

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION**  
**COVER SHEET**

**SUBJECT: AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES**  
**UNION (ACLU)**

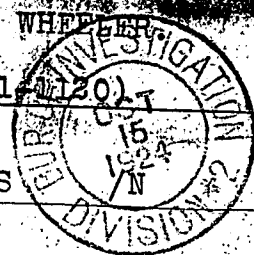
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INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED FROM SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE C. WHEELER

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

(L. A. FILE 61-120)



REPORT MADE AT:

DATE WHEN MADE:

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

REPORT MADE BY:

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

10/3/24

10/3/24

A. A. HOPKINS

TITLE:

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

CHARACTER OF CASE:

RADICAL ACTIVITIES

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

61-190  
over

History of organization and development of American Civil Liberties Union (National Organization), and also of the Southern California Branch, A.C.L.U., together with list of officers and principals, both national and local, and brief resume of radical activities and connections of same.

DETAILS:

(SUMMARY REPORT)

Reference is had to Agent's report of meeting of Executive Committee of the Southern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, dated September 26, 1924, and to that portion of the report wherein REV. CLINTON TAFT reported that he had secured FEDERAL JUDGE BENJAMIN F. BLEDSOE to appear before the Open Forum of the American Civil Liberties Union on October 26th, 1924.

Special Agent in Charge Wheeler confidentially informed Judge Bledsee as to the contents of Agent's report and also as to the character of the organization which had issued the invitation.

Judge Bledsoe at once addressed the following letter, dated September 29, 1924, to Rev. Clinton Taft, 3555 Arlington Street, Los Angeles, California:

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:

*Ralph N. Cochrane, Acting*

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

61-190-147

RECORDED AND INDEXED:

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

OCT 11 1924 A.M.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO:

FILE

Division 2

OCT 24 1924

CHECKED OFF:

OCT 24 1924

JACKETED:

A. A. HOPKINS

LOS ANGELES

10/3/24

"Some days ago I accepted an invitation from you, communicated over the telephone, to address a meeting of your Open Forum on Sunday, October 26th.

"You will remember that you introduced yourself to me over the telephone as the Assistant Pastor of Dr. Dyer's Wilshire Boulevard Congregational Church, and it may not have been so stated, but I surely understood the fact to be that the Open Forum which I was to address was the Open Forum of Dr. Dyer's church. Upon that basis I was very happy to accept.

"I now learn that the Open Forum you had in mind is an Open Forum sponsored by the 'American Civil Liberties Union', an institution with whose plans, purposes and methods I have no sympathy at all.

"Under the circumstances, therefore, I must withdraw the acceptance I made to speak at the time and place mentioned."

Judge Bledsoe requested this office to furnish him with a confidential summary of the history, activities and personnel of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Under instructions from Special Agent in Charge Wheeler, summary was prepared and confidentially transmitted to the Judge, of which a copy is attached herewith.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION  
(Formerly CIVIL LIBERTIES BUREAU & NAT'L CIVIL LIBERTIES BUREAU)

HISTORY

DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN LEAGUE TO LIMIT ARMAMENTS, DEC. 18, 1914, INTO THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, JANUARY 1930.

On December 18, 1914, when the Emergency Peace Federation began their campaign under Louis Lochner in Chicago, the American League to Limit Armaments was organized in New York City. With the outbreak of the war in 1914 the majority of the American public was in sympathy with the Entente. German propagandists, in order to prevent our entrance into war against Germany, and to prevent military preparedness, created organizations for the purpose of holding mass meetings, distributing pacifist literature, using their influence with Congress to prevent enactment of laws enlarging military establishment and also for the purpose of disturbing the harmony between United States and Great Britain.

The association, AMERICAN LEAGUE TO LIMIT ARMAMENTS, was organized apparently to combat militarism. Among the active organizers of the League are found the names of many who were at the same time active in the movement directed by Louis Lochner of Chicago. Among them are Jand Addams, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Jacques Loeb, Oswald Garrison Villard (Editor of "Nation"), Morris Hillquit, Hamilton Holt, Lillian D. Wald, etc. These persons were able to enlist many thoroughly patriotic citizens who withdrew from the movement as soon as they discovered the intentions of the leaders and when they saw the nature of the international problems confronting the United States.

In the early part of 1915, the members of the executive committee of this League felt that its scope was not wide enough and the anti-

preparedness Committee was formed, which later became the American Union

Against Militarism . Their activities carried out to the letter the plans which had previously been outlined by German propagandists, though unquestionably many were not aware of this fact.

The passage of the draft act after our entry into the war caused the American Union Against Militarism to increase its activity. It immediately undertook to assist all persons desiring to avoid the draft, and to protect all persons from so-called "infringement of civil liberties", opening branch offices under the name of Civil Liberties Bureau, both in Washington and New York, for this purpose.

The avowed intention of these branches was to protect all persons (and especially conscientious objectors) from so-called infringement of civil liberties, but throughout the history of the Civil Liberties Bureau, the effect was certainly to suggest to men to become conscientious objectors. The organization devoted itself largely to working out an elaborate organization plan for an anti-conscription campaign, both local and national. Under date of April 9, 1917, a memorandum for the executive committee of the American Union Against Militarism, reads in part as follows:

#### Anti-Conscription Campaign.

##### Organizing pressure on Congress.

A test referendum vote conducted, if possible, through newspapers.

Card index all members of Congress and circularize them from every possible source.

Line up the strongest possible opponents of conscription in both Senate and House.

Send out a speaker into the South to counteract Taft tour.

Under National organization, "get in touch throughout the country with the Socialist locals, intercollegiate Socialist Society locals, radical groups, open forums and the like. Labor unions, women's organizations, church organizations, settlements, social workers' clubs, college clubs, racial groups, especially Jewish and colored, nationalistic societies, other peace organizations, farmers' organizations.

Other directions were for more complete organization throughout the U. S. and for mass meetings.

Program (in part)

Immediate anti-conscription campaign.

Cooperation in defense of free speech and free assemblage during the war and the rights of conscientious objectors.

Since both the conscription and espionage bills were passed, it was not very long before the American Union Against Militarism virtually withdrew, leaving the field in the hands of its branch offices, the Civil Liberties Bureau, in New York and Washington.

A list of officers and executive committees of the Civil Liberties Bureau was as follows:

Lillian D. Wald, Chairman,  
Amos Pinchot, Vice-Chairman,  
L. Hollingsworth Wood, Treasurer,  
Crystal Eastman, Executive Secretary,  
Charles T. Hallinan, Editorial Director.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Roger N. Baldwin, Director of Civil Liberties  
Bureau, Jane Addams, A. A. Berle, Frank Bohn, Oswald  
G. Villard, Emily Green Balch, and others.

Since its objects were avowedly "the maintenance in war times of the rights of free speech, free press, peaceful assembly, liberty of conscience and freedom from unlawful search and seizure" (from the letter-

head of the organization), it naturally became known as a clearing house for conscientious objectors.

In 1917, it enlarged both its offices and scope under the name National Civil Liberties Bureau. On November 1, 1917, the old American Union Against Militarism again appeared sending out a bulletin announcing the establishment of the National Civil Liberties Union as a distinct organization with committee and staff of its own. It is interesting to note that enclosed with this bulletin was a "reprint of the detailed peace terms recently proposed by the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates."

