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REPORT
No. 1

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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

REPORT

[Pursuant to H. Res. 282, 75th Cong. and H. Res. 26, 76th Cong.]

INTRODUCTION

The work of the committee has been carried on during the past year against a back drop of war in Europe and Asia on the one hand and a greatly heightened concern over national defense here at home on the other hand. In these circumstances, it is almost inevitable that feeling among people of all sorts should be intensified. Many people who were formerly indifferent to the activities of foreign-controlled, antidemocratic, and un-American groups are now fully aroused. Many others who were, through a misconception of these un-American activities, hostile to the work of the committee in exposing the identities and programs of these un-American groups have now come to understand the importance of the committee's work.

The committee are fully aware that the present circumstances of aroused public opinion call for great care and discrimination in its work. The committee have followed a policy of sharp differentiation between those foreign-controlled agencies and forces which are dangerous to the future of our country on the one hand and those American groups and individuals who hold minority views concerning social and economic questions on the other hand. The committee's view is that a great gulf lies between those who, because of attachments to foreign powers and dictators, are basically disloyal to America and those who simply hold unorthodox economic views and hence advocate changes in the status quo which they sincerely believe would benefit the majority of the American people. The right to individual liberties of free Americans must be preserved as zealously as the efforts of totalitarian agents are combated. It is one thing for loyal Americans, exercising their own constitutional freedom of thought and speech, to advocate changes which the majority may consider radical. It is an

entirely different thing for the controlled agents of totalitarian powers to try to exploit that freedom in the interests of Moscow, Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo.

In short, the committee warns against the possibility that a wave of hysteria may supersede an informed public opinion on matters which have to do with the subjects of its investigation. Such a situation would do much to defeat the very ends and workings of democracy which the committee's inquiry is calculated to serve.

In preventing the development of an indiscriminating and undemocratic attitude which degenerates into hysteria, special groups within our population bear a special responsibility. Throughout the 3 years of the committee's work, we have noted that some special-interest groups have failed to make their positions unequivocally clear by speaking out in defense of democracy against all the totalitarian systems alike. These special-interest groups have been quick enough to condemn some one of the totalitarian systems while remaining silent with respect to the others. Inasmuch as Communists have customarily tried to hide behind the pretext of being strongly progressive and prolabor, the committee believes that a special responsibility rests upon all genuinely progressive and prolabor groups—the overwhelming majority—to dissociate themselves with all possible emphasis from those who follow Moscow's leadership and principles. Inasmuch as Nazis and Fascists have customarily tried to hide behind the pretext of being strongly patriotic and conservative, the committee believes that a special responsibility rests upon all genuinely patriotic and conservative groups—the overwhelming majority—to dissociate themselves with all possible emphasis from those who follow Axis leadership and principles. The evidence before the committee shows clearly that the agents of Moscow have, for the most part, tried to bore from within labor and progressive movements, just as the agents of the Axis Powers have, for the most part, tried to bore from within patriotic, conservative, and business groups. These respective groups will, therefore, most effectively serve the interests of their country and themselves by promptly and energetically purging themselves of whatever foreign-controlled, totalitarian "borers" that would use them as covers for their un-American activities.

Certain aspects of the European picture have served to clarify the nature and purpose of the chief totalitarian regimes, i. e., Stalin's and Hitler's. This clarification has now reached a point where no justification can be found for those who persist in remaining attached to the Communist and Nazi movements or their front organizations. The illusion that Stalin's regime was a progressive one and that his leadership was the world's best protection against the spread of nazi-ism has now been exploded by Stalin himself. His government today stands forth as one of naked opportunism, conquest, and power politics. The illusion that Hitler's regime was a conservative barricade against the spread of communism has been effectively dispelled by the fuhrer himself. His government, too, stands forth as one of brute military force aiming at unlimited expansion of the Third Reich, and ready to employ whatever appeals to class hatred suit his program. Three aspects of the European picture are worth noting in this connection. The Stalin-Hitler Pact of August 1939 dealt a shattering blow to whatever prestige their respective agents and followers enjoyed

in the United States. It remained only for Stalin to attack Finland and to annex the whole or large portions of five other neighboring countries to show unmistakably that Stalin is no better than Hitler. Finally, we have the spectacle of Hitler's attempt to place himself at the head of the European proletariat as the champion of the "have-nots" against the "haves." Mussolini's and the Mikado's wars of aggression long ago stamped them as second-rate international bandits. Today, the four totalitarian dictators are revealed clearly for what they have been from the beginning, a combined threat to the democratic way of life throughout the world. Those who believe unreservedly in the democratic form of government, whether they look upon themselves as progressive and prolabor or as conservatives and probusiness, will not hesitate to separate themselves from the totalitarian movements and their numerous front organizations.

Indeed, upon their doing this will depend in large part America's chance to achieve a real unity of all groups and to proceed with a united effort not only to build an impregnable defense but also to solve our pressing domestic problems.

I. TOTALITARIAN DESIGNS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

It is a striking characteristic of the totalitarian dictators that they have not attempted to conceal their designs for conquest. Many years ago, they put their programs for imperialistic expansion down in writing where all the world could read them. To a very large extent, they have translated their words into deeds. Not a single country which has been overrun by the totalitarian armies during the past year had any reason to be surprised at its fate. All had been forewarned by the dictators themselves.

The official program of the Communist International has for years declared that "the ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism." The United States has been accorded no exception in this avowed program. On the contrary, Stalin, in an address to delegates of the American Communist Party in Moscow in 1929, called special attention to the strategic position of the United States in his scheme for world revolution. "When a revolutionary crisis develops in America," said Stalin, "that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole." In the same declaration Stalin commanded his agents of the American Communist Party to remember that their party was "one of the few Communist parties in the world upon which history had laid tasks of a decisive character from the viewpoint of the world revolutionary movement." Stalin left no doubt in the minds of these American delegates to Moscow about who controlled the Communist Party of the United States. "The American comrades," he said, "will unhesitatingly submit to the decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International and actively carry them into effect."

Hitler's plans for the United States are fully as clear as Stalin's. "National Socialism alone," said Hitler (in 1934), "is destined to liberate the American people from their ruling clique and give them back the means of becoming a great nation." Elaborating his intentions with respect to the United States, the Nazi fuehrer said: "I shall undertake this task simultaneously with the restoration of Germany to her leading position in America."

Mussolini too has made an effort to spread among people of Italian ancestry in America the idea that their first loyalty is to Fascist Italy. The faithful Fascist, whether or not he be an American citizen, is now required to take the following oath which speaks for itself:

In the name of God and of Italy I swear to accomplish the orders of the duce and to serve with all my strength and if necessary with my blood, the course of the Fascist revolution.

Both Stalin and Hitler have made it plain that their strategy in achieving their objectives in the United States includes the use of Trojan horses or "fifth columns."

The committee has received a vast amount of evidence which shows that hundreds of organizations are operating in the United States today for the purpose of carrying out the wishes of the totalitarian dictators. Most of these organizations are thinly veiled fronts whose methods, purposes, and personnel have been fully exposed in testimony given before the committee. In addition to these numerous front organizations, there are agents of totalitarian espionage whose trails have been found again and again in the course of the committee's investigations.

During the 3 years of its existence, the committee has heard voluminous testimony and compiled a vast amount of evidence which clearly points to the existence in this country of scores of organizations whose common characteristic is the propagation of Nazi ideology. These groups or organizations differ from each other in the directness of their tie-up with the government of Nazi Germany, in the measure of the financial support which they receive from Hitler's Reich, in the degree of their subservience to foreign dictation, and in the extent to which they draw their inspiration directly from Nazi sources. The committee is compelled to conclude, however, that together they constitute an un-American bloc in our population.

