

# Union Calendar No. 5

76TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT  
3d Session } No. 1476

---

---

## INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

---

JANUARY 3, 1940.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state  
of the Union and ordered to be printed

---

Mr. STARNES of Alabama, from the Special Committee on Un-  
American Activities, submitted the following

### R E P O R T

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

#### INTRODUCTION

Every modern democratic nation is confronted by two pressing problems. The first is the preservation of the constitutional liberties which their people have gained through the years of struggle. The second is the problem of adjusting their economic life to the difficulties of the machine age. Throughout all ages there have existed groups of people who have sought power and influence through the exploitation of the economic difficulties of the people of various nations. The more difficult economic circumstances become, the greater the opportunities for groups of this character. There is at present taking place in the world a struggle between democracy on the one hand and dictatorship on the other, upon the outcome of which the future of human liberties in the next few centuries may well depend.

As long as this struggle continues the American Nation, along with other true democracies in the world, faces a serious dilemma. It is of primary importance to prevent the growth or spread of influence of any organization or group which seeks to undermine democracy and substitute dictatorship of whatever sort for it. But it is at least equally important that in combating subversive groups of this character nothing be done which would undermine the fundamental structure of constitutional liberty itself.

One method which can and should from time to time be used is the method of investigation to inform the American people of the activities of any such organizations in their nation. This is the real

purpose of the House Committee to Investigate un-American Activities. By un-American activities we mean organizations or groups existing in the United States which are directed, controlled or subsidized by foreign governments or agencies and which seek to change the policies and form of government of the United States in accordance with the wishes of such foreign governments.

For almost a year and a half, the committee has taken testimony from scores of witnesses, most of whom have had first-hand knowledge of subversive and un-American activities. This testimony fills some 7,000 printed pages. In addition vast amounts of documented evidence have been made part of the committee's record. As source books of first-hand or primary evidence on the workings of the Communist, Nazi, and Fascist organizations, these volumes of testimony given at the public hearings of the Special Committee on un-American Activities are without equal.

It has happened that in certain European nations dictatorships have been set up in recent years. The most noteworthy examples of such dictatorships are the Communist dictatorship of Stalin in Russia and the National Socialist or Nazi dictatorship of Hitler in Germany. Starting out with ideals which apparently differed widely from one another, these two dictatorships have converged upon one another, not only in the matter of their foreign policy but also with regard to their domestic programs, until today we find little to distinguish one from the other and even find that these two dictatorships are co-operating together in Europe for their supposed mutual benefit.

Both Stalin's communism and Hitler's nazi-ism pursue the policy of attempting to build up in other nations groups of followers who could be depended upon to protect the interests of the European dictators under every circumstance. There is evidence of similar efforts by the Italian Fascists. The primary representatives of these efforts in the United States have been the Communist Partys on the one hand and the German-American Bund on the other. Up until the time of the signing of the pact between Stalin and Hitler, the Communist Party on its part was about to gain its greatest influence in the United States by attempting to represent itself as the spearhead of an "anti-Fascist" movement, and the German-American Bund on the other hand was about to make its most effective appeal by representing itself as the spearhead of an "anti-Communist" movement. Significantly enough, in the first case the movement was supposed to be anti-Fascist on the one hand, but not anti-Communist, and in the second case to be anti-Communist, but not anti-Fascist.

At the present time, with the signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact, these movements have been severely crippled and this tactic is far less effective than formerly. The committee finds that criticism of Adolph Hitler has practically disappeared from the columns of the Communist press, while criticism of the Soviet Union is likewise conspicuous by its absence in the Nazi press. The Communist Party has even gone so far as to lift the boycott which it had declared on German-made goods. (Announcement by William Z. Foster, chairman, Daily Worker, December 12, 1939.) It is important, therefore, to understand that the difference between various kinds of totalitarian governments is much more apparent than real, and it is essential to approach the problem of studying their activities in the United States with this idea clearly in mind.

As further background for an adequate understanding of the findings of the Committee on Un-American Activities, a brief outline of changes in the "party line" or tactics of the Communist Party is important. Essentially, communism is an international revolutionary movement seeking to replace democratic government by a so-called dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the aim and goal of all true Communists and fundamentally it never changes. The greatest danger to a movement of this kind is obviously the existence of successful efforts to peacefully and progressively solve the economic problems of a people within the framework of a constitutional democratic government. Progressive reform movements, therefore, must always be eliminated in order for a communistic movement to be ultimately successful, and such movements can never expect to benefit from "united front" activities with Communists.

Beginning in 1935, however, the Soviet Government of Russia attempted a policy of cooperation with the capitalistic democracies in attempting to build what was known as "collective security" against fascist and nazi nations. In accord with this, the tactics of the Communist Party in the United States were changed and for approximately 4 years the party pursued a policy of pretending to cooperate with all progressive and liberal forces with the primary idea in mind of gaining greater and greater influence within, and ultimate control of such forces, and thus being able to influence the policy of the United States in accordance with Soviet interests. It is in this 4-year period, while pursuing this particular line or policy, that the Communist Party in the United States has succeeded in extending its influence among so-called "front" organizations and in some labor organizations as well. It is important to remember in this connection that the Communist Party at this time was deliberately refraining from preaching communism in any real sense of that term.

Beginning with the time of the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the Communist line and tactics in the United States have changed once again and the policy now being pursued is the true and traditional Communist Party policy of outright revolutionary agitation. Under these circumstances, and particularly in view of the recent Soviet attack on Finland, the arrest of certain outstanding Communist leaders in the United States for violations of Federal law and a variety of other factors, it is reasonable to expect that there will take place a sharp reduction not only in the influence exerted by the Communist Party in the United States but also in the number of people adhering to it.

In somewhat similar fashion the Nazi or Fascist movement has at the moment suffered certain severe set-backs, due largely to the present international situation. It has already been pointed out that the most effective appeal of such groups has been an attempt to rally those who were for obvious reasons ready to enlist in an "anti-Communist" movement. With the demonstration of the similarity of purpose and method between Stalin's communism and Hitler's nazi-ism, this tactic, as has already been pointed out, became less effective.

The committee conceives its principal task to have been the revelation of the attempts now being made by extreme groups in this country to deceive the great mass of earnest and devoted American

citizens. The committee finds that the danger to American democracy lies not only in the rather remote possibility that Communists, Nazis, or Fascists will succeed in a frontal attack on our Constitutional government and overthrow it, but also in the much greater chance that each extreme totalitarian group seeking by deception to advance its own cause and pad its ranks will succeed in convincing a really substantial number of people that their only defense against violence from the opposite extreme is to accept the violence of the one they find least objectionable.

The committee condemns without reservation the evident willingness of some supposedly responsible people to endanger the very civil peace of their country by encouraging, for purely political purposes, suspicion, fear, and bigotry of the worst sort. Those on the right of political center cannot in the long run be benefited nor can they save their country by attempting to brand as Communists all those on the left of that center. Conversely, those on the left cannot advance their cause nor save their country by leveling the charge of fascism and attempting to brand as tools of Hitler all who would proceed more slowly than themselves.

