

INVESTIGATION OF NAZI AND OTHER PROPAGANDA

FEBRUARY 15, 1935.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. McCORMACK, from the committee appointed to investigate Nazi and other propaganda, submitted the following

REPORT

[Pursuant to House Resolution No. 198, 73d Congress]

The committee derives its authority from House Resolution 198, adopted by the House on March 20, 1934, text of which resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint a special committee to be composed of seven Members for the purpose of conducting an investigation of (1) the extent, character, and objects of Nazi propoganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive propoganda that is instigated from foreign countries 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 remedial legislation.

That said special committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States—whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned—to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, by subpoena or otherwise, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpena shall be issued under the signature of the chairman and shall be served by any person designated by him. The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statute of the United States.

Following the adoption of House Resolution No. 198, and in accordance therewith, Hon. Henry T. Rainey, Speaker of the House, appointed a special committee, consisting of Representatives McCormack of Massachusetts, chairman; Dickstein of New York, Weideman of Michigan, Kramer of California, Jenkins of Ohio, Taylor of Tennessee, and Guyer of Kansas.

The total amount allocated by the House of Representatives for this investigation was \$30,000.

This committee named Representative Samuel Dickstein as vice chairman of the committee and designated Hon. Thomas W. Hardwick of Georgia as committee counsel.

In undertaking to comply with this resolution and to make the investigation ordered by it, your committee has made every endeavor to act with extreme caution and prudence in obtaining pertinent

evidence, employing special investigators to make preliminary examinations into such matters, and conducting executive hearings prior to open and public hearings, with the twofold object of securing proper evidence to be developed in its public hearings, and of protecting the reputation and character of any person from unwarranted reflection in connection with such activities.

In connection with its investigations, the committee has conducted seven (7) public hearings and twenty-four (24) executive hearings, at the cities of Washington, D. C., New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Asheville, N. C., and Newark, N. J. It has taken 4,320 pages of testimony at these hearings, examining several hundred witnesses. The testimony taken at the public hearings has been reported and printed and is herewith submitted as a part of this report.

The broad preview of the work of the committee is perhaps best described in the statement made by the chairman of the committee at the beginning of the first public hearing conducted by the committee on June 5, 1934, in Washington, D. C., when Mr. McCormack said:

A period of profound and protracted depression has followed in the wake of the World War. It has been world-wide. More than 15 years have elapsed since the ending of that war, but its blighting effect upon the economic life and upon the morale of practically all the peoples of the world still exists. During such a period of unrest, discontent with the existing order, and a wide-spread agitation for changes in the form, character, and substance of governments has spread over the world, overturning established governments and resulting in many new and radical experiments in government.

In Europe, almost without exception, governmental systems that sought to guarantee the rights and liberties of the citizens were overthrown and either Communism or Fascism installed. In either instance, whether the movement was to the right or to the left, despotism supplanted freedom under parliamentary government and the rights and liberties of the people perished. Freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of assemblage were denied to the people under either system. In these circumstances, with so large a percentage of its population of foreign, usually European, origin, the House of Representatives has keenly sensed and fully realized the danger of vicious propaganda of foreign origin aimed at the subversion of those fundamental principles upon which our Constitution rests and seeks to investigate the extent and origin of such propaganda, with the ultimate object of protecting this country and its people from its dissemination.

Any organized propaganda that seeks to teach the American people that other systems of government that are either communistic or fascist in character are preferable to our own is dangerous to a degree.

Any organized effort to advocate or promote the establishment of a new system of government which shall deny to the people of this country those rights and liberties that were bought by the blood of their fathers and are guaranteed in our Constitution is disloyalty.

The attempt to substitute for our present Government any system of government that ignores the right of the citizen to free press, free speech, freedom of assemblage, or freedom of religion is hardly, if any, short of treason, and any effort to accomplish such a result ought to be exposed, forbidden, and prevented if necessary. Even if the propagandists of today are careful to avoid either the present employment or advocacy of force and violence to accomplish their objects, it must be remembered that the right of free speech of these propagandists ought not to stretch from liberty to license nor be permitted to occasion the ultimate destruction of free speech for all others except themselves.

The committee welcomes any information or evidence relative to this inquiry the committee is conducting, but will make its own independent investigation of evidence given it.

We are concerned with any efforts or movement to array Americans against Americans which is subversive to our fundamental principles. Any effort to

organize Americans into a group or bloc based on racial lines or as a result of intolerant views held toward other Americans strikes at the fundamentals of our Government.

Organized efforts to create and implant the seeds of distrust, suspicion, and hatred in the minds of some of our citizens and directed toward others should be exposed and the facts brought to light.

Experience teaches us that depressions of the past have been followed by intolerant movements which have been disturbing and harmful. The exposing of the early stages of such movements might prevent the harm that flows from the development of a well-organized movement based on emotionalism and prejudice.

There is no justification on the part of any of our citizens, or of any person, irrespective of the land of their birth or of their forebears, to feel that this inquiry is directed toward them. Any effort to create such an impression is unwarranted and simply an appeal to emotionalism.

Every person imbued with a love of our institutions should be interested in and concerned about the facts of any such movement or efforts being ascertained and brought to light.

In the conduct of this investigation the committee holds no brief for any group or class of our citizens. It has no preconceived views of what the truth is respecting the subject matter of this inquiry. Its sole purpose is to discover the truth and report it as it is, with such recommendations, if any, as to legislation on these subjects as the situation may require and as the duty of the Congress to the American people may demand.

NAZI-ISM

We would not be fully responsive to our duty if we failed to compliment the twenty-odd-million Americans of German birth or descent, who have refused to participate in the Nazi movement and propaganda in this country, which the evidence plainly shows have been founded, in the main, on racial and religious prejudices.

This committee has had evidence to show the strenuous efforts made to enlist these twenty-odd-million persons. This committee has evidence to show the wiles and blandishments that were employed, and when these failed, the scurrilous attacks that were utilized, in an effort to bring them into the Nazi program.

Again, this committee compliments in the highest terms, those people who have adhered to the American principles and American ideals, because they have made this country their homeland and because they believe in the rights of equality granted under our form of Government.

This committee has unearthed evidence showing that an effort to spread the theory of the National Socialist German Labor Party, commonly referred to as the Nazi philosophy, had been under way in the United States for several years.

In order to simplify matters, we shall divide the Nazi activities into two periods, the first covering all of the time prior to the designation of Adolph Hitler as Chancellor of Germany, and the second, covering the period after Adolph Hitler became Chancellor and to the present time. By way of explanation, it should be stated that up until the time that Adolph Hitler became Chancellor, the National Socialist German Labor Party was a minority political party in Germany.

The first real representative of the National Socialist German Labor Party of which this committee has definite knowledge, was one Kurt Georg Wilhelm Luedecke, who admitted under oath before this committee that he utilized his position of traveling representative for a German commercial house, as a smoke-screen behind which to

disseminate his propaganda in the United States, in an effort to gain adherents and financial support for the Nazi movement.