Though the ostensible object of this bureau was to protect free speech and civil liberties during war times, an exhaustive examination of its files shows that aside from assisting a very small number of bona fide conscientious objectors, some of the real objects were:

1. Encouraging naturally timid boys and discontents to register as conscientious objectors.
2. To assist any radical movement calculated to obstruct the prosecution of the war, as evidenced by the Bureau's activities in collecting funds for the I.W.W. and "Masses" defense.
3. In issuing propaganda literature through publications in high standing in order to influence public sympathy toward the I.W.W., conscientious objectors and radical organizations.
4. To discourage in every possible way any conscientious objector (applying to it for information) from doing his military duty in war and pointing out to mothers and friends the means employed by others to escape military service.
5. Furnish attorneys for conscientious objectors and persons prosecuted for violation of the Espionage Act.
6. "Boring from within" churches, religious organizations, women's clubs, American Federation of Labor, etc. in order to spread radical and pacifist propaganda.
7. Working toward an after the war program.



Conscientious objectors were organized in the camps. The moving spirit of the organizing activities of the National Civil Liberties Union was its director, Roger N. Baldwin, and a good example of his type of mind can be gained from advisory letter of August, 1917, to Louis Lochner, in reference to the People's Council Convention:

"We want to look like patriots in everything we do. We want to get a good lot of flags, talk a good deal about the Constitution and what our forefathers wanted to make of this country, and to show that we are really the folks that really stand for the spirit of our institutions."

Roger Baldwin was sentenced for violation of the Selective Service Act in 1918, and after his conviction the National Civil Liberties Bureau continued its activities; some of the officers listed on Nov. 18, 1918, are as follows: L. Hollinsworth Wood, Chairman; Norman M. Thomas, Vice-Chairman; Helen Phelps Stokes, Treas.; Albert de Silver, Director; William D. Simpson, Walter Nelles, John Haynes Holmes, Crystal Eastman, etc.

There are many examples to illustrate that the relations of the Civil Liberties Bureau and the I.W.W. were intimate. It was and has been most active in raising defense funds for the I.W.W. and in securing bail for William D. Haywood, also in spreading publicity. The mailing list of the Bureau was put at the disposal of Haywood and the pamphlet "The Truth About the I.W.W.", written by I.W.W. apologists, was published and given wide circulation.

The National Civil Liberties Bureau continued its activities until its reorganization into the American Civil Liberties Union. On January 12, 1920, the reorganization was effected in order to deal with the new aspects of the civil liberties since the Armistice, particularly the many state laws and local ordinances restricting free speech and free assemblage.

The reorganization included first, the formation of a national committee composed of sixty persons and second, a change of name; third, with a program of increased activity to dramatize civil liberties in the industrial conflict.

From Roger N. Baldwin's own statement in regard to the purposes, quote in part:

"To test the constitutionality of local ordinances and state laws;

"Expression of an opinion, as we define it, includes any language unaccompanied by an overt act—that is, an act which in itself is a violation of the criminal law."

"The language unaccompanied by such an act, even if the logical consequences lead others to the commission of the act, is legitimately within our conception of free speech. For instance, the advocacy of murder, unaccompanied by such an act, is within the legitimate scope of free speech."

Analyzing the position taken by the American Civil Liberties Union, what is sought is not freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assemblage, but license. Again in their statement of Civil Liberty, they say, "There should be no prosecutions for the mere expressions of opinion on matters of public concern, however radical, however violent. Laws purporting to prevent the advocacy of the 'overthrow of the government by force and violence' are all violations of the right of free speech. The expressions of all opinions, however obnoxious, should be tolerated."

An examination, however, of this propaganda and agitation to overthrow the government shows that it does not consist of a mere expression

of opinion, but invariably advocates measures to carry it into effect.

If the principles set forth in the "Statement of Civil Liberty" which has been referred to, were carried into effect, libel, slander and immoral or lewd writings and speech could not be punished. The American Civil Liberties Union attempts not only to protect crime, but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form.

It now devotes itself largely to working against the Criminal Syndicalism laws in various states; opposing legislative proposals affecting so-called "civil rights"; securing the release of persons in prison for violation of syndicalism laws, political prisoners, etc., and defense of I.W.W. activities.

FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS FROM "A YEAR'S FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH, The Work of the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION from September 1921 to January 1923, Published by the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City":

"Civil liberties were among the leading issues in a dozen states, where governors and other officials were elected pledged to a liberal program. . .

"The Michigan Communist arrests in August, through which the leaders of the movement are held for trial under the State Criminal Syndicalist Law, furnish the only case of national importance begun during the past year. . . (Wm. Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg, et al.)

"In California, alone of all the states, the prosecution of radicals has continued unabated. . .

"Despite the many cases of repression throughout the country there is conspicuously more liberty to speak freely at public meetings without fear of persecution, and more liberty for radical meetings to be held. . .

"Restrictions on periodicals or printed matter have all been lifted, despite the fact that the restrictive laws are in force. The Post Office Department is genuinely liberal in its attitude, and prides itself on standing for freedom of the press. . .

"We do not note either any growth of interest in the legal profession to take cases involving civil liberties issues. Most lawyers who do so are labor attorneys. Others find it interferes with their standing in handling private business. The old tradition of the American Bar apparently died with the war, like most of our libertarian traditions.

"In the schools and colleges the fear of radicalism still persists, though student organizations are freer in most schools to hear radical and labor speakers. . . .

"But the Civil Liberties Union felt that a more continuous and more dramatic campaign (amnesty) at Washington was necessary, with a central headquarters there. Accordingly a special fund of \$5000 was raised, half of which was contributed by Mr. Robertson Trowbridge of New York. An office was opened in November, 1921, in Washington in the Maryland Building, in charge of Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, and preparations were made for vigorous and dramatic work. The first effort was a petition to the President on Armistice Day. . . . Picketing of the Arms Conference immediately followed, participated in by a number of these ex-soldiers, interested women and others. This picketing was continued during the entire period of the Arms Conference. . . . Two delegations were arranged to see the President. . . . The New York World assisted greatly by special publicity campaign. . . .

"The result of all this agitation was the release on Christmas Day of 25 prisoners convicted of war offenses, of whom 20 were political prisoners sentenced for expressions of opinion or industrial activities. (All guilty on a number of counts) Six of them were members of the I.W.W. . . . Among those released was EUGENE V. DEBS. . . . The President's action in releasing so few was, of course, a disappointment to the advocates of amnesty, who had expected the release of a substantial number of the remaining 118 men.

"The widespread newspaper criticism of the release of Debs and other prisoners set the Administration squarely against any further consideration of the issue. The Joint Amnesty Committee therefore turned to raising the issue in Congress in the belief that if the facts could be gotten across to the country and politicians successfully, the Administration might be induced to act. Senator Borah expressed his interest, introducing in the Senate on January 25th a resolution calling upon the Department of Justice for full information. . . . The Department of Justice responded to the Borah resolution with all the available facts in a letter to the Senate under date of May 9, 1922. Senator Borah intended to follow this up with a speech. For that purpose we prepared considerable additional material and analyzed the Department of Justice's records for him. . . .

"Our Washington Committee agreed to assist the Children's Crusade in every way as the most likely means of keeping the issue to the front. . . . Indeed so completely did the Washington work become centered in it that we accepted the financial responsibility for maintaining the Crusade and acted as their consultants and advisers throughout, both during the period when Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare was in charge (up to June 1st) and following that under the direction of Mrs. Mary D. Brite of Cincinnati (to July 6th). . . . The presence of the wives and children of the prisoners in Washington aroused a widespread interest there and throughout the country for the first few weeks. . . . The President refused to see any of the crusaders, even after daily appeals to the White House for an entire

month. The Crusade then began picketing the White House on June 1st and continued that daily without a break up to July 19th, the day the President saw the first delegation on amnesty since before Christmas.

"After the President's promise on July 19th it was generally agreed among the forces working for amnesty that picketing should be abandoned for the sixty-day period, but that intensive work at Washington needed to be kept up with the Pardon Attorney's office and at the White House. . . Just at this time, however, the coal strike and the strike of the railway shopmen, with the consequent industrial unrest, made the President decide that it was unwise to carry out a policy of releasing radicals at such a time. . .

