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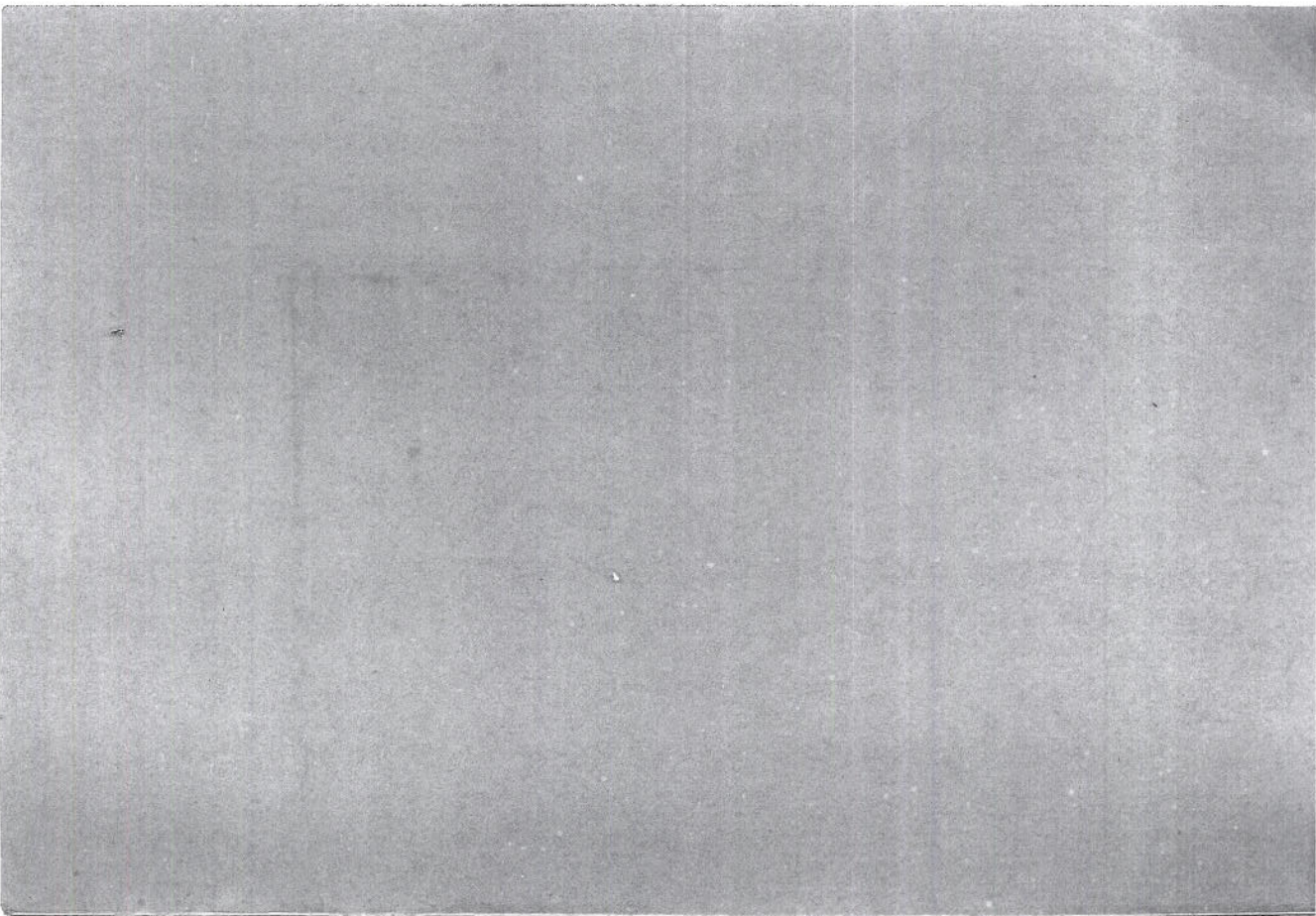
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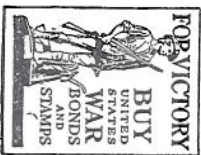
The Case for a Grand Jury Investigation of Martin Dies
Submitted to the Department of Justice on August 6, 1942
By the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

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FOREWORD

This is war—military and psychological. The American people therefore acclaim the recent offensives of the United States on both the military and propaganda fronts.

Enthusiasm and jubilation greeted the news that American troops had landed on the European continent, joining their fellow soldiers, sailors and marines in direct battle against the Axis throughout the world.

Enthusiasm also greeted the recent indictment of 28 pro-Axis propagandists charged with participation in a seditious conspiracy to "undermine the morale of the armed forces" and "obstruct the war effort."

The weapons of exposure and prosecution must be used immediately against all who shelter and protect, or aid and abet, the Axis conspiracy to undermine national unity.

We cannot afford the luxury of apathy. Neither can we tolerate any propagandists of Axis philosophy.

The spotlight must be turned on Martin Dies and the Dies Committee.

For four years Dies and his committee have, through a vigorous campaign of diversion and suppression, obscured the activities of the Nazi network, the fifth column in the United States.

Their tactics have been the tactics of Goebbels.

Their tactics have been the tactics of many of the secessionists, long sheltered by Dies and his committee, indicted last month.

The pattern is clear, even in the official *Hearings and Reports* published by the Dies Committee itself:

Dies and his committee have shielded agents of the Axis.

Dies and his committee jeopardize national unity.

Dies and his committee delay the day of victory.

The American people must learn the truth.

The activities of Dies and his committee in relation to the 28 seditionists indicted last month and other Axis agents must be investigated by a Federal Grand Jury.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties is therefore making public the documents compiled from official publications and the press and submitted by it on August 6, 1942, to the Department of Justice in support of a demand for a Grand Jury investigation of Martin Dies.

Vice President Wallace has said "the effect on our morale would be less dangerous if Dies were on the Hitler payroll."

His statement must be a challenge to the American people.

Martin Dies must not be allowed to continue his campaign against unity and victory. He must not be allowed to give aid and comfort to the Axis, to coddle and protect Hitler's Fifth Column.

We can speed the day of victory.

We must demand that the Department of Justice investigate Martin Dies.

George Marshall, Chairman
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

August 28, 1942

Mr. William Power Maloney
Special Assistant to the Attorney General
Department of Justice Building
Washington, D. C.

August 6, 1942

Dear Mr. Maloney:

On behalf of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, I wish to congratulate you on the splendid job you have done in the past year. The recent indictment of 28 notorious pro-Axis propagandists for conspiracy to undermine the morale of our armed forces, and on other charges, merits the commendation of all Americans who believe in vigorous enforcement of the law for the defense of the country.

Smashing the fifth column in the United States is a prerequisite to victory. Defense of the home front from the agents of the Axis will ensure the military defeat of fascism by the United Nations.

Significant as are the recent indictments, they symbolize the tremendous and still incomplete task of indicting and prosecuting the countless pro-Axis agents still carrying on their seditious activities and propaganda, still jeopardizing civilian morale and national unity. We are glad to note, therefore, that the term of the Grand Jury in the District of Columbia has again been extended, and that it will be able to carry on its work.

In the extensive investigations which preceded the indictments, you must have been impressed, as have we in the National Federation in the preparation of material devoted to exposing the fifth column and building national morale, by the repeated recurrence of the name of Martin Dies in connection with the names of many of the defendants.

It is our considered judgment that the activities of Martin Dies, and his statements and actions in relation to many of the accused, require a thorough investigation by the Grand Jury.

We charge that Martin Dies has, on many occasions, used his high office to shield and protect persons now charged with active participation in a conspiracy to impair the "loyalty, morale and discipline of the military and naval forces of the United States" through publication and dissemination of literature urging the obstruction and defeat of "our national defense against aggression and invasion, and the national war effort."

We submit that the Grand Jury should determine the nature of the relationship, if any, between Martin Dies and Gerald B. Winrod, George Sylvester Viereck, William Dudley Pelley, Charles B. Hudson, William

Kullgren, Eugene Nelson Sanctuary, Robert Edward Edmondson, James True, Edward James Smythe, and other individuals, organizations and publications named in the indictment.

It is clear from the official record of his Committee, that Dies, far from exposing the un-American activities of the above-named, repeatedly allowed them to utilize his Committee as a forum for the airing of their pro-Axis views, couched in the very terms enumerated in the indictment.

The Committee's record reveals the technique employed by Dies to protect some of the defendants through superficial "investigations" which "whitewashed" them, to shield others by suppressing important evidence on their activities, or allowing them to evade compliance with Congressional subpoenas. We have prepared a detailed though partial documentation of these charges and are transmitting it to you under separate cover. (See appendices)

On July 24, 1942, before the full text of the indictment was available, we telegraphed the President, the Vice President, the Attorney General, and other government officials, including yourself, urging a Federal investigation of Martin Dies and his relations with individuals named in the indictment. A copy of the telegram is appended.

There has long been recognition of the need for such an investigation. Vice-President Wallace, on March 29, 1942, charged that Dies was "seeking to inflame the public mind by a malicious distortion of facts." He added

"If we were at peace these tactics might be overlooked as the product of a witchcraft mind. We are at war, and the doubts and angers which this and similar statements of Mr. Dies tend to arouse in the public mind might as well come from Goebbels himself . . . the effect on our morale would be less damaging if Mr. Dies were on the Hitler payroll."

It is precisely the effect of Mr. Dies on our morale, civilian and military, with which we are concerned.

Vice-President Wallace's sharp censure of Martin Dies was evoked by the latter's scandalous attack on the Board of Economic Warfare, the most recent of a series of attacks by Dies on vital war agencies, including the Office of Price Administration.

The net effect of these smear campaigns instigated by Dies has been the same as that of the "systematic campaign" to undermine confidence in public officials, which is described in the Grand Jury's recent indictment.

Divide and Conquer, published by the Office of Facts and Figures, describes this technique as the favorite of the Axis. It is little wonder, then, that a recent report of the monitoring service of the Federal Com-

munications Commission found Martin Dies to be the American "most frequently and approvingly" quoted on Axis radio broadcasts.

The voices of anti-Semitism and Nazi "Aryanism" in the person of defendants like Pelley, convicted yesterday on eleven charges of sedition, in the writings of True, Edmondson and others, have long gone unchallenged by the Dies Committee.

Their advocates utilized the Committee to achieve a degree of respectability and a national audience which they could never alone have attained. The Committee record is replete with their statements, their phrases defending the Axis claim that it wanted only "to free the world from domination by Communism and International Jewry"—phrases identical with those in the indictment, phrases which were repeated and restated, but never questioned by Chairman Dies.

The unity of all patriotic Americans, and particularly the 13,000,000 Negro Americans, in support of the war, was flagrantly assaulted by the shameless refusal of Martin Dies to publicize evidence in his possession on the seditious activities of the Ku Klux Klan, one of the most notorious of the groups named in the indictment.

For four years, Dies has been urged to investigate the Klan. His "investigation" occurred on January 26, 1942, and consisted of a "secret" hearing at which Klanleader Collescott appeared, as Dies later informed the press, voluntarily and without subpoena. It resulted the following week in a communication from Collescott to Klan officials and members throughout the country instructing them to support continuation of the Dies Committee!

