

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I understand I am to be recognized to ask for consideration of House Resolution 420.

In that connection I am going to ask unanimous consent that I may have 15 additional minutes, for this reason: Originally the Rules Committee voted for 3 hours' general debate. Yesterday that was rescinded, and only 1 hour has been permitted under the general rules of the House. I have made some promises to Members, believing that the 3 hours would be forthcoming. I have done everything in my power to try to satisfy a few gentlemen who have asked me for time, and therefore I would appreciate it if I could have unanimous consent for 15 additional minutes.

Mr. FISH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I have no objection if the minority side could also have 15 minutes. We have a great number of requests on this side. I would be very glad to have the request granted, but it is a very bad precedent to establish if the gentleman should confine it to 15 minutes for himself only.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. SABATH. I am doing so because of the fact that at the time when the 3 hours were rescinded—

The **SPEAKER**. The gentleman from New York [Mr. **ANDREWS**] has already objected.

Mr. **SABATH**. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 420, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities is authorized to continue the investigation begun under authority of House Resolution 282 of the Seventy-fifth Congress, and continued under House Resolution 26 of the Seventy-sixth Congress, and continued under House Resolution 321 of the Seventy-sixth Congress, and continued under House Resolution 90 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, and for such purposes said committee shall have the same power and authority as that conferred upon it by said House Resolution 282 of the Seventy-fifth Congress and shall report to the House as soon as practicable, but not later than January 3, 1943, the results of its investigations, together with its recommendations for necessary legislation.

The **SPEAKER**. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. **SABATH**. I presume the gentleman from New York wishes me to yield him the usual time?

Mr. **FISH**. The usual 30 minutes, not 29½.

Mr. **SABATH**. I was in hopes, in view of what has been said, that the gentleman would not ask for more than 20 minutes that I might have a chance to keep the promises I made.

Mr. **MARCANTONIO**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent, in view of the fact that the Committee had originally decided on 3 hours, that the time for general debate be fixed at 2 hours.

The **SPEAKER**. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that general debate on the resolution be extended to 2 hours. Is there objection?

Mr. **HOFFMAN**. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. **SABATH**. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The **SPEAKER**. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. **SABATH**. Mr. Speaker, I will proceed for a few minutes only in order that I may keep faith with those gentlemen to whom I promised time. Personally, I feel that we, and the country likewise, have much more important matters to take up our time than debating a resolution extending the life of the Dies committee. The committee has already been investigating for 3 years and 10 months and has expended \$385,000—more than any other committee in the history of the House—and, in addition, nearly an additional \$90,000 has been expended for printing.

I regret that I am obliged to oppose the passage of the resolution to continue the Dies committee, because it has failed to penetrate and investigate the real Fascists and Nazis of this country that are really the greatest danger to our country.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the time has been taken away from me that I originally intended to have, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. **SABATH**. Mr. Speaker, I originally helped to create the Dies committee, and in great measure was responsible for the gentleman from Texas being made chairman of that committee.

At that time, he assured me that the committee under his chairmanship would continue to penetrate all subversive and un-American activities that were brought to light by the McCormack-Dickstein committee. However, within a few months, I was obliged to urge him to proceed to investigate these Nazi un-American activities as he had promised.

Personally I know Mr. **DIES** is a very capable and resourceful gentleman. He is a splendid publicist and has received greater publicity than any Member in the United States because of the speeches and releases he has made and issued from time to time.

Unfortunately he has failed to keep the pledge that he made to the House and to me to carry on the work for which his committee was created. I regret that, notwithstanding his ability, he has permitted himself to be misled by shrewd and vicious Nazi-Fascist propagandists. In this connection, George Sylvester Viereck and the many Nazi-Fascist agents and propagandists have succeeded in diverting attention from their activities by continuously charging everyone who has tried to unmask them and their stooges with being Communists or connected with organizations with communistic leanings. They have succeeded in imposing, yes, misleading, Members of this House as well as Members of the other body. On the other hand and at the same time, Mr. **DIES** has branded hundreds of labor leaders and honest, well-meaning Americans who believe in progressive legislation, yes, humane New Deal policies, as Communists and Socialists.

Despite his statements to the contrary, I must charge that he has not, as relentlessly as he should have, investigated the Nazi Fascist leaders and propagandists. From information I have, all of those who have already been indicted and convicted have been brought to justice by the F. B. I.

Fritz Kuhn, Wilhelm Kunze, the Nazi spy ring in New York, Laura Ingalls, George Hill, and George Sylvester Viereck are convictions obtained by the Department of Justice as the results of the F. B. I. investigations and not by the Dies committee.

Mr. **DIES** has claimed credit for bringing about the arrest of William Dudley Pelley. I am obliged to differ with him. The facts are that Pelley was convicted on evidence uncovered by the McCormack-Dickstein committee and is serving time for stock deal frauds for which he was convicted years ago.

In fact, Mr. **DIES'** agents maintained for a year that they could not find Pelley, notwithstanding that he had spent most of his time right here in Washington—and did not find him.

However, they did find him when the Hoffman resolution was considered by the Committee on Rules on charges that had been made by Representative Hook on the floor of the House that Pelley had boasted that he had written letters

stating that the Silver Shirts, of which he was a leader, could trust **DIES**.

At the hearing Mr. Pelley testified that a certain letter bearing his signature was a forgery, and a man named Mayne, who worked for the Dies committee at one time, and also with Pelley, forged the letter. It is indeed strange that appeals for leniency and every effort was made to save David G. Mayne from imprisonment after he had pleaded guilty.

Mr. Speaker, it should be remembered that 2 years ago, when he asked for continuation of his committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. **DIES**], and again last year, assured the Committee on Rules and the House that he would not give out any statements or issue any releases without the consent of his committee, and that he would proceed strenuously to investigate the Fascists, Nazis, and any and all organizations connected with them.

As it is, notwithstanding his assurance, there are many organizations and individuals that have not been investigated and their activities brought to light as they should have been. Here I point out a few of them: George E. Sullivan—known as Slap-Happy Eddie—an active Nazi supporter and attorney for former Congressman Thorkelson. To the latter's many vicious and lying inserts into the **CONGRESSIONAL RECORD** I have objected and pointed out that they emanate from and are a part of Nazi propaganda. Sullivan served as chief investigator for the Dies committee.

John B. Trevor and Walter Steele, of the American Coalition, affiliated with Nazi groups. Intimates of Gerald Winrod and James True.

Walter D. Ogden of the Christian Front. Fourteen members of this front were indicted in Brooklyn for seditious activities.

Father Coughlin, Social Justice. Tied up with Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers. Coughlin nominated Dies for President in 1940.

George A. Van Nordall and Edwin Westphall, the Crusaders for Americanism.

Joe E. McWilliams, a bund member, leader of the Christian Mobilizers.

Stanley E. Smith, George Goadby, and Robert Edmundson, bund members and American Nationalists.

A. Allen Zoll, leader of the American Patriot. Wizard Colecott of the Ku Klux Klan.

Manfred Zapp of the Trans-Oceanic News Service.

The United Electric News states:

While **DIES** himself has attended dinners along with Fritz Kuhn, the Nazi leader now in jail, he has given only the most minor attention to the German-American Bund.

Edwin James Smythe, commander of the Protestant War Veterans, referred to Hitler as the greatest living Christian since Jesus Christ.

Ralph Townsend, of Scribner's Commentator, the America First organ; George Christian, of the Christian Crusaders; General Moseley; Gerald Smith; Colonel Hadley; Winfield Jones; and E. N. Sanctuary.

This failure to investigate was not due to his lack of money, because his committee has already received \$385,000. In

February 1939 Mr. Warren, then chairman of the Accounts Committee, stated:

Mr. Speaker, this resolution carries the largest single amount (\$100,000) ever brought before me. If this investigation is not to be terminated within 1 year, I would not have supported it. I have always opposed these perpetual investigating committees.

In February 1941 Mr. COCHRAN, the present chairman, stated:

Mr. Speaker, with the unexpended balance, the resolution carries \$154,000 which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] states is sufficient to carry the investigation through. A total of \$385,000 has been appropriated. This is more money than ever heretofore appropriated by the House for the use of a special committee.

Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret that there are some Members who are supporting Mr. DIES because of his activities against organized labor which, notwithstanding the few deplorable strikes, is demonstrating a real patriotic spirit during this critical time.

I hold no brief for the Communist form of government, but everyone must recognize that the Soviet Government and the Russian people are rendering our country a real vital service in this war.

I feel, and I think the country agrees, that we should desist from attack on a valiant nation doing its best to bring about the defeat of Hitlerism.

In the best interests of the country, I appeal to those Members of this, as well as the other body, who may have permitted themselves to be imposed upon by shrewd, conniving Nazi-Fascist propagandists, to now unite in the vital task of winning this war.

I realize that, regardless of what evidence is offered against the adoption of this resolution, that it will pass the House, but and notwithstanding the fact that it will in a great measure interfere and conflict with the investigation that is now being made by the F. B. I. I feel that it would be wiser to give that money to the F. B. I., because during the existence of this committee, I do not know of a single bill that the committee has introduced that would more easily bring about the apprehension of the Fascists, Nazis, and now of the Japanese forces undermining our unity and bringing about as much discord as possible.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I have in my possession thousands of letters, telegrams, news items, articles, and editorials from papers and people all over the United States. Many of them who formerly supported the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] now urge the discontinuation of the committee. I insert only a few of the many letters and telegrams that came to me during the past few weeks, leaving to other Members the insertion of editorials and news articles:

DUKE UNIVERSITY,  
Durham, N. C., February 11, 1942.  
HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
Chairman of the Committee on Rules,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SABATH: I write to ask you to use your influence to prevent a continuance of the Dies committee, which I understand is asking for another large appropriation and an extension of its life.

It has nothing to show for its work except publicity for its chairman, the arousing of prejudice against liberals, and an addition to the "scares" which harass our citizens needlessly. Our regular agencies can adequately care for the real domestic enemies.

Cordially yours,  
ELBERT RUSSELL,  
Dean Emeritus.

DEAN'S OFFICE,  
THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY,  
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH,  
Sewanee, Tenn., February 9, 1942.

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
Chairman, Committee on Rules,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SABATH: I understand that the Dies committee will expire on March 31 and that House Resolution 420 has been introduced by Mr. Dies to continue its life.

It seems to me that this committee has done a great deal of harm, and I earnestly hope that you will see your way clear to vote against its continuance.

Sincerely yours,  
FLEMING JAMES.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.,  
February 9, 1942.

Representative ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
Chairman, Committee on Rules,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This letter is to register my most strongly seated aversion to the continuation of the Dies committee, as proposed in House Resolution 420.

MARTIN DIES has always been a destructive and degrading force in American democracy. In this war period, when all sections of the American people are united behind our Government's all-out effort to win the war against fascism and aggression, MARTIN DIES' activities are doubly harmful to our just cause. His committee is a friend and agent of Hitler, nothing more.

Now that he is pressing for a continuation of his committee and for funds, he makes the same old gesture of pretending to investigate the real enemies of our country, the Nazi agents and propagandist organizations. This pretense does not fool anyone. If DIES were sincere, he would bring to justice and to light the activities of many Fascist organizations and individuals whom he has been shielding for several years.

The continuation of his committee will mean more Red baiting, labor baiting, administration baiting, with the result that national unity and the fight against foreign and native fascism will be seriously hampered.

Therefore, I urge you most strongly to reject House Resolution 420 in the interest of national unity and American democracy.

Sincerely yours,  
NENA BETH SHAW.

CHRIST CHURCH RECTORY,  
Cambridge, Mass., February 7, 1942.  
HON. A. J. SABATH,  
Chairman, Committee on Rules,  
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SABATH: As a citizen I would like to register a protest against continuing the appropriation for the Dies committee, which matter I have been informed, rightly or wrongly, will come before the House committee soon. As far as I have been able to follow the work of the committee it seems to me that they have attacked some people but have not attempted to protect us against notoriously fascist people, who seem to me more dangerous than many they have spent time investigating.

Very truly yours,  
GARDNER M. DAY.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION,  
New York City, February 10, 1942.  
HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
Chairman, House Rules Committee,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SABATH: As cosecretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, I am certain that the 10,000 members of the fellowship would wish me to protest to you and their other Congressmen against another year's extension and \$100,000 to the Dies committee.

As you know, not a single piece of legislation has resulted from the Dies committee's investigations. The net effect of its operations has been only to arouse prejudice and unjustified attacks on liberal and progressive causes. Nothing is gained for national defense and unity in a time of crisis by arousing the fears which the Dies committee promotes. The established agencies of our Government are adequately equipped to protect the country against subversive influences. Since Mr. DIES and his committee have been in operation since 1938 they have had ample time in which to investigate the Ku Klux Klan. This he has not done, and I am certain that the American public is very much against the committee's extension under the pretense of a Nation-wide exposure of the Klan. Certainly the Klan needs such investigation, but we do not believe that Mr. DIES' committee is the agency fitted for the job.

Sincerely yours,  
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE,  
Secretary.

RELIGIOUS FORUM,  
Los Angeles, February 9, 1942.  
HON. A. J. SABATH,  
Chairman, House Rules Committee,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We urge on you, very emphatically, "to let the Dies committee die." A few of the many reasons briefly stated are—

Instead of investigating and exposing the real fifth columnists it spent its time and money in smearing every type of progressive and exerted and expended its energies to destroy the labor movement.