"The Civil Liberties Union has consistently taken the position that it would help release all bona fide political prisoners on their own terms.

"There are now no periodicals or books barred from the mails for their expressions of economic or political opinion, nor any periodicals which have lost second class privileges on that account. . . Four books which had been barred were readmitted in 1922. The last, Alexander Berkman's "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist", was restored to the mails on September 7, 1922. The Post Office Department still has the power of censorship, although it does not exercise it. . . The Union has been active in taking up all these matters with the Post Office Department, and in pushing them through to a conclusion.

"(Michigan Raid) The twenty-three defendants, among whom are Wm. Z. Foster, G. E. Ruthenberg and other well-known radicals, are being defended by Frank P. Walsh, backed by the Labor Defense Council. . . The Civil Liberties Union has been cooperating actively with the Defense Council in an effort to give wide publicity to the unauthorized use of federal funds to prosecute a state case and in order to expose the tactics of the Department of Justice against radicals.

"In the case of Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney of Oakland, convicted in one of the original Communist Labor Party cases, an appeal is being taken to the United States Supreme Court, in which we have secured the cooperation of Samuel Untermyer of New York, who will argue the case with John Francis Neylan of San Francisco.

"In San Francisco, where the police have repeatedly raided the Marine Transport Workers Hall (I.W.W.), arresting all those present on charges of vagrancy, which are invariably dismissed in the police court. Our attorney in San Francisco has prepared a suit against the police which, it is thought, will stop this practice. . .

"Our chief contribution to defense work is furnishing bail through the National Bail Fund, an independent enterprise which works in close cooperation with the Union. The trustees are Albert deSilver, Norman Thomas. . . The total amount in the Fund is approximately \$69,000, of which \$59,500 was out on bail January 1, 1923. The Bail Fund began operation February 15, 1922, with \$60,000 in hand. Money is constantly needed for bail purposes. . .

"As a result of a general appeal for funds to help in defense work, placed in the form of advertisements in three liberal publications in December, 1921, about \$1,200 was collected. After the cost of advertising had been paid, \$500 was sent to the National Defense Committee defending Communist cases, \$300 to the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. and \$200 to the California Defense Committee at San Francisco. Loans have been made at various times to the National Defense Committee to meet emergencies in the conduct of its work. . . .

"The lawyers associated with this work remain about the same in number, over 800.

"WORK AHEAD. . . Our program, so far as we can see ahead now, involves the following matters: Of the cases actively in the courts, conspicuous is that of thirteen socialists at Cincinnati sentenced for distributing anti-conscription literature in 1917. . . . There are a number of deportation cases against radicals which are being contested in the courts. Chief among these are the cases of Nikolai Mansevich of Detroit, of seven I.W.W. ex-political prisoners and four communists. . . .

"An effort will be made in the new Congress in 1923 to secure the repeal of the Post Office censorship section of the Espionage Act, which is still in force; of the section of the obscenity statute which relates to expressions of political opinion; and of the sections of the Immigration Act excluding or deporting aliens because of their political views. . . ."

The latest definition of the attitude of the American Civil Liberties Union was given during August, 1924, by Roger N. Baldwin, National Director of the Civil Liberties Union, New York, as follows:

"The right to advocate a violent revolution, assassination, and proletarian Red guard, are all clearly within the scope of free speech, and have been so regarded here and in England for decades. The spectacle of the Hyde Park policemen protecting a street-speaker against the crowd for advocating assassination of the King, is one of the classic examples. The whole theory of free speech is based upon precisely that kind of a situation.

"There are some within our own organization who dissent from this view of 100% free speech, and who are a little timid in advocating it in extreme cases. They would draw the line somewhere this side of an ACTUAL DEED OR AN ATTEMPT TO COMMIT AN ACT. BUT THEIR VIEW IS NOT THE OFFICIAL VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION."

LETTERHEAD

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE**

**OFFICERS**

FREE SPEECH FREE PRESS FREE ASSEMBLAGE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

100 Fifth Ave., New York City

Chelsea 0340

Jane Addams,  
Chicago, Ill.  
Herbert S. Bigelow,  
Cincinnati, O.  
Robert M. Buck,  
Chicago, Ill.  
Joseph D. Cannon,  
New York City.  
Parley P. Christensen,  
Chicago, Ill.  
John S. Codman, Boston, Mass.  
Lincoln Colcord, Locust Valley, N.Y.  
James H. Dillard, Charlottesville, Va.  
James A. Duncan, Seattle, Wash.  
Robert W. Dunn, New York City.  
John Lovejoy Elliott, New York City.  
Edward W. Evans, Philadelphia.  
William M. Fincke, White Plains, N.Y.  
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York City.  
Wm. Z. Foster, Chicago, Ill.  
Felix Frankfurter, Cambridge, Mass.  
Ernst Freund, Chicago, Ill.  
Paul J. Furnas, Paulsboro, N. J.  
A. B. Gilbert, St. Paul, Minn.  
Norman Hapgood, New York City.  
Arthur Garfield Hays, New York City.  
Morris Hillquit, New York City.  
John Haynes Holmes, New York City.  
Frederick C. Howe, New York City.  
B. W. Heubach, New York City.  
James Weldon Johnson, New York City.  
William H. Johnston, Washington, D. C.  
Hellen Keller, Forest Hills, L. I.  
Agnes Brown Leach, New York City.  
Arthur LeSueur, St. Paul, Minn.  
Henry R. Linville, New York City.  
Robert Morris Lovett, Chicago, Ill.  
Allen McCurdy, New York City.  
May E. McDowell, Chicago, Ill.  
Oscar Maddous, Manhasset, L. A.  
Judah L. Magnes, New York City.  
W.J.M.A. Maloney, New York City.  
Anne Martin, Carmel, Calif.  
James H. Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa.  
John D. Moore, New York City.  
Henry R. Mussey, Wellesley, Mass.

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Lucille B. Milner  
Counsel  
Wolcott H. Pitkin  
Washington Cornea  
Gilson Gardner  
- - - - -  
Attorneys and cor-  
respondents in  
leading cities.

August 1, 1934.

A. J. Muste, Katonah, N. Y.  
Scott Nearing, New York City.  
Walter Nelles, Cos Cob, Conn.  
Julia S. O'Connor, Boston, Mass.  
Fremont Older, San Francisco, Cal.  
Wm. Pickens, New York City.  
Father John A. Ryan, Washington, D.C.  
John Nevin Sayre, New York City.  
Rose Schneiderman, New York City.  
Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley, Mass.  
John F. Sinclair, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Seymour Stedman, Chicago, Ill.  
Norman M. Thomas, New York City.  
Edw. D. Tittman, El Paso, Texas.  
Wm. S. U'Ren, Portland, Oregon.  
Oswald Garrison Villard, N.Y.C.  
B. Charney Vladeck, New York City.  
Frank P. Walsh, New York City.  
Harry F. Ward, New York City.  
George P. West, Sausalito, Cal.  
L. Hollingsworth Wood, N.Y.C.



OFFICERS

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, Acting Chairman, Community Church, New York City.