As in the case of the Nazi front organizations, so in the case of the Communist front organizations it is impossible to determine the precise degree to which these groups are subservient to foreign agencies. The committee has compiled a vast amount of evidence which indicates that there are scores of organizations whose common characteristic is strict adherence to the "line" of the Communist Party. In almost all cases, these organizations are composed of party members, persons whom the party calls Non-Party Bolsheviks, Communist sympathizers, and thousands of innocents who have been hoodwinked into joining by appeals to worthy sympathies.

From the very beginning of the Communist movement in this country, it has been the practice of the Communist Party to utilize a great diversity of organizations with frequently changing names. The theses and statutes of the Third International explicitly stated:

It is also necessary, in all cases without exception, not to limit oneself to unlawful work, but to carry on also lawful work overcoming all difficulties, founding a lawful press and lawful organizations under the most diverse, and in case of need, frequently changing names.

II. PRELIMINARY REPORT ON NAZI ORGANIZATIONS

The committee recently published a report entitled "A Preliminary Digest and Report on the Un-American Activities of Various Nazi Organizations and Individuals in the United States, including Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the German Government."

This report, as the title indicates, reflects the results of the committee's investigation into the activities of certain Nazi front organizations and individuals who are engaged in the task of furthering the interests of the Nazi government in the Western Hemisphere. The report, fully substantiated by documentary evidence, reveals that the Nazi government, for a number of years, has set up in the Western Hemisphere various organizations which at all times are under the control of the foreign ministry in Berlin. The report reveals that these organizations have a preordained program to fulfill, one of the objectives of which is the conducting of a virulent propaganda campaign, which in the United States takes the form of glorifying nazism and which in Central and South America is strongly anti-American.

The report reflects the activities of the Transocean News Service and the individual activities of Dr. Manfred Zapp. The German Government, according to documentary evidence, set up these organizations, which while shrouded with all the accouterments of a legitimate press organization are able to carry on the work of propaganda and which, by virtue of their accepted position in press circles, are able to operate as centers about which revolves the working of German agents. Prior to the publication of this report, investigations had failed to disclose in any detail the modus operandi of the Nazi government. The documentary evidence contained in this report gives a partial answer to the reason why it has been impossible to uncover evidence which would show this program. The evidence reveals that much, if not all, of the operations of these Nazi-controlled agencies in the Western Hemisphere are carried out through the direction of the German consulates and embassies with the consequent result that all such activities are insulated with diplomatic immunity. For example, the evidence disclosed that the German Embassy and the consulates in the United States have acted as soliciting and collecting agencies for the Transocean News Service, that the embassy and the consulates have also transmitted instructions and exercised direct control of the Transocean's operating policy, which at all times is in conformity with the wishes of Berlin. Consul General Kapp, of Cleveland, Ohio, Consul General Herbert Scholz, of Boston, Mass., Consul General Fritz Wiedemann, of San Francisco, Calif., and Chargé d'Affaires Hans Thomsen, of Washington, D. C., are among the German consular agents who have acted as soliciting and collecting agents for the Transocean News Service. The evidence further reflects that the official German representatives in this country have not only lent their active aid and support to the dissemination of this propaganda but have also contributed financial aid and support to the Transocean News Service.

The report further shows that the anti-American propaganda that is disseminated in the Central and South American countries is controlled and in part broadcast from the United States through the agency of the Transocean News Service.

The investigation further discloses that the Nazi government has set up in this country organizations which are countenanced as bona fide academic, cultural, and commercial organizations, but which in effect are nothing more than outlets for the spreading of Nazi ideology. This phase of the investigation includes the German

Library of Information, the German Railroads Information Office, the American Fellowship Forum, and individual German agents.

The report reveals that the German Library of Information in New York City has grown by leaps and bounds since the outbreak of the war in Europe. The organization which is controlled by the German Embassy and the New York consulate also receives all of its direct financial support from Berlin. This organization works in close cooperation with the Transocean News Service. It has built up a mailing list of over 70,000 persons in the United States and periodically sends Nazi publications to all of these people.

The German Railroads Information Office—which has expended over a million dollars in the last few years in the United States—and which, according to its director, is affiliated with the Rome-Berlin Axis, comprises one of the more subtle sections of the foreign division of the Nazi Party. It, too, has built up a tremendous mailing list and regularly sends its publications, which are prepared in Germany, to the persons on this list.

The American Fellowship Forum, which is a typical front organization, has attempted to prey upon the emotions of the millions of German-Americans in this country as being a legitimate organization for the advancement of German-American relations. However, the results of a full investigation of this organization reveal that thousands of real American citizens have been duped into joining an organization which, in reality, has as its purpose the advancement of Nazi influence in the United States.

The report further reveals that the guiding light of the American Fellowship Forum was Dr. Frederic Ernest Ferdinand Auhagen. Investigation disclosed that Dr. Auhagen, from the time that the Forum was brought into existence, regularly received financial aid direct from Germany.

The report points out that the investigative branches of the Government have made many investigations into the activities of organizations which were alleged to be affiliated with the Nazi government, but, due to diplomatic immunity, it was never disclosed that the membership of any organization was under the direct control of officials of the German Government until the records of the Transocean News Service were subpoenaed. These records disclose that there is in operation in this country an organization known as the foreign division of the National Socialist Party, which is under the leadership of Dr. F. Draeger who is attached to the German Consulate in New York City.

The report further shows that the activities of the German Government in this country were not devoted solely toward propaganda and so-called military espionage but also reflected the fact that the German Government over a period of years has been engaged in a far-sighted program of penetrating the economic structure of this country and those of Central and South America. The evidence discloses that Dr. Ferdinand A. Kertess, president of the Chemical Marketing Co. of New York, is one of the agents of the German Government in this country and is actively engaged in maintaining an increasing German economic strength in this country and in Central and South America. Dr. Kertess is an American citizen, but the evidence discloses that he has engaged in activities that amount to military espionage for the German Government. In addition to the above activities, Dr. Kertess formulated plans for the establishing of an

organization known as "The Organization of German Industry in America After the War," and also for an organization entitled "The Founding of a German Banking Institute in New York After the War."

The Congress is advised that investigations into several aspects of the foregoing matters are still in process, and that since the rendition of the above report the committee's investigators have uncovered additional facts of importance which will require intensive research before a full and complete report can be made to the Congress.

III. KYFFHAUSERBUND

During the past year, the committee has made a thorough investigation of an organization known as the Kyffhauserbund. Originally, the organization bore the name Stahlhelm. Its English name is the League of German War Veterans.

The Kyffhauserbund was organized in the summer of 1937, in Philadelphia. From there it spread to New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, Illinois, and Texas.

The New York organization of the Kyffhauserbund shared office space with the German-American Vocational League, an organization which sponsored lectures in this country by the Nazi agent, Dr. Colin Ross.

The committee found that the Kyffhauserbund is affiliated with the Kriegesbund which has its international headquarters in Germany. In the organization's membership book it is stated:

In our fatherland, the Kyffhauserbund has become the standard bearer of all inactive German veterans and veterans' organizations, and it is hoped that this bund here in America will accomplish the same results.

The membership book of the organization stresses rifle and pistol practice. The membership book also bears a line which reads "Recommendation of Organization Leader as to Member's ability of being trusted with confidential work." The committee is forced to conclude that there is no place in this country for any organization which has foreign ties and which asks its members to do confidential work or to promote rifle and pistol practice.

The State commander of the Kyffhauserbund in Texas wrote a memorandum which includes the following declaration of political allegiance: "We did not need to unlearn anything when Hitler came to power in Germany. We were already Nazis when he took up the reins of government Reich."

