point of view in the case of more than a very small fraction of the people contained on these lists.

To attempt to indicate that everyone whose name was carried on the list of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the Washington Cooperative Bookshop, or the Washington Committee to Aid China, is thereby to be regarded as per se subversive is, in my opinion, as false an implication as it would be to attempt to say that every member of the America First Committee was sympathetic with fascism or the Nazi cause. The latter statement no thoughtful American would make, even though we know that attempts were made in certain sections of the country to use the America First Committee as a vehicle for pro-Axis propaganda and activities.

5. The section of the report on Japanese activities deals, of course, with one of the subjects which is of greatest importance at the present time. But when the committee states in conclusion of this section that the removal of the Japanese from west coast areas was "a direct result of the committee's report on Japanese subversive activities in this country," I believe it is making an extravagant claim. The committee report could accurately have been described as one among many factors which brought about Japanese relocation.

Japan is as relentless an enemy of America at the present time as our country has ever had. All reports from the fighting fronts bear this out, and America must be guided accordingly in her action and policy. I believe it no more than fair to point out that there are some citizens of Japanese descent—how many I do not know—who have resisted the tremendous pressure of the Japanese system and the Emperor-worship pattern of Japanese tradition, and have maintained a loyalty to the United States. The relocation program, however, was and is the only safe policy to be pursued from the standpoint of all concerned.

6. It is my view that there should have been appended to the section dealing with "Sabotage strikes of 1941" a statement pointing out the unquestioned loyalty and record of outstanding production of the great rank and file of American workers.

In concluding this statement, I wish to say that I do not subscribe to the attacks made on the Committee on Un-American Activities by those who have claimed that it never has investigated Nazi and Fascist groups in this country. The committee has made such investigation and in the case of certain of these groups has done a very good job. But this report fails to place its major emphasis on the primary importance at this time of exposing the propaganda and activities of Axis agents and those who wittingly or unwittingly serve that cause. I would no more include in this group people who at one time or another have attended meetings or even been members of organizations which later were discovered to be Axis Front organizations, than I would do in the case of persons over whom Communists have taken similar advantage. But I feel very profoundly that the main excuse for this committee's existence at the present time is that it may contribute to the maximum possible extent to stiffening of the resistance of the American people to open or covert pro-Axis propaganda and to the building of a vigorous and unified democratic sentiment in the United States. Its annual report offered an opportunity to strike a blow in that direction. That opportunity has been neglected.

JERRY VOORHIS.

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**Union Calendar No. 1002**

77TH CONGRESS, 2d Session } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT No. 2748

# SPECIAL REPORT ON SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AIMED AT DESTROYING OUR REPRESENTATIVE FORM OF GOVERNMENT

JANUARY 2, 1943.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. DIES, chairman, from the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, submitted the following

## REPORT

[Pursuant to H. Res. 420, 77th Cong.]

### SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AIMED AT DESTROYING OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT

### I

Since the last report of this committee to the House on January 5, 1941, our country has been plunged into a global war on whose outcome hangs no less an issue than that of our national survival.

Of our ultimate victory in this war, we can entertain no doubt. Nevertheless, we do not hold—and we caution our people not to hold—this faith in the eventual triumph of our arms lightly; for there may yet be exacted of us a price in life and treasure which we cannot, at this stage of the struggle, begin to comprehend. But, however great the sacrifice still required for victory, we must, as a people, grimly resolve that no part thereof shall be the loss of that human liberty which is the essence of Americanism. To this end, we must guard, as never before in any wars of the past, our internal safety against the machinations of fifth columns.

By common consent, we are engaged in a global war against the existence and spread of totalitarianism. A world which is half totalitarian will forever menace our liberties and challenge our way of life. This global war is unique not only in the use of new physical weapons but even more unique in the use by our totalitarian foes of saboteurs whose work is to spread both physical and spiritual destruction within our borders. The systematic sowing of rumors, the calculated whispers of defeatism, and the treacherous campaigns to create internal disunity by un-American hatreds may be as dangerous as the saboteur's bomb and flame.

This committee has defined its special function, in accordance with the terms of the mandate given by the House, as the discovery and exposure of those enemy groups which fight with nonphysical weapons as a fifth column on our home front.

Our committee decided many months ago, after the entrance of the United States into the war, to refrain from holding any public hearings which might involve the activities of Axis saboteurs, so as not to run any risk of premature disclosures which might embarrass those whose responsibility it is to prosecute those guilty of espionage and sabotage.

## ASSISTANCE FURNISHED GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

This committee came into existence at about the time Hitler and his Axis partners were sending their armies out for world conquest. When we began our investigation in 1938, our hearings and exposures were not received in certain official quarters with the attention that they deserved. Fortunately, however, the members of our committee and a great majority of the Members of the House and the American people saw and realized that this committee had put its finger on a dangerous condition existing in this country which threatened to become increasingly worse.

