

COMMITTEE INVESTIGAS:

1) Edward Fraas Sullivan, chief investigator, is a criminal record for grand larceny in Massachusetts, where he has also had numerous convictions for misdeemeanors. He was, for years, a labor spy for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, whose anti-labor and strike breaking activities have been clearly established. He is an active anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic propagandist, an associate of James True, whose Washington Office he shared, and with whom he joined in a campaign of malicious attacks upon officials of the United States Government, with incitement to violence of the most dangerous description. While True was brought into the testimony on several occasions, the Committee's chief investigator was never mentioned in connection with him. (Vol. 3, pp. 2342, 2377 & 2385).

The Committee also received testimony on the conference of Christian Clergymen and Laymen, which was held at Ashville, N.C. on August 12th-16th, 1936, when a group of the nation's chief anti-Semitic and pro Nazis attempted to establish a united front of all the subversive and fascist organizations in the country. (V. 3, 2385-86) But it was not brought out that among the most active at this anti-Semitic conference, along with Winrod, True, Colonel Sanctuary, and other notorious propagandists, was Sullivan himself, who was one of the chief speakers at the conference. He is reported by the Ashville Citizen to have said "they may call us anti-Semitic, anything they want to .....from now on Christians and Americans are going to say anything they want to." Further, he said, "the only salvation of America is in the South, where the population is overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon." He went on to accuse the Jews of having the economic control of the country, of being leaders of communism, and the "controllers of motion pictures, filthy magazines and newspapers in America."

Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell, of the University of Richmond, addressing a mass meeting a few days later, denounced the entire conference as "fascist" and said

Sullivan's speech was "what Hitler would have said had he been speaking."

When these facts about their ace investigator were called to the attention of Dies by Labor's Non-Partisan League, Dies made no answer to them and retained Sullivan as a paid member of his staff until he dropped him three weeks later, on the pretense of lack of funds. At no time did he admit or deny the charges made against Sullivan. When newspapermen questioned Dies about Sullivan and his past, and why he had been hired on the Committee's staff, Dies refused to answer.

Source: Labor's Non-Partisan League.

2) Steve Birmingham.

Steve Birmingham was a professional detective and labor spy.

COMMITTEE'S WITNESSES

1) Walter S. Steele.

Steele took up more than 200 pages in the Record to list and describe 640 American organizations, all of which he implied were Communist ridden, or Communist controlled. Included in the list were such organizations as the Boy Scouts, the Campfire Girls, the Junior Red Cross, and practically every other well known society, except the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Steele is the editor of the National Republic, the red-baiting, anti-New Deal magazine, which is distributed free and unsolicited to school teachers throughout the country, in an evident attempt to influence their conduct in the classroom. During the 1936 campaign the magazine, then called the National Republican, carried on a scurrilous campaign against President Roosevelt, and received as a campaign contribution \$100. from <sup>Davidson Brown</sup> ~~Davidson Brown~~, New York Republican, who contributed a total of more than \$30,000. to Republican organizations during the campaign.\*

Steele appeared before the Committee in August to speak for the American Coalition, an amalgamation of 114 organizations, which he claimed represented 20 million people. Six months before, in February, 1938, Steele had written to the Senate Sub-Judiciary Committee, as the representative of the same organizations, with

\*Special Senate Committee Investigating Campaign Funds.

two more added, and listed a membership as "over 4 million" and just two weeks before this letter, the President of the American Coalition, John B. Trevor himself, told the same Senate Committee that the Organization's membership ran "possibly over 2 million." Thus, according to Steele's account, this Organization's membership jumped 18 million in a little over six months. These figures are an indication of Steele's reliability as a witness.