DIES himself is and has been very closely associated with professional anti-Semites and open Fascists.

DIES with his disruptive tactics and Red baiting is today one of the most powerful factors against national unity.

And need we call to your attention that before each new appropriation he always promises to go after the real Fascists, only to go back to his one-purpose job of defending and advancing everything reactionary.

We believe that there is a need to expose and stop the fifth columnists in our country, but certainly DIES has proven through all these years where his heart and interests lie. So we urge upon you "to let the Dies committee die."

Respectfully yours,  
RELIGIOUS FORUM,  
DAVID GRANT, Chairman.

THE WALNUT STREET  
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,  
Philadelphia, February 11, 1942.  
The Honorable A. J. SABATH,  
Chairman, Committee on Rules,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN SABATH: With a multitude of intelligent Americans, I believe that it will be disastrous, in this time of strain when unity is essential to our national salvation, to have the Dies committee continued. To do so will be worth an entire army division to Hitler and Hitlerism.

I assure you of my appreciation of the splendid service that you have rendered and are rendering to the Nation.

Respectfully yours,  
J. A. MACCALLUM.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,  
Madison, February 3, 1942.

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I hope that the House will not accede to Congressman DIES' request for another year's extension of the activities of his committee. Now is the time to promote unity in the interest of defense, and the type of investigation his committee has been doing is anything but a happy way to promote national unity.

You will find my name in Who's Who.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. ROSS.

WESTPORT ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, N. Y.,  
February 6, 1942.

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SABATH: May I protest against granting the request of Congressman MARTIN DIES, asking for another year's extension of his committee and \$100,000 to pursue his investigations?

I am one of the many citizens of the United States who feel that nothing has resulted from these investigations. I agree with the statement that "the net effect of its operations has been only to arouse prejudice and unjustified attacks on liberal and progressive causes."

With the hope that the Dies committee may be discontinued,

Very sincerely yours,

MARY E. WOOLLEY.

SPOKANE, WASH., February 2, 1942.

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Respecting the Dies committee request for another \$100,000, may I say that I know of no greater waste of funds than this. The Dies committee has gone off on more wrong scents and developed more prejudice with its attacks based on inadequate information than any other group, official or unofficial, in my time.

In view of the favorable work that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been doing, it seems to me that at this long last work of this committee might well be discontinued.

Yours faithfully,

B. H. KIZER.

CHICAGO, February 6, 1942.

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
Chairman of the Committee on Rules,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I note that Representative DIES is again requesting an extension of life of his committee and as an inducement he has issued his fantastic report of espionage. It seems to me that the report convicts Mr. DIES of criminal negligence. If he really knew as much as he says he knew, he could have prevented the Pearl Harbor attack.

I believe that the man is untrustworthy and a menace to Americanism and I hope that you will vote against House Resolution 420.

Very truly yours,

LEON M. DESPRES.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., February 9, 1942.

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
Chairman of House Committee on Rules,  
Washington, D. C.:

Sincerely urge no further appropriation to un-American Dies committee.

ERNEST N. VOTAW,  
President, Philadelphia Lawyers Guild.

THE MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL,  
Chicago, February 9, 1942.

HON. A. J. SABATH,  
Chairman, Committee on Rules,  
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. SABATH: Permit me to express the opinion that it would be inadvisable to

give the so-called Dies committee further opportunity to make the kind of sensational and indiscriminate investigation that has hitherto marked its proceedings. The committee, despite the unbalanced attitude of its chairman, did a real service in arousing the American people to the very real danger of subversive activities, but by now our people are aroused. They do not need further stirring up. They need, rather, calming down.

During the first World War we made great mistakes and did grave injustice not only to perfectly harmless aliens but to loyal American citizens. It was possible for anyone to pay off a grudge by reporting a neighbor to the Federal district attorney. I lived in Boston during the war, and after it was over the district judge declared that not one of the many cases tried as a result of the complaints of volunteer spies had any real ground for action.

Fortunately, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has now been organized and expanded. I have had calls from a number of so-called G-men investigating the records of persons of my acquaintance, reported for one reason or other to the Bureau. I have found these young men intelligent, painstaking, and fair-minded. The intent of the Bureau is evidently not to persecute but to learn the truth. I believe that investigation of subversive activities can best be left in their hands.

We do not need at this time flamboyant and sensational spy hunts by a committee that has already shown a disposition to judge by labels rather than by facts, and has done grave injustice by smearing the reputations of good men and women. The work of such a committee makes not for loyalty but for disloyalty to the United States.

Very sincerely yours,

SIDNEY B. SNOW, President.

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH,  
Lincoln, Nebr., February 5, 1942.

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SABATH: It has been called to my attention that MARTIN DIES is asking for another \$100,000 for his committee. In my judgment this is another case of wasting the public's money. I regret to say that Mr. DIES is an unmitigated nuisance.

I am,

Respectfully yours,

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

THE NEW YORK CONFERENCE  
FOR INALIENABLE RIGHTS,  
New York City, February 7, 1942.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This brief letter asking you to vote "No" on the continuation of the Dies committee is sent to emphasize the many communications already submitted by informed and honest Americans making the same request.

I am sending it to emphasize certain points:

1. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is sufficient. The Dies committee is duplication. It spends uselessly much-needed money.

2. The Dies committee has been and will be a menace to national unity, and to our President's policies which the country overwhelmingly supports.

3. The Dies committee has consistently attacked labor unions and liberal people while allowing Fascists and Nazis to go unrebuked.

We have faith that you who represent the American people will insist upon an immediate termination of the Dies committee.

Faithfully yours,

ROSALIE MANNING,  
President.

WELLESLEY, MASS.,  
February 1, 1942.

HON. A. J. SABATH,  
Chairman, Rules Committee,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: May I express my strong hope that the appropriation of half a million dol-

lars for the Dies committee may not be made. We have better uses for our money in this grave hour than to spend it on incitement to often unfounded fear.

Respectfully yours,

V. D. SCUDDER.

PHILADELPHIA,  
February 9, 1942.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN SABATH: I want to say that I am for the defeat of the resolution—No. 420—to extend the life of the Dies committee for another year and hope that you will do everything in your power to see that this committee, which has been run so badly, is not continued.

Yours truly,

ELIZABETH FRAZIER.

FARMERS' UNION LIVE  
STOCK COMMISSION Co.,

South St. Paul, Minn., February 4, 1942.  
HON. JOHN P. O'HARA,  
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: The Dies committee is again asking that it be continued, and Dies' resolution to this effect is now before the House Rules Committee.

Though we are now waging war against the Axis, Mr. Dies and his committee could never bring themselves around to an effective investigation of Nazi spying or Fascist plotting. The committee spent money lavishly through the years attacking democratic organizations, trade unions, farm groups, consumer organizations, and cooperatives. But it never had the time or inclination to expose the truly un-American Fuehrers.

Now the Dies committee says that its work is unfinished and asks that it be continued. The Dies committee will never finish what it never chose to begin, and we agree with the C. I. O.'s statement urging the refusal of its request for further continuation. The work of dealing with foreign spies is too serious at this time for any loose handling by unsympathetic parties.

The Dies committee is impeding the war effort and jeopardizing national unity, as among other things, its recent attempt to use the Lash case as an attack on Mrs. Roosevelt and its absurd charges against Leon Henderson.

At its Omaha convention, the National Farmers Union passed a strong resolution condemning the undemocratic character of the Dies committee, and we now want to ask your support in opposing any further appropriations for the Dies committee.

Respectfully yours,

FARMERS' UNION LIVE STOCK COMMISSION,  
CHAS. D. EGGLEY, Manager.  
Copy to Hon. ADOLPH SABATH, chairman,  
House Rules Committee, Washington, D. C.

PHILADELPHIA, February 7, 1942.  
Representative ADOLPH J. SABATH,  
Chairman, House Rules Committee,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SABATH: House Resolution 420 is coming before your Rules Committee at an early date. I am asking you to oppose this resolution.

Mr. DIES has done much harm so far in his condemnation of all that is American. He is a hindrance to our national defense program. If we have known un-American activities the Federal Bureau of Investigation should handle the investigation.

May we count on you to oppose this resolution?

Thank you.

WILHELMINA A. CARVER.

BOSTON, MASS., February 10, 1942.  
HON. A. J. SABATH,  
Washington, D. C.:

Because I believe that the effect of the present policies of the Dies committee is not helpful in sustaining and building up national morale, I hope very much that the life

of this committee may not be continued, and I would urge that your committee do not recommend passage of the proposed bill.

FREDERICK M. ELIOT.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., February 8, 1942.

Chairman A. J. SABATH,  
Rules Committee,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

Opposed to further appropriation for Dies committee. Feel it endangers free speech.

M. L. THOMAS.

VALPARAISO, IND., February 9, 1942.

Hon. A. J. SABATH,

Chairman, Rules Committee,

House Office Building:

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the record of the Dies committee does not justify its continuance from the funds that must come from the taxpayers.

JAMES H. MCGILL.

WELLESLEY, MASS., February 8, 1942.

Chairman A. J. SABATH,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

Allow me to protest strongly against approbation for Dies committee.

FLORENCE CONVERSE.

BROOKLINE, MASS., February 8, 1942.

A. J. SABATH,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

We trust you will discontinue un-American, unpatriotic Dies committee.

MR. AND MRS. JOHN F. MOORS,

Brookline, Mass.

JAMAICA PLAIN, MASS., February 7, 1942.

Representative A. J. SABATH,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

We strongly oppose further continuation Dies committee as injurious to morale of a nation defending freedom.

PHELPS PUTNAM.

UNA PUTNAM.

FRANCES FRITCHEMAN.

REV. STEPHEN FRITCHEMAN.

MRS. HENRY PUTNAM.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, February 9, 1942.

Hon. A. J. SABATH,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

I earnestly protest against resolution giving further support to Dies.

D. R. SHARPE.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., February 10, 1942.

Representative ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman of the Rules Committee,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.:

MARTIN DIES represents the spirit of fascism abroad in America today. Therefore urge, in the interest of national unity and an eventual American victory, you make every effort to defeat bill 420.

ARNAUD DUSSEAU.

PALO ALTO, CALIF., February 10, 1942.

Representative ADOLPH J. SABATH,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.:

Respectfully protest extension of Dies committee. He has promised, but never obtained, information of Fascist spies. Promoted disunity and hindered defense by attacking labor and Red-baiting the President's appointees, thus comforting our enemies.

S. W. WEYMOUTH.

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 9, 1942.

Chairman A. J. SABATH,

Washington, D. C.:

Urge Rules Committee refuse extension Dies committee today.

ELSIE D. HARPER,

Pleasantville, N. Y.

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 9, 1942.

Chairman A. J. SABATH,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

Urge Rules Committee refuse extension Dies committee today.

RHODA MCCULLOCH,

New York City.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., February 10, 1942.

Representative ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman, Rules Committee, House of

Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Strongly urge that you do utmost to defeat H. R. 420. Publicity mongering detrimental to war effort. Federal Bureau of Investigation and Intelligence Services adequate without Mr. DIES.

JOSEPH L. HABER.

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF., February 9, 1942.

Representative ADOLPH SABATH,

Chairman, House Rules Committee,

Washington, D. C.:

Continuation un-American Does committee dangerous to American unity. End the Dies farce and give us a real investigation of Coughlin and other Fascist forces.

MADELAINE RUTHVEN.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., February 8, 1942.

ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman, House Rules Committee,

Washington, D. C.:

National unity necessary for victory. Urge vote against Dies committee.

ANNE FOX.

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 11, 1942.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman, Rules Committee,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.:

The Dies committee has been destructive of national morale with its insidious scare-head-hunting accusations irresponsibly made with no opportunity of rebuttal, and with its generally undemocratic procedures. Has accomplished little or nothing toward uncovering actual agents of Nation's enemies. Emphatically urge opposition to any appropriations whatsoever toward its continuation.

DAN H. KRUPP.

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 11, 1942.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman, Rules Committee,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.:

Dies committee perils national unity. Urge strong opposition to appropriations.

FRANCES BRANDMARK.

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 11, 1942.

ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman, Rules Committee,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.:

Urge no appropriations to pro-Hitler Dies committee.

BETTY HERBST.

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 11, 1942.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman, Rules Committee,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.:

Dies committee impedes national unity. Urge opposition to further appropriations.

JUNE MIRKEN.

CHICAGO, ILL., February 8, 1942.

Congressman ADOLPH SABATH,

Chairman, House Rules Committee,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.:

Strongly urge discontinuance of Dies committee as serious obstacle to national unity and civilian morale. Hope your committee will render the Nation high service by ending this fantastic side show.

REV. DWIGHT J. BRADLEY,

Director, Council for Social Action,

Congregation Christian Churches.

AGNEW, CALIF., March 7, 1942.

HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR COMMITTEE: The morale of millions would be raised by the abolition of the labor-busting Dies committee. The refusal of this committee to investigate enemy subversive activities warrants this suspension.

Respectfully,

FRED BRAKEBILL.

SUNNYVALE, CALIF., March 6, 1942.

HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

GENTLEMEN: The continuance of the Dies committee puts the stamp of congressional approval on witch-hunts among patriotic American working people. Dies' phoney report is only being given because he wants more money.

Very truly yours,

VERN SCHESSLER.