In pursuing its investigation of the Kyffhauserbund, the committee discovered other facts of the greatest importance. These included the fact that editors of German language newspapers in the United States have been sent to Germany, with all expenses paid, for purely propaganda purposes. One such editor, Hans Ackerman of the Texas Herald, returned from his subsidized trip to Germany to sing the praises of Hitler in the columns of his newspaper.

The committee further discovered that the Nazi consul general in New Orleans, Baron Edgar Von Spiegel, was supplying the editors of German language newspapers in the United States with material from the Transocean News Service. Elsewhere in this report the committee calls attention to the fact that the Transocean News Service is one of the propaganda media of Nazi Germany in the United States.

Baron Edgar Von Spiegel was also found to have written a threatening letter to the editor of a German language newspaper who is an American citizen. That letter reads in full, as follows:

German Consulate.
No. Ku 8. C.
Airmail

NEW ORLEANS, LA.,
February 24, 1938.

Mr. G. F. NEUHAUSER,
"Freie Presse fuer Texas,"
4100 South Presa Street, San Antonio, Tex.

DEAR MR. NEUHAUSER: Your communication of February 22, of this year, has impelled me to do that which I have intended doing for several days, namely, to discuss with you the manner and style in which you occasionally report with respect to Germany.

If you will follow the tenor of Adolf Hitler's latest important speech you will be able to perceive that more than ever before he is now concerned about the style of the foreign press in reporting with respect to Germany. The German fuehrer was induced to assume this energetic attitude because of the flood of lies and rumors carried in the international press in the early part of February concerning the objectives of the personnel changes made in the Army and in the diplomatic corps.

To my great regret I have been forced to notice that in your paper you report in a manner which is not acceptable to the fuehrer and which could be designated not merely as not pro-German, but definitely anti-German. In your edition of February 11, first page, second column down, you state that Hitler has "thrown the conservative elements out of the Army on the ground (1) that these generals regarded Italy as a treacherous customer; (2) that they considered an association with Japan as precarious; and (3) that they sought for friendship with Russia.

You also write that three diplomatic officers were recalled and that that caused the National Socialists to exult.

That the army is now "nazified."

That today Hitler's diplomats represented the "Hitler system" as never before.

That the diplomatic corps is compelled to accept, either openly or secretly, Rosenberg's fanatical doctrines, etc., etc.

I can hardly resist the impression, dear Mr. Neuhauser, that that kind of reporting, to put it mildly, must be regarded as unfriendly. What you write does not coincide at all with the facts. Moreover, I do not know when you could have gotten such assertions. Such an article could just as easily have been found in an anti-German newspaper. Even your article about Reverend Niemoeller does not suit me at all and it contains some untruths.

The fuehrer has announced that in the future Germany would adopt drastic measures against untruthful reporting carried in the propaganda of the international press. As you may be able to gather from his speech he has designated that type of propaganda as a menace to peace, on the ground that nations that permit that type of propaganda could be incited to a war-like attitude against Germany, while the German people, who prohibit such propaganda would not adopt such an attitude. The fuehrer correctly attributes to such propaganda a menace to peace.

Please be assured that it is extremely painful to me to be compelled to write this to you. But after what I recently read in your paper I feel compelled to do so, especially if I and my government are to continue to aid you by our friendly cooperation. There is so much that is good to be told about Germany, and it is such a delightful assignment to inform the world of it, and, as you know very well, in a paper more than in anything else it is the tune that makes the music.

We both understand each other so well face to face, and I sincerely hope that we may continue on good terms. Please think this over. I remain with German greetings,

Yours respectfully,

(E. FREIHERR VON SPIEGEL,
Consul General.

P. S. In compliance with your desire I send you enclosed a copy of the speech of the fuehrer and chancellor of the reich, Adolf Hitler, for your attention.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND OF INDUSTRY

The evidence which the committee has gathered bears abundant testimony to the fact that throughout the years there has been a major purpose of the Communist Party to attempt to bore from within the ranks of the American labor in an effort either to turn labor organizations into its political tools or to disrupt and destroy them. The Nazi tactic on the contrary has been to have their members gain as many important positions as possible in the industries of America and to gain favor with management rather than work within the ranks of organized labor.

It is of basic importance to understand the exactly opposite purposes of the American labor movement on the one hand and the Communist Party on the other. The aims of the American labor movement are to improve the conditions of the American workers and over a period of time to secure for them a better and fuller life and a place of partnership in the industrial life of the United States. The purposes of the Communists on the other hand are in the words of Stalin to make the unions a school of communism, to increase in every possible way the antagonism between wage earners and other sections of the population and to prostitute the labor movement for the use of the party in carrying out various of its international plans even if in so doing the welfare of the particular group of workers in question may suffer as a consequence. Hence, wherever Communists have gained a foothold in the labor movement they have sought by every means at their command to remove from office any leader however devoted to the welfare of the rank and file workers he might be who has refused to cooperate with the party line.

Only by the most determined and consistent effort such as has been put forth recently by such organizations as the American Federation of Labor generally, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the United Rubber Workers of America can this situation be cured. It is incumbent upon other elements in the population to support with the utmost vigor the efforts of responsible leaders and constructive groups within the ranks of labor to root out Communist influence and control. For the future of the labor movement itself which forms so important a factor in the social and economic life of the United States depends upon the success of these efforts. As an example of the kind of action that some labor organizations are taking, the committee quotes paragraph adopted to the constitution of the United Rubber Workers at their recent convention:

Membership shall be denied to any individual who has proven a member of or affiliated with the Communist, Fascist, or Nazi Parties or any other organization that has for its purpose the overthrow of our democratic form of government.

Wherever the conditions of life of any group of workers are most distressing there is presented the very sort of opportunity which the Communist desires; for example, the neglect on the part of other sections of the population of the plight of many thousands of migratory agricultural workers coupled with the fact that many of these people had recently suffered the experience of being driven from their farms constituted the fertile soil in which it was possible for the Communist Party to become a moving force in the organization of the United Cannery Agricultural Packing and Allied Workers Union of which Donald Henderson, an avowed member of the Communist Party, is the head.

Because of the current importance of the aircraft industry, the committee includes with its report the following facts regarding the situation in southern California:

1. In September 1939 Investigators Hurley and Steedman obtained a secret report of the Communist Party entitled "Proceedings of the California Convention, May 14-15, 1938." This report was prepared for the Central Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America. Furthermore, this report established the fact that the Communist Party was concentrating its efforts in the aircraft industry in California. In accordance with a decision reached at this California convention of the Communist Party, Wyndham Mortimer, well-known party member, was sent to the coast. The Communist Party's own publication, the People's World, announced that Mortimer would take over the task of organizing in the aircraft industry.

2. Something like a score of witnesses who have appeared before the committee during the past 3 years have positively identified Wyndham Mortimer as a member of the Communist Party. Most of these claimed to have had first-hand knowledge of his party membership. Some of them have testified under oath that his party name is George Baker.

3. When asked if Wyndham Mortimer was a member of the Communist Party, Earl Browder said under oath: "He is a very close friend, at least." Browder is the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States.

We find that the program of the Communist Party calls for determined opposition to the national-defense program and for a concentration of efforts in basic and war industries. The committee's records show that from the Communist standpoint the main purpose of a strike is political and in order to further in some way or another the program of Moscow. Clearly, this could be served by the bringing about and prolonging of strikes in defense industries. Thus we see again how diametrically opposite are the aims and purposes of the American labor movement on the one hand and the Communist Party on the other.