In 1938, the German-American Bund had many posts throughout the Nation and boasted 100,000 members. The Communist Party and its Popular Front, claiming the support of "millions," were approaching their highest peak. The Japanese "treaty merchants" were busy throughout our Nation gathering information for Hirohito. The Silver Shirt Legion of America, under Pelley, was flourishing and other native Fascists were operating unmolested.

The pattern was not entirely clear, but the members of this committee had heard and seen enough to convince them that it was time some agency of our Government should equip itself to deal with this approaching threat. It was for this reason that the committee, late in 1938, began to assemble and organize all available information on so-called subversive activities in America. The committee points out that at that time there was no agency of the Government engaged in checking on so-called subversive groups for the very simple reason that they had no authority to do so under the law; and the Communists, the Nazis, the Fascists, and all their stooges had long ago learned that it was easy enough to carry on much of their work within the law.

In 1938, only two file cabinets were required to hold the files of this committee, whereas today the committee's files and records on subversive activities fill 135 file cabinets. The index to these files contains over 1,000,000 cards, each containing information on individuals and organizations engaged in subversive activities. All of these cards are based upon documentary evidence in the possession of the committee and so filed that it is readily available to any Government agency desiring it.

This material has been obtained during the past 5 years in various ways but principally through the use of the congressional subpena, an authority which no other Government agency possesses. Therein lies the advantage and necessity of congressional investigating committees. Had it not been for this authority of subpena, our committee could never have built up these irreplaceable files on subversive



activities which have served as the chief source of information on un-American individuals, groups, and organizations for the many agencies of this Government.

From the time Hitler marched into the lowlands and the people and Government of this country were shocked into the realization that there *was* a fifth column in America, the files of this committee have served as a veritable fountainhead of information for the various agencies of the Government charged with the internal safety of the United States.

As evidence of this service to Government agencies, the committee reports to the House that during the past 14 months some 1,600 agents from the various Intelligence units of the Army, the Navy, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Secret Service, and others have called at the committee's office in Washington alone for information. Hundreds of agents from the same agencies have called at the committee's branch offices in New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Chicago for similar information.

In addition to the above, the following agencies have detailed liaison agents to work daily at the committee's offices checking and obtaining information from the committee's files: Civil Service, Intelligence Unit of the Treasury, Military Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, State Department, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Work Projects Administration, Secret Service, and Office for Emergency Management. The branch offices of the committee have been used in a similar manner.

Numerous requests for information which the committee has received from Government departments have involved the committee's turning over large files of documents. For example, the committee on February 3, 1942, supplied the Office of the Coordinator of Information with 210 documents on Nazi propaganda. Somewhat earlier, the committee turned over to the Department of Justice hundreds of original documents which provided the Department with the basis of its cases against Auhagen, Zapp, and Tonn.

On August 15, 1942, the committee forwarded to the President a list of approximately 17,000 individuals who had been identified or affiliated with the Nazi movements in this country and suggested at the time to the President that some form of surveillance should be kept over these people.

This committee has also assisted various State committees which have been investigating un-American activities, particularly in New York and California, and supplied the special committee of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, investigating subversive activities, headed by Sr. Damonte Taborda, with considerable information and furnished them at their request with a memo on how to proceed in making such an investigation. Early this year when Senor Taborda was in the United States he examined the files of the committee and was very complimentary of the committee's set-up and surprised at the amount of information contained in its files.

The committee has taken 11,725 printed pages of testimony and has issued reports comprising 3,000 printed pages, and the information contained in these hearings and reports has been of immeasurable value not only to the Government agencies but has served to enlighten the people of this country and the Americas of the workings of the Communists, the Nazis, the Japanese, and their sympathizers and agents.

As a factual illustration of the assistance this committee has furnished the Government agencies, we present on the following page a chart indicating the extent to which the committee has assisted the various Government departments and agencies from its Washington, Chicago, and New York offices. This chart does not include the assistance furnished by the committee's offices in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Cleveland.