The committee's work should result in freeing the progressive and labor movements from Communist control or domination and in preventing sincere conservatives from temporizing with essentially Fascist or Nazi groups or philosophies. If the findings of this committee were to be used as a pretext for the building of an un-American movement of any sort on the excuse that such a movement were "necessary to combat such-and-such a danger to the country" clearly a disservice to our democratic institutions would have been done. The committee wishes to state emphatically that the only proper and democratic method whereby un-American activities can be effectively combatted is by the duly constituted law-enforcing bodies of America operating under our Constitution and with the support of an informed public opinion.

#### THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS A BRANCH OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Hundreds of pages of testimony have established the fact that the Communist Party of the United States can make no more than a superficial claim that it is a "political party" in the sense in which the American people understand those words. It is, on the contrary, a constituent member of the Communist International and is its agent in the United States. The Communist International in turn is completely dominated by the Communist Party of Soviet Russia.

The committee feels that a careful examination of the facts justifies the assertion that the Communist Party of the United States is a foreign conspiracy masked as a political party.

The committee is forced to conclude that in practice, the Communist Party is actually functioning as a "border patrol" on American shores for a foreign power—The Soviet Union.

Since the Communist Party of the United States has the avowed purpose of drastically changing the form of government of the United States, it is the opinion of the committee that the party's activities constitute a violation of the Treaty of Recognition entered into between the Government of the United States and the Government of the U. S. S. R. in 1933.

The evidence for these conclusions come from three sources: (1) Admissions drawn from the present leaders of the Party, including Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Max Bedacht, William Weiner, and Alexander Trachtenberg.

(2) Testimony of former leaders of the party who had themselves engaged in all the operations of this international conspiracy, including Ben Gitlow, Jay Lovestone, Fred E. Beal, Joseph Zack, and W. G. Krivitsky.

(3) The official literature and publications of the Communist Party and of the Comintern (the Communist International).

The evidence for our conclusion with respect to the true nature of the Communist Party is both direct and cumulative. It falls into the following subdivisions:

(1) *History of the Comintern.*—The Communist Party of the United States is an admitted section or affiliate of the Communist International. The Communist International was founded in 1919 on the initiative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and under the personal leadership of Lenin. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union rules the U. S. S. R., and according to the testimony of numerous witnesses who appeared before the committee, it likewise rules, unchallenged, the Communist International of which the American Communist Party is an affiliate.

(2) *Statutes of the Comintern.*—The basic law governing the workings of the Communist International makes it clear that all constituent national parties in the Comintern are completely subservient to the will of its real leaders in Moscow. All witnesses, whether past or present leaders, on the Communist Party of the United States, testified that *obedience or expulsion* is the law governing the relations of national parties to the Comintern.

(3) *The "model" party.*—Present leaders of the Communist Party of the United States, such as Browder and Foster, admitted that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the "model" after which all other Communist parties are patterned. At the present time, the American Communist Party is engaged in a systematic study of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has as its avowed aim the inculcation of the idea that the CPSU is the true "model" party for all other Communist parties.

(4) *The "Fatherland."*—Present leaders of the American Communist Party admitted that they look upon and have spoken about the Soviet Union as the "Fatherland of the working class of the world."

(5) *Primary loyalty.*—It was clear from the testimony of every present member of the Communist Party who appeared before the committee that his primary loyalty, in the event of any conflict between the United States and the U. S. S. R., would force him to choose the side of the U. S. S. R. And the head of the party, Earl Browder, general secretary, admitted in the following testimony before the committee that he would attempt to turn an aggressive war into a civil war:

Mr. MATTHEWS (examining the witness). \* \* \* Assuming that it (the United States) should attack the Soviet Government, or become involved in war against the Soviet Union, what then?

Mr. BROWDER. If it were possible for the American Government to do that, or if we assume that the American Government should make an aggressive war

against the Soviet Union, I would stand as absolutely opposing such a war, and as doing everything possible to stop it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Even to turning such a war into a civil war?

Mr. BROWDER. Yes, sir; in every way I could to stop it. I cannot conceive, however, of America being an aggressor nation.<sup>1</sup>

(6) *Representatives in Moscow.*—The Communist Party of the United States has consistently maintained a number of official representatives in Moscow for the purpose of interlocking the American party with the ruling party of the U. S. S. R. Witnesses, such as Joseph Zack, who had once served in the capacity of representative to Moscow were among those who gave testimony before the committee.

(7) *Representatives from Moscow.*—According to the statutes of the Comintern and also according to numerous witnesses with first-hand knowledge of the facts, the Communist International has from time to time sent representatives to the United States armed with complete authority over the affairs of the American Communist Party. Among these Comintern representatives here have been Harry Pollitt, Dengel, and S. Gussev.

(8) *OGPU agents.*—The Soviet Government maintains a far-flung system of secret-service agents engaged in espionage throughout the world. These OGPU agents, according to the testimony of Krivitsky, former head of the Soviet Union's western European military intelligence, have looked upon the United States as one of the countries in which their work has been done with least interference from governmental agencies. The work of these OGPU agents is, furthermore, closely interlocked with the work of the Communist Party itself. Among the OGPU agents identified by witnesses was Nicholas Dozenberg, who has since been indicted and apprehended by Federal authorities. Former high leaders of the Communist Party in this country described members of the party as persons possessing the "OGPU mind." In other words, while only a comparatively few party members actually become OGPU agents, all of them are in a position where they can be used to furnish information to the secret service of the Russian Government, and where they may at any time be called upon to either act under Russian instructions or be expelled from the Communist Party.

(9) *Training of leaders.*—For many years, the Russian Government maintained in Moscow a school for the training of leaders of foreign communist parties. Scores of the leaders of the American Communist Party, such as Clarence Hathaway, have passed through this school, and some of its graduates have been among the committee's witnesses, such as William Nowell. The training which these leaders have received in Moscow has included preparation for eventual uprisings and civil war in the United States.

(10) *Visits of party leaders to Moscow.*—Without exception the leaders of the American Communist Party have made repeated visits to Moscow. In official documents introduced as evidence, it appears that Moscow has been described as "Mecca" in the parlance of the Communist Party of the United States.

(11) *Reports to Moscow.*—All high officials of the American Communist Party have made periodic reports to Moscow on their activities in the United States. These reports have been subjected to the criti-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 7, published hearings, p. 4431 (September 6, 1939).

cism of the officials of the Comintern who are at the same time officials of the Soviet Government.

(12) *Moscow's supervision of publications.*—According to documentary evidence, the authenticity of which was conceded by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, issues of the Daily Worker (official newspaper of the Communist Party in the United States) have been analyzed and criticized by official Moscow agencies, and changes in the Daily Worker's policy have been dictated from Moscow as the result of this analysis and criticism.

(13) *Moscow's permission necessary.*—When the Communist Party of the United States moved its headquarters from Chicago to New York, it was necessary to obtain the permission of Moscow for the move. Likewise, whenever the Communist Party of the United States has desired to hold a convention, it has been necessary to obtain the permission, in advance, of authorities in Moscow.

(14) *Leadership and advice of Stalin.*—The present head of the Communist Party in the United States, Earl Browder, acknowledged that he and his party have accepted the leadership and advice of Stalin on matters that pertain to the work of the Communist Party in this country. Furthermore, the tenth convention of the American Communist Party formally acknowledged the leadership of Stalin and Dimitrov, the latter being the head of the Communist International.