The Klan was not alone in its support of Dies, Pelley, Fritz Kuhn and countless other perpetrators of un-Americanism have been vocal in their support of Dies and his Committee, as the documentation proves. The affinity of seditious organizations for Martin Dies is in itself sufficient to demand investigation; the roster of names of Dies' supporters and of the 28 named in the indictment shows astounding duplication.

The tactics employed by Dies are likewise the tactics of the seditionists.

Thus Dies lambasts labor unions and progressive organizations, harangues against our nation's policies, and as recently as October 19, 1941 declared, "I am as anxious as anyone to see the defeat of Hitler, and I hope Russia is licked at the same time."

Nowhere are the divisive tactics of Martin Dies revealed as sharply as in his perennial barrages against all supporters of democracy and opponents of fascism. Even his protection of the fascists and their friends pales besides the virulence he reserves for attacks on democratic, patriotic organizations.

His recent sortie against the Union for Democratic Action and *The New Republic*, and incidentally against the newspaper *PM* and *Time* magazine, for their advocacy of a win-the-war Congress, was camouflaged in statements virtually identical with the "anti-communist" rationale of the Nazis.

Dies, like Goebbels, uses the demagoguery of "anti-communism" to obscure his relentless efforts to weaken and destroy the anti-Axis, anti-fascist unity of the American people.

History, and Axis aggression, have written in blood and sacrifice the real meaning of this sinister camouflage. Dies cannot be allowed to obscure by demagoguery and distortion his treacherous attack on the loyal American people, who are willing to give their all for speedy defeat of the Axis, and who demand that the Nation's highest body be a win-the-war Congress.

Today, the very life of our nation is at stake. In the struggle against the Axis, American boys are giving their lives, and the men, women and children of the nation are making unprecedented sacrifices.

Today we face the fascist enemy, armed with the knowledge of the tragic experiences of other nations, aware of his weapons, both military and psychological. We have seen nations succumb before his "secret weapon"—their people demoralized by insidious, subtle propaganda, disunited by the slogan-mongers of "anti-communism."

We know that this slogan is the epitaph of thousands of brave patriots in the occupied countries who have given their lives for the cause of freedom and the defeat of the Axis.

Martin Dies stands accused before the American people of shielding those in the United States who foment disunity, undermine national morale, and jeopardize our war program. His own activities have injured the common cause of the United Nations.

The democratic procedures of our judicial system stem largely from the Grand Jury, which has throughout our history been the protector of the people's liberties.

The Grand Jury of the United States of America in the District of Columbia, charged with the investigation of pro-Axis propaganda, has, by its recent indictment, done much to protect the security and independence of our country.

We urge that the Grand Jury be instructed to examine any connections or relations, direct or indirect, between Martin Dies and the defendants named in the indictment, and to apply to Dies' statements and actions the same criteria applied therein.

The people of America, soldiers on the battle and production lines in this people's war, demand that the truth be brought forward by presentation or otherwise.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties pledges you its complete cooperation in such an investigation.

We are eager to serve the cause of freedom, to help smash the fifth column, to expose the forces of the enemy, and to unite the nation for victory over the Axis.

Sincerely,

George Marshall, Chairman

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

APPENDIX A

Via Postal Telegraph
July 24, 1942

Mr. William Power Maloney
Special Assistant to the Attorney General
Department of Justice Building
Washington, D. C.

Yesterday's seditious indictments by Federal Grand Jury deserve national commendation, but indicate immediate need two additional steps. Urge you use your full influence and authority to bring about termination Dies Committee and Federal investigation Martin Dies. Majority of individuals indicted, organizations and publications named were enabled continue pro-Axis, anti-American activities as result collaboration of Martin Dies.

Among indicted whom Dies refused investigate were Hudson, Garner, Kullgren, De Arvan, Asher, Sanctuary, Dilling, Viereck, now jailed for violation Foreign Agents Registration Act, indicted yesterday for sedition, repeatedly shielded by Dies, as was his aide Dennett. Dies ignored own investigators findings, gratuitously whitewashed Winrod when latter's Nazi affiliations exposed. Dies spoke under auspices Coalition Patriotic Societies, sharing platform James True. Both named in indictment. Dies suppressed correspondence revealing pro-Hitler activities E. J. Smythe, refused force Smythe testify before Dies Committee. Smythe indicted yesterday. Further proof Dies' affiliation with seditious forces is his employment Hazel Huffman, former investigator Constitutional Educational League, named in indictment.

Most vociferous support for continuation Dies Committee always emanated from Pelley, Kuhn, Ku Klux Klan, German-American Bund, Silver Shirts, others named yesterday's indictment. These facts, many more, documented in our memorandum *Pro-Axis Learnings Dies Committee*, published February, 1942, being sent you special delivery.

Indictments yesterday call for speedy extermination all groups still aiding enemy. Urge immediate action against Dies and Committee to prevent possibility Dies Committee's continuing to shield forces endangering unity and victory over Axis.

(signed) George Marshall, Chairman
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

Copies to:
President Roosevelt
Vice President Wallace
Speaker Rayburn
Attorney General Biddle

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APPENDIX B

THE CASE AGAINST MARTIN DIES
Documentation—From the Record

The record of hearings and the reports of the Dies Committee reveal literally dozens of instances in which the Chairman's behavior in relation to pro-fascist organizations and individuals warrants investigation. We are concerned here only with Mr. Dies and individuals and organizations named in the indictment of the Grand Jury of the United States for the District of Columbia, made public in July, 1942.

The record reveals that Chairman Dies has, as alleged in the letter of August 6, 1942, from the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties to William Power Maloney, Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, shielded individuals named in the indictment, suppressed pertinent evidence on their activities, and failed to take steps to force individuals subpoenaed by the Dies Committee to appear before it to give testimony.

The Chairman's own statements indicate the tortured reasoning that he has applied, lest material of importance to the nation be made public. On August 21, 1939, during a hearing of the Dies Committee, Representative Dies said

"Of course, the committee's idea with reference to some of these people is simply this, in asking them to appear, to give them an opportunity to explain certain evidence that we have gathered. From the standpoint of trying to learn anything from them, I do not think the committee will ever get anything from any of them, because in the first place, they are not going to come here and testify truthfully." (*Hearings Before A Special Committee on Un-American Activities*, Volume 6, p. 4216, August 21, 1939, henceforth cited as *Hearings*.)

GERALD B. WINROD: Indicted, July, 1942

Since the rise of Hitlerism in Germany, a network of "native" Fascists, working in cooperation with various agencies of the Nazi government, has been active in the United States. Gerald B. Winrod has long been a leader of these fifth columnists and a vernal symbol of the danger of fascism to the American people.

Winrod's activities have been overt. His relationships with the Nazis, the source of his revenue, the extent of his activity has been less well

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known. It is not our intention in the case of Winrod, or of any other defendants, to attempt to restate the case against them. This has already been done by the Grand Jury. We are here solely concerned with some of the instances in which Winrod and other defendants have been shielded or otherwise aided by the Dies Committee.

John B. Metcalfe, investigator for the Dies Committee in its early period, during a hearing of the Committee on November 21, 1938, attempted to report the results of his investigation of many fascist organizations operating in the United States.

Describing a series of folders of literature and information about these organizations, he said "This (indicating) is the Defenders, . . . headed by Rev. Gerald B. Winrod."

Investigator Metcalfe's clear indication that he had uncovered pertinent information about this organization brought forth an immediate reaction. Chairman Dies declared

"The Chair received a letter from Dr. Winrod in which he denied that he had preached any anti-semitism and denied that he is sympathetic with fascism. He says he is absolutely opposed to fascism and nazism, and is opposed to racial and religious hatred." (*Hearings*, Volume 3, p. 2373, November 21, 1938).

Thus early in his career, Chairman Dies demonstrated the solicitude which, examination of the record of his Committee reveals, was reserved only for proponents and advocates of the anti-semitism, the racial and religious hatred, the fascism and nazism which Winrod attempted to disavow. Those progressives, trade unionists and liberals attacked by Winrod and other fascist agents, were also attacked by Dies.

Mr. Dies' statement in this instance is symptomatic. Even the most cursory observation of Winrod's publications disproves his plaintive protest. One can only assume that Mr. Dies, having made such an observation, was still willing, for reasons which the Grand Jury must determine, to make public, and by lack of criticism, to accept Winrod's "defense".

Mr. Metcalfe, protesting the manner in which Representative Dies attempted to ignore the facts he presented, declared "You will notice that he (Winrod) is also recommended by the swastika-bearing publications."

"But you cannot always go by that," was the sole reply by Representative Dies. (*Ibid.*)

Recurring voluntarily to the Winrod letter during the same session, Mr. Dies declared "we do not want to do any injustice" and instructed Metcalfe "to get some definite statement of Gerald B. Winrod, in view

of the fact that he has issued denials and protested vigorously." (*Ibid.*, p. 2375)

The evidence was, at that moment, within reach of Mr. Dies' hand. Mr. Winrod himself was available. But Gerald B. Winrod was never subpoenaed by the Dies Committee, nor did that Committee ever utilize its extensive publicity facilities to enlighten the American people concerning Winrod's destructive activities.

Shortly following this incident, Mr. Metcalfe's employment by the Dies Committee was terminated. Additional citations in this Appendix prove that virtually every attempt by Investigator Metcalfe to bring to light his findings, so important to America's safety, was frustrated by Chairman Dies.

Because the nation's welfare demands the production of this evidence, we urge that the Grand Jury be requested to subpoena John B. Metcalfe, to determine what evidence he found, why it was suppressed, why Dies protected Winrod, why and how Metcalfe's investigations for Dies were terminated.

It is evident that the actions of the Dies Committee impeded rather than furthered the exposure and indictment of Winrod. The Grand Jury must determine whether this was accidental or intentional.

GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK: Imprisoned, February, 1942, for Violation Foreign Agents Registration Act; Indicted, July, 1942

The case of Viereck turns a spotlight on the "significant omissions" which mark the Dies record.

Viereck is no nonentity newly sprung into the limelight as an Axis propagandist and provocateur. His record of disservice to the nation dates from his representation of the German Kaiser during the last war. His more recent activities, partially revealed by the McCormack Committee of the House of Representatives, but not by Dies and his Committee, have finally landed him in jail.

The Dies Committee was formed, as the Chairman has often pointed out, to turn national attention towards dangerous individuals, and to utilize the weapon of public exposure against them.

But fascists were not considered subjects for exposure. The pattern of action of the Dies Committee has been clear from its inception. It has repeatedly feinted at fascist groups. It has never done more. It has often done less. It has, in cases, gone to the extent of shielding and protecting them.

In harmony with this pattern, the Dies Committee subpoenaed George Sylvester Viereck one week before the first hearings of the Committee opened in Washington. (*New York Times*, August 4, 1938)

Viereck certainly warranted pages of examination and exposure, but one looks in vain for references to Viereck in the hearings. The official index published by the Dies Committee reveals that Viereck's name appears first at page 7544, on April 2, 1940, twenty months after he had been subpoenaed. And even then the reference is brief, and the subpoenaed Viereck is not present.

The facts of this strange incident are well-known. Viereck sailed for Europe to see the ex-Kaiser and Hitler *after* he had been subpoenaed by Dies. Neither on his return in October of the same year nor at any subsequent date was his appearance before the Committee demanded by Dies.

Viereck is today imprisoned. This spring he was convicted of violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. In July, he was reintegrated on a more serious charge. The various legal proceedings to which he has been a party have finally revealed the nature and development of his work on behalf of the Nazi regime.

