Report No. 1

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES
IN
America First Committee
IN CALIFORNIA

AMERICANISM COMMITTEE
17TH DISTRICT : THE AMERICAN LEGION : DEPARTMENT OF CALIFORNIA
To: Commander Harold F. Bergan,
17th District, The American Legion,
Department of California.

This Committee has investigated the infiltration of subversive and un-American influences in the America First Committee in California. We present to you the following report which we trust will be of assistance in correcting the evils it calls attention to.

Respectfully submitted

Americanism Committee,
17th District, The American Legion,
Department of California.

Ben S. Beery, Chairman

Dee Holder    Wm. B. Johnston    Samuel H. Robinson
H. C. Heinritz    Henry Mayers    Russell W. Starr
Purpose and Procedure of Investigation

That the striking similarity between Nazi propaganda technique and America First methods of operation can be no mere coincidence has been repeatedly pointed out by observers in various sections of the United States.

Realization by California Legionnaires that the America First Committee of this state was permeated with Nazi agents and Nazi sympathizers, led to the passage of the following resolution at the 1941 Convention of the California American Legion at Sacramento:

"Whereas throughout California Nazi agents have insinuated themselves into the top circle of the America First Committee of California, contrary to the spirit and intent of its accredited leaders, and
"Whereas these elements threaten to misuse what is otherwise a sincere effort to express an honest point of view,
"Be it therefore resoved: That this convention of The American Legion petition General Robert E. Wood, National Chairman of America First, to conduct an investigation of all local committees in California, removing from office any person affiliated with a Nazi, Communist or Fascist organization."

Because this petition to General Robert E. Wood brought no noticeable change in the situation it called attention to, Commander Harold F. Bergan, 17th District, The American Legion, Department of California, instructed the Americanism Committee of the 17th District to make a thorough investigation and detailed report.

This report is not an attack or a reflection upon those sincere Americans who honestly believe in the isolationist theory. No comment is made in this report as to the merits or demerits of the recommendation by the America First Committee of isolation as the best United States defense. The America First Committee has an undoubted right, which no member of The American Legion or other loyal citizen of this country would seek to impair, to freely and openly present its isolationist contentions to the American people.

This report is presented for the purpose of preventing the misuse of sincere Americans by Nazis or other subversive persons operating through the America First Committee.

This committee is aware that some attempts have been made by America First to stifle the participation of subversive groups in its affairs. Months ago, Mr. John T. Flynn, a member of the America First National Committee, sent the following letter to the Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und
Beobachter, a German American Bund newspaper:

"May 2, 1941

Editor
Free American and Deutscher und Weckruf Beobachter
175 East 85th Street
New York City

Dear Sir:

A copy of your newspaper has been mailed to me and my attention called to an article in which you ask your readers to join the America First Committee. Let me say to you that not only does the America First Committee not solicit their membership, but that they are not eligible for membership. The America First Committee is against America’s entry into the war not because it approves of the philosophy, the government, the aggression or the methods of Hitler’s Germany, but because it wishes to protect this nation from involvement in Europe’s wars. We do not want in our organization men who support the philosophy of Hitler’s government because we do not believe them to be good Americans. The very first and one of the indispensable qualifications for membership in our organization, as stated in all our literature, is that it is not open to those who are members of the communist or fascist parties or the German bunds in this country or those representing any foreign power which desires to involve us in this war.

"May I suggest that you give this letter the same publicity in your newspaper as you gave to the article to which I referred.

Yours very truly,

JOHN T. FLYNN"
The editor's reply, clearly indicating that the Bund intended to continue the "fight," was as follows:

"We print in full the above letter as per request of the writer thereof. We are American citizens of German origin, fighting only to be allowed the usual privilege of enjoying our rights as free men and women.

"Because it is not the fault of the 'America First Committee' that a false, slanderous, un-American stigma has been put on the German American Bund, we have no desire to see the 'America First Committee' suffer from the undeserved reflection cast on the Bund by the chosen minority, who denounce the America First Committee as a pro-Nazi agency with the same degree of injustice that the Bund has had to endure in the past.

"Nevertheless, we shall continue our fight against those who persecute American citizens of German stock in order to create a war fervor.

Editor."