*Tabulation of requests for information on individual cases made by various Government agencies at the committee's offices in Washington, New York, and Chicago*

| Department or agency making request | Number of requests received at committee's Washington office | Number of requests received at committee's New York office | Number of requests received at committee's Chicago office | Total number of requests received at committee's 3 offices |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Treasury Department (Internal Revenue, Secret Service, etc.) | 26,203 | 237 | 160 | 26,600 |
| State Department | 2,352 | 9 | | 2,361 |
| War Department (G-2, Provost Marshal, etc.) | 797 | 890 | 7,710 | 9,397 |
| Navy Department (Intelligence, Coast Guard, etc.) | 7,495 | 5,946 | 7,958 | 21,399 |
| Justice Department (Federal Bureau of Investigation, Immigration and Naturalization, etc.) | 10,800 | 42 | 1,052 | 11,894 |
| Commerce Department | 28 | | | 28 |
| Agriculture Department | 28 | | | 28 |
| Post Office Department | | 15 | 47 | 62 |
| Civil Service Commission | 50,559 | 226 | 58 | 50,843 |
| Office for Emergency Management | 9,232 | 37 | | 9,269 |
| General Accounting Office | 17 | | | 17 |
| Farm Security Administration | 2 | | | 2 |
| Federal Reserve Board | | 5 | | 5 |
| Work Projects Administration (Federal Works Agency) | 4,819 | 9 | | 4,823 |
| State agencies | | 24 | 84 | 108 |
| Police (local) | 152 | 148 | 1,663 | 1,963 |
| British Intelligence | | 3 | | 3 |
| Total | | | | 138,837 |

## II

### COMMUNISTS IN THE GOVERNMENT

The committee would like to state at the outset that it has never investigated the personnel of the Federal Government to determine how many of its employees were Communists or so-called fellow travelers. However, since the committee's creation in 1938, there has come to its attention from time to time the presence in the Federal Government of high-salaried employees who were prominently and definitely identified with communism and its front organizations. Many of these cases were promptly called to the attention of the President, the Congress, and the departmental head concerned by either the committee or its members. At this point, the committee would like to cite a number of examples where this procedure has been followed.

On October 25, 1939, the committee made public the names, positions, and salaries of some 563 Government employees located in Washington, D. C., who were members of the American League for Peace and Democracy. In three reports which this committee has made to the House, it has found the American League for Peace and Democracy to be a Communist front organization. It will be recalled that Earl Browder was vice president of the organization.



Furthermore, the Attorney General, Mr. Francis Biddle, has branded the American League a subversive organization, in language as strong as any used by this committee in its characterizations. In making public this list, the committee issued an accompanying statement which made clear that it did not consider all of the people on that list or any one of them in particular to be Communists, but in view of the fact that these Government employees were members of a Communist front organization and continued their membership long after the organization was exposed as being communistic, the committee felt that the Congress and the people were entitled to know who they were. This was an authentic membership list obtained from the headquarters of the American League for Peace and Democracy by due process of subpena which was served upon the secretary of the organization.

On September 6, 1941, the chairman of this committee wrote the President a letter, accompanied by 43 exhibits, detailing the Communist affiliation and background of the following officials of the Office of Price Administration and suggested that they be dismissed from their positions:

Robert A. Brady, head consultant of Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, salary, $7,500.

Tom Tippett, Assistant Chief of Rent Section of Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, salary, $5,600.

Mildred Edie Brady, principal specialist in consumer education, Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, salary, $5,600.

Dewey H. Palmer, consultant of Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, salary, $20 a day.

At the time, Mr. Leon Henderson, head of the Office of Price Administration, issued a public statement in which he said that he would refer the cases to the Civil Service Commission and abide by their decision. Subsequently, the chairman was advised by the President that the matter had been referred to the Civil Service Commission. After several months of investigation, the Civil Service Commission recommended to Mr. Henderson the dismissal of his chief consultant, Robert A. Brady, and his wife, Mildred Edie Brady. Mildred Edie Brady resigned. In the case of Robert A. Brady, Mr. Henderson refused to abide by the decision of the Civil Service Commission even though he had previously stated he would do so. Mr. Brady is still employed in the Office of Price Administration. The Commission's recommendation was issued over a year ago.

On November 18, 1941, the chairman of the committee wrote a letter to James Lawrence Fly, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, calling his attention to the fact that the committee had a considerable file revealing the Communist affiliations of one Goodwin Watson who had just been appointed Chief Broadcast Analyst of the Federal Communications Commission. Chairman Fly, without availing himself of the evidence, replied that he had personally investigated Mr. Watson's case and found the committee's charges to be baseless. In the meantime the agency of the Government charged with investigating employees of the Federal Communications Commission had called at the committee's offices and requested all information in its files on Goodwin Watson. The committee furnished the information, which consisted of over 100 exhibits. The Federal

Communications Commission was also furnished a copy of this material. No action was taken. However, when the appropriation bill for the Federal Communications Commission was before the House for consideration, an amendment was adopted which prohibited Goodwin Watson from receiving any of the funds appropriated. This amendment was subsequently eliminated when the bill was sent to conference, and Goodwin Watson is still on the Federal pay roll of the Federal Communications Commission.

