RY F. WARD, *Chairman*
EN PHELPS STOKES, *Vice-Chairman*
ES H. MAURER, *Vice-Chairman*
MONT OLDER, *Vice-Chairman*

ROGER N. BALDWIN, *Director*
B. W. HUEBSCH, *Treasurer*
ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, *Counsel*
MORRIS L. ERNST, *Counsel*

Attorneys and Correspondents in leading cities

ional Committee
CHARLES F. AMIDON
GEORGE W. ANDERSON
HARRY ELMER BARNES
BEARDSLEY
ERT S. BICELOW
F. LOVEY M. BORCHARD
RICHARD C. CABOT
S. COOLMAN
INCE DARROW
JOHN DEWEY
JAMES H. DILLARD
ERT W. DUNN
WOOD EGGY
ARETH CLENDOWER EVANS
P. FISHER
ARETH CURLEY FLYNN
ER FRANK
F. FELIX FRANKFURTER
CRANE GARTZ
MAN HAPGOOD
ERS HAPGOOD
ERT C. HERRING
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
N CHARLES H. HOUSTON
DERIC C. HOWE
RY T. HUNT
F. JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY
JOHN A. LAFF
ES BROWN LEACH
HENRY R. LINVILLE
F. ROBERT MORSE LOVETT
T E. MCDOWELL
E MARTIN
F. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
F. HENRY R. MUSSEY
MUSTE
F. WALTER NELLES
F. WILLIAM L. NUNN
A E. O'CONNOR PARKER
LIAM PICKENS
S PINCHOT
NNETTE RANKIN
E. EDWARD A. ROSS
N GILBERT RUSSELL
N DEVIN SAYRE
REV. WILLIAM SCARLETT
PH SCHLOSSBERG
F. VIDA D. SCUDDER
BI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
N F. SINCLAIR
F. CLARENCE E. SKINNER
MAN M. THOMAS
ARD D. TITTMANN
LIS B. TRUMBULL
ALD GARRISON VILLARD
HARNEY VLADECK
NGE P. WEST
EA WHITE
OLLINGSWORTH WOOD

Feb. 26, 1935.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Personally, I have not had to bother you these recent years with any letter reflecting the activities of your agents in interfering with what we regard as the rights of citizens. But I hear of a few instances now which seem to me deserving of your attention.

It is reported from Birmingham on what I believe to be reliable authority that agents of the Department of Justice, cooperating with local officials in a drive on radicals, have followed persons taking mail out of a post office box, have displayed their badges, and then asserted they were acting unofficially in taking away from the recipients printed matter. In addition they were reported as having kept persons from the showing of a film entitled "Scott's Mother" by stationing themselves at the entrance and displaying their badges and cautioning persons trying to enter.

Whether these precise facts are accurate or not, there is apparently some activity of local agents in Birmingham which seems worth an inquiry by you on the ground that it is wholly outside the authority of federal agents.

Sincerely yours,

Roger Baldwin

ENCLOSURE

RECORDED & INDEXED
MAR 22 1935

FILE NO. 47-1226-1

CRIM.

March 2, 1935.

RECORDED 47-1032-(-1

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin,
American Civil Liberties Union,
Metropolitan Building,
31 Union Square West,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I have received your letter of February 26, concerning information of various alleged acts of misconduct on the part of Special Agents of this Bureau in the vicinity of Birmingham, Alabama.

Please be advised that a thorough check of the files of this section fails to disclose any information pertaining to the matters to which you refer, and, since reports of all investigative activity on the part of representatives of this Bureau are made to Washington, it would appear that there is no basis for the charges in question. However, I should appreciate receiving further details of these matters from you, since it is possible that someone may have been impersonating an officer of this Bureau.

If you will supply me with further information, I shall be glad to secure the facts and to take appropriate action in the matter.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

cc-SAC, Birmingham (with letter)
2 copies
c-2

CTJMC

March 2, 1939.

47-1022-6-1

RECORDED

Special Agent in Charge,
Birmingham, Alabama.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter addressed to me on February 26, 1939, by Mr. Roger N. Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, Metropolis Building, 31 Union Square East, New York City, together with a copy of my reply.

No information is contained in the files of the Bureau concerning the matters to which Mr. Baldwin refers; but I should like to know whether you have any information in your possession concerning these alleged acts of misconduct. It is quite possible that individuals have been guilty of impersonating representatives of this Bureau and, if you have any information in the matter, I should like to have you forward it to me by return mail.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

Enclosure #321/62

SPECIAL DELIVERY

1 copy

P. O. Box 314,
Birmingham, Alabama
January 15, 1935

Mr. Jim Mallory,
P. O. Box 672,
Birmingham, Ala.,

Dear Mr. Mallory.

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 13, 1935.