Steele claimed before the Dies Committee, that he had never been connected with the Silver Shirts, and that he had "absolutely no respect for the Silver Shirts, or any such movement." (Vol. 1, p. 309). In making this statement, Steele lied. A Cleveland newspaper reporter <sup>William Miller</sup> who made a three months investigation of Silver Shirt activities in that city, produced a letter which proves Steele's tie-up with the Silver Shirt's negotiations with Tom Girdler. The letter written to Steele by Elsie Theuer, alias Susan Sterling, head of the Master Council of Silver Shirts in Cleveland, says, "Am having an interview with the officials of Republic Steel tomorrow morning. If you are interested, I can furnish data to you." The testimony of Arnold Gingrich before the Dies Committee definitely showed that Susan Stirling was constantly in touch with Girdler and other directors of Republic Steel.\*

Further testimony as to Steele's connections with the Silver Shirts is given by Barbara Baker, a Cleveland girl who served for six months as Susan Sterling's secretary. According to a sworn affidavit of Miss Baker, Steele's magazine The National Republic, is "the bible of the Cleveland Silver Shirts", along with Mrs. Dilling's Red Network and Roosevelt Red Government. Miss Baker's affidavit states further that Charles A. Kennedy, associate editor of The National Republic, and Steele's Cleveland representative, was among the invited guests at a dinner in honor of Mrs. Dilling, organized by Susan Sterling, and attended by, among others, Spencer Warwick, Ohio Commander of the Silver Shirts. At the dinner, Mrs. Dilling made a speech attacking "the Roosevelt red government" and praising Hitler and Mussolini as "great men" and "saviours of their country". The National Republic is in reality anti labor under/ <sup>its</sup> red baiting camouflage.

\*See Marcantonio's speech, Cong. Record, Feb. 3, 1939  
Also telegram from Wm. Miller to Marcantonio, Feb. 1, 1939.

According to the information revealed by the Cleveland newspaper reporter, Steele wrote to a union member from Cleveland who asked him for advice, "May I suggest that you contact Colonel William Frew Long, Associated Industries, Cleveland ... I feel sure he can advise you along constructive lines. You may use my name as an introduction." Colonel Long, as the LaFollette Committee investigations and hearings have shown, is Cleveland's chief supplier of labor spies and strike breakers, to members of his open shop organization. (LaFollette Committee Hearings - Parts 20, 21, 22).

Who are the officers of the American Coalition and what organizations make it up? Its president, John B. Trevor, is a millionaire railroad heir and a professional alien baiter. He maintains connections with the Nazi Bund through his employee, Lieutenant Ernst Spallholtz, and also through his position as head of the American Section of the International Committee to Combat the World Menace of Communism, a Nazi anti-Semitic organization operating out of Berlin. One of the Coalition's founders was George Sylvester Viereck, of whom we shall hear more in connection with the Dies Committee. Leading members of the organization include the reactionary Liberty Leaguer, Bainbridge Colby and Ralph Easley, president of the National Civic Federation, whose anti labor record was such that the American Federation of Labor in convention ruled that no member or official of the American Federation of Labor should have any connections with Easley's organization. A clue to the character of the American Coalition is the presence among its affiliates of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, of which Harry A. Jung is president. Jung, for years, has been a leading operator in strike breaking and anti-Semitic activities. The McCormick Committee on Un-American Activities reported to the 75th Congress that "Harry A. Jung and the A. V. I. F. had published and circulated great masses of literature tending to incite racial and religious intolerances". \* Jung has been among the most assiduous distributors of the infamous forgery Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Other samples of his literature are Alien Menace to America, Halt Gentiles and Salute the Jew, Americans Avoid the Dangers of Vicious Dictatorship, an anti New

\* McCormack Committee Report: p. 11

Deal pamphlet, reprinted from Mr. Steele's National Republic and The Man Behind the Men Behind the President, which is a slanderous attack on the new Supreme Court Justice, Felix Frankfurter. Jung's magazine The Vigilante is a sewer for all the vicious propoganda distributed throughout the country against President Roosevelt, the New Deal, and the Jewish people. A typical example follows:

This is Jung's idea of "An American Creed": (Vigilante, Aug. 1936)

"I believe that if our government is to be preserved, every citizen ..... must spread the unpleasant truth that those responsible for the so-called New Deal are engaged in an effort to substitute an alien system, the ultimate and inevitable purpose of which is to destroy the Republic".

