

1. The Dies Committee was formed for an anti-labor purpose
2. The Dies Committee has gone in for union busting
3. The committee has whitewashed fascist and anti-semitic organizations
4. The Dies Committee has suppressed <sup>vital and</sup> material evidence
5. The Dies Committee has been anti-semitic
6. The Dies Committee has uncovered no facts not public knowledge previous to its investigation
7. The Dies Committee has been a tool of reaction  
(consumer report)
8. The Dies Committee has used illegal methods
9. The main attention of the committee has been to newspapers
10. The Dies Committee has attempted to create a hysterical state of mind by following the developments in the European war and playing upon prejudices

On \_\_\_\_\_, 1938, a prominent Washington liberal was privately informed by a conservative Congressman professing friendship for labor that Martin Dies, John Nance Garner and John P. Frey, bitterly disappointed at the <sup>C</sup>ir failure to ease through the House of Representatives an investigation of sit-down strikes which they intended to use to break the CIO, had conceived and investigation of "un-American activities" through which they hoped to achieve the same end.

The Congressman's information came straight from Martin Dies. He warned his liberal friend to persuade John L. Lewis to attempt to defeat the resolution creating the committee.

John Lewis was not persuaded. Within \_\_\_\_\_ months <sup>began to make</sup> Martin Dies ~~made~~ good his best to his colleague.

The Dies committee formally commenced hearings on August 12, 1938. The first day was spent ~~making~~ in listening to a Chicago newspaperman, <sup>John C. Metcalfe,</sup> who had become a member of the German-American Bund and exposed its workings in a long series of articles. Metcalfe's testimony, substantially his published articles touched up, got the committee headlines and a liberal name.

But Mr. Dies was impatient to get down to his real business, so on the following morning John P. Frey, reactionary leader of the Metal Trades division of the AF of L, took the stand and pumped into the record the most amazing collection of falsehood, distortion and libel Washington correspondents had ever heard. His "testimony" resulted in tremendous headlines typified

by the New York Times for August 14 : "Communists Rule the C.I.O.,  
Frey of A.F.L. Testifies; He Names 284 Organizers". Frey also "named" 60 "leaders."

The press paid little ~~heed~~ <sup>attention</sup> and the Dies committee  
even less when it turned out that some of the persons named by  
Frey had no connection with the C.I.O.; ~~WHEN~~ The record of the  
Dies committee does not show that immediately denials and disproofs  
were issued from all over the country.

However, there was criticism of the committee, so  
the chairman felt constrained to inform the press shortly thereafter  
that he was the innocent victim of a ~~savanna~~ "calculated campaign"  
of abuse and "fabricated reports".

Thus was the Dies investigation launched.

For the next four months the committee kept itself  
in the Nation's headlines through the uninhibited outpourings of  
an endless succession of discredited and disreputable witness,  
numerous  
including/labor spies, crooks, anti-New Deal Republican politicians  
and at least one insane man. All told the same lurid story—the  
C.I.O. was created and directed from Moscow; the New Deal was  
a hotbed of communism; liberal Congressmen standing for re-election  
were Communists or "Communist Fronts"; Shirley Temple was a  
"Communist Front", as were also the Quakers; youth groups and  
consumer-cooperators were "transmission belts." Even Jews became  
Communists to the Dies Committee.

Nothing could stop the committee. One of its in *(Sullivan)*  
vestigators was shown to be an outstanding anti-Semite, a highly-  
paid labor spy, one of the authors of the campaign of slander  
aimed at President Roosevelt in 1936 ( while on the payroll of

the Republican National Committee) , an employe of a Ukranian Fascist group, and a convicted larcenist. But Dies said it <sup>where</sup> wasn't true, ~~and~~ because the investigator, Edward Francis Sullivan, had denied it.

In February 1939 the committee's life was extended for a year following ~~the~~ <sup>and that he would reform.</sup> promise by Dies that by January 1940 his work would be over. As soon as Congress adjourned and there was comparatively little competition for headlines the committee again began its hearings, this time with a big smear on the Jews, a group of whom, it was alleged, plotted the overthrow of the government. For a month beginning in <sup>May</sup> ~~August~~ 1939 the committee shadowboxed with several native fascist groups, always careful not to hit hard even at the cost of suppression of important information. Liberals throughout the land, unaware of the inside stories of either the committee or its subjects of investigation, were persuaded that the committee had at last reformed and was doing a conscientious job.