This is to advise you that this office is desirous of interviewing you concerning a violation of the White Slave Traffic Act on the part of an individual whom it is believed is known to you. Inasmuch as you were not listed in the usual sources of information, a letter was directed to you requesting that you call at this office. This letter was sent to you on December 13, 1934. No reply was received from you until your letter of January 13th was received today. In view of its contents it is realized that you do not desire to assist this Division for which reason no further efforts will be made to contact you.

Yours truly,

J. H. MASON
Special Agent in Charge.

JHM
51-3086

C O P Y

P. O. Box 3128,
Birmingham, Alabama
December 17, 1964

Mr. Jim Holloway,
P. O. Box 3128,
Birmingham, Alabama.

Dear Mr. Holloway:

We have information that you may be able to obtain certain information in connection with official investigation and we would greatly appreciate it if you would drop by this office, Room 301, Federal Building, at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

J. H. [illegible]
Special Agent in Charge

[illegible]
[illegible]

Birmingham, Ala.

10 January 1963

Department of Justice,
Post Office Building
Birmingham, Alabama.

Gentlemen:

We understand that you wish to contact the editor of the Southern Patriot, hoping to find we have no legitimate business with it, & we are glad to help.

In your present quality as did Mr. Kallory, we also understand that you have approached a source who was asked by one of our workers to mail an envelope for him, so that he could later get it to Mr. Kallory.

Because of the fascist-like activities of Ku Klux Klan, White Knight and other hooded or secret hate groups against citizens or your race seem to closely resemble, we have made a practice of having anyone who sees our mail watched by another person, usually, as in this case, unknown even by the person getting the mail.

We have experienced the vicious exterminations of the local correspondents to the editor of the Patriot, Lucille M. Hollingsworth, and now the apparent direct cooperation between Government forces with Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Company private police, and others, will certainly cost, iron & Railroad Company private police, and others, will certainly cost, iron & Railroad Company private police, and others, will certainly cost,

It is my intention to make an inquiry of the police officers in Birmingham for the purpose of determining if any Federal agents have co-operated with them in a drive on radicals, and to learn if any information has ever come to them that anyone claiming to be a Department of Justice agent has conducted investigations in such activities. I will advise you of this at the very first opportunity.

Very truly yours,

R. H. HANCOCK
Special Agent in Charge

JHH:DAS

-2-

To my knowledge, I know of no reason why any organization interested in Civil Liberties could say that this Bureau has engaged in Anti-Communistic activities.

The only case I know of that has been handled in the Birmingham office since I have been here that related in any manner to communists, is the case entitled [redacted], with alias, Pride Smith - Victim; Dora Cummings-Victim, WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC ACT - IMPERSONATION.

In this case, the report of Special Agent Roswell L. Guth, Jacksonville, Florida, dated 12-5-34, set out a lead for the Birmingham office to ascertain who was the renter of P. O. Box 522 in Birmingham, with the view to locating that party for information as to the subject in the above mentioned case. As a result of an inquiry made by the Birmingham office, as will be noted in the report of Special Agent J. C. Brasher, Birmingham, Alabama, dated 12-26-34, it developed that this box was rented by one Jim Mallory, who represented himself as being the editor of the Southern Worker. Efforts to locate Mallory, as will be noted from this report, were unsuccessful, with the result that a letter was sent to him in accordance with my instructions, this letter being dated December 13, 1934, three copies of which are attached hereto. Mallory failed to respond to this letter and the Birmingham office conducted further inquiry with the view to locating him, as will be noted in the report of Special Agent J. A. Robey, Birmingham, Alabama, dated 2-27-35. It will be noted from this report that Special Agent Robey contacted two colored people, namely, Arthur Anderson, and Annie Lonex, who voluntarily consented to be interviewed as is mentioned in this report, and Special Agent Robey has advised me that he made no threats against them, but that they cooperated willingly, and that at no time did he interfere with the mail that either of these persons might have secured. As is mentioned in the report of Special Agent Robey, a letter was received in the Birmingham office on January 15th, from Jim Mallory, representing himself to be connected with the Southern Worker, three copies of which letter are attached hereto, and in which letter, you will note that Mallory claims that this Bureau was interfering with his mail.

Immediately upon receipt of this letter a reply was sent to him under date of January 15, 1935, three copies of which are attached hereto for your information. No other word has been received from Mr. Mallory.

I am reciting the above facts to you, thinking that possibly Mallory had appealed to Mr. Baldwin, giving the latter gentleman a perverted review of the facts in this case, yet Mr. Baldwin does not refer to such a matter but indicates that persons claiming to be agents of the Department of Justice were cooperating with local authorities in a drive on radicals, following persons, taking letters from post office boxes, displaying badges, and attempting to keep persons from the showing of a certain moving picture.

-2-

Division of Investigation

AIRMAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

U. S. Department of Justice
P. O. Box 314,
Birmingham, Alabama
March 8, 1935

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Pennsylvania Avenue at 9th St. N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter of March 2, 1935, inclosing a communication addressed to you on February 26th last, from Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, New York City, concerning alleged interfering on the part of Special Agents of this Bureau in communistic matters.

This is to advise that I