The committee has evidence of the fact that many members of the German-American Bund, German National Alliance, and other similar pro-Nazi organizations are employed in important chemical and mechanical positions in our industries and that people having definite Nazi sympathies held some important jobs in the aircraft industry. It is important to point out the difference between their technique and that of the Communists. As a rule, the Nazi sympathizer is not a member of any labor organization at all. Due to the natural and altogether admirable proficiency of the German, he is usually a highly skilled workman. Thus it is possible for him to make his appeal to the employer and to attempt to become his confidante and trusted lieutenant.

The committee wishes to state, however, that in its confident judgment the vast majority of Americans of German name and lineage are loyal Americans—Nazi-ism and the German people are by no means synonymous.

Persistent active membership in the German-American Bund or a similar organization would seem to the committee to indicate that a person's primary loyalty is to the German dictator rather than to the United States.

It may be doubted whether the danger from Communist penetration from the ranks of some labor unions or the presence of individual Nazis in our industries is any greater than the more easily protected and covered up Nazi or Fascist sympathies over a comparatively small number of persons occupying high positions in industry. The revelation of the far-flung activities of Ferdinand A. Kertess already referred to is a case in point, as well as the efforts of Gerhard Westrick, Nazi commercial agent, who so suddenly departed from the United States a short time ago.

In order that members of the labor movement who are not already aware of the purposes of Communist work in trade-unions may understand what those purposes are, the committee offers a few examples from the party's abundant literature which will show clearly enough the menace to organized labor which arises from any successful Communist penetration of the unions.

As the movement grows and the unity of the working class strengthens— wrote Dimitroff in a pamphlet published by the Communist Party of the United States—

we must go further, and prepare the transition *from the defensive to the offensive against capital*, steering toward the *organization of a mass political strike*. It must be an absolute condition of such a strike to draw into it the main trade-unions of the respective countries. [Italics are Dimitroff's.]

The official program of the Communist International, which William Z. Foster, head of the American Communist Party, testified before the committee that he accepted, has the following to say about the place of trade-unions in Communist objectives;

It is particularly important for the purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat, to gain control of the trade-unions, which are genuine mass working-class organizations closely bound up with the everyday struggles of the working class. To work in reactionary trade-unions and skillfully to gain control of them, to win the confidence of the broad masses of the industrially organized workers, to change and "remove from their posts" the reformist leaders, represent important tasks in the preparatory period.

In other words, it is the declared program of the Communist Party to do its utmost to gain control of the trade-unions in the period preparatory to its planned revolution.

To this end, the official Program of the Communist International—to which Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, also avowed his loyalty under oath before the committee—also states:

It is the bounden duty of every Communist to belong to a trade-union, even a most reactionary one, provided it is a mass organization. Only by constant and persistent work in the trade-unions and in the factories for the steadfast and energetic defense of the interests of the workers, together with ruthless struggle against the reformist bureaucracy, will it be possible to win the leadership in the workers' struggle and to win the industrially organized workers over to the side of the Party.

An early declaration of the Communist Party in the United States laid down a principle which has from the beginning guided its policy in the trade-unions. That declaration said:

The labor unions must be revolutionized; they must be won for the class struggle against capitalism.

Concerning trade-unions, Stalin wrote, in one of his many books published by the Communist Party in the United States, that— they constitute a school of communism.

Lenin, who is claimed as an authoritative guide by the Communist Party of the United States, stressed the Communist view on trade-unions in the following language:

In the absence of such a basis to work upon as the trade-unions constitute, the dictatorship could not become effective * * *

The Communist Party has not limited its trade-union activity to industrial workers. Pursuant to a decision of the Communist International in 1933, which was published in the Communist, official magazine of the Communist Party of the United States, the party in this country set about the organization of the United Agricultural, Canning, Packing, and Allied Workers. Donald Henderson, an avowed member of the Communist Party, is the head of this trade-union. The decision of the Communist International said:

Organize the agricultural proletariat in independent trade-unions which are to serve as the main lever for the whole work in the rural districts.

Communists view the strikes of trade-unions as dress rehearsals for violent revolution. They have said so in their official pronouncements. One of the textbooks in use at the Communist Party's workers school is entitled "Marx and the Trade-unions." The volume was written by A. Lozovsky, formerly head of the Red International of Labor Unions. Lozovsky quotes Marx as saying of strikes that—

they are the school of war of the workingmen in which they prepare themselves for the great struggle which cannot be avoided * * * And as schools of war they are unexcelled.

Lozovsky himself observes:

We have already seen that Marx and Engels referred to strikes as "social war," as "economic revolt," "real civil war," "guerilla war," "school of war," "advance guard collisions."

Furthermore, according to Lozovsky, strikes constitute an important method of sabotaging the capitalist system. With respect to this Communist theory of strikes, Lozovsky writes:

Marx knew that the economic strike was an important weapon in the hands of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, since everything that deals a blow to the capitalists deals a blow also to the capitalist system.

V. COMMUNIST PARTY ELECTION PETITIONS

In May of this year, the committee obtained some evidence indicating the possible existence of trickery, fraud, and misrepresentation in getting signatures to the Communist Party's nominating petitions. There seemed to be a clear lead to an investigation of the extent of the party's corruption of the ballot.

Immediately, the committee instituted an investigation in a number of States—in Maryland, in West Virginia, in Pennsylvania, in Kentucky, in New Jersey, and in Ohio. We obtained photostatic copies of the Communist Party's nominating petitions which had been filed with the various secretaries of state.

Acting upon the partial evidence in our possession—evidence which showed the existence of fraud and misrepresentation—we addressed a letter, over the signature of the chairman of the committee, to every individual in Pennsylvania whose name appeared on one of these nominating petitions. We inquired of him whether he had actually signed the petition himself, or whether his name had been placed on the petition without his knowledge and consent.

Within 24 hours after the mailing of these letters, the committee's offices in Washington were deluged with thousands of replies from the people of Pennsylvania. These letters advised the committee that thousands of people had never actually signed such a petition, that they had no knowledge whatsoever of the petition, and that they were at a loss to understand why their names appeared thereon. Other thousands of replies stated that the writers had signed a petition but that it had been misrepresented to them, and that at the time of signing they had been led to believe that it was a petition for better housing, for playgrounds, for the lowering of gas rates, for the third term, or for scores of other causes.

Letters similar to the one sent to the petition "signers" in Pennsylvania were then sent to other States.

The evidence is plain that hundreds of names were written on these petitions in the same handwriting. For example, there appeared on the petitions filed with the secretary of state in Kentucky 658 cases of duplication of handwriting. In other words, forgery was compounded 658 times over, within the limits of a relatively small number of "signatures."

The committee's investigation also shows that the names of people who have been dead 10 to 15 years appear on the petitions—deceased persons who had probably never heard of the Communist Party or certainly would not have subscribed to its program if they had ever heard of it.

In some instances, the names of children not over 2 years of age were placed on these petitions.

Furthermore, some 15,000 letters which the committee sent out have been returned unclaimed—no such persons, no such addresses.

The committee's investigation has disclosed that the same frauds were practiced by the Communist Party in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, and the other States. The committee is able to report to the House that this gigantic fraud of the Communist Party has not gone unchallenged in these States. The State law enforcement agencies have responded promptly to Moscow's challenge of our democratic processes. Following the committee's exposé in Pennsylvania, the local prosecuting authorities and the grand juries began a series of investigations.

As a result of these local investigations in Allegheny County, in Pennsylvania, a grand jury early in July indicted 43 persons who had circulated these Communist Party petitions, charging deceit, false statements under oath, and fraudulent representation. These indictments charged 31 with perjury, 32 with conspiracy, and 20 with obtaining signatures on false pretenses. Similar indictments were handed down in other counties in Pennsylvania. In most, if not all, of these cases, convictions have already been obtained.

