

# Dies Pledges Probe Of War on Congress

*Post 3-27-44*  
Warns on Broadcast of Movement  
To Establish a 'Central Executive'

Following is the text of Representative Martin Dies' broadcast last night in connection with his dispute with Walter Winchell.

My Fellow Americans: I asked for time on this program because of certain false statements made about me and the Committee on Un-American Activities of which I am chairman. I do not intend to exchange insults with Mr. Winchell. I do not question anyone's right to criticize Congress. While I am interested in replying to the false statements many times repeated on this program, I am more concerned to fix the attention of the American people on one of the most sinister forces this Nation has ever faced—a highly organized and well financed enterprise to destroy by vilification the character of any public man who gets in the way of the objectives of the groups who manage and finance this offensive.

It is difficult in a few minutes to describe the technique of these men. We are at war. Treason and sedition are ugly words. These specialists in vilification would not dare charge reputable men with sedition. But they have found a means by which, through innuendo and indirection, they can select a victim and smear him with the odium of treason while skirting the edge of libel laws. Let me illustrate this.

## "Guilt by Indirection"

First they find an offender who is really guilty of sedition. Then, without charging you with that offense, they merely mention your name repeatedly in connection with his. They identify you with his guilt by indirection. Recently the Government indicted 30 people for sedition. Using these persons as a base, Mr. Winchell tells you about them in such a way as to leave with you the impression that I and my committee are protecting them. He infers that the committee had information about them which it deliberately withheld. Another time he says in his column that I am planning to investigate him and will time the investigation to coincide with the date of their trial in order to distract public attention from their guilt and create a "reasonable doubt" in their favor. Then he tells you our committee has done nothing to expose Amer-

ican Fascist groups.

What he is saying in all this, by innuendo, is that I am shielding Nazis and plotting to divert attention from their trial after deserting my sworn duty to investigate them.

## Winchell Used Dies' Files

Actually the facts are precisely the reverse. Our committee began its work in August, 1938. Since then we have examined 178 witnesses whose testimony dealt wholly with Axis activities. That testimony fills over 4000 printed pages. We have seized their files. Our records are one of the most extensive in existence on the subject. We have issued seven reports on Nazi, Fascist and Japanese agents here. We have opened them to the press. Mr. Winchell himself has used them and when he did I thanked him as I did other reporters and commentators. In the last three years 5597 agents from the FBI, Naval and Military Intelligence and other Government agents have come to our Washington office for information. Our regional offices in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles have similarly aided thousands of Federal agents.

Now I want to say this. Mr. Winchell is not in himself important. For a number of years he has made a living peddling bedroom keyhole scandal to the American people. Now, of course, a man in that business can get an enormous audience on the radio. Mr. Winchell with his big audience also has a political value. He can be used as a transmission belt to deliver political propaganda, handing it on, sandwiched in between his collection of divorces, infidelities and other social derelictions. In this case Mr. Winchell is being used as a transmission belt to deliver into millions of ears damaging statements, half truths, cunningly slanted implications designed to impugn the loyalty and to destroy the characters of American public men who oppose the objectives of these groups and to break down confidence in the Congress of the United States.

## Foreign Agents Exposed

Mr. Winchell has talked a lot about the forthcoming trial of 30 persons indicted for sedition in Washington. He has said this com-

mittee did nothing to aid the Government. No man knowing the facts would make such a statement. Prior to the indictment, Mr. O. John Rogge, special assistant to the Attorney General, came to our offices with his agents and worked for several weeks, and our committee turned over to them over 900 documents to be used as evidence. These consist chiefly of the files of the indicted persons seized by our committee in 1938, '39 and '40. An official of the Department of Justice recently stated that 75 per cent of the evidence to be used in these trials was supplied by our committee. Our committee exposed bund leaders Kuhn and Kunze and they went to jail. We exposed a flock of German and Italian agencies whereupon the Government closed their consulates and sent their agents to jail or out of the country. Our committee exposed, long ago, William Dudley Pelley, George E. Deatherage, James True, Parker Sage, William R. Lyman, Garland Alderman and others now under indictment. Now, in the presence of these facts, why does Mr. Winchell say we are protecting these people?

Well, let me clear this up. These smearers are not interested in exposing Nazi agents here. That job has already been thoroughly done by the FBI, the naval and military intelligence units and our committee. They are interested in using the exposure of these Nazi agents to destroy their political opponents by linking through innuendo the names of reputable and loyal citizens to these Nazi agents to punish them because of their opposition to the objectives of this smear bund. My crime is not my failure to expose the Nazi and Fascist agencies because the public records show I have exposed them. My crime is my refusal to join in the conspiracy of character assassination by using the power of our committee to smear loyal citizens. It is my insistence on investigating as well Communist Party members and fellow travelers and those who echo their party line.

