

MORE SNAKES Than I Can Kill

BY REPRESENTATIVE MARTIN DIES

Chairman of the House Committee
on Un-American Activities

The content of Mr. Dies' article in last week's issue of Liberty is summarized on the next page.

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PART FOUR—TERMITES AND THEIR TACTICS

I HAVE always considered myself a liberal and I am certainly a firm and sincere advocate of liberalism. But the brand of liberalism that I understand is entirely different from Communism. My idea of liberalism has been the fundamental principles of liberty. There never was any idea on my part of injuring the cause of true liberalism. I have always felt that unless true liberalism and the labor movement disassociated themselves from Communism, they were doomed to failure. With all my heart I believe that the greatest service that can be performed in the cause of true liberalism and legitimate labor unions is to expose as thoroughly as possible the subversive activities in this country.

In my judgment, the President, as well as many sincere liberals throughout the world, was for a long time completely deceived by the Soviet Union. I think that the President was sincerely friendly to the Soviet Union; that he regarded it as a foe of Nazism; and that he thought it was in the interest of democracy to help and encourage the Soviet Union. In other words, I believe that the Communists put one over on the liberals in the United States just as they did in France.

It is also clear to me that fake patriots deceive many gullible people in this country. Some of these fake patriots are the agents of Hitler and Mussolini. They have direct connections with Berlin and Rome. On the



Communists, Fascists, Nazis: those who are working subversively in this country to undermine American democracy! The inside story of a history-making investigation

BEHIND THE SCENES IN THE PROBE OF UN-AMERICANISM

All statements made and opinions expressed by Mr. Dies in this series of articles are his own, and Liberty disclaims responsibility for any of them. For his statement of his case, it has allowed him the fullest latitude within the laws of libel. As always, it will be happy, in any instance, to present the other side too.

other hand, there are many fake patriots who have no such connections with foreign governments but who are essentially racketeers, interested solely in enriching themselves. Some of this latter class of fake patriots openly use racial and religious hatred as a bait to attract intolerant people. Others pretend to be tolerant, but through veiled inferences and attacks make the same subtle appeal to bigotry and intolerance.

These fake patriots and their organizations have a big following in the United States, and they are raising hundreds of thousands of dollars. We are interested in the question whether any of this money goes into personal bank accounts.

William Dudley Pelley was mailing out about one million pamphlets and newspapers every year, and his appeals to religious and racial hatred reached thousands in every section of the nation. While Pelley claimed to be a patriot, the evidence before our committee showed that he had reprinted in his publications articles and statements that had come from Germany.

In traveling around the country I have found in many communities "patriots" who in the name of Christianity or Americanism are disseminating the same racial and religious bigotry which contributed to the triumph of Hitler in Germany. Most of these merchants of hate work in co-operation and exchange literature and speakers. All of them are raising as much money as possible from gullible Americans, and if our committee had the facilities to audit the books of these "patriotic" leaders and organizations it would show that millions of dollars are annually raised in this manner and devoted to the spreading of hatred in the United States. While these self-styled patriots profess to be the bitter foes of Communism, as a matter of fact they are using this issue for their own ulterior purposes. If Fascism in the United States ever develops as a serious threat to our institutions, it will spring from these so-called patriotic movements.

AS an illustration of the manner in which some of these "patriots" operate in their campaign to disseminate racial and religious hatred, I wish to deal briefly with the Campbell-Gilbert-McWhirter testimony before our committee.

One of our investigators learned through James F. Cook, who is the Department Commander of the American Legion for the Department of Tennessee, that Mr. James E. Campbell had sent him typewritten copies of certain reports. These reports purported to set forth certain conversations that occurred between members of a prominent Jewish club of New York City. Mr. Cook testified as follows:

"I did not pay much attention to the first two or three reports I received from him. They were just

typewritten copies. But after a while—oh, I guess I received four or five of these reports—I did not pay much attention to them to start with, but after a while I noticed, just happened to notice, in the paper an event that had been mentioned in one of these reports, and then I began to read them a little more closely and paid a little more attention to them, and there were several things happened after I received these that had been predicted in these reports. So then I began to kind of sit up and take notice of things."

The committee investigator came to Washington and submitted to me

IN LIBERTY LAST WEEK

Mr. Dies revealed the fact that government agents had investigated his financial affairs and his entire record in law practice. He said that after such methods, together with misrepresentation in newspapers, had failed to discredit the Dies Committee, its critics convinced President Roosevelt that it was being used to hurt him and his administration. This, he said, was what led the President to "issue an unprecedented blast" against it. He is confident that the President was sincere but was imposed upon by left-wingers.