These facts have been revealed as a result of the investigations and prosecutions of the Department of Justice, not of the Dies Committee. Why was this open fascist agent not questioned, why was the subpoena not enforced, why did the Dies Committee ignore his subversive activities in its reports to Congress.

Dorothy Waring, testifying before the Dies Committee on April 2, 1940, said

"I discovered that Colonel Emerson (of the Friends of New Germany, predecessor of the German-American Bund) and I had a mutual friend, Mr. George Sylvester Viereck, and that was before Mr. Viereck became an agent of the Nazi Government." (*Hearings*, Volume 12, p. 7544, April 2, 1940).

This testimony elicited only the terse comment from Representative Dies "I know him." (*Ibid.*)

Several months later, Representative Wright Patman, testifying before the Dies Committee urged an investigation of Viereck. Chairman Dies did not contradict his colleague, Representative Noah Mason, when the latter stated "Of course, Viereck has not anything to do with the question before this Committee." (*Hearings*, Volume 14, p. 8208, August, 29, 1940).

Had Dies fulfilled his obligation to Congress and the American people, and exposed Viereck's role, the insidious activities which Viereck carried on almost until our formal entry into the war would have been impossible. Martin Dies must stand charged with grave responsibility in this case. The Grand Jury must be directed to investigate the reasons behind this strange "oversight"; it must determine whether or not Dies'

dangerous dereliction was motivated by a determination to protect Viereck from exposure.

WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY: Indicted, July, 1942; Convicted of Sedition, August, 1942.

"The little man who wasn't there" when Dies wanted him was William Dudley Pelley. For months following the issuance of a subpoena for Pelley, Dies lamented that Pelley could not be located. Yet, as Representative Adolph Sabath told the House of Representatives on March 11, 1942, "most of this time" Pelley was—in Washington, D. C.

Numerous witnesses, including Fritz Kuhn of the German American Bund, described Pelley's activities to the Dies Committee. Kuhn declared flatly that he and Pelley had never disagreed. (*Hearings*, Volume 6, p. 3792, August 16, 1939), and Henry D. Allen and others told of joint activity carried on by the Bund and Pelley's Silver Shirt Legion.

Even Dies forced to admit the extent of Pelley's influence, on August 28, 1939, while the alleged "search" for Pelley was under way, declared "you are not dealing with a small-time, small-town fellow . . . he is disseminating, you might say, tons of literature throughout the United States." (*Ibid.*, p. 4184).

The record of the Dies Committee discloses that more than five months elapsed between the date of issuance of the subpoena and Pelley's appearance before the Committee. Pelley's own testimony, when he appeared, raises grave questions concerning Dies' failure to attempt to force Pelley to comply with the subpoena at the time it was issued. Almost the first words of Pelley's lengthy testimony are these

"I founded the Silver Legion in 1933; contiguous with the appearance of the so-called New Deal of the Democratic administration, at Asheville, N. C.; to propagandize exactly the same principles that Mr. Dies and this committee are engaged in prosecuting right now." (*Hearings*, Volume 12, pp. 7207-8, February 7, 1940.)

In a case of lesser significance, a Congressional Committee might well be condoned for graciously accepting the plaudits of a "constituent." Yet the very terms of Pelley's statement indicate the need for thorough investigation of the possible relationship between Dies and Pelley or other defendants.

The longer Pelley remained in the presence of the Dies Committee, the more revealing his statements became. Declaring his fealty to the Committee whose subpoena he had evaded so easily for many months, Pelley continued

"One of the things is meeting the committee face to face and learning that they are a fine group of Christian gentlemen. I have had—and I confess it publicly, to go into the record—within the past 6 weeks a total change of heart toward the work of the Dies Committee." (*Ibid.*, p. 7220).

In its report to the House of Representatives on January 3, 1941, the Dies Committee boasted

"In 1938, William Dudley Pelley was spending a million pieces of literature over the country. The religious bigots organized in Pelley's Silver Shirts have now lost their leader. Immediately after Pelley was placed on the stand before our Committee, he ordered the dissolution of his silver-shirted band. We had exposed it out of existence." (Emphasis added). (*Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, Report No. 1, 77 Cong., 1 sess., January 3, 1941, p. 22).

Perhaps Pelley transmitted to Dies his own ideas of "existence." The Silver Shirt Legion remained alive, and with renewed vigor threatened the nation in the years 1941 and 1942. Both its leader, Pelley, and the Silver Shirt organization are named in the July, 1942 indictment, on the basis of activities carried on subsequent to December 8, 1941, more than a year after Dies claimed dissolution of Pelley's organization. The continuation of the Silver Shirts, and Mr. Dies' baseless boast are given new meaning in the light of Pelley's testimony. His pledge to abolish his organization, a pledge ignored the moment he left the confines of the committee room, was not the result of the Dies Committee's pressure nor of belated realization by Pelley of the evils of his activity. The record is clear. Mr. Pelley told the Dies Committee

"I subscribe to that so completely and with the work which has been done by the Dies Committee—and I have expressed it outside in publications—that if its work continues and goes on, the Silver Shirt Legion stops. We have no more use for it. . . . I would say yes with my blessing (that the Silver Shirt Legion will immediately fold up) if the Dies Committee will go ahead." (*Op. Cit.*, p. 7247).

It should be noted that the essence of this statement was repeated by Pelley last week on the witness stand in Indianapolis prior to his conviction on eleven charges of sedition.

The Dies Committee did not destroy Pelley's influence.

Neither did it pursue the reports of its investigator, Robert Barker, that Pelley was "in correspondence with several Members of Congress here, I see and secretaries to leaders in the German-American Bund," and that Pelley received money in large sums from people in the United

States and in foreign countries. (*Hearings*, Volume 6, p. 4220, August 28, 1939)

Pelley evaded the Committee's subpoena for many months without penalty. The record of the Committee reveals that he likewise failed to comply with his verbal promise to submit for the record names of Silver Shirt leaders and pertinent information about the organization. (*Hearings*, Volume 12, pp. 7211-12, February 7, 1940)

As in the case of Viereck, Dies' colleagues repeatedly urged him to publicize the full story of Pelley's activities. Representative Samuel Dickstein, appearing before the Committee on April 2, 1940, described Pelley as a "spiritualist, mystic, 'red-baiter,' Jew-hater—that is from the record—and union buster. . . . today a self-styled American 'fuhrer,' Fascist No. 1," and charged Pelley "with treason against the United States Government." (*Hearings*, Volume 12, p. 7523, April 2, 1940)

Eight months later, Representative Dies "closed" the case of Pelley and the Silver Shirt Legion by declaring that he had "exposed it out of existence."

Time and a Federal Grand Jury investigation have completely invalidated Dies' false claim. Time and the findings of the Grand Jury have sharpened the necessity for a thorough investigation of Martin Dies that his role in relation to those indicted may be made clear.

CHARLES B. HUDSON: Indicted, July, 1942.

America in Danger!, published by Charles B. Hudson of Omaha, Nebraska, advocates racism, anti-Semitism, and the other tenets of Hitlerism.

Yet *America in Danger!* was dismissed by Martin Dies with the words "This is more or less of a racket." Martin Dies overrode his investigator, John B. Metcalfe, and suppressed vital information concerning the activities of Charles B. Hudson, just as he withheld evidence on Gerald B. Winnod's affiliations and allegiances. (*Hearings*, Volume 3, p. 2344, November 19, 1938)

Charles B. Hudson was indicted by the Grand Jury in part for his co-authorship with Elizabeth Dilling of a venomously anti-Semitic booklet, *The Octopus*, published in 1941 under the alias "Reverend Frank Woodruff Johnson."

Charles B. Hudson was protectively ignored by Representative Dies, though his record was well-known, and though he sat through several hearings of the Dies Committee, counseling another witness.

On June 1, 1939, General George Van Horn Moseley testified before the Committee. Questioned by Dies Committee Counsel, Rhea Whitley, concerning his contacts with Hudson, Moseley replied "He is a fine soul,

one of the outstanding characters of that kind in America." (*Hearings*, Volume 5, p. 3696, June 1, 1939)

Moseley had cause for approbation. At the conclusion of the session, answering the Committee's inquiry concerning the identity of "several gentlemen . . . who have assisted you and been present with you for the last several days here," Moseley identified them as Representative Jacob Thorkelson, George E. Sullivan and Charles B. Hudson! (*Ibid.*, p. 3703)

Dies also ignored testimony identifying Hudson as a participant in an "anti-communist" convention at the German House, Los Angeles headquarters of the German-American Bund, which had been participated in by Herman Schwinn, Bund leader for the Western States; William Kullgren, indicted in July, 1942, and editor of *Bacon Light*; representatives of Pelley's Silver Shirts and of other groups named in the Grand Jury indictment. (*Hearings*, Volume 6, p. 3992, August 22, 1939)

Charles B. Hudson helped place "America in Danger!" His contributions to disunity both before and after December 8, 1941 were pointedly ignored by the Dies Committee.

The Dies Committee must again be charged with dereliction to the American people for its failure to publicize Charles B. Hudson's role in the gigantic pro-Axis conspiracy against the American people. The Grand Jury must be directed to get at the facts.

WILLIAM KULLGREN: Indicted, July, 1942

As long ago as 1939, the Dies Committee heard testimony of its Counsel, Rhea Whitley, concerning William Kullgren's activity. Describing Kullgren as "formerly one of Mr. Pelley's chief lieutenants," who later headed his own organization, Counsel Whitley added "the devotees considerable space (in *Bacon Light*) to material which is anti-Semitic material, which has been furnished to him by the World Service of Erfurt, Germany." (*Hearings*, Volume 5, pp. 3689-90, June 1, 1939)

Notwithstanding that the Resolution establishing the Dies Committee directed the Committee to investigate "the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries," Chairman Dies showed no concern over this evidence. Kullgren has been studiously ignored throughout the proceedings of the Dies Committee.

Evidence of Kullgren's correspondence with Edward James Smythe, of his participation in the German House conference mentioned above, were as carefully obscured as was similar evidence concerning others indicted last month.

The name of William Kullgren must be added to the long list of the un-subpoenaed and the un-touched, the un-Americans whose activities

were enabled to continue through the kind "oversight" of the Dies Committee.

EUGENE NELSON SANCTUARY: Indicted, July, 1942.

"It appears to be a racket" was the way Martin Dies disposed of the activities of Eugene Nelson Sanctuary, and forestalled introduction of evidence on Sanctuary's activities by Committee Investigator John B. Metcalfe.

The few seconds of Committee time allotted to Metcalfe's report on Sanctuary revealed that he had been a speaker for the German-American Bund and headed an organization known as the American Christian Defenders.

Sanctuary's influence, though more limited than many of the so-called "native fascists" has been as insidious as any. Martin Dies, however, viewed the problem in his usual cynical fashion. "The American people are so gullible," he pontificated, "that these organizations prey upon them. It appears to be a racket." (*Hearings*, Volume 3, p. 2345, November 19, 1938)

This statement was not made by a layman, in 1933, when the world knew little of the ways of Hitlerism. It was the considered statement in November, 1938 of a man who six months earlier had pleaded with the House of Representatives for authority and funds to carry on an investigation of un-American activities.

