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CONGRESSMAN DIES SPEAKS OVER CBS

(Following is a copy of an address by Representative Martin Dies, Democrat, of Texas, over the Columbia Broadcasting System Saturday, October 28, at 10:30 P. M., EST. Representative Dies spoke from the studios of WJSV, Columbia's station for the nation's capital.)

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At the very beginning of our investigation into un-American activities, I made it clear that I would not embark upon the work of our Committee with any spirit of partisanship or fear. Again, when the House of Representatives by the overwhelming vote of 344 to 35 continued the life of our Committee, I stated on the floor of the House that I would not permit considerations of political partisanship or fear of powerful groups to interfere in any manner with giving the American people all the facts about the subversive agencies and activities which our investigation might disclose. I made a covenant with the American people that I would keep faith with them, and with them alone, on a matter which rises above all party interests and considerations.

I am a Democrat and expect to remain a Democrat as long as I live. With us in Texas, the Democratic Party is a political habit of which we are proud. My father before me represented the State of Texas in the Congress of the United States for ten years. When a great national issue was before the Congress and the American people twenty years ago, he did not hesitate to break with the leaders of his Party when his conscience persuaded him that the interests of his country transcended those of his Party. I would be faithless to my father's memory and to my public trust if I failed to put America first. I cannot and will not bow to the leadership of my own political party when my conscience tells me that the vital interests of America and the views of my Party's leadership are in conflict.

I know that you will understand me when I say that I have been deeply grieved by the President's characterization of the procedures of our Committee as "sordid." I have not sought and will not now enter into controversy with the Chief Executive of my Government. Neither will I say that my wisdom and judgment are superior to his, but I do know that the Federal Government has communists in key positions, and nothing will deter me from exposing them to the people. I know, furthermore, that there are hundreds, yes thousands, of members of the communist-controlled organizations scattered throughout the departments and agencies of our Federal Government and nothing will deter me from apprising the American people of this fact.

There is nothing new about this latest attack by the Administration upon the work of our Committee, nothing new except the occasion which prompted it. I profoundly regret that the President and all the members of his Cabinet have not from the beginning supported our Committee with that same unanimity of support which we have received from the people of this country. I am as pained as the communists and their fellow travelers are pleased at the President's continued unfriendliness toward our Committee. I wish it were otherwise, and I am compelled to state that, unless there is a change in the Administration's attitude, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for our committee to produce the results which the country has every reason to expect.

When a list of leaders of the German-American Bund was made public by our Committee, there was no charge of "sordid procedures." When a mailing list of William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirts was spread upon the record, there was no charge of "sordid procedures." Why then this sudden fury of attack upon the procedures of our Committee when the membership of more than five hundred officials and employees of the Federal Government in the Communist-controlled American League for Peace and Democracy is disclosed to the American people?

The list of Federal employees which went into our record this week was a membership list obtained from the Washington branch of the American League. Mr. Lamberton, chairman of the Washington branch, testified before the Committee that there are 700 Government employees who are members of the League. But the list we secured from him only contained the names of 563 Government employees. We did not say that the members of this organization are members of the Communist Party. Leaders of the Communist Party, like leaders of the German-American Bund, say that they have destroyed their membership lists for fear of exposure. Therefore, it is impossible to prove who are the members of the Communist Party by membership records which do not exist. In this circumstance, we must resort to the next best proof, such as the testimony of former Communists as to who are members, the writings and activities which disclose that persons follow the Communist Party line, and membership in organizations, such as the American League, which are shown to be Communist controlled.

Can it be true that some of the names on that membership list were too big for release to the public? Can it be true that any one wants the American people kept in the dark with respect to the connections, innocent or otherwise, of high-salaried executives with organizations which the Communist Party has set up for purposes that are utterly un-American? You, the American people, pay the salaries of these Government employees. You are entitled to know such facts about their connections with a Communist-controlled "front" as we are able to bring to light.

In the conduct of our investigation into Communist tactics, aims, and agencies, we refuse to single out the poor and illiterate citizens of our country who have been caught in the toils of the communist network. If we are not free to reveal the identity of the parlor pets of Moscow who plot the overthrow of our Government over their tea cups, then we can have no investigation worthy of the name. Furthermore, I wish to serve notice upon the country and upon the Administration that if I am to remain as chairman of this investigation into un-American activities, and if this investigation is to be continued, which is necessary, I will not stop in the pursuit of the facts, at the outskirts of official Washington. I, for one, will have no part in an inquiry which spend all of its time on the subversive activities of private citizens and is afraid to enter the tax-supported officialdom of the Nation's capital.

Now let us see if the disclosure of the names of these five hundred federal employees who are members of the American League for Peace and Democracy was a "sordid procedure." I think we can all agree that it is, indeed, a sordid thing for a man to take his salary from one government and then allow himself to be used by an organization that was established to serve the interests of another government. I think we can all agree that it is a sordid thing to have as many as five hundred such persons on the payroll of the United States Government. Furthermore, I believe we can all agree that it was a disagreeable necessity for any Committee of the United Congress to reveal this fact to the American people.

