

New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN] is recognized for 20 minutes.

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

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, we all know that we are in a war that is not a push-over. In order to win this war we must, all of us, drive one way, the American way, to bring about success in the final analysis. In order to do this, Mr. Speaker, we must have unity among ourselves, not only in the Congress of the United States, which has so splendidly shown a united front since Pearl Harbor, but we also must have such co-operation from the American people in every section of the country.

I regret to say that this unity in certain sections is not what we have a right to expect, because of racial intolerance which is becoming a grave danger. This intolerance is being fostered by certain groups that are seeking to destroy this country of ours, by creating disunity and discord among our people. In certain sections and communities of the country they have publications which spread vicious defeatist propaganda designed to undermine the peoples' faith in and support of our Government's war efforts. Such publications are financed by various subversive groups.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot have any unity if this is to continue and we must waken all of our people to the fact that unity is essential to success in this war.

In certain sections that I have visited you still have agents of nazi-ism and fascism, and I can name a number of States and a number of communities where this is true. In time of war we should give a blank check to the Attorney General, Francis Biddle, and a blank check to the Department of Justice and the Secret Service and the Intelligence Service of both the Army and the Navy to ferret out these so-called subversive groups and stop the publication of a number of little periodicals which spread poison and promote a spirit of intolerance among our people throughout the country.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that the men who died at Pearl Harbor, Bataan, Wake Island, and Guam, if they were alive today to tell the story, would make the same appeal to the American people that I am hoping to make today.

To illustrate my point further, a number of times I have called the attention of this House to certain subversive groups which, unfortunately, the Dies committee did not see fit to study or investigate. I will name one of them. We have a so-called Count Vonsiatsky, who is married to money and has an estate in Thompson, Conn., and he has an organized group to do what? Theoretically—to overthrow the present Russian regime. Practically, however, he has become the liaison officer of native and foreign Fascists and his house is a meeting place for Fascist groups. His organization has spread to all sections of the country and only recently have I discovered that he is registered as a foreign agent.

There are a number of Vonsiatskys who are registered as foreign agents to spread their philosophy of destruction,

whether it is against the United States or some of our allies. This should not be allowed and in time of war registration is not enough. In time of war we should put a stop to all of these foreign organizations no matter how innocent their purposes may appear to be, with respect to advocating something that is foreign to the principles of the American people. We should stop this kind of propaganda whether registered or not. You can go down to the little place of Yorkville, in my city, and when you reach about Seventy-fifth or Eightieth Street it begins to smell of nazi-ism. The Department of Justice only recently acting on some information they had went into a number of homes and, sure enough, they were celebrating Hitler's birthday. They found ammunition and they found every kind of propaganda that is poisonous to the American people. You can go down to some portions of New Jersey and you will find groups and flocks of so-called Nazi sympathizers who are ready, if they have the opportunity, to destroy us, and I venture to say here and now that if and when the time comes and we happen to strike at Germany from offensive positions, you will get more sabotage in this country than you would expect because we have taken too many things for granted. I remember, going back to 1934, under the McCormack committee, we had the thing under control. I remember that my good friend and colleague, U. S. GUYER, was a member of that committee, but we could not then awaken the American people to the dangers that have been pursuing us since 1933, when Hitler took command of the German people.

Believe me when I tell you that I stood on this floor and named at least 5,000 subversive groups and individuals, and I venture to say not one of these groups, or more than one-half percent of them, have ever been investigated by the so-called Dies committee. This is no time for tommyrot or pussyfooting. This is war, and we in Congress ought to make it our business to give more aid to our Attorney General and give more power, if necessary, to the Department of Justice to destroy these elements throughout the country.

Another observation I make, Mr. Speaker. You take some groups and in their hearts they are Fascists and against this Government. They organize themselves into a so-called mushroom newspaper in a community and then go down to the post office and make application for second- or third-class mail privilege. When it is found out that the organization is against our form of government, or our Army and Navy, then, when we come to look for the individual at the top, we cannot find him. It is my strong recommendation that during the war period all so-called mushroom tabloids throughout the country that are in control of irresponsible groups of people, who in that way at the command of the Nazi Government spread this propaganda, should be stopped. I recall, Mr. Speaker, about 3 or 4 years ago I came across some correspondence between a Fascist group or a Nazi group and the Remington Arms & Ammunition Co. I tried to locate

my file which contains evidence that the Nazis were negotiating for ammunition and arms for their organizations in this country. I venture to say that if a proper investigation were made by any committee of certain interwoven interests of the German Government in this country, we would expose facts that would startle the American people.