He said that, last October, he discussed with a group of New Dealers and others the possibility of co-operation between the Roosevelt administration and the committee in the interest of democracy, and he was told that within a short time the President would invite him to a conference. Instead of doing so, the President on the following Friday accused the committee of "sordid procedures."

Mr. Dies made public letters written to him in September, 1938, by "one of the Democratic leaders of the House," who reproached him for investigating the Labor and other executive departments at a time when Nazi activities in this country were so dangerous. When he remonstrated, saying his committee was investigating Nazism and Fascism as much as Communism, the leader deplored his letting it be used by shrewd Republicans to "besmirch certain outstanding Americans."

He said that the Mutual Broadcasting Company was constrained, from the White House, to give some one time to answer him on the President's denunciation. Presently, he said, Charlie Michelson, the National Democratic Committee's publicity man, demanded of the company that, as if of its own accord, it request Paul Y. Anderson to answer him.

As recently as last July, he said, efforts were made by the Roosevelt administration to end the investigation by the Dies Committee, with which it had never co-operated.

copies of these alleged reports which he had received from Mr. Cook. Because of the highly inflammatory and revolutionary statements contained in these reports and attributed to some of the most prominent citizens in America, and because it was apparent to me that this was a part of a widespread campaign to arouse religious and racial hatred, I instructed the investigator to find out the facts with reference to the dissemination of these reports.

Mr. James E. Campbell maintained an office in Owensboro, Kentucky, under the name of Business Engineering Associates. The investigator discovered that he was a captain of

the Engineers Corps Reserve and was Post Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and Americanism chairman of the Department of Kentucky of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. While Mr. Campbell maintained his office in Owensboro, he kept his bank account in the Citizens' Deposit Bank in Calhoun, Kentucky, which is about twenty miles from Owensboro. An examination of this bank account disclosed that he was receiving money from W. P. Gilbert of New York City, and that since the summer or fall of 1937 he had received approximately eight thousand dollars from Mr. Gilbert. Mr. Campbell testified that he did not receive money from any other source.

Under subpoena issued by me, the investigator seized Mr. Campbell's files, and they were brought to Washington. An examination of these files disclosed correspondence between Mr. Campbell and Mr. Felix McWhirter, president of the Peoples State Bank of Indianapolis and also treasurer of the Indiana State Central Committee of the Republican Party; General Van Horn Moseley of Atlanta, Georgia; W. P. Gilbert; John Hamilton; George Deatherage, Commander of the Knights of the White Camellia, and others.

THE committee subpoenaed Mr. Campbell, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Deatherage, Mr. Hamilton, and General Moseley to appear before it for examination. Mr. Campbell and Mr. Gilbert admitted that Gilbert transmitted in longhand the alleged reports to Campbell, and that Campbell in turn sent them to a confidential mailing list of forty people who held key positions in the Reserve Officers Association and veterans' organizations. However, the committee found in Mr. Campbell's files a mailing list of approximately two hundred prominent people located in various sections of the country.

Mr. Gilbert testified that one George Rice, who claimed to be a waiter in a New York club, supplied him with the information on which Gilbert based the reports. Mr. Gilbert made little investigation to determine whether or not this alleged person, George Rice, was in fact a waiter at the club, nor did he make much of an effort to ascertain whether or not the reports were true. He stated, however, that he had seen George Rice enter the servants' entrance of the club upon two occasions. Although the committee has made diligent inquiry to find out whether or not there was any employee in the club who fitted the description Mr. Gilbert gave of George Rice, we have been unable to secure any information that would lead us to believe that there ever was any such person employed by the club.

The reports sent by Gilbert to Campbell were in longhand, identified by Gilbert as his own handwriting. These reports set forth alleged conversations of prominent members of the club in which they purported to

predict future events, such as the sale of airplanes to France, the journey of James Roosevelt to Europe, and so forth. They also contained treasonable statements attributed to prominent citizens and were calculated to arouse intense racial hatred.