One of the trustees of the Garland Fund; Contributor to the "Nation". An agent for Upon Sinclair's radical publications and advises his congregation in New York to read Sinclair's writings which appear in "The Appeal to Reason". One of the contributing editors of "The Socialist Review", official organ of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, now League for Industrial Democracy. Speaker for Intercollegiate Liberal League which is part of the Youth movement. Among the names given out by the Department of Justice as being among the fifty-two in control of the Anarchists and Communists in this country: Visited Moscow and says he found no evidence of any atrocities being committed upon churches; said he saw much dirt in the churches but no damage and is an apologist for the Bolshevik attitude toward religion. Says, "The aim of the bolsheviks is clearly the creation of a state composed entirely of producers and in control of the producers. This is manifestly a scriptural aim." Presided at first meeting of the Communistic post of World War Veterans. Said: "The tragedy of the American flag is that men are still willing to fight and die for it. I hope and pray for the time when men won't fight and die for the flag any more than they will for the flag of a city or state." His statements were found of use during the war for German propaganda among the troops of America and his sayings just before the war were found treasonable immediately after we entered war. Contributed \$500 to Intercollegiate Socialist Society and also contributed time and effort in behalf of anti-American movements working with Dana and Clark. Debated with Scott Nearing on the subject "Can the Church be Radical?" Working for release of political prisoners; Published the Aims of the Pacifists, stating war would be a crime, the soldier a criminal, the soldier's uniform a convict's garb and the army a disgrace and infamy.

DUNCAN McDONALD, Vice Chairman.

President of Illinois Federation of Labor. President of Red Star League, an organization which combats the Red Cross. Organizer for People's Council, Member of National Committee of American Civil Liberties Union.

JEANNETTE RANKIN, Vice Chairman.

Ex-Congresswoman from Montana. Worker against all military training, funds for same or militarism in any way, while in Congress. Worker against the provision of the land grant system whereby state colleges, giving agricultural education were given the income from certain federal lands with the provision that these colleges require military training.

HELEN PHELPS STOKES, Treas. (Artist)

Member Intercollegiate Socialist Society; Member Committee of One Hundred of "The Nation"; One of the signers of "A Challenge to the Friends of Free Speech" in the Nation; Long time Socialist agitator and defender of conscientious objectors and I.W.W.'s. At one time jailed for red



activities; Treasurer of National Civil Liberties Bureau; Was member of the Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Vice-Chairman of the Liberty Defense Union.

ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director.

Served one year in jail for "dodging draft". An intellectual anarchist; Director of Civil Liberties Bureau; Author of "The Conscientious Objector" and letter in re I.W.W.; Member league for Amnesty; Officer American Union Against Militarism. Indicted charged with misrepresentation in soliciting members for a colony in Siberia founded by William D. Haywood.

Reported to have informed the Communists, I.W.W.'s, Syndicalists and Anarchists in this country to go ahead and do as they pleased, not to worry about raids and other interference, as he would notify them in ample time in case the authorities contemplated getting busy; with his money bringing Syndicalist and Anarchist propaganda literature from England, Germany, Italy and Spain; Attempted to broadcast propaganda over radio in New York, but so far, has failed; Charged by Railway Review with being "The American Representative of the Third International"; which he denied, saying he did not belong to the Communist Party.

Member of National Committee of "Labor Defense Council" with Debs, Elizabeth G. Flynn, etc. Organizer of People's Council in which capacity he wrote to the Communist, Louis P. Lochner, "We want also to look like patriots in everything we do."

Trustee of Garland fund; Board of editors "Labor Publication Society"; Contributor to the "Nation" and one of Committee of One Hundred to welcome Oswald G. Villard back to America; Praises "The Messenger"; Sponsor of the Youth Movement; Worked for release of William Z. Foster; When requested to make an official statement of the purposes and activities of the A.C.L.U. he said, "Expressions of opinion include any language, even if its logical consequences lead others to the execution of such (overt) acts, is legitimately within our conception of free speech. For example, the advocacy of murder, unaccompanied by any act, is within the legitimate scope of free speech. I would say, on behalf of the entire committee that all of them believe in the right of persons to advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence. Laws purporting to prevent the overthrow of government by force and violence are violations of the right of free speech. There should be no prosecution for expression of sentiments between radicals, however violent."

ALBERT DE SILVER, Associate Director.

Gives constant efforts toward movements advocating "freedom of speech", repeal of Criminal Syndicalism laws, release of so-called political prisoners, raising of funds for the defense of I.W.W., etc. One of Committee of One Hundred to welcome editor of "Nation" to America; Member of Intercollegiate Socialist Society; Member of Joint Amnesty Committee, with La Follette, John A. Ryan and others. One of the signers of the "Ad" in the "Nation", Jan. 2, 1934, "A Challenge to the Friends of Free Speech"; Officer, League for Industrial Democracy.

LUCILLE B. MILNER, Field Secretary.

WALTER H. PITKIN, Counsel.

GILSON GARDNER, Washington Correspondent.

Chairman Joint Amnesty Committee.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

JANE ADDAMS, Chicago, Ill.

International President WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, whose program is immediate release for all war prisoners, full and immediate recognition of Russia, revision of school text books, in connection with "Youth Movement" work, removal of military training from schools, gradual abolition of private property privileges, restoration of German properties "confiscated", abolition of our army and navy and national guard, and finally complete disarmament of nation. Delegate to Hague Congress of Women; member Executive Committee Civil Liberties Bureau; Fellowship of Reconciliation; organizer American League to Limit Armaments; declared German Americans should have been consulted before we entered war; active in pre-war pacifist work; Vice-chairman National Peace Federation; friend and co-worker Louis P. Lochner who is Vice/Chairman American Neutral Conference Committee; refused chairmanship of People's Council; said to be understudy Rosika Schwimmer, a German spy during war; subscriber to Russian American Industrial Corporation; Member Ford Peace Party; Winner Nobel Prize for Peace; contributing editor "New Republic"; Member American Commission on Conditions in Ireland; Member National Council Survey Graphic. When Department of Justice gave out names of 52 people who were largely in control of Reds and Anarchists in this country, January 1921, Jane Addams's name was among the list.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Cincinnati, Ohio.

ROBERT M. BUCK, Chicago, Ill.

Editor "New Majority", official weekly paper Chicago Federation of Labor; One of Trustees Garland Fund; Member provisional national committee, Labor Defense Council; which holds "Herrin, Illinois, the scene of a brilliant and heroic defense on the part of union miners." Was in favor (July, 1923) of having Farmer-Labor Party and affiliated parties place themselves on record as pledging that they would not draw their inspiration from the Communist International, but his proposal was rejected. However, he is one of the organizers and directors of the Federated Press, proven in the Ruthenberg case to be a branch of the Communist movement and denounced by American Federation of Labor; also a friend of Foster and attended his trial at St. Joseph, giving him aid

and comfort. Labor Defense Council is organized and promoted by the Communists so that at the time thought his "conservative" stand at the Farmer-Labor Conference was simply one of his plans to retain control of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

JOSEPH D. CANNON, New York City.

Although not a Communist or I.W.W., has a tremendous influence and is urging others to continue their activities. In three criminal trials, West Virginia, 1923, he circulated three counties in an effort to avert justice in trials of United Mine Workers leaders. Leader of Radical Wing of American Federation of Labor. Laidler quotes him as saying that Gompers is through and that industry is well on the way to complete socialization. Guest of honor at the Intercollegiate Conference at "Inn-in-the-Hills", 1930.

PARLEY P. CHRISTENSEN, Chicago, Ill.

Attorney for I.W.W. Candidate for President 1920 on Farmer-Labor ticket. Said that his party would have nothing to do with Foster and his communistic teachings.

JOHN S. CODMAN, Boston, Mass.

LINCOLN COLCORD, Locust Valley, N.Y.

Associate editor of "The Nation", 1919. Attended conference to perfect plans for Committee of Forty-eight.

JAMES H. DILLARD, Charlottesville, Va.

JAMES A. DUNCAN, Seattle, Wash.

Member Committee on International Labor Relations who attended 43rd annual convention of American Federation at Portland, 1923. First Vice-President American Federation of Labor, 1923. It is said that he tried to bring about a "red-revolution" in Seattle.

ROBERT W. DUNN, New York City.

JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOTT, New York City.

Member Committee of One Hundred welcoming editor of "Nation" upon his return from Europe.

EDWARD W. EVANS (or Edward J.), Philadelphia, Pa.