The law that we are now working on, which was the first bill passed by the McCormack committee to register foreign agents with the State Department, is all right, but it is my best judgment that during the time of war we ought to disband such organizations and stop them from advocating any foreign philosophy which we know is not for the best interests of the American people. Go down the line and you will find a number of great big industries that have received millions and billions of dollars in war work and defense work, but that are still discriminating against certain groups of people in this country, be they white or black. Go through some of our industries, and I have an idea of one or two where the contract is cost-plus, and you will find men there sitting back who are told not to work so hard. What kind of a citizen would tell any worker that he is working too hard at a time when the United States needs so much material for the defense of ourselves and our Allies? On the other hand, we have certain groups, professional pay-roll guys, who advocate a division between the Soviet Union and this country because they do not like the form of government there. Take your own Dies committee—and I am not making any personal aspersions, but as I said in the early part of the day, while having great respect for that committee, yet it has outworn its usefulness, it is an old coat, an old suit, and we ought to change the style. Attacking the Soviet Union at this time is not for the best interests of our people. I do not believe in their form of government. They can keep that form of government over there, but Russia is one of the best Allies that this country ever had, and by all means she should be supplied with the best lease-lend material, because they are doing a swell job. If you have followed the history of this war, you will know that they are already drafting boys and girls in Germany at the age of 11 and 12 years, and you will find that much of the manpower of the German Government has been absolutely wiped out by the Russian Army and the other Allies. By all means Russia is a great Ally, and we should not as Members of Congress or as a congressional committee attack Russia, because she is doing a real human job.

Mr. Speaker, going back to my discussion of subversive publications, I believe that more of these publications ought to be removed from our mails. Because of my investigation over a number of years I have found that people who get a third- or fourth-class permit for mailing purposes through our post offices are indirectly the so-called subversive groups, delivering this mail which is nothing but propaganda against the democracies. I think during the time of war the mail should be gone over more carefully. I do

not think the freedom that the mail has had during peacetime should apply during wartime. At least, the people who ship out publications ought to be people of responsibility who should be able to go before the postmaster and present their case and show that they are legitimate American organizations and that their activity is not adverse to the interest of the United States.

Yes; there is much to be done. But so far it has not been done. Sometime ago the House passed a bill to give the Attorney General power to cancel the citizenship papers of certain professional Nazis and Fascists who only obtained those papers for the purpose of protecting their own skins. That was a bill in the right direction. I am sure it is not going to be abused. I was asked about it a number of times, as to whether the Attorney General would pick up innocent people. I am not disturbed about picking up innocent people, because that is not the intention of the Attorney General or of the United States.

There are certain people that we can name who have obtained their certificates of citizenship, who came here for the sole purpose of furthering the program of Hitler, to divide us amongst ourselves. Let us wake up. Let us put a stop to this peacetime freedom that should have been curtailed long ago.

Now, it seems to me also, Mr. Speaker, that we should be more friendly with each other. We are all in the same boat. This war must be fought by all of us, with a better spirit among the American people, because all Americans are equal. We might get a better sale of bonds and stamps if that were true, because too many people are being discriminated against in one form or another and unable to earn the money with which to purchase bonds and stamps. I know of numbers of cases where that is so. Out of curiosity I issued letters of introduction to some constituents who happen to be outstanding Americans of my faith. When they applied for jobs, the first question fired at them was, "What is your religion?" The second statement was, "We have no room for you." Those are men who were born here; men whose children are fighting in this present war and some of whom fought in the last war. I have known of many cases where colored people were deprived of employment because of their race and, what is even more disgraceful, were discriminated against while wearing the uniform of the armed forces of our country.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHEPARD). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, as I stated at the beginning of my discussion, I hoped to give some more attention to the question of subversive publications and what they are doing to this country.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

Some of them appear innocent enough and merely advocate governmental changes, which might be subversive, but

cannot be considered treasonable. However, the line of demarcation between what is subversive and what is treasonable has grown dimmer from day to day. In view of the necessity of making our war effort all-embracing and laying aside all activities which do not promote our war effort, it is necessary to brand such publications with the strongest condemnation possible.

Treason is a crime of such horrible nature that the fathers of our country saw fit to insert into the Constitution of the United States, the following words: "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."—Article III, section 3.