The original reports were found in Mr. Campbell's file, and an examination of them disclosed that, after making predictions, the same reports contained newspaper clippings confirming the alleged predictions. For instance, in the report of January 25, one of the prominent members of the club was alleged to have stated that he had arranged for the French to pay one hundred million dollars for planes and plane equipment. Following the prediction in the report was a paragraph as follows: "Proof—late edition of the New York Evening Sun, January 27, 1939, clipping enclosed." In other words, the reports not only contained the prediction, but, for the convenience of Mr. Campbell, set forth the confirmation in the form of newspaper clippings.

When Mr. Campbell received the reports, he struck out the paragraphs stating the proof of the predictions and transmitted typewritten copies of the reports. Since the reports were dated prior to the newspaper accounts confirming the alleged predictions, those who received the reports were led to believe that they contained accurate predictions of events that were subsequently announced in the press. As a matter of fact, while the reports

were dated before the press releases, they were not mailed by Gilbert until after newspapers contained the announcements which were supposed to furnish the proof of the accuracy of the predictions.

The envelopes in which Mr. Campbell sent the reports to his mailing list were marked "Confidential." It is quite obvious that the contents of the reports were widely disseminated through a whispering campaign. No one who received these reports ever sent them, or any one of them, to our committee, or, so far as I have been able to learn, to any public authority.

From all of the various sources of information, I have pieced together what I conceive to be an accurate picture of what has happened in this country in recent years with reference to the growth and development of the subversive movements and ideologies of foreign countries. I shall paint this picture as best I can in simple and understandable language.

The truth is that many so-called liberals in this country were played for suckers by leaders and strategists of the Communist Party. This was due partly to a lack of experience on the part of the liberals and to a complete lack of any definite program to distinguish liberalism from conservatism. In other words, every crackpot from Socialist to Communist calls himself a liberal.

The popular idea was that any one who wanted to spend some one else's money or take away some one else's

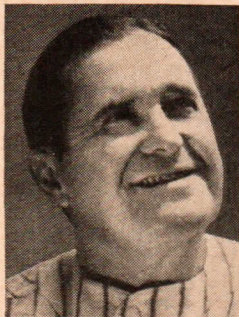
rights was a liberal. Many of the so-called liberals looked upon property rights as relics of feudalism. While they did not recognize it, what some liberals were preaching was the very essence of Communism, and while few of the liberals were willing to go as far as the Communists, the only difference between the extreme brand of liberalism and Communism is one of degree. There was, therefore, more than a coincidence in the alignment between many self-styled liberals and Communists. There was a common prejudice against property rights which was shared in varying degrees by many of those who call themselves liberals.

Some disillusioned liberals would have us believe that the Communists were to blame for what happened and that they were merely innocent. As a matter of fact, many liberals were preaching class hatred in varying degrees and this threw them into the same camp with the Communists. This is the explanation for the almost unbelievable influence which the Communists gained in so-called movements and organizations. This partly accounts for the fact that, according to testimony before our committee, more than half of the directors of the C. I. O. either are Communists, or have been Communists, or seem to follow the party line, and that many unions affiliated with the C. I. O. appear to be under the complete domination of Communists.

This also helps to explain the fact



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EXPLORER—Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews says of Bromo-Seltzer: "Most satisfactory relief for headache."



FICTION—Erle Stanley Gardner often writes a million words a year! "For headache, I take Bromo-Seltzer."



that Communists have been able to set up front organizations and to get hundreds of thousands of people to join such organizations and contribute funds indirectly to the Communist Party. The actual membership of the Communist Party is small, not more than 100,000, but because the Communists were a well trained minority they were able to gain a dominant position in many of the organizations and to fleece liberal suckers out of millions of dollars which were spent for the benefit of Moscow.

NOT all liberals were actuated by class hatred or despised property rights. There are many sincere people who classify themselves as liberals and who sincerely believed that Russia was a democratic country. There is no question but that this administration so regarded Russia. The President and most of his Cabinet were friendly to Russia, and, since this administration came into office, much assistance has been given to the Soviet Union. This is shown by the correspondence which the committee obtained in the Carp case.

Sam Carp, an American citizen and a brother-in-law of Premier Molotov, was given a large sum of money by the Soviet government to bring to the United States. Carp admitted that he had paid about \$32,000 to Scott Ferris, a Democratic National Committeeman, and about the same amount to Preston McGoodwin, now an aide of Charlie Michelson, the publicity director for the National Democratic Committee, in consideration of services in helping the Soviet government to secure approval of a battleship to be constructed in the United States.