Now, as to the history and the character of the American League for Peace and Democracy, let us take a look at some of the facts of record. Since the beginning of the life of our Committee, nine members of the House of Representatives have participated in our investigation. Every one of these nine men has had the opportunity of weighing the facts about the American League, and every one of the nine is now on record in branding the organization as a "front" of the Communist Party. During the present year, two members have been placed on our Committee to fill vacancies which had occurred. Both of these new members had voted against the continuation of our Committee last January, and both were appointed by the Speaker of the House whose loyalty to the Administration has not been questioned. I wish to emphasize that these two new appointees to our Committee, along with the others who have served with us, have gone on record with respect to the communist control of the American League.

According to its own publications, the American League for Peace and Democracy was originated at the Amsterdam World Congress Against War in 1932. That Congress was convened on the call of the famous French communist, Henri Barbusse,

acting under instructions of the Communist International. It was attended by 2,196 delegates of whom 830 were avowed members of the various communist parties of the world. In addition to these avowed communists, there were 291 delegates who styled themselves Social Democrats but whose position, according to their own proclamation, was in complete agreement with the communists. These alleged Social Democrats pledged themselves to work for civil war in their respective countries in the event of another international conflict. The Amsterdam Congress unanimously adopted a program which declared that it would not allow the Soviet Union "to be touched". This program was adopted as its own by the American Section of the world committee which was set up at Amsterdam.

The American Section of the Amsterdam movement called itself the American Committee for the Struggle Against War. It was this Committee which called the First United States Congress Against War at which the founding of the American League Against War and Fascism took place.

The first national chairman and one of the first executive secretaries of the American League testified before our Committee that the League was communist-originated and communist-controlled. They explained the exact manner in which the Communist Party sets up a "front" organization and controls it.

In three successive programs adopted by the annual congresses of the American League, the organization boldly declared its first objective to be the work of sabotage of our national defense. Point one in these programs stated:

"To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war."

At its second annual congress, Harry F. Ward, present national chairman of the American League, declared that this program was "sound." Shortly before that, the vice-chairman of the American League, Earl Browder (who was also general secretary of the Communist Party at that time), had gone in person to Moscow to report to the Executive Committee of the Communist International that the program of the American League was "politically satisfactory."

Browder, the vice-chairman of the League, also described the League, when he was in Moscow, as "our most successful application of the united front."

According to one of the recent minutes of the Washington branch of the American League, it was decided, "To set up League committees in the unions of Government agencies with our present membership in those agencies as a nucleus." These nuclei of the League are now formed in more than a score of Government agencies, including one nucleus in the Navy Yard.

Both the financial secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Mr. William Weiner, and the national chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Dr. Harry F. Ward, testified under oath before our Committee that the Communist Party is the only national organization which contributes any appreciable sum of money to the work of the American League. This amounts to two or three thousand dollars annually, according to these two witnesses, and represents approximately fifteen per cent of the total annual budget of the American League. This financial contribution from the Communist Party has continued down to the present moment, despite the fact that the Communist Party formally severed, for tactical reasons, its affiliation with the American League almost two years ago.

The Chicago Branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy sent out a letter in which its executive secretary boosted the Communist Party's newspaper, the Midwest Daily Record. The secretary wrote:

"I have sent you about a dozen copies of the May 10th Record under separate cover. I am sending copies of this issue to all our branches calling attention to the invaluable role of the Midwest Record in this important phase of our activity and urging their support by subscriptions, etc. It is a shame that the Midwest Record does not have one hundred times its present circulation."

When the American League backs an avowed Communist Party publication in that manner, it is clear that the League and the Party have a link with each other that the leaders of the two outfits have attempted to conceal from the public.

A member of the National Committee of the American League appeared before our Committee and told how a radio speech which she had been asked to deliver under the auspices of the American League was completely revised by the secretary of the Communist Party of the State of Wisconsin.

It is of the highest significance that among the changes which the secretary of the Wisconsin Communist Party made in the radio address of this national committeewoman of the American League was the deletion of uncomplimentary references to Adolph Hitler who has now become linked in alliances with the "red fuehrer" of Moscow.

If any further evidence were needed to stamp the American League with the Communist Party Label, it is found in the amazing statement on the Soviet-Nazi Pact prepared by the Washington, D. C., Branch of the American League. This statement reads, in part, as follows:

"This pact is a real contribution to world peace and to the peace and security of the United States...The signing of the non-aggression pact between the USSR and Germany is not a war-alliance between the two powers. It is not an agreement for the partition of Poland...In this sense the pact between the USSR and Germany is the only real contribution to the security of Poland that has been made to date...In doing this, the Soviet Union has made a real contribution to an understanding of the present crisis in Europe. It has made a real contribution to the peace and security of Europe, the world, and the United States."

During the present year, one of the vice-chairmen of the American League resigned his position in this communist "front" organization in order to accept an appointment by the Administration as Secretary of the Virgin Islands. For years this man served with Earl Browder as co-chairman of the American League.