In one county in Pennsylvania, the Communist Party raised overnight \$100,000 in cash and in property forfeits, to bail out 36 men and women who were under indictment in connection with obtaining the signatures to these petitions.

In the State of West Virginia, as a result of the committee's exposure of the petition frauds, Oscar Wheeler, the Communist Party's gubernatorial candidate, was sentenced to from 6 to 15 years in the penitentiary for fraud in failing to reveal the identity of the political party for which he was collecting signatures on the nominating petitions.

Six others were indicted with Wheeler on the same charge. One hundred and fifty were indicted for voting in a primary after signing the Communist Party petition.

On August 29 the committee made public the results of its investigation of the Communist petitions in Maryland. Immediately following this, Gov. Herbert O'Connor and State's Attorney J. Bernard Wells began an investigation based upon the evidence which the committee had compiled. Governor O'Connor ordered a further inquiry into the alleged Communist fraud and ordered the certification of the Communist Party on the Maryland ballot held up, pending the outcome of his inquiry.

In Maryland, the Communist Party had worked mostly among the Negro population. The committee received hundreds of letters from these Negro people denying that they had signed the petitions, or, in cases where they had signed, advising that they had done so on the representation that it was for better housing, the abolition of lynching, etc. The same kind of fraud and misrepresentation appeared in Maryland as in the other States. The matter was presented to the grand jury in Baltimore, and, as in other States, convictions have been obtained.

In Ohio, the Communist Party filed petitions containing the names of some 34,000 persons. The secretary of state in Ohio furnished the committee with copies of the petitions. Thousands of people from that State wrote the committee repudiating their signatures, on the ground that they were induced to sign by fraudulent means.

In several States, the Communist Party was ruled off the ballot, largely as a result of the committee's investigation and exposure of the fraud involved in these Communist Party petitions.

Since the committee's exposure of these frauds perpetrated by the Communist Party, there has been much shouting about persecutions, the violation of civil liberties, and the intimidation of minority parties. The committee points out the obvious fact that civil liberties are one thing, while fraud and misrepresentation are another.

Communist front organizations and Communist-sympathizing groups attempted to make it appear that the Communist Party was being persecuted for its beliefs.

The National Lawyers' Guild addressed a communication to the Attorney General of the United States, suggesting an injunction against the committee to restrain it from conducting the investigation into these petition frauds. During the year several prominent lawyers resigned from the National Lawyers' Guild on the ground that the organization was unwilling to take any action contrary to the Communist Party "line."

Despite the clearest evidence of crime, the Communist Party has, through its various "Trojan horse" organizations and through the media of its own publications, raised the cry of the denial of civil liberties. The party's principal medium for this purpose was the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Every member of the House received from that organization a letter accompanied by a circular which had a section setting forth alleged "Violations of Rights of Minority Parties." That identical document appeared in the Communist Party's newspaper, the Daily Worker, and not elsewhere in the press, on the same day, September 6, that it was forwarded to the Members of the House.

VI. COMMUNIST PARTY ON VIOLENCE

During the year, the committee has published "A Compilation of Original Sources Used as Exhibits to Show the Nature and Aims of the Communist Party, Its Connections With the U. S. S. R. and Its Advocacy of Force and Violence." Among other things, the authoritative documents included in this compilation show conclusively that the Communist Party has throughout its entire existence maintained that its objectives can be achieved only through a resort to force and violence. In these documents, the party speaks for itself. The following are not the words of the party's critics but the doctrines of its own recognized spokesman:

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat (p. 91, Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848).

They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions (p. 19, Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848).

The epoch of imperialism is an epoch of open clashes between classes, of direct preparations by the working class for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and of proletarian revolutions (p. 27, Otto Kuusinen, 1934).

"Turning the imperialist war into a civil war," such is the correct slogan (p. 32, Otto Kuusinen, 1934).

Expressing the historical need for an international organization of revolutionary proletarians—the gravediggers of the capitalist order—the Communist International is the only international force that has for its program the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and that openly comes out as the "organizer of the international proletarian revolution" (p. 36, Program of the Communist International, together with its Constitution, 1936).

The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.), and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters (p. 47, *Ibid.*).

This mass action includes: A combination of strikes and demonstrations, a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations, and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie (p. 67, *Ibid.*).

The fundamental slogans of the Communist International in this connection must be the following: Convert imperialist war into civil war; defeat "your own" imperialist government * * * (p. 68, *Ibid.*).

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions" (p. 69, *Ibid.*).

The revolution confronts us directly with the problem of armed insurrection. And to speak of this without proper technical preparations is merely to mouth empty phrases. He who wants the revolution must systematically prepare for it the broad masses, who will, in the process of preparation, create the necessary organs of the struggle (p. 78, A. Losovsky, 1924).

Lenin also knew that the establishment of the proletarian power is impossible without a violent revolution, * * * (p. 82, *Ibid.*).

For the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably and in every country taken on the form of a "civil war," and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of formal democracy in the interests of the war (p. 104, Lenin, 1918).

The Communist International makes its aim to put up an armed struggle for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State (p. 111, theses and statutes of the Third International, 1920).

It is especially necessary to carry on unlawful work in the army, navy, and police, * * * (p. 118, *ibid.*).

The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no

¹ Page numbers in parentheses refer to appendix, pt. I of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party, and in every way possible assist the revolution (p. 122, *ibid.*).

The working class cannot achieve the victory over the bourgeoisie by means of the general strike alone and by the policy of folded arms. The proletariat must resort to an armed uprising (p. 126, *ibid.*).

"The best guarantee, the best security for freedom, is a bayonet in the hands of the workers" (p. 191, N. Bucharin, 1920).

The overthrow of imperialist governments by means of armed insurrection and the organization of the international Soviet Republic, such is the way to an international dictatorship of the working class (p. 196, *ibid.*).

Neither can the Communist International admit into its ranks those organizations which have inscribed in their program the dictatorship of the proletariat, but which at the same time continue to rely in their tactics upon a peaceful solution of the historical crisis (p. 213, Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Third Communist International, 1920).

Armed insurrection of the proletariat, resulting in victorious revolution, as in Russia; and a series of open armed conflicts with the state power of the bourgeoisie, as in Germany. This is typical of the conditions throughout the world (p. 215, Constitution and Program of the Communist Party of America, 1921).

By the use of force, the proletariat destroys the machinery of the bourgeois state and establishes the proletarian dictatorship based on Soviet power (p. 217, *ibid.*).

The Communist Party will keep in the foreground the idea of the necessity of violent revolution for the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat based on Soviet power (p. 219, *ibid.*).

The Communist Party must in this manner convince the widest circles of the proletariat by word and deed, that every economic or political conflict, given the necessary combination of circumstances, may develop into civil war, in the course of which it will become the task of the proletariat to conquer the power of the state (p. 256, Theses and Resolutions of the Third World Congress of the Communist International, 1921).

Under "direct action" we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the State: Boycott, strike, street demonstrations, seizure of the factories, armed uprisings, and other revolutionary activity, which tend to unite the working class in the fight for socialism (p. 284, *ibid.*).

The imperialist war must be turned into the civil war, through which the power of the exploiting class shall be broken (p. 408, J. Louis Engdahl and William F. Dunne, 1924).

The American workers, when called upon to go into this war against the Soviet Union, must refuse to fight the Russian workers, and go over on the side of the Red Army. The American workers, like the Russian workers in 1917, must turn the imperialist war into a civil war against their real enemies—the capitalist class of the United States which exploits and oppresses the American working class (p. 466, Leon Platt, 1929).