Loyal Americans frequently have been concerned because of published reports that America First audiences boo and hiss the President of the United States and such outstanding Americans as Cordell Hull and Wendell Willkie, and at the same time show no condemnation of Hitler and Mussolini.

Apparent there have been some attempts to stop this regrettable practice in California. However, the sincerity of such attempts can be judged by the following announcement, made at a recent meeting of one of the California chapters of America First:

"Our enemies are misinterpreting statements made by our speakers. Therefore, we have rigged up a recording device so that we can protect ourselves against these liars... the recording machine is operating today, so will you please refrain from booing and hissing the names of our national leaders and show them the proper respect."

Other attempts are said to have been made by John Wheeler, son of the Montana Senator and chairman of the America First Committee in Southern California, to eliminate subversive or un-American elements within the organization. That any efforts he made have been unavailing will be shown by this report.

The investigation upon which this report is based does not cover every community in California, or every subversive factor in the communities covered. There are many persons whose activities indicated they should be investigated, but because of lack of time they were disregarded in compiling this report. However, the activities of those individuals who are mentioned in this report were thoroughly investigated. Scores of persons were interviewed. A vast amount of photographic and documentary evidence was obtained. In addition, extensive study of the files of various California and United States courts was made.

A detailed presentation of all the material upon which this report is based would require a volume many times this size. The following pages present an exceedingly condensed summary of only a sufficient number of the activities investigated to support the conclusions of the committee.

As a basis for its investigations, the committee has sought to obtain the answers to the following four specific questions:

a. What are typical channels of subversive propaganda in California?

b. What individuals are identified with these subversive channels?

c. To what extent are the same individuals identified with the America First Committee?
d. What effect have these individuals had on the America First Committee?

Each of the following sections of this report attempts to answer one of the foregoing questions.

**DEFINITIONS**

The Committee feels that certain words or terms used in this report should be clearly defined. The following definitions may be considered as applying to such words or terms, whenever used in this report:

1. *Un-American or subversive persons or organizations:* Persons or organizations whose activities tend to undermine our form of government, to foment racial or class hatreds or to otherwise weaken the defense morale of our people in accordance with the propaganda program of Nazi Germany.

2. *Bundist:* A person who is believed to have formerly been a member of the German-American Bund and who is now believed to be a member of, or in sympathy with, the policies of any other un-American or subversive organization.

3. *Racial or class hatreds:* Hatred, ill-will, suspicions or accusations leveled at entire races, religions or other minorities, such as Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Jehovah’s Witnesses, British, Mexican and other foreign-language groups in the United States.

4. *America First:* Designates the America First Committee or one of its chapters. [Not to be confused with the “League to Save America First,” frequently referred to in this report.]
What Are Typical Channels of Subversive Propaganda in California?

In identifying subversive channels in California—channels which later will be shown to flow directly into the America First Committee—consideration must be given to the fact that pro-Nazi individuals and groups no longer openly show their sympathies and their connections. Until 1940, Herman Max Schwinn, together with other members of Hitler’s Bund, had no hesitancy in parading in Stormtrooper uniforms and in displaying the Swastika flag. Recently, however, a change occurred. Overnight the German-American Bund became very secretive. On orders of the “National Fuehrer,” it destroyed its membership lists, correspondence and other records. Its members’ activities in California must now be observed under various guises. These include:

**DEUTSCHES HAUS MAENNERCHOR:** In Los Angeles, the former German-American Bund continues to gather at the Deutsches Haus, 634 W. 15th Street. But its members now go under the name of the Deutsches Haus Maennerchor—which means “German House Male Choir.” However, change of name brought no change in the members’ aims, policies or activities. The Bundists still seek to breed racial hatreds and dissensions in this country. They still praise Nazism and Adolph Hitler.

On Sundays many of the Maennerchor Bundists get together regularly at the Deutsches Haus. After these informal gatherings, many of them adjourn to the Embassy Auditorium where they attend the meetings of the “League to Save America First.”

**LEAGUE TO SAVE AMERICA FIRST:** As nearly as the committee can determine, there is little basic difference between the aims and policies of this organization and those of the Bund. At its meetings the Bund-re-enforced audiences regularly boo and hiss the names of the President of the United States and outstanding Americans, but never show any condemnation when Adolph Hitler or Benito Mussolini are mentioned. Many of its speakers adhere closely to the Nazi propaganda line.