As I stated before, there are many things that I know to be true but have not been able to prove as yet. For instance, Sam Carp deposited over \$400,000 in cash in the bank. It has been proved, and he has admitted, that he paid \$32,000 to Scott Ferris, National Democratic Committeeman from Oklahoma as a lawyer's fee, and about \$25,000 to Preston McGoodwin, now an aide of Charlie Michelson.

What has not been proved is that many politicians in and about Washington also received large sums in cash. There is another bank account in the city of Washington which we have investigated. We were under the impression that this bank account had something to do with Soviet Russia, but we have not been able to establish this fact. However, in the course of the investigation we found the same situation as in the Carp matter. It is clear that some of the so-called liberals or leftists have not hesitated to take money from Russia.

Let nothing I have said cast any reflection upon the great majority of liberals who are sincere and conscientious. Some self-styled liberals, on the other hand, merely masquerade as liberals to conceal their sympathy for Communism.

In the letters of Mr. Ferris, Mr.

McGoodwin, and Mr. Carp is the whole story of the policy of this government toward the Soviet Union. These letters show very clearly to me that the administration was friendly to Russia and from sincere motives was doing a great deal to assist Russia. I think that it was the definite foreign policy of the President and Mr. Hull to favor Russia upon the sincere belief that Russia was a demo-

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3. Cartoons must be approximately 14 x 16 inches and should not exceed this size. They should be drawn on white Bristol board, in India ink, pencil, or charcoal, suitable for published reproduction and exhibition.
4. Signatures must be placed on back of cartoons, not on face. Prize winners will be given an opportunity to sign on face before reproduction.
5. Cartoons will be judged for aptness, originality, power, simplicity, and draftsmanship. Judged on this basis, the best entry will be awarded a cash first prize of \$1,000. The second best entry will receive a cash second prize of \$300. The five entries next in order of excellence will receive cash prizes of \$100 each. In the event of ties, duplicate awards will be paid. A competitor may submit as many cartoons as he desires, but only one prize will be awarded to any competitor.
6. Prize-winning cartoons will become the property of Liberty Magazine and the Town Hall, New York, for reproduction wherever desired. All entries may be exhibited at a special showing in New York after the contest closes. The right is reserved to purchase for publication, at usual rates, any entries in addition to the prize winners.
7. Entries should be addressed to Patriotic Cartoon Contest, Liberty Magazine, P. O. Box 556, Grand Central Station, New York, N. Y., and should be postmarked on or before February 21, 1940, the closing date of this contest. No entries will be returned unless accompanied by return postage when submitted.
8. Winners will be announced in the first available issue of Liberty Magazine and announced by broadcast over America's Town Meeting of the Air.
9. The judges will be Bernarr Macfadden and Fulton Oursler for Liberty, George V. Denny, Jr., and Arthur E. Bestor for the Town Hall, and a nationally recognized personality to be announced later. By entering the contest you agree to accept their decisions as final.

Watch Liberty for further developments

cratic government and a foe of Nazism. After the Ferris letters were made public, I requested the State Department to permit me to inspect the Carp files. This request was refused, and I think that the real reason for the refusal was the unwillingness of the State Department to permit me to see how closely our government was working with Soviet Russia.

This explains, at least to me, the reason administration leaders were opposed to the investigation of Communism. This also partly accounts for the ease with which the Communists and their fellow travelers were able to get some key positions in the

government, in labor unions, and in so-called liberal organizations. There is no question in my mind but that the administration and liberal groups and individuals are now completely disillusioned, but they hate to acknowledge that they have been duped by the agents of a foreign Power. Pride keeps them from acknowledging their mistake and, in addition, the Communists have become so securely entrenched in some organizations that it is not an easy thing to get rid of them.

Not only were the liberals of the country deceived, but the same is true with reference to certain patriotic groups and organizations who have been used by Fascist and Nazi organizations in this country. The evidence before our committee shows conclusively that the German-American Bund is an arm of the Nazi propaganda and espionage machine. While, like the Communist Party, it pretends to be a patriotic American organization, it is no more nor less than the agent of the Nazi government. But because it cleverly disseminated racial prejudice, it was able to appeal to many so-called 100-per-cent Americans who have similar prejudices.

THE striking similarity of this strategy of Communists and of Fascists should not be overlooked. Here were the Communists using class hatred as bait to catch all the liberal suckers in America. Here were the Nazis and Fascists using racial and religious hatred as a bait to catch all the prejudiced and intolerant people in the country. However, the Nazi-Fascist groups never did obtain the influence that the Communists did. This is because they did not make so much headway in labor unions and in government agencies.