Luedecke, on his own admission, stated that while he was here acting as a propagandist for a minor political party in Germany, he gained access not only to the press galleries of the Congress, but also to press gatherings in the White House.

During this time, Luedecke established in Brookline, Mass., what was known as the "Swastika Press," in one issue of which he said:

We repudiate the doctrine of popular sovereignty. Believing in the authority of leadership, in the value of personality, we advocate a state of truly sovereign authority, which dominates all the forces of the Nation, coordinating them, solidifying them, and directing them towards the higher ends of national life; an authority which is at the same time in constant touch with the masses, guiding and educating them, and looking after their interest.

Luedecke characterized himself as no. 7 in the Nazi Party, designating Adolph Hitler as no. 1. He boasted of his friendship with all the heads of the various branches of the Nazi Party and the Nazi Government of Germany (pp. 96-138, N. Y. 12.)¹

During this first period, as we have characterized it, efforts were inaugurated by individuals and groups, who believed in the policies of the National Socialist German Labor Party, to establish them here. This committee has evidence of such efforts particularly in the cities of New York and vicinity, Chicago, and Los Angeles. They sought diligently to bind together in this country people of German birth and German descent into a political group that was and was to be directed from abroad, in distinct violation of every known American principle.

These individuals organized a group which became known as "Teutonia", and which, through various stages, finally became known, after the advent of Adolph Hitler, as Chancellor, as "The Friends of New Germany", which brings us to the second period of activity.

Early in the history of "The Friends of New Germany" the leadership was usurped by one Heinz Spanknoebel, an alien, who entered this country claiming to be a clergyman.

One of his first activities was to take over, by intimidation and without compensation, a small newspaper in New York published by the German Legion, which paper he largely financed by subsidies under the guise of advertisements granted him by the German steamship lines as well as the German railways (pp. 229-245, D. C. 4).

Documentary evidence before the committee obtained from the companies shows that this subsidy was ordered from Germany and amounted, in the case of the steamship lines, to \$600 per month and in the case of the railways to \$200 per month without regard to the amount of space used. The evidence established that Spanknoebel ordered another American-German paper in New York City to discontinue its publication, which order, while resented, was complied with. The evidence also shows that he undertook to determine and supervise the news and editorial policy of certain other American newspapers, and that in at least one case his orders were refused and his efforts resisted (pp. 17-37, N. Y. 7).

He also became very active in and obtained control of the Stahlhelm, a German veterans' organization, causing those members who were opposed to his policies to withdraw, and utilized the remainder

¹ References in this report are to pages of the hearings.

of the membership and this organization in the Nazi movement (pp. 308-331, D. C. 4).

Through devious methods he gained control of the United German Societies of New York, a body in that city composed of delegates from many American-German organizations, causing a breach among the members which has not yet been healed. As a result of such efforts Spanknoebel exerted tremendous influence on the various organizations, most of which had been in existence for decades in the United States.

Successful efforts were made to establish locals or units of "The Friends of New Germany" in many other American cities, the membership consisting in the main of aliens. The evidence clearly shows that the movement received the direct and indirect aid of certain accredited German representatives to this country (D. C. 4 and N. Y. 7).

In the fall of 1933 a Federal grand jury in New York City indicted Spanknoebel for failing to register as the agent of a foreign country, and he is now a fugitive from justice.

His successor, Fritz Gissibl, one of the original founders of the "Teutonia," also an alien, then became the leader of the Nazi group in this country and carried on the same general activities (p. 71-145, D. C. 4).

Later Gissibl was succeeded by one Reinhold Walter, who is a citizen of this country. This was done in an effort to give the organization the appearance of being "American" in character, although Walter admitted to the committee that Gissibl remained the real head of the movement and continued to dominate its policies, although, he, Walter, desired to divorce the organization from its German connections. Mr. Walter was succeeded in July 1934 by Hubert Schnuch, a naturalized citizen and college graduate, who was chosen for the position by Gissibl and continued Gissibl's policies. He is the present party leader (pp. 37-62, N. Y. 7).

Although started 7 or 8 years ago, its self-appointed leaders did not seek to charter their organization until the fall of 1934. Recently Justice Edward J. McGoldrick of the Supreme Court, New York County, N. Y., refused to grant them a charter.

However, lack of a charter, lack of a constitution or bylaws or any of the steps usually taken by American organizations, did not hinder these leaders from functioning.

The evidence plainly shows that they took orders not only from the National Socialist German Labor Party, but from some members of the Cabinet of that country.

This committee found indisputable evidence to show that certain German consuls in this country, with all the appurtenances of diplomatic immunity, violated the pledge and proprieties of diplomatic status and engaged in vicious and un-American propaganda activities, paying for it in cash, in the hope that it could not be traced (pp. 14-32, D. C. 4; pp. 87-110, N. Y. 7; p. 3-14, D. C. 4).

One of the transactions in question, which can be found in the evidence taken by this committee, goes to the German Embassy itself, and until recently no effort was made to stop such practices (pp. 14-32, D. C. 4; pp. 703-727, D. C. 6 II).

Several American firms and American citizens as individuals sold their services for express propaganda purposes, making their contracts with and accepting compensation from foreign business firms.

The firms in question were Carl Byoir & Associates and Ivy Lee-T. J. Ross. The owner of the Ivy Lee-T. J. Ross firm admitted to the committee that the reports he furnished to the I. G. Farben Industrie, his ostensible employer, dealt with public and political questions rather than trade promotion, and that they were intended to be relayed to the German Government. For this service he received \$25,000, all payments of which were in cash, and an effort was made to secrete the connections. Mr. Lee also admitted that he had never made such a contract before (p. 192, N. Y. 7).

Carl Dickey, junior partner of Carl Byoir & Associates, testified that his firm handled the contract with the German Tourist Bureau with the fee for services set at \$6,000 per month. He testified that the contract was secured with the help of George Sylvester Viereck who received \$1,750 per month with free office space and secretary as his share of the \$6,000. The committee finds that the services rendered by Carl Byoir & Associates were largely of a propaganda nature (pp. 33-67, D. C. 4).

Viereck admitted that he discussed the Byoir contract with a German Cabinet officer before it was entered into. He further testified that he had also been paid the sum of \$500 monthly "for 4 or 5 months" by Dr. Kiep, former German consul-general in New York City, which was paid in cash for advice of a propaganda nature (pp. 87-111, N. Y. 7).

The first payment on the contract amounting to \$4,000 was made by Dr. Kiep, German consul-general in New York City, in cash.

The National Socialist German Labor Party, through its various agencies, furnished tons of propaganda literature, which in most cases was smuggled into this country. Some of it, however, came through our Customs, because there is no law against it.

With the advent of Adolph Hitler as Chancellor, efforts to obtain supporters for the Nazi movement were redoubled in the United States. Campaigns were conducted, gigantic mass meetings held, literature of the vilest kind was disseminated and the short-wave radio was added to the effort.