The means of struggle are—all the forms of mass struggle, including the highest form, armed insurrection (p. 471, I. Komar, Ten Years of the Communist International, 1929).

We explain to the workers, and we teach the workers that only by violence finally can a revolution be accomplished. All revolutions have been accomplished by force and violence (p. 482, William Z. Foster, 1930).

"Orderly revolution" means no revolution. The whole international experience of the working class, immeasurably enriched by the Russian Revolution, proves this beyond question (p. 497, William F. Dunne, 1932).

Let us take root in the factories, let us work thoroughly in the reformist trade-unions, let us work among the mass of unemployed, let us penetrate into Fascist trade-union organizations, into the Army, into the Navy (p. 505, Executive Committee of the Communist International, 1933).

In the midst of imperialist war, the revolutionary working class must put forward the slogan, "Defeat of our own imperialism" (p. 546, Earl Browder, 1933).

Those who accept the class struggle must accept civil wars, which, under certain circumstances, are a natural and inevitable continuance, development, and accentuation of the class struggle in every society based on class divisions * * *. To deny or to overlook civil wars would mean becoming a victim of the most hopeless opportunism and abandoning the social revolution (p. 548, Lenin, published in the Daily Worker, 1933).

The proletariat fights against the wars between imperialist states with a program of defeatism and the transformation of the war into a civil war against

the bourgeoisie (p. 568, Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, 1928).

It is the bounden duty of Communists strongly to combat all peace phrasemongering; for at a certain moment in the war, this can be utilized by the bourgeoisie as an extremely important ideological weapon to prevent the imperialist war from being transformed into civil war (p. 573, *Ibid.*).

The Communists' attitude toward the question of the general strike against war is determined by the same point of view, viz, the transformation of imperialist war into civil war (p. 573, *Ibid.*)

Side by side with other revolutionary mass actions (demonstrations, strikes in munition works, transport strikes, etc.), the general strike—as the supreme form of the mass strike movement—is an extremely important weapon, and as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of imperialist war into civil war (p. 573, *ibid.*).

If the general situation is favorable for it, Communists must utilize such mass movements for the formation of guerilla forces, and for the immediate development of civil war (p. 574, *ibid.*).

An extremely important point in the matter of transforming imperialist war into civil war is revolutionary work at the front (p. 575, *ibid.*).

The Communists in the army must organize fraternization and give it a clear, political color, particularly in regard to the question of peace and the organization of the revolutionary forces in the army (p. 575, *ibid.*).

All this makes it incumbent upon the Communists, primarily in connection with struggle against imperialist and counterrevolutionary wars, to put the question of proletarian civil war openly to the masses and to study the lessons of the above-mentioned uprisings (p. 575, *ibid.*).

There is an art in rebellion; but rebellion is not purely a military problem, it is primarily a political problem. Only a revolutionary party can lead a rebellion. On the outbreak of the rebellion the party must subordinate the whole of its activity to the requirements of the armed struggle (p. 576, *ibid.*).

Revolutionary war of the proletarian dictatorship is but a continuation of revolutionary peace policy "by other means" (p. 578, *ibid.*).

Unless the significance of the revolutionary policy in the war question is explained to the broad masses, and unless work is carried on in the army, the struggle against imperialist war and attempts to prepare for revolutionary wars will never reach beyond the stage of theory (p. 580, *ibid.*).

These demands will have revolutionary significance only if they are linked up with a distinct political program for revolutionizing the bourgeois army (p. 584, *ibid.*).

Revolutionary work in the army must be linked up with the general revolutionary movement of the masses of the proletariat and poor peasantry (p. 584, *ibid.*).

The slogan "transform imperialist war into civil war," must already become the leading idea in our propaganda, before imperialist war breaks out (p. 592, *ibid.*).

* * * The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot come about as a result of the peaceful development of bourgeois society and of bourgeois democracy; it can come only as the result of the destruction of the bourgeois state machine, of the bourgeois army, of the bourgeois civil administration, and of the bourgeois police (p. 597, Stalin, 1934).

Lenin is therefore right in saying: "The proletarian revolution is impossible without the violent destruction of the bourgeois state machine and its replacement by a new one" (p. 597, *Ibid.*).

But along with the growth of revolutionary mass actions, such as demonstrations, strikes in basic industries, munitions works, waterside, rail transport, etc., the general strike—as the supreme form of the mass strike movement—can be a mighty weapon, and "as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war" (p. 599, H. M. Wicks, *The Communist*, 1934).

In fighting against war, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, concentrate their forces in each country, at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism (p. 606, Executive Committee of the Communist International, 1934).

Should a new imperialist world war break out, despite all efforts of the working class to prevent it, the Communists will strive to lead the opponents of war, organized in the struggle for peace, to the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war against the Fascist instigators of war, against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism (p. 646, Seventh Congress of the Communist International, 1935).

The revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system is the historic mission of the working class (p. 694, *The Communist—A Manual on Organization*, 1935).

We Communists say that there is one way to abolish the capitalist state, and that is to smash it by force. To make communism possible the workers must take hold of the state machinery of capitalism and destroy it (p. 740, M. J. Olgin, *Why Communism?* 1935).

"But this is force and violence," somebody will contend. "Don't you Communists know that the use of force and violence is wrong?" We reply to this, first, that if being a "red-blooded American" means anything, it means that you must not take punishment lying down, that you must offer resistance (p. 742, *ibid.*).

But at the same time we emphasize that capitalism cannot be done away with by the ballot (p. 749, James W. Ford and James S. Allen, *The Negroes in a Soviet America*, 1935).

But anyone who tells you to depend upon the ballot and civil rights for your defense is betraying you (p. 750, *ibid.*).

You will be given a gun. Take it and learn well the art of war. This is necessary for the proletarians, not in order to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries * * * but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, in order to put an end to exploitation, poverty, and war, not by means of good intentions, but by a victory over the bourgeoisie and by disarming them (p. 754, Otto Kuusinen, 1935).

The replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution (p. 762, Lenin, published by the Communist Party of America, 1935).

History does not show a single example in which state power was transferred from one class to another by peaceful means, whether in the form of voting or some other method of formal democracy (p. 766, Earl Browder, 1936).

VII. TOTALITARIAN PROPAGANDA

Recently the committee compiled a preliminary report on totalitarian propaganda in the United States. From the evidence in the committee's possession, the following things appear:

1. The totalitarian regimes of Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan are flooding the United States with propaganda.
2. A high official in the United States Customs Service has made the following observation within the past 10 days:

All of the propaganda comes from Germany via Russia and Japan, and has been increasing in quantity steadily since the war began. A Japanese boat which arrived yesterday discharged nearly 400 sacks of this propaganda literature, weighing nearly five tons. * * * Even greater quantities are being received at Seattle and San Francisco.

The foregoing paragraph referred only to the propaganda which is emanating from Germany, and, as the context clearly shows, did not mean to imply that large quantities of propaganda are not being mailed to the United States from the other totalitarian countries.

Five tons of propaganda arriving on a single boat is typical of what has been happening during the past year.

According to the same official of the United States Customs Service, this propaganda is "addressed to thousands of individuals, schools, colleges, institutions, business houses, etc. * * *"

It is not possible to state exactly how many tons of such propaganda are pouring into the United States annually. Up to the present time, at least, the Post Office has not kept statistics on such entries of mail from the totalitarian countries. In a letter to the committee the Postmaster General says:

"However, definite figures are not available inasmuch as statistics of this kind have never been assembled by the Department, there being no indication at the time that they would ever serve a useful purpose or justify the expense that would have been involved."