Sanctuary's racket was not petty. *The indictments of the Grand Jury reveal the racketeering Sanctuary carried on—racketeering which would place a nation and 130,000,000 people in pawn to Hitlerism. Yet Sanctuary was never subpoenaed by the Dies Committee.*

The case of Sanctuary exposes Dies either as an individual with no concept of propaganda in the modern world, no understanding of Hitlerian tactics, or as an individual, as this statement alleges, who protected and sheltered defendants like Sanctuary, willfully suppressed evidence on their activities, and extended to them the courteous disinterest reserved for the proponents of un-American doctrines.

ROBERT EDWARD EDMONDSON: Indicted, July, 1942

Edmondson was identified to the Dies Committee in 1938 by its investigator, John B. Metcalfe, as a "featured speaker of the German-American Bund." (*Hearings*, Volume 3, pp. 2373-4, November 21, 1938)

Fritz Kuhn, appearing before the Committee the following year, admitted that he had praised and complimented Edmondson on his work, and that he had invited Edmondson to speak at a Madison Square Garden

rally of the Bund. (*Hearings*, Volume 6, p. 3791, August 16, 1939, and p. 3886, August 17, 1939)

The Dies Committee record also contains a telegram sent to Edmondson on March 24, 1939 by Pelley saying "Can forward you 5,000 4-page Dies bulletins." (*Hearings*, Volume 6, p. 4267, August 29, 1939)

This evidence is impressive—but the Dies Committee continued to ignore Edmondson, as it ignored many of his co-defendants.

There is one obvious motive. Edmondson was a participant in the notorious fascist conference at Asheville, North Carolina, in 1936 in company with defendants Sanctuary and True; representatives of defendants Winrod and Pelley; and erstwhile Dies Committee investigator, Edward F. Sullivan.

Edmondson is notorious as the favorite of the Nazi World Service. His record has long been widely known. *The Grand Jury should be instructed to determine and reveal the reasons why Edmondson was prosecuted by Dies, whether a relationship exists between them, and whether E. F. Sullivan's associations with Edmondson were responsible for the failure of the Dies Committee to investigate this fascist agent whose name appears so often in its records.*

JAMES C. TRUE: Indicted, July, 1942

James C. True's fascist activities in America have followed the Hitler pattern closely, from the day he secured a patent for his notorious invention, the "kike-killer," to the present day.

His close association with other defendants is revealed throughout the Dies Committee record. Fritz Kuhn testified that True was one of those invited to a Madison Square Garden meeting in November, 1938. Kuhn also testified that True's material had been republished in the *Weekend*, official Bund paper, and described True's publication as "very good." (*Hearings*, Volume 6, pp. 3767 and 3792, August 16, 1939).

Deatherage told the Dies Committee that he had conferred with True "a thousand times" on matters of policy and said, "There isn't anything I wouldn't do for him." (*Hearings*, Volume 5, p. 3470, May 23, 1939).

The elusive Pelley, when he finally appeared before the Dies Committee on a six-month old subpoena, testified that "Mr. True has from time to time in his industrial control reports very graciously publicized a new item of publication which I might bring out." (*Hearings*, Volume 12, p. 7267, February 8, 1940.)

Pelley said further that True had bought literature from the Silver Shirts and that he would furnish the Committee with the amounts. The record does not reveal that this information was ever furnished.

Even Mr. Dies' own investigator, John B. Metcalfe, investigated True, who was then in 1938 running an organization called "America First, Inc." Metcalfe described their literature as "of an anti-Semitic character; and also of a pro-Japanese character" and testified that True also published the *Industrial Control Reports*. (*Hearings*, Volume 3, p. 2342, November 19, 1938).

True's publications have been scattered far and wide throughout the country in recent years. Their character demanded investigation by Dies. No investigation was made. One of the reasons is obvious.

Edward F. Sullivan, one of the early investigators for the Dies Committee, shared office space with True, collaborated on publications which were later whitewashed by the Dies Committee. True himself, with Gerald Winrod, representatives of the Silver Shirts and others among those indicted, was a leader of the notorious rump conference of fascists in Asheville, North Carolina, in 1936.

The Asheville Citizen, reporting that conference, declared

"A group of delegates here for the National Conference of Clergymen and Laymen yesterday withdrew from the conference and made plans to hold separate meetings at the First Christian Church. They explained they withdrew because the word "Christian" had been omitted from the name of the conference and because Jews had been placed on the program. . . . Talks in which the Jewish race was linked with Communism were made by Gerald Winrod. . . . Outside the church, E. F. Elmhurst, who said he was from New York, distributed copies of 'Pelley's Weekly', dated August 12. Other literature of the Silver Shirt movement, an anti-Semitic organization, also was given out by Elmhurst. . . . Dr. Vaughn announced that organization plans for the dissenting group would be discussed at a meeting this afternoon at the Langren Hotel. He also announced that Edward F. Sullivan, said to be a Boston journalist, would speak at 8 o'clock tonight. . . ." (*Asheville, North Carolina, Citizen*, August 14, 1936).

The Asheville Citizen of the following day reported Mr. Sullivan's speech, quoting him as saying

"Who has the economic control of the country, who has the control of the motion pictures, the filthy magazines, who is fast appropriating the newspapers of the country?" he asked, leaving the question unanswered directly but leaving the impression that it was the Jews. . . . "From now on Christians in America are going to speak out. . . . The 'Christian' group yesterday named a committee to arrange details of the Washington conference. In addition to Dr. Winrod, the Chairman . . . the following were named

to the advisory council: James True of Washington, D. C." and a list of 98 names. (Ashville Citizen, August 15, 1936).

The Dies Committee was formed in May, 1938. On August 26th of the same year, Labor's Non-Partisan League advised the Dies Committee "that it need look no further than its own chief investigator, Edward F. Sullivan, to find a central figure in subversive activities." Affidavits, newspaper reports and photostatic copies of literature issued by Sullivan and his associates were placed before Dies, but were ignored.

The association which motivated Dies to shield both Sullivan and True must be investigated.

The activities of the so-called "James True Associates" and of Sullivan's role in the set-up must now be exposed. *These questions must be answered: Who was the real boss of this fascist conspiracy, True or Dies' employee, Sullivan; did True publish the White Knight, alleged Journal of the Knights of the White Camellia which was distributed through his office; who financed the Industrial Control Reports and publications of the first "America First"; why did Dies hire Sullivan; why did Dies refuse to investigate True; who were the other "Associates" in True's group; is Dies deliberately shielding these men because their views are his views.*

The Grand Jury should be instructed to investigate all aspects of this question.

EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE: Indicted, July, 1942

Edward James Smythe is a pivotal figure in the Dies Committee hearings, and like Viereck, was subpoenaed by the Committee, but never forced to testify. (*Hearings*, Volume 6, p. 4268, August, 29, 1939).

There is much evidence in the Dies Committee record about Smythe and his correspondence with leaders of the German-American Bund, George Deatherage and many of those indicted last month, including Winrod, True, Edmondson, Pelley, Kullgren, the Vechter Cherep-Spirodovich and others.

Rhea Whitley, Committee Counsel, testified

"Now, some of the individuals or organizations which Mr. Smythe was in contact with over a period of a number of years are the following. . . . He had correspondence with the German-American Bund, particularly with Mr. James Wheeler Hill, secretary of the bund. The correspondence indicates . . . a very friendly relationship between Mr. Smythe and his organizations, and the bund. . . . Voluminous correspondence with the Vechter Cherep-Spirodovich—which is very active in the White Russian Fascist group; Gerald B. Winrod, Wichita, Kansas; . . . Numerous contacts with

George Deatherage, St. Albans, W. Va.; Robert Edward Edmondson; James True . . . William Kullgren, editor of the *Bacon Light*, Astoradero, Calif. . . . William Dudley Pelley. . . ." (*Hearings*, Volume 6, pp. 4271-3, August 29, 1939).

Nevertheless, Dies attempted to minimize Smythe by describing him as "just a racketeer" and by forcibly suppressing evidence of his activities. (*Ibid.*, p. 4271).

The following excerpts from the record demonstrate how Dies overruled the testimony of his own investigator in order to suppress Smythe's correspondence with individuals in this country and with other members of the fascist network.

"The Chairman (Mr. Dies): We have all of these facts before us (the facts referred to Smythe's correspondence with outstanding American fascists including the following who are now under indictment: Gerald B. Winrod; James True; Robert Edward Edmondson; William Dudley Pelley; William Kullgren), and we have not decided whether we are going to locate Mr. Smythe any further or not. There are a great many letters here, including letters from prominent people. We ought to determine which ones we shall make public. . . . You have in that file a great deal of correspondence from people all over the country. . . . there have been so many people who have been duped in this country by the Nazi and Fascist organizations, that if we should mention them all, it would make a tremendous record. But those who really participated in it after they knew about it and where there is some evidence that they knew what they were in—that they were in a movement for the purpose of promoting the Nazi ideology in the United States. . . ."

"Mr. Whitley: Mr. Chairman, I may say that all these organizations that I have mentioned here come in the category of those actively participating. I did not include many individuals or groups whose actions or motives were not obvious from the correspondence.

"The Chairman: I know, but that brings up the question whether it is right to disclose the names of those people and let some of these other people get by. . . . We can make this correspondence public at a later date." (*Hearings*, Vol. 6, p. 4274, August 29, 1939).

There is no evidence that any of this correspondence was ever made public. Its full importance is shown by the duplication of names cited above with names in the July, 1942, indictment of the Grand Jury in Washington, D. C.

The Grand Jury should be instructed to investigate and reveal the

entire story of Edward James Smythe in relation to Martin Dies and his Committee. It should answer these pertinent questions: *why was Smythe never forced to comply with the subpoena issued for him by the Dies Committee; why was evidence on the relation between Smythe and fascist agents like Pelley, True, Edmondson, Winrod, Kulgren and others suppressed by Dies; is there a relationship between Dies and Smythe which motivated Dies' peculiar behavior throughout the "Smythe Case."*

DIES AND ORGANIZATIONS CITED IN THE JULY, 1942, INDICTMENT

In this brief documentation of the request of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties for a Grand Jury investigation of the relationship, if there be one, between Martin Dies and the various individuals and organizations enumerated in the indictment made public July 24, 1942, it has obviously been impossible to enumerate in detail items of general knowledge concerning Mr. Dies and his associations. Certainly his relations with groups such as the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, the Constitutional Educational League, and others named in the indictment must be carefully investigated. In one of a series of articles written for *Liberty* in 1940, Dies acknowledged "the splendid aid we have received from such organizations as . . . the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies" and declared that this aid "made it possible for us to carry on." ("No More Immigrants," by Representative Martin Dies, *Liberty*, March 30, 1940, p. 14).

Dies was a chief speaker at a meeting of the Coalition on January 27, 1939, in Washington, D. C. The sponsors of the meeting included James True, indicted in July, 1942, and John Trevor, leader of the Coalition which was named in the indictment although Trevor himself was not.

One of Dies' fellow-speakers at this luncheon was Merwin K. Hart, head of the New York State Economic Council which itself had entertained Dies as a guest speaker at a luncheon in New York on December 8, 1938. The latter luncheon was significant because the printed guest list noted among the participants outstanding Bundists including Fritz Kuhn, James Wheeler-Hill, Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze and Frederick Williams, then editor of the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*. (*New York Times*, December 9, 1938; also Speech by Rep. Frank Hook of Michigan, *Congressional Record*, January 22, 1940).