Delegate American Federation of Labor, 1923, convention and one of the promoters of a resolution to organize the Steel Industry to the end that

the campaign may be carried on without interruption until such time as the Steel Industry is 100 percent organized. Pacifist.

**WILLIAM M. FINCKE**, White Plains, N. Y.

Member of Committee of One Hundred radicals in U. S. who welcomed editor of "Nation" upon his return from Europe.

**ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN**, New York City.

On Board of Directors of Labor Publications Society. Traveled with Bill Haywood as his interpreter as she speaks a dozen languages and has written pamphlets for the I.W.W. chief of which is a defense of sabotage. Held meetings in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti; Member Labor Defense Council; in her book "Sabotage", Miss Flynn says, "I advocate sabotage. I am not going to attempt to justify sabotage on any moral ground. If the workers consider sabotage is necessary--that in itself makes sabotage moral. Its necessity is its excuse for existence." Member advisory committee Friends of Soviet Russia.

**WILLIAM Z. FOSTER**, Chicago, Ill.

Communist; Industrial director Communist Party of America. Strike fomenter and agitator; generally recognized as one of the foremost intellectual leaders of radicalism in United States. One of the incorporators "American Fund for Social Service." Formed the Syndicalist League of North America. Arrested in Communist convention, indicted but not convicted as jury stood six to six. Organizer and promoter of Trade Union Educational League, an extremely radical organization with the program of "boring from within", Amalgamation, and reaching the schools through magazine and book propaganda. Final purpose is to make the American Labor Movement into a militant revolutionary movement against capitalism. Member Advisory Committee Friends of Soviet Russia.

**FELIX FRANKFURTER**, Cambridge, Mass.

Counsel for President Wilson's Mediation Commission in the Mooney case. Professor of Law, Harvard School of Law, Major and Judge Advocate O.R.C., U.S.A., 1914. Late Assistant to Secretary of War. A letter from President Roosevelt to Felix Frankfurter, Dec. 19, 1917, accuses him of taking an attitude fundamentally the same as Trotzky and the other Bolshevik leaders; also called his report on Bisbee deportations thoroughly misleading. As member of committee in Mooney case he tried to whitewash the murder and anarchist, Mooney, as well as the criminal gang of I.W.W.'s.

**ERNST FREUND**, Chicago, Ill.

Author "Standards of American Legislation", Professor Jurisprudence and Public Law, University of Chicago (1920).

**PAUL J. FURNAS**, Paulsboro, N. J.

A. B. GILBERT, St. Paul, Minn.

One of the organizers of I.W.W. in Chicago, 1905, and actively associated with that organization. Connected with Non-Partisan League in its earlier days.

NORMAN HAPGOOD, New York City.

Chief editor of Hearst's International; formerly with Colliers. Was go-between of Bolsheviks while in Copenhagen; friend of Hipolyte Havel, international anarchist of Berkman gang (who was associated with and a friend of McKinely's murderer). Appointed by Wilson as Minister to Denmark, but appointment was not confirmed. Berkman gang said he was their friend and a means of communication between them and the Bolshevik enemies of this country in Russia at time Bolsheviks were seeking to overthrow this government. Contributor to "Asia". Asked to state the position of the American Civil Liberties Union over radio, but was refused.

Quoting from a recent article in Hearst's: "The orthodox socialists are in reality not important in this country. Karl Marx has little to say about our situation; class consciousness, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Third Internationale make us yawn."

Upon his return from a sojourn in Russia, he says; "I would like to live there if it were not for my love of my own country." Says he likes Russia and finds University life is going on to a much greater extent than reports indicate. In writing of the assassination of Vorovsky, Soviet representative at Lausanne Conference, he expresses deep sympathy for Russia and bitterness against England, France and America.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS.

One of Committee of One Hundred of the "Nation".

MORRIS HILLQUIT, New York City.

Lawyer, Author, Socialist. Born in Russia. Delegate from Socialists of United States to the Internationale; leader of the so-called "right" wing. Member Committee for Progressive Political Action. Said by extreme radicals that he is merely trying to bring radicalism and capital together and is working for Capital. His policies are severely criticized by "The Worker", organ of the Communist Party, because they are not radical enough. Said "The British Labor victory is bound to have a powerful and salutary effect on the political cause of American Labor." Contributing editor "Labor Age". Speaker at conference 1923, for League for Industrial Democracy. During one address declared that socialist and labor movement had grown strong since the war and said the workers should all unite against the "tottering regime of capitalism." Sponsor of Youth Movement with Foster, Holmes, etc. In a short interview given the New York Call, he used the word revolution five times in one hundred words. Member organization committee of People's Council; member American League to Limit Armaments. One of the Committee of Forty-eight; official representative in America of the Soviet Bureau. Working against preparedness.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, New York City. (Community Church)

(See officers)

FREDERIC C. HOWE, New York City.

Once commissioner of Immigration, Port of New York. Deppsed because of his friendship for radicals. Close friend of Emma Goldman and friend of Berkman gang. Officially sought to prevent deportation of Emma Goldman. Promoter of the Non-Partisan League for North Dakota. Wrote a book "The High Cost of Living", used by the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota as propaganda, in which he urged the Single Tax. Associated with Frank P. Walsh in committee of red "Plumb Plan Leaguers". Director School of Opinion. Member American Commission on Conditions in Ireland. Secretary Conference for Progressive Political Action. Worked with League for Industrial Democracy. Contributing editor Labor Age. Charter member of Committee of Forty-eight. Formerly lecturer at Universities of Wisconsin and California.

B. W. HUEBSCH, New York City.

Member Committee of One Hundred of "The Nation".

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, New York City.

Member Committee of One Hundred of "The Nation".

WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON, Washington, D. C.

General President, Machinists' union. Bitterly denounced American Legion and railroads claiming they wished to use Legion members to prevent railroad strikes. Chairman, National Committee, Conference for Progressive Political Action at Chicago, Feb. 1922. Secretary and Treasurer, "People's Legislative Service", Washington, 1920. Member, Board of Directors, Labor Publication Society, publishers of Labor Age. At the Annual Conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom urged "that all forces join to bring pressure to bear upon Congress to take the profit out of war and to demand the recognition of Russia and Mexico."

One of the speakers at the Annual Dinner of the League for Industrial Democracy, December, 1922.

Member of the Joint Amnesty Committee. One of the judges of the Bok Peace Prize. A radical. Has often lauded the Lenin regime in Russia. Urges nationalization of leading industries of this country. An active Socialist.

HELEN KELLER, Forest Hills, L. A. (Deaf, dumb and blind prodigy)

Advisory Committee Friends of Soviet Russia.

When asked during a vaudeville performance in Kansas City "who is your hero?" Helen Keller answered, "Why, 'Gene Debs.'" In an article in the "Call" relating the incident, the author says, "This is an incident

radical and liberal world should know about. It makes one glad that he is a Socialist and increases the radical's conviction in the ultimate goodness of mankind."

AGNES BROWN LEACH, New York City.

Executive Board Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Treasurer of the New York State Woman's Peace Party. On executive Committee of American Union against Militarism. Interested in the Young Democracy. Member National Council of Survey Graphic. Member Committee of One Hundred of "The Nation".

ARTHUR LE SUEUR, St. Paul, Minn.

Prominent member Non-Partisan League and later attorney for I.W.W. Connected with People's College at Fort Scott, Kansas. This school was closed for sedition at time of Debs's arrest.

HENRY R. LINVILLE, New York City.

President New York Teachers' Union; Vice President American Federation of Teachers; framer of the teachers' demand for freedom of Labor prisoners; sent by the conference of Eastern states Federation of the American Federation of Teachers. Member League for Industrial Democracy. Member Committee of One Hundred of "The Nation".