However, here are some figures available, and these have been transmitted by the Postmaster General to the committee. They are

admittedly not complete. The committee itself is in possession of samples of Nazi propaganda which are not covered by the figures submitted by the Postmaster General.

The following tabulation shows at least a part of the propaganda mail which has arrived in this country from a single source, namely, from H. R. Hoffman:

Date of arrival	Steamship	Mailed by—	Weight, pounds	Publication
1940				
Sept. 5	Tokai Maru.....	H. R. Hoffman (Munich)...	1, 120	News from Germany.
5	do.....	do.....	53	Do.
15	Azuma Maru.....	do.....	2, 578	Foreign News.
15	do.....	do.....	1 500	Periodicals.
19	Kyusyu Maru.....	do.....	525	News from Germany.
27	Brazil Maru.....	do.....	1, 415	News from Germany and American views.
Oct. 2	Tosan Maru.....	do.....	490	Periodicals.
18	Sakura Maru.....	do.....	844	News from Germany.
19	Asama Maru.....	do.....	62	Periodicals.
21	Heijo Maru.....	do.....	2, 847	Do.
29	Nankai Maru.....	do.....	3, 518	News from Germany.
Nov. 1	Nitta Maru.....	do.....	1, 496	Periodicals.
6	Sanuki Maru.....	do.....	522	Do.
6	Kinai Maru.....	do.....	98	Do.
13	Tatuta Maru.....	do.....	875	Do.
21	Sela Maru.....	do.....	977	News from Germany and American Views.
27	Hokkai Maru.....	do.....	924	News from Germany and economics.

¹ Estimated.

The foregoing tabulation shows that approximately 9½ tons of Mr. Hoffman's propaganda have been coming into the United States during a period of 12 weeks. Even at this rate, a total of 40 tons of propaganda have arrived from this single source during the past year. But, it must be repeated, the foregoing tabulation does not include all of Mr. Hoffman's shipments during the September-November period.

3. Under the Universal Postal Union Convention, to which the United States is a signatory, the taxpayers of the United States must bear the full cost of distributing this totalitarian propaganda from the time it is landed on our shores until it is delivered to the addressees.

4. Even larger quantities of totalitarian printed propaganda are put out in the United States. Much of it enjoys the privilege of second-class mail, which, in effect, is another subsidy paid for by the taxpayers of the United States.

It is the committee's view that no process of democracy nor any constitutional right requires the American people as a whole to meet the costs of this totalitarian propaganda which is inimical to the interests of this country.

The committee is of the opinion that added legislation is necessary at this time to place restrictions on the distribution of totalitarian propaganda when that distribution involves any cost to the American taxpayers, and when such propaganda emanates from a foreign source.

It is therefore respectfully recommended to the standing committees of both Houses of Congress on Post Offices and Post Roads, that the evidence contained in this report be carefully examined with a view to proposing legislation that will exclude, from the benefits of the Universal Postal Union Agreement, propaganda that is directed against the United States.

VIII. NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

The importance of national defense requires the most careful consideration on all sides of the menace to our national security which arises from subversive activities.

Perhaps the most serious danger which threatens the security of a people in the face of an attack from one of the totalitarian regimes is the lack of national unity. This would seem to be the lesson which we should draw from the experiences of certain European countries which have been conquered by the dictators. It is also for this reason that the great bulk of subversive activity directed and inspired from the totalitarian countries aims precisely at the destruction of our national unity, the breaking down of our national morale. This subversive aim has come to be known as the "softening process."

The committee is of the opinion that the dangers of sabotage are also great, even though in sheer bulk they may constitute a more limited area of operation than is true in the case of the "softening process." The committee has found that Nazis and Communists are present in all of the industries vital to national defense. This is a situation which calls for the utmost vigilance. The committee readily recognizes that, in the very nature of the case, this is a situation which must be handled by the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Naval Intelligence, the Military Intelligence, the United States Secret Service, and other appropriate law-enforcing agencies. The committee earnestly desires to cooperate with these agencies in this work in every way that it can.

There are two aspects to the danger of Communist influence in the labor situation. One is the obvious danger to the labor movement itself as well as to the Nation, arising from the necessarily irresponsible (except of course for the responsibility which the Communist Party must bear) actions of Communists in attempting to lead American workers into situations of conflict for conflict's sake. The second aspect of the danger of Communist influence in labor situations is one which industrial management itself must handle in the interests of national defense. There can be no justification whatever for industrial management anywhere in utilizing the national emergency as an excuse for permitting or perpetuating conditions in which their employees have real grievances. The committee points out that Communists make the most of such situations. Lacking any real grounds for "sharpening the lines of class conflict" in labor relations, even the most clever Communist propaganda will find it difficult, if not impossible, particularly in these grave times, to induce the great rank and file of American labor to strike in defense industries or to engage in any other activities which might serve the purposes of the Communist Party.

IX. SUMMARY OF COMMITTEE'S WORK

One accomplishment will, by universal consent, be credited to the committee: We have educated and awakened the American people to a far better understanding of the sinister character and wide extent of subversive activities. We may justly claim to have been the decisive force in shaping the present attitudes of the American people toward the activities of the "fifth columns" which aim at our destruction. Our work has been a type of public education whose importance cannot be exaggerated. Not a single one of the countries of Europe

which have been overrun by Stalin and Hitler had the protection of a committee like ours during the years that preceded its supreme crisis.

When we began our work, the German-American Bund had a hundred thousand followers who were pledged to its fuehrer, Fritz Kuhn. The very first exposure which our committee undertook in the summer of 1938 was that of the German-American Bund. The first volume of our hearings opens with a hundred pages of detailed testimony on the un-American and subversive character of the bund.

During the past week the committee published a translation of the official, confidential Manual of the Storm Troopers of the German-American Bund. That document proves conclusively that the German-American Bund is an organization which is highly militarized, and which requires absolute loyalty on the part of its members.

Today Fritz Kuhn is in Sing Sing prison and the German-American Bund has been thoroughly discredited. James Wheeler-Hill, former secretary-treasurer of the bund, is also in prison. Our exposures have provided thousands of innocent people with adequate protection against the false claims of the bund. Its drastically reduced membership and following may now be held to consist only of those whose loyalty is to Hitler.

When we began our work, the bund and a score of Nazi-minded American groups were laying plans for an impressive united front federation—a federation which would be able to launch a first-rate Nazi movement in the United States. By our exposure of these plans, we smashed that Nazi movement even before it was able to get under way.

In like manner, the committee had a large part in breaking up the People's Front. This was more difficult than the breaking up of the Nazi Front. The People's Front was composed of several million adherents and scores of organizations which bore high-sounding names. The People's Front exercised real political influence. But one by one we took its component organizations and showed by incontrovertible evidence that each was a tool of Stalin's revolutionary conspiracy. It is true that Stalin helped greatly by his alliance with Hitler to bring the People's Front into general disrepute; but, even in that, Stalin was only confirming the committee's indictment of his movement. Long before the Nazi-Soviet pact, we had exposed the hypocrisy of the People's Front in its pretended espousal of democracy.

The largest unit of the People's Front movement was the American League for Peace and Democracy. When we began our work, the American League boasted of 7,000,000 adherents. We kept the spotlight of publicity turned upon this organization until it finally gave up in despair and went out of existence. It was killed by exposure. It would have been a great thing for the protection of our country if our disclosures about the league could have been made in 1933 instead of in 1938 and 1939. Our exposure of the league was not premature; it was long overdue.