On January 15, 1942, the chairman of the committee, in a speech on the floor of the House, called attention to the presence in the Office of Facts and Figures of one Malcolm Cowley, chief information analyst, at a salary of $8,000 per annum. The chairman inserted in his speech the record of Malcolm Cowley, which showed 72 affiliations with the Communist Party and its front organizations. Several weeks later Mr. Cowley resigned his position with the Federal Government.

On November 28, 1941, in a speech on the floor of the House, the chairman called the attention of the members to the case of Gardner Jackson, principal economist in the Department of Agriculture at a salary of $5,600 a year, and included in his speech the Communist record of Gardner Jackson. Jackson will be remembered as the same individual who in 1939 paid $110 for fraudulent letters which sought to discredit the chairman of this committee. Mr. Jackson is still in the Department of Agriculture.

On March 28, 1942, the chairman wrote a letter to the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, Chairman of the Board of Economic Warfare, and called his attention to the Communist affiliations of eight of its employees and made particular reference to one Maurice Parmelee, principal economist at a salary of $5,600 a year, who had written several books advocating the practice of nudism in America. He also called attention to the presence of C. Hartley Grattan, economic analyst of the Bureau of Economic Warfare, at a salary of $5,600 a year, who had written a foreword to the notorious German White Paper which was circulated by the Nazi Government, and which sought to place the blame of the war on the United States. The following week, Mr. Parmelee was dismissed from the Board of Economic Warfare, and Mr. Grattan resigned.

In the act, making appropriations for the Department of Justice for the fiscal year 1941 (Public Law No. 135 of the 77th Cong., 1st sess., approved June 28, 1941), there was contained a provision which specified that of the amount appropriated for the use of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—

> at least $100,000 shall be available exclusively to investigate the employees of every department, agency, and independent establishment of the Federal Government who are members of subversive organizations or advocate the overthrow of the Federal Government and report its findings to Congress.

The Department of Justice sought to have this amendment stricken from the appropriation bill when it was before the Senate Finance Committee but failed. On October 17, 1941, Attorney General Biddle wrote the chairman of our committee a letter, in which he stated—

> I should be pleased to receive from you any information in the possession of your committee or its investigators which bears upon the membership of any employee of the Federal Government in subversive organizations, or such employee's advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States.



Pursuant to this request, the committee, on October 17, sent to the Attorney General the names of 1,124 Federal Government employees who were members of organizations which this committee had found to be subversive. These membership lists had been obtained largely by subpena and had been identified and authenticated by the officials of the organization involved. All of the committee's files were immediately made available to the Attorney General and his investigators who were charged with carrying out the mandate of Congress as contained in this act.

On September 2, 1942, Attorney General Biddle laid before the Speaker of the House his report on the investigation called for in Public Law No. 135 of the Seventy-seventh Congress. The following day the chairman of our committee wrote a letter to the Speaker of the House in which he said—

> I am compelled to charge that the Attorney General has utterly failed to carry out the mandate of the Congress as expressed in Public Law No. 135 of the Seventy-seventh Congress. Instead of fulfilling the mandate of Congress, the Attorney General has issued a meaningless conglomeration of statistics set in a framework of general conclusions which are either totally irrelevant to the issues involved or dangerous to the internal safety of this country as applied to employment in the Federal Government.

According to the Attorney General's report, the first procedure adopted by his office in making this investigation was to forward all complaints involving the subversive affiliations of a Federal employee to the departmental head concerned. If he requested an investigation, the Federal Bureau of Investigation was then authorized to make such an investigation and file its report with the departmental head for whatever action he deemed necessary. The Attorney General, in his report to Congress, however, explained that this procedure proved most ineffective in that out of 1,597 complaints received and forwarded to the departmental heads only 193 requests for investigation were returned. It was then that the Attorney General reported he had adopted the procedure of having the Federal Bureau of Investigation investigate all complaints received. After investigation, the Federal Bureau of Investigation report was forwarded without conclusions or recommendation to the departmental head for whatever action he might wish to take. The Attorney General also brought out in his report that, in order to follow this procedure, it was necessary to determine which organizations were subversive. To determine this he caused to be set up an interdepartmental committee to review the evidence against all organizations concerned and then to submit a memorandum and finding to the Attorney General who in turn was to transmit it to the departmental heads to serve as a guide for them in considering the cases which would come before them.