There is no evidence that Trevor was ever investigated by Dies; it is reported that Merwin K. Hart was interrogated at a "secret" hearing although this claim is not substantiated by any of the numerous

reports of the Dies Committee. Merwin K. Hart, far from being censured by the Dies Committee, presided at a mass meeting in honor of the Chairman on November 29, 1939 at Madison Square Garden in New York City. Newspaper accounts of that meeting report widespread sale and distribution of *Social Justice*.

The interaction of these various groups, and the relation to them of Martin Dies, should be thoroughly examined by the Grand Jury without delay.

It would be impossible to list briefly the fascist organizations and publications which have urged support of the Dies Committee. The statements of Kuhn, Pelley, and others are contained in Appendix C, a Memorandum of February 9, 1942, entitled "Pro-Axis Leanings of the Dies Committee Hinder U. S. War Effort."

The various publications of Pelley, *Social Justice*, the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, *The Cross and The Flag*, *Beacon Light*, *The Fiery Cross*, and virtually all those listed in the indictment have had only praise for Dies and his work. The terms in which Dies is treated by the fascist press may be characterized by a brief quotation from *The Broom*, published by C. Leon de Aryan, one of those indicted in July, 1942, which declared on June 5, 1939

"PAGE MARTIN DIES! It is remarkable what sort of government we are having at Washington, D. C. From all appearances we have a Talmudic, double-crossing government which makes it right for Jews to do that which is wrong for Gentiles."

The fulsome praise of fascist organizations and publications for Dies warrants a thorough investigation.

The National Workers League, named in the indictment of July, 1942, is one of the many towards which Dies paid no attention. In the summer of 1938 Parker Sage addressed a meeting at the Detroit Creamery Park, spoke on behalf of the National Workers League of which he was an organizer, on a platform draped with the swastika, in company with speakers making open appeals for support of Hitler and equally open denunciations of the Jewish and Negro people.

The Civil Rights Federation of Michigan, which has been affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties since the formation of the National Federation in 1940, petitioned the Dies Committee to investigate this incident and substantiated its charges with affidavits and other evidence. Nevertheless when the Dies Committee made its foray into Michigan in the fall of 1938 it refrained from investigating the fascist activities of which it had been informed and concerned itself with efforts to defeat the gubernatorial candidate, Hon. Frank Murphy.

Parker Sage was indicted this spring for conspiracy to bring about a race riot at the Sojourner Truth Housing Project on February 28, 1942. *The Sojourner Truth incident*, provoked entirely by the Ku Klux Klan and the National Workers League, both of which were named in the July indictment, could not have occurred had the Dies Committee fulfilled its obligation to the nation and to Congress.

In January, 1942, soon after his secret investigation of Klan Wizard Coleseott, Dies conducted a similar 'secret' hearing in the case of Parker Sage and the National Workers League. Both leaders, both organizations, carried on their activities without hindrance until the July indictment was made public; neither Dies nor his Committee have at any time revealed to the nation the information in their possession on the seditious activities of these groups.

Sage and the National Workers League have been active in Michigan for a period of time longer than the Dies Committee has been in existence. They have been active since December 8, 1941. Yet Chairman Dies has never repudiated the testimony of witnesses at the Detroit hearings that "there is no fascist movement operating here in Michigan as to which we are at all disturbed."

It is highly significant that there is no reference whatsoever in the published *Hearings* of the Dies Committee to persons such as Elmer J. and James F. Garner, C. Leon de Aryan, Court Asher, Ellis O. Jones, Robert Noble, Oscar Brumback, Prescott F. Dennett, or others indicted last month.

The publications of these various individuals, *Publicity*, *The Broom*, *X-Ray*, and others, have been staunch supporters of Dies. The activities of Ellis O. Jones and Robert Noble have been much in the press of late, but long before Pearl Harbor, the members of the Dies Committee, and all other Members of Congress, were the recipients of a report published by the 17th District of the American Legion, in Los Angeles, which contained complete dossiers on Noble and Jones.

Oscar Brumback carried on his activities less than a mile from Dies' office, in the office of the No Foreign War Coalition in Washington, D. C., and Prescott Dennett, leg-man for Viereck, Hill and their cohorts, was a familiar figure around the Capitol, yet neither of these individuals were ever subjected to investigation or interrogation by Dies.

One of the most significant omissions from the record of the Dies Committee is the name of Elizabeth F. Dilling, author of *The Red Network*, co-author of *The Octopus*, collaborator of the fascist agents indicted last month. There has been much concern about the possible relationship between Mrs. Dilling and Dies, concern which must be answered by the Grand Jury.

The extent to which Dies has utilized the technique of the Axis has been made clear by citations from the record. It must be remembered that this technique was introduced to the United States by Elizabeth Dilling whose *Red Network* lists on its pages many of the greatest leaders of our nation, many of our highest public officials. Mrs. Dilling has been in the limelight for years. The question may thus be justifiably asked: why did Dies ignore Elizabeth Dilling, has Elizabeth Dilling 'cooperated with the Dies Committee in its divisive work; is there a link between Dilling's "Patriotic Research Bureau" and the "Special Committee on Un-American Activities."

The Grand Jury should also be directed to investigate the personnel of the Dies Committee, and the expenditures of that Committee.

The Dies Committee has employed many persons of more than questionable repute in the last four years. The case of Edward Francis Sullivan has been noted in connection with the activities of James True.

J. B. Matthews, Director of Research for the Committee, is the author of articles and pamphlets widely advertised by the fascist press, publicized by individuals and publications named in the Grand Jury indictment. The circumstances under which Matthews wrote a series of articles for the magazine *Contra-Communism*, published in Geneva, must be clarified. This publication, to all intents the official organ of the international 'anti-communist' movement initiated by the Nazi Government, is only one of many which has been loud in its praise of the Dies Committee. The Entente Internationale Anti-Communist, itself, must be considered in the investigation. Its American branch is allegedly the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies before which Dies has spoken, of which Dies has written in praise, but which the Grand Jury included in its recent indictment.

The publications of Matthews should also be thoroughly analyzed. *Beacon Light* is one of several publications named in the recent indictment which has repeatedly advertised the works of Matthews. The September, 1941, issue publicized a list of "Books You Should Read on Communism, The Jewish Question, Etc." This revealing list contained the writings of defendants Elizabeth Dilling, "Rev. Frank W. Johnson" (alias of Elizabeth Dilling and Charles B. Hudson), George Sylvester Viereck (alias Eugen Vroom), Gerald B. Winrod, Joseph P. Camp (sic) of the Constitutional Educational League, Oscar Brumback, Col. E. N. Sanctuary, and J. B. Matthews.

The findings of the Grand Jury make it clear that such juxtapositions are not accidental. It is essential, therefore, that they include in an investigation of Martin Dies and his relation to pro-Axis forces, an analysis of his Committee's staff and their relationships with these groups. Such

an investigation must touch upon all of the Committee's employees who have had relationships with fascist groups, including past employees like E. F. Sullivan, and present employees, such as Hazel Huffman, former employee of the Constitutional Educational League, an organization which has long been loud in its praise of Dies and which was named in the indictment last month.

The Grand Jury should be directed to answer these questions: is the Dies Committee employing, or has it in the past employed, individuals associated with any other individuals or organizations or publications exposed in the Grand Jury indictment; to what extent, if at all, at present and throughout its life, have Dies Committee employees taken directions from or solicited and utilized the assistance of organizations and individuals named in the July indictment; who are the present employees of the Committee and what are their qualifications and records. In this connection, a thorough examination should be made of all expense vouchers of the Dies Committee, for the purpose of determining whether any Committee funds have been expended, either in salary, per diem, or for other expenses, for payment to officers or members of organizations named in the indictment, or to any employees of these organizations or publications, or to individuals indicted last month.

APPENDIX C

PRO-AXIS LEANINGS OF THE DIES COMMITTEE HINDER U. S. WAR EFFORT*

This is a factual memorandum based on the record of the Dies Committee.

The life of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, commonly known as the Dies Committee, expires March 31, 1942. On January 23rd, Representative Martin Dies introduced H. Res. 420 to extend the Committee's life until January 3, 1943.

The Dies Committee was created by H. Res. 282 in the 3rd session of the 75th Congress. Its first public hearings were held on August 12, 1938. In the intervening period of approximately three and a half years the Committee has spent \$385,000, yet failed to perform the duties laid down by the resolution—namely to investigate

1. The extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States;
2. The diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our constitution, and
3. All other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary legislation."

Through his Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Rep. Martin Dies has abused the prestige of the Congress of the United States. His activities which have aided the Axis in their war on democracy are a matter of record. He has sought to disrupt national unity in the war effort by attacking vital administration leaders, agencies and policies, and by proposing dangerous and unconstitutional amendments to measures designed to strengthen our war effort. He has consistently shielded Axis sympathizers—native and foreign—and promoted disunity in the midst of the most perilous emergency ever to confront the American people. These activities he wishes to continue by passage of H. Res. 420.

* Originally published February 9, 1942, as a *Memorandum to Members of the House of Representatives and All Patriotic Americans.*

The record of the Dies Committee discloses that the Committee and its Chairman have:

1. Criticized the war effort since Dec. 7, 1941, and American foreign policy prior to Pearl Harbor, in terms calculated to impede that effort and to obstruct the defeat of the Axis by the United Nations.
2. Failed to weed out the elements and organizations in our country most dangerous to our democratic existence—organizations such as the Christian Front, the Ku Klux Klan, and groups formed at the instigation of the Nazi Government.
3. Given aid and comfort to such notoriously un-American "finchers" as Joseph A. McWilliams, Father Coughlin, James Wheeler-Hill, James C. True, Gerald L. K. Smith, Gerald B. Winrod, Edward James Smythe, and many others who have never been called before the Committee.
4. Repeatedly attempted to undermine the confidence of the American people in their government by conducting a campaign of "unvarnished smear" against key Administration agencies, and by publicizing unsubstantiated allegations concerning the loyalty of large numbers of Federal employees.
5. Cloaked their defense of un-American leaders like George Deatherage, Gerald B. Winrod, William Dudley Pelley, and others in a broadside attack on organized labor, consumer, and professional organizations.

Because of its program the Dies Committee has won the support and public approval of both domestic and foreign Nazi-Fascist groups. In December, 1939, Fritz Kuhn, now serving a jail sentence for embezzlement, but then a leader of the German-American Bund, told a New York reporter

"I am in favor of it (the Dies Committee) to be appointed again and I wish them to get more money." (*New York World-Telegram*, Dec. 8, 1939).

William Dudley Pelley, Silver Shirt leader and professed anti-Semite, told the Dies Committee

"I founded the Silver Legion in 1933 . . . to propagandize exactly the same principles that Mr. Dies and this committee are engaged in prosecuting right now." (*Hearings*, Volume 12, February 7, 1940, pp. 7207-7208)

and further

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"I subscribe to that so completely . . . with the work which has been done by the Dies Committee—and I have expressed it outside in publications—that if its work continues and goes on, the Silver Shirt Legion stops. We have no more use for it." (*Ibid.*, p. 7247)

Strangely enough, the Dies Committee, in its report to the House on January 3, 1941, boastfully announced

"Immediately after Pelley was placed on the stand before the committee, he ordered the dissolution of his silver-shirted band." (*Report No. 1*, House of Representatives, 77 Cong., 1 Sess. January 3, 1941)

On January 20, 1942, William Dudley Pelley was sentenced to serve two to three years in prison for violation of the North Carolina security laws, and will also serve a sentence for an original conviction in 1935.

