

CHAPTER IV

MARTIN DIES, FIFTH COLUMNIST EXTRAORDINARY

THE STORY of Martin Dies is perhaps the most amazing of all the fantastic stories that have come out of this war.

Placed at the head of a Congressional committee to investigate "un-American activities," Martin Dies has performed in the United States that work which was desired above everything by Hitler & Co. in Berlin. In the name of fighting against the Fifth Column, Martin Dies became our American Fifth Columnist extraordinary. And he obtained the approval of Congress for his work, and still retains that approval. He badgered, obstructed, bullied, and frustrated the policies of the President of the United States—and the greatest punishment he ever received was a gentle slap on the wrist. He is the most successful of all Fifth Columnists, at the point where his vocation counts most of all—in the heart of the government of the United States.

Consider the evidence!

The one thing Hitler & Co. wanted above all else, in order to win this war and thus conquer the world—including the United States—was to keep his prospective victims divided. This meant, in the first place, to prevent the formation of the United Nations, to prevent at all costs the alliance of the two most powerful of his enemies, the

U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The one institution, and the one person, that most helped Hitler toward this end was the Dies Committee and Martin Dies himself.

Martin Dies' work is recorded in millions of words of Congressional reports, and more millions of words in the newspapers of the country. To review this public record fully would require many volumes. For a brief but conclusive review of the Dies record, we have, however, the help of Martin himself. For Martin Dies wrote and published a book. He called it: *The Trojan Horse in America: A Report to the Nation*. It was published in the second year of the war, by Dodd, Mead & Co. It is the concentrated essence of Martin Dies.

The book is an impassioned and sustained call for a war. It is intended to condition the United States for a war.

But the war which Martin Dies prepared for was not the war in which the United States is now engaged. Martin Dies prepared to put the United States into *war against the Soviet Union*, as a preliminary to Hitler's war against the United States. He was preparing for Hitler's war, with the United States as Hitler's ally, on the model of Italy or Vichy. He was moving heaven and earth to prevent the alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union for the defeat of Hitler. He was obstructing by all means the formation of the United Nations, which guarantees the defeat of Hitler.

Martin Dies' book is the full and conclusive proof of these assertions.

Dies starts his book with a description of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, in August, 1935. He says "Stalin had called" it as part of the "world communist plot" aimed to "destroy the

American government and institutions" through refugees from fascism who are to play the role "of the Trojan horse" against the United States. He pictures Stalin "at the head of 150 divisions of uniformed Soviet troops" marching through American streets. He says "the Soviet invasion of the United States has already taken place." He says all Americans who are not ready to support a United States war against the Soviet Union thereby prove themselves "traitors." All this is based upon his version of the Seventh World Congress in 1935.

This picture is the opposite of the truth. The Seventh World Congress sounded the alarm against Hitler's plans of world conquest, and proposed that all anti-Nazis should sink their political differences to defeat Hitler. It proposed that the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. should find ways to co-operate to maintain peace in the world—which meant to halt Hitler's advance. So far from proposing to destroy the United States government, as Dies says, it was proposing to defend the United States government against its worst enemy. The whole congress was a mobilization against Hitler, a setting up of guarantees to the democratic countries in the fight against Hitler, the offer of the Communists of all countries to subordinate all other aims to the setting up of a common "people's front" against Nazism and fascism. The Communists of all countries solemnly decided there to offer their services to the democratic governments in the fight against Hitler, to cease their role of opposition and take up that of support, even to assume responsibility in coalition governments in those countries where the Communist parties were strong—new policies of great seriousness. It was George Dimitroff, the hero of the Leipzig Reichstag Fire Trial, the first man who had

defeated the Nazis, who was the spokesman for this first putting forth of the policy of the United Nations.*

Hitler and the Nazi press set up a great howl against the Seventh World Congress. In France, the Lavals, Dorlots, and Petains echoed the Nazi cries; in Belgium, Leon Degrelle and his Rexists repeated the same slogans; in Norway the notorious Quisling was the mouthpiece; in England it was the Cliveden set and the Chamberlain crowd. In the United States it was first and foremost Mr. Martin Dies, together with Father Coughlin, the German-American Bund, Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, and all those individuals and groups now fully identified as defeatists and traitorous elements in our life-and-death war with Hitlerism. One and all, they repeated verbatim the ideas and slogans put forth by Hitler's "Antikomintern," which was the foundation for the Axis pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan. One and all, they built up Hitler's plan for world conquest, and its camouflage as a "holy crusade against Bolshevism." Inside Germany this was a betrayal of the German people, in favor of big monopoly capital, but in all the other countries it was the betrayal of the entire nation, including the capitalists big and small, as well as the middle classes, farmers, and workers.