NEW YORK, N. Y., March 11, 1942.

Representative ADOLPH J. SABATH,

Chairman, Rules Committee,

House Office Building:

The public affairs committee of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association urges discontinuance of Dies committee. In our judgment, work of this committee can better be carried on by Federal Bureau of Investigation.

DR. EMILY HICKMAN, Chairman.

Mr. SABATH. I now yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from New York, for debate only.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MASON], a member of the Dies committee.

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

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, in consideration of the resolution that is before the House, a resolution to continue for another year the so-called Dies committee, I wish to call the attention of the Members to the old and quite generally accepted maxim, "A man may be known by the company he keeps." As a corollary to that well-known maxim I offer the following: "A man may be known by the enemies he makes," and its converse, "A man may be known by the friends he makes."

Mr. Speaker, I know of no better way in which to appraise the work of the Dies committee than to look into the character of its friends and its enemies. A colorless and ineffectual person may have no enemies and very few fast friends. Whatever else may be said of the Dies committee, it must be recognized by all that our committee has stanch friends—countless in their number—and

also desperate enemies—not so numerous, but qualitatively very significant.

I doubt if any committee of the United States Congress has ever been so hysterically attacked as the Dies committee, and I also doubt if ever any committee has been so wholeheartedly defended as the Dies committee.

Our committee has files of the Weckruf, newspaper of the German-American Bund, which contain scores of the most vicious articles against the Dies committee. Speaking for myself and, I am sure, for the rest of the members of our committee, I say that we are proud of the enmity of the German-American Bund. I consider that richly merited enmity a badge of honor.

Another example is the case of one Edward James Smythe. Smythe has been one of the crew of pro-Nazis operating under the guise of patriotism. Our committee seized Smythe's complete files 2 years ago. Among his letters, there was one in which he solicited funds from the German Consulate in New York. In another letter which he wrote to the foremost Nazi propagandist in Germany, Herr H. R. Hoffman, Smythe expressed his bitter hatred of the Dies committee in the following language: "I went before the un-American Dies committee August 1. This rat," meaning DIES, "double-crossed the American people and sold out to the enemy." It is significant that both Edward James Smythe and Adam Lapin, newspapermen for the Communist Party in Washington, call our committee the un-American Dies committee. Judged by the standards of the Nazis and the Communists, our committee is worse than a failure; it is a positive menace.

Mr. Speaker, I could discuss in great detail the facts concerning our committee's numerous enemies, but that would take more time than I have at my disposal. I can only remind the House that three of the largest and most influential Communist-dominated organizations in this country have sent briefs containing scurrilous attacks, replete with misstatements of fact, to the Members of this House urging the discontinuance of our committee. These organizations are the National Lawyers Guild, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and the International Labor Defense. Adolph Berle, Assistant Secretary of State, resigned from the National Lawyers Guild 2 years ago, declaring publicly that he had found that the guild was completely dominated by Communists. The International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties are composed almost exclusively of Communists and Communist fellow travelers.

At this point I want to list some of the enemies of whose hostility we are proud; and also some of the friends of whom we are even more proud. I shall name only a few in each category, but enough to give you a clear picture.

Our enemies:

Fritz Kuhn and the German-American Bund, a Nazi organization.

The Silver Legion of America, the Pelley outfit.

The Kyffhauserbund, another Nazi organization.

National Workers' League, a Nazi anti-Jewish group.

Knights of the White Camellia, George Deatherage's old outfit—a Fascist group.

The Communist Party and its many front organizations.

National Lawyers Guild, controlled by Communists.

International Labor Defense, also controlled by Communists.

International Workers Order, controlled by Communists.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, another Communist outfit.

Our friends:

The American Legion.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Disabled War Veterans of America.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Sons of the American Revolution.

Knights of Columbus.

The Catholic Churches of America.

Federation of Women's Clubs of America.

Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.

Junior Order of American Mechanics.

The American Federation of Labor.

One hundred and twenty-nine million Americans out of the one hundred and thirty million the census figures show.

Mr. Speaker, these lists of friends and enemies of the Dies committee tell the whole story in a nutshell—more eloquently than any words I can use. Truly, a man may be known by the enemies he makes and also by the friends he makes. I believe the stand of these various organizations on the Dies committee calls for the continuance of the committee's labors in the interest of Americanism and national defense. I also feel sure that 95 percent of the membership of this House believes the record of the committee warrants its continuance and will so vote.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, the committee has been accused of making mistakes. Truly, the committee has made mistakes. What Member of this House has not made mistakes? What committee of this House has not made mistakes? Because it has made mistakes, they seek to have the committee killed. If that is the purpose, perhaps the committee that brought in the pension bill should be killed off, too, and many other committees of this House that have made mistakes. But, Mr. Speaker, if you strike a balance, putting the mistakes on one side as the liabilities of the committee and the achievements of the committee on the other side as the credits of the committee, striking a balance, the balance will be found on the right side.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. COFFEE].

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] has stated that the committee is going to be judged by the friends it keeps and the friends it has. I point to an article in the Daily Oklahoman of February 25, 1942, wherein it is reported that the Ku Klux Klan endorses the Dies committee.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. I am going to get to that.

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time the Dies committee has come before this honorable assemblage for ratification and continuation. The House is in a more or less jovial humor today and I hope we will continue to maintain our good humor. I hope that we will not chase the smile off the face of the genial and brilliant gentleman, from Texas, the chairman of this committee, with whom I exchanged a most pleasant colloquy the other day.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. I also hope that we will not remove the smile from the genial gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ELIOT].

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. That is fine. I will incorporate that remark in my statement because what I have to say refers to all, both proponents and opponents.

Personally for the membership of the Dies committee I entertain profound affection and deep respect. For each individual member of that committee I have a very warm feeling in my heart. My attitude does not spring from a personal difference. My conviction is one founded on principle and objective conclusions.

I am reminded of what was said in the ancient Roman days: "Ave, Imperator, morituri te salutamus." "Hail, Caesar, we who are about to die salute thee."

We who are opponents of the continuation of the Dies committee recognize all too well that we will be overwhelmingly defeated in this fight, but we are going to make the fight because we believe deeply in the fundamentals for which we stand.

The gentleman from Illinois said that we should judge the committee by the friends it has made and by the character of its enemies. He has referred to Fritz Kuhn, of the German-American Bund, as being an opponent of the Dies committee. The gentleman referred to Mr. William Pelley, of the Silver Shirts, as being an opponent of the Dies committee. He has referred to Mr. Deatherage and his Knights of the White Camellia as being opponents of the Dies committee. These are among the leading Fascists in the United States. The fact of the matter is all three of these gentlemen have warmly endorsed the Dies committee and

have urged its continuation. Mr. Deatherage stated in three different newspapers that he warmly supported the work of the Dies committee.

What did Mr. Pelley say? Mr. Pelley, in his publication *Liberation* of November 23, 1939, said:

As soon as Pelley learned that Dies had been voted his committee, he—Pelley—wanted to know at once whether his Silver Shirts faced a repetition of the Dickstein crack-down of 1934. To ascertain this, Pelley dispatched a trusted representative to interview Dies, and that Dies had declared, "I am not interested in Pelley. On the whole, I consider that he's done a good job"—referring to the La Follette exposé.

Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, in an interview in the *New York World-Telegram*, December 8, 1939, paid his respects to the Dies committee and said:

I am in favor of it—the Dies committee—to be appointed again, and I wish them to get more money.

The following is from William Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts:

I founded the Silver Legion in 1933 to propagandize exactly the same principles that Mr. Dies and his committee are engaged in prosecuting right now; in other words, antagonism to subversive influences in the United States.

That is on page 7208 of the Dies hearings.

Fritz Kuhn, now in the penitentiary, warmly approved the Dies committee and urged its continuation. If you are going to judge the committee by the standards and criterions set up by the gentleman from Illinois, I submit that the support of the three leading Fascists in the United States is not any great recommendation.

We come to the question of who supports the Dies committee and who opposes it. We should not draw any invidious distinctions as between honest, honorable, and patriotic citizens who disagree as to the merits or demerits of the Dies committee.

William Dudley Pelley, of the Silver Shirts, testified before the Dies committee itself, as follows:

I subscribe so completely \* \* \* with the work which has been done by the Dies committee—and I have expressed it outside in publications—that if its work continues and goes on the Silver Shirt Legion stops. We have no more use for it. \* \* \*

Mr. THOMAS. Do I understand you to say that if the Dies committee continues with its investigations the Silver Legion will immediately fold up?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say yes, with my blessing. If the Dies committee will go ahead—

Mr. THOMAS. That answers the question. (Hearings, vol. 12, p. 7527, Feb. 8, 1940.)

The Silver Legion has folded up. The pattern of leniency toward the Fascists has remained unvaried throughout the existence of the Dies committee.

From the testimony of William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts, before the Dies committee on February 7, 1940:

I founded the Silver Legion in 1933 \* \* \* to propagandize exactly the same principles that Mr. Dies and this committee are engaged in prosecuting right now—in other words, antagonism to subversive influence in the United States (p. 7208 of the hearings).

In the course of the hearings a portion of Mr. Pelley's propaganda was read to him, as follows:

We leaders are risking our lives to write a new page in American history. We do not propose to see America made the rag bag and wastebasket for an element that Hitler is controlling in Germany.

After reading this extract, Mr. Pelley was asked:

What is your comment on that?

Mr. Pelley replied:

Isn't that exactly what the Dies committee is doing? (p. 7236).

This approval of the Dies committee was stated by a man who under oath testified freely that he approved "the work of Hitler" and "his manner of controlling Germany."

Many patriotic citizens support the Dies committee, as has been brought out. On the other hand, equally patriotic citizens bitterly condemn the Dies committee.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I regret that although we were promised by the Rules Committee 3 hours of discussion, it has now been cut down to 1 hour, and the time is not sufficient to afford us an opportunity to debate the merits of the resolution.

I have here a few editorials from leading newspapers of the United States opposed to the Dies committee. One of them is PM, a New York daily newspaper; one is from the *New Republic*; another is from the *Nation*; another is *Time* magazine; another is *Newsweek*; another is the *Springfield Republican*; another is from the *In Fact*. Another is from the *Galveston News*; another is by Ernest K. Lindley, a leading nationally known columnist.

I have here a list of 500 of the leading intellectuals, writers, and thinkers in the United States, petitioning this Congress to disband the Dies committee.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may revise and extend my remarks and refer briefly to some of these editorials, by quoting herein excerpts therefrom.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Washington, if he so desires.

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. I thank the gentleman very much.

I have not time now to read any excerpts from these editorials other than to remind you that there are plenty of magazines and newspapers in this country that take the view that the Dies committee, having already expended \$385,000, and not having exposed clearly as a fascist Mr. George Sylvester Viereck, not having found out about Laura Ingalls, not having pitilessly exposed the Christian Front in New York, not having found out about the numerous German spies who have been apprehended by the F. B. I. and are now being prosecuted, has already forfeited its right to continuation. I shall

attach some pertinent editorial expressions. It seems to me that we now have agencies within the Federal Government empowered to carry on the work of exposing un-American activities, agencies which will do it in a legal and ethical way, carrying out the principles of the American Bar Association as set forth in its legal ethics code, according to the accused the right to a hearing and permitting him to be present and to be represented by counsel.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal secret service, the Army and Navy Intelligence, the F. B. I., the Department of Justice, are equipped to perform completely and efficiently the exposure of subversive activities in a way which will bring to justice those culprits guilty of undermining our form of government. They are performing assiduously every day, without fanfare, without newspaper notoriety, but with results which are very apparent to the casual researcher.

I am no defender of communism, nor of the Communist Party. I am not appearing in the role of critic of the Dies committee motivated by any sympathy by, or affiliation with the Communist Party. Like Wendell Willkie and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, I concede it to be my high patriotic duty to resist legislation insuring the continuation of this committee. I want no committee to be permitted to function whose activities so palpably menace the good relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The other day Radio Berlin broadcast a jibe at the United States, as it is wont to do daily, but this time it directed its special attention to the gentleman from Texas. The German announcer broadcast in English that Herr Dies must have been embarrassed if not humiliated, because Gen. Douglas MacArthur had sent a cablegram of friendly greeting to Joseph Stalin, Dictator of Russia, complimenting the Russian Army for having achieved the greatest military upset and victory and all-round army accomplishment in recorded history. Gen. Douglas MacArthur freely employed superlatives in lauding the intrepidity and tenacity of the Russian Army in their engagements with the Nazi invaders. The German broadcaster thus called attention to the Dies committee's frequent sneers at the Soviet Union and the many remarks made by the chairman of that committee on public platforms throughout the country reflecting upon the U. S. S. R. at a time so critical to the destiny of the United States. We can't afford to offend the Soviet Union, much as we may disagree with its philosophy of government. This is no time for any official committee of Congress to be tossing brickbats at our Allies. We should, on the other hand, be following the inspiring example of that military genius in the far Philippines who has demonstrated his right to respect and admiration—the incomparable Doug MacArthur, the exploits of whose leadership and whose army have thrilled all patriotic Americans to the very core of their being. We have reason to know that Russian officials are offended by the indiscriminate reflections upon the Soviet Govern-

ment made by the irrepressible gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the committee under discussion today. Recently, the gentleman offered two amendments to a bill affecting citizenship rights in the House of Representatives. These amendments were overwhelmingly defeated. The erudite chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from Texas [HATTON SUMMERS], in opposing his colleague's amendments, gravely deplored any action which the House might take which might jeopardize the cordial relations between the United States and Russia.

