

Speech by Dies on 4/10/40, "revised and extended", entirely out of the Record. This speech should appear on page 6417, CR, Vol. 86, No. 71.

I shall undertake at this time to answer the speech of the gentleman from New York, Mr. Celler, yesterday, in which he attacked the committee of which I have the honor to be the chairman. The gentleman was completely misinformed when he said that this committee ~~is~~ illegally obtained certain records in the city of Philadelphia. I may say for the gentleman's information that the warrant for the arrest of the two investigators of our committee was issued by a judge after an ex parte hearing, when the district attorney refused to endorse it or to authorize it; that the testimony upon which the warrants were issued was pure fabrication, and, furthermore, that the committee proceeded strictly under the state statute of the State of Pennsylvania, upon the advice of counsel and that we have every reason to believe that the courts will uphold the committee in its efforts to secure this information.

Second speech:

Mr. Speaker, in the record of yesterday is a speech by the gentleman from New York, Mr. Celler, incorporating a letter from the American Committee for Intellectual Freedom and Democracy, protesting against the investigation of textbooks who have been charged with members of the Communist Party of the United States.

The gentleman from New York took occasion to denounce as unlawful the manner in which the committee obtained possession of certain records in the City of Philadelphia. I desire to answer that speech, because there is an effort on the part of certain people to create an impression throughout the country that this committee is seeking to violate the bill of rights.

It is true that those who are seeking to create this false impression who condoned the action of other committees when they secured records in a manner

that may have been questionable. Some of those who are so vociferous in their denunciation of this committee saw nothing wrong when other committees of the House secured by questionable methods telegrams, documents, letter files, walked into offices with investigators and accountants and proceeded to get all the information that they wanted. But because other committees did that, of course, is no reason that this committee should do so.

This committee, from the beginning, has had many opportunities to secure valuable information by a resort to unlawful and unconstitutional means. Upon many occasions we have known where there was information that would be of tremendous benefit to this country, but because we could not legally secure that information, we did not attempt to do so. Instead, we undertook to bring before the committee and before the country former members of the Communist Party, and former members of Nazi organizations; we also undertook to bring before the committee the people who had made a careful study of the entire question. Immediately the former members of these organizations were branded as stool pigeons, and labor spies, and those witnesses who had made a careful study of the situation were called "red baiters."

The Communist leaders in the United States, as well as leaders of the Silver Shirts and the Bund and other organizations said, "Why does not the committee call us and find out what the facts are?" Then we undertook to serve subpoenas upon them, directing them to produce certain records. They came before the committee and swore to a deliberate falsehood. They said that they kept no records, and therefore we could not hold them in contempt for their failure to produce records. Under the law, of course, all that any committee can do is to serve a subpoena upon a witness and direct that witness to produce the record. If the witness makes no objection the records can be obtained at the time the subpoena is served.

However, under the law of the State of Pennsylvania there is a statu-

tory provision that enables an investigator to go before a magistrate and upon information and belief say he has reason to believe there is seditious literature in a certain place. Acting under that State statute, in conformity with its provisions, this committee secured certain records--records that had been moved by the Communists three times in one day. We got those records. Under the State law it was necessary for a return to be made within ten days, and there was no provision as to the depository in the interim.

When we got those records we, of course, had ample proof that Communist leaders had perjured themselves before the Committee, because those records contained detailed information of the greatest importance. For instance, here was an organization in Philadelphia called the League of Women Shoppers composed undoubtedly of many splendid people, yet in the files of the Communist Party were the names of officers in the League marked as members of the Communist party. There is no question but what the majority of the members of the League of Women Shoppers had no idea that those who are directing the organization are members of the Communist Party.

We are not dealing here with just another political party. Leaders of the Communist Party who have testified before our committee have admitted that it is the duty of every member of the party to obey party discipline and not only is it the duty of the members of the party but is likewise the duty of the American Communist Party to agree with the decisions of the Comintern.

--Internationale. When we have confronted them with the question: What would happen to a member of the Communist Party if he did not obey the orders and instructions of the leadership? They have said that they would be disciplined and expelled; and we have had many instances in which members of the Communist Party have been tried and expelled because they would not obey the decree of some committee. Then when we have asked them the question: What would happen if the Communist Party of the United States did not obey the de-

decisions of the Third Internationale which is dominated by the dictator Stalin, they have said the Communist Party would have to agree with these decisions or get out of the Third Internationale. So what we are dealing with in the United States is a foreign conspiracy masked as a political party.

We do not know how many members there are in the Communist Party. Earl Browder under his oath estimated that there were 100,000 members. We know now that that was a deliberate falsehood for in the membership books obtained in ~~the~~ Philadelphia we know that it exceeds 118,000 and we have reliable information from Philadelphia, from one whose name I am not able for obvious reasons to disclose, but who is a high party functionary, that the membership in the State of Pennsylvania alone is 125,000 dues-paying members. I do not say that is correct but I merely say that here is a party in the United States that refuses to give to the Congress and to the agency of the Congress vital information.