But what was actually happening?

Prominent fascists appeared before the committee, privately and publicly, and testified ~~to~~ that the C.I.O. was un-American, ~~Communistic~~, or revolutionary. Jews in the Federal government were trying to wreck it. Jews were Communists; communists were Jews. Soon the committee chairman adopted the practise of referring to "Jew-Communists " and "Jew-Communist plots". In the examination of Henry D. Allen, Silvershirt, Bundster and ~~Intex~~ reputed liason between Nazis in Los Angeles and Gold Shirts in Mexico, there are 46 separate and distinct references to "Jew-

Communists" and on one occasion Congressman Dies referred to Jewry as another "international". When Congressman Noah Mason, self-styled "old stogie" and a committee member, attempted to establish that Jews were not sabotaging the government Dies abruptly concluded the hearings by ~~establishing~~ placing in the official record for all time, ~~this amazing statement,~~ following one of the many references to the scurrilous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", "That is a question that neither this committee nor any other committee can ever solve with respect to the Jewish race"!

*see 24  
JTB*

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Meanwhile, of course, Allen was being whitewashed. Even his criminal record, a matter of public record, was distorted to make it look comparatively harmless. On August 23, after Allen admitted that he had been arrested on "some check charge", Rhea Whitley, former committee counsel whose secret resignation is currently one of the big questions in Washington, asked, "Bogus check or because of insufficient funds?" Allen appreciated this kindness and immediately answered "Insufficient funds". When it was brought out that Allen's ~~checking account~~ was a chronic sufferer from "insufficient funds" Congressman Dies said, "Do you think this is material?" and Congressman J. Parnell Thomas replied "I do not think so."

*quote*

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The truth is that each of the members of the committee had a copy of Allen's criminal record, showing that he used at least three aliases, that he was arrested on numerous occasions beginning on May 17, 1910, in Los Angeles, ~~and~~ that he was a forger (not "insufficient funds") and had ~~never~~ been

committee to Folsom and San Quentin prisons.

This is only one of the most ~~un~~ unimportant facts about the witness suppressed by the Dies Committee. The others are those for which the committee, thus far able to get away with almost anything, may yet have to answer if recurrent rumors heard in Washington of a fascist coalition to be consummated early this summer are as well founded as they seem to be.

An even more brazen whitewash was that of George Deatherage, nasty, pugnacious fuhrer of the Knights of the White Camelia, who appeared before the committee on May 23 and 24. After pretending to be angry with Dies Deatherage settled back and bragged of his ~~oppositionist~~ <sup>well-known</sup> animosity toward Jews and his friendship for the European fascist leaders. He refused without even an objection from any member of the committee to name any of his associates or to show the size and strength of his organization in any way.

Yet Deatherage had-and the ~~the~~ committee knew about it- drawn an elaborate plan for fascism in America. In fact, the committee has a copy of a chart he prepared in 1937, with great emphasis on military matters, but not one question was asked about it.

Of all the native fascists who have bathed in the Dies committee's immunity, however, not owes it a bigger debt than the notorious William Dudley Pelley. Part of unbelievably filthy story has recently seeped out through what the committee refers to as a "forged letter plot" against it. Washington observers hope the whole ~~thing~~ thing will be exposed in court proceedings already begun against David D. Mayne, who has been and is still believed to be an agent of both Pelley and Dies

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quote?  
 ques. Allen

Briefly, this is what is ~~publiz~~ known about the Pelley-Dies relationship.