"I am a 'Tory' - a 'Bourbon' - and a 'Rugged Individualist'. I am a 'Reactionary' and a 'Flag Waver' - and a 'Professional Patriot'. I am 100% American, with a Nordic ancestry. In my veins there is red blood, possibly a bit of blue blood, but - thank God - no yellow blood. I have strong racial prejudices."

On his strike breaking activities, the late Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable Henry T. Rainey, has this to say in a letter to Jung, under date of November 23rd, 1931:

"My files show that you are a sort of detective, worming your way into the homes of the most trusted members of labor organizations and obtaining information with which to combat the efforts of labor organizations to better their conditions, and that you obtain this information for the purpose of assisting 'strikebreakers'.

"The data I have shows that you foment strikes in districts where there are no unions, and then settle the strike for a price.

"The information I have with reference to you is that you are the man who does the slimy, stool pigeon work necessary for the purpose of destroying organized labor wherever it has contractual relations with employers." (McCormack Report, p. 11)

Jung received the praise of Steele's National Republic in May, 1930 as "one of the most active combatants against revolutionary radicalism in this country."

Although Jung and the A.V.I.F. were brought into the testimony before the Dies Committee, Jung's connections with Mr. Dies' star witness were not mentioned. Another

evidence of Jung's basic aims is the fact that Pelley of the Silver Shirts has steadily corresponded with him, calling attention to their similarity of aims.

Steele is a member of the Advisory Council of the Paul Revere's, Inc., a pro-Nazi outfit, headed by Colonel Edwin Marshall Hadley, who is the author of two anti-Semitic pamphlets issued under the name of Earnest Sincere. The pamphlets are Facing the Facts and Plan in Action. Hadley also wrote, under his real name, the pamphlet Rape of the Republic, a widely distributed attack on the Roosevelt Administration. Steele's magazine expressed its approval of the organization in an article which appeared in the June, 1933 issue under the heading : Paul Revere Rides Again. The article, written by Colonel Hadley himself, says: "The National Republic has welcomed this dynamic society into the field of constructive education."

Steele is in good company. The Paul Reveres was founded by the high priestess of red-baiters, Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, and includes on its advisory board, besides Steele, the rabid anti-Semite Colonel E. M. Sanctuary, head of the pro-Nazi American Christian Defenders and co-worker of Harry A. Jung in the writing, publishing and distributing of anti-Semitic literature. Sanctuary is, in fact, Jung's eastern representative and an associate of the two most vicious anti-Semites in America, Robert Edward Edmondson and James True. Edmondson will be remembered as the man who was arrested under charges of criminal libel brought by Mayor La Guardia and other leading citizens of New York. He is known as the most prolific writer of anti-Semitic literature, according to the University of Chicago study<sup>by Donald S. Strong</sup> published last year, and in recognition of this fact has been invited several times to speak before the Nazi Bund in New York City. Again, in the case of Edmondson, anti-Semitism and anti-New Dealism are brought together in the person of Howland Spencer, Edmondson's chief backer. Spencer is the Hudson River aristocrat who sold his estate to Father Divine last summer rather than be a neighbor of President Roosevelt; and in his own name, as the publisher of the newspaper The Highland Post, is an anti-Semite and Nazi sympathizer of the first order. Another associate of Colonel Sanctuary is the notorious James True, publisher of the fascist weekly news letter Industrial Control Reports, who not only preaches violence against Jews, but tried to carry it into prac-

tice with the invention of a murderous club, which he fondly termed a "kike-killer".

A recent issue of the National Republic contains a list of so-called "radical political parties and groups" throughout the history of the United States from 1776 to the present day. Included in the list are the Communist Party, the I.W.W., the C.I.O., the A.F. of L., Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor Party and the Democratic Party (Left wing). This probably explains Steele's tendency to classify every organization in America, except his own, as Moscow inspired.