(15) *Directives.*—Scattered throughout the proceedings and literature of the American Communist Party and the Comintern are numerous examples of actual instructions given by the Comintern to the American party. These were introduced into evidence before the committee.

(16) *Parallel policies.*—From numerous documentary sources, as well as from the first-hand knowledge of witnesses, it was shown that the basic policies of the Communist Party of the United States closely parallel the policies of the Government of the U. S. S. R. When shifts of policy have occurred in the Soviet Union, based upon its internal situation alone, these shifts have been mechanically reflected in similar shifts by the party in the United States without any regard for the situation confronting the Communist Party here.

(17) *Defense of the Soviet Union.*—For many years the Communist Party of the United States used as one of its principal slogans "The Defense of the Soviet Union." A revolution of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, to which Browder and Foster and other leaders of the American Communist Party declared their allegiance, described the defense of the Soviet Union as "the paramount duty" of Communists throughout the world.

(18) *Support of Stalin's foreign policy.*—One of the most striking attributes of the American Communist Party in the present world situation is the complete support which its leaders and publications give to the foreign policies of Stalin. For years the American party conducted its most energetic propaganda campaigns around the issue of antifascism. With the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, all this has changed, and the American party has launched an equally energetic propaganda campaign against Great Britain and France. For years the American party was quick to organize rallies and front organizations around the issues of Hitler's various aggressions against small European countries. Today the party has lapsed into silence

on the subject of Hitler's aggressions and has been quick to organize its propaganda campaigns in defense of Stalin's aggressions against Poland, Estonia, and Finland.

(19) *Illegality on behalf of Moscow.*—In demonstrating its unswerving loyalty to the Soviet Government, the Communist Party of the United States, under instructions from the Comintern, has from time to time pursued policies in direct violation of the laws of the United States. These violations have included the obtaining of fraudulent passports, counterfeiting of American currency, the maintenance of a secret espionage apparatus, and violation of injunctions.

(20) *Financial support from Moscow.*—Numerous witnesses testified before the committee that Moscow has from the very beginning of the Communist Party in the United States supplied the party here with funds for its subversive activities. Some of these witnesses, such as Gitlow and Lovestone, have in the past themselves brought these funds from Moscow to the United States.

(21) *Soviet Government agencies in the United States.*—The interlocking of Soviet Government agencies in the United States with the American Communist Party was established through the testimony of several witnesses. The Soviet embassy, the Amtorg Trading Corporation, the Bookkniga (propaganda literature agency) and the Amkino (propaganda movie distributors) were involved in this interrelationship of the American Communist Party with official Soviet agencies.

(22) *Soviet literature.*—Through the medium of the International publishers, whose head, Alexander Trachtenberg, was a witness before the committee, extensive Soviet propaganda is subsidized in the United States. Both the American Communist Party and the Soviet Government are involved in this ostensibly commercial concern which distributes foreign-subsidized books and pamphlets in the United States.

(23) *Press agencies.*—The tie between the Soviet Government and the American Communist Party is expressed in numerous propaganda services, masking as news agencies and involving cable tolls and other forms of subsidy which effectively aid the Stalin conspiracy on American soil.

(24) *Moscow control over party leadership.*—Through numerous witnesses and documents it was established that Stalin and Molotov have personally intervened to change and determine the leadership of the American Communist Party. The confidential versions of Stalin's speeches on the situation in the American Communist Party were introduced into evidence before the committee. They reveal beyond any possibility of dispute the fact that Joseph Stalin is the dictator not only in Russia but also of the American Communist Party.

(25) *The Moscow "solar system."*—Indisputable evidence was introduced to show that the interference of the Soviet Government in American affairs goes far beyond the confines of the American Communist Party itself. Organized and maintained under strict Communist Party control are organizations having direct connections with Moscow as well as indirect connections through the American Communist Party. As an example of this type of organization, we cite the now defunct Trade Union Unity League which was under the control of the American Communist Party and which was also

affiliated with the Profintern, the Red International of Labor Unions, having its world headquarters in Moscow. The committee also received evidence placing the International Labor Defense and the Young Communist League in this category.

*Communist technique in "transmission belts" and "united fronts."*—Numerous witnesses support the testimony of Benjamin Gitlow, former secretary of the Communist Party, who described the party's technique in the organization and control of its "front organizations" in the following language:

First, a number of sympathizers who are close to the party and who the party knows can be depended upon to carry out party orders are gotten together and formed into a nucleus which issues a call for the organization of a particular front organization which the party wants to establish. And generally after that is done a program is drawn up by the party, which this provisional committee adopts. Then, on the basis of this provisional program, all kinds of individuals are canvassed to become sponsors of the organization, which is to be launched in the very near future. A secretary is appointed, a provisional secretary is appointed before the organization is launched and in every instance in our day the secretary who was appointed was a member of the Communist Party, because the secretary has access to the letters and to the files and to the organization. And as president of the organization, we would put up some prominent public figure who was willing to accept the presidency of the organization, generally making sure that, if that public figure was one who would not go along with the Communists, he was of such a type that he would be too busy to pay attention to the affairs of the organization, and therefore would represent no problem to the organization.

On the committee that would be drawn together, a sufficient number of communists and Communist Party sympathizers who will carry out party orders, was included, and out of this number a small executive committee is organized, or acting committee, which carries on the affairs of the organization, so called, and this small executive committee, with the secretary, really run the organization. And this small committee and the secretary are the instruments of the Communist Party, with the result that when manifestoes or decisions on campaigns are made, these campaigns are ordered by the Communist Party.

*Communist Party "fronts."*—The committee finds that the following organizations are properly classified as "front organizations" of the Communist Party:

American League for Peace and Democracy.

International Workers Order.

American Student Union.

Friends of the Soviet Union.

National Negro Congress.

Southern Negro Youth Congress.

League of American Writers.

Workers Alliance.

Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign.

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

In the case of the International Labor Defense, although some non-Communists have undoubtedly lent support to its efforts and perhaps even cooperated with it, the committee has established that it is, essentially, the legal defense arm of the Communist Party of the United States.

In the case of the American Youth Congress, the committee finds a central organization which has no membership of its own, but which attempts to affiliate together the largest possible number of organizations of American young people, the vast majority of whom

have no connection with communism, nazi-ism, or any movement of that sort, but are members of some of the most necessary and valuable organizations which our country possesses. The Young Communist League, as well as certain other organizations in which Communists have played an important part, is affiliated with the American Youth Congress and testimony has been presented to the committee to indicate that this minority group has at times exerted an influence on the American Youth Congress out of all proportion to its size. The committee is unable to see how it is possible for this or any other organization of American young people claiming to preserve and vitalize the American institutions and life of America to expect to promote that work by including within its ranks those who do not believe in democracy, but in a contrary philosophy of life and form of government.

Due to its extraordinary size and influence, we give a summary of the evidence concerning the American League for Peace and Democracy. For the evidence concerning the other aforementioned "fronts," or "transmission belts," we refer readers to the full transcript of testimony given in public hearings.

*American League for Peace and Democracy.*—The committee finds on the basis of overwhelming and conclusive evidence that the American League for Peace and Democracy is a Communist "front" organization.