Until The middle of 1939 Dies kept Pelley pretty well out of the record saying "we'll egt around to that later". After Dies called General George Van Horn Moseley as a witness and they had a fight Pelley began to write little uncomplementary things about Dies in both his magazine, Liberation, and in the many pamphlets issued by his large printing establishment, Pelley Publishers. In July 1939 Dies dispatched one of his agents, Robert B. Barker, to conduct an investigation of Pelley and his numerous organizations. Barker swears that he spent 90 days on this investigation, but the only result was a very minute addition to what was known. Until four days before the committee planned to call Pelley as a witness no effort was made to apprehend him. Then, on ~~thax~~ August 19, Rhea Whitley telegraphed Pelley and asked him to please come to Washington and accept service of a subpoena. ~~this was with~~ Pelley promptly took the hint and "disappeared", although it ~~now~~ seems that he was in Washington a few days later, at the House of Representatives Office Building. When Pelley failed to accept the invitation, Whitley began dispatching special delivery letters, none of which reached Pelley.

*When?* So a few days later Agent Barker took the stand and testified about Pelley. Most of Barker's testimony was already a matter of public record in court records, books, magazine articles, Who's Who and Pelley's own writings. Barker did have, however, a 40-page list of Pelley's

~~correspondents~~, including Members of Congress and their secretaries and official arms of the Nazi government.

On four different occasions the investigator began to place this damaging list ( prepared by the Post Office Department, not the Dies committee) in the record and on each of the four occasions it did not get in. What that list shows is still not known, except to the Dies committee, and it's not saying.

No place in Barker's testimony is there even a reference to the kind of an organization that the Silvershirt Legion ~~was~~ is- a military and violent one. No place in the record is there even a suggestion of the Silvershirt boast that President Roosevelt was to be assassinated-even though sworn testimony on this was available. The whole farce was ended, until it began all over again with Pelley's recent, mysterious appearance, when Rhea Whitley attempted to show that Pelley printed material obtained from Nazi sources. This neat ~~trip~~ was accomplished at the very end of the hearing of August 29, when Whitley read a brief excerpt from a copy of Liberation printed on July 8, 1933, dealing with the ~~difference~~ <sup>changes</sup> in merchandizing methods and practises through the years. This, he concluded triumphantly, was a duplication of an "article which appeared in the Hammer Press, Leipzig, Germany, in 1927." ~~XXXXX~~ He didn't point out that 1927 was six full years before the accession of the Nazi's to power in Germany.

But Congressman Dies evidently forget that Pelley had been handled with kid gloves, for on October 28, 1939,



he made a Nationwide radio attack on President Roosevelt, in which he said, in part, that " a mailing list of William Dudley Pelley's Silvershirts was spread upon the record" by his committee. When Congressman Frank Hook of Michigan on the floor of the House on January 23, 1940, demanded/~~that~~ the Dies committee show where in its record this list appears not a member of the committee said a word.

But the American people never learned these facts and Dies and his associates found themselves getting stronger and stronger. As the press built the committee up more and more it got bolder and bolder. Throughout its hearings it had sniped at all the large liberal groups in the country. It had called occasional witnesses who were anxious to voice their opinions that the C.I.O. was dominated by foreign agents even if they could produce no proof. It had never, however, made any effort to obtain information from these organizations until suddenly, on September , 1939, agents of the committee swooped down on the offices of the American League for Peace and Democracy in Chicago and, over the objections of ~~the~~ league officials, seized the records illegally. This procedure was almost duplicated in Washington on September 28 when Agent Barker conducted a similar raid on the leagues offices there. After repeated public attacks on the league, and without affording the league a chance to answer its critics, the committee dramaticly published a list it describes as membership and mailing list on October 25.

*Handwritten signature: J. H. [unclear]*

Immeadiaily, from many sources, from government clerks and President Roosevelt, came severe criticisms of this action. The committee's defense was that the league was a Communist front organization- a charge the league had repeatedly denied- and had not the committee demanded <sup>of those</sup> ~~that the~~ members of the league who were government employees that they resign?

The league demanded that Dies waive his Congressional immunity so they could sue him, but Dies declined.