## 2) Homer B. Chailleaux

Chailleaux is a professional red-baiter, and was allowed to use the Committee as a sounding board for red-baiting against the New Deal and the liberal movement generally in America. Chailleaux has been accused of anti-Semitic and pro-fascist sympathies, and a letter of his which was introduced into the testimony substantiates this. The letter was addressed to the Rev. Gerald Winrod, of Kansas, and begins: "I enjoy reading the copy of the Defender which you are good enough to send me regularly." <sup>(V.1, p. 447)</sup> A sample copy of the Defender, that of September, 1936, contains a type of literature which is enjoyable only to people who share the same fascist and anti-Semitic views of Winrod. This issue carries a long article on Nazi Germany which praises Hitler as a "saviour" and justifies Jewish pogroms on the grounds that Jews were responsible for "stirring up strife, murdering the clergy and promoting Bolshevism." The same article justifies anti-Catholicism and attacks what the author calls the "immorality and vile practices of filthy priests and nuns." Winrod, who is known to his associates as the "Jayhawk Nazi", as he was dubbed in tribute by James True, returned from a trip to Germany several years ago with enough money to begin the publication of two magazines, both altogether pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic, and to carry on a speaking and organizational campaign directed against the New Deal and the Jewish people. He entered the Republican primary for Senator in Kansas in 1938 and campaigned on an anti-Semitic and pro-Hitler platform. He is the

author of a pamphlet on the Catholic Church called The Harlot Woman and all his writing features the same scurrilous and slanderous references to the Jews, to President Roosevelt and to the New Deal leaders in general. For example, the front page of Winrod's paper, the Revealer, on October 15th, 1936 carried a streamer headline "Roosevelt's Jewish Ancestry" and followed with a genealogical tree, which Winrod claimed "reveals the origin of the sinister spirit which today dominates the White House." The same article stated further that the "radical movement is a Jewish movement" and concluded with the explanation that "Roosevelt is not one of us".

Chailleaux testified that he had never met Winrod and "would not know him if I saw him on the street". Winrod tells a different story. In the last issue of the Defender he wrote that Chailleaux had recently visited him in his offices and that they had talked over the problem of what to do about "Communism" in America.

The question arises not only why did not Dies investigate Chailleaux and his relations with Winrod, but more important, why did he not investigate Winrod himself. Winrod's subversive activities had aroused enough protest in Kansas and elsewhere, and even among Republican leaders who spoke against him in the primary campaign, to warrant a thorough investigation by Dies, but when the Committee investigator, John B. Metcalfe attempted to introduce copies of Winrod's publications, Dies said he "could not tell what <sup>all</sup> this is ~~all~~ about" <sup>(v.3, 2373)</sup> and added: "As we do not want to do any injustice, of course you have other evidence besides the question of his own statements?" <sup>(v.3, 2375)</sup> "What further proof he required than the man's own statements, he did not specify. However, when Metcalfe tried to quote a report of the Department of Justice on Winrod's activities, as further evidence, Dies stopped him abruptly on the grounds that the Department had requested him not to allow its report to be directly quoted. Up to this point Dies had not made any such objection to the quoting of the report in the hearings, as the record shows. (Vol. 3, p. 2373).

Dies went out of his way to shield this known Nazi. He pointed out to his investigator that "the chair has received a letter from Dr. Winrod in which he denied that he had preached any anti-Semitism and denied that he is sympathetic with fascism. He says he is absolutely opposed to fascism and nazi-ism, and is opposed



to racial and religious hatred, and denies that he has disseminated any literature preaching racial and religious hatred. Now, what I want to know is, have you got anything of his in which he has done that.\* It was at this point that he asked for other evidence than Winrod's own statements. (V. 3. 2375)

Dies showed extreme care here in protecting the name of a known Nazi, in a way that was never evident in the Committee's dealings with Governor Murphy, Governor Benson, and many other liberals and New Dealers. The facts of the case, as reported by the Rev. L. B. Birkhead of Kansas City, are these: Investigator Metcalfe did go to Kansas to investigate Winrod. After two or three days he had uncovered enough material to make Winrod fear that he would be blown out of the primary campaign. Winrod got in touch with the Rev. Harry W. Hodge of the Sabine Tabernacle of Beaumont, Texas, where Dies himself had heard Winrod speak, and asked Hodge for help. Hodge got in touch with Dies, and the result was that the investigator disappeared from Kansas, and that was the last of the Winrod investigation. Since that time Dies and Winrod have exchanged felicitations, and the November and December issues of Winrod's Defender contains generous comments about Dies.