Orders were issued in Germany and transmitted to the United States ordering certain lines of conduct in connection with this movement. Evidence shows, in one case, that when German officials ordered certain people in the United States to give up their membership in the Nazi Party of Germany or to resign from The Friends of New Germany, the head of the latter organization made a trip abroad at its expense to protest, which protest was made to party officials in Germany (pp. 71-145, D. C. 4).

There is ample evidence showing a dual allegiance to this country and to Germany on the part of those interested in this movement.

German steamship lines not only brought over propaganda, but transported back and forth certain American citizens without cost, for the purpose of having them write and speak favorably of the German Nation. A German steamship company's records show that some of these persons received free transportation at the request of the German Ambassador "in the interest of the State." Members of the crews of these ships carried messages between party officials in Germany and leaders of the Nazi groups here (pp. 17-37, N. Y. 7).

It was quite a common occurrence for steamship companies to invite residents in this country to attend social parties on board ships

while they were in port and persons attending these parties were addressed by representatives from Nazi organizations abroad on the subject of Naziism and the philosophies of the National Socialist German Labor Party.

It is also important to note that the conditions of membership in "The Friends of New Germany" were the same as membership in the National Socialist German Labor Party; that its principles were the same; that it permitted only those of so-called "Aryan blood", born in Germany or of German descent, to join, and that it was fashioned entirely along the lines of the Nazi Party of Germany; that it was receiving and recognized orders from Germany; that it was for all practical purposes, if not in fact, the American section of the Nazi movement of Germany, designed to influence, if necessary and possible, our governmental policies. The evidence conclusively shows that this movement in the United States is inconsistent with our principles of government (D. C. 4).

The membership lists of "The Friends of New Germany" showed a large number of aliens who, although they have resided in this country for a number of years, had never made an effort to obtain their first papers to become citizens. Yet, these self-same aliens sought to dictate to American citizens and to find fault with the American philosophy of government.

The following table of the membership of "The Friends of New Germany" in Chicago taken from sworn testimony given by the secretary of the organization shows clearly the preponderance of aliens in the organization:

Alien:		Naturalized:	
Germans -----	146	German birth-----	84
Austrian -----	2	Austrian birth-----	2
Swiss -----	1		
		Total-----	86
Total-----	149	Unknown, German birth-----	2
United States citizens, native			
born-----	2	Grand total-----	239

(Pp. 648-654, D. C. 6 II.)

Others who became naturalized evidently felt that this conferred upon them a dual citizenship. Some employees of the steamship lines, who are naturalized American citizens, went so far as to maintain a permanent residence abroad, to pay taxes abroad, and to have their families live abroad continuously (pp. 163-214, D. C. 6).

The organization known as "The Friends of New Germany", through a subsidiary organization, in July 1934, conducted so-called "youth summer camps" at different localities, at which camps nothing of American history or of American principles of government were taught, even to the children of American citizens of German extraction, to say nothing of the children of aliens.

On the contrary, the children were taught to recognize Chancellor Hitler as their leader, to salute him on all occasions, and to believe that the principles of government taught by him were superior to the principles of our Government.

At these camps the official language was German, the swastika flag was prominently displayed at the headquarters tent, and at morning and evening exercises the flag was saluted in Nazi style, and the director of the camp, in charge of these children, was an alien who displayed unusual ignorance of many of the principles of the

United States Government, and whose personal allegiance was solely to the German Government and its present ruler (pp. 75-95 N. Y. 12).

An instance showing the close connection between the Nazi movement in this country and the Nazi Party in Germany, and of the close connection between the Nazi Party in Germany and the Government of that country, is the case of Ernst Berkenhoff. This man was a Nazi storm troop leader (captain) residing at Asslar, Germany. In September 1934 he applied to the foreign bureau of the Nazi Party for a 60-day leave of absence for the purpose of visiting the United States on business.

Documents in his possession showed that he was first instructed by the Nazi Party officers in Germany to report to the "local" of the party in New York City and the address given him in Germany at which to report was that of "The Friends of New Germany" in New York City. Subsequently, the party authorities in Germany wrote him that they found the party in Germany had no "local" in New York City and directed him to "report" to the consul general of Germany at New York City (pp. 41-67, N. Y. 12).

During the past 2 years this country has been flooded with propaganda material dealing with the Treaty of Versailles and also extensively devoted to defamatory statements, the purpose of which was to create racial and religious intolerance in the United States. The author and publisher of such propaganda was Dr. Otto H. F. Vollbehr, a citizen of Germany, who in recent years sold to our Government certain rare books and other incunabula for which he received the sum of \$1,500,000.

Dr. Vollbehr testified before a subcommittee in New York City that he had paid many thousands of dollars of his own funds to circularize these various "memoranda." He also admitted furnishing Americans with material for lectures and articles to present a pro-Nazi point of view.

In the course of his testimony Dr. Vollbehr stated that he had been warned by Dr. Hans Luther, German Ambassador to the United States, not to "mix in American politics."

He further testified, under oath, that he did not intend to return to Germany for some time, that he would desist in his propaganda activities and that the bulk of his funds were in Germany.

Investigators of the committee have found, however, that he left for Germany despite his testimony, within 10 days, and that while Vollbehr was in Germany, in January 1935, another "memoranda" of similar character was circulated in the United States from his address at Los Angeles.

Within recent weeks Vollbehr has again entered this country. He has been coming here for 35 years and although for the past several years he has had an immigration visa, he has never seen fit to take out his first citizenship papers, and as a German citizen continues his propaganda efforts while in this country (pp. 703-727, D. C. 6 II).

The testimony also shows that the "Friends of New Germany" had a select committee, known as the "Uschla", appointed by the party leaders to hear all complaints against members for violations of the rules, regulations, and orders of the movement in the United States, and that some of the recommendations of such committee were forwarded to the proper officials in Germany for final action (pp. 10-41, N. Y. 12).

This report can only touch upon the high lights contained in thousands of pages of testimony.

From the evidence taken by this committee in its investigation of Naziism in the United States it develops that all kinds of efforts and influence, short of violence and force, were used to obtain its desired objective, which was to consolidate persons of German birth or descent, if possible, into one group, subject to dictation from abroad.

When this committee was appointed the Nazi movement had made considerable headway, greater in its influence than its actual membership would indicate. Its efforts and activity, particularly with reference to its intolerance features, were disturbing.

The disclosures made by the committee not only have stopped their progress and caused the activities of certain German accredited representatives to this country to cease, but a disintegration of the movement has and is taking place. Efforts are still being made by the leaders of the movement but without the success that they heretofore enjoyed.

This committee condemns the establishment and the propaganda of the Nazi principles in this country. We are unalterably opposed to any individual or any group of individuals seeking to bring about discord among the people of this country, either as a reprisal or as a means of changing our form of government.

FASCISM

There have been isolated cases of activity by organizations which seemed to be guided by the fascist principle, which the committee investigated and found that they had made no progress.

However, in the latter part of December evidence was received from sources worthy of credence, that would justify an investigation, if time and funds permitted, tending to show fascist activity by an Italian vice consul at Detroit, Mich.