Judged by this standard, which is a part of the fundamental law of the land, Social Justice and other such publications definitely deserve to be labeled traitorous, and I hereby charge them with treason to the United States, by reason of their giving aid and comfort to the enemies of this Nation.

Many years ago the Supreme Court of the United States was called upon to construe the meaning of the treason clause of our Constitution. At the time the Supreme Court made its early decisions, a war was usually conducted in a punctilious manner and antagonists were fighting on fair terms with one another. Such, however, is no longer the case; at present wars are steeped in totalitarian fashion, and before actual conflict there are many ways in which the enemy can "soften up" a nation by creating a fifth column.

The Hitler method of fighting consists of first dividing a country against itself, breaking up its power of resistance, spreading panic and then machine gunning and bombing from the air until a nation finds itself incapable of offering resistance, and is crushed completely, before attaining a chance to fight.

Hitler and Hirohito have been conducting a war against us by the organization of fifth columns under various names, which have created on our soil, both moral and material propaganda, and which are destroying our power of defense by fair means or foul.

Our Monroe Doctrine was violated by the enemies of our Nation who are seeking, by any means, to establish a foothold on South America, and thereby obtain a base for an attack on the Western Hemisphere.

The activities of Social Justice and the other publications, closely parallel these ideas which attempt to cause division among our ranks and to give aid and comfort to the enemies. Before this country became involved in war with Japan and Germany there was the attitude of men like Coughlin, Pelley, Gerald K. Smith, Winrod, and others, that we should concentrate on our defense, should give no attention or consideration to the distressed democracies, keep our fleet at home and get along without an army since it was unnecessary and no one had made hostile movements against the United States.

After Pearl Harbor this faction did not change in the slightest. They still

contended that we had no business fighting, unless our country was invaded, and though Pearl Harbor was attacked and though Pearl Harbor is part of our territory, it is too remote, in their opinion, to be of any concern to us. After all, why should we defend the Hawaiian Islands, they ask; they only became part of the United States, at the close of the last century. Why should we defend the Philippines, are they not far away in the Pacific Ocean? And also there will be no need of defending Alaska because we only acquired it some 70 years ago, and if Japan should invade the west coast, we may retire to the East, and should the Germans invade the East we could retire to the West. Likewise, if we are invaded on both coasts why we could stick our heads in the sands of Arizona, like an ostrich, closing our eyes to all dangers and taking a position like Candide, feeling that no one can harm us.

These publishers have become the living voices of Dr. Goebbels; in fact, if one reads Social Justice, particularly its articles published in the last few months, one is forcefully reminded of the outpourings of the German Minister of Propaganda. You find there the same accusations that Goebbels preached for 14 years against the stupidity of the democracies, the troubles the world is put to because of the Jews, and that all the misfortunes of the world are due to the Jewish race. Such is the tenor of all the articles which appear in Social Justice, and the final claim was made very recently to the effect that Germany declared war on Poland and the rest of Europe because Samuel Untermyer started to boycott German goods in 1933. For both stupidity and malicious thoughts the articles of Social Justice and other magazines of the same class stand unique. Strange as it may seem, there are many people in this country who are properly taken in, just as there were many people in Germany who followed the line of Goebbels when he claimed that Jews were bad for the country.

Although it was necessary for me to enlist among the subversive publishers the name of Father Coughlin, I want it understood that I have the highest regard for the Catholic Church, to which many of my constituents belong, and I do not consider Father Coughlin as being in any way representative of Catholic preaching, either generally or specifically. As a matter of fact, anyone familiar with the utterances of Pope Pius XI and Pope Pius XII will clearly see that antisemitism is not one of the practices of the Catholic Church. When Mussolini started to play at the anti-semitic game of Hitler and Goebbels, he was severely rebuked by the Pope in that he was disregarding the principles of the Catholic Church.

On April 3, 1942, the following statement by Monsignor Hickey clearly repudiated, on behalf of the Detroit archdiocese, Father Coughlin's activities and clearly disavowed any connection of the Catholic Church with Father Coughlin's sheet:

[From the New York Times of April 3, 1942]

The Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit disavowed today any connection with the magazine Social Justice, founded by the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, Royal Oak radio priest.

The archdiocese assumes no responsibility for the magazine directly or indirectly, according to a statement by the Right Reverend Edward J. Hickey, chancellor of the archdiocese.