According to its own publications, the American League was organized at the Amsterdam World Congress Against War in 1932. That congress was convened on the call of the famous French Communist, Henri Barbusse, acting under instructions of the Communist International. It was attended by 2,196 delegates of whom 830 were avowed members of the Communist parties of the world. In addition to these avowed Communists, there were 291 delegates who styled themselves "Social Democrats" but whose position, according to their own proclamation, was in complete agreement with the Communists. These self-styled Social Democrats pledged themselves to work for civil war in their respective countries in the event of another international conflict. The Amsterdam congress unanimously adopted a program which declared that it would not allow the Soviet Union "to be touched." This program was adopted as its own by the American Section of the world committee which was set up at Amsterdam. Of the 32 American delegates to the Amsterdam congress, a large majority were well-known Communist Party members or came from organizations such as the John Reed clubs whose affiliation with the Communist Party is clear beyond dispute.

The American section of the Amsterdam movement first called itself the American Committee for the Struggle Against War. Its secretaries, Oakley Johnson and Donald Henderson, were well-known Communists. It was this committee which called the First United States Congress Against War, at which the founding of the American League Against War and Fascism took place. Donald Henderson became the first secretary of the organization.

In three successive programs adopted by the annual congresses of the American League, the organization boldly declared its first objective to be the work of interfering with the preparation of our national

defense. Point 1 in these programs stated this purpose in the following language:

To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war.

At its second annual congress, Harry F. Ward, present national chairman of the American League, declared this program to be "sound." Earl Browder, one of the main speakers at that Congress and vice president of the American League at that time, joined Harry F. Ward in this declaration concerning the League's program. Shortly before that, Browder, who was also secretary of the Communist Party, had gone in person to Moscow to report to the Executive Committee of the Communist International that the program of the American League was "politically satisfactory."<sup>2</sup> Browder also declared in Moscow that the Communist Party had led the First United States Congress Against War "quite openly" and that the American League represented the Communist Party's "most successful application of the United Front."

In 1937 the American League Against War and Fascism changed its name to the American League for Peace and Democracy. This was in keeping with the Communist Party's new "line" on the People's Front.

According to one of the recent minutes of the Washington, D. C., branch of the American League, it was decided "to set up League committees in the units of Government agencies with our present membership in those agencies as a nucleus." These nuclei of the League are now formed in more than a score of Government agencies. H. C. Lamberton, chairman of the Washington branch of the League, testified under oath before the committee that there are 700 Government employees who are members of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Both the financial secretary of the Communist Party, William Weiner (indicted since his testimony before the committee as an imposter falsely posing as an American citizen in obtaining a passport), and the national chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Harry F. Ward, testified under oath that the Communist Party is the only national organization which contributes any appreciable sum of money to the work of the American League. According to these two witnesses, this amounts to the sum of two or three thousand dollars annually and represents approximately 15 percent of the total annual budget of the American League. This financial contribution from the Communist Party has continued down to the present time, despite the fact that the Communist Party formally severed, for tactical reasons, its affiliation with the American League more than 2 years ago.

The Chicago branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy sent out a letter in 1938 in which its executive secretary boosted the Communist Party's newspaper, the *Midwest Daily Record*. The secretary wrote:

I have sent you about a dozen copies of the May 10 Record under separate cover. I am sending copies of this issue to all of our branches calling attention

<sup>2</sup> Report to the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow, Dec., 1933—published in "Communism in the United States" by Earl Browder, p. 183.

to the invaluable role of the Midwest Record in this important phase of our activity and urging their support by subscriptions, etc. It is a shame that the Midwest Record does not have one hundred times its present circulation.

When the American League backs an avowed Communist Party publication in that manner, it is clear that the league and the Communist Party have a link with each other that the leaders of these two organizations have attempted to conceal from the public.

A member of the national committee of the American League, Mrs. Clinton A. Barr, appeared as a witness before the committee and told how a radio address which she had been asked to deliver under the auspices of the American League since the signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact, was completely revised by the secretary of the Communist Party of the State of Wisconsin. The committee finds it significant that among the changes which the secretary of the Wisconsin Communist Party made in this radio address of the national committee-woman of the American League was the deletion of uncomplimentary references to Adolph Hitler. Mrs. Barr refused to deliver the revised radio address and resigned.

The committee finds that the league's record on the Soviet-Nazi pact stamps it as an organization subservient to the Communist Party. A statement prepared by the executive committee of the Washington branch of the American League reads, in part, as follows:

This pact is a real contribution to world peace and to the peace and security of the United States \* \* \* The signing of the nonaggression pact between the U. S. S. R. and Germany is not a war alliance between the two powers. It is not an agreement for the partition of Poland \* \* \* In this sense the pact between the U. S. S. R. and Germany is the only real contribution to the security of Poland that has been made to date \* \* \* In doing this, the Soviet Union has made a real contribution to an understanding of the present crisis in Europe. It has made a real contribution to the peace and security of Europe, the world, and the United States.

The committee believes that earnest Americans who seek the solution of their country's problems within the framework of our constitutional government should either refrain from lending their names to organizations with which they are not completely familiar or else should be sufficiently active in such organizations to make sure that they, and not any foreign-dominated group, control its activities. The committee believes it is especially important that such a policy be pursued by persons employed by the Government of the Nation.

The committee finds that the American League for Peace and Democracy has probably been the most effective of all the united front organizations in drawing innocent and earnest people into activities cooperative with the Communist Party. We fully realize that the vast majority of the membership of the League consists of people that simply believe in peace and democracy, and we find it difficult to understand why this majority has not asserted itself with greater vigor in connection with the activities of the League.

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Up until the year 1934 the Communist Party pursued the policy of dual unionism, setting up rival labor organizations in the same industries as were organized by affiliates of the American Federation of Labor. In that year, however, this policy was dropped and the attempt was made by Communists to bore from within the American

Federation of Labor. On the whole this effort met with but slight success.

With the formation of the C. I. O. the principal efforts of the Communists were turned in the direction of that organization. It is unmistakably clear that the overwhelming majority of the members of the C. I. O. as well as its president are not Communists or Communist sympathizers, but sincere American workers seeking to improve their lot in life in perfectly legitimate American fashion. The evidence before the committee indicates, however, that the leadership of some 10 or 12 of the constituent unions of the C. I. O. out of a total of some 48 unions is more than tinged with communism. The evidence shows that some of their leaders are either card-holding members of the Communist Party or subservient followers of that party's "line." In the rank and file membership of these unions, on the contrary, the proportion of Communists and Communist sympathizers is very small indeed. There is encouraging evidence of an attempt on the part of the C. I. O. leadership to remove this Communist influence and it is a matter of record that most of its largest organizations are free of any Communist control, domination, or even serious influence. It is plain to this committee that the situation which does pertain in the organizations listed below is the most serious one, both from the standpoint of American industries and from the standpoint of the organized labor movement itself.

On the basis of the evidence submitted, we find Communist leadership entrenched in the following organizations: National Maritime Union; United Cannery, Packing, and Allied Workers; Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians; Fur Workers International Union; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Transport Workers Union; United Office and Professional Workers Union; American Communications Association; United Electrical, Radio and Mechanical Workers of America; and the United Furniture Workers of America.