**THE NATIONAL COPPERHEADS** is an organization operating primarily to cause citizens of this country to lose confidence in our government. It actively disseminates disunity and hatred of American principles.
WHAT ARE TYPICAL CHANNELS OF SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA IN CALIFORNIA?

THE AMERICAN GUARDS has its headquarters in Los Angeles, and sponsors a “platform” that has great similarity to Nazi teachings, promulgating the abolition of Labor Unions and the substitution of the “government union,” such as exists in Germany today. This group also preaches other routine totalitarian doctrines.

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST FEDERATION is a typical subversive blind. Its “secretary” is Paquita Louise De Shishmareff, also known as Mrs. Leslie Fry or Louise Fry, mysterious international figure who fled the country when sought by government agencies. Last year this Federation called a convention to be held at the “committee headquarters,” which was none other than the Bund’s own Deutsches Haus, 634 W. 15th Street, Los Angeles. This convention, according to the report of the Special Committee on un-American Activities of the 76th Congress, “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, Nazism and Fascism in order to achieve greater influence in the United States.”

THE MILITANT CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS is another “front” organization, headed by the same group that sponsored the Anti-Communist Federation.
WHAT ARE TYPICAL CHANNELS OF SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA IN CALIFORNIA?

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE OF CHRISTIAN WOMEN is still another organization closely associated with the Militant Christian Patriots and formed by close associates of Shishmareff, alias Fry.

THE ARYAN BOOK STORE, operated in the Deutsches Haus, is one of the chief sources of printed propaganda material in the west. It distributes a vast variety of German and English language books and articles designed to create racial hatreds and dissensions among all classes of society, in accordance with Hitler's basic "divide and rule" principle.

THE NATIONAL BOOK MART, located at 1625 Fifth Avenue, Los Angeles, sells many of the same books and pamphlets advocating and expounding Nazi doctrines and inviting racial hatreds as are sold by the Aryan Book Store.

THE CONTINENTAL BOOK SHOP, 2509 West 7th Street, Los Angeles, is likewise a center for the distribution of un-American subversive literature and books.

The foregoing are a few of the channels of subversive activity found by The American Legion committee in California. The manner in which these channels direct their propaganda poisons directly into the heart of the America First Committee will be revealed in the following pages, after brief attention has been given to the individuals who operate or function through the above channels.

Reproductions of a Copperhead bulletin and of one of many American Guards folders designed to stir up racial hatreds and ridicule our national leaders. Photograph of President Roosevelt is captioned "We voted for this..." Caricature purporting to be a Jew is captioned "This is what we get."
What Individuals Are Identified with the Subversive Channels?

The number of men and women who are active in subversive channels in California is large. However, most of the activities are conceived and supervised by a rather small group, most of whom appear to be well skilled in propaganda and organization work. They include:

1. **F. K. Ferenz** operates the Continental Book Shop at 2509 West 7th Street, Los Angeles, one of the channels of Nazi printed propaganda referred to in the previous chapter. On his own account, he is the publisher of a swastika-decorated volume of essays entitled “Hitler.” Ferenz has been, and still is, an exhibitor of German propaganda films in Los Angeles. He also distributes German language records. His motion picture shows,
sometimes accompanied by talks by such persons as Herman Max Schwinn, have been shown in many California theatres, including the Mason Opera House in Los Angeles. Here, however, he was ousted by his landlords, who charged him with being a "propaganda agent for the German government." This was brought out in the Superior Court in Los Angeles where Ferenz unsuccessfully sought to regain possession of the Opera House lease.

2. **Herman Max Schwinn**, Western Director of the former German-American Bund, has been closely associated with many of the subversive channels mentioned in the foregoing chapter. Born in Hamburg, Germany, he came to the United States and applied for citizenship which was subsequently granted to him. In 1939 his citizenship was cancelled because of false affidavits supporting the petition for final papers.

3. **T. W. Hughes**, who founded the "League To Save America First," conducts its regular meetings at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles, largely directed to inciting intolerance and class dissensions along particularly bitter lines. He has written a pamphlet en-
WHAT INDIVIDUALS ARE IDENTIFIED WITH THE SUBVERSIVE CHANNELS?