This committee's report is primarily concerned with the manner in which the Attorney General dealt with, or rather failed to deal with, the 1,124 cases which were submitted to him by the committee at his request. Of the 1,124 names submitted, according to the Attorney General's report, the Federal Bureau of Investigation actually investigated only 601 cases. Of these 601, the Attorney General stated that he had received replies from departmental heads on only 501 out of the 601, and that action had been taken in only 3 cases—2 dismissals and 1 disciplinary action. The Attorney General did not enlighten the Congress as to how many of the Federal employees included in

the original list of 1,124 had resigned, or what disposition had been made of the 100 cases which had not been heard from. On September 24, 1942, the chairman of this committee addressed the House for 2 hours at which time he covered every phase of the Attorney General's report and established the fact that hundreds of Federal employees who were on the committee's list are still in the Government service even though they belong to organizations which the Attorney General himself has held to be subversive. In a number of cases these Government employees belong to 3 or more such organizations. In the opinion of this comimttee, the Attorney General did not carry out the mandate of Congress, which was simply that an investigation be made and a report to Congress be filed, that would show how many Federal Government employees belonged to subversive organizations, knowingly or unknowingly, in order that the Congress might determine for itself the extent of the inroads being made by subversive groups into the Federal service. This the Attorney General did not do.

In the Chairman's speech of September 24 he also presented to the House the names of 19 officials of the Government, together with their connections with organizations which the Attorney General himself, according to his own memorandum, had found to be subversive. Yet, to the committee's knowledge, no action has been taken in the cases of the 19 officials.

## III

Since the committee's last report to the House on January 5, 1941, seven major subjects have been covered in our investigations, hearings, and special reports. These investigations, hearings, and special reports have dealt more or less exhaustively with the following: (1) The American Peace Mobilization; (2) sabotage strikes in our defense industries; (3) Japanese activities in the United States; (4) anti-Semitic propaganda; (5) the Union for Democratic Action; (6) the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and (7) the Axis Front movement in the United States.

### (1) THE AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION

The committee employed two investigators whose full time was devoted to an exhaustive inquiry into the nature, aims, and activities of the American Peace Mobilization.

On May 21, 1941, a subcommittee of the committee under the chairmanship of the Honorable Joe Starnes began public hearings on the American Peace Mobilization. In our investigations and hearings on this organization, the following facts were established:

(*a*) The American Peace Mobilization was the direct successor of the American League for Peace and Democracy and was, like the latter organization, completely under the control of the Communist Party.

(*b*) The American Peace Mobilization picketed the White House for many weeks prior to Hitler's invasion of Russia, and, in fact, maintained that picket line right down to the very day of Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union.

(*c*) The avowed objects of the American Peace Mobilization's White House picket line were vicious by every test of American patriotism.



(*d*) The American Peace Mobilization attempted to penetrate an influence the armed forces of the United States for clearly treasonabl purposes.

(*e*) The American Peace Mobilization openly aided and abette widespread sabotage strikes in the most important American defens industries, thereby seriously hampering our Nation's preparedness t meet just such military crises as that of Pearl Harbor.

(*f*) The American Peace Mobilization denounced the President a a warmongering tool of Wall Street bankers and the whole America defense program as a Wall Street plot to aid British imperialism.

(*g*) The American Peace Mobilization echoed the Communis Party's line that Great Britain was engaged in an imperialistic wa for her own imperialistic ends.

(*h*) The American Peace Mobilization did all within its power t oppose our lend-lease aid to the nations which were embattled agains the Axis Powers.

(*i*) The American Peace Mobilization denounced the conscriptio of American manpower as an invasion of civil liberties.

(*j*) The published propaganda of the American Peace Mobilizatio was replete with statements which were deliberately calculated t sabotage the American defense program, the following being a typica example of statements issued over the names of the organization' leaders:

> But even if we don't approve of England's war, isn't her side still preferabl to Hitler's; and isn't it better to fight and beat Hitler with England than withou her? No. An English victory will result in the same sort of imperialist, ant democratic peace as will a Nazi victory.

(*k*) Immediately after Hitler's invasion of Russia, the Americai Peace Mobilization changed its name to the American People' Mobilization, and reversed all of its former positions in exact accord ance with the changes which Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Unio occasioned in the line of the Communist Party.

### (2) SABOTAGE STRIKES IN OUR DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

In the early part of 1941, a wave of sabotage strikes in Americai defense industries reached its highest point. From the very begin ning of these strikes, this committee pointed out that these menacin work-stoppages were led by known Communists and that the Com munist Party's program called for just such treasonable interferenc with this country's military and industrial preparedness. The damag done by these strikes was incalculable. In every instance, the unio involved in these interruptions of production was affiliated with th Congress of Industrial Organizations. A brief summary of the mor serious situations which the committee investigated is as follows:

(*a*) *Allis-Chalmers.*—One of the most damaging of the sabotag strikes was that at the Allis-Chalmers plant in Milwaukee whic lasted for many weeks. The strike was conducted by the Unitec Automobile Workers of America, whose leader at the plant was Harol Christoffel. The committee's investigation left no doubt abou Christoffel's Communist affiliations. Among other Communist con nections, he was one of the leaders of the American Peace Mobiliza tion and of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

(*b*) *Harvill.*—The committee made a thorough investigation of the strike leadership at the Harvill plant in Los Angeles, Calif. There the striking union was the National Association of Die Casters, and the leader of the strike was Kenneth Eggert. Although Eggert slipped into California under an alias for the purpose of tying up the Harvill plant, the committee promptly identified him and exposed him as Kenneth Eggert, former Communist Party secretary in Toledo, Ohio.