We have asked them who the officers are, who are the secretaries of their branches, who are the members of a party that Browder says has more than 50,000 members in labor unions in the country. We know from witnesses who have come before the committee, witnesses like George Powers who was born in Russia, who came to the United States at the age of 19, that Communists are active in some labor unions and other organizations. When the committee asked him for the name of his father and mother, he did not remember, yet he has been a business agent for an important union in this country. He has been very active in union affairs throughout the United States. And you have the leaders of the party saying: "Yes, we have 50,000 or 60,000 of our members located strategically in labor organizations, in so-called liberal organizations, in consumer organizations, but we refuse to tell you who they are."

So the question presents itself to Congress: Can we compel these people to say who they are and what they are doing. I want to illustrate the

great handicaps under which the committee is laboring. We recently held in contempt two witnesses. The district attorney's office advised us that unless those witnesses could be held in Washington they would immediately leave Washington and it would require extradition papers with the necessity of a long-drawn-out proceeding and the probability that the committee would expire before they could ever be any decision. So, acting under the advice of the assistant district attorney a warrant was sworn out in order to hold these people in Washington so that the grand jury could act upon the matter. A judge has just held that that was an illegal procedure. Whether it is or not I do not know because there is no appellate decision on the question. But this much is certain, and every member of this committee know this to be true, we are dealing with people who are subservient to foreign dictatorships, who are engaged in espionage, in sabotage, who hold their allegiance to a foreign government, a government that has now embarked upon a career of conquest; people who, when asked the question, "In the event of war between the United States and Russia, would you supporting the United States?" say no, they would not support the United States. We know that they are located in navy yards, industries, and even in the government service. Yet we are unable by any legal means to expose fully their names and their activities. If a democracy cannot devise some legislative way to protect itself against undemocratic minorities, then indeed we are in grave peril. All of us/^{now} know with what success undemocratic minorities operated in Czechoslovakia, in Poland and other countries conquered by Russia and Germany. We know the Comrade Henlein built up a minority of 1,500,000 in Czechoslovakia and when Hitler gave the order to march there were 1,500,000 pro-Nazis in the heart of Czechoslovakia. We know what happened in Poland. We know from the word of Hitler himself that he knew what the military plans of Germany were six weeks before he marched and from the word of officers in the Polish army that there were so many pro-Nazis back

Five additional minutes yielded to Dies:

Mr. Speaker, I want to bring out this point: We are NOT dealing with just a hundred thousand people. In nearly every instance that has come before the committee, we find that these people are intrenched in other organizations, of which I have given you a typical example from the files of the Communist Party in Philadelphia.

I have given you one organization in Philadelphia they cannot deny. There are other organizations in Philadelphia, according to these records, where the control is in the hands of members of the Communist Party. So that we are NOT dealing with merely a hundred thousand people. We are dealing with the generalship, with the vanguard of the proletariat whose policy it is to seize strategic posts in other organizations and undertake to use those organizations for the purpose of promoting the philosophy and the program of a foreign country.

Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret that we could NOT secure the fullest cooperate from every labor union in this country. The testimony stands before our committee today that some three or four hundred organizers in the CIO are members of the Communist Party.

The CIO was invited to appear before the committee and deny that fact. Every organization, regardless of what it may think about this committee, owes a duty to the Congress and to the nation where there is testimony before the committee under oath, testimony that stands uncontradicted, that there are agents of a foreign power in strategic positions within that organization, using their power and their influence in order to promote the program of a foreign dictatorship, to appear before this committee and do one of two things: either say, "Yes, that is true," or if it is NOT true, they ought to give the people of this country the facts.

Mr. Speaker, may I say further that I did NOT agree with the opinion

of the Attorney General when he dismissed the seventeen indictments in Detroit. I do NOT attack the Attorney General. He is entitled to his views. But I say that where 4,500 American boys have been recruited largely by the Communist Party and sent to Spain and some of them executed without a hearing, it is a matter of public injury. Starting tomorrow we will listen to some of the fathers and mothers whose boys were taken to Spain under false passports and were executed without trial. When those who violate the passport laws of this country and send deluded youths to foreign lands, many of whom thought they were fighting for ideals and for democracy, but instead found death, torture and suffering, it is a matter of great public concern. These guilty people should be fully exposed and prosecuted for violation of the passport laws. I maintain it is a matter not only of interest to this committee but the Congress and the nation at large. I hope the Department of Justice will change its opinion with respect to that matter and that every one who participated in sending those boys to Spain will be prosecuted when they have been found guilty of violation of the law of the land. (Applause)

WALTER: Several years ago we passed a law compelling the registration of representatives of foreign governments and providing a penalty for those agents who did not register. It seems to me that the gentleman might very well recommend the prosecution of some of those representatives of the Russian Government who have failed to comply with that statute.

DIES: More than a year ago we recommended the prosecution of certain agents of a foreign power. At that time the recommendation was received with ridicule. However, the Daily Worker has registered as an agency of a foreign power. A few are registered. But the entire Communist Party as a whole is nothing more nor less than the agency of a foreign power and it ought to be so treated. Let me say this because I want to mention it before I conclude my remarks. If it be determined by the courts that through no legal method can

we obtain this necessary information, and we are going to ask for a test in the highest court of the land, something will have to be done. The Communists maintain that we cannot ask who are the secretaries of the various branches and who are the members of this secret organization. The committee will soon ask the Congress to pass a law that will require organizations like the Communist Party and these pro-fascist organizations ~~like~~ that believe in military dictatorship and have so admitted through their leaders, to register and to give the names of their officers, their directors, their receipts and their disbursements. (Applause)