American labor has borne the brunt of the Communist efforts to pursue the policy of penetration of mass organizations in the past 4 years and, to the degree that that effort has been successful, American labor has a task of great seriousness and importance on its hands. The serious factor in the situation, from the standpoint of the Nation as a whole, lies not so much in the purely economic views which the members of labor organizations may hold, as in the foreign control over Communist Party members, which might in time of stress lead to sabotage and to espionage, and in the Communist rule-or-ruin policy so disruptive to the labor organizations themselves.

The committee believes that the American labor movement must, and will, as speedily as possible, free itself of Communist leadership and control wherever it exists.

The committee is emphatic in its belief that a strong and vigorous labor movement is an element of strength in the life of our democracy. But the committee must assert that the Communist Party is interested in trade-unions primarily for the purpose of attempting to utilize those labor organizations for the benefit of the Russian dictatorship and its foreign policies.

## NAZI-FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS

The committee heard numerous witnesses and received a large volume of documentary evidence concerning the extent, nature and activities of a number of Nazi-Fascist groups, individuals and organizations which are presently operating in the United States, or which have recently been active in this country. Some of the principal witnesses who testified before the committee regarding such activities were:

James E. Campbell, captain, Engineer Corps, United States Army Reserve; Commander, Veterans of Foreign Wars Post, Owensboro, Ky.; Americanism Chairman of the Department of Kentucky of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

George E. Deatherage, National Commander, Knights of the White Camellia.

Dudley Pierrepont Gilbert, organizer and leader of the American Nationalists, Inc.

Felix McWhirter, treasurer, Indiana Republican State Committee; president, Peoples Bank, Indianapolis, Ind.

General George Van Horn Moseley, United States Army, retired.

Henry D. Allen, former member of the Silver Shirt Legion of America.

Robert B. Barker, Investigator for the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund.

John C. Metcalfe, former member of the German-American Bund.

Dr. John Harvey Sherman, president, University of Tampa.

Helen Vooros, former member and leader of the German-American Bund Youth Movement.

Gerhardt Heinrich Seger, former member of the German Reichstag and a member of its Foreign Relations Committee.

Emil Revyuk, associate editor of "Svoboda," Ukrainian Daily newspaper; President of the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States.

Richard Forbes, former member of the German-American Bund.

Fritz Heberling, clerk, German Consulate, Chicago, Ill., and head of the German Bund.

James J. Metcalfe, special agent, Investigation Division, Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture.

Neil Ness, former member of the German-American Bund.

From the evidence which has been heard, the primary aims of these groups appear to be (1) a radical change in the American form of government, and (2) the collection of dues from such misguided citizens as will contribute to their support. The evidence also reflects that these various groups are engaged in a form of racketeering as well as in subversive activities. When the money ceases to flow into the coffers of one organization they abandon it and start another one. These groups and organizations make their chief appeal to the basest forms of religious and racial hatred. They promise to deliver this country from the menace of communism; they heap scorn upon the institutions of democracy; and they urge the short cuts of force and violence.

## THE GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND

Fritz Kuhn, the feuhrer of the German-American Bund, claims that his organization is nothing more than a political group whose primary purpose is to promote the welfare and best interests of the citizens of the United States and to assist in a solution of their problems. Testimony before the committee, however, both from hostile and friendly witnesses, establishes conclusively that the German-American Bund receives its inspiration, program, and direction from the Nazi Government of Germany through the various propaganda organizations which have been set up by that Government and which function under the control and supervision of the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment.

The bund presently has three major administrative divisions in the United States—the eastern, the midwestern, and the far western—each under the direction of a division leader who takes his orders from Fritz Kuhn, the National Feuhrer. There are in the three divisions 47 districts and in the districts are a total of 69 local posts or units. It has been impossible to accurately determine the extent of the bund's membership due to the secrecy with which it operates and the fact that all membership lists, correspondence, and other records have been destroyed by order of the national leader, an admission he made on the witness stand to this committee. In the absence of membership lists, the committee has had to accept as the best available figure the statement of Fritz Kuhn concerning the bund's membership. He testified that the bund has a membership of approximately 20,000 to 25,000. (A Department of Justice investigation made of the bund in 1937 placed the membership at 6,500.) In addition to the regular membership, it has what is known as the sympathizer or "fellow traveler" group, consisting of those who are sympathetic to the bund but do not actively participate in its proceedings. He testified that the sympathizer group is composed of approximately 80,000 to 100,000 individuals.

It was established that the German-American Bund operating in the United States is similar to the Nazi groups which were built up in Austria and Czechoslovakia prior to their annexation by Germany. The August 31, 1939, issue of the *Deutscher Weckruf* and *Beobachter*, official newspaper of the bund, printed an article written in German under the following title:

Fritz Kuhn, America's Henlein.<sup>3</sup> German-American Bund, the organization of which he is the leader, eight to ten thousand uniformed storm troops. The duel, Kuhn versus Dewey.

It was established that the program and the activities of the German-American Bund are similar to Nazi organizations in Germany and in other countries. The bund newspaper makes frequent use of material emanating from Nazi propaganda sources, such as "World Service." The emblem of the National Socialist Party, the swastika, also is the emblem of the German-American Bund.

Fritz Kuhn, in defending the position that the bund is strictly an American political organization, claims that members of the bund must be American citizens. The following is a quotation from the

<sup>3</sup> Karl Henlein, the leader of the Nazi minority group in Czechoslovakia before annexation by Germany.

"Weckruf," official organ of the bund, which is illustrative of the bund's attitude with reference to citizenship:

We may have lying in the closet different citizenship papers and yet we are all German men and links of a big German community of hundreds of millions.

In 1936 Fritz Kuhn accompanied a large delegation of bund members to Germany ostensibly for the purpose of visiting the Olympic games. The group paraded in uniform of the Orderly Division (storm troops), and the parade was reviewed by Adolf Hitler. Following the parade, Fritz Kuhn and other officials of the German-American Bund were received by the German Feuhrer, at which time they presented him with a golden book containing autographs of bund members and delivered to him a contribution of \$3,000 for the German winter relief fund. This money had been solicited from bund members, some of whom, according to Kuhn's testimony, were unemployed and on relief.

In his testimony with reference to the meeting with Hitler, Kuhn stated that no report was made by him concerning bund activities in the United States and that the subject was not mentioned during the interview. However, the December 10, 1936, issue of the official bund newspaper carried an article concerning a speech which Kuhn made in San Francisco following his return from Germany. According to the article, Kuhn stated in his speech that Chancellor Hitler advised him, "Go back and carry on your fight."

It was established through the testimony of Fritz Kuhn that the bund had worked sympathetically with other organizations throughout the United States and cooperates with them. Kuhn testified that some of these groups are the Christian Front, the Christian Mobilizers, the Christian Crusaders, the Social Justice Society, the Silver Shirt Legion of America, the Knights of the White Camellia and various Italian Fascist, White Russian, and Ukrainian organizations. Kuhn testified that some of the leaders of these groups had addressed meetings sponsored by the bund and that representatives of the bund in turn frequently appeared as speakers at meetings and gatherings sponsored by the above-named groups. It was also established that the bund cooperated with some of these organizations and their leaders by exchanging literature and publications with them and by publishing material emanating from them in the official organ of the bund. Numerous articles have appeared in the bund newspaper expressing the bund's approval of the activities of the organizations already mentioned. The literature put out by the various groups and individuals named is distributed or sold at the bund camps, meetings, and other gatherings.