4. Ellis O. Jones is the organizer of the National Copperheads, described in Section II. His propaganda closely parallels the Nazi technique. He regularly writes for and sells a paper bearing the title “Publicity.” The following quotation from the issue of August 7, 1941, is typical of his style:

“He (Lindbergh) is a man more feared and therefore more hated and more recklessly maligned than all others by the perfidious Roosevelt, the vituperative Ickes, the guttersnipe Winchell, the babbling Dorothy Thompson and all the rest.”

5. Benjamin Franklin Ballard is organizer and active leader of the American Guards, sponsoring Hitler-style abolition of Labor Unions. He is a frequent participant in meetings of the “League To Save America First” conducted by T. W. Hughes. He issues anti-Semitic literature and follows other general propaganda policies of the Nazis.

6. William P. Williams has published and distributed a number of subversive propaganda leaflets, advocating the well-known underground technique generally called the “secret cell” organization. He urges the formation of cells of from three to seven persons, no one of whom, except the leader, is


The above extract from William P. Williams' mimeographed sheet entitled "Questions, Please" is typical of underground plotting technique that is characteristic of Williams' approach. The "secret cell" is widely used by the Nazi Party in Germany.
WHAT INDIVIDUALS ARE IDENTIFIED WITH THE SUBVERSIVE CHANNELS?

acquainted with the members of any other cells. They meet secretly in homes. Williams was recently prevented from finishing a speech to an American Legion Post because it was considered pro-Nazi.

7. Mrs. Faith McCullough, who is also known as Mrs. Frances Maxey, organized the American League of Christian Women. She has long been closely associated with Paquita Louise De Shishmareff, also known as Mrs. Leslie Fry, founder of the Anti-Communist Federation, who fled from the United States when sought by the government. Despite her long and close association with the fugitive Mrs. Fry, Mrs. Faith McCullough is still active in California subversive channels.

8. Henry D. Allen, who has been convicted of various crimes in the State of California, is referred to in the report of the U. S. Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities as the head of the American White Guards which "took part in some way or another in this attempt to create a unified Fascist movement."

Mrs. Faith McCullough (left center, wearing white hat and glasses), alias Frances Maxey, former secretary of Mrs. McCullough, at an America First meeting in Hollywood.

Leslie Fry (fugitive from the government investigators) at an America First meeting in Hollywood.

This letter of authorization was given to Henry Allen by Mrs. Leslie Fry. It amounted to a "safe conduct" guarantee for Allen through national subversive circles.
Allen also testified, according to the same report, that he was one time a Silver Shirt leader and had been authorized by Mrs. Leslie Fry to make a tour of the country at her expense, wherein he visited some of the heads of outstanding subversive organizations.

9. John L. Riemer operates the National Book Mart, distributor of subversive propaganda literature. He testified before the McCormack Committee that he had organized the “American Labor Party” [not to be confused with the large organization in New York of the same name]. The literature of Riemer’s “Labor” organization consists in part of an anthem entitled “A Voice Resounds Like Thunder Peal,” by John L. Riemer. With the exception of the substitution of American names for German names, this anthem is a direct translation of “Die Wacht am Rhein.” Riemer’s testimony to the McCormack Committee indicated that a German consulate had paid $215 for printing part of the literature he has been sending out from Los Angeles during the year 1941.

10. Arthur Burnett, sometimes called Roy Chase, is frequently a participant in meetings of Hughes’ “League To Save America First.” His activities have included preparation of anti-Semitic posters and the dissemination of other subversive literature.

11. William Hunt has been a frequent visitor at Deutsches Haus, notably on an occasion when Fritz Kuhn was present. He has also been associated with the activities of Faith McCullough, secretary to fugitive Mrs. Leslie Fry.

12. James McBride is a member of the Bund and a “stormtrooper.” His wife, Joan, has likewise been engaged in Bund activities, and is a waitress at the Tavern of the Deutsches Haus.

13. The Van Meter Brothers, James, Daniel, Baron and William. One of these is a photographer for the Bund. Another is

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\text{Front cover of Riemer's "American Labor Party" Platform (which advocated abolition of Labor Unions), and anthem of the Party, which is a word for word translation of German Patriotic Hymn, except for substitution of American names for German ones.}
\]
a printer for the Bund. They are all active in the subversive “League To Save America First.”