This evidence was submitted in affidavit form, the originals of which have been sent to the State Department. The evidence submitted warranted and justified an investigation, which the termination of the committee (Jan. 3, 1935) did not permit. The chairman of the committee (Mr. McCormack) has conferred with the State Department in relation to the evidence submitted, and has been assured that an "energetic investigation is being made."

The committee has recently received evidence which justifies an inquiry showing interference by a consul of the Mexican Government assigned to San Bernardino, Calif., with the religious practices and religious freedom of some of our people.

This evidence has been submitted to the State Department and assurances have been given that an immediate inquiry will be made.

In the last few weeks of the committee's official life it received evidence showing that certain persons had made an attempt to establish a fascist organization in this country.

No evidence was presented and this committee had none to show a connection between this effort and any fascist activity of any European country.

There is no question but that these attempts were discussed, were planned, and might have been placed in execution when and if the financial backers deemed it expedient.

This committee received evidence from Maj. Gen. Smedley D. Butler (retired), twice decorated by the Congress of the United States. He testified before the committee as to conversations with one Gerald C. MacGuire in which the latter is alleged to have suggested the formation of a fascist army under the leadership of General Butler (p. 8-114 D. C. 6 II).

MacGuire denied these allegations under oath, but your committee was able to verify all the pertinent statements made by General Butler, with the exception of the direct statement suggesting the creation of the organization. This, however, was corroborated in the correspondence of MacGuire with his principal, Robert Sterling Clark, of New York City, while MacGuire was abroad studying the various forms of veterans' organizations of Fascist character (p. 111 D. C. 6 II).

The following is an excerpt from one of MacGuire's letters:

In had a very interesting talk last evening with a man who is quite well up on affairs here and he seems to be of the opinion that the Croix de Feu will be very patriotic during this crisis and will take the cuts or be the moving spirit in the veterans to accept the cuts. Therefore they will, in all probability, be in opposition to the Socialists and functionaries. The general spirit among the functionaries seems to be that the correct way to regain recovery is to spend more money and increase wages, rather than to put more people out of work and cut salaries.

The Croix de Feu is getting a great number of new recruits, and I recently attended a meeting of this organization and was quite impressed with the type of men belonging. These fellows are interested only in the salvation of France, and I feel sure that the country could not be in better hands because they are not politicians, they are a cross-section of the best people of the country from all walks of life, people who gave their "all" between 1914 and 1918 that France might be saved, and I feel sure that if a crucial test ever comes to the Republic that these men will be the bulwark upon which France will be saved.

There may be more uprisings, there may be more difficulties, but as is evidenced right now when the emergency arises party lines and party difficulties are forgotten as far as France is concerned and all become united in the one desire and purpose to keep this country as it is, the most democratic, and the country of the greatest freedom on the European Continent (p. 111 D. C. 6 II).

This committee asserts that any efforts based on lines as suggested in the foregoing and leading off to the extreme right, are just as bad as efforts which would lead to the extreme left.

Armed forces for the purpose of establishing a dictatorship by means of Fascism or a dictatorship through the instrumentality of the proletariat, or a dictatorship predicated in part on racial and religious hatreds, have no place in this country.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The committee has examined into the purposes and activities of many other organizations in this country. The bylaws and the membership applications of practically all of those investigated are of

such a nature that any fair-minded, law-abiding citizen who did not investigate their real purpose could sign without any qualms of conscience.

Investigation, however, has disclosed that many are in reality the breeding places of racial and religious intolerance and their financial statements show them to be petty rackets.

As an example of this type of organization, we cite the "Order of '76." This small group has been led into thoroughly un-American channels by its leader, who admitted that the organization had never been incorporated; that no books or records were kept; that no bank account existed; and that he had managed, after 2 years, to get 146 members. Its real and hidden purpose was racial and religious intolerance.

Some of these groups and organizations referred to under this general heading passed the incipient stage, as was the case of the "Silver Shirts," founded by William Dudley Pelley and patterned after the Storm Troops of Germany.

For years Pelley, according to testimony, had been writing on metaphysical subjects, with 9 out of 10 of his followers being women, who gave him, and from whom he borrowed, varying sums of money, in one case receiving bonds valued at \$14,000.

Early in 1933 he founded the "Silver Shirts" with headquarters at Asheville, N. C., a few days after Adolph Hitler became Chancellor of Germany. Pelley told people who testified that the idea was copied from Germany. Immediately his prolific writings changed from the sublime into violent, vitriolic, and scurrilous attacks against certain religious groups.

Evidence before this committee shows that overtures were made to Nazi groups and Nazi leaders in this country. Pelley had as his "foreign adjutant" Paul von Lilienfeld Toal, who helped make contacts with officials of German steamship lines by whom he was employed.

Pelley's weekly publication changed its entire tone at this time and became the mouth piece for the "Silver Shirts." Another more vicious weekly was started in Oklahoma, where State authorities told them to "get out."

Chapters of the "Silver Shirts" sprang up throughout the country, although at that time the organization was not incorporated. When the organization was incorporated, its structure was such that no member had a vote and the powers of dictator rested with Pelley on a self-perpetuating basis.

Evidence taken by a subcommittee at Los Angeles proved that many "Silver Shirts" at San Diego had been armed, that Government ammunition from North Island had come into their hands through nefarious methods and that a target range nearby was utilized for practice and maneuvers. In fact, two members of the United States Marines swore that they had been asked to and did instruct the "Silver Shirts" (p. 1-25, Calif. 2).

Pelley's various ventures, both military and publishing, have been placed in bankruptcy. Recently, Pelley and his adjutant, Robert Summerville, were convicted in Buncombe County, N. C., of a felony, namely, violation of the Blue Sky Law of that State, for selling stock without authorization and registration.

Another of these organizations is "The American Vigilante Intelligence Federation," of which Harry A. Jung, Chicago, is the founder, promoter, and honorary general manager.

Testimony of Jung's secretary, Miss Rose Peterson, taken at Chicago, stated "we have never gotten around to getting up bylaws or electing officers." Her testimony and corroborating records showed that a solicitor had been paid 40 percent of all money he collected as his fee and that many nationally-known organizations and individuals had contributed. The committee finds the contributors had no knowledge of the purposes for which the money was used.

Miss Peterson's testimony showed that Harry A. Jung and the A. V. I. F. had published and circulated great masses of literature tending to incite racial and religious intolerance.

Because this committee has seen the true purpose behind these various groups, it will lump them together and characterize them as un-American, as unworthy of support and created and operated for the financial welfare of those who guide them and who do not hesitate to stoop to racial and religious intolerance in order to achieve their selfish purposes.

This activity your committee believes to be distinctly and dangerously un-American and we denounce, without qualification, any attempt, from any source, to stir up hatreds and prejudices against any one or more groups of our people because of either race, color, or creed. The guaranty of freedom of religion and the equality of all persons under the law is not only expressly written in our Constitution, but is of the very essence of American freedom, and any assault upon these guaranties is dangerous and un-American.

We believe that the surest safeguard for those fundamental principles of American liberty is an aroused and intelligent public opinion.