(*c*) *Vultee.*—The committee exposed the Communist leadership of the disastrous work stoppage at the Vultee aircraft plant in Los Angeles, Calif. The union involved was the United Automobile Workers of America, and among the more important Communist leaders of the strike was Wyndham Mortimer.

(*d*) *International Harvester.*—For weeks, the International Harvester plant at Chicago was tied up by the Farm Equipment Organizing Committee under the leadership of Grant Oakes whose Communist record included prominent activity in the American Peace Mobilization.

(*e*) *Aluminum.*—In April 1941, the National Association of Die Casters tied up the plants of the Aluminum Co. of America in Cleveland, Ohio. The committee's investigations turned up the fact that Alex Balint, leader of the strike, was an alien, an ex-convict, and an old-time Communist Party member who had used the name "Al Barry."

(*f*) *North American.*—The strike at the North American Aviation in Inglewood, Calif., led to an order by the President for the United States Army to take over the plant. In this instance also, the committee established the fact that the strike leadership was Communist. The president of the local of the United Automobile Workers which conducted the strike was Elmer J. Freitag. Freitag vehemently denied all Communist connections until confronted with indisputable documentary evidence in the committee's possession.

(*g*) *New York Transport.*—In March 1941, the Transport Workers' Union called a strike which seriously interrupted the facilities of the transportation system in New York City. The committee published a special report, known as appendix V, which established the far-reaching Communist control of the Transport Workers' Union under the leadership of Michael J. Quill.

(*h*) *Lumber.*—The International Wood Workers of America called and continued a disastrous strike in the lumber industry in defiance of governmental agencies. The union's leader, O. M. Orton, was exposed by the committee as a Communist who occupied a place of foremost leadership in the American Peace Mobilization.

(*i*) *Trona.*—The Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union, headed by Reid Robinson, brought about a particularly serious work stoppage at Trona, Calif. The committee's investigation clearly established the fact of the Communist motives and leadership of the strike. Reid Robinson was vice president of the American Peace Mobilization.

### (3) JAPANESE ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

In February 1942, the committee published a special report, known as appendix part VI, which dealt comprehensively with the subversive activities of the Japanese in the United States. For more than a year



the committee had employed special investigators to make a thorough study and investigation of the Japanese who were living on our west coast.

Among the committee's findings, prior to Pearl Harbor, were the following:

(*a*) The Japanese had a map showing in great detail the fleet positions and battle formations of the United States Navy around Pearl Harbor. This map also included vital military information on the Panama Canal, Alaska, and the Philippine Islands.

(*b*) The Japanese were in possession of the most detailed information concerning all the naval craft of the United States.

(*c*) A former attaché of the Japanese consulate in Honolulu was prepared to testify that an elaborately organized fifth column of Japanese was being drilled for collaboration with the armed forces of Japan when the latter should attack Pearl Harbor.

(*d*) The Japanese Government was using front organizations in this country for the compiling of an elaborate census of Japanese who were residing in the United States.

(*e*) Japanese fishing vessels on our west coast, as well as in Hawaii and the Philippine Islands, were an important arm of espionage for the Japanese Navy.

(*f*) A police officer on Terminal Island in Los Angeles Harbor was prepared to testify that numerous conferences had been held between officers of the Imperial Japanese Navy and Japanese residents on the island.

(*g*) Japanese-language schools in California and in Hawaii were inculcating traitorous attitudes toward the United States in the minds of American-born Japanese.

(*h*) Japanese civic organizations in the United States, such as the Central Japanese Association, were loudly pretending their loyalty to the United States Government while surreptitiously serving the deified Emperor of Japan.

(*i*) Japanese civic organizations were collecting funds in this country which they were sending to Japan for the Empire's war chest to be used for purchasing bombers.

(*j*) In California, there were Japanese veterans' organizations composed of men with military training and experience who vowed allegiance only to the Japanese Emperor whether they were American- or Japanese-born.

(*k*) Japanese treaty merchants, abusing the hospitality of the United States and using their merchant status as a subterfuge, were engaged in espionage activities for the Japanese Government.

(*l*) Japanese in California were occupying large tracts of lands which were militarily but not agriculturally useful.

