizens. There are exchange students who ostensibly come to this country to study, but are really here to indulge in widespread propaganda against our democracy as has been more fully discussed by me in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 5, 1939. There are activities of a more insidious kind, which, taking advantage of diplomatic immunity enjoyed by consuls, center around the various consulates of foreign nations. Would an American consul in any foreign country be permitted to appear on the public platform and speak against the form of government of the country to which he has been accredited? And yet that is precisely what German consuls have been doing from time to time and are still doing. They appear on the public platform and openly, because we cherish the ideal of free speech, tell our citizens that our Government is no good.

I do not have to dwell too long on the spy activities which recently resulted in a series of convictions meted out in the city of New York, as well as in our Canal Zone, after an impartial judicial trial. But did the trial stop these activities? On the contrary, in the Canal Zone the German consul was brazen enough to denounce the processes of our American justice and to criticize our officials for doing their duty.

There has been a noticeable change in methods of propaganda in recent years. While in former years it was the practice of propagandists to be vociferous, and the tactics they used to convert the public was to be shouting from the housetops, today their methods are more insidious. The idea is to drop a hint here and there, to whisper a remark here and there, and to cause dissatisfaction and unhappiness wherever possible. A propagandist can only fish in muddy waters, and agitators who become experts in their field make it hard for us to find a proper method to combat their activities. For the guidance of the committee may I add that most of this propaganda originates in countries already committed to a Fascist ideology, but an important part comes from countries that have democratic governments. There are Irish, Swiss, Swedish, French, and other foreign groups that are carrying on through Nazi inspiration and assistance antidemocratic and anti-Semitic propaganda. Ukrainian organizations of the pro-Nazi variety are active here, as well as Japanese societies which are spreading pro-Nazi propaganda. Among other organizations to be mentioned here are the Arab Racial League, the Palestine-Arab Delegation, the Gold Shirts of Mexico, which organization carries on anti-Semitic propaganda not only in Mexico but also among the Mexicans in the United States, and several White Russian organizations lined up with the Nazis, namely, the Russian National Union, White Guard Russian troops, Russian National League of America, and the Ancient and Noble Order of the Blue Lamoo. There are also several Canadian groups active in spreading pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic propaganda not only in Canada but in the United States as well. Among them are the Montreal Women's Anti-Communist League, the Canadian Nationalist Party, the Thunderbolt, Canadian Union of Fascists, and similar organizations.

Among the English organizations operating in the United States from England are: British Union of Fascists and National Socialists, Boswell Publishing Co., Britons Publishing Co., Christian Aryan Protection League, Imperial Fascist League, Militant Christian Patriots, and the Universal Racial Alliance.

Fascist Italy, too, is carrying on a vigorous propaganda in the United States today and the Italian consuls and the Italian press in this country have been forced to join in this campaign. For example, there are such organizations as the American Italian Union, Italian Library of Information, the Lictor Federation, successor to the Fascist League of America. The Italian Historical Society, the Dante Alighieri Society, and the Italian Black Shirts.

Of course Nazi Germany, too, has set up numerous organizations, the purpose of which is to propagandize the United States. In addition to the travel and steamship agencies, the German consuls, the press correspondents and the news agencies of Nazi Germany active in spreading pro-Nazi and antidemocratic and antisemitic propaganda, there are also the following organizations operating in the United States from Nazi Germany: Institute of Germans Living Abroad, the foreign organizations of the labor front, the foreign political office under Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, the People's League for Germanism Abroad, Nordic Society, German Colonial Society, Aryan Christian Alliance, Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question, German Students' Foreign District, Hitler Youth, Anti-Jewish World League, Anti-Comintern League, Fichte Bund, World Service, Julius Streicher's world clearing house for Jew-baiting, Nuremberg, Germany, Judenkenner.

Nazi Germany also has set up in the United States numerous organizations composed of German citizens and American citizens of German extraction, to carry on the Nazi propaganda campaign. Naturally these overlap in their activities. Among them all there is the closest cooperation and Fritz Kuhn, head of the German-American Bund, successor to the Friends of the New Germany, seems to direct the activities of all of them. Among these organizations now active or recently active are: Order of Service (American storm troopers), League of German Girls, German-American Business League, the Steel Helmets, German Veterans' League, German Legion, German Edda Culture League, German Commonwealth for Art and Literature (with the storm troop and political divisions).