COMMUNISM

The resolution creating this committee was broad in its general terms instructing it to examine into all "subversive activities." Such an examination included an investigation into Communistic activities.

This committee confined its investigation to that period of time following the thorough inquiry made by the special committee, of which our colleague, Mr. Fish of New York, was chairman. The inquiry made by Mr. Fish's committee was profound and comprehensive. In making its recommendations, this committee also gave consideration to the report made by the special committee above referred to.

This committee took the testimony of several prominent Communist leaders.

In December 1934 it held a series of public hearings at Washington, D. C., at which representatives from various organizations and agencies that have recently been investigating Communism presented statements of their findings accompanied by one or more recommendations.

The Communist Party of the United States is not a national political party concerned primarily and legitimately with conditions in this country. Neither does it operate on American principles for the maintenance and improvement of the form of government established by the organic law of the land.

The nature and extent of organized Communist activity in the United States have been established by testimony and the objectives of such activities clearly defined. Both from documentary evidence submitted to the committee and from the frank admission of Communist leaders (cf. Browder and Ford, New York hearing, July 12, 1934) these objectives include:

1. The overthrow by force and violence of the republican form of government guaranteed by article IV, section 4, of the Federal Constitution.

2. The substitution of a soviet form of government based on class domination to be achieved by abolition of elected representatives both to the legislative and executive branches, as provided by article I, by the several sections of article II of the same Constitution and by the fourteenth amendment.

3. The confiscation of private property by governmental decree, without the due process of law and compensation guaranteed by the fifth amendment.

4. Restriction of the rights of religious freedom, of speech, and of the press as guaranteed by the first amendment.

These specific purposes by Communist admission are to be achieved not by peaceful exercise of the ballot under constitutional right, but by revolutionary upheavals, by fomenting class hatred, by incitement to class warfare and by other illegal, as well as by legal, methods. The tactics and specific stages to be followed for the accomplishment of this end are set forth in circumstantial detail in the official program of the American Communist Party adopted at the convention held at Cleveland on April 2 to 8, 1934.

The "manifesto" and the "resolutions" incite to civil war by requiring one class "to take power" by direct revolutionary process and then assume dictatorship over the country in the manner followed by the Communists in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which is frequently mentioned as a guiding example.

In pursuance of the revolutionary way to power, the program instructs members of the party to obtain a foothold in the Army and the Navy and develop "revolutionary mass organizations in the decisive war industries and in the harbors." The trade unions should be undermined and utilized as recruiting grounds for revolutionary workers. How faithfully these particular injunctions have been executed was demonstrated by Navy officers appearing before the committee and by officials of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Communist Party is affiliated with the Third International, which was created by officials of the Soviet Government and is still housed in Moscow with governmental approval and cooperation. This affiliation is not one of general sympathy or broad uniformity of purpose and program; it is of a definitely organic character involving specific jurisdiction on the part of the governing body over the Communist Party of the United States.

The executive secretary of the Communist Party of the United States testified to this committee that his party was "a section of the Communist International"; that it participates in all the gatherings which decide the policies of the Communist International and sends delegates to the various conferences in Moscow. This admission is confirmed by the records available.

Because it constitutes a virtual plea of guilty to charges that have been made against the Communist Party of America, we submit in full the testimony of Earl Browder, general secretary of that party. This testimony was corroborated by James W. Ford, a member of the executive committee of that party.

TESTIMONY OF EARL BROWDER

(The witness was duly affirmed.)

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name and address.

Mr. BROWDER. Earl Browder, 35 East Twelfth Street.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Browder, will you state, please, your official position with the Communist Party in America?

Mr. BROWDER. I am executive secretary of the central committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a central committee?

Mr. BROWDER. There is a central committee.

The CHAIRMAN. How many does that committee comprise?

Mr. BROWDER. Twenty-nine members and six alternates.

The CHAIRMAN. That central committee determines the policy of the party?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And its affiliates in the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. Between conventions.

The CHAIRMAN. Between conventions. And the committee is elected at conventions?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The convention is composed of delegates of the various organizations and affiliates throughout the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. The convention is composed of delegates elected by districts at district conventions. District conventions are composed of delegates on a broader basis.

The CHAIRMAN. And the National Communist Party—is that the name?

Mr. BROWDER. The Communist Party of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The Communist Party of the United States is affiliated with the Third International?

Mr. BROWDER. It is a section of the Communist International.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it in contact with the Third International?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Constantly.

Mr. BROWDER. I cannot say constantly.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, there is that contact?

Mr. BROWDER. At intervals, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There is that contact between them?

Mr. BROWDER. The American Party as a section of this Communist International participates in all of the gatherings which decide the policies of the Communist International.

The CHAIRMAN. And send delegates to the Third International and their various meetings?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it is an affiliate? Would you call it a regional party of the Third International? I would rather you would put it in your own language.

Mr. BROWDER. To give an exact idea, you cannot draw a strict parallel with other party organizations, inasmuch as it is a world party; a world party.

The CHAIRMAN. But the Third International is the central body?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In April 1934, was there a convention in Cleveland in the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. At that convention were certain resolutions adopted?

Mr. BROWDER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you copies of the resolutions, Mr. Browder?

Mr. BROWDER. I have. This pamphlet contains all of the decisions; that is, the manifesto of the convention, the resolution on the present situation, and the tasks of the Communist Party, the lessons of economic struggles and tasks of the Communists in the trade unions, and a resolution on the winning of the working-class youth. These were the decisions of the Cleveland convention.

The CHAIRMAN. On what page will we find the resolution that was adopted as a result of the passage of a similar resolution by the Third International in December 1933?

Mr. BROWDER. Pages 35 and 36 of this pamphlet.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only one we are really concerned with now. This here is on pages 35 and 36 in the pamphlet.

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That resolution was adopted in the convention?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it identically the same resolution that was adopted at the Third International?

Mr. BROWDER. The resolution of the Third International is not in its entirety reproduced here.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not in what?

Mr. BROWDER. In its entirety reproduced, but reference is made to the thesis of the thirteenth plenum of the Communist International, and this resolution declares that this fully applies also to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this resolution adopted as a result of the action of the thirteenth plenum of the Third International?

Mr. BROWDER. No; I would not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. In part?

Mr. BROWDER. I would not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in part was it adopted as a result of it?

Mr. BROWDER. Well, I would say that it is fully in harmony with it and expresses its approval.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the action of the Third International?

Mr. BROWDER. Of the action of the thirteenth plenum.

The CHAIRMAN. Were instructions received from the Third International with reference to the adoption of the resolution which they adopted in December 1933?

Mr. BROWDER. No instructions; no.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew of a resolution being adopted in the Third International in December 1933, did you not?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes; this resolution was published by us in our official journal, the Communist, for February 1934.

The CHAIRMAN. On what page, Mr. Browder?

Mr. BROWDER. It begins with page 131 of this issue and continues to page 144.

The CHAIRMAN. May we have this?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I introduce this as an exhibit, entitled "The Way Out", and that part of it which is pages 35 and 36, I believe.