ROBERT MORSE LOVETT, Chicago, Ill. Author. Contributor to "The Dial". Member Committee of 48. President of Friends of Freedom for India -- associated with him in this connection were Frank P. Walsh, Dudley Field Malone, Louis P. Lochner. Reported they maintained an asylum for Hindu Political prisoners or refugees. President League for Industrial Democracy. Member National Council of People's Legislative Service. Editor "New Republic". Contributor to "The Nation". One of the incorporators American Fund for Social Service (Gompers says this organization is a revolutionary body which seeks to pose before the public as thoroughly American and non-revolutionary). Lecturer in New School for Social Research. Professor of Literature, University of Chicago.

ALLEN McCURDY (formerly a Presbyterian Minister), New York City.

Member Committee of 48. Associate editor of "The Nation". Said to be much sought by movements desiring "snap" in their public proceedings.

MARY E. McDOWELL, Chicago, Ill.

OSCAR MADDOUS, Manhasset, L. I.



JUDAH L. MAGNES, New York City.

One of the incorporators American Fund for Social Service (this fund to be financed by Garland fund and declared revolutionary by Gompers). Strongly pro-German during war.

W. J. M. A. MALONEY, New York City.

ANNE MARTIN, Carmel, California.

JAMES H. MAUER, Harrisburg, Pa.

President Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Pres. Labor Publication Society; Chairman Committee American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace (1917); Rose Schneiderman also a member of this committee; spoke in opposition to the suspension of labor laws during the war; red utterances were suppressed by loyal soldiers and sailors when he tried to give vent to them during war; Vice Chairman of Mooney Convention; Member American Commission on Conditions in Ireland; Contributor to "The Nation"; says that Labor Children should be in schools of their own because the children are now receiving the wrong kind of propaganda in the present day schools (against labor); urges development of Industrial Unions and federation of crafts; says "intellectuals" must not "boss" labor, but must come in their movements as statisticians, economists, teacher, engineer, etc. Speaker June Conference League for Industrial Democracy; called Captain of Labor; Contributor to Labor Age. One of the supporters of Bryn Mawr College summer school to give young women an opportunity to study liberal subjects; formerly Vice President Intercollegiate Socialist Society. Connected with Pennsylvania Committee of Penal Affairs. Member with American Birth Control League. During war was so thoroughly disloyal that our soldiers and sailors would not permit him to deliver an address in his home town of Reading; identified with Berkman gang. Organizing Committee People's Council of America; general Committee of Liberty Defense Union.

JOHN MOORE, New York City.

Delegate American Federation of Labor, 1923.

HENRY R. MUSSEY, Wellesley, Mass.

Speaker for Intercollegiate Liberal League (part of Youth Movement). Left Columbia University because of his radicalism. Connected with New School for Social Research in New York. Was correspondent for American Civil Liberties Union in Washington.

A. J. MUSTE, Katonah, N. Y. (Formerly Minister in Massachusetts)

Board Directors Labor Publication Society; Member Committee of One Hundred of "The Nation". Quoted as saying that all labor unions have for their objective "The overthrow of the existing order of society." Also



said that radicals should not heedlessly sabotage, but that radical organizations should not come into the American Federations of Labor except at their own terms. Secretary and Director of the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union. One of the guests of honor at Inter-collegiate Socialist Society conference. Member of Faculty of Rand School.

SCOTT NEARING, New York City.

Editorial writer for various Communist papers; Executive Committee American Union against Militarism; Liberty Defense Union; People's Council of America; Intercollegiate Socialist Society. Indicted for violating the Espionage Law; discharged from University of Pennsylvania because of un-American teaching; similarly released from University of Toledo; became an arch-propagandist for radicalism; Denounced Liberty Loans; now Dean of the Rand Socialist School; one of the founders of Bureau of Education founded by I.W.W.; speaker at numerous open forums and especially tries to get into schools and student forums; in this connection, he was invited by the "liberal" students of Wisconsin to address them, but permission for him to appear in University Halls was refused by the Faculty so that his address was delivered off the campus; President Atwood of Clark University summarily broke off his lecture while he was addressing the students, on account of its extreme radicalism; was allowed to speak at Dartmouth as one of the few remaining free colleges. Director of Labor Publication Society; speaker in Conference of League for Industrial Democracy; one of the sponsors of the Youth Movement; author of various books, "Oil and the Germs of War", "The Next Step", etc., advertised in "The Nation"; one of incorporators of American Fund for Social Service; speaker for Single Tax. In recent speech said, "If British labor fails there is no hope for the workers of the world save in the methods of Communism—that is the seizure of political power, dictatorship of workers and expropriation of the capitalists". He criticizes the labor government in England for its conservative stand; says that the school system is a propaganda organization for the maintenance of the present order, that it is not honest or truth seeking and that the only way labor can come into its own is to get enough intelligence to do what has been done in Russia (to prevent future wars). Predicts that the Red Flag will be over the White House some day.

WALTER NELLES, Cos Cob, Conn. (Member of New York Bar)

One of the conference to perfect plans for the "Committee of 48". Counsel for Elia in deportation proceedings. One of the signers of "A Challenge to the Friends of Free Speech", in "The Nation", January 2, 1934.

JULIA S. O'CONNOR, Boston, Mass.

Delegate to American Federation of Labor, Portland, 1933.

FREMONT OLDER, San Francisco, Cal.

Associated in Socialistic work with George P. West; author of article on contempt of labor leaders for the rank and file of laborers.

In a letter from Colonel Roosevelt to Mr. Felix Frantfurter, Roosevelt is quoted as saying: "Fremont Older and the I.W.W. and the 'direct action' anarchists and apologists for Anarchy, are never concerned about justice. They are concerned solely in seeing one kind of criminal escape justice." Formerly editor of San Francisco "Bulletin" and later Hearst's paper, "The Post"; supporter of reds and publicly entertained Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman; stood in dosely with the inner red circle of the American Federation of Labor and was a warm friend of Louis F. Post, Ass't Sec. of Labor and a strong supporter of murderers and dynamiters, including the McNamaras, Mooney and Billings, Ford and Suhr. Employed Lincoln Steffens, who was afterward sent to Russia by our Government and who played into the hands of the Bolsheviki, and Bessie Beatty was also a graduate of his office and a correspondent for his paper. During the Mooney trial he was seated beside Judge Griffin on the bench.

**WILLIAM PICKENS**, New York City. (Colored)

Author of "The Vengeance of the Gods" and other stories of American Color line. Member League for Industrial Democracy.

**FATHER JOHN A. RYAN**, Washington, D. C.

Member Public Ownership League cooperating with Farmer-Labor Party; Irish radical of Catholic University of Washington; Member National Council Survey Graphic; included in list of 53 leading radicals; National Catholic Welfare Council; One of the members of National Committee who reported on conditions in West Virginia mines, showing ownership of sheriffs and sheriff forces by coal companies.

**JOHN NEVIN SAYRE**, New York City.

Son-in-law of President Wilson; Editor, "The World Tomorrow"; Member of Committee of One Hundred of "The Nation".

**ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN**, New York City.

Advisory Editorial Board Labor Publication Society (official organ of Society, Labor Age); Member administrative committee Bryn Mawr summer school for liberal education; Contributor "The Woman Citizen"; Vice President National Women's Trade Union League; Pres. New York branch of National women's Trade Union League; Member Committee of 48; Intercollegiate Socialist Society; Pacifist during war; member of Committee on Permanent Organizations and future activities of First American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace (1917); took a prominent part in the Washington Women's Industrial Conference and attended the Third International Congress of working women in Vienna, August 1923. Known as the "Red Rose of Anarchy".