The committee has not yet explained how several prominent officials of the National Labor Relations Board, men who had never had any connection with the league who were never on any of its lists, happened to be included in the list released- also priveleged-<sup>and</sup> to the newspapers. Nor has any explanation been given of the information that was added to the list by the committee, information about the salary and employment of those listed. This document immediately assumed the proportions of a blacklist. Many government employees feared that they would lose their jobs, and some efforts were made in this direction. Some over-zealous persons mailed copies to government officials outside of Washington. Typical of the suffering cause by this action was the case of a school teacher who had never had any connection with the league. Parents of some of her students, after reading her name in the paper with Dies "communist" charges, threatened to withdraw their children from the school unless the distressed teacher resigned. This was only one of the many mistakes on the list. Newspaper letter columns, ~~and~~ volume 10 of the committee's

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August 3, a special investigatory ~~was~~ was detailed to ~~make~~ these Gulf ports. On September 27, 1939, J. Edgar Hoover informed the union there were no grounds for Federal intervention.

Meanwhile, with the breaking out of the war in Europe the seamen attempted to get war-risk insurance and labor strife was imminent.

Joe Curran, NMU president, had for a long time demanded *negot.* to be heard. He was finally called as a witness on Saturday October 28 ( Congressional committees do not ordinarily sit on Saturdays). Curran was not allowed to proceed to answer accusations made by previous witnesses, and every time he attempted to do more than answer leading questions Dies banged the gavel. When Curran persisted, Dies ~~drove~~ drowned out his voice by banging the gavel, and when that failed to stop the union leader he was finally threatened with contempt proceedings. To make certain that the press paid little heed to Curran Dies made his spectacular attack on President Roosevelt that night. *etc -*

On the following Monday morning McCuiston took the stand. For four days he poured out a lurid story of Russian dictatorship in the maritime unions, identified most of the union *from many* leaders as Communists, and climaxed his amazing performance by saying that "Communist Party gunmen" were going to kill him, or at least so he had heard. The committee, of course, took this all seriously. Ever since that day McCuiston has been in Washington, spending his time between the committee's office and a notorious dive.

However, when ~~it was learned that~~ the Department of Justice learned that McCuiston was in Washington it informed the District of Columbia Police that he was wanted by the New Orleans police for murder. Immediately this became the signal for ~~an~~ a typical Dies blast. He informed the press that this was "intimidation", ~~and~~ "persecution" and a "frame up". All this got banner headline play in the press. Dies kept it that way by repeated spectacular charges and statements. On November 1 ~~the~~ the Washington Star carried the following 8-column headline on the front page: "Dies to probe M'Cuiston Case in Person".

A few days later Dies ~~said~~ said he was going to ask the House for an additional \$100,000.

On November 9th. the committee, or at least Dies sitting as a committee of one, took testimony in secret session in New Orleans. Robert Stripling, committee secretary ( he ~~had~~ had been an elevator operator before Dies made him administrative head of the committee ) informed the Washington Times-Herald that McCuiston was a Department of Justice "spy" and the murdered Carey had been his assistant! The story seems to have appeared in only one edition of the paper, and no other paper, apparently, carried it.

Then Dies let the whole thing drop, except for sending the committee's counsel to defend McCuiston when the New Orleans police attempted to extradite him. to stand trial for the murder of Carey. Exactly why Dies ~~dropped~~ dropped his "personal" investigation is not clear, but it didn't take him

long to find other unions to "investigate," and he didn't take any of the other six committee members with him.

On November 17 he arrived in Chicago and announced to the press, "There will be hundreds of ~~2~~ indictments-and convictions- of persons who have violated the laws of this country in spreading subversive propaganda". The "mishandling of union funds" was another charge on which he said there would be indictments.

Outside of Chicago this made only the usual headlines into which "Dies" fits so easily. But in Chicago it was even bigger news, for on November 21 the ~~Pork~~ packinghouse workers' ~~union~~ were to vote in a National Labor Relations election. *(summary)* For months there had been negotiations with the meat packers and several times a Nationwide strike in this industry seemed imminent on more than one occasion.

On the same day Dies "personal aide", John C. Metcalfe, told the Chicago D.A.R. that the investigation was to expose "red" activities in the union.

The next day, <sup>summary</sup> secret hearings were held, but the news leaked out to the strike-bound Hearst Herald-American that "thousands of dollars of union money had been diverted to other uses; that the union's constitution had been " drawn up at a Communist meeting"; that two Communists could "tie up the nation's meat-packing industry merely by sending telegrams"; that the union's mail "was delivered first to Communist headquarters and only such as was deemed proper for PWOC consumption was allowed to pass on to PWOC members

*first date*

Without waiting for the NLRB election Dies made a flying trip to Pittsburgh, where the Steel Workers Organizing Committee was negotiating contracts with some of the major steel corporations. A strike was a possibility at the time Dies arrived.