#### Told to Stay on Radio

I hope Mr. Winchell will not say that he is not being so used. Because he has freely, though perhaps unconsciously, admitted it. Only last Sunday he told us that someone had charged that he had been kicked out of the Navy. I do not know whether he was kicked out or not. I am not interested. But I am interested in his own account of his departure from the Navy. He said he had been removed from active to inactive duty "for reasons which cannot be told until after the war." Here are his own words: "When I demanded active duty for the fourth time I was instructed to

stay on the radio with the following words: 'Some men must go overseas to be shot and some must stay over here to be stabbed in the back.'" Now I ask, who told Walter Winchell that? He says he cannot tell until the war ends, but he admits he is under orders from some powerful persons from whom he is willing to take orders, to stay on the radio. For what purpose? To sell beauty preparations as a part of the war effort. Of course not. He was ordered to stay on the radio to do what he is doing—to carry on the work of the smear bund to intimidate its opponents and to discredit the Congress. But who is this smear bund? Who is this great personage with so much power that he can reach into the Navy to keep Mr. Winchell on the air and off the sea for propaganda purposes; and who is so exalted that his name cannot be breathed until the war ends? Who are these other groups leagued with him in this strange, un-American enterprise of smearing men into silence? What are their objectives?

#### Congress' Loyalty Impugned

The President appeals to the American people for unity. But at the same time this man is busy weekly on the air, daily in the papers, hurling insults which impugn the patriotism and loyalty of the Congress and the various leaders, and the people who elect them.

Typical of these insults which Mr. Winchell has broadcast in the past two years is the following: "The only trouble with the sedition indictments is that while the defendants are in court some of their supporters are still in Congress." Then again he said, "What the country needs are some more criminal trials or better still impeachments especially among the men who make and break their own laws." A new low was reached on September 7, 1942, when he stated,

## He Promises Investigation



MARTIN DIES

"Many of Hitler's American pals have been arrested but too many have been renominated." Also on the air he has used the phrase, "cheap and vulgar politicians in Congress" in referring to the members of that body. He has been equally vicious and untrue in statements appearing in his column where he has written: "Congress includes some of the sorriest stumblebums in the nation." And only a few weeks ago he referred to the House of Representatives as the house of reprehensibles. What, I ask in the name of fairness, is accomplished for unity by such attacks? Who is responsible for this? I think the people want to know. If Mr. Winchell is a tool, who is handling that tool? It must be obvious to every fair-minded and patriotic citizen that such false and malicious attacks tend to undermine the confidence of the people in the legislative branch of our government. What could be a greater disservice to this country in time of war?

#### Reminds Winchell of Tolerance

Mr. Winchell, you have had much to say about tolerance. What could be more intolerant than these un-American attacks? Such attacks are the chief characteristics of fascism and the very essence of intolerance. You, Mr. Winchell, seem to have forgotten that those who expect tolerance from others should practice tolerance themselves.

This would be serious if Mr. Winchell were the only Charlie

McCarthy of the smear band. He is, however, only one of many. Who are they? Who is behind them? The American people would like to know and I promise you that Congress will soon find out.

One word more. I have spoken of smearing men. That is the smallest part of this subversive offensive. Congress is the last bulwark of your freedom. Win the war for freedom and destroy the power of Congress and you will have lost your freedom. Now I warn you that there is in this country a carefully organized and integrated and dangerously intelligent and aggressive movement to undermine the authority and destroy the prestige of Congress in the interest of setting up an all-powerful central executive. This program of vilification is part of that. Our committee has already exposed many of the persons and organizations who form this movement. In a short time we will expose many others and before we get through we are going to tell you the full story. We are going to find out and tell you who is supplying the brains and who is paying the bills.

Fellow Americans, we are really fighting two wars. One is a war of men, guns, tanks, planes and ships. The other is a war of ideologies, rumors intolerance, character assassinations, subversive activities and propaganda that seek to destroy representative government. We must win both of these wars to preserve our freedom and guarantee that when my boy and your boy and our loved ones return from this awful conflict they will find the same stars and stripes waving triumphantly over the same institutions of freedom for which they fought and bled and for which their gallant comrades died.

teed his full day in court. The American courts are independent. They make no exception against, and they grant no privileges to either radio commentators or United States legislators.

As for myself, I will gladly appear before any open court or any constitutional authority, and I here and now freely waive all immunity. I demand only two rights, those guaranteed to every American citizen: (1) That I have the right of cross-examination; and (2) that the public be present.

#### **He Will Not Retract**

Far from retracting a single statement, I reiterate every one of them. Far from apologizing for any action, I reaffirm that my conduct has been the product of my deliberate intention.

In the meantime, if any Congressman or Senator has information or evidence that I am guilty of activities against the United States Government let him run—not walk—to the nearest Federal grand jury or United States attorney. If he fails to do so he is derelict in his duty as an officer of the United States. If such evidence ever existed it would have been offered against me long before this.

As an American, my right to criticize the Government of the United States and the official acts of any of its servants, does not depend upon my sponsor, the radio network, any publisher, any member of Congress, the President of the United States, or, for that matter, the United States Supreme Court. That right was given to me over 150 years ago, by the same men who gave them theirs.

#### **Needn't Live As a Coward**

And to the men of the American Revolution—and to the legions of Americans who fought to preserve it—I affirm my personal debt. Because they died as heroes, no American need ever live as a coward.

Tonight—in the American tradition—my sponsor has yielded to Congressman Martin Dies the full and unobstructed use of this forum for a presentation of his view. I therefore make no new charges against Mr. Dies or his committee at this time. Nor do I refresh his memory with the old unanswered ones.

But let there be no doubt about this—I reserve the right, and I will continue to exercise the right, to criticize any public official.

That is the credo without which a free press and a free radio cannot exist. That also is my credo for it I have fought, and for it I will continue to fight.