(*m*) Many Japanese had taken up residence adjacent to highly important defense plants.

(*n*) Having failed through diplomatic channels to obtain important information concerning the water-supply system and other public utility services of Los Angeles, Japanese had obtained employment in these places where they were in positions to do incalculable fifth-column damage.

(*o*) Japanese espionage agents had obtained detailed information on the location of California's airports and were in possession of aerial photographs of every important city on our west coast as well as of the vital Gatun locks in the Panama Canal.

A direct result of the committee's report on Japanese subversive activities in this country was the removal of the Japanese population from vital west-coast areas.

### (4) ANTI-SEMITIC PROPAGANDA

In January 1942, this committee brought a score of witnesses to Washington for a probe into their alleged anti-Semitic activities. All of these witnesses were heard by the committee in executive session. The character of the testimony given was, by and large, of such extreme and fanatical tenor that in the opinion of this committee no good purpose could have been served by taking it in public.

This committee has held from its very beginning that antiracial and antireligious propaganda is un-American per se. It has always been so, and it may be said to have a particularly vicious form of un-Americanism in this period when one of the chief characteristics of the Axis Powers has been the dissemination and practice of antiracial hatred.

The hearings in executive session last January were a continuation of the committee's investigations into antiracial hatreds, which from the very first day of the committee's life down to the present have been concentrated upon such un-American propagandists as William Dudley Pelley and his ilk.

### (5) UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

In June, 1942, this committee published a special report to the House on the Union for Democratic Action. The Union is one of a considerable number of agencies which form a widespread movement in this country looking toward the discrediting of the legislative branch of government.

The Union for Democratic Action, in conjunction with the New Republic, circulated something like a million copies of an elaborately prepared smear-Congress bulletin. It will probably be conceded in all quarters that this committee's exposure of the aims and activities of the Union for Democratic Action went far toward nullifying its effectiveness in the recent political campaign.

Since the publication of our report on the Union for Democratic Action last June, the committee has come into possession of a large amount of evidence which will—when and if published—constitute a final exposure of that organization as an un-American sham.

### (6) NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

During the past year, the committee made an extensive investigation into the nature and activities of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The committee found that to a very large extent the persons who were guilty of the treasonable conduct under the auspices of the American Peace Mobilization, which has been described in section (1) above, are today the very same persons who constitute the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. The committee found, for example, that 52 of the leading figures in the present National Federation for Constitutional Liberties were also among the outstanding leaders in the American Peace Mobilization.



On September 24, 1942, the chairman of this committee delivered a 2-hour address to the House in which he outlined in detail the nature, aims, and activities of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

### (7) THE AXIS FRONT MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

For several months, the committee has been preparing a comprehensive report on the Axis Front movement in this country.

This report covers the activities and propaganda of 298 organizations and several thousand individual leaders who were connected with these organizations. In the main, the committee found the following broad types of Axis agents and propagandists in this country (*a*) Organizations and individuals known to have been financed in whole or in part from Nazi Germany; (*b*) organizations owing complete allegiance to the Emperor of Japan; (*c*) organizations which have been carrying on Mussolini's Fascist propaganda among the Italians and Italian-Americans in this country; (*d*) organizations composed primarily of German nationals and Americans of German descent which were distinctly pro-Nazi in their activities and propaganda; and (*e*) native Fascist groups having both antiracial and pro-Nazi characteristics.

In May 1941, this committee published a special report, known as appendix part IV, on the German American Bund. This report consisted largely of original documents taken from the personal effects of G. Wilhelm Kunze, national fuehrer of the bund, which finally exposed the bund as a dangerous Nazi front organized along military lines. This report was used by the prosecution in the recent trial and conviction of Kunze and his bund associates.

It is unnecessary at this time to give a lengthy enumeration of all the cases where the Government has successfully prosecuted agents of the Axis Powers on the basis of clues and documentary evidence provided by this committee. A few examples, however, will indicate the importance of the investigations which the committee has made in this field and the manner in which the prosecuting authorities have been dependent upon the committee's work. Auhagen, Zapp and Tonn were convicted on the basis of documentary evidence turned over by this committee to the Department of Justice. Ralph Townsend, recently convicted as a Japanese agent, was first exposed as such by this committee in August, 1939. Several hundred cases of denaturalization of Germans have been brought before the courts as a result of the exposures made by this committee. Among these denaturalization cases are those of Hans Ackermann, his wife, and his wife's brother whose trials are scheduled for January in Austin, Tex., and all of whom were exposed as pro-Nazi propagandists by this committee in August, 1940.

MARTIN DIES, *Chairman.*
JOE STARNES.
J. PARNELL THOMAS.
NOAH M. MASON.