The following excerpt from the testimony of Fritz Kuhn is indicative of his attitude:

Mr. WHITLEY (examining the witness). Mr. Kuhn, what are the relations between Mr. Joe McWilliams and his Christian Mobilizers and the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUHN. They are very friendly to each other, because the Christian Front, the Christian Mobilizers, really have ideas which we sponsor 100 percent.

With reference to the exchange of literature and propaganda material between the bund and various Fascist groups, the committee received testimony that the following are standard reading in bund camps: Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, Pelley's booklets and publication, Lib-

eration, the books of Julius Streicher (German propagandist), and the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin's publication, *Social Justice*.

The German-American Bund, like the National Socialist Party in Germany, pays particular attention to the training of its youth. Testimony was heard that members of the youth movement were taught nothing concerning American institutions or ideals, and that they were encouraged to be extremely critical of the United States and its Government. It was also found that the uniforms worn by the members of the youth groups, their camps and program of activities were similar in every respect to those of the Hitler youth movement, and that the Nazi salute was the accepted gesture of greeting.

It was established that groups of leaders of the German-American Bund youth movement are frequently sent to Germany for special training. Testimony was received from a witness who was a member of a group of 15 boys and 15 girls from various parts of the United States who were selected by the bund to be sent to Germany for special training. According to the witness, all instructions concerning arrangements and the trip came from V. D. A. (League of Germans Living Abroad), one of the Nazi propaganda agencies; and all plans and arrangements with reference to the trip were carried out with the utmost secrecy.

It was established through the two witnesses, both former bund members, that there is a political agent on all German ships and that these political agents maintain contact with the Nazi representatives in foreign countries. They are intermediaries for transmission of instructions to the bund leaders in the United States and they receive reports from these leaders concerning the bund's activities, according to the witnesses.

A former bund member on the west coast testified that German agents engaged in espionage activities, contacted bund leaders in the United States and sought and received their cooperation. This witness also testified that he had heard discussions among bund leaders with reference to the manner in which the bund, through its members in various industrial plants, could effectively carry out a program of sabotage in case such action became necessary.

Evidence was heard by the committee that members of the bund had assisted German agents whose arrests were sought by officials in the United States in avoiding apprehension and had helped get them out of the United States with the cooperation of German ships.

Evidence also was taken indicating that Nazi propaganda agencies, through officials of the German Government in the United States, have attempted to propagandize educational institutions in this country. It was testified that a German consul general had offered, on behalf of the German Government to subsidize German departments in American universities provided the professors were "acceptable" to the Nazis.

*Cooperating groups.*—The committee has found abundant evidence of the cooperation of certain other organizations with the German-American Bund. This is a more serious matter than is the direct strength or influence of the bund itself. For example, in August 1938 a so-called anti-Communist convention was held at the bund headquarters in Los Angeles at which Hermann Schwinn, leader of the bund on the west coast, was one of the principal speakers; and Arno Risse, bund leader, who has since fled the country, was one of

the two or three persons most active in promoting and making arrangements for the convention. According to the testimony of Henry D. Allen, one-time Silver Shirt leader, organizer of the American White Guard, and prominent figure in Fascist circles generally, the following persons participated in this convention:

Kenneth Alexander, Southern California leader of the Silver Shirts; J. H. Peyton, of the American Rangers; Chas. B. Hudson, of Omaha, Nebr., organizer and leader of America Awake, who accompanied General Moseley when he appeared before the committee; Mrs. Leslie Fry, alias Paquita Louise De Shishmareff, mysterious international figure who has since fled the country, then leader of the Militant Christian Patriots; representatives of Italian Fascist and White Russian organizations; and a number of others of similar point of view.

Bund literature mingled with that of William Dudley Pelley, Robert Edmondson, Mrs. Fry, and George Deatherage on the tables of this convention.

It is clear to the committee that this convention was in no real sense an anti-Communist convention but rather another of a series of attempts to unite some of the various forces of intolerance, racial hatred, Naziism and Fascism in order to achieve greater influence in the United States. This effort like others of its kind yielded no apparent results.

Allen further testified that he was sent out by Mrs. Fry on an extended trip throughout the country, and that all his expenses were paid by Mrs. Fry, but Allen did not know her source of the money. During the course of this trip Allen visited George Deatherage, leader of the Knights of the White Camellia, James True of Washington, D. C., publisher of the co-called Industrial Control Reports, Gerald B. Winrod, Kansas preacher, Nazi protagonist, and unsuccessful candidate for the Senate, Robert Edmondson, disseminator of Fascist literature, and Fritz Kuhn. On this same trip Allen went to Atlanta, Ga., to attempt to "buy the Ku Klux Klan" for Mrs. Fry for the sum of \$75,000. He testified that he talked to Hiram W. Evans, head of the Klan, but that Evans "was not interested in the idea."

In releasing this report on the activities of Nazi agents in the United States the committee wishes to make the emphatic statement that neither the committee as a whole nor any of its individual members entertains the slightest doubt of the unswerving loyalty to the United States of our fellow citizens of German descent. In a number of cases it was their cooperation which made disclosures of bund activities possible. They felt that it was as much in their interest as in that of the Nation as a whole that the committee endeavored to bring to light some of the facts concerning the operations of Nazi agents and the leaders of the German-American Bund.

The question of the form of government of the German or any other nation is not one that concerns either this committee or the American people. But attempts by any foreign agency to influence American citizens in favor of a foreign form of government and against American democracy is quite a different matter and one concerning which the Committee on Un-American Activities has immediate and great concern.

*Fascist groups.*—In recent years a large number of organizations and individuals sympathetic to Nazi and Fascist ideals and forms

of government have been extremely active in the United States. There is no way to determine accurately exactly how many such organizations are presently active or have been existant in recent years. They are conceived in the minds of would-be "Fuehrers" and spring up overnight with alarming frequency. They often operate only for a short time and then are replaced by some other organizations with a name which is thought to have a popular appeal. For the same reason, it is impossible to determine the total membership of these groups, but it is safe to estimate that the actual membership plus sympathizers and potential supporters is many thousands.

Many of these so-called organizations are nothing more than letter-head or "name" organizations and have little or no actual membership. In some instances one individual will create and be the self-designated "dictator" of several such groups at the same time. The words "patriotic," "Christian" and "American" frequently are used in the names of the various organizations for the purpose of attracting followers. Needless to say, the use of these words by such organizations is a gross misrepresentation and entirely inconsistent with the actual purposes for which the organizations stand.

The evidence received by the committee, both verbal and documentary, establishes that all of these organizations receive their inspiration from the Nazi and Fascist forms of dictatorship, although they all profess to be strictly American and interested only in the institutions and problems of this country.

One witness, Dudley Pierrepont Gilbert, who appeared before the committee had written to one of his associates, James E. Campbell, frankly describing his own destiny in terms of the careers of Mussolini and Hitler. "Remember," Gilbert wrote, "those who are finally successful always suffer much before victory. You and I are no exception to that rule. Mussolini was insulted, stoned, and driven from town to town. \* \* \* Hitler was jailed and persecuted for years. \* \* \* It is that very suffering that has welded together the strong type of men that have led Nationalism to victory in other countries. The same will be so here. \* \* \* You and I are destined to lead America to that greatness."