Other organizations which formed units in the People's Front movement have been greatly crippled in their effectiveness as a result of our exposures. The American Youth Congress once enjoyed a very considerable prestige and an impressive following among the youth of our country. Today many of its distinguished former sponsors refuse to be found in its company. Best of all, it has been deserted by American

youth. We kept the spotlight of publicity focused upon the American Youth Congress, and today it is clear to all that, in spite of a degree of participation in its activities by many fine young people, it was never at its core anything less than a tool of Moscow.

Another of the important People's Front units was the Workers Alliance. At one time in its history, the alliance had an actual dues-paying membership of 600,000. It had an influential lobby in Washington, and claimed to be the only Government-recognized bargaining agency for the unemployed. The alliance became so bold that it took physical possession of the State capitols in New Jersey and Wisconsin. Our committee kept the spotlight of publicity turned upon the Workers Alliance. Finally, its influence was destroyed when it became apparent to all that its control was in the hands of the agents of Moscow. Its non-Communist element withdrew under the leadership of David Lasser in June of this year, and today the Workers Alliance is a mere shadow of its former self—without influence anywhere and completely discredited.

In 1938 William Dudley Pelley was spreading a million pieces of literature over the country. The religious bigots organized in Pelley's Silver Shirts have now lost their leader. Immediately after Pelley was placed on the stand before our committee, he ordered the dissolution of his silver-shirted band. We had exposed it out of existence. One of Pelley's agents who tried to secure a job with our committee by falsely representing himself before us while under oath was tried and convicted for perjury.

Deatherage and his Knights of the White Camellia, who tried to make themselves the nucleus of an American Nazi group, under the name of the American Nationalist Confederation, have likewise gone the way of those who could not bear up under the full exposure of their true purposes. Our committee heard all that Deatherage could say for himself under questioning, and that was enough to put an end to his propaganda of religious bigotry.

The same thing happened to Gilbert and Campbell when we obtained their records under the authority of our congressional subpoena, and exposed the falsity of their propaganda of religious hatred.

The country did not know that Earl Browder had traveled on false passports until our committee placed him on the stand and obtained the damaging admission from his own lips. After that exposure, Browder was successfully prosecuted and now awaits a prison term.

The case of Nicholas Dozenberg was fully aired before our committee. The whole country was apprised of the fact that this former leader of the American Communist Party had entered the espionage branch of Stalin's machine. Three months later, Dozenberg was apprehended by the Secret Service of the Treasury Department. He was then tried, convicted, and sentenced. The American public learned through our exposure of Dozenberg's case that members of the Communist Party are subject to draft into Stalin's espionage ring.

For 2 years our committee piled proof upon proof that the Communist Party was nothing more or less than a foreign conspiracy masked as a political party. In our annual report at the beginning of the present year, we showed in detail how the Communist Party was tied to Moscow. One of our members introduced legislation which will require such foreign-controlled agencies as the Communist Party and the German-American Bund to make a public record of all

pertinent facts concerning themselves. His bill was passed unanimously by both Houses of Congress. In its effort to evade the provisions of the Voorhis Act, the Communist Party has now made the gesture of severing its connections with Moscow. Our relentless exposure of the party has it on the run.

Recently, our committee gave to the country the clearest picture it has yet received of the technique and aims of Hitler's subsidized propaganda in the United States. Because the German diplomatic and consular agents were involved in this un-American propaganda campaign, our committee took every possible precaution not to embarrass the State Department in its conduct of our foreign relations.

During the recent election campaign our committee obtained the names of more than 200,000 persons who had signed the election petitions of the Communist Party. We made an extensive investigation and exposed the fact that these election petitions were tainted with wholesale fraud, perjury, and misrepresentation. On the basis of our exposures, local law-enforcement authorities have obtained more than a hundred indictments and from 50 to 60 convictions. Without a single exception throughout the United States, we have found State and local authorities prepared to cooperate to the fullest with our committee.

In addition to all these things, the committee has built up very complete files on "fifth column" organizations. These files contain the names and records of several hundred thousand individuals. They contain many thousands of pieces of literature and practically all of the publications which "fifth column" organizations have put out during the past 20 years. They also contain thousands of signed letters which have passed between "fifth columnists." These files cannot be duplicated anywhere else in the world today.

Finally, the committee has shown that there is a way to combat the "fifth column" without creating a Gestapo. It is the way of exposure—a way which conforms to the letter and the spirit of a democracy, and is at the same time more effective than a Gestapo. In both Russia and Germany, half the population spies on the other half. That is the logical end of a system which depends exclusively on methods of counterespionage.

X. LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

The committee realizes the difficulty of reaching and curbing certain phases of un-American and subversive propaganda and activities through legislative action. In view of our findings and the origin of these activities, we submit the following recommendations as a partial legislative program:

1. The enactment of legislation to bring about the immediate mandatory deportation of alien spies and saboteurs.
2. The mandatory deportation of aliens who advocate any basic change in the form of our Government.
3. The enactment of legislation requiring that all employees and officials of our Federal Government be American citizens.
4. Withhold all Federal financial support from any educational institution which permits members of its faculty to advocate communism, fascism, or nazi-ism as a substitute for our form of government to the student body of these educational institutions. (This particular recommendation is not concurred in by Mr. Voorhis, not

because of disagreement with the principle involved but on the ground that the administration of such an act is impossible without risking grave injustice being done to people seeking merely to explain the principles involved in totalitarian philosophy.)

5. The enactment of legislation to outlaw every political organization which is shown to be under the control of a foreign government. As long as these organizations have a legal status in the United States, it will be difficult for any agency of the Government to deal with them. We now know that they furnish the legal apparatus for the operations of saboteurs, and the window dressing for espionage. The committee believes that legislation can be worked out to outlaw such organizations, and that this will in no sense constitute a violation of the Bill of Rights, since such legislation would only affect organizations controlled or directed by foreign countries.

6. The enactment of legislation to stop all immigration from foreign countries that refuse to accept the return of their nationals found under American law to be deportable from this country. This legislation is made necessary by the fact that some foreign governments have refused to accept their own citizens who have been ordered deported by the United States Government.

7. As previously stated in the body of the report, the committee recommends the passage of added legislation to place restrictions on the distribution of totalitarian propaganda, when that distribution involves any cost to the American taxpayers, and when such propaganda emanates and is shipped from foreign sources.

8. We recommend that the statutory period during which citizenship papers can be revoked under existing law be extended to at least 10 years.

9. Due to the fact that the committee has discovered that many members of foreign controlled organizations have traveled on American passports which have been fraudulently obtained, the committee feels that the statute of limitations should be extended from 3 to 7 years. This is made necessary because of the unusual difficulty in apprehending those who resort to the use of fraudulent passports within the period of 3 years.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend the continuation of this committee for a period of 2 years with an adequate appropriation. This committee is the only agency of Government that has the power of exposure. No other agency can require witnesses to appear before it and testify under oath with respect to un-American activities and subversive propaganda. No other agency of Government has the power to subpoena records and documents of un-American organizations, and individuals, except under unusual circumstances. There are many phases of un-American activities that cannot be reached by legislation or administrative action. We believe that the committee has shown that fearless exposure, coupled with effective enforcement of the laws that are on the statute books, is the democratic answer to the "fifth column." The committee believes that it should have at least 2

years in order to formulate and put into effect a long-range program.

2. The committee recommends as a policy that employment in national-defense industries or the Government service be denied to any person who has been and is now active in any political organization which is found to be under the control and guidance of a foreign government.

MARTIN DIES, *Chairman.*
JOE STARNES,
N. M. MASON,
JOHN J. DEMPSEY,
JERRY VOORHIS,
J. PARNELL THOMAS.

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