Monseigneur Hickey's statement was included in an editorial which appeared today in the Michigan Catholic. It was headed "An authoritative confirmation," and declared:

"Current controversy on the editorial policy of the local weekly, Social Justice, in relation to American morale, has brought from some Catholic papers in the country the emphatic statement that Social Justice is not a Catholic paper. We had thought that this was clear to all our readers.

"The receipt of some inquiries, however, has led us to ask the archdiocesan chancery for authoritative confirmation on this point. From the reply of Msgr. Edward J. Hickey, chancellor of the archdiocese of Detroit, we quote the following:

"A Catholic paper is, by definition, one that is published under the supervision of proper church authority. Social Justice is not under such supervision and is, therefore, not a Catholic paper. Moreover, for nearly 2 years back—since Father Coughlin's latest withdrawal from responsibility for Social Justice with the issue of May 27, 1940—no priest of this diocese has asked or received permission to contribute to Social Justice and no priest of this diocese has been authorized to associate himself in any capacity with its publication or circulation, or, to the knowledge of this office, has actually done so. In a word, the archdiocese of Detroit has no responsibility direct or indirect for Social Justice magazine."

Social Justice magazine is published in Royal Oak and according to a statement issued some time ago by Father Coughlin, is owned by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas J. Coughlin.

It was one of the leading isolationist publications in the country prior to December 7, 1941. Since the United States entered the war it has been charged by Catholic and secular papers with being variously anti-British, anti-Roosevelt, anti-Jewish, anti-Russian, and obstructionist.

I call further attention to the fact that in the New York Times of March 30, 1942, the following editorial appeared, quoting the Florida Catholic, a religious weekly published in St. Augustine, which is the oldest Catholic diocese in the United States:

The last issue of the Florida Catholic, a religious weekly published in St. Augustine, oldest Episcopal seat in the United States, contains a blistering denunciation of the "disloyal activities" of "that un-American paper misnamed Social Justice." The Florida Catholic does not mince words in expressing its opinion in this country, but the fact that it was founded by Father Coughlin and sold at the doors of some churches on Sunday makes useful and timely the indignant repudiation of the church and of Catholic journalism by a weekly which is the diocesan organ of Bishop Joseph P. Hurley, until 1940 an official of the secretariat of state of the Vatican.

"Social Justice is not a Catholic paper," the editorial asserts. "It does not reflect Catholic views. It does not acknowledge or obey any Catholic authority. Indeed, it has on various occasions made bitter attack on those authorities. Despite its mock concern for the welfare of our country, despite its peculiar

brand of piety, this magazine is both unpatriotic and un-Christian."

In the April 13 issue of Life magazine an article was published entitled "Voices of Defeat." In this article attention is called to the fact that this country abounds in a large number of publications which, while not treasonable, are certainly seditious.

I have no desire to bore you by citing further the names of all the organizations or publications which have been spreading this doctrine of sedition, but let me tell you about a few of them. In Chicago apparently there are a number of organizations which seek to organize our national strength with the idea of thwarting our war effort and conducting anti-American propaganda of all kinds.

One such organization, We the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Inc., claims a membership of 15,000 in 32 States. This organization apparently is organized to impeach the President and to appease Japan on the theory that the Japanese are reasonable people and would surely make a deal with the United States.

Another Chicago organization is called the Citizens Committee, which also seeks to appease our enemies and to reach an agreement with Japan and Germany. Their publications have been circulated among the Members of Congress as well as other men in public life and the American people generally, and have been distributed under many names. We have, for instance, The Defender, by Gerald B. Winrod, Publicity by E. F. Garner, The Galilean by Pelley, now most fortunately out of publication, and The Cross and the Flag, by Gerald L. K. Smith, and many others.

I had occasion at one time or another to call attention of the House to these publications and their publishers. Public opinion has finally been aroused. I wish to commend the stand taken by the Attorney General in stamping out this menace to our war effort. I feel that such efforts on the part of the Attorney General will cut out this cancerous growth, which is a menace to our country, and I believe that only courageous treatment of this problem by Congress will bring about a sensible solution of this vexing question.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot afford to be complacent. This is a question of self-preservation. We must expose people and publications that play into Hitler's hands by using Goebbel's methods to create disunity, distrust, and unrest among our people. Only if we are united can we win this war, and we must win it to preserve our heritage as a democratic nation.