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And this book entitled "The Communist", and so much as relates to the pages which Mr. Browder has referred to.

(The documents were marked "Exhibits 1 and 2.")

The CHAIRMAN. Both of these pamphlets will now be made a part of this record and will be marked "Exhibits Nos. 27 and 28" of these hearings.

(THE TWO PAMPHLETS WERE MARKED "THE WAY OUT, EXHIBIT NO. 27", AND "THE COMMUNIST, EXHIBIT NO. 28.")

The CHAIRMAN. In January, did the executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States adopt a similar resolution to that which was adopted at the Cleveland convention?

Mr. BROWDER. In January the central committee met and expressed its agreement with the resolutions adopted by the Communist International.

The CHAIRMAN. So, in chronological order, what happened was in December, the thirteenth session of the Third International—

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Adopted a resolution, of which you were made cognizant?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And of which movement the party in the United States was made cognizant?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The executive committee in January 1934 adopted a resolution based along the same lines?

Mr. BROWDER. Declaring its agreement with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Declaring its agreement with it?

Mr. BROWDER. With the contents of that document.

The CHAIRMAN. That action in January, is it fair to assume that that action in January was the result of the action of the thirteenth session of the Third International in the preceding month?

Mr. BROWDER. I think it would be more correct to say that it was a result of the fact that the leadership of the party in the United States was in agreement with the action that was taken.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to put it your own way. I want you to put it in the way that it occurred, but one followed the other?

Mr. BROWDER. One followed the other.

The CHAIRMAN. And the action at the convention at Cleveland in April was also a follow-up of the action of the Third International and the agreement of the leaders in the United States thereto?

Mr. BROWDER. I think your formulation will perhaps narrow the understanding of the Cleveland convention too much.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking only so far as this particular resolution is concerned, but will you explain that? The action of the executive committee was in between conventions?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that matter came up, I assume, in the regular convention?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The regular convention confirmed the action of the executive committee?

Mr. BROWDER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you official minutes as to those actions?

Mr. BROWDER. The official minutes are the documents contained in the pamphlet which I gave you, plus the official publication of the reports made to the convention. This would include in addition to the——

The CHAIRMAN. We are concerned only with that limited part, that part to which I have confined my questions, the resolution, and those are copies of the special actions taken by the Third International in the case of the resolution printed in The Communist and of the convention in the case of the resolution adopted there, printed in the pamphlet entitled "The Way Out."

Mr. BROWDER. Yes; that is substantially correct.

Perhaps I should add that if you want the complete record of the convention you should add to that the two additional pamphlets, the report to the convention on behalf of the central executive committee, the general report, and the special report on the Negro question.

The CHAIRMAN. May we have these?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. This central executive committee is located where?

Mr. BROWDER. The members of the committee are in various places.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. But the central executive committee, this one?

Mr. BROWDER. The seat of the central executive is in New York City.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. In New York City?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. And that body represents almost all communities wherein your party exists in the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. And when you talk about the report on the Negro question, what do you mean by that? What kind of a report is that?

Mr. BROWDER. It is a discussion of the problems involved in the struggle for liberation of the Negroes from their special oppression in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want to go into any philosophy.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you furnish or have furnished a list of the organizations in the United States which comprise the Communist group in the country?

Mr. BROWDER. You will find a complete report of it in the report to the eighth convention.

The CHAIRMAN. I see; thank you. I do not know of any other questions. Do you, Senator?

Mr. HARDWICK. I want to ask him one or two questions.

This thirteenth plenum of the International was adopted at Moscow, was it not?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right.

Mr. HARDWICK. When?

Mr. BROWDER. In December of 1933.

Mr. HARDWICK. The New York committee, the central executive committee, I think you called it—is that right?

Mr. BROWDER. That is right; central committee.

Mr. HARDWICK. Approved that resolution when?

Mr. BROWDER. In January.

Mr. HARDWICK. In just about a month?

Mr. BROWDER. About a month.

Mr. HARDWICK. Were you present when the resolution was approved?

Mr. BROWDER. I was.

Mr. HARDWICK. How many members of the committee were present?

Mr. BROWDER. I could not answer offhand. I would say—

Mr. HARDWICK. Well, I mean substantially. I do not care about whether you give it exactly or not.

Mr. BROWDER. A substantial majority of the members of the committee.

Mr. HARDWICK. A substantial majority. Was there any fight over the adoption of the resolution?

Mr. BROWDER. There was no difference of opinion.

Mr. HARDWICK. No difference of opinion. After which, you had your national convention at Cleveland I believe, did you not?

Mr. BROWDER. That is correct.

Mr. HARDWICK. When was that?

Mr. BROWDER. In April.

Mr. HARDWICK. April 1934?

Mr. BROWDER. 1934.

Mr. HARDWICK. Were you there?

Mr. BROWDER. I was there.

Mr. BROWDER. Did that convention adopt a resolution approving this thirteenth plenum of the International?

Mr. BROWDER. The resolution adopted in Cleveland substantially approves that resolution.

Mr. HARDWICK. All right. Were there many people at that convention?

Mr. BROWDER. There were a considerable number. I can tell you the exact number of delegates, if you wish, by referring to the record.

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes; I would like to have it.

Mr. BROWDER. There were 233 regularly elected voting delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any alternates?

Mr. BROWDER. There were some 237 additional nonvoting delegates.

Mr. HARDWICK. Something like—

Mr. BROWDER. Four hundred and seventy, to be exact.

Mr. HARDWICK. Did that convention endorse this thirteenth plenum in practical unanimity?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes; complete unanimity.

Mr. HARDWICK. You have already indicated to the chairman where those things will all be found in the record?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. HARDWICK. That is all.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. How many members do these 470 delegates represent?

Mr. BROWDER. The regular voting delegates represent the dues-paying membership of the party.

Mr. HARDWICK. How many members?

Mr. BROWDER. Which at that time was approximately 24,500.

Mr. HARDWICK. In the United States?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

Mr. HARDWICK. That is all.

Mr. BROWDER. The other delegates represented various nonparty organizations.

Mr. HARDWICK. That is, the 237?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes; the 237.

Mr. HARDWICK. How much did they represent?

Mr. BROWDER. The total number of the membership of which, I could not state with any exactitude. It would run into some few hundred thousands.

Mr. HARDWICK. They are members of the Communist Party, too; the delegates or the alternates that represented in that convention?

Mr. BROWDER. Not all; not all.

Mr. HARDWICK. They were representing the same principle as the 233 delegates? I mean the basic principle of communism?

Mr. BROWDER. Certainly. Their presence at the convention is itself an indication that they support the general policies but they are not organizationally—

Mr. HARDWICK. Communists?

Mr. BROWDER. Not all of them.

Mr. HARDWICK. I mean affiliated.

Mr. BROWDER. Some of them are; some are not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Browder, when you say that there is an agreement, the fact that one succeeded the other, is it not fair to assume that in part the action of the thirteenth session of the Third International was a contributing factor, at least, to the adoption of these resolutions by the national committee at the convention?