At the hearing, in Superior Court in Asheville, N. C., "correspondence between Pelley Publishers and alleged Nazi and Fascist agencies and individuals in Germany, Italy and England was introduced. Pelley was head of Pelley Publishers." (*New York Times*, January 21, 1942)

Pelley's activities have been so notorious, that the *New York Times*, in supplying background information on Pelley said

"He (Pelley) said that he had been 'inspired' to organize the movement (Silver Shirts of America) by the rise to power of Adolph Hitler in Germany. He published a magazine that was considered a receptacle for Nazi propaganda." (*Ibid.*)

Late in 1940 the Ku Klux Klan of Oklahoma City issued a pamphlet, "The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Carries On to Put None But Americans on Guard." The pamphlet was devoted to praising Martin Dies and the Dies Committee.

Dudley Pierpont Gilbert, head of the American Nationalists, Inc., testifying before the Committee in May, 1939, described the reasons why his organization was formed, saying

"You remember that in those days there was no committee such as yours in existence, and we were trying to get publicity for what you have gotten now." (*Hearings*, Vol. 5, p. 2185, May 18, 1939)

Similarly, George E. Deatherage, leader of the Knights of the White Camellia, an organization known for its blatant anti-Semitism, said

"Every time . . . I am called before the Dies Committee, that is the best publicity I can get, and then my mail just buries me." (*Hearings*, Vol. 5, p. 3536, May 23, 1939)

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The Axis Needs the Dies Committee—We Don't

Martin Dies is the prodigal Congressman in the eyes of the Axis.

For many months the short wave monitoring service of the Federal Communications Commission has been recording and analyzing all broadcasts emanating from Axis-dominated countries. The Birmingham (Ala.) *Age-Herald* reported recently

"The man most frequently and approvingly quoted (on Nazi propaganda broadcasts) is a man who has made much of the word 'American'. . . . He is the most popular American as far as the Rome-Berlin radios are concerned.

"His name is Martin Dies. . . .

"In all their quotations from Mr. Dies, no one has heard a single criticism of him by the Axis radio." (*Birmingham Age-Herald*, December 24, 1941, p. 4)

A similar story appeared in the weekly magazine *Newsweek*, saying

"The FCC's short-wave monitoring service has found that Representative Martin Dies is the American most frequently quoted by the Axis radio in programs banned to this hemisphere." (*Newsweek*, January 5, 1942, p. 7)

It is not surprising that the Axis can find no fault with one of their best friends in American public life. The man who has condoned and fostered anti-Semitic statements before a Congressional Committee, who has shielded and protected the real leaders of the Nazi-inspired American fascist movement while ostensibly "going after the small fry," well deserves the applause of Berlin and Rome, and even of Tokyo.

But we are at war with the governments of those countries, and we must look with suspicion on those who receive Nazi, Fascist and Japanese approbation.

Dies Attacks the War Policy of the United States Government

The Congress of the United States has repeatedly emphasized, by legislation, its support of our Government's official war policy. That policy prior to December 7, 1941, called for lend-lease aid to nations fighting Hitlerism. That policy since our involvement in the war has been one of military collaboration, and of unity to victory against the German-Italian-Japanese aggressors.

Martin Dies has consistently voiced opposition to American foreign policy, attacked action previously taken by the Congress of the United States, and consciously attempted to undermine the developing unity of the people of the United States behind that policy.

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His most carping criticism has been directed towards Russia, with which the United States has been collaborating since the invasion of that country by Germany.

In October, 1941, the United States was extending economic aid to Russia, Great Britain, and the other nations defending themselves against the Axis. Yet Martin Dies, speaking in Cleveland in October, 1941, said

"I am as anxious as anyone to see the defeat of Hitler, and I hope Russia is licked at the same time." (Speech before the American Institute of Laundering Convention, October 19, 1941, reported in *Cleveland Plain-Dealer*, October 20, 1941.)

In this same speech Dies also pointed out that the Dies Committee couldn't "pay attention to the Administration's somersaults in foreign policy." (*Ibid.*)

Dies Has Curious Blind Spots

Martin Dies, consciously, or through curious negligence, missed one of the biggest stories of 1941—the story of the concentrated barrage of pro-Axis literature inserted in the *Congressional Record*, printed by the Government Printing Office, and mailed, by the hundred thousand, in franked envelopes, at the instigation of admitted Axis propagandists.

On October 24, 1941, George Hill, secretary to Rep. Hamilton Fish, was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury of the District Court of the District of Columbia, charged with two counts of perjury. The indictment alleged that Hill had willfully perjured himself concerning his relationship with registered German agent, George Sylvester Viereck, and concerning his dealing with the sacks of franked mail which were taken from the office of Prescott Dennett to the House Office Building and stored in Rep. Fish's storage space.

On January 15, 1942, following a trial in the District Court, George Hill was convicted on both counts, and is now awaiting sentence. In summing up the case for the prosecution, the Government stated

"The defendant Hill is an important cog in the most vicious propaganda machine, the most effective propaganda machine that this world has ever seen, so effective and so diabolically clever that it is able to reach in and use the halls of our own Congress as a sounding board for its lies and half truths, by which they are trying to defeat and conquer us just as they defeated and conquered France, Belgium, Holland, Poland and all those other nations in Europe. . . .

"That is why this defendant Hill went before the Grand Jury and swore falsely. . . .

"That is why his lips were sealed as to the truth and it was the

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long arm of the Gestapo that forced him to go in there and put those lies in his mouth to try to stop this investigation and to impede it in every possible way." (*Trial Transcript*, p. 850)

When the Dies Committee reported to the House on January 3, 1941, Dies said "we smashed that Nazi movement before it was able to get under way." But during 1941, Dies succeeded in ignoring the new methods of American Bundists.

A New York trade magazine reported recently

"On June 20th (1941) the Government of the United States ordered the closing (in early July) of the German Library of Information, the German Railroads Information Office and German consulates.

"It should be noted here that several months before this closing order, German agents in New York City bragged to contacts of ours that they knew they were going to be closed up but it didn't make any difference because they had made plans to have their work carried on by American agencies and that most of the propaganda would be mailed free under the Congressional frank." (*The Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising*, December, 1941)

The scandal that surrounded the use of Congressional facilities for the dissemination of Axis propaganda in the fall of 1941 aroused nationwide interest—but the Dies Committee, and its Chairman, continued to seek ways and means of disuniting the American people, and ignored the clamor.

This was completely in keeping with the Committee's past record.

The Dies Committee also failed to investigate or expose the new techniques being used by the Nazis to spread their poisonous politics in the United States, new techniques necessitated by the closing of their official consulates and propaganda centers.

In October, 1941, George Sylvester Viereck, registered German propaganda agent, was indicted by the District of Columbia Federal Grand Jury, charged with failure to comply with the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Long years ago, when the Dies Committee was young, Dies revealed that he considered Viereck one of the major cogs in the Nazi propaganda machine in the United States. On August 4, 1938, Dies subpoenaed Viereck, who was planning to sail that night for Europe on a visit to the ex-Kaiser, and, according to Dies, to Hitler. (*New York Times*, August 4, 1938)

Viereck told the press that he would gladly appear before the Dies Committee following his return from Europe in October, 1938.

But the record of the Dies Committee does not indicate that Viereck

was ever called back, although according to the *New York Times* he had admittedly been paid \$1,750 monthly in 1934, by Carl Byoir and Associates, to do pro-German publicity in accordance with arrangements made by the German Ministry of Propaganda. (*New York Times*, August 4, 1938)

Viereck made his trip to Europe and returned saying "I was in Germany and Italy in the most critical days and discovered that the Rome-Berlin Axis was the backbone of world peace." (*PM*, October 9, 1941, quoting a statement of Viereck in 1938)

The Dies Committee has boasted that it exposed Nazi agents, but it ignored one of the most important, George Sylvester Viereck, author, propagandist, and indicted foreign agent.

One of these new techniques utilized to spread Axis propaganda was exposed by the American Legion of California in a report on Nazi penetration of the America First Committee. The Legion found, for example, that

"Herman Max Schwinn, West Coast Bund Fuehrer, has openly cooperated and aided in the operation of the American First-sponsored picket line at the Hollywood Bowl when Wendell Willkie spoke in behalf of National Unity, on July 23, 1941. Schwinn did not carry a banner or poster, but devoted his time to encouraging pickets and otherwise assisting F. K. Ferenz." (*Subversive Activities in America First Committee in California*, published by Americanism Committee, 17th District, The American Legion, Department of California, October, 1941, p. 14.)

The Legion described F. K. Ferenz as "distributor of subversive books, Hitler essayist and Nazi film exhibitor . . . one of the most active workers in the America First movement in California." (*Ibid*) Its report documented the activities, in the America First Committee of California, of many notorious Bundists.

Laura Ingalls, aviatix who barnstormed the country on the America First bandwagon during the summer and fall of 1941, was also indicted in December, 1941, for failure to register as a German foreign agent.

Laura Ingalls, the Bundists exposed by the American Legion in Los Angeles, and many other spokesmen for the America First movement, were not called to testify before the Dies Committee, nor did Dies even announce that he would investigate Bund activities in America First until a few days before our entry into the war.

Similarly, Dies, for all his charges that he "had previous information" of the contemplated Japanese military attack on Pearl Harbor, apparently either did not have, or suppressed, information concerning the Japanese campaign of psychological warfare against the American people. For on

January 28, 1942, the same Federal Grand Jury which had indicted Hill and Viereck, which had indicted Frank Burch, Nazi agent who pleaded guilty in October, 1941, indicted six men as unregistered Japanese propagandists. And as a consequence of that indictment, Ralph Townsend, staff member of the America First organ, *Scrivener's Commentator*, David Warren Ryder and Frederick Vincent Williams, San Francisco publicity men, and three Japanese will soon stand trial in the District Court, only a few blocks from Dies' office.

The ramifications of the conspiracy of Axis powers to undermine the morale of the American people during the year 1941 is still to be wholly exposed. But the Dies Committee showed itself to be criminally negligent—it did not even attempt to enlighten the people of the United States to the meaning of the propaganda campaign to which they were being exposed.

Martin Dies missed the boat in 1941. Not because the facts were not available, not because there were no straws in the wind that blows over the Capitol, but because he did not want to open up an investigation of Axis propaganda, for fear of the consequences.

Martin Dies did not dare investigate Axis propaganda in the United States in 1941—just as he did not dare investigate it in past years. Behind a smokescreen of talk and charges and allegations, he continued in 1941 as he had in the past to shield and protect his friends and supporters, the thoroughly un-American pro-Axis organizers and propagandists in our Nation.

Dies Undermines Public Confidence by Unsubstantiated Attacks on Federal Employees

The Federal Government is the nerve center of our war program. Its employees are the backbone of a nation at war.

Throughout a thousand cities and towns in America, industrial workers are building the armaments of war, manufacturing the goods necessary to keep our armed forces and our civilian population housed, and clothed, and fed, that they may better do their part in the War.