But there are also numerous native American organizations that are carrying on antidemocratic, antisemitic, and pro-Nazi propaganda in the United States. They are national, regional, and local, though most of them are local or regional in character. There are also churches, usually German churches or Fundamentalist, that are centers of such propaganda. In defending the Fatherland, German churches naturally fall into the Nazi propaganda set-up and along with the defense of the Fatherland the German churches usually exploit antisemitic propaganda and thus lend very definite aid and comfort to the Nazi propagandists in the United States.

The other churches involved in this antisemitic and pro-Nazi propaganda are usually of the Fundamentalist variety extremely orthodox and reactionary in their theological views. In general, they say that the coming of Jesus is imminent. However, before he comes, the anti-Christ must come. Their further reasoning is that anti-Christ has come in the form of Jewish communism or Soviet atheism, both of which are synonymous, and that Hitler is the great bulwark against that anti-Christ. Thus they find themselves in the Nazi propaganda camp. There are several hundred important churches in the class of antisemitic propagandists in the United States, besides several thousand smaller ones that preach antisemitism intermittently.

There are also many individuals who act as centers of propaganda. These individuals act through and for other organizations, distribute literature of numerous groups, and send in the names of prospective victims of Nazi propaganda to both foreign and native propaganda groups. These individuals, of whom there are a great many, are very important agents of subversive propaganda. There is scarcely a community of any size without at least one of these individual propagandists.

Also, there are a good many important so-called patriotic groups and reactionary economic groups that might be classed as marginal. They believe themselves to be genuinely patriotic, but when a serious crisis arises they often find themselves in the pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic camp. Also, many of these reactionary, economic, and so-called patriotic groups exploit the propaganda furnished by regular anti-Semitic organizations. Types of individuals and organizations represented in these groups have been classified as antialien, antidemocratic, antilabor, anti-Negro, anti-New Deal, antipacifist, anti-Catholic, and vigilante, but all of the pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic.

With few exceptions all of these organizations have come into existence since Hitler came to power, and whether innocently or not they are all therefore agents of Hitler in the United States.

As a friend of the committee I must earnestly warn them that their task will not be an easy one. It will require a high degree of statesmanship and real ability to unearth some of the propaganda which does not squarely meet the eye. I am sure that the committee will be able to find complete cooperation whenever it will direct its energies to the eradication of dangerous propaganda. The press has been very helpful, and the Members of this body will give their assistance whenever called upon. We must not, however, let our vigilance relax. We must be forever mindful of our duty to this House as well as the people of the United States and perform our tasks with ability, dispatch, and dignity. The committee has an adequate appropriation, and no reason exists why it could not provide itself with an efficient and well-trained staff to assist it in its work. Its investigators should be chosen for their ability to obtain real information and to present all of the necessary facts to the committee for its action. The committee should guard against the type of investigators who are men of little knowledge and less ability, men who repeat hearsay without taking the trouble to check facts, for very often it is this type of investigator that may be held responsible for the failure of a committee to secure important information.

I am presenting the matter now to the Congress of the United States for the benefit and guidance of the Dies committee, and I assure the committee that if they will follow the suggestions made in this carefully prepared document, they will have sufficient evidence to expose the agitators who seek to undermine the Government.

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I yield. Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. The gentleman indicated that the list of names covered 120 different organizations which should be investigated.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. There are 120 such organizations in the United States. They call themselves 200 percenters; yet they practice and preach intolerance and hatred amongst the citizens of the United States.

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. What good purpose is served by not putting those additional 120 names into the RECORD so that the world may know, rather than make the list a confidential communication?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. For the simple reason that I want the committee to have the opportunity of using this list for the purpose of subpena and obtaining some of their records. The moment I put the names of those 120 organizations into the RECORD the most important evidence would disappear, because those groups are clever enough to destroy some of their incriminating records. I have incorporated in my statement now, however, names of some subversive organizations and their activities in the United States, which must be exposed if we desire to preserve our democracy.

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. I appreciate the work the gentleman has been doing throughout the years and I want to take this opportunity of congratulating him upon this splendid work and for his cooperation, because I know that his intimate knowledge of the subject will make the success of the Dies committee more assured.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] now has everything he has asked for, an extension of his committee, sufficient funds for an efficient staff, and the cooperation of the House of Representatives. There is no earthly reason why he should not succeed in his endeavor and we all hope that he will accomplish the great and important task of ridding our country of all groups organized for the purpose of undermining our liberal form of government.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous special order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. PETERson] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. PETERSON] yields back his time. He does not desire to address the House at this time.