Mr. BROWDER. Certainly. There is a distinct political continuity throughout all these actions.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is fair to make this statement, so there will be no misunderstanding, Mr. Browder and Mr. Ford were called into executive session because they had to leave on important business, with the understanding that at the proper time, when the committee saw fit, his evidence could be made public. I want to make that statement so that there will be no misunderstanding at the public hearing, if and when the evidence is made public, to the fact that they are absent. It is with a distinct understanding with the members of the committee in this respect.

Mr. BROWDER. I would like to make a request that if any of the questions involved in these statements are matters of controversy or become the basis for any conclusions of the committee, that we be permitted to give further evidence with regard to them.

Mr. HARDWICK. Let me say this, Mr. Chairman: It does not seem that is necessarily involved. We just want to show by you and Mr. Ford, too, if you think it is necessary, although I do not think it is necessary to swear Mr. Ford, that your committee in New York, your executive committee, passed a resolution endorsing this thirteenth plenum, and that your convention in Cleveland did the same thing. Those are just bare facts.

Mr. BROWDER. Matters of public knowledge and record.

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes. They have been printed in the newspapers, but we thought we had better get some direct evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. I can assure you gentlemen that the Chair will try to see that eminent fairness is extended to every person appearing before the committee, either in executive or public hearing. The committee is just asking questions on a very narrow field; and if there is any extension beyond that field, the committee will naturally see that the rights of every person are protected.

You are executive secretary, as I understand it?

Mr. BROWDER. General secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. You have charge of all the records?

Mr. BROWDER. I have charge of the national office.

The CHAIRMAN. The national office?

Mr. BROWDER. And I am an executive of the central committee.

The CHAIRMAN. If later the committee desires, would you cooperate in every way possible with the examination of the records and the accounts?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JAMES W. FORD

(The witness was duly affirmed.)

The CHAIRMAN. You live where, Mr. Ford?

Mr. FORD. 27 West One Hundred and Fifteenth Street.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you an official in the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. FORD. I am an organizer of the Harlem section of the Communist Party, and a member of the central committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard Mr. Browder's testimony?

Mr. FORD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you agree with the testimony which he has given as to the adoption of the resolutions?

Mr. FORD. Yes; the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. You agree in other respects about the continuity of the happening of the adoption of those resolutions?

Mr. FORD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That they are all official actions of the thirteenth session of the Third International and of the executive committee and of the convention at Cleveland?

Mr. FORD. That is as Mr. Browder has said, the continuity of the thirteenth plenum of the Third International.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and that one followed the other?

Mr. FORD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that they are all official acts?

Mr. FORD. Yes; in our convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions you want to ask Mr. Ford now?

Mr. HARDWICK. No.

(Witness excused.)

This relationship and responsibility was further demonstrated by the Communist Party itself in its central organ, the Daily Worker, on January 6, 1934. That publication reproduced on that occasion a telegram of congratulation and approval of Communist activities in the United States, signed by the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International, received by the Radio Corporation of America and delivered from its branch office at 28 East Seventeenth Street, New York City. The text reads as follows:

DAILY WORKER,

New York.

Warmest fraternal greetings to the Daily Worker on its tenth anniversary. The Daily Worker has been the only American newspaper that has vigorously and boldly defended the interest of the workers and farmers, combating the teachery of the Socialists and trade-unions bureaucrats, uncompromisingly fighting against white chauvinism and all forms of oppression of Negroes, as well as fighting decisively against imperialist war.

The presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International welcomes the efforts of the Daily Worker to become a real collective agitator and organizer of the workers' struggle for the interests of the working masses, establishing close contacts with the masses in the factories, broadening its network of workers' correspondence, and securing a large number of workers in the task of supporting the paper and increasing its circulation, thus becoming the standard bearer in the struggle of the great masses of the American working class.

(Signed) PRESIDIUM E. C. C. I.

Some of the instructions from Moscow which have had the approval of the Communist Party in this country are:

1. In carrying out these tasks the Communists must utilize all legal possibilities to develop mass work and to link up legal and illegal work.
2. There is no way out * * * other than the one shown by the October Revolution * * * confiscation of banks, of the factories, mines, transport, houses * * * stocks of goods * * * lands, * * * etc., etc.
3. The plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International obliges all sections * * * for the revolutionary preparation * * * for the impending decision * * * battles for power.

YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The section of the Communist International designed to reach young people in every country is known as the "Young Communist International." This is an integral part of the Communist International at Moscow. Section 35 of the constitution and rules of that body reads:

The International League of Communist Youth (Communist Youth International) is a section of the Communist International with full rights and is subordinate to the E. C. C. I.

The E. C. C. I. mentioned in this paragraph is the executive committee of the Communist International. (See p. 96 of pamphlet entitled "Program of the Communist International.")

Being an integral part of the World Communist Party, the Communist Youth International has the same objectives and seeks to carry out the same methods as the International itself.

Many of the citizens appearing before this committee have designated particular and emphatic attention towards an alleged violation of one of the conditions of the agreement between this country and Soviet Russia that preceded Russian recognition by this country.

In the fourth paragraph of the pledge given to this country by Maxim Litvinoff on behalf of Soviet Russia, it was covenanted that Soviet Russia was—

not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group, and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group, which has as an aim to overthrow, or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force or a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its Territories or possessions.

The date of this pledge was November 18, 1933. Despite this pledge, about the middle of December 1933, within a month after this pledge by Maxim Litvinoff and his government, the executive committee of the Communist Internationale, sitting at Moscow, Soviet Russia, adopted resolutions of the "Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale," which are applicable to the whole world, and of course to this country, which stated:

There is no way out of the general crisis of capitalism other than the one shown by the October revolution. (In Soviet Russia when the Communists overthrew the then existing government of Russia by force.) Via the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, the factories, the mines, transport, houses, the stock of goods of the capitalist, the lands of the landlords, the church, and the crown.

This resolution was approved and adopted on January 16-17, 1934, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, at New York City, and by the National Convention of the Communist Party at Cleveland, Ohio, in April 1934, at which convention there were present 470 voting and associate delegates.

The secretary of the Communist Party, Earl Browder of New York City, declared that the Communist Party of the United States was a branch of the World Communist Party; further there was complete accord and a direct political continuity between the executive committee of the Communist Internationale and the party in the United States.

This resolution plainly and emphatically advocated "the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in the social or political order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

This committee does not believe that the Communist movement in this country is sufficiently strong numerically nor an influence to constitute a danger to American institutions at the present time. Its

increase in activity during the past year is plain evidence that unless checked, such activity will increase in scope and interferences so that they will inevitably constitute a definite menace. It is the duty of government to check and control, through appropriate legislation, the illegal actions and methods of such movements, without regard to the improbability of attainment, and to protect itself and its loyal citizens against such subversive attempts.

The oppositions of the philosophies of communism and the American ideals of democracy are so direct and so fundamental that they cannot exist together. Communism, moreover, is of foreign origin and is directed by an alien organization outside of the United States.

The record shows that invariably Communistic agitation does not always lead to a realization of their objective, but instead results in the establishment of a dictatorship.