**VIDA D. SCUDDER**, Wellesley, Mass. (Prof. of English literature, Wellesley College.)

Subscriber to Russian American Industrial Corporation; Trustee of Garland Fund; Author of "Social Ideals in English Letters", "Socialism and Character", etc. Member League for Industrial Democracy; Contrabanding editor "The World Tomorrow".

JOHN F. SINCLAIR, Minneapolis, Minn.

Member National Council, People's Legislative Service.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Chicago, Ill.

Attorney, whose specialty for years has been defending I.W.W.'s, Communists, and radical Socialists. Member of Committee of 48.

NORMAN M. THOMAS, New York City.

Director League for Industrial Democracy; contributing editor "The Nation"; Amnesty Committee, People's Freedom Union; assistant treasurer Fellowship Press; Editor "The World Tomorrow"; Leader Fellowship of Reconciliation; Lecturer, Rand School of Social Science; Member American Commission on Conditions in Ireland; Vice Chairman Civil Liberties Bureau; one of incorporators American Fund for Social Service; Pacifist, author "The Outlawry of War"; contributor "The New Republic"; criticized Robert Dunn for condoning restriction of civil liberty of Russia while he bitterly denounced United States for the same things; champion of civil liberty and says that those who believe in this principle should not incur the suspicion of being in favor of it in America and disbelieving in it in Russia for their own selfish interests. Editor "The New York Call"; speaker at Conference of League for Industrial Democracy; defender of I.W.W.'s; makes a plea for fair play to the United Mine Workers, deploring their tactics.

EDWARD D. TITTMAN, El Paso, Texas.

WILLIAM S. U'REN, Portland, Oregon.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, New York City.

Editor "The Nation"; Member National Council of People's Legislative Service established in Washington, D. C., December 17, 1920, as a clearing house of information and a Bureau of Research - to analyze and watch pending legislation; Organizer League to Limit Armaments; Member Neutral Conference Committee; Member Fellowship of Reconciliation; On Board of Directors "The World Tomorrow"; Bolshevik; in his magazine he pleads for money for the Germans; author of many articles and books, among the books, "Some Newspapers and Newspaper Men"; member of Committee of 48; American Union against Militarism; interested in American Civil Liberties Bureau.

B. CHARNEY WLADECK, New York City.

On advisory board Labor Publication Society; member Committee of One Hundred of "The Nation".

FRANK P. WALSH, New York City.

Contributing editor "Labor Age"; labor attorney and was attorney for the defense on the Michigan woods trial; Member General Defense Committee; Member Liberal League; friend of Berkman; Chairman of Industrial Relations

Committee, Chief Counsel for Defense in Labor Defense Council (whose National Committee consists of Roger N. Baldwin, Debs, Eliz. Flynn, Ruthenberg, Foster, etc.) Counsel for United Mine Workers in their testimony before the Senate; working for Russian recognition and in this connection says we should be much more prosperous if we had the Russian market and trade; also, after a visit to Russia, says, "There is no government upon the face of the earth to-day where the highest officials have a better understanding of the principles of political science and a more sacrificial spirit in the performance of their duties than those people over there."

HARRY F. WARD, New York City.

Chairman American Civil Liberties Union.

Extreme radical, pacifist and-propagandist; member National Council for Reduction of Armaments which is part of Russian Communist propaganda; member Bureau of Education founded by I.W.W. in Chicago, 1920; contributor "The Nation"; in his November '22 "Social Service Bulletin" lauded I.W.W. and Communists; filled Methodist publications with economic and political poison until he was deposed; Contributing Editor "The World Tomorrow"; Chairman of the I.W.W. meeting held in Rand Auditorium, Seattle, by "Red" Doran, February 9, 1920.

Editor Social Service Bulletin issued by Methodist Federation of Social Service of which he is secretary.

Member of Board of Directors of "The World Tomorrow", also a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Was a Pacifist during the War. Is in sympathy with the Bolshevik regime in Russia as shown in his book "The New Social Order" and claims that the philosophy of the I.W.W. is the most practical Christian philosophy since the days of Jesus Christ. He presided over an I.W.W. meeting held at the Rand School to raise money for the defense of the I.W.W.'s who murdered the American Legion boys at Centralia. Dr. Ward is connected with the W.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and the Inter-Church World Movement.

GEORGE P. WEST, Sausalito, California.

Writer for "The Nation". Member of National Committee of American Civil Liberties Union. Active leader in the fight against the Criminal Syndicalist Law. Organized a committee in Oakland composed of David Starr Jordan, Bishop Parsons (Episcopal), William Kent and Rudolph Spreckels to fight this law. Prominent in Northern California Amnesty Committee. Was member of committee who called on Attorney General Daugherty to protest the deportation of six "reds" released from Leavenworth Prison by President Harding. Campaign manager for William Kent when he ran for the United States Senate. Member of Frank P. Walsh's committee in San Francisco to free Mooney. Associate editor of the "Public"; formerly publicity director of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations; made an intimate study of the I.W.W. and wrote articles for the San Francisco Bulletin on the Lawrence Strike, California hop riots, and the San Diego free speech fight. Influenced Mrs. Kate Crane Garts to give \$10,000.00 for the General Defense Fund of the I.W.W.

Was present at a "closed meeting" held at the home of Walter Thomas Mills in Berkeley after the open meeting at Mosswood Park of the Conference for United Progressive Political Action.

L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD, New York City.

Treasurer American Civil Liberties Union;  
Treasurer the magazine "The World Tomorrow"; member American Commission on Conditions in Ireland with Jane Addams and others; Member "Committee of One Hundred" of "The Nation".

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION  
CALIFORNIA BRANCH

The first organization meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union, Southern California Branch, was held at the Walker Auditorium, Los Angeles, May 30th, 1933. William D. TenBroeck was brought to California as director, assisted by Rev. Doremus Scudder, formerly of Boston. About five hundred people listed themselves as members in the organization meeting and shortly afterwards, and committees on membership, jail conditions, defense (particularly of I.W.W.O, teachers committee (to interest school teachers in the work), and visiting, were named.

In their statement they announce that except for a secretary and salaried organizer the work will be entirely voluntary.

In reality, they have been the most active force in Southern California in opposition to the regular processes of law, measures of the government, and in support of those elements of this country that may be designated as I.W.W., Communist, etc. They have broadcast literature in defense of the I.W.W. and have been active in the uprisings at the Harbor. The whole scheme seems to be to raise money with which to continue the agitation in America and to spread red propaganda.

Rev. J. Clinton Taft was named Director and took charge August 1, 1933. He was formerly pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church.

Rev. Robert Whitaker is field secretary of the A. C. L. U. and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (Pacifist).

LETTERHEAD:

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION  
Southern California Branch  
Rev. J. Clinton Taft, Director

540 Wilcox Building, Los Angeles,  
206 South Spring St. Phone 829-566

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Harry F. Ward, New York,  
Chairman  
Duncan McDonald, Illinois,  
JEANETTE RANKIN, Montana,  
Vice Chairmen  
L. Hollingsworth Wood,  
Acting Treasurer  
Roger N. Baldwin,  
Director  
Albert DeSilver,  
Associate Director  
Walter Nelles,  
Counsel

LOCAL COMMITTEE

John Beardsley  
M.C. Bettinger  
Mrs. F.O. Ellsworth  
Dr. T. P. Gerson  
John J. Hamilton  
Ethelwyn Mills  
P. D. Noel  
John C. Packard,  
Sec. & Treas.  
Mrs. Marie Packard  
Rev. E. P. Ryland  
Rev. Doremus Soudder  
Rabbi E. R. Trattner

PERSONNEL OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA BRANCH, A. C. L. U.:

REV. CLINTON TAFT, Director.