14. Bruce Tarkington Dowden, a frequent speaker before the subversive “Save America First” meetings, is particularly violent in inciting racial hatreds. He cooperates with distributor of Nazi propaganda, F. K. Fereinz. He advocates flooding Washington with demands for annexation of Canada for the sole purpose of “embarrassing the government.” Other typical teachings:

“I believe in fighting fire with fire and there is only one way to combat this vicious pro-British doctrine in our schools and that’s the whispering campaign ... gossip, our grandmothers would have called it. Our educational system through the years has been built upon a high standard of personal morals ... the first hint that the morals of a teacher or professor were irregular have called for immediate dismissal. This is your method of attack. If the eighty or so people here tonight would make up their minds to go out of here tonight and start a whispering campaign attacking the morals of the offending teachers and professors, I am sure it wouldn’t take long to eliminate them.”

15. G. Allison Phelps, also known as G. Allison, has for years been broadcasting over various California radio stations along particularly vicious anti-British and anti-Jewish lines. He advertises for sale the book “We Must Save the Republic,” announced by Flanders Hall, a Nazi-front publishing house financed by George Sylvester Vierick, who in turn is listed under the McCormack Act as a German propaganda agent. On September 24, 1941, Pearson and Allen described G. Allison Phelps as a front-man for Russell Mack, a former scenario writer, who visited Germany in 1939 and returned to Hollywood to collaborate with Phelps in scathing attacks on the motion picture industry.

The foregoing pages have listed fifteen individuals who are especially active in subversive channels in California. The following section reveals the extent to which these same individuals are identified with the America First Committee in California.
IV

To What Extent Are the Same Individuals Identified with America First?

It is found that all of the fifteen individuals previously mentioned are very active in the America First Committee in California. Some of them are outright leaders. Others are working in more humble capacities or in more indirect ways. For easy reference the names of these persons are numbered in the same order as in the previous chapter.

1. **F. K. Ferenz**, distributor of subversive books, Hitler essayist and Nazi film exhibitor, is one of the most active workers in the America First movement in California. Between March 6 and August 23, 1941, he attended twenty-one America First meetings. He participated in the management of the Alhambra motor parade conducted by the America First Committee. He assisted in the operation of the picket line at the Hollywood Bowl meeting, entering into discussions with by-standers or persons entering the Bowl. It is reported to the investigators that Ferenz also participated in the making of the vicious posters and banners which were used by both America Firsters and Bundists on this occasion.

2. **Herman Max Schwinn**, West Coast Bund Fuehrer, has openly cooperated and aided in the operation of the America First-sponsored picket line at the Hollywood Bowl when Wendell Willkie spoke in behalf of National Unity, on July 23, 1941. Schwinn did not carry a banner or poster but devoted his time to encouraging pickets and otherwise assisting F. K. Ferenz.

3. **T. W. Hughes**, who conducts the Bund-reinforced “League To Save America First,” (see page 5), has attracted many America First speakers to his platform.*

   Hughes is reported to participate in policy meetings of America First Committee leaders. Typical example of how the two organizations function along parallel lines is seen in the fact that the bulletin board at Hughes' meeting on July 20, 1941, displayed a poster very similar to the one which appeared on the bulletin board at America First headquarters in Los Angeles at the same time.

through the Aryan Book Store and other subversive channels is also recommended at America First Committee meetings in California.

4. Ellis O. Jones, organizer of the subversive National Copperheads, has attended forty-three America First meetings since January, 1941. These meetings have been in Los Angeles, Pasadena, Glendale and Santa Monica. During the same period he has attended twenty-three Hughes Save America First Meetings. He has participated in America First Motorcades and has cooperated in various ways with the America First “Youth Group.”

5. Benjamin Franklin Ballard, organizer of the subversive American Guards and regular attendant at meetings of the “League to Save America First,” is chairman of the Downtown chapter of the America First Committee. His talks to America First meetings are out-spokenly anti-Semitic. He compares the President of the United States to Benedict Arnold and urges impeachment proceedings. At America First meetings, he frequently recommends the book, “We Must Save The Republic,” issued by Flanders Hall, Nazi-sponsored publishing house. (See G. Allison Phelps, page 13).