Whose interests were served by this slander against Stalin, against the Soviet Union, and against the Communists of all lands? Clearly, the only service was to Hitler. For this was the idea which Ambassador Davies found "helps Hitler's cause, not ours." This was the idea which led to the disastrous "Munich" sell-out in 1938,

*For a detailed study of Dimitroff's historic words, see the pamphlet of his speech published in the United States in 1935 in a half million copies; the speech is also included in the book by George Dimitroff, *The United Front*, pp. 9-94, New York, 1938.

which destroyed Czechoslovakia, broke the French-Soviet alliance and prepared the destruction of France; which put Hitler's stooge in command of Spain, in command of the Western entrance to the Mediterranean, in command of the ideological and geographical approaches to Latin America; which disarmed and demobilized the democracies and loosed Hitler's war upon the world. This idea was Hitler's "secret weapon."

Martin Dies' book, *The Trojan Horse*, is a typical textbook of the Hitler "Antikomintern." It represents Hitler's center of power inside the government of the United States, sabotaging our foreign policy, writing Hitler's desires into our laws, corrupting our sources of information, "sabotaging the mind" of the nation, "softening up" the United States for Hitler's conquest.

Martin Dies' whole work has been to establish, nourish, and spread the idea that our Ally, the Soviet Union, is really the most serious and deadly and almost the single enemy of the United States. That is and always was a vicious lie, a dangerous lie, a lie which today threatens the defeat and destruction of our nation. But upon that lie rests the whole work of Hitler's agents in the United States and the whole work of Martin Dies as the head of the Congressional Committee of the United States government which was given the task of defending the country against its inner enemies.

Martin Dies himself admits, in his own distorted way, that if his indictment of the Soviet Union as "enemy of the United States" is false, then everything he has done and said collapses, falls to the ground, and is bankrupt. On page 230 of his book, he admits: "Of course, if the Soviet Union really represents the interests of the great majority of Americans... as the Communist Party has

openly declared on many occasions, then history will commend its... support of the Soviet Union." Less than a year after Mr. Dies wrote this, our Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Sumner Welles, in an exchange of notes with the Soviet Union, officially established the United States policy that the defense of the Soviet Union "*is in the interests of the national defense of the United States.*"* That is the answer of history to Mr. Dies. That is sufficient justification for all honest Americans, regardless of their politics, for having had continuous faith in the Soviet Union and standing for its defense.

Mr. Dies was always conscious of the war. In his book he reports how he prepared for war. When I was called before his Committee, he demanded to know if I would support the United States government if it was attacked by the Soviet Union. I answered that the question was a provocation, designed to worsen relations with the Soviet Union, that I could not imagine the Soviet Union attacking the United States, that it was an irresponsible thing to talk thus about relations with a friendly and powerful country. Mr. Dies then had his stooge, Matthews, put further questions which are quite revealing of his mind and purpose. He considered it so important that he reproduced it in his book (page 208). Here is the crucial question and my answer:

"MR. MATTHEWS: But assuming that it should attack the Soviet Government, or become involved in a 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

* Exchange of Notes, August 6, 1941.

Government should make an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, I would stand as absolutely opposing such a war, as doing everything possible to stop it."

Note that not here, nor at any other point of the work of Mr. Dies' Committee, did he ever ask the question of any witness whether he would support the government of the United States in a war against Germany, or Japan, or Italy. He was not, and is not, interested in preparing for or winning such a war. He was interested in preparing that the United States "should attack the Soviet Government, or become involved in a war against the Soviet Union." And anyone who challenged this aim was immediately branded as a traitor to our country.

Do not think, however, that Mr. Dies found targets for his bombs only in the Soviet Union and in the American Communists. No, he goes the whole gamut of issues and targets pointed out in Baron von Killinger's "Memorandum" of policy for the Fifth Column in the United States. He lays down rules for recognizing his "un-American" suspects, who are to be driven out of public life and governmental employment, rules so broad as to include every progressive figure in the country. For example, he asks:

"Does the organization, through its official publication, lectures, and public speakers, endeavor to popularize the Soviet Union?"

If it does, then every member or "fellow traveler" of that organization is placed on the blacklist of Mr. Dies, and is subject to instant dismissal without a hearing if in government employment, to newspaper hounding which will drive him into unemployment if he works for a private employer, to deportation if he is not an American

citizen, to cancellation of his citizenship papers if he is a naturalized citizen. And down to the day this is written, the formula of Mr. Dies is the official directive which controls the "purging" of the Federal payrolls of "subversive" elements. Tens of thousands of Americans are being driven out of public and private employment as "subversive" because they had demonstrated, or were simply suspected of, sympathy with the Soviet Union. But there is not a single rule or question laid down by Mr. Dies to identify and eliminate the agents of Hitler & Co.

With what glee must Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels read the reports of Martin Dies at their desks in Berlin! In not a single one of the conquered countries did they have such powerful agents *before* their armies marched in!

Baron von Killinger advised his American associates that "the conception of featuring the State as a supreme welfare agency had to be eradicated."

Martin Dies echoes: "If democratic government assumes the responsibility for abolishing all poverty and unemployment, it is simply preparing the way for dictatorship" (p. 355). "The men and women who fled from the oppressive tyranny of Europe to the wilderness of America were not seeking economic security" (p. 358).

But the democratic world answers Baron von Killinger and Martin Dies, in the words written by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, in the document known as the *Atlantic Charter* and now the common platform of the United Nations:

"Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security."

