

In August of 1938 I received a lengthy, factual, documented report on the activity, background and character, or should I say lack of character, of Edward Francis Sullivan, Senior Investigator of the Dies Committee. This exhaustive study was prepared and sent to me as it was to all members of Congress and particularly to Congressman Dies by Mr. E. L. Oliver, Executive Vice-President of Laborers Non-Partisan League, a man who for years enjoyed a splendid reputation while he was with the Railroad Brotherhoods.

In a statement Mr. Oliver simply and succinctly set forth 9 specific charges against Sullivan, charges so serious that in my opinion anyone guilty of them should not be enough to disqualify him from any employment with the Government and particularly with any connection with an ~~organ~~ Congressional committee charged with upholding the honor and integrity of this Body.

Very briefly these accusations, all of which are very carefully documented by affidavits, copies of public official records, photostatic copies of subversive literature and clippings from newspapers showing that Sullivan conducted himself while in the employ of the Dies committee in a manner which raises the gravest suspicion as to his honesty and reliability, that his anti-labor record was long, repulsive and also a matter of public record, and that-- and this to me is the most disgusting thing--he openly and whole-heartedly participated in anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic propaganda and activities.

I was a bit surprised last year when Congressman Dies, as quoted in the New York Times of August 28, stated that these statements were "beside the point" and he declared that Mr. Oliver was "raising a smokescreen to cloud the real issue." Mr. Dies also defended Mr. Sullivan in his current articles in Liberty magazine.

I don't believe Mr. Sullivan stayed in the employ of the committee long after these facts were made known to Mr. Dies even though Mr. Dies instantly denied them but I know that during 1939 Mr. Sullivan had other employment. I have no way of knowing when Mr. Sullivan left the committee's employ and I don't recall that there is any public statement by Mr. Dies after he refuted the accusations and said that Mr. Sullivan had denied them.

Accordingly, gentlemen, it is of great interest to me that in Mr. Oliver's statement on page 8 and in the attached exhibit numbered 6, an affidavit of one who knew Sullivan in his home town, Boston, Mass., there appears the statement that Sullivan<sup>s</sup> was one of the first organizers of the White Russian Ukrainian Group, a fascist organization. I understand that this group is violently anti-Catholic. I have already spoken of Sullivan's private anti-Catholic activity which is set forth at greater length than I have indicated in Mr. Oliver's report. I also have a copy of a newspaper called the "Tri-State American," printed in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. I have the issue of Friday, September 1, 1939, like so many of these things that we get every day this is a cheap rag smearing anything and everything that the editor doesn't like.

In this paper there are several things which attracted my attention. On page 3 under the headline, "Is the United States a Democracy?" the editor with much emphasis by bold-faced type sets forth his thesis that democracy is "mobocracy" and that American nationalism will be destroyed by democracy. This strange line of reasoning is one frequently used by the fascists and I know one with which no member of this Congress, which is the true expression of a democratic government, can agree with. On page 4 of this paper is almost a full column of praise from Martin Dies.

On page 2 of this paper in very large type appears the following "Edward Francis Sullivan, Publisher and General Manager." Throughout this paper are indications of Mr. Sullivan's connections, all with Ukrainian nationalist groups of various sorts. Mr. Sullivan, in spite of his conduct, was born a Roman Catholic. It seems to me strange that he would be connected with organizations so greatly opposed to that church.

I have also before me volume 9 of the Dies committee record and because this volume has just come out, I haven't had a chance to go over its contents very carefully. The first thing I saw, however, on opening the book was testimony of one, Emil Revyuk, President of the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States. Mr. Revyuk testified on September 28, 1959, less than one month after the date of that copy of Mr. Sullivan's paper to which I have referred. Mr. Revyuk also seemed to be somewhat of an authority on the ODWU, which is according to Mr. Revyuk's testimony, ardently pro-Hitler and is actively directed, inspired and assisted by the Nazi German government. Throughout the testimony there appears, I believe, ample justification for several brief quotations which I propose to read.

Before going further I want to state that I have been informed that the ODWU is the organization with which Mr. Sullivan, the former investigator for the Dies committee, is or then was connected. I have been given to understand that he has been making public appearances and inflammatory speeches under their auspices in the Pittsburgh industrial area.

As you can see, gentlemen, Mr. Sullivan is a matter of interest to me and a matter of great interest in view of the fact that regardless of what national Ukrainian organization he might be connected with, he is dealing

with a group, which according to the Dies committee record, is decidedly un-American.

Bearing in mind Mr. Spilitan's connections, I would like to read to you very briefly from page 5306 of the 9th volume of the Dies committee records:

"The Chairman. In other words, here are some 50 branches of Odwu in the United States, and they are affiliated with an international organization, and the head of it is the Provid at Berlin, and they are exchanging information between the groups at different times, reporting as to what is going on in other countries of the world, as well as leaders going from United States. All of this has its fountainhead in Berlin, in Germany, where the Provid headquarters are, and naturally, Germany would be getting any information that would come in through this source."

At the top of page 5307 appears the following:

The Chairman. That is another way of saying that this whole thing is linked to Nazi Germany. The German Government would not tolerate the existence of this Ukrainian headquarters, wherever it is, unless the Nazi Government wanted to. In other words, they have complete control over the matter, so there is a link there--we do not know how strong--between the Nazi Government and this central organization.

Of course, it may be that most of the members of this Nationalist group are innocent about this thing that has been going on. It may be that they are drawn into this thing, a great many of them working in different factories and industries; most of them are industrial workers.

As I correctly understand this, Mr. Dies is saying that the organization's members are Hitler's spies or potential Hitler spies. Perhaps a closer reading of the record than was possible forms will definitely show instances of this. I don't know.

There is this further information on page 5321-22:

"From the standpoint of what is the nature of the organization, it is very clearly a Fascist organization with a direct tie-up with international officers in Germany. The fact that the German Government permits them to use the radio and the fact that they have encouragement from Germany shows the tie-up.

If there is nothing else you have in mind at this time, I would suggest that this entire transcript be turned over to the State Department for prosecution under the Registration Act; that we prepare either a full transcript, or such excerpts as the State Department wants with the recommendation to investigate this matter fully and proceed against not only this organization, which is an agent of a foreign principal, but also these individuals who are agents of a foreign principal.

Mr. Dies announced that he was going to seek to obtain the membership list of this and other organizations and in spite of his announcement and subsequent repetition I have no recollection of ever seeing such a list published.

I am interested in these two things: Why the Dies committee did not prosecute this information, because certainly I think everyone is agreed that espionage in the American national defense industry should not be tolerated under any circumstances and regardless of on whose behalf it is conducted; and why there is no full and complete exposure of the anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, anti-labor convicted larcenist, Edward Francis Sullivan. I call upon the committee to provide the answers to these two questions in full--and I think that the answers to satisfy this Congress and we will have to be closer to the truth than the previous one.