Assistant Pastor Wilshire Congregational Church; instigator of ceaseless propaganda favoring I.W.W. and reds against the Busiek Injunction, criminal syndicalism law, etc.; instrumental in the sale and distribution of every variety of radical literature; instrumental in arranging for appearance of Debs in Long Beach and author of letter to "The Nation" telling about the circumstances. Active in protest meetings against Defense Day; active against Boy Scout Movement.

REV. ROBERT WHITAKER, Field Secretary.

Active Communist; Secretary "The International Univeristy Commune", an organization working direct with Russian Communist government; Field Secretary Fellowship of Reconciliation (Pacifist organization); formerly pastor Universal Fellowship Church at Los Gatos; formerly member Executive Committee, Socialist Party of California, later of the Communist Labor Party; arrested in Los Angeles, December 1917, for draft obstruction and disloyal speeches, convicted on three counts, sentenced 6 months in County Jail, fine \$1200; organizer Marxian Labor College, Seattle; applied for passport to Australia, visa refused by British Consulates at New York and San Francisco.

JOHN BEARDSLEY.

I.W.W. Defense attorney; Executive Committee A.C.L.U. in California.

MRS. F. O. ELLSWORTH.

Member Executive Committee, A.C.L.U.

M. C. BETTINGER.

Formerly member of school board; member of Committee of 31; sympathizer with radical element,

DR. T. P. GERSON.

Member of Severance Club and active in radical organizations.

JOHN J. HAMILTON, Pasadena.

Campaign manager, Southern California, La Follette-Wheeler organization.

ETHELWYN MILLS.

Chairman of meeting under auspices of FRIENDS OF PEACE in protest against Defense Day; active in I.W.W. defense; (Secretary) Fellowship of Reconciliation.

P. D. NOEL.

Took part in conference to hold open protest meeting in San Pedro in June, 1934, and active in I.W.W. defense work; member Municipal League of L.A.; Auditor Board of Publishers of "The Citizen".

JOHN C. PACKARD, Secretary-Treasurer.

MRS. MARIE PACKARD.

REV. E. P. RYLAND,

Pastor Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church, Hollywood; speaker Sept. 8, 1934, at protest meeting against Defense Day; Chairman of meeting of Defense League of America in 1933 in agitation of railroad strikers and a protest against injunction; active in social work and Travelers' Aid Society; tried to get resolution passed against Criminal Syndicalism Laws at Social Workers Conference and at Ministers Conference; in sympathy with radical element.

REV. DOREMUS SCUDDER.

Congregational Minister; lecturer at Open Forum; lecturer at Institute of International Relations; Pacifist and Pro-Japanese propagandist.



Quoting from his speech at Institute of International Relations: "I am not a Socialist nor a Communist," then expressing disgust with the policies of our country and lauding the spirit of Soviet Russia, which he said "is the only sane thing in Europe". Also said, "I make no apology for the Red Terror; the White Terror is much worse than the Red Terror; I am ashamed of America for its treatment of Russia." Former organizer of "People's Council".

RABBI E. R. TRATTNER.

Jewish Rabbi; member Executive Board A.C.L.U.

PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS BEFORE OPEN FORUM A.C.L.U., SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA BRANCH, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, DURING PAST YEAR:

EMANUEL LEVIN, Communist organizer; head of Communists, So. Cal.  
JAMES FISHER, " " Editor "Labor Unity (Communist paper)"  
MRS. HARRIET PRENTER, Communist organizer; Canadian.  
N. H. ROBINSON, Communist organizer, head of Communists in Oregon.  
REV. ROBERT WHITAKER, Communist organizer; Pacifist organizer.  
REV. GEORGE CHAMBERS RICHMOND, I.W.W. professional witness; communist, etc.

REV. FRANK DYER,  
REV. DR. RYLAND,  
RABBI TRATTNER,  
REV. G. BROMLEY OXNAM, Pacifist; author of Pacifist "No War" resolution passed by Cal. Methodist Conference at Santa Barbara, Sept. 1924. This was the resolution that failed of passage at National Methodist Conference.

ATTORNEY LEO GALLAGHER, Socialist.  
ATTORNEY J. H. RYCKMAN, Socialist.  
ATTORNEY SAMUEL RAPPAPORT, Communist.  
ATTORNEY JOB HARRIMAN, Socialist.  
ED MOFFITT, I.W.W. organizer and speaker.  
GEORGE SPEED, " " "  
PROF. ROY MALCOLM, University of Southern California.  
PROF. GEORGE A. COE, Columbia University.  
PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR.  
PROF. WILLIS T. NEWTON, L. A. High School, Pacifist.  
PROF. PAUL JORDAN SMITH.

UPTON SINCLAIR  
GAYLORD WILSHIRE  
STEWART BRUCE

ETHELWYN MILLS, Pacifist, Socialist, etc.; Secretary Fellowship of Reconciliation.

FANNY BIXBY SPENCER, Pacifist, Socialist; member Fellowship of Reconciliation.  
KATE CRANE GARTZ, " " etc.; " "

MRS. PICKERING, Pacifist Communist, etc.  
Mrs. MOVICKERS, " " "

HAROLD STORY, Socialist organizer; member Fellowship of Reconciliation.

F. A. CANTRELL, " "

W. EADS HOWE, " President "Hobo" union.

THOMAS BELL, Anarchist.

BURTON KINSEY, Radical, Pro-Japanese propagandist.  
ABRAHAM PLOTKIN, " " "

and a miscellaneous lot of I.W.W.'s, Communists, Anarchists, Socialists, Pacifists, and Parlor Pinks of lesser note.

FOLLOWING LITERATURE EXPOSED, SOLD AND DISTRIBUTED GRATIS AT THE REGULAR MEETINGS OF THE OPEN FORUM, A. C. L. U., LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA:

INDUSTRIAL WORKER (I.W.W.)  
INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY (I.W.W.)  
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER (I.W.W.)

DAILY WORKER (Communist)  
LABOR HERALD "  
LABOR UNITY "  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (Communist)  
INTERNATIONAL YOUTH "  
SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL "  
LIBERATOR "

BOOKS and PAMPHLETS:

(Communist)

A.B.C. of Communism  
Six Months in Soviet Russia  
Proposed Roads to Freedom  
The Bolshevik Theory (W. R. Postage)  
The New Policy of Soviet Russia  
Bolshevism at Work (Lenin)  
The Bolsheviks and the World's Peace (Trotzky)  
Communism and Christianity (Bishop Brown)  
The First Time in History (Anna Louis Strong)

(Socialist, Pacifist and Agnostic)

Queen Silvers Magazine  
Repudiation of War (Fanny Bixby Spencer)  
Germs of Oil and War (Scott Nearing)  
The Collapse of Capitalism (Herman Cahn)  
Parlor Provocateur (Kate Crane Gartz)  
The World Tomorrow  
Iron Heel (London)  
Martin Eden (London)  
Americanized Socialism  
Religion for the New Day (Dole)  
Los Angeles Schools (Upton Sinclair)  
The Brass Check (Upton Sinclair)  
The GooseStep (Upton Sinclair)  
The Gosling (Upton Sinclair)  
A Song for Defense Day (Robert Whitaker)  
Heresy (Bishop Brown)

AGAINST WAR, a poem (E. D. MOREL)  
Public Ownership here and abroad  
Recent Developments in the American Labor Movement (S. Chase)  
Challenge of Waste (S. Chase)  
Challenge of War (Thomas)  
Irrepressible America (Scott Nearing)  
Why Freedom Matters (Norman Angel)  
The American Empire (Scott Nearing)  
The Man of Tomorrow (J. Ramsey McDonald)  
Outlines of the British Labor Movement (Paul Blanchard)  
The Coming of Man (J. M. Taylor)  
Creative Revolution (Eden and Cedar Paul)

and many other pamphlets, leaflets and publications of the I.W.W.,  
Communists, Anarchists, Socialists, Pacifists and Agnostics.

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