Whether we like it or not, Russia is the one country in the world today which is making a decisive military stand and accomplishing effective results against the Nazi hordes. We need her fighting with us side by side. We should render her honor for her sacrifices. The State Department should have intervened in this matter of continuing the Dies committee, and should have pointed out to the Members how the very security and future of our country is threatened by an unfavorable reaction at the hands of the Soviet Union. Is it not possible for this House to recall that we are engaged in a war against Japan, against Italy, and against Germany, and that our most potent ally, our most tireless and yet sensitive collaborator, is Soviet Russia? Great God, gentlemen, we are dealing with dynamite today. This is no time for maudlin sentiment and paying homage to old shibboleths. This is reality—grim, stark, blazing reality. We are faced by conditions, not theories. It is unfortunate that those in charge of our foreign relations, and those Army and Navy officers who have made joint war plans with Russian high army and navy officers, were not sought out and their opinion solicited in connection with this situation.

Here are some pertinent editorial expressions which should be of interest to the House in connection with the continuation of the Dies committee.

St. Louis Post Dispatch:

THAT MAN DIES AGAIN

If MARTIN DIES, the voter-repudiated Texas politician, has his way about it, he is going to break the record of the nine-lived cat. He wants another \$100,000 to finance another year of peeking under the bed, and the House Rules Committee has sent the request to the floor.

Apparently in an effort to give it a touch of wartime justification, DIES has disclosed that the President and the State Department prevented him from holding public hearings last year regarding Jap subversive activities. In other words, we suppose that, if it hadn't been for President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull and also the Attorney General, Martin Dies would have prevented Pearl Harbor.

That is a lot of claptrap. At that time, we were striving to maintain peaceful relations with Tokyo, and Jap-baiting would have been no help. Why did not DIES hold secret hearings, or, better still, whisper a word or two into Edgar Hoover's ear, or to the Army and Navy intelligence staffs?

DIES has been operating for a long time now by virtue of a statute which authorizes Congress to conduct investigations with a view to the enactment of legislation. The country has yet to hear a meritorious suggestion of that nature from his committee. As a matter of fact, he has turned it into a one-man show which has stimulated the sort of prejudices which, unfortunately, have a

cash value on some lecture platforms. He has gone Mrs. Dilling and her redbacked book one better.

The United States needs to be vigilant. If some of us did not fully realize that before Pearl Harbor, we certainly do now. But what can DIES contribute to national vigilance? His show has gone on long enough. It has degenerated into something little better than a personal racket. It's time to call a halt.

For \$100,000, we can buy three medium tanks.

The Herald, of Spartanburg, S. C.:

DIES WANTS MORE MONEY

Representative DIES, chairman of the congressional committee investigating un-American activities, has asked for an appropriation of \$100,000 to enable a thorough investigation of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in every State. The request was made after Mr. DIES had a conference with the imperial wizard of the Klan. The meeting was behind closed doors, and Mr. DIES said the Ku Klux Klan potentate had promised cooperation with the committee.

Why the imperial wizard should ask this investigation is not known. Why the Government should appropriate \$100,000 to prolong the life of the Dies committee that it may make the investigation is not to be understood.

Mr. DIES likes the spotlight. He has spent much public money to air his personal views on the dangers to the Nation. He may have done some good. We cannot say that he has not. But if the Congress desires to get somewhere with appropriations for investigating un-American activities, we believe the American people would like to see the money turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Let Hoover do the trick, and forget Representative DIES.

Kenneth G. Crawford, in the newspaper PM, New York City:

BREAK IT UP, BOYS

All the people of the United States of America—and particularly those who will be eligible to vote in the forthcoming congressional elections—should read two recent issues of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (March 4 and March 6).

These two issues record what happened to TOM ELIOT, a new Member from Massachusetts, when he undertook to hold Chairman MARTIN DIES, of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, responsible for some misrepresentations of fact about the committee's work and to expose the committee's recent Yellow Paper as the fraud it is.

On the earlier occasion the House cheered a speech in which DIES was so corny that any group of bright sixth-grade boys and girls would have laughed at him. On the second occasion the House deliberately gagged ELIOT by adjourning in the midst of an address in which he proposed to show up the Yellow Paper hoax.

Most Americans will be baffled by the two incidents as set forth in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Why was ELIOT put on the spot by the House, made the butt of slurs and reprimands, when DIES was the Member whose statements wouldn't stand examination? Why was ELIOT gagged and not DIES? Why is our Congress no longer a forum in which free speech is upheld? What goes on here anyway?

All these questions can best be answered, perhaps, by another incident that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD does not mention. Representative JOHN RANKIN's secretary accidentally sent to the Public Printer a letter addressed to the public schools of Mississippi, in which RANKIN offered to provide every school with an autographed photograph of himself suitable for framing. The letter was deleted from the RECORD to save RANKIN embarrassment.

DIES and RANKIN are both old-timers in the House. They are both pretty average fellows with rather vulnerable records. Neither one, in all probability, could get another job as good as his present one if beaten for re-election. Lots of other Members of the House are in the same boat. So they stick together, protect each other, promote each other. When a newcomer like ELIOT undertakes to show them up, they gag him.

Free speech is nice, but it is not to be tolerated if its going to hurt one of the boys, particularly one of the boys who, like DIES, has for several years been making good in the newspaper headlines. Sure his stuff is a little phony. So what? He's shown up some Communists, hasn't he? What if a few innocent people—outside the club—have been hurt? He's made life miserable occasionally for the big fellow in the White House, hasn't he? Isn't it good in uncertain times like these to divert public attention from Congress by keeping the White House under fire?

That is the attitude of many, perhaps most, Congressmen toward MARTIN DIES. It is the attitude which assures renewal of the committee. It is the attitude which will persist, unless the voters decide to say at the polls this year:

"Break it up, boys. We want a wartime Congress, not a peacetime, mutual-aid demagogues' club."

KENNETH G. CRAWFORD.

Time magazine:

DIES IRATE

Should the Dies committee be continued? That annual question was up again before the House. The answer would be "yes"; MARTIN DIES would perhaps get another swatch of money, perhaps another \$100,000.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime he had some bad moments.

Many a House committee witness testified on the un-Americanism of DIES' study of un-Americanism. One well-noted point: In Axis propaganda broadcasts, according to Federal Communications Commission listeners, MARTIN DIES was one of the most-praised of all Americans.

Red-faced, MARTIN DIES demanded an explanation. Federal Communication Commission's Chairman Fly, a favorite Dies target, replied:

"Representative DIES received as many favorable references in Axis propaganda to this country as any living American public figure. His opinions were quoted by the Axis without criticism at any time. The remarkable thing is that Congressman DIES should be presented to Americans by Nazi and Fascist propagandists as an authority whose opinions should be heeded."

Scarcely had this deft needle slipped in when up rose Massachusetts' young THOMAS H. ELIOT to deliver the sharpest attack on DIES the House ever heard.

"[The committee has] all too often acted irresponsibly. \* \* \* Rash and reckless in a time of national danger. \* \* \* The Dies committee's definition of 'subversive' is so fantastic as to defy belief. A vote against the Dies committee is a vote for responsible government."

As evidence, young TOM ELIOT cited chapter and verse from a new Dies dossier of "subversive" Government employees. On the list, said ELIOT, were:

An employee who endorsed the National Youth Administration (also endorsed by Warden Lewis E. Lawes and a member of the Dies committee).

One Mary Johnson—because a different Mary Johnson drew a picture for a Communist paper in 1936.

<sup>1</sup> He has already spent \$385,000 since 1938.



One George Saunders, a Roman Catholic from San Francisco, listed by Dies as a Communist of Pittsburgh.

An employee who once signed a petition against the Dies committee.

Gazette, of York, Pa.:

NOT ANOTHER CENT FOR DIES

MARTIN DIES will soon be asking the House of Representatives for more money with which to continue investigating un-American activities. That is the purpose for which his committee was created and for which money has been appropriated by the House. What has actually happened, however, is very different.

Mr. DIES has followed the fascist line from the very moment his investigations started. It has become so typical that it is surprising that he has been allowed to get away with it for so long. The technique is to make conversation about running down Nazi and Fascist subversive influences and actually put all the effort into investigating Communists and Communism in the process whereof attempt is made to smear every liberal of however mild opinion with the stick of Communism.

DIES' investigations have been almost completely ineffectual so far as tracking down the real enemies of the Nation are concerned. Fascist organizations have surely been handled lightly by him and his agents, while witch hunts have been engaged in to discredit every liberal movement DIES ever heard of. It has only been a few days ago, for instance, that he attempted to discredit Leon Henderson, Price Control Administrator, by associating him with the Technocracy movement which had quite a vogue during the early days of the depression. Certainly Mr. DIES was only showing his ignorance in making this charge. Even though Mr. Henderson had been as close to the movement as DIES asserted, which he was not, it would be no reflection upon him. Every thinking man was interested in any proposal to better economic conditions and to alleviate the consequences of the depression which was so seriously affecting our body politic. Technocracy was one of the ideas suggested as a way to bring back prosperity. It received the attention of a great many persons sincerely interested in improving conditions. They studied it for what it might be worth. It was found lacking and we have heard little of it for some years.

When DIES attacked Henderson, who is a sincere and hard-working patriot, for having investigated technocracy, he was once again attempting to besmirch a liberal merely because he is a liberal and for no other purpose. And he was so attacking Henderson because he, DIES, is a Fascist and is using the methods of that kind of people in an effort to discredit liberalism in general.

If we were in the least jealous of our democracy and of our American way of life, we would rise up in arms against DIES and his witch hunts and we would make our opposition to him so vocal that the House of Representatives of our Congress would refuse to appropriate one more cent to enable him to continue his un-American activities. For that is just exactly what they are so far as the general average is concerned.

MARTIN DIES has long ago forfeited any right that he might have had to conduct such investigations as the committee headed by him has been proposing to conduct these many years. What with his attempted besmirching of Governor, now Supreme Court Justice, Murphy, Leon Henderson, and many other sincere patriots whose only offense was to attempt to make their country a better place in which for all of us to live, he has definitely ranged himself with the Fascist elements of the country who in their hearts hate democracy and are forever conniving to undermine and destroy it.

Not one cent for more witch hunting should be the answer to DIES. Not one cent to further the interests of the Fascists by drawing red herrings across the trail and attempting to discredit good Americans who really believe in the democratic way and are willing to do what they can to make this a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, in fact as well as in theory. After all, we are fighting fascism abroad. It is ridiculous that we should permit MARTIN DIES, one of our outstanding American Fascists, to conduct investigations which inevitably result in attempts to cast discredit upon liberalism by insinuation that it is communistic, which in truth it most decidedly is not.

Herald, of Cheyenne, Wyo.:

IT'S RESPECTABLE NOW

MARTIN DIES' investigation of anti-American activities blew up in his face because Germany's invasion of Russia stole his trump card, without which he could not make a bid for lasting fame as an eradicator of subversive elements. He was all set to make public a list of defense officials who had invested in Russian bonds. As matters now stand, it is perfectly O. K. for a lease-lender to have faith in a foreign country to which he is helping ship war matériel in accordance with White House policy. In fact, it is downright respectable.

It is known that the Texas representative would love to kiss and make up with the President. He would like to ditch his House probe, even though he did an excellent job beating the bushes and flushing "pinks." The international picture is shifting too rapidly for any committee, in an administration-controlled Congress, to analyze in detail the tie-ups between Government employees and subversive alien creeds.

DIES had the naive idea that it would be a valuable contribution to Americanism to inform the public which of its officials were investing in the securities of a country which officially was financing and directing attempts to destroy our way of life. He obtained from an internationally famous New York bank the list of persons receiving Soviet dividend checks, and compared it with the roster of persons living off the taxpayers. The number and prominence of names which appeared on both lists was astounding at the time. Now it is not.

Evening Post of New York City:

Representative DIES' newest "exposé" seems insubstantial. He is outraged because reporters for the Daily Worker have visited Army camps and the Naval Academy at Annapolis. The menace, as DIES puts it, has two prongs: (1) Daily Worker reporters are likely to popularize communism in our armed services; (2) Daily Worker reporters are likely to pick up military secrets for transmission to Moscow.

Mr. DIES is an investigator. The Diarist, who merely messes around with words, feels bashful about challenging the Representative's thesis. Yet we doubt that the Daily Worker reporters, in a few hours' time, will succeed in subverting the Army. Daily Worker reporters presumably print their best arguments in the Worker. Unless the Communists have been holding back on us, they just haven't a sales talk good enough to capture Fort Dix.

And we suspect that those military secrets lying around in the open aren't worth collecting. Moscow must know a good deal about our equipment; if it doesn't, Mr. Harriman's trip was a waste of time. He was supposed to tell Russia just what she, as our quasi-ally, could expect in the way of American-made matériel.

Hasn't it been rather long since Representative DIES turned up evidence of Axis-in-

spired subversive activities? Since Russia switched over, and subversion is no longer the party line, German, Japanese, French, and Spanish influences have been the real concern. What has the committee got, for example, on the Spanish Falange.