6. William P. Williams, publisher and distributor of subversive pamphlets, advocate of “secret cell” organizations who is regarded by Legionnaires as an out-spoken pro-Nazi, is head of the North Hollywood Chapter of America First.

7. Mrs. Faith McCullough, also known as Frances Maxey, organizer of the subversive “American League of Christian Women,” and secretary to the fugitive Mrs. Leslie Fry (see page 11), is active in the Glendale and Pasadena, California, chapters of America First, and an America First speaker. She appeared before the Board of Education in the City of Pasadena in behalf of America First to fight the cancellation of its permit for use of school buildings.

PASADENA, June 5.—The American Way of Life will be the topic of Henry Allen, mine owner and engineer, at a meeting of the America First Committee, of the America First Committee, of the America First Committee, at -7:30 p.m. Pasadena chapter, at 7:30 p.m. Pasadena chapter, and at the McKinley School auditorium, Oak Knoll avenue and Del Mar street.

Los Angeles Examiner
Los Angeles, June 13, 1938

Ex-Felon Bared as Propaganda Chief

Map on Person Hints Tieup With Allen Power

U.S. QUIZ

The man responsible for disseminating Los Angeles, with vicious anti-Semitic greetings was identified yesterday by the Los Angeles Examiner as Henry D. Allen, former naval officer, who served overseas in San Francisco and Fort McKinley.

Papers found in his possession, including a map guarded by Special Agent W. M. Osborne of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Commander Dearlove of the Naval Intelligence Bureau.

Henry B. Allen

LOS ANGELES, June 13, 1938

The man responsible for disseminating Los Angeles, with vicious anti-Semitic greetings was identified yesterday by the Los Angeles Examiner as Henry D. Allen, former naval officer, who served overseas in San Francisco and Fort McKinley.

Papers found in his possession, including a map guarded by Special Agent W. M. Osborne of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Commander Dearlove of the Naval Intelligence Bureau.
8. **Henry Allen**, ex-convict, founder of the subversive American White Guards and Silver Shirt leader (see page 11), has worked his way into the confidence of the Pasadena chapter of the America First Committee. However, when he was scheduled to speak at one of their meetings on June 6, 1941, the people of Pasadena made such loud protest because of his known record that America First cancelled the address.

9. **John L. Riemer**, distributor of T. W. Hughes' anti-British pamphlet, and F. K. Ferenz' laudatory book on Hitler, advertises America First in connection with his mailings of Nazi propaganda, that are paid for in part by a German Consul. (See page 12.)

10. **Arthur Burnett**, sometimes called Roy Chase, active participant in “Save America First” meetings and disseminator of subversive posters and pamphlets, has attended at least thirty America First meetings in the last few months. At some of these meetings he distributed literature tending to create racial hatred. It is reported to The American Legion that Burnett has prepared bulletin board announcements for the America First Committee headquarters in Los Angeles and has also aided in the decoration of automobiles used by the America First Committee in parades.

11. **William Hunt**, whose activities are closely allied with those of Mrs. Faith McCullough and the fugitive Mrs. Leslie Fry, is Chairman of the Glendale Chapter of the America First Committee. Hunt has been seen frequently at Bund headquarters. His Glendale Chapter has often been cited as one of the worst offenders in booing national leaders while omitting all condemnation of Hitler and Naziism.

12. **James McBride**, Bund stormtrooper, and his wife Joan McBride, Deutsches Hauswaitress, have attended twenty-three America First Committee meetings within the last few months. Both of these persons served as America First pickets at the Willkie Hollywood Bowl meeting, and also participated in America First motor parades.

13. **The Van Meter Brothers**, Bund printers and photographers, have been very active in America First, particularly in its “Youth Group.” From March 6 to August 24, 1941, they attended twenty-two meetings.

14. **Bruce Tarkington Dowden**, who recommends the spreading of malicious rumor concerning the morals of schoolteachers opposed to America First, has spoken at least four times at America First meetings. The character-assassination teachings attributed
to him on page 13 were voiced at an America First meeting in Pasadena on September 19, 1941. The photograph of him on page 13 was taken at that meeting.