# MINORITY VIEWS

It is impossible for me to give unqualified approval to the Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the Year 1942. This is the first time I have taken such a position on an annual report since I have been a member of the committee, having heretofore signed each annual report. My reasons for dissenting from certain aspects of the majority report on this occasion are as follows:

1. There has been no opportunity for discussion or amendment of the report or for committee members to do any work upon it. No meeting has been held for its consideration. The report was presented to members on a "take it or leave it" basis. It is, in my judgment, wrong for such a document as an annual report of this committee to be treated in this manner, particularly at the present time.

2. Beyond this I have one major point and several of lesser importance which I am impelled to make. The major reason for my dissent is this. America is at war against Germany, Japan, and Italy. The very existence of freedom, democratic government, and all America has stood for hinges upon the outcome of that war. It is perfectly clear to me that under circumstances of this sort, the primary task of a committee on un-American activities, is the exposure of the activities and propaganda of forces friendly to enemy countries and of groups in this country who witting, or unwittingly promote their cause. In speaking in the House on March 11, 1942, in favor of continuance of the committee, I made the following statement:

> In my judgment the future of the committee should be devoted primarily and with every bit of major emphasis at its command to the doing of a job of exposing and combating the work of people who attempt to create confusion in our country and to build up sympathy with the Nazi philosophy of government. Thus they seek to weaken America's war effort. I believe the whole effort of the committee will stand or fall on the basis of how well it does that job.

That was my position then and it is my position now.

This annual report should, in my judgment, have consisted in large part at least of guidance to the American people as to how they might identify, avoid, and combat the propaganda and activities of agents and friends of enemy nations of the United States in the current war. For all will agree I am sure that it is the primary duty of any governmental group to contribute to the maximum possible extent to the winning of that war. I believe these things should have constituted, but unfortunately do not constitute, the major emphasis of this annual report.

It is true that within the past couple of months considerable work has been done, at the request of the chairman, by myself and members of the committee staff, on a report on organizations and individuals carrying on propaganda and other activities favorable to the Axis cause and the Axis philosophy of government. That report has not yet been approved by the committee and there appears to be some doubt even that it will be approved. In any case most of the material upon which it is based has been in the committee's possession for months and such a report should have been issued long ago. This reason (No. 2) is the weightiest reason by far for my dissent from the majority report.





There are, however, other considerations as well which hav prompted my action.

3. Much of the material contained in this report bearing upon th question of alleged "Communist affiliations" of certain individual deals not with matters upon which there was any committee actio whatsoever, but only individual action taken by the chairman. O at least two occasions, notably the one affecting employees of th Board of Economic Warfare, when I protested that the committe had given no consideration to the charges made, the point was mad in reply that this was the chairman's personal action and the com mittee was not involved. And yet such material appears here in a annual report of the committee as a whole. In my opinion it has n place there.

4. With the general position of the majority of this Committee tha Communists should not be employed by our Government, I am c course in full agreement. I no more believe a Communist should b so employed than I do that a sympathizer with the Axis cause shoul be so employed. I am also in agreement that where the head of a agency has requested a report from the Civil Service Commissio and where that report has recommended the dismissal of an employee the recommendation of the Commission should be followed.

The question is not, however, whether Communists or Fascist should be employed by the Government, but whether individuals i question really are "subversive" on the one hand or whether they ar simply people whose views don't agree with the majority on the othe hand. There is at present all too much tendency in America fo so-called "left-wingers" to shout "Fascist" at every conservative wh holds an important position in the War Production Board, for example and for "right-wingers" to shout "Communist" at liberals or pro gressives who hold positions in some department or agency. Thi sort of thing is doing America no good. In some respects it is posi tively dangerous. For it associates in the public mind the word "Fascist" and "Communist," not with those to whom they ca properly and accurately be applied but with persons whose patrioti devotion to America and her basic institutions cannot be questioned whatever the feeling of their political opponents toward their pa ticular views on particular subjects may be.

There is no doubt that Communists did use as "fronts" the fou organizations from which the committee compiled the list of 1,12 Federal employees concerning which so much has been made and t which this report again refers. But the annual report is inaccurat when it states that "these membership lists had been obtained largel by subpena and had been identified by the officials of the organization involved." For at least in the case of the Washington Committe for Democratic action my information is that the list was obtaine in toto by the committee from a non-Federal agency and that n identification or authentication was made. And I am certain in m own mind that it was nothing more nor less than a mailing list Therefore the fact that a person's name was carried on its list by on of these organizations seems to me to constitute no substantial evi dence of "subversive" activity, especially since in many instances th person's name was included without any action on his part or eve without his knowledge. For these reasons it is not surprising to m that investigation by the Department of Justice failed to disclos that there was any substantial evidence of "subversive" activity o