Springfield, Mass., Republican:

DIES COMMITTEE'S RECORD AND FUTURE

The Dies committee of the National House has been functioning since 1938, and Chairman DIES now seeks to have the House renew its life for another year. The American Civil Liberties Union points out that "not a single piece of legislation has resulted from the investigations."

While new laws may not be a complete test of the committee's usefulness, the absence of any legislation on the statute books to be credited to the Dies committee's persistent investigations indicates that the committee does not enjoy the confidence of Congress. If this inference is justified, why should the committee get further authority to run an inquisition? Congressional investigations are held for the purpose of obtaining information that would aid the legislators in framing new statutes.

Now that war has come the job of running down subversive activities and exposing disloyalists is in the special field of the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which are adequately equipped for the work. While the Dies committee can only smear, the Department of Justice can prosecute; and a prosecution at least gives the accused a chance for defense before a judge and jury. Many of the Dies committee, including its chairman, have an obsession against liberals. One of the members, a Mississippi Congressman, is now quoted as saying that any person who loves his country could well afford to submerge so-called civil liberties until the war is over. That attitude is not the attitude of the administration as defined by Attorney General Biddle. So-called civil liberties, he has declared, are still to be safeguarded.

The Dies committee should be submerged rather than civil liberties, so-called. In any case, the committee's continuance cannot contribute to the winning of the war so much as to continued publicity for Chairman DIES.

News and Observer, of Raleigh, N. C.:

DIES AT IT AGAIN

Representative MARTIN DIES, of Texas, is at it again. The war has changed the viewpoint of many people, but not that of MARTIN DIES. He can still find no better use for his time than to devote it to baiting Reds, real and imaginary.

When the House of Representatives had before it the bill which would expand the present law requiring registration with the Secretary of State by agents in the United States of foreign principals, three Dies amendments aimed at Communists and German Bundists were adopted.

The Senate refused to accept the amendments and the entire Judiciary Committee of the House recommended that they be stricken out. After appeals from its leaders that this is no time to go out of the way to antagonize Russia, the House on last Wednesday threw the amendments out of the bill by a vote of 228 to 40. But while an overwhelming majority of the House refused to follow DIES in this instance, it is significant that his demand for a roll call vote was denied, although the concurrence of only one-fifth of those present was necessary to secure roll call.

Sooner or later the House will have to go on record concerning DIES. The sooner the better. The earliest opportunity will come when DIES next makes his periodic request for an extension of life and further appro-

priation for his Committee on Un-American Activities.

The request should be denied. There are differing opinions as to the value of the activities of the Dies committee before the war, but there should be general agreement on the proposition that such matters should be entrusted in times like these to some one possessing more poise and better judgment than Dies has demonstrated. All energies should now be directed to fighting Germans and Japanese rather than to keeping alive old quarrels with Russia, which is now making the most effective fight against Germany.

Christian Science Monitor, of Boston, Mass.:

GIVE IT TO THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

There are a number of better ways of spending \$100,000 than by renewing the appropriation asked in the House of Representatives for continuance of the Dies committee.

This committee occasionally in the past has served a useful purpose. But its methods have not always been those to inspire confidence. Its investigators, on the basis of loose generalization, have blackened the reputation of many who were given little chance to defend themselves; in recent weeks the outgivings of the committee have overlapped the functions of other Federal investigatory agencies.

A potentially valuable job might be done in exposing the present sources and channels of pro-Axis propaganda in the United States. Another and distinctly important job is being done by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in rounding up enemy aliens and plotters on specific evidence.

To the first of these jobs the Dies committee already has made some contribution. Testimony of George E. Deatherage before the committee furnished part of the basis on which this former leader of the Knights of the White Camellia has been excluded from work for the United States Navy Department. But the evident reluctance with which Mr. Dies and his committee went into the activities of the various American Fascist groups after a long preoccupation with the Communists and their fellow travelers has been followed by weeks of talk without action since the Axis Nations became declared enemies of the United States.

In fact, during the very months when the Federal Bureau of Investigation needed its every man to protect the Nation against sabotage and conspiracy, a number of its agents have had to be detailed to the investigation of a long list of citizens placed under suspicion by the Dies committee because they belonged to organizations which in some instances included also such outstanding Americans as former Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, William Allen White, and Carter Glass.

If the immediate task is to protect America from saboteurs and other enemy agents, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is the agency for that job. The need for this purpose is not hearsay testimony or promises of sensational disclosures that may tip off the quarry. The need is for actual evidence presented to grand juries without publicity until there are indictments and arrests. The \$100,000 for the Dies committee is an item that could very well be saved or transferred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The following is an editorial from the Building Trades Union Press, American Federation of Labor, New York City, February 28, 1942, on the Dies committee:

WHY IS DIES EASY ON FASCISTS?

If appeasers and Nazi agents are to be tracked down and exposed it will be in spite of Representative MARTIN DIES.

George Deatherage, head of the Fascist Knights of the White Camellia, has finally been driven off an important job on a \$25,000,000 naval construction project, deemed vital to our defense. How he smuggled his way into this vital post is still unknown.

Yet Dies knew about Deatherage way back in September 1939, when he promised, in a radio address, to investigate this Fascist. Of course, he never did.

A number of other isolationist Congressmen, including Representative FISH and Senators NYE and CLARK, have been linked with Nazi propagandist George S. Viereck, who is on trial for failing to register as a foreign agent.

Yet Dies knew about Viereck's activities in August 1938, when he promised to investigate the Nazi propagandist. Dies not only failed to expose Viereck, but even let him go off to Europe on a trip.

More to the point would be an investigation of Dies himself. Let him tell why he appeared on the same public platform with Nazi Fritz Kuhn, and was on friendly terms with American Fascists; why he failed to expose Deatherage and Viereck; or why he persistently attacked administration and labor leaders.

The following is an editorial from the Hartford (Conn.) Daily Courant, March 6, 1942, on the Dies committee:

ANOTHER DIES "SENSATION"

It has been the custom for MARTIN DIES, chairman of the House committee investigating un-American activities, to go into spectacular action shortly before Congress votes on continuing the inquiry, and this year brings no exception to the rule. He is seeking \$100,000 to extend the life of his committee, and, to emphasize the value of its work, he is once again dealing in sensational discoveries.

For instance, the committee report just issued relating to Japanese under-cover activities in the United States makes the startling point that Mr. Dies and his associates wanted to hold hearings last fall to expose enemy espionage, but neither President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, nor the Department of Justice would consider such action. The heavy implication is, of course, that if Mr. Dies had been given free rein he would have cleaned up the spies and perhaps prevented the disaster at Pearl Harbor.

That is so much headline "hoovey." What really occurred was that Mr. Dies was asked by the Department of Justice to turn over evidence of Japanese espionage to it, instead of holding noisy public hearings at a time when the State Department was endeavoring to maintain peaceful relations with Tokyo. On August 24, 1941, Mr. Dies informed the Attorney General's office that his "evidence" belonged to him, and that if the Department of Justice desired such knowledge it should use its own agents.

This situation is a typical chapter in the history of the Dies committee. It is part of the bungling, self-publicity, and careless smearing that have not only embarrassed the administration but in some cases unhinged the defense against subversive elements by flushing suspicious covets before the Department of Justice had evidence enough to arrest and indict. It is well to remember that the functions of the Dies committee are limited. It has no responsibility for enforcement of the law against traitorous and disloyal groups. It is a legislative board, not a second Federal Bureau of Investigation. The actual enforcement of the law remains with the Department of Justice. The obligation of the Dies committee is to keep Congress and the public informed as to activities that are inimical to the American system of government and to sponsor any new legislation that may be needed in this field.

In this instance, as in others in the past, it is apparent that the committee was seeking to move beyond its legislative task in the pursuit of sensational testimony. Because the administration was disinclined to track down saboteurs through hearsay evidence or promises of earth-shaking disclosures, Mr. Dies would now have the public believe that his "hot dope" was disregarded out of sheer professional jealousy.

If this is to be the contribution of the Dies committee to internal vigilance, its usefulness is clearly at an end. The \$100,000 could well be saved or added to the worthwhile program of the Department of Justice.

THE DIES COMMITTEE UPSETTING AND DEMORALIZING TO CONSUMER ORGANIZATIONS

We have spent and are now spending millions to get consumer cooperation in the drive for victory. The administration is wooing the consumer and consumer groups, but the Dies committee has been chasing them with a big stick.

The need for consumer cooperation was realized long before the outbreak of the war. When the National Defense Advisory Commission was set up a consumer's division was immediately established in charge of a commissioner. Early in 1941 the Consumer Division became associated with O. P. A. C. S.—later O. P. A.—and the Commissioner in charge became Associate Administrator of O. P. A. C. S.—Defense, now Victory, the official bulletin of the Office for Emergency Management, volume II, No. 15, page 3.

The policy of the defense authorities toward consumers was stated in an address on December 2, 1941, by Associate O. P. A. Administrator Elliott, in charge of the Consumer Division—the Division is now under the direct charge of O. P. A. Administrator Henderson:

Seeing that consumers get the best value for their money is vital to defense, for any weakness, any waste, any improper use of our economic or material resources will, at some point of place or time, hinder the defense program. \* \* \*

The Consumer Division has a role imperative to the success of our national effort. \* \* \* Our land of plenty is insufficient to meet today's need in the short time history has allotted us. We don't have surpluses. We do have scarcities. \* \* \* It is this urgent need to eliminate waste, to avoid the loss of economic energy, that has thrown the problems of the consumer into the very heart of the defense program. (Defense, Dec. 9, 1941, vol. 2, No. 49, p. 13.)

On November 12, 1941, the Associate O. P. A. Administrator said:

The food we eat, the clothes we wear, the things we buy, the things we use, the dollars we spend, the pennies we save, all these are as much a part of defense as guns, tanks, and airplanes. Each one of America's 132,000,000 consumers holds it in his power to build defense by guarding these resources. (Defense, Nov. 12, 1941, vol. 2, No. 45, p. 14.)

The Dies attacks on the consumer movement have been widely reported and commented upon in the press. In the course of a special article in PM on February 3, 1941, it was reported that Mr. Dies had—

told a Madison Square Garden gathering that it was un-American to support the child-labor amendment. It was Dies whose blunderbuss shooting at un-American activities hit the consumer movement at the very time that Mr. Dies was playing footsie with Merwin K. Hart, the Fascist-bent economist.

When the Dies report, castigating the consumer movement and some 17 consumer organizations by name, appeared in December of 1939, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch described it as a sorry attempt to injure an increasingly helpful work.

**THE DIES COMMITTEE'S POOR PROCEDURE THE CLINCHING ARGUMENT AGAINST CONTINUANCE IN WARTIME**

The Dies committee's behavior has been bad, so bad that the act of continuing would alone be a serious blow to the democratic ideals for which we are waging war. The following judgments of the work of the committee are chosen for their brevity from among the many which are available. Comment upon them is unnecessary.

Three experienced Washington correspondents have written—Alan Michie, of Time, and Frank Rhylick, of the New York Post:

The newspaper reports of the proceedings did not carry a mention of the superficial, illegal manner in which the hearing was conducted.

The procedure never varied. Unlike other congressional committees to which the accused are summoned and damned or forced to confess by an overwhelming burden of proof, the accused were conspicuous by their absence from the Dies committee meetings. On the other hand, the accusers were allowed to put into the RECORD hearsay evidence, personal opinions, and the backwash of their wildest imagination.

A poll by the New York Daily News revealed that only 2 out of 19 reporters thought the hearings were fair; the majority agreed that the Dies committee was putting on one of the most fantastic performances ever staged in Washington, where fantastic performances are not unknown. (Dixie Demagogues, pp. 56-57.)

The titular head of the opposition party, then in private business:

Wendell Wilkie, public-utilities executive, assailed the Dies committee investigating un-American activities yesterday for employing methods "undermining the democratic process." He charged the House group with ruining reputations by publicity, inference, and innuendo, while denying to witnesses the protection of counsel and an adequate opportunity to answer allegations.

"The democratic process," he asserted, "cannot go on and will be gradually undermined if men can be put on the witness stand without protection of counsel and without adequate opportunity to answer.

"There is no more cruel way of destroying the reputation of a man than by publicity, by inference, and by innuendo—and it has been done to hundreds of businessmen and public figures heretofore. I have hesitated to speak on it before because I might be thought of as self-serving and self-protecting, but now it is not my associates who are being investigated." (New York Times, November 2, 1939, p. 14, col. 4.)

**A distinguished Federal judge:**

Raids last month by agents of the Dies committee \* \* \* were held illegal today by Federal Judge George A. Welsh.

"Let the seal of judicial approval be placed upon each constitutional violation and liberty of the person and liberty of religious and political thought and action will have vanished from our land," the court declared.

A committee of over 100 members of the bar:

6. That the Dies committee, while giving lip service to impartiality and fair play and proclaiming its devotion to Americanism and American institutions, used its hearings, the forum provided by Congress, for the dissemination of irresponsible slanders against honest public servants and private individuals and against public-spirited organizations, on testimony consisting of surmise, conjecture, unfounded opinion, unsupported conclusions, and unwarranted deductions, without any attempt at verification or confirmation, which no self-respecting, fact-finding agency anywhere would consider—a proceeding wholly unworthy of a committee of the legislative body of a great and free Republic. (Findings from a study made of the Dies committee in 1939 and signed by over 100 attorneys, including Frank P. Walsh, of New York City, Prof. Louis L. Jaffe, of Buffalo, Prof. D. James Farage, of Carlisle, Pa., etc.)