It was established that these groups and individuals receive literature from the various propaganda agencies of the Nazi and Fascist governments and that they frequently reprint portions of this material in their own publications without indicating its source. They have expressed their admiration for the Nazi or Fascist forms of government. They advocate similar forms of government for the United States.

Some of the organizations which have been brought to the committee's attention frankly describe themselves as "Fascist." One publication introduced into evidence states: "This issue carries at the masthead our newly selected emblem—the swastika."

They advocate as a part of their program the accomplishment of a change in our present form of government by force and violence. "Frankly," Campbell wrote to Deatherage, "I say to you that this thing has gone so far that there is only one remedy, and that is a military action which will put a military court in charge of the United States Federal Government and each State government \* \* \*."

If not actually advocating such methods, they repeatedly profess to believe that military action will be necessary in order to combat

the influence and activities of minority groups. "I believe as you do," wrote Deatherage on one occasion, "that it will take military action to get this gang out and the organization must be built around a propaganda organization, now, that can in a few hours be turned into a militant fighting force."

The leaders of some of the organizations have worked out elaborate plans and charts for developing the various groups into a propaganda machine which could quickly be converted into a military organization. They have also concerned themselves with the problems of securing arms to be used when the expected military action was undertaken.

Probably the largest, best financed, and certainly the best publicized of such groups is the Silver Shirt Legion of America, whose leader is William Dudley Pelley of Asheville, N. C. For those reasons, the committee feels that he and his organization serve best as an example of this type of subversive activity.

In his own book titled "The Door to Revelation," Mr. Pelley describes how he launched his Silver Shirts on January 31, 1933, the day after Hitler took power in Germany, and how he regards himself as the American Hitler. But, as a matter of fact, documentary evidence from the records of the United States district court at Asheville, presented to the committee at public hearings, showed that Mr. Pelley, on January 14, 1934, from Hollywood, Calif., wired Harry F. Sieber, one of his associates in Asheville, to destroy all records of the Galahad Press, Mr. Pelley's defunct publishing company, the insolvency of which had been brought about by the diversion of over \$100,000 in funds to other accounts; \$29,497.42 of this amount having been deposited in Mr. Pelley's personal account in the Franklin National Bank, Washington, D. C., and \$81,366.97 having been deposited in two Asheville banks to credit of the "Foundation for Christian Economics," a dummy corporation set up by Pelley. The Galahad Press, later, on May 1, 1934, was adjudicated a bankrupt with losses of over \$13,000 to the preferred stockholders and over \$20,000 to creditors. It was further shown that the Silver Shirt Legion of America was actually incorporated on March 17, 1934, by a Delaware charter. Mr. Pelley and three of his associates were subsequently indicted in North Carolina and Pelley and one of his lieutenants were tried and convicted, Pelley being fined \$1,719.50 and placed on probation of continuous good behavior for 5 years from and after February 18, 1935.

On September 2, 1939, as a result of false testimony under oath before the committee on August 23, 1939, a paid secret agent of Pelley's was indicted by a Grand Jury in the District of Columbia for perjury committed by said agent in his efforts to secure employment as an investigator with this committee.

It was Pelley who repeatedly in his weekly publication "Liberation" challenged the committee to call him before it but who when summoned by the committee to appear and testify attempted to enjoin the committee in an abortive suit in Federal court at Asheville which was dismissed on August 29, 1939. Thereupon, Pelley disappeared.

Subsequent efforts by committee agents and the United States marshal at Asheville to serve a subpoena on Pelley have been unavailing and Pelley is still in hiding somewhere—either in or out of the United States.

A careful investigation of Pelley's bank accounts, and books and the records of the post office at Asheville has established the fact that thousands of dollars in funds coming into Pelley's hands from his organization and publishing house now known as Skyland Press, have been disposed of in a way so devious as to defy accounting.

These facts may explain the desperate efforts, so far successful, of this self-styled Hitler and superpatriot to avoid an appearance before the committee and answer questions.

On September 3, 1939, Pelley sued six members of the committee and an investigator for the committee for \$3,150,000 damage, but it is believed that this suit will, like numerous suits filed by Pelley against public officials in the past, be dismissed on motion.

On October 19, 1939, Hon. Zeb Nettles, judge of the Superior Court of Buncombe County, N. C., in directing the Clerk to issue a capias to the Sheriff for the arrest of Pelley on a citation to show cause why his parole should not be revoked, made the following statement in open court:

It is not those from without that we must watch, but those so-called saviors of mankind who are preaching a doctrine deadly to American institutions. This defendant who has been moving in our midst seeking to further the cause of nazi-ism with himself as the dictator, seeking to destroy justice and liberty and abolish all laws, living under the very protection of that law—he is seeking to overthrow and trying to undermine our system of government. Such a man cannot deserve the blessings of a Government like ours. He is a menace to our society. Gratitude is one of the most beautiful attributes of human character. This man "smites" the hand that feeds him and has the unenviable record and distinction of being a contemptible ingrate.

We do not have to defend this system of government of ours from such an individual. For 3 weeks I sat here in this very courtroom and helped unravel a course of crooked dealing, thievery, and stealing sufficient to damn any man, much less this contemptible seeker after notoriety, W. D. Palley, so-called and self-styled leader of the Silver Shirts—convicted felon—not even a citizen. A Buncombe County jury says he is not, yet he would be our dictator and would tell our county what to do.

The capias for Pelley's arrest to answer the citation to show cause why his parole should not be revoked is still outstanding and unserved.

From the documentary evidence and testimony before the committee concerning the activities of Pelley, the conclusion that he is a racketeer engaged in mulcting thousands of dollars annually from his fanatical and misled followers and credulous people all over the United States, Canada and certain foreign countries, is inescapable.

Pelley provides the typical case, but his methods differ little from others in the same field.

The committee's evidence shows that virtually all these organizations and individuals make the common use of racial and religious hatred to enlist members and secure financial support. It was found that these groups and individuals cooperate to the extent of lending moral support to one another. They also attend meetings and conventions together, and exchange literature and speakers. They apparently do not cooperate where finances are involved and each is jealous of his own sources of income.

Each would-be Caesar has hopes of bringing about a permanent national organization or federation with himself as the supreme leader. Such an organization would include all or most of the smaller groups. Numerous attempts have been made by the leaders active in the various groups to bring about such a consolidation.

National conventions have been held at which representatives of many of the groups have been present and plans for one large national organization have been discussed. None of these attempts has as yet been successful due primarily to the jealousy which exists among the leaders and the desire of each to be the "Fuehrer" of the consolidated organization.

The evidence reflects that no person engaged in this type of activity has as yet achieved sufficient prominence and prestige to enable him to receive the support of all organizations and individuals as a national leader. From the testimony heard, it appears that Gen. George Van Horn Moseley was being seriously considered as the national leader prior to the time such plans were exposed and the general was called as a witness before the committee. However, the unending quest for the "man on horseback" continues.

The testimony reflects that the German-American Bund, as well as the Nazi propaganda agencies in Germany, cooperate with the groups and individuals named and give them their full sympathy and support.