It only happened that the Fascists and Nazis failed to attain the influence that the Communists did because of circumstances that existed at the time. Actually they constitute as great a threat to America as do the Communists, and, while they are much younger than the Communists and are not as clever and astute, no one can deny that they have made considerable progress in recent years.

There was more secret sympathy for Nazi Germany in this country than was generally known. This is shown by many letters which I received urging me to investigate Communists and to minimize the seriousness of Nazism. Given the same time and opportunity which the Communists had, the Fascists would have made as much, if not more, progress in the United States, because there is as much racial prejudice in this country as there is class prejudice. This has not been true in recent years, on account of the depression and other factors, but under normal conditions an appeal to racial and religious hatred would be more effective in this country than an appeal to class hatred. I have had many intelligent and substantial people ex-

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(Continued from page 40)

press to me their prejudiced feelings with reference to races and religion in this country. There is hardly a mail which does not bring letters condemning some church or race.

But it so happens that class hatred has been in ascendancy during the past few years, and this has given the Communists their golden opportunity to multiply their influence.

When the Democratic administration came into power and the attitude toward Soviet Russia was changed to one of friendliness and co-operation, Stalin saw his opportunity to build up a powerful propaganda and espionage machine in the United States. At that time the Communist Party was very small but, according to Earl Browder, from 1935 to the present time the Communist Party has enjoyed the greatest growth in its history. Since 1935 more new members have been added to the Communist Party than during all of its previous history.

This was due to Communist influence in the C. I. O. and in government agencies. For instance, in one writers' project in New York we definitely proved that more than one third of the writers were members of the Communist Party.

The misuse of some charitable funds stimulated Communist growth during this period, so that Stalin was able to develop in the United States the most elaborate and efficient propaganda and espionage machine ever

known here. What Stalin wanted were military secrets and a powerful influence in support of Russia's foreign policy. Actually the Russian agents in the United States legally and illegally seem to have come into possession of many important military and industrial secrets.

Hitler imitated the strategy of

Stalin. He established a German-American Bund for the same purpose. Though Germany was disliked in Washington and throughout the country, and the German-American Bund was never able to penetrate other organizations and government agencies as successfully as the Communists, nevertheless, through an appeal to racial prejudice, the Bund was able to enlist the support and sympathy of many so-called patriotic organizations in this country.

During this same period the German-American Bund grew to approximately 100,000 members, including the sympathizer groups.

As I said, the Bund's growth was due, first, to an appeal to racial hatred and, second, to its professed antagonism to Communism. Bund members were and are working in navy yards, aviation factories, and in key industries. Through this source Hitler has been able to obtain valuable military and industrial secrets.

Whether he did as well as Stalin is a matter of speculation. But the truth now is that, since the alignment between Hitler and Stalin, all of the valuable information obtained in the United States is at the disposal of both dictators.

Still more challenging disclosures concerning un-American activities as indicated by the evidence that his committee has uncovered will be made by Mr. Dies in Liberty next week!

Answers to Twenty Questions on Page 20

- 1—Asta, of Thin Man fame.
- 2—In 1905 Theodore Roosevelt mediated the Russo-Japanese War.
- 3—Oscar, The Chocolate Soldier; Johann II, The Blue Danube; Richard, Der Rosenkavalier.
- 4—Foxy, Boston; DiMaggio, New York; Dean, Philadelphia.
- 5—They rob the nests of rats that make the first collection.
- 6—Cairo.
- 7—Deer botfly, win, 450 m.p.h., estimated top speed; duck hawk, place, 180, estimated top speed; and motorboat, show, approximately 150.
- 8—The one in the shade, because the one in the sun absorbs solar radiation.
- 9—General Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, who fought with the Boers.
- 10—Horton Smith, golfer; Adam Smith, economist; and Gunboat Smith, fighter.
- 11—Fourteen.
- 12—Caesar, who crossed the Rubicon, thus starting the civil war that made him supreme.
- 13—The horse.
- 14—Admiral Graf Spee, 10,000 tons; U.S.S. Pennsylvania, 33,100 tons.
- 15—"Remember the Maine," and "Remember the Alamo."
- 16—The priest.
- 17—The Oldsmobile.
- 18—Brobdingnag, land of giants; the Houyhnhnm, a race of horses that ruled men; and Laputa, the island of philosophers.
- 19—The photoelectric cell.
- 20—

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