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the Dies committee, on the face of the record, has shown itself not to be entitled to continuation. I submit that the committee has demonstrated itself to be the foe of groups the Government is trying to unite in the war effort; the tool of big business; the disrupter of relations with our military Allies; the creator of internal confusion, hub-bub, and disunity; the implacable antagonist of the New Deal; the avoider of fair judicial and committee procedure; the exemplar of marked solicitude in its treatment of American Fascists; the grantor of the committee forum as a platform from which Jew-baiters, crackpots, and totalitarians identified with Fascist organizations spouted their nauseating nostras. These, and many other attributes, omissions, and commissions of the committee, make it, in my judgment, deserving of a quiet and not too well heralded funeral.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMAS], a member of the committee.

(Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the most successful weapon against fifth-column activities in the United States has been the Dies committee. The most insistent antagonist of spies, saboteurs, and purveyors of foreign ideologies has been the Dies committee. The one agency of the Government which has continually fought the yoke of bureaucratic influence has been the Dies committee.

For 4 years this committee of the House of Representatives has investigated and exposed un-American agents, subversive groups, and their many fronts. We have made no exceptions. We have let the chips fall where they may. Communists, Fascists, Nazis, Japs, and Falangists looked all alike to us.

Volumes of testimony on these subjects have been taken. Thousands of exhibits have been correlated. Hundreds of thousands of names of individuals who at one time or another have been members of, or have sponsored un-American organizations and their fronts, are card-indexed in our files. This is but a part of the voluminous records of the Dies committee, but based on these records,

and files, it is safe to say that our committee is second to no existing agency of the Government when it comes to a knowledge of un-American organizations and their technique.

Our committee could have accomplished even more, however, if it had not been for the obstacles placed in its way. I do not refer to the obstacles which were natural to expect—such as those placed in our path by the Communists, the Fascists, and others coming under our scrutiny, but I refer to those which our own Government cast before us. At no time did we ever get so much as a blessing from the White House.

Further, the Dies committee was always hampered by lack of funds. Today, with the Nation at war, with the biggest job before our committee that any special committee of the Congress has ever been called upon to undertake, I hope we will not be forced to operate with limited funds. Let us not bleed the committee to death. That is the specter we want to guard against, and that is the action being prayed for today by the enemies of the committee.

I will leave to our reports and to other Members whatever revelations the Dies committee has made, or may make in the future, except to hint at one subject—and that is the danger which this Nation faces from Spanish Falangists. Spain's Franco is now doing in this hemisphere, through the Spanish Falange, what Hitler has for years been doing through the German-American Bund and other Nazi organizations. There are some hundreds of thousands of these Falangists operating in the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and in many of the Central and South American states. They are the new agents here of the Axis Powers. They are the latest crop of un-American termites, and, as such, are definitely under the scrutiny of your committee. More about the Falange, however, will be told to you and to the American people at a later date. In the meantime, all agencies of this Government, and all countries in the Western Hemisphere, should be on guard against Franco's Falangists and other Spanish agents.

So this new menace is but one more reason why we should continue the Dies committee. You and I can mention many more. As one who has lived with the committee since its inception, I could cite hundreds of reasons why this House today should pass the resolution before it. But one will suffice: The Dies committee may turn out to be the last remaining safeguard against the dictatorship of the proletariat in America. A vote for the Dies committee today may be a vote to save our own hide tomorrow.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ELIOT].

(Mr. ELIOT of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. ELIOT of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I want to say to the House a very personal word this afternoon, a personal word about myself, about the reasons that have not motivated the fight I have been making against the Dies committee, and about the reasons that have.

It goes without saying, as anyone who knows me can tell you, that I have never had any sympathy whatever with the Communist Party. I do not believe that Communists should hold positions of influence in this country. I cannot understand why any American should apparently feel that his first loyalty is to the government of any other country. But I oppose the Dies committee because in its perhaps praiseworthy hunt for Communists it has heedlessly and recklessly smeared and damaged the reputations of hundreds of loyal, decent Americans.

Further, in the field of the people who are our bitterest foes right now, the Fascists and the Nazis, the record of the committee is one of big promises and little or no performance. The most un-American activity that we have heard of recently in this city took place right across the street as George Sylvester Viereck walked unhampered down the corridor of the House Office Building and the Dies committee across the street did nothing whatever about him and never, never exposed that real subversive influence in this land.

Mr. Speaker, a week ago the gentleman from Texas—and I may say to the House and to the gentleman that at no time have I felt I was engaging in any personal feud—pointed his finger at me and said that I must learn at once to love and respect every Member of the House. You do not get to know everybody in the House in your first term, but I do know many Members and for them I have a very affectionate regard. I hope that in a few cases at least that regard is reciprocated.

However, Mr. Speaker, I have very deeply a respect for the institution of the House of Representatives. I have always felt that this House is the highest expression of representative government in action.

Mr. Speaker, my great-grandfather served in this House 90 years ago. I have looked forward hopefully to serving in this House since I was a boy of 16. I am opposing the Dies committee today because I have respect for this House and because the actions of the committee, the witch hunts, the publication of reports like the report on Japanese activities, which I have exposed in this House, have made the House itself in the eyes of informed people an object of ridicule and scorn.

Mr. Speaker, there is no political advantage to me in opposing this committee. There is virtually no C. I. O. in my district. There is very little C. I. O. in the new district I have been redistricted into.

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

Mr. ELIOT of Massachusetts. I am sorry, I have not time to yield.

There is no political advantage, although it is interesting to note that since I started this campaign the mail that has been coming in has been coming in at a ratio of 1,000 to 1 against the Dies committee, including many letters from members of Legion posts, by the way, and commanders of Legion posts. It is interesting to note that all over the

country the newspapers are getting aware of the record of this committee and are demanding its discontinuance. But we must not think of politics today. We have got to think of national unity and of working together with our Allies as well. For the sake of functioning democracy as distinguished from communism or fascism, for the sake of the dignity of this House, for the sake of national unity in the struggle ahead of us, I urge that this resolution be defeated.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BALDWIN], 3 minutes.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the passage of this resolution.

I have not been here long enough to know all about the activities of the Dies committee, so-called. I have no doubt in my own mind it has contributed on many occasions valuable service, but, in the first place, I am convinced—and when I say I am convinced I have to refer back to my legislative experience prior to coming to this House—as a legislator of 15 years' standing that a legislative body should not become a permanent investigatory body. We have other things to do and our investigating committees should be temporary and report to us on legislation that should be passed. In the second place, I am firmly convinced that today, when we come to national—I do not like to use the word "defense" because that is not a good word—but national offense—when we come to national offense, Mr. Speaker, I believe this kind of problem should be left in the hands of our military and naval authorities, and I do not say that idly. I have had some consultation on it and I believe I know how they feel about it. With all the splendid work the committee may have done, today our military and naval authorities should have charge of that business and should say when it should be published or not published, when it should be investigated or not investigated by any outside body, and I plead very earnestly, under those circumstances, for the defeat of this legislation.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. BALDWIN. Certainly, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. COX. Remembering what old Isaiah said about the ox knowing his owner and the ass his master's crib, I am prompted to inquire of the gentleman if he is in any wise under obligation to PM, the uptown edition of the Workers' Union, which is leading the opposition to the continuation of the Dies committee.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to answer that. I am under no obligation whatsoever. On the contrary, they are under obligation to me.

Mr. COX. Did the gentleman make a visit to England at the expense of PM?

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, indirectly at the expense of PM, but it happened to be my idea, and that is how it was handled.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. KLEIN].

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, I cannot conscientiously vote in favor of the resolution to extend the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, commonly known as the Dies committee.

Aside from all of the other matters which have been mentioned here, and which have received a good deal of publicity, I feel that this committee has utterly failed to expose the outrageous alien propaganda plot which has been going on right here in Washington, under the very nose of the committee.

Various organizations and newspapers have, in recent days, raised the very proper question: Why did the Dies committee fail to push its investigation of George Sylvester Viereck, recently convicted of violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and described by Department of Justice prosecutors as—

The master mind of the Nazi propaganda machine, the false prophet of the false god in Berlin, spreading his germs of hate in this country.

The Dies committee cannot plead ignorance of the pro-Nazi activities of Viereck. In 1938 he was subpoenaed by the committee and was then permitted to sail to Germany and so far as I know, was never recalled by the committee after his return.

The New York Times of August 4, 1938, contains a statement from the gentleman from Texas stating that he had subpoenaed George Sylvester Viereck, and that Viereck had asked to be excused from testifying in order to sail for Europe as he had planned. According to Representatives DIES' statement at that time Viereck intended to visit the ex-Kaiser and Hitler.

There is little doubt that Viereck proceeded on schedule. He visited Europe and returned to proclaim the merits of the Axis and to boast falsely that the Axis would protect the peace of the world.

Today hundreds of millions of people throughout the entire globe have learned the falseness of these statements. Apparently the Dies committee has not. That George Sylvester Viereck was brought to justice must be credited to another agency of our Government, and the committee's failure to expose him stands as a blot on its record.

Viereck was able to make contacts with Axis agents because for 25 years he has been the leading pro-German propagandist in the United States. Within his lifetime he has served a Kaiser and a Hitler. Within his lifetime he has twice attempted to sabotage the United States in the prosecution of a world war. Within a lifetime he has repeatedly betrayed the interests of the country which has protected him and allowed him to work.

The Congress has for almost 4 years allowed a committee of the House to idle away funds and to jeopardize the prestige of this highest body of the American Government. The Congress has for almost 4 years tolerated the undignified doings of a committee which has never fulfilled its mandate. I feel it is incum-

bent upon myself as a conscientious Member of this body to urge that the follies of our past be ended.

We are now at war. Above all there is no room for mere sideshows. The business of smashing subversive groups belongs urgently to the professional Government agencies that are really equipped for and capable of this job.

We have a responsibility today as the representatives of the American people to expedite the prosecution of the war and to assist the agencies of the executive branch of the Government primarily charged with the duty of fighting through to victory. To that end I recommend that this body restore to the law-enforcement branches the functions usurped but not fulfilled by the Dies committee. I urge that you join with me in voting to terminate this committee now that we may more rapidly reach victory over our Axis enemies.

(Mr. KLEIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the Record.)

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. JOHNS].

Mr. JOHNS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to call attention to the way I think the people of the State of Wisconsin feel about this Dies committee. The National Federation of Constitutional Liberties wrote me a letter and asked me to vote against continuance of the Dies committee, and I wrote and asked them to furnish me with the names of the people in Wisconsin who had taken it up with them and were opposed to it. I find there are only five people in the State of Wisconsin who are opposed to the extension of the Dies committee so far as this Liberty League knows.

I think this is a time when we need somebody to do some investigating. I remember during the first World War the sabotage we had in this country, and I notice during the present war we are not having that sabotage, and the reason is because we have the names of so many of these people that would like to undermine this Government, and we know where they work and what they are doing. As long as this committee can find out where these fellows go and keep their fingers on them, we are going to avoid that experience. I am for any committee, whether in Congress or outside, that can do that for the American Nation at this time. I hope the resolution will be adopted overwhelmingly.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOOK].

[Mr. HOOK addressed the House His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LANDIS].

Mr. LANDIS. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Labor Committee I have voted to preserve the Wagner Act and the Wage and Hour Act. Most of my district is C. I. O., but the rank and file and the real labor leaders in my district are in favor of the continuation of the Dies committee. We have to do more than

adopt this resolution, for this great body has a job to do in the future. We must follow through. It is our job to see that our defense plants are guarded and protected. We have had a little sabotage in the last few months, but if those plants are not protected we shall see more of it in the future.

Mr. Speaker, I never addressed the House with a greater sense of responsibility than I do now. It is becoming increasingly apparent that our defense program and the security of our country are in danger. It does seem to me important to be recorded in this critical hour so in the future anyone may turn to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and find many Members of the House ready for action against the subversive activities in America.

I would like to discuss briefly our dangers from within. Now is the time to eliminate the Red labor leaders from our labor unions. When I speak of Reds, I mean any individual representing the Axis or any other organization whose activities tend to overthrow our republican form of government.

In the month of June 1941 I introduced a bill which would eliminate the Red labor leaders from our labor unions. This bill was voted out of our Labor Committee last December. I believe that over 90 percent of our labor troubles are caused by Red labor leaders. Many businessmen, labor leaders, and the rank and file will bear me out in this. Reds do not strike for the benefits and better working conditions of the workers. Their objective is to delay defense production and create a world-wide revolution. They tried this out in 1934, but it failed in all States except California, according to the testimony given before the Dies committee.

My legislation is directed at a small group of un-Americans who will damage and wreck the labor movement if we let them. It is designed to protect our country, the rank and file of labor, American labor leaders, and increase defense production. Labor has promised to clean house. We have waited a long time for them to act. Some of the Reds have been removed, but many of them still remain as leaders of our unions. Several labor officials admit it is impossible to remove all of them. It will take legislation to do the job.

The purpose of H. R. 5580 is to prohibit subversive individuals from representing employees in labor unions. If the Attorney General finds, after due notice to such individual and affording him an opportunity for a hearing, that he is a subversive individual, and by order so declares, then for all purposes of this act such individual shall thereafter cease to have and cease to be entitled to such status. In case any organization, agency, committee, or plan has a subversive individual as an officer, it ceases to have any rights under the National Labor Relations Act until it shows to the satisfaction of the Attorney General that no officer is a subversive individual.