In Washington, more than 170,000 Federal employees are doing their part, working longer hours, accepting many inconveniences, continuing to uphold the high traditions of loyalty and service for which they are known, and hundreds of thousands more are carrying on these traditions in the field.

Notwithstanding this fact, Rep. Dies, as Chairman of a Special Committee of the House, has used the prestige of Congress to publicize scandalous statements concerning Federal employees, and to utilize his statements as a further means of attacking our national policies.

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On October 19, 1941, Dies sent to the Attorney General a list of 1,124 persons employed by the Government whom he alleged were Communists or affiliates of subversive organizations. Dies showed his usual disregard for the truth, his essential unconcern for the welfare of these employees and the Federal service, and his vital concern with attacking our foreign policy when he stated in his letter

"the very grave danger exists that our government, by its aid to Russia on the Eastern Front, has opened up for Stalin a new Western Front right here in the capital of America." (*New York Times*, October 20, 1941)

With this change, Rep. Dies again "made the headlines" but in doing so he seriously endangered national unity. His unsubstantiated charges and allegations, by creating distrust among workers in the Federal services and lowering public confidence in those workers, seriously damaged that morale which is vital to effective prosecution of our war effort. At the same time he endangered the prestige of the Congress of the United States at the place where duty, suspicion and fear would be most likely to affect adversely the safety of our country.

This is an unpardonable offense in time of peace. It would be sheer folly to allow Mr. Dies to continue in time of war.

Mr. Dies and Price Control

On November 28, 1941, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 224 to 161, adopted HR 5990, the price control bill. Representative Martin Dies voted against this essential measure. His action climaxed a campaign of several months duration against the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPACS), its administrator, Leon Henderson, and various employees.

Attempting to disguise his attack on price control as best he could, Dies claimed that he was only interested in cleansing the Administration of potentially disloyal employees.

Dies' charges were as usual incomplete and unsubstantiated. On August 8, 1941, the very day that President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were drafting the historic "Atlantic Charter," somewhere on that ocean, Dies told the House he would not put Leon Henderson "in charge of a dog-catching unit." (*Congressional Record*, August 8, 1941, p. 7086)

In a letter to the President, released to the press on September 8, 1941, Martin Dies again continued his campaign against Henderson and demanded the discharge of various administrative employees of OPACS. Leon Henderson's prompt reply was "We don't take funny letters to the

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President as a basis for firing anybody." (*Washington Daily News*, September 8, 1941)

Reverting to his favorite target, Henderson, Dies on November 25, 1941, told the House that the President would have to purge the Office of Price Administration before Congress would accede to the price control bill. (*Congressional Record*, November 25, 1941, p. 9361)

Again on the following day he added, "so far as I am concerned, I am going to vote to recommit this bill (price control) because I refuse to put into the hands of the enemies of this country vast powers to strangle our whole economic and political system." (*Congressional Record*, November 26, 1941, p. 9382)

During the final day of debate, Dies clearly revealed the extent to which he was opposed to the very principle of price control, thus indicating how he was countering his attack behind his ostensible drive against Henderson. Dies said

"No price fixing bill will be of any substantial help in preventing inflation until we drastically reduce nondefense expenditures, increase the revenues of the Government, eliminate the scandalous waste in defense and nondefense expenditures . . ." (*Congressional Record*, November 28, 1941, pp. 9439-40)

The tactics being used by Dies were clear. The *New York Post* commented editorially

"We try to keep track of Rep. Martin Dies and his projects, but he moves too fast. After Dies wrote to the President and offered to prove that 54 members of the staff of OPACS (including Leon Henderson) were semi-Communists, we waited for the Congressman to produce his evidence. There wasn't a further sound, no documents, no letters, no testimony—just the plain unvarnished smear." (*New York Post*, September 24, 1941)

And smear it was—or an attempted smear—not alone of Mr. Henderson and his employees, not alone of price control as subsequently passed by the Congress and the work of OPACS, but a smear of the defense program which was part and parcel of Dies' continued oral and written assault on the foreign policy of the United States as laid down by the Congress and administered by the President.

Dies is the Friend, Protector and Hero of American Nazi-Fascists

On December 8, 1938, Dies was guest of honor at a luncheon in New York sponsored by Merwin K. Hart, President of the New York State Economic Council, which was also attended by Bund leader Fritz Kuhn,

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Bund-secretary James Wheeler-Hill and others. (*New York Times*, December 9, 1938)

Only four days previously, on December 4, 1938, Dies had been the luncheon guest of the American Defense Society in New York City. The president of the Society is Robert Appleton, friend and financial supporter of Christian Mobilizer Joseph McWilliams. (*New York Post*, November 30, 1939)

On January 27, 1939, Dies and Hart were the chief speakers at a meeting of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, held at the Carlton Hotel in Washington. The Coalition is an anti-Semitic organization headed by John Trevor, socialite, millionaire and gentleman fascist, and by James True, publisher of the notorious *Industrial Control Reports*.

On November 29, 1939, Dies was the principal speaker at the Mass Meeting for America held in Madison Square Garden. Merwin K. Hart presided, and one of the other speakers was Col. George U. Harvey, a staunch defender of Christian Frontiers and Borough President of Queens until his defeat in the 1941 elections.

The sponsors of the rally included Robert Appleton, President of the American Defense Society Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosean, Member of the Board of Governors of the Coughlinite Emergency Council to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars

Mrs. Ralph M. Easley, widow of the late Ralph M. Easley, guiding figure in the National Civic Federation

Ogden H. Hammond, decorated by Franco

Robert K. Harris, Coughlin's broker

John Snow, of the League for Constitutional Government, which distributes the anti-Semitic literature of Harry A. Jung, and a member of the Paul Reveres

John B. Trevor, gentleman fascist, and representative of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies

Social Justice was sold throughout the Garden meeting, and Christian Frontiers received free tickets to hear the gospel from the House's own "un-American", Martin Dies.

Why Didn't Dies Investigate Pro-Nazi Edward James Smythe?

On August 24, 1938, the Dies Committee received in evidence a letter of Edward J. Smythe, head of the Protestant War Veterans, correspondent of Gerald B. Winrod, George Deatherage, James True, William Dudley Pelley, and Nazi agent James Wheeler-Hill, speaker at Bund meetings, model of the fascist pattern, which said

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"Now, the Jews are our greatest menace at this time and they should and will be driven out of our political and economic life, otherwise we are doomed." (*Hearings*, Vol. 3, p. 2881, November 21, 1938)

On October 6, 1938, Arnold Gingrich, then editor of the magazine *Ken*, presented the Dies Committee with a letter written by Smythe to Nazi agent Ernst Goerner of Milwaukee, in which Smythe proclaimed

"I don't associate with Jews whether those Jews be Christianized, modernized, or just plain international revolutionary Jews, whether they have changed their names and religions (*sic*) that means nothing to me . . . I look upon a Jew as the born enemy of the Christian race, a parasite of the human family." (*Hearings*, Vol. 2, p. 1234f; italics in printed record)

Almost a year later, on August 29, 1939, Smythe was called to testify before the Dies Committee. Although a subpoena had been issued for him, he did not appear. But no action was taken against him.

Dies suppressed Smythe's correspondence and files which had been subpoenaed from the office of Donald Shea, head of the National Gentile League, after a colloquy with the Committee counsel.

In that discussion Dies showed a spirit of kindness toward the persons incriminated by the files, which he reserves for those of Axis leanings. He said

"There are a great many letters here, including letters from prominent people. We ought to determine which ones we shall make public . . . there have been so many people who have been duped in this country by the Nazi and Fascist organizations that if we should mention them all it would make a tremendous record, . . . We can make this correspondence public at a latter date." (*Hearings*, Vol. 6, p. 4274, August 29, 1939)

The correspondence has never been published.

The Strange Case of Gerald B. Winrod

The name of Gerald B. Winrod appears in volume after volume of the Dies Committee hearings. He is mentioned as a correspondent of Edward J. Smythe. He has become notorious as the publisher of anti-Semitic literature. He is reliably reported to have visited Germany in the summer of 1934 and to have returned with large sums of money. He has repeatedly praised Hitler and the German Government, but Gerald B. Winrod has never been investigated by the Dies Committee,

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and his strange case is one of many which reveal Dies' susceptibility to pressure and his reluctance to investigate or expose pro-Axis forces in the United States.

On November 19, 1938, Dies Committee Investigator John Metcalfe presented some material dealing with Winrod to a committee hearing. The Chairman, Dies, then stated that he had

"received a letter from Dr. Winrod in which he denied that he had preached any anti-Semitism and denied that he is sympathetic with fascism. He says he is absolutely opposed to fascism and nazism and is opposed to racial and religious hatred and denies that he has disseminated any literature preaching racial or religious hatred." (*Hearings*, Vol. 3, p. 2373, November 21, 1938)

Investigator Metcalfe:

"You will notice that he is also recommended by the swastika-bearing publications."

Chairman Dies:

"But you cannot always go by that." (*ibid*)

Recurring to the case of Winrod, Dies later said

"I want to get some definite statement of Gerald B. Winrod in view of the fact that he has issued denials and protested vigorously. . . . We do not want to do any injustice." (*ibid*, p. 2375)

Dies has not always been so considerate of people accused before the Committee without evidence, but in this case there was evidence aplenty to substantiate Mr. Metcalfe's charges.

World Service, Erfurt, Germany, is the guiding center of Nazi propaganda in foreign countries. On May 25, 1939, a letter from the American Section, in answer to a request for information, advised the inquirer to "try to get some enlightening American news and papers, such as *Social Justice* by Father Coughlin, *Defender* by Rev. Winrod, Kansas," and others. This was an apparently surprising tribute, but the facts reveal that Winrod played an important part in the Nazi propaganda machine.

A poor "minister" before he visited Germany in 1934, he returned in 1935 to establish himself as editor of *The Renewer*. In the issue of February 15, 1935, Winrod described his trip to Germany saying that "Jewish influence in high circles of certain governments is making it impossible for Germany to carry on normal trade and financial relations with other countries." (Quoted in John L. Spivak's *Secret Armies*, p. 104)

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Observers in the Capitol Said Today—

This familiar phrase might well be used to introduce the comments of Capitol reporters, who in their own way have evaluated the work of the Dies Committee.

Leon Pearson, newspaperman and radio commentator, speaking over radio station WOL in Washington, D. C., on July 1, 1941, described Dies' many wild charges saying

"and when he (J. Edgar Hoover) hears Dies making random charges of sabotage . . . he looks to Dies for the specific facts, and action to support the charges, but he looks in vain." (*Washington Times-Herald*, July 2, 1941)

The *Washington Post*, noting that in his open letter to the President attacking OPACS and Leon Henderson, Dies had also attacked United States cooperation with Russia, commented tersely

"If Mr. Dies intends to smear every public official who has cooperated with Communists for any purpose, he ought to start with President Roosevelt and his Cabinet, who are aiding the Moscow dictatorship in its struggle to resist German aggression." (*Washington Post*, September 9, 1941)

The *New York Post's* succinct description of the Henderson hounding carried on by Dies—"no documents, no letter, no testimony—just the plain, unvarnished smear"—is equally applicable to almost all of the activity of the Dies Committee.