15. G. Allison Phelps, also known as G. Allison, radio hate-inciter and advertiser of a publication announced by Nazi-financed Flanders Hall, is an America First speaker whose intimacy with the organization may be judged from the fact that he regularly advertises America First meetings over his radio programs.

This report has thus far revealed:
(A) A number of the subversive propaganda channels operating in California;
(B) Who are the organizers and workers in these channels;
(C) The extent to which the same organizers and workers are active in America First Committee chapters in California.

The result of their activities in the America First movement will be enlarged upon in the next section.
What Effect Do These Individuals Have on America First Committee?

If the persons referred to in previous sections of this report confined their activities in the America First movement to the mere development of the isolationist point of view on U. S. defense, their coincidental activities through subversive channels would not necessarily reflect upon the America First Committee.

However, The American Legion finds that there is practically no difference between the activities of these persons when functioning on behalf of the America First Committee and when functioning on behalf of the subversive channels with which they are identified. There is every indication that they have joined the America First movement for the express purpose of presenting their subversive propaganda to those sincere isolationists who have been attracted to meetings of America First.

The result of this taking over of America First meetings by the subversivists has been a gradual but complete switching of the organization's policy from one that merely encourages the theory of defense through isolation, to a policy of sponsoring the indiscriminate spread of hatred, confusion, dissension, defeatism, and various other elements of the propaganda line set down by the Nazi government for its agents in the United States.

Innumerable speeches at meetings of America First in California have been analyzed by The American Legion. These uniformly ignore all constructive discussion of U. S. defense from the isolationist point of view. One might spend weeks attending America First meetings, listening to America First radio addresses and reading America First literature, and still find no definite statement as to the point on the map at which that Committee proposes that our country start defending itself from aggression, or whether it believes the United States should attempt to defend itself at all.

The good California citizen who sincerely believes that strict isolationism may be a practical course for the United States, turns in vain to the America First Committee for constructive information or inspiration. He finds that, while carefully avoiding giving any hint of a consistent defense policy for this country, many America First speakers apparently stop at nothing that will further confuse the defense issue, weaken our morale, or otherwise embarrass our government.

The continuous incitement and embitter-
ment of sincere California citizens against their government, the poisoning of their minds with Hitler's three hatreds (hatred of Britain, hatred of Jews and hatred of the American Way of Life), the providing of a respectable sounding board for professional organizers of crackpot, "lunacy-fringe" groups—these are the obvious results of the present subversive infiltration of the America First movement in California.

The American Legion Committee finds that in meetings of America First, processes are at work whereby a person attending merely to seek information, may unwittingly be transformed into a Nazi sympathizer, and even into a potential traitor to his country.

This Committee further finds that subversive infiltration into America First in California has not only confused the minds of the people in the audiences it attracts, but also has poisoned the minds of persons of outstanding community reputation who have participated in its activities.

It is obvious to this committee that subversive and un-American persons are tolerated by America First because such persons favor the isolationist America First doctrine. The American Legion, however, submits that acquiescence by leaders of America First in such subversive conduct permits the people to be deceived into believing that insidious doctrines and pernicious ideologies of un-American elements express the ideals and have the approval of the leaders of America First.

The responsibility for the loyalty and integrity of all those who are active in America First rests squarely upon the shoulders of its leaders.

The entire leadership of the America First Committee is now at the crossroads. General Robert E. Wood and his National Committee associates must make one of three decisions:

(1) Publicly disown and publicly denounce America First chapters in California and in all other states where conditions exist similar to those revealed by this report.

(2) Openly accept leadership of subversive and "lunacy fringe" elements in the United States.

(3) Ignore conditions disclosed by this report.

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WHAT NOW?

If General Robert E. Wood and his National Committee adopt the first course, America First will cease to be a sounding-board for un-American doctrines and the people will know precisely where it stands.

If they accept leadership of the subversive elements (2), or if they ignore conditions disclosed by this report (3), [in effect the same] any resulting disunity of our people, any ensuing class hatred—attempting thus to strike at the very heart of our national defense—rests solely with America First. Such an eventuality loyal Americans must not and will not tolerate.
AMERICANISM COMMITTEE: 17th District, American Legion
Patriotic Hall, 1816 South Figueroa St., Los Angeles, California

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