We have had very little sabotage in our defense industries up to this time. This is due, in part, to the commendable work of the F. B. I., the Dies committee, and other agencies. Perhaps the time is not ripe for large-scale sabotage by the Axis.

We know that there are numerous German, Japanese, and Italian agents in this country under orders from abroad. Their orders thus far have been to lie low, avoid detection, and be prepared to strike at the right moment to do the most defense damage and create the greatest amount of confusion. We cannot afford to relax and congratulate ourselves that we have taken adequate precautions against them. We need to be constantly and increasingly on guard. You may have some of them in your own community. They will probably try to get a foothold in our civilian defense program.

None but Americans should be placed on guard. The time has arrived to place a double guard, if necessary, around our defense plants, strategic materials, and food storage plants. Almost every day you can notice an article in the newspapers about an explosion or a fire in one of our defense plants. Several examples are *Normandie*, ordnance blast at Burlington, Iowa, wool fire in Boston, magnesium fire in Nevada.

Newspaper pictures have shown that some of our storage places are not well guarded. We need a department with authority to hire some two-fisted veterans or hunters who can shoot. This would be a good job for the veterans of the first World War to handle. It is better to have too many guards than too few. Do not forget it takes time to build these defense plants; let us protect them. To accomplish this purpose I have introduced a bill to provide more guards for our defense industries.

To do a real job against sabotage we must increase our restrictions on private airplanes. I know you will say that their licenses have been revoked and the owners are being fingerprinted. They are also double checked at the airports. However, there is nothing to prevent any pilot from taking off from a cow pasture or selling his plane to a subversive individual. If subversive individuals get possession of 50 to 100 planes and bomb our defense plants, we will lose time in rebuilding them. We have no time to lose. Of course, these pilots will be punished, but that will not save the powder plants. If the Government can take land, property, and tires, they can take private planes. The only planes that should be allowed to fly, except in exceptional circumstances, are military and air-line planes.

The time has come when all Americans must work, fight, and sacrifice if we are going to win this war. We must win in order to preserve our liberties and protect our high standard of living. America must wake up. America has no place for an individual who places any other flag, constitution, way of life, or any other ideals of government above our own. We must gird ourselves to resist all attacks on the American way of life.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOLGER].

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, I am voting against the continuation of this committee, and I might as well say to you that in part it is personal. I have come near dying on the floor of this House since I have been here and I owe to the

gentleman from Texas, Judge SUMNERS, the fact that I am alive now, I think.

I realize that this committee has done a wonderful work in some respects. I know that every man on the committee is of the highest patriotism, and I have learned to know and love and highly regard them, but I am of opinion that the work of the committee, which they have developed on the floor of the House, is dangerous, when we take into account that while Russia was one of our main Allies and source of help and protection, attack was made on them, to no use, highly dangerous, by the committee chairman while we were looking to Russia for help. These mistakes might occur again.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 1 minute more.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, I do not feel that there is a sufficient and proper understanding between the activities of this committee and the Government itself. I do feel that the most efficient way of putting down and eliminating sabotage and things which are detrimental to us is through the F. B. I. and the Department of Justice and the Military and Naval Intelligence, and that all these should be controlled under one head. I am afraid we will gum up the situation if we keep this up.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER].

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced beyond all doubt that the net result of the labors of the Committee to Investigate un-American Activities is harmful to the Nation's war effort. It has excited suspicion unduly, created distrust and disunity, and has embarrassed and hampered the orderly functioning of important departments of our Government. I am extremely fearful that it may by some injudicious or intemperate outburst bring disaster to the cause of the United Nations.

Its record is one in which the Congress can have no pride, and its procedure at times has been violative of what we Americans like to call fair play. No longer can I condone its misdeeds, and, having no hope that it will reform, I hope its continuance will not be authorized. Money appropriated for expenditures by that committee is worse than wasted. I shall vote "nay."

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 7 minutes.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, there are several points at issue which have been raised since the discussion with regard to the continuation of this committee commenced before the Rules Committee. One of them is: Who was responsible for Pearl Harbor? Of course none of us in the opposition took Mr. DIES' contention very seriously, except that we felt it was our duty to challenge his charge of dereliction against the ad-

ministration and give the true facts to the Nation, particularly as the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] had asserted that he had information which, if he had been permitted to reveal it, would have averted the tragedy at Pearl Harbor.

The record will demonstrate that no one prevented Mr. DIES from revealing his information and that despite the fact that the Attorney General had requested the information which the gentleman from Texas said he had, the gentleman from Texas has never furnished that information. We may argue this matter as much as we want; but there is one proposition that stands out, and that is that the Attorney General, on August 13, asked for the specific information which the gentleman from Texas said he had. The fact is that never has the gentleman from Texas turned over the information which the gentleman from Texas described to be of such character that if he had been permitted to reveal it, would have averted the tragedy at Pearl Harbor. It is true that recommendations were made against public hearings on the matter, but certainly with information of that kind in the possession of the chairman of this much publicized committee, it was his duty, it seems to me and to every reasonable person in this country, if that information was of such serious character, to at least whisper it into the ears of the Attorney General or to whisper it into the ears of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, head of the F. B. I. That was never done. The correspondence is a matter of record.

I repeat, the record shows that despite the fact that the Attorney General on August 13 asked for that information, the gentleman from Texas never turned over that information to him, who is charged with the apprehension and prosecution of spies and fifth columnists.

Now, with regard to the character of the information: Last Saturday afternoon before this House I had the long-sought opportunity to reveal to the membership of the House the character of the information. I showed how, page for page, comma for comma, period for period, most of this material was lifted bodily, word for word, from a news letter published in Los Angeles, Calif., by New Research Service, sold for 10 cents a copy, as far back as July 16.

In that discussion I granted the committee the benefit of every doubt. I even said assuming that the publisher of this News Letter went to the committee and said, "Gentlemen, here is material that you may use. You may copy it. I do not want any credit," assuming that that is all true, bear in mind, however, that the issue involved is not one of violation of copyright nor one of authorization. When this yellow book was published by this committee, what was it supposed to be? It was supposed to represent the work, the investigation, the translation, of whom? Of the Dies committee. Instead, what does it turn out to be? In page after page it turns out to be the work, the translation, the investigation of the person who issued this News Letter and who sold it to the public for 10 cents a copy on July 16, 1941.

You can argue as much as you want on this proposition, but you cannot get away from that fact that these sections in the report are copied word for word. In one place, for instance, where the newsletter says, "Illustration on this page," and it has an illustration, the Dies committee, in making the copy, left out the illustration but forgot to omit the words "Illustration on this page." The seriousness of this lifting is not one of violation of copyright or of lifting without authorization. The deplorable and serious character of this word-for-word copying is that the committee misrepresented to the House and to the country as its work, words, translation, and investigation the words, work, translation, and investigation of someone else contained in a news letter published July 16, 1941, and sold for 10 cents a copy. This is the issue raised by my charges, and I trust Mr. DIES will stick to this issue of misrepresentation.

If you will turn to pages 1733, 1734, and 1735 of the report, you will find another translation lifted from another source; that is, the China Weekly Review, September 2, 1939. This was done again without giving credit to the source. No proof of authorization in this case. I challenge the gentleman from Texas to orate this one away.

I do not want to dwell on these things too long, because you cannot do much in 7 minutes. But why do these things happen in connection with investigations of Japanese, Nazis, and Fascists? Because this committee is not attuned, it is not prepared, it is not geared, it is not disposed, it is not capable in view of its record, to investigate these people who have been and are the real enemies of our country, as proven by world events. I call as my chief witness on that point none other than a distinguished member of that committee, the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS], who on February 25, on page A792 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD said:

Some of the most important pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist people in America are highly placed and wealthy and powerful people whose activities are seldom if ever in the open. A third reason is that the committee has on its staff no expert in this field, no one who knows it from the inside.

The whole set-up, the whole background, the whole work, the whole activity of this committee guarantees its failure to do the real job against the enemies of the Nation in the future. The same reasons account for its failure in the past.

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

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I refuse to yield. I have quoted the gentleman accurately, and I refuse to yield at this time.

This committee has been acclimated to and its activities have been based on what? On the anti-Comintern bogey, the brain child of the Rome-Tokyo-Berlin axis. Accordingly, the committee did nothing else but direct its energy toward building up bias, prejudice, and hatred against the Soviet Union. What a perfect job for Adolf Hitler. The results have been what? The results have been

that its activities have been diverted from the real enemies of our country.

This committee therefore is untrained and unfit to do the job that has to be done today; namely, to investigate Japanese, Fascist, and Nazi activities within the United States. Let me quote to you from a very left-wing magazine, Collier's magazine, of March 7, 1942, an article entitled "I Don't Like To Travel" by Quentin Reynolds, a man whom we all respect, a man who has seen this war and has had close touch with it, who knows that this war is an anti-Fascist war. Here is what he said.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman one-half minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman may proceed for one-half minute.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. He said:

It made one wonder, it made one wonder if some of the Washington committees which in recent years have spent so much time and money investigating Soviet propaganda in America, would not have done better to look into the sources of the anti-Soviet propaganda in America.

I submit that on the record and on the facts this committee has failed to investigate the real enemy, and in so failing it has tended to cause disunity, division, and disruption among those who are today joined in a collective effort to defeat fascism all over the world.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. LELAND M. FORD].

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I have heard it said that we do not need the Dies committee during a time of war. I submit that we need it more during a time of war than we do at any other time, because the work of subversive interests is more active and far more harmful during wartime.

I think the Dies committee has done one of the finest jobs that has ever been done by any committee since I have been in Congress. They assuredly have gone out and brought to the public attention the subversive interests in this country that were tying to fifth columns, and that whole subversive gang. Particularly at this time do we need this committee when this country is filled with a bunch of weak-kneed officials who have not the intestinal fortitude to do their duty, who sit in their offices and split hairs over the so-called rights of minorities. This is wartime, and we need a committee like the Dies committee to turn on the light of publicity where it is so badly needed.

Mr. DIES. I commend you, I congratulate you and your committee of real, courageous, red-blooded Americans for the splendid work you have done; I am surprised to know that any man in this House would ever come out and take up the other side of this question. I may be prejudiced, but I cannot see anything but the American side on your side of this question.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman yields back one-half minute.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield

5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 10½ minutes.

[Mr. DIES addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS].

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, there can be no doubt that the amount of material on various kinds of antidemocratic activities which this committee has assembled is very great, indeed. Neither, in my judgment, can there be any doubt but that those people who are in positions of leadership in all types of antidemocratic organizations are opposed to the committee.

What I want to use these 2 minutes for is to speak about the future of the committee, whose continuation I assume. In my judgment, the future of the committee should be devoted primarily and with every bit of major emphasis at its command to the doing of a job of exposing and combating the work of people who attempt to create confusion in our country and to build up sympathy with the Nazi philosophy of government. Thus they seek to weaken America's war effort. I believe the whole record of the committee will stand or fall on the basis of how well it does that job. For our country is at war and our work must be focused upon its enemies.

The quotation the gentleman from New York read is a correct quotation from what I said in my speech of February 25 about the committee's work and the dangers of undercover Nazi and Fascist influences, but if he had gone forward he would have found that the reason I made the point I did was that I was saying that this committee should supply itself with staff members primarily equipped to do the sort of job I have just outlined. I believe it should; I hope it will.

I believe also—and I would not be true to my own convictions in this matter if I did not say this, and I have said it many times in the committee itself—that the committee should function more as a committee.

What I mean by functioning as a committee is this: I believe regular meetings ought to be held at which time decisions about the committee's work and its public statements ought to be made. Second, I believe statements by the committee or its members bearing upon its work should only be made after a majority of the committee has approved. And I believe information in the committee's possession should be—as I am informed it has been—always available—all of it—to law-enforcing or intelligence agents of the Government, but not to anyone else except after committee action has been taken to release it.

That the committee has not acted more as a committee is due in part to the fact that it has never had regular meetings

and partly to the fact that members have been lax about attending meetings when the chairman has called them.

America is at war. The duty of this committee is to expose the work of agents of the nations against which we are fighting and of those who give propaganda aid to such agents. Sometimes it will be the committee's duty to work very quietly indeed, simply passing on information to those who can make arrests and catch spies and do work of that kind which this committee cannot do. Sometimes it will be the duty of the committee to speak out and give information to the people directly.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I supported the Dies committee, House Resolution 90, on February 11, 1941. This was a resolution for the continuation of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities. This was during peacetime. We are now at war in a conflict which has enveloped the four corners of the universe. This is a titanic struggle between two different worlds, and one must fall. The liberties and freedoms that are our heritage are not only challenged, but civilization itself is threatened. Unity; yes, national unity is our only hope of averting a catastrophe, for the national danger is extremely grave and perilous.

Unity and cooperation with all nations opposing the ruthless Axis tyrants are a vital prerequisite to victory. And then victory can only be accomplished after a long, hard, bloody, and costly struggle.

Do the American people want congressional investigating committee chairmen in newspaper headlines blasting about Russian communistic dangers, as the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, did in his speech to the House on January 28? I detest communism and its unorthodox philosophy, but I pray and thank God that Russia and whatever they believe in and stand for are on our side in this present world struggle. As the distinguished and able gentleman from Texas, HATTON SUMNER, coming from the same State as MARTIN DIES, so well said to the House recently, and I quote him:

We must not knowingly insult any nation which is now engaged in this war as an ally of our own.