Baron von Killinger roused his American disciples against “unrealistic welfare legislation sponsored by the Administration,” which showed “an increasing red influence in the United States.”

Martin Dies echoes: “The President must surely realize by this time that his left-wing followers in the government are the fountain head of subversive activities” (p. 364).

But while Martin Dies echoes everything Radio Berlin sends to this country, he directly contradicts official United States policy.

When the United States government declares that the defense of the Soviet Union “is in the interests of the national defense of the United States,” Martin Dies replies: “*I hope Russia is licked.*”

When his attention is called to his contradiction with the foreign policy of his government, Martin Dies replies that he—“*couldn't pay attention to the Administration's somersaults in foreign policy.*”*

When President Roosevelt warned that “schemes and plans of aggressor nations against American security are so evident that the United States and the rest of the Americas are definitely imperilled,” and named Germany as the aggressor “all the way from the coup against Austria to the present campaign against Russia,”† Martin Dies cynically replied:

“*The very grave danger exists that our government, by its aid to Russia on the Eastern Front, has opened up for Stalin a new Western Front right here in the capital of America.*”‡

* *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Oct. 20, 1941.

† Message to Congress, July 21, 1941.

‡ *New York Times*, Oct. 20, 1941.

At long last, the democratic forces of the people found a voice, in Vice-President Wallace, who answered Martin Dies' latest demand for the “purge” of some more “left wingers”—that is, believers in the Atlantic Charter—with the charge that *Mr. Dies is serving Hitler even better than his paid agents.*

Vice-President Wallace characterized Martin Dies' activities in the following words:

“As a matter of fact the effect on our morale would be less damaging if Mr. Dies were on the Hitler payroll. . . . In calmer times this would make him the laughing stock of the country. In these days of crisis and tension, however, we cannot tolerate deliberate and dishonest efforts to confuse the public. . . . It is the solemn duty of all patriotic citizens to fight the enemy within our gates who hides under many cloaks, the most insidious of which is a false patriotism. Any man who seeks to undermine faith in our government by a malicious misuse of isolated facts is a greater danger to our national safety than thousands of Axis soldiers within our borders. Hitler and the Japs know that better than anyone else. We Americans must face the implications of this ugly truth.”*

Paid and unpaid—and who can be sure which is which?—the agents of Hitler, his Fifth Column in the United States, work along the lines laid down in the “Memorandum” platform produced under the leadership and direction of Baron von Killinger, just arrived from Hitler, and Baron von Tippleskirch, long-time Nazi agent in the United States. That platform may be systematically summarized in the following points:

* *Congressional Record*, March 30, 1942.

1. The United States must find a rapprochement with the "New Germany," from which this country has much to learn, and must not be bound in solidarity with Britain, China, or especially the Soviet Union. The United Nations must be divided. Congress must be set against the Administration especially on foreign policy.

2. The only serious and lasting danger to the world is communism, represented by the Soviet Union in the first place, by Communists in all lands, and by all progressives who are friendly to the Soviet Union, and who believe in social security.

3. All progressives, who are to be called "Communists" even when a great majority are not, are to be identified as "the Fifth Column" and driven out of all positions of influence in government and public life, and their places given to persons who are satisfactory to Martin Dies and Hitler.

4. "We Germans are seeking the co-operation of American nationalists. Above all we believe in co-operating with the economic leaders." "We Germans" must get such friends into the war machinery in Washington; they must more fully control Congress, they must "change the spirit of the nation as expressed by recent elections."

5. Let the "upper" Fifth Column be careful, allowing only the small fry to expose themselves in open work of obstruction and sabotage, while the important persons "embark on subsidizing our patriotic citizens' organizations" in preparation for a "comeback" at the psychological moment. Meanwhile, the friends of "We Germans" will cry for delays, and wail of the danger of "new Dunkerques."

Martin Dies, and all who think like him and support him, are the chief reliance of Hitler's Fifth Column in carrying through this platform in the daily life of the country.

Truly, it is not for nothing that the Berlin radio continues down to this day to quote Martin Dies as its chief authority on things American, as that public figure in the United States they can most unconditionally approve.

It was not an accident when pro-Nazis and members of the German-American Bund gave public banquets in honor of Martin Dies. It is not an accident when Martin Dies employs members of Berlin's "Antikomintern" as his assistants.

But why does the Congress of the United States continue to vote confidence in Mr. Dies, and provide him with unlimited public funds with which to carry on his work which "helps Hitler's cause, not ours"?

How can a nation fight through to victory, in a world-wide struggle of survival, of life-and-death for nations, when the powers of Congress are handed over to men who treat our enemies like friends, treat our friends like enemies, and who thereby throw the public mind into unutterable confusion?

How can we defeat a powerful and malignant and devilishly clever enemy, when we continue to allow him to "sabotage our minds," when we continue to think as he wants us to think?

That is the question posed by Martin Dies and his ilk.

It is a question involving victory or the death of enslavement, the survival of our nation or its ignominious defeat.

It is about time for the nation to answer Mr. Dies.