It is apparent that one of the principal concerns of the "dictators" of these organizations is the collection of money through the sale of literature and from contributions. It is clear from the testimony received that many of the organizations were set up primarily for the purpose of selling religious and racial hatred and that their leaders are nothing more than racketeers.

The groups and individuals engaged in this particular type of activity have turned out an almost unprecedented volume of literature of the most vicious kind with which they have flooded the United States in their efforts to secure supporters. They have also exchanged this literature with foreign organizations of a similar nature in practically every country. Their efforts in this direction have been ably supplemented by the mass of literature sent to them for redistribution by foreign propaganda agencies, such as the Fichte-Bund of Hamburg, Germany, the "World Service" of Stuttgart and others.

The leaders of the various groups are extremely active as speakers, and meetings, rallies and conventions are constantly being held at which these professional purveyors of hate attempt to spread their doctrines, recruit followers, secure financial support and encourage the use of force and violence.

As stated above, the committee has established that numerous of these essentially Fascist groups in America have sought from time to time to effect a unity. The outstanding effort of this kind was known as the American Nationalist Confederation which was headed by George Deatherage, at that time, but no more, the leader of the Knights of the White Camellia. The official emblem of the American Nationalist Confederation was the swastika.

The following organizations and individuals took part in one way or another in this attempt to create a united Fascist movement:

Knights of the White Camellia (George Deatherage).

Militant Christian Patriots (Mrs. Leslie Fry).

William Dudley Pelley.

Gerald B. Winrod.

Charles B. Hudson.

James True.

National Liberty Party (Frank W. Clark).

E. N. Sanctuary.

Robert E. Edmondson.

The American Rangers (J. H. Peyton).

The American White Guard (Henry D. Allen).

The Constitutional Crusaders of America.

Examination of testimony and evidence received can only leave the committee with the conclusion that the German-American Bund must be classified with the Communist Party as an agent of a foreign government.

Although at the present time it is difficult to establish the international ties of the Bund as clearly as in the case of the Communist Party, no reasonable person can read the testimony on the Bund and believe other than that the Bund is operating primarily in the interest of Germany.

It is noteworthy that there is an additional parallel between the bund and the Communist Party in the employment of "united front" tactics. The willingness and eagerness of the bund to encourage establishment of Fascist-minded organizations in this country is strikingly similar to the "front" policies pursued by the Communists and is to be equally condemned.

It is the urgent recommendation of this committee that the proper authorities enforce most vigorously and conscientiously all laws applying to organizations whose obvious objectives can be no other than to destroy the American form of government at the direction and in the interests of foreign powers.

*Continuation of the investigation.*—The question of continuation of this investigation into subversive and un-American activities and propaganda lies, of course, with the House of Representatives. We feel that the following in this connection merits the attention of the House:

1. The continually changing international situation—with its direct bearing on the activities of these un-American groups in this country—warrants the constant vigilance of a special investigating committee of the House in the immediate future.

2. With these un-American groups—both on the right and on the left—in a state of confusion as a result of the disclosures by this committee, the events abroad, and recent prosecutions by various governmental agencies, it becomes doubly important that such an inquiry be continued to make certain that the aforementioned confusion is turned into complete rout.

3. Since the advent of the European war, the committee has been deluged with offers of evidence and testimony of extreme importance to the American public and damning to the cause of subversive groups, but which could not be accepted because of the shortness of time for preparation of the cases before the life of the committee expired, and because of the press of cases already prepared.

4. Because of several reasons beyond this committee's control, numerous important cases were prepared and scores of witnesses obtained, particularly on the west coast, whose testimony is yet to be heard. The west coast cases alone would require from a month to 2 months to hear.

The committee believes that its efforts to expose un-American activities should keep pace with an active campaign of prosecution by the various agencies of government to the end that America and American institutions may successfully repel these insidious forms of attack by foreign powers.

## ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this committee is the task of protecting our constitutional democracy by turning the light of pitiless publicity on the activities of organizations seeking to work the will of foreign dictators in the United States or to destroy our constitutional democracy and set up a totalitarian regime of some sort in its place. The committee's objectives have been advanced to a remarkable degree in a brief 12 months. The Soviet-Nazi pact has helped by making more clear the real nature of all dictatorships and by revealing the similarity between Hitler's naziism and Stalin's communism. The attacks on Poland and Finland have caused a revulsion of feeling in America against the nations which were responsible.

The work of the committee has unquestionably been an important factor in bringing about the following results:

(1) Fritz Kuhn, styled "feuhrer" of the German-American Bund, has been sent to prison as a man unable to be trusted with the custody of the funds of his own organization;

(2) Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, and William Weiner, party treasurer, have been indicted on the charge of falsifying American passports, and the Department of Justice is understood to be preparing further cases of a similar sort against other leaders of that organization;

(3) Nicholas Dozenberg has been charged with counterfeiting of American money on orders from the Communist International;

(4) William Dudley Pelley, self-styled "leader of men," disappeared from view completely a couple of months ago rather than appear "like a man" before the committee or appear in court in his own county in North Carolina to answer to a citation from the superior court to show cause why his parole should not be revoked for violation of his probation. Pelley is a fugitive from justice and this fact is very apparently having a serious effect on his Silver Shirt organization;

(5) Officials of Bookniga, Soviet propaganda agency, have pleaded guilty to the charge of failure to register with the State Department as foreign agents and similar cases are in preparation by the Justice Department;

(6) Arno Rissi and Mrs. Leslie Fry, west coast Nazi and Fascist leaders, have fled the country for good and sufficient reason.

(7) Many bills of a corrective nature have been introduced and passed by the House as a result of the testimony produced by this committee.

Speaking more generally, the German-American Bund, the Communist Party, the Silver Shirts and some other similar organizations have fallen upon the darkest days they have seen yet. They are losing both membership and prestige and the time may speedily come when they will cease to be seriously regarded by anyone in the United States. If this result is to be achieved, however, the earnest effort of all groups of people in the United States will be required, as well as vigorous action to enforce the laws we now have on our statute books.

We believe that the committee would render a disservice to the Nation if it left the impression in its report that there is anything in the present situation to cause anyone to lose faith in the American

people as a whole or their devotion to their basic institutions. Indeed, one of the greatest facts of all that should be recorded in the report of this committee is that on the basis of evidence presented to the committee, not over 1,000,000 people in the United States can be said to have been seriously affected by these essentially foreign or un-American activities. That leaves about 131,000,000 Americans who in spite of the efforts of Nazis, Fascists, Communists, self-styled saviors of America and all the rest, and in spite of the suffering and distress of 10 years of unemployment and depression, are still as sound and loyal to American institutions and the democratic way of life as they ever were. We owe something to these 131,000,000 people—especially to the poor, the unemployed, the distressed among them. We owe something to our farmers, our workers, our business and professional people who have so nobly stood by America, her institutions and ideals through these difficult years. We owe them a solution of the economic and social problem of unnecessary poverty in the midst of possible plenty.

MARTIN DIES, *Chairman.*

JOE STARNES.

JOSEPH E. CASEY.

JERRY VOORHIS.

JOHN J. DEMPSEY.

N. M. MASON.

J. PARNELL THOMAS.

Attest:

ROBERT E. STRIPLING, *Secretary.*

○