Since the creation of the Dies committee several years ago, approximately half a million dollars has been expended without one piece of concrete, constructive legislation submitted to Congress. Little was heard from the Dies committee about Japanese dangers until after Pearl Harbor, and now the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] says:

If the Department of State had permitted us to investigate the Japs, Pearl Harbor would have been averted.

This statement hit the Hearst headlines all over the country—but on October 24, 1941—just a few weeks before Pearl Harbor, the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, speaking to the New Orleans Association of Commerce, said that—the Japanese policy was just a bluff—and not too good a bluff at that. A lot of Americans like myself would like to see them bring their coal burners out for a good licking, but they won't.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies] has been constantly offending our ally, Soviet Russia, instead of ferreting out Axis agents and Fascist leaders in America. The Federal Communications Commission Chairman in a letter said, and I quote:

That the chairman of the Dies committee has been frequently and favorably quoted on Axis propaganda broadcasts beamed to this Hemisphere.

The Dies committee, in its reckless release of statements to the press which always hits Hearst's and other newspaper headlines, called un-American or Communist-front organizations—one which contained such outstanding Americans as: Senator Barbour of New Jersey; the able and distinguished Senator Carter Glass of Virginia; Alfred E. Smith, former Governor of New York; Rev. M. E. Sheehy of Catholic University; Attorney General Biddle; Senator Bennett Clark of Missouri; Thomas E. Dewey, former district attorney of New York; Josephus Daniels, former Ambassador to Mexico; Governor Saltonstall of Massachusetts; William Allen White; and Wendell Willkie. It makes this Congress look silly indeed to tolerate such utterances, let alone condone and encourage this side-show by annually voting more appropriations to continue the committee.

The gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, said to the House on March 4 that he intended the exposé of an Axis plot to smear personally and undermine confidence in President Roosevelt. Has the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dies] always cooperated with our President and supported him, for whom he has suddenly shown such regard and interest? Let's look at the record.

August 1940: Demanded President to remove Ickes from cabinet.

October 1940: Said President Roosevelt was evasive on restrictive measures against Communists, Nazis, and Fascists for fear he might antagonize a few votes in the November election.

December 1940: Charged Attorney General Jackson, now in Supreme Court, with inefficiency and laxity in administering the law.

October 1941: Criticized the President's statement about Soviet Constitution at a time when the President was seeking better relations with Russia.

November 1941: Denounced Leon Henderson as a Communist sympathizer.

January 1942: Admitted he had not studied conference report on the price-control bill, but said he would vote against it if the President put Henderson in charge. Dies periodically condemned organizations supporting F. D. R. foreign policy as Communist fronts, among them were China Aid Counsel and the Refugee Scholarship and Peace Committee. The late Sara Delano Roosevelt, mother of F. D. R., served on both. Labor is another target of the Dies committee in constant unwarranted statements when the records show that shipbuilding, munitions, tanks, and guns are being produced ahead of schedule, due to the superhuman efforts of labor in this critical hour.

I do not question the patriotism of the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, and if we were still at peace I would readily vote to continue the committee, but we

must gather information on subversive and un-American activities that tend to undermine our democracy in a quiet manner, without advanced newspaper headlines, and this can best be accomplished through the F. B. I., one of the finest and most fearless investigating agencies in the world. Within the past week the F. B. I. in their quiet, efficient, and unheralded manner arrested over 1,976 enemy aliens throughout the country and recovered vital maps, ammunitions, and radio sets in their possession. Thousands of F. B. I. agents are quietly working in the shipyards, in industry, in agriculture, and mingling with the population in civilian life guarding against sabotage and espionage activities. I trust the F. B. I.

Let me conclude:

Just as important as the gallantry of our Army in the front trenches and our Navy in defense of our island outposts is the sober, yet grim, determination on our home front to stand as a united people against the threats from abroad and work together to accomplish the multitude of tasks which are ours. Our strength is the union, the inspiration, and the will to win with which we go about our duties as civilian defense workers, in the mills, in the mines, or at the assembly line.

Yet even on the home front we have to beware of enemies. Two of the most dangerous, rendering most efficient service and giving greatest comfort to our foes, are rumor and malicious gossip and unwarranted newspaper headlines that help divide the American people. They creep in the dark, are invisible, spread like wildfire, and do devastating work. They serve the enemy well in time of war; they create distrust and suspicion and weaken our efforts. And, tragically enough, we often, though inadvertently, become allies of the enemies.

I will not vote to waste \$100,000 for the continuation of the Dies committee. Let us vote to give this \$100,000—or let us make it \$500,000—to the F. B. I. to increase their present personnel and it will be money well expended and will repay this Congress a thousandfold for its wise decision in a time of national emergency. Let us quit these rumors and propaganda dissemination that tend to divide ourselves—yes; that even tend to divide the allied nations—and let us embark on a program to divide the enemy.

For the sake of national unity, let us eliminate the Dies committee.

(Mr. VOORHIS of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Is the resolution subject to amendment?

The SPEAKER. If the previous question is ordered, it is not subject to amendment.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I have agreed that I will not yield to anyone to offer any amendment to the resolution, and I am going to keep my faith, as I always try to do. Therefore, with regret, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 331, nays 46, not voting 54, as follows:

[Roll No. 38]

YEAS—331

Allen, Ill.	Ellis	Landis
Allen, La.	Elston	Lane
Andersen,	Engel	Lanham
H. Carl	Faddis	Lea
Anderson, Calif.	Fellows	LeCompte
Anderson,	Fenton	Lewis
N. Mex.	Fish	Lynch
Andresen,	Fitzpatrick	McCormack
August H.	Flaherty	McGehee
Andrews	Flannagan	McGregor
Angell	Forand	McLaughlin
Arends	Ford, Leland M.	McLean
Barden	Ford, Miss.	McMillan
Barnes	Fulmer	Mahon
Barry	Gamble	Manasco
Bates, Ky.	Gathings	Mansfield
Baumhart	Gearhart	Martin, Mass.
Beam	Gehrman	Mason
Beckworth	Gerlach	May
Beiter	Gibson	Merritt
Bell	Gifford	Meyer, Md.
Bennett	Gilchrist	Michener
Blackney	Gillette	Mills, Ark.
Bland	Gillie	Mills, La.
Boehne	Gore	Monroney
Boggs	Gossett	Moser
Boland	Graham	Mott
Bonner	Grant, Ala.	Mundt
Boren	Grant, Ind.	Murdock
Boykin	Green	Murray
Bradley, Mich.	Gregory	Myers, Pa.
Brooks	Guyer	Nelson
Brown, Ga.	Gwynne	Nichols
Brown, Ohio	Hall,	Norrell
Bryson	Edwin Arthur	O'Brien, N. Y.
Buckley, N. Y.	Hall,	O'Connor
Bulwinkle	Leonard W.	O'Hara
Burch	Halleck	O'Leary
Burdick	Hancock	Oliver
Burgin	Hare	O'Neal
Butler	Harness	O'Toole
Byrne	Harrington	Pace
Canfield	Harris, Ark.	Paddock
Cannon, Mo.	Harris, Va.	Patman
Capozzoli	Hart	Patton
Carlson	Harter	Pearson
Carter	Hartley	Peterson, Ga.
Cartwright	Healey	Peterson, Fla.
Case, S. Dak.	Hébert	Pfeifer,
Chapman	Heidinger	Joseph L.
Chenoweth	Hendricks	Pittenger
Chiperfield	Hess	Plauché
Clark	Hill, Colo.	Ploeser
Clason	Hinshaw	Plumley
Claypool	Hobbs	Poage
Clevenger	Hoffman	Powers
Cluett	Holbrook	Priest
Cochran	Holmes	Ramspeck
Coffee, Nebr.	Hope	Randolph
Cole, N. Y.	Houston	Rankin, Miss.
Collins	Hull	Rankin, Mont.
Colmer	Hunter	Reece, Tenn.
Cooley	Imhoff	Reed, Ill.
Cooper	Jacobsen	Reed, N. Y.
Copeland	Jenkins, Ohio	Rees, Kans.
Costello	Jennings	Rich
Courtney	Jensen	Richards
Cox	Johns	Rivers
Cravens	Johnson, Calif.	Rizley
Crawford	Johnson, Ill.	Robertson,
Creal	Johnson, Ind.	N. Dak.
Crowther	Johnson,	Robertson, Va.
Culkin	Luther A.	Robinson, Utah
Cullen	Johnson, Okla.	Robson, Ky.
Cunningham	Johnson, W. Va.	Rockefeller
D'Alesandro	Jones	Rockwell
Davis, Ohio	Jonkman	Rodgers, Pa.
Davis, Tenn.	Kean	Rogers, Mass.
Day	Keefe	Rogers, Okla.
Dies	Kefauver	Rolph
Dirksen	Kelly, Ill.	Romjue
Disney	Kennedy,	Russell
Ditter	Martin J.	Sanders
Domengeaux	Kennedy,	Satterfield
Dondero	Michael J.	Sauthoff
Doughton	Keogh	Schuetz
Duncan	Kilday	Scott
Durham	Kinzer	Secrest
Dworshak	Knutson	Shafer, Mich.
Eaton	Kockalkowski	Sheppard
Edmiston	Kunkel	Short
Elliott, Calif.	Lambertson	Sikes



Simpson	Sweeney	Ward
Smith, Maine	Taber	Wasielewski
Smith, Ohio	Talbot	Weaver
Smith, Pa.	Talle	Welch
Smith, Va.	Tarver	Wene
Smith, Wash.	Tenerowicz	Wheat
Smith, W. Va.	Terry	Whelchel
Smith, Wis.	Thill	Whitten
Snyder	Thom	Whittington
South	Thomas, N. J.	Wickersham
Sparkman	Thomas, Tex.	Wigglesworth
Spence	Thomason	Williams
Springer	Tibbott	Wilson
Starnes, Ala.	Tinkham	Winter
Steagall	Traynor	Wolcott
Stearns, N. H.	Treadway	Wolfenden, Pa.
Stefan	Van Zandt	Wolverton, N. J.
Stevenson	Vincent, Ky.	Woodruff, Mich.
Sullivan	Vinson, Ga.	Woodrum, Va.
Sumner, Ill.	Voorhis, Calif.	Youngdahl
Summers, Tex.	Vorys, Ohio	Zimmerman
Sutphin	Wadsworth	

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### NAYS—46

Baldwin	Granger	Marcantonio
Bloom	Haines	O'Brien, Mich.
Buckler, Minn.	Hill, Wash.	Pheffer,
Celler	Hook	William T.
Coffee, Wash.	Jackson	Pierce
Delaney	Kee	Rabaut
Dickstein	Kelley, Pa.	Sabath
Dingell	Kirwan	Sacks
Downs	Klein	Scanlon
Eberharter	Kopplemann	Schulte
Eliot, Mass.	Leavy	Shanley
Fitzgerald	Lesinski	Somers, N. Y.
Fogarty	McGranery	Weiss
Folger	McIntyre	Wright
Ford, Thomas F.	Maciejewski	Young
Gale	Maciora	

#### NOT VOTING—54

Arnold	Heffernan	Norton
Bates, Mass.	Howell	O'Day
Bender	Izac	Osmers
Bishop	Jarman	Patrick
Bolton	Jarrett	Ramsay
Bradley, Pa.	Jenks, N. H.	Sasscer
Buck	Johnson,	Schaefer, Ill.
Byron	Lyndon B.	Scrugham
Camp	Kerr	Shannon
Cannon, Fla.	Kilburn	Sheridan
Casey, Mass.	Kleberg	Stratton
Cole, Md.	Kramer	Tolan
Crosser	Larrabee	Vreeland
Curtis	Ludlow	Walter
Dewey	McKeough	West
Douglas	Maas	White
Drewry	Magnuson	Worley
Englebright	Martin, Iowa	
Gavagan	Mitchell	

So the resolution was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Ludlow for, with Mrs. O'Day against.

Mr. Englebright for, with Mr. Magnuson against.

Until further notice:

Mr. McKeough with Mr. Vreeland.

Mr. Camp with Mrs. Bolton.

Mr. Drewry with Mr. Maas.

Mr. Jarman with Mr. Bates of Massachusetts.

Mr. Kerr with Mr. Howell.

Mr. Patrick with Mr. Stratton.

Mr. Cannon of Florida with Mr. Osmers.

Mr. Arnold with Mr. Kilburn.

Mr. Kleberg with Mr. Bender.

Mr. Buck with Mr. Martin of Iowa.

Mr. Cole of Maryland with Mr. Jenks of New Hampshire.

Mrs. Norton with Mr. Jarrett.

Mr. Kramer with Mr. Curtis.

Mr. Crosser with Mr. Bishop.

Mr. West with Mr. Douglas.

Mr. Gavagan with Mr. Mitchell.

Mr. Casey of Massachusetts with Mrs. Byron.

Mr. Bradley of Pennsylvania with Mr. Heffernan.

Mr. Izac with Mr. Sasscer.

Mr. Ramsay with Mr. Scrugham.

Mr. Schaefer of Illinois with Mr. Tolan.

Mr. Walter with Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. Larrabee with Mr. White.

Mr. Worley with Mr. Shannon.