For the special benefit of Pittsburghers Dies varied his wording slightly. He said that he was convinced that "foreign agents" would resort to "sabotage, espionage, and labor strike" in that area in an effort to block shipments of arms and supplies to the Allied armies.

"This is one of the worst spots in the country," he exclaimed. "I am convinced that Communists hold some key positions in labor unions here. Both Communists and Nazis have installed agents in jobs in key industries."

Yet the committee's report fails to mention the SWOC, and, although it does include one of the largest unions in the Pittsburgh area, the United Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers of America, two members of the committee took the well of the House of Representatives of January 23, 1940, and publicly apologized for the accusations against this union, which they said were false.

The next day Dies was in Detroit. Here he told the press

*where?*  
*Date?*  
*quote*

or officers not holding red cards".

The testimony about the misuse of funds seems to have ~~come~~ ~~of~~ from a former union official who had been expelled from the union for mishandling its funds. ~~Not~~ testimony was taken about or from ~~members of~~ any union save the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee.

Nonetheless, the PWOC two days later won the election.

Herbert March, head of the union, on October 20, was informed by the president of one of the smaller meat-packing concerns ~~in~~ Chicago, that Dies had been "invited" to investigate March and his assistant, Henry Johnson, by " a group of prominent citizens". These "prominent citizens", ~~these prominent~~ March says, were the Chicago Association of Commerce. Three officers of this association, March points out, are officers of meat packing corporations. *Who? Names -*

~~These indictments~~

Mr. Dies indictments have not been handed down since his visit to Chicago, and the rest of the charges against the union can best be judged by the fact that none of ~~it~~ them appear in the committee's report. Neither does the committee list the PWOC as one of the unions it found "communist dominated".

~~Without waiting for the NLRB election Dies made a flying trip to Detroit where, on the twentieth, he told the press~~ that Communist and Nazi agents in Detroit had stolen confidential military information and fled the country. In Detroit, Dies said, he was going to interview 10 secret informants, "four *quote* or five of them are also members of labor unions".



While Dies was interviewed by the press the United Auto-Workers Union was on strike against the Chrysler Corporation, ~~the strike resulting from the failure of both parties to agree~~ ~~to a new contract~~ and immediately before Dies arrival in Detroit it looked as though the union was going to win.

The committee's report does not mention the UAW, ~~and~~ ~~nor~~ nor is there any reference to the thefts of military information by "foreign agents". Before leaving Detroit Dies announced that 3,500 persons in that ~~town~~ city were members of subversive organizations controlled by foreign powers. He would, he said, return about December 1 for a two-weeks hearing by the full committee. To date such hearings have not been held, and the schedule of committee activity just announced does not include them.

These are only a few of the cases where Dies or his colleagues intervened in legitimate union affairs through the exercise of powers and immunities they possess through their committee positions. However, committee members need not appear personally to have an effect on trade union. They are constantly quoted against unions. The case of the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee and the International Harvester Co. illustrated this.

A National Labor Relations Board ~~election bargaining~~ election was held at the Richmond works of the International Harvester Co. on December 20, 1939, a month after Dies visit to Chicago. The day before the election there appeared in the Richmond "Palladium-Item" a paid advertisement signed by

the "Committee for Labor Independence IHC". This ad quotes the accounts of the anti-CIO testimony taken by Dies in Chicago and then proceeds to say ~~that~~, in effect, that a vote for the FEWOC is a vote for Communism. The "Palladium-Item", accomodatingly enough, ran a news story on the ad under the headline "Communism Issue Raised in I.H.C.Vote". The story then refers to the statements in the ad, based on Dies "Testimony", that the chairman of the FEWOC and other leaders are Communists. For some unaccountable reason both the ad and the story failed to quote the earlier statement of Metcalfe to the ladies of the D.A.R., that the Chicago investigation would be devoted, in part, to "red" activity in the farm equipment industry.