It is essential to understand in considering the subject that the Communist Party of the United States is not a political party in the true American sense.

Our own political parties are strictly domestic in their scope and purpose. They have no affiliations of any kind with similar groups in any foreign country. The truly American political party provides a mechanism by which citizens having a certain community of opinions elect their own candidates for public office and formulate the policies to which the candidates are pledged to pursue if and when elected.

Under our political party system any citizen having proper residential qualifications cannot be denied the privilege of joining a party nor can he be expelled from it. He is not even bound to vote for the candidates of his own party, in truth, under the American system of parties the initiative rests wholly with the individual and assures him complete freedom of political actions.

Opposed to our present form of government we see the un-American character of the Communist Party in the United States. It is a party recognized on an international scale, governed and controlled by a constitution and rules emanating from the "Communist Internationale", with headquarters at Moscow in the Soviet Union, and dedicated to the overthrow of government by violence and force.

The program of the Communist Internationale plainly sets out:

The Communist Internationale—the International Workers' Association—is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is a world communist party.

The Communist Party of the United States is a section of this Internationale. As such, it is subject to the control and direction, first, of the World Congress of the Communist Internationale and, second, of the executive committee of that body. The International control of the Communist Party of the United States is intimate, membership in that party being open only to

those who accept the program and rules of the given Communist Party and of the Communist Internationale, who join one of the basic units of a party, actively work in it, abide by all the decisions of the party and of the Communist International, and regularly pay party dues. (See par. 3 of the constitutions, p. 88.)

It will be observed, therefore, that stringent conditions are imposed upon the party membership which are wholly foreign to the American conception of political organization. A Communist Party member here is not simply an enrolled Communist who gives intellectual assent to its political and economic program. He must be an active worker, bound to accept and carry out promptly the orders issued to him by superior party committees, the chief of which is in a foreign country, whether he likes such orders or not. On this latter point, the constitution of the Communist Internationale is equally explicit. We quote from paragraph 5 of the constitution:

Party questions may be discussed by the members of the party and by party organizations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent party committees. After a decision has been taken by the congress of the Communist Internationale, by the congress of the respective sections, or by leading committee of the Comintern, and of its various sections, those decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a section of the party membership or of the local party organizations are in disagreement with it.

It should be noted at this point that membership in the Communist Party of the United States is not limited to American citizens but is equally open to aliens. Enough has been said to show that the Communist Party of the United States is unlike any strictly American party. It is, in fact, an exclusive society of dues-paying members holding its charter from an international body, subject to disciplinary measures adopted by that body. It is a group of individuals, both citizen and alien, acting in part under alien orders, each member being active in a basic unit of the party, which unit is described as—

the nucleus in the place of employment (factory, workshop, mine, office, store, farm, and so forth) which unites all the party members employed in the given enterprise. (See constitution, sec. 4, p. 89.)

We direct attention to the membership dues book of the Communist Party which again certifies and affirms the statements and requirements contained in the constitution itself. That is what every member must sign and he must take those obligations. There is no allegiance to the United States Government but, to the contrary, positive opposition thereto.

The citizen voter who goes to the polls and enrolls under the Communist emblem does not thereby become a member of the Communist movement of the United States. Therefore, when it is shown that the membership of the Communist Party is approximately 24,000, it merely means that there are 24,000 duly accredited agitators and leaders who are obeying the instructions from the Moscow authority. (See N. Y. 7 also D. C. 6 I and II.)

In handling the subject of naziism, fascism, and communism, it can readily be seen that attempts have been made and are being made from abroad and in some instances by diplomatic and consular agents of foreign countries to influence the political opinions of many of our people.

It can plainly be seen that efforts have been made to organize some of our citizens and some aliens who have been admitted for permanent residence. Evidence has been disclosed to show a desire to impede the assimilation of aliens with the American people. Such conditions should not be tolerated.

It is contrary to the interest of our people, and of the aliens who are here for permanent residence, that the process of assimilation should be obstructed or delayed by any influence from abroad. Such efforts are extremely objectionable when they are assisted or subsidized by foreign governments or nationalistic organizations.

While we recognize and respect the inherent feelings that one has for the land of his birth or that of his forebears, we demand that there be only one allegiance and that to the United States.

Whatever may be the result elsewhere, the constitutional rights and liberties of American citizens must be preserved from communism, fascism, and nazism. The only "ism" in this country should be "Americanism."

To the true and real American, communism, nazism, and fascism are all equally dangerous, equally alien and equally unacceptable to American institutions.

Consequently, in making its recommendation for the enactment of such statutes as shall enable the Government to control all such movements, whether they come from the left or the right, your committee has exercised extreme care and caution to protect the constitutional rights of any individual.

For instance, later in this report will be included the recommendation that Congress shall make it unlawful for any person to advocate such systems in a manner that incites to the overthrow of our Government by force and violence.

The prohibition of that kind of conduct is one of the essential powers of government, necessary for its own preservation. Under the constitutional guaranty of free speech any person will still be at liberty to advocate the change of our Government in the orderly manner prescribed by our Constitution and laws, and by consent of the people.

The moment he advocates its accomplishment by force and violence, and the substitution of the bullet and the bomb for the ballot, he becomes an enemy of our social and political order, a criminal, and he ought to be dealt with as such. Freedom of speech does not authorize insurrection or rebellion against the Government.

Liberty does not mean license.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In concluding its report the committee submits the following:

1. That the Congress should enact a statute requiring all publicity, propaganda, or public-relations agents or other agents or agencies, who represent in this country any foreign government or a foreign political party or foreign industrial or commercial organization, to register with the Secretary of State of the United States, and to state name and location of such foreign employer, the character of the service to be rendered, and the amount of compensation paid or to be paid therefor.

2. That Congress should enact a statute conferring upon the Secretary of Labor authority to shorten or terminate the stay in this country of any visitor admitted here under temporary visa, whenever in the judgment of the Secretary such visitor shall engage in

the promotion or dissemination of propaganda or engage in political activity in the United States.

3. We recommend that the Department of State, in collaboration with the Department of Labor, negotiate treaties and agreements with foreign nations by which such nations shall agree to receive back any person entering this country from such foreign nation at any time such immigrant shall become subject to deportation under our laws.

4. That Congress should make it unlawful to advise, counsel, or urge any member of the military or naval forces of the United States, including the reserves thereof, to disobey the laws or regulations governing such forces.

5. That Congress should enact necessary legislation so that the United States attorneys outside of the District of Columbia can proceed against witnesses who refuse to answer questions, or refuse to produce documents and records, or refuse to appear or who in any other manner hold in contempt the authority of any Congressional committee vested with the powers herein described, at any time during the official life of the committee.

6. That Congress should make it an unlawful act for any person to advocate changes in a manner that incites to the overthrow or destruction by force and violence of the Government of the United States, or of the form of government guaranteed to the several States by article IV, section 4, of the Constitution of the United States.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN W. McCORMACK,
Chairman,

SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
CHARLES KRAMER,
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U. S. GUYER.

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