Conceived in Moscow, delivered in Amsterdam, nourished in its infancy in America by the famous French communist, Henri Barbusse, the American League for Peace and Democracy has from its beginning served the interests of the Soviet Government. It has been the chief "transmission belt" for drawing "innocents" into the united front network of the Communist Party. It has fostered sabotage in our basic and war industries. It was intended to serve as a reserve force for the espionage activities of the Communist Party. It was intended as a recruiting agency for spies of the Soviet Government in the United States.

Under the slogan of peace inscribed on its shield, it has enabled the Communist conspiracy to invade our peace. Behind its banner on which is written the

word democracy, it has marshalled the forces which sap the foundations of our democracy. Its constant aim has been to break down our defenses against the coming Soviet attack on civilization. The American League, in short, is simply the Communist Party traveling on one of its many false passports under the aliases of peace and democracy.

It is high time that innocent and gullible people who call themselves "liberals" begin to learn to discriminate between organizations that are controlled by the Communist Party for its own purposes -- the purposes of Stalin -- and organizations which truly represent legitimate American interest. It is high time that leaders in government and trade unions cease lending their names as propaganda assets to the Communist Party and its front organizations. Otherwise they must be prepared to take full responsibility for their connections with these un-American and subversive groups. For any of our leading citizens to continue to play into the hands of the Communist Party, after the true nature of the front organizations has been made clear by our Committee, properly opens them to the suspicion of being closer to the Communist Party and its "line" than they are willing for the public to know. The decision rests with them. Our Committee should continue fearlessly to make public the facts, regardless of the high positions which the persons affected may hold in government, trade unions, or elsewhere.

I believe that more consideration is due the person who openly and above-board accepts a Communist Party membership card than is due the fellow traveler who conceals his real political alignment from the public by professing to be interested only in the advancement of worthy causes, such as peace and democracy. Abundant testimony before our Committee has made it clear that one of the tactics of the Communist Party is to use strategically-placed persons who do not hold Party membership cards but who follow, just as faithfully as those who do, the "line" laid down by the foreign office of the Soviet Union.

The time has come for us to consider the necessity of continuing this investigation which will shortly expire and strengthening our laws to cope with the agents of foreign governments who are engaged in subversive activities here. In dealing with a thousand matters that affect our national life but which are not more important than the matter of subversive activity, we are accustomed to bring together the best experts in the land who are provided with all the necessary resources for framing legislation that will protect our national heritage. Our forest, our mines, our transportation and communications, our public health, and our education are matters upon which we expend stupendous funds and expert knowledge in order that they may be administered for the common good. Surely we must do as much for the protection

of our priceless heritage of freedom and democracy. The nation must be informed by fearless investigation of every menace of those who would steal from us this heritage of free men -- the menace of those who hate the Bill of Rights even while they are clamoring for its protection from the exposure of their own misdeeds.

In urging that we begin to consider the necessity for continuing this investigation, I wish to make it clear that great as is the necessity for continuation I had rather see the Committee expire on January 3rd than to be a party to a cowardly white-wash. I think, therefore, that the time has come when the country and those in control of the Government should determine whether or not we shall be permitted to continue the investigation along fearless and non-partisan lines or be constantly handicapped, embarrassed and thwarted by Washington officialdom. In order to make the issue perfectly clear, I here and now declare that I will have no part in any other kind of investigation. I do not want the House of Representatives and the Administration to continue the investigation on any other assumption. Since we must also begin to consider the necessity for framing more effective legislation against subversive elements, I desire to add that it is equally important for us to exercise eternal vigilance against the temptation to resort to repressive measures that would detract from the dignified strength of free men. This is no hour for panic. We are not afraid. Dictatorial methods are the hastily improvised devices of cowards and weaklings. Liberty is born of the confidence of strong men. Our American Democracy must continue to demonstrate the capacity of man for self-government -- with tolerance for all that is nationally tolerable, and without fear in exposing and punishing that which is nationally intolerable.

There must be a new insight into the true meaning of liberalism. Whether men call themselves conservatives or progressives, all those who love America and its free institutions can unite on a platform of liberty. Of one thing we may be certain, conservatives and progressives alike, and that is that economic security and economic progress depend upon the preservation of liberty, upon maintaining inviolate the Bill of Rights. Many peoples in the modern world have sacrificed their hard-won liberty in the pursuit of economic security. They have been rudely awakened to find that both their liberty and their economic security are gone. They have followed demagogues who promised them economic security in exchange for their liberty. They have found, at the end of that road, that their economic insecurity is multiplied a hundred times in the loss of their liberty. All those who believe that liberty is the keystone in the arch of our social structure are true liberals. They may call themselves conservatives or they may call themselves progressives, but together they can unite in rejecting all forms of totalitarianism.

To the people of America I refer my case. After all, this is your investigation and if you want it continued along honest, courageous and non-partisan lines; if you want those in high positions as well as those in low positions exposed when they are guilty; if you agree with me that this is no time for concealment or soft-pedalling on account of partisan interests you have but to make known your views and wishes to your servants in Washington. As for me, I shall not swerve from the path of duty as God gives me the light to see it.

May the God of our Fathers vouchsafe to us the light and the strength to keep America the land of the free!

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