The question of Dies' undependability, of his support of un-American elements, was important in time of peace—but in time of war it is critical. Recognizing that the work of the Committee threatens American unity behind the war, the *New York newspaper PM* opposes the resolution for extension of the Committee's life, saying

"Remembering that Dies has on previous occasions promised to investigate Fascist organizations but has then devoted most of his time and energy to leftist groups and liberals, some of his colleagues are determined to find out this time just what his Committee will do if it is permitted to continue. They are not favorably impressed by his recent campaign against Price Administrator Henderson. Dies' denunciation of Henderson as a member of leftist organizations was widely quoted in short wave broadcasts from Germany."

"They point out that while Dies and his associates have been harassing Henderson and other Administration employees, such publications as *Social Justice*, the mouthpiece of Father Coughlin,

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have been permitted to continue their anti-Semitic, anti-democratic campaigns unmolested." (Emphasis added) (*PM*, January 27, 1942)

"I Told You So," Says Dies—But the Facts Are Different

Martin Dies has attempted, for several years, to capitalize on the hatred of the American people for fascism, foreign and domestic, in all of its manifestations. He has attempted to exploit the democratic sentiments of the American people and of the Members of Congress for the purpose of extending the life of the Dies Committee. And when he has been successful, the record discloses that the Committee to investigate un-American activities has, through its Chairman, neither investigated nor exposed them.

On January 23, 1942, Dies charged, before the House of Representatives, that

"A fear of displeasing foreign powers and a maudlin attitude toward fifth columnists was largely responsible for the unparalleled tragedy at Pearl Harbor." (*Congressional Record*, January 23, 1942, p. 828)

In his speech, Dies sought to give the impression that his Committee had been vigilant against the fascist fifth column, and that he himself had supported measures which would have strengthened the position of the United States prior to December 7.

The reverse is true.

Look at the record of the Dies Committee in relation to the German-American Bund, and its cooperating organizations.

Fritz Kuhn, then fuhrer of the Bund, told the Dies Committee in August, 1938, that the Bund cooperated with Coughlin's *Social Justice*, the Christian Front, the Christian Mobilizers, the Christian Crusaders and other groups. He defined what he meant—

"By cooperating I mean that we go to their meetings and they come to our meetings." (*Harings*, Vol. 6, p. 3766, August 16, 1939)

The Dies Committee has meticulously avoided investigating these organizations—and Dies himself has appeared on platforms with their spokesmen.

Yet in his report to the House of Representatives, on January 3, 1941, Dies triumphantly wrote

"When we began our work, the Bund and a score of Nazi-minded groups were laying plans for an impressive united front federation—a federation which would be able to launch a first-

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rate Nazi movement in the United States. *By our exposure of these plans we smashed that Nazi movement before it was able to get under way.*" (*Report No. 1, 77 Cong., 1 sess., Jan. 3, 1941*)

Dies did not smash the Bund nor did he investigate many of its activities. The Bund paper *The Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* continued publication until after the United States entered the war. Dozens of Bund leaders were arrested by the FBI following December 7, 1941. And in 1941 many bundists found shelter under the broad wings of the America First Committee, an organization totally disregarded by Mr. Dies until a few days before the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Dies did not investigate Axis activities in America First, but the American Legion of California did. In a carefully documented "White Paper," the 17th Department of the Legion, in Southern California, declared in 1941

"In identifying subversive channels in California—channels which later will be shown to flow directly into the America First Committee—consideration must be given to the fact that pro-Nazi individuals and groups no longer openly show their sympathies and their connections.

"The American Legion Committee finds that in meetings of America First, processes are at work whereby a person attending merely to seek information, may unwittingly be transformed into a Nazi sympathizer, and even into a potential traitor to his country." (*Subversive Activities in America First Committee in California*, published by Americanism Committee, 17th District, The American Legion, Department of California, October, 1941, pp. 5 and 19)

Eritz Kuhn told the Dies Committee that he cooperated with Coughlinite organizations—but none of them have been challenged by Representative Dies.

Coughlin's weekly, *Social Justice*, stated on April 3, 1939

"It should never be forgotten that the Rome-Berlin axis is the great political rampart against the spread of Communism. As such, the Rome-Berlin axis is serving Christendom in a peculiarly important matter." (*Social Justice*, April 3, 1939)

On July 7, 1941, Coughlin praised Hitler's attack on our present ally, Russia, saying

"Hitler has been opposed to the international goddess Jew from the beginning. And from the beginning of this conflict, the international goddess Jew dominated Soviet Russia, Britain and the United States. . . . It is true that Hitler has persecuted Jews

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and Christians. Yet he has killed none; he has not banned religion. . . . Aside from the military aspects involved in the Russo-German war, Hitler has won a great victory in the minds of Christians throughout the world." (*Social Justice*, July 7, 1941)

And still later in the year he added, "We loathe the fact that our government and our people are compelled to fight side by side with so-called 'Russia' against Nazi Germany." But even this bluntly treasonous statement was insufficient to suggest to Representative Dies the necessity of investigating the un-American activities of Coughlin.

Coughlin, like Dies, has received only praise at the hands of the Axis. Just as the Berlin radio praised Dies in 1941, so the press of Berlin was full of praise for Coughlin in 1938. The Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times* wrote

"The German hero in America . . . is the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin." (Otto D. Tolischus dispatch from Berlin, *New York Times*, November 27, 1938)

And the German press in America repeated this praise:

"Earsplitting applause greeted every mention of Father Coughlin's name" at a Madison Square Garden meeting, according to the February 23, 1939, issue of the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* and *The Free American*, described on its face as the official organ of the German-American Bund and the German-American Business League, Inc.

Coughlin's private paper, *Social Justice*, has devoted column after column to praise of American fascists. He publicly welcomed the support of Edward James Smythe on February 20, 1939, and repeatedly thereafter. He used the columns of *Social Justice* (April 10, 1939) to urge support for H. D. Kissenger's *National American*, a newspaper which formerly bore the swastika on its masthead, and has been consistently anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic. Kissenger, its editor, has distributed Nazi propaganda in the Middle West and has written for the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*.

Perhaps Coughlin, Smythe, Kissenger and the other anti-democratic fanatics who cluster around Coughlin are not un-American in the eyes of Congressman Dies.

Perhaps the Christian Front, the Christian Mobilizers, and the many similar organizations preaching race hatred, spreading intolerance, and supporting the doctrines of Hitler, seem thoroughly "patriotic" to Representative Dies, but in the eyes of millions of Americans they represent the essence of un-Americanism. And the failure of the Dies Committee to investigate and expose them is construed, with cause, as evidence of Dies' belief in and support of their tactics and ideas.

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On January 26, 1942, three days after he had asked that the life of his committee be extended to January, 1943, Representative Dies announced that he would shortly expose the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. The amazing resurgence of the Klan in 1940 and 1941 had alarmed outstanding citizens and newspapers in many sections of the country, and Dies in his annual attempt to gain time by jumping on the bandwagon, was eager to capitalize on that alarm. The press reported

"Mr. Colecott, the chairman (Rep. Dies) explained, was not subpoenaed, but volunteered to come before the committee." (*Washington Star*, January 26, 1942)

The question is obvious. Why did the Dies Committee fail to subpoena Imperial Wizard Colecott in 1938, in 1939, in 1940, in 1941? Why did it wait for him to "volunteer" to testify in 1942? Why has Dies continually shielded the Ku Klux Klan?

In the year 1941 the Klan reprinted thousands of copies of anti-Semitic literature, and carried on a treacherous program aimed at disrupting the production of armaments and defense goods in some of the major industrial areas of the United States.

But Martin Dies, the man who on November 21, 1938, disclaimed the necessity of going into the Klan because it "has been gone into in days gone by" (*Hearings*, Vol. 3, p. 237f), refused to concede that the Klan should be investigated.

Did the praise that Dies received from the Klansmen of Oklahoma City in 1940 have anything to do with his reluctance to investigate this powerful secret organization? Will the true story of the Klan ever be told? The past record of the Dies Committee makes it clear that the committee will continue to suppress information concerning organizations of a truly subversive nature like the Klan.

The Dies Committee Must Be Discontinued To Protect America At War

It is true that the Dies Committee has made a record, as the Chairman points out on every possible occasion. But it is not a record of which the United States can be proud.

The Dies Committee, as this record proves, has exploited the prestige of the United States Congress by offering "aid and comfort" to the American agents of fascist powers.

The Dies Committee has become a convenient vehicle for the widespread publicizing of anti-American organizations.

The Dies Committee has given only lipservice to the cause for which it was created—the investigation of forces undermining the American

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Constitution and the basic constitutional rights of freedom of speech, religion, press and assembly.

Its record, its actions, besmirch the dignity of the Congress of the United States. The Dies Committee has fostered hatred, it has created disunity among the American people, and it has, by its activities, severely threatened the constitutional rights it was sworn to protect.

On January 6, 1941, Franklin Delano Roosevelt told the Congress of the United States that "we look forward to a world founded upon the four essential freedoms"—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

On December 11, 1941, with America already at war with Japan, the President requested Congress to recognize a state of war between the United States and Germany and Italy. In his message he said

"The long known and the long expected has taken place. The forces endeavoring to enslave the entire world now are moving toward this hemisphere.

"Never before has there been a greater challenge to life, liberty and civilization.

"Delay invites greater danger. Rapid and united effort by all of the peoples of the world who are determined to remain free will ensure a world victory of the forces of justice and righteousness over the forces of savagery and of barbarism."

On December 15, 1941, the President stated

"We will not, under any threat, or in the face of any danger, surrender the guarantees of liberty our forefathers framed for us in the Bill of Rights.

"We covenant with each other before all the world, that having taken up arms in the defense of liberty, we will not lay them down before liberty is once again secure in the world we live in. For that security we pray; for that security we act—now and forevermore."

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties applauds the statements of the President of the United States and views with pride the inspiring unity of the American people in this war for freedom and liberty.

In a statement on "Civil Liberties and the Anti-Axis War," the NFCL said

"Because we in America are free, we can wage this war with the vigor and will that belong to a people who know the value of freedom. So long as the war is a war of free men against tyranny, by its very nature it proclaims the fundamental rights of those who carry on the fight with guns or at the bench or behind the plow. These rights will be reaffirmed and strengthened by victory

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in the war being waged against tyrannical aggressors. They will be lost if the war is lost through failure to mobilize the American people in a drive which gets its force from a clear understanding of the why's and wherefores of fascism. To this truth the people of every fascist dominated country can bear tragic witness.

"Ours is now the job of turning the strength which comes with freedom, towards victory. Ours is now the job of fighting for civil liberties on a vaster scale than we ever conceived—for the preservation of our own liberties and their extension to all peoples now shackled by the brutalities of fascism."

The people of the United States are united.

They must remain united to defeat the Axis aggressors.

Because the Dies Committee threatens national unity and endangers the great struggle in which our country is now engaged, it should be discontinued.

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A note about the National Federation For Constitutional Liberties

"The best protection the defenders of civil rights can give the Bill of Rights is to help defeat the fascist Axis. Ours is now the job of fighting for the preservation of our own liberties and their extension to all peoples now shackled by the brutalities of fascism."

—Statement of NFCL, January, 1942
"Civil Liberties and the Anti-Axis War"

The NFCL fights for unity and victory through elimination of discrimination, abolition of the poll tax, defense of the rights of organized labor to full participation in the war program, and protection of the rights of minority political parties.

The NFCL calls for exposure of the fifth column, prosecution of all agents of the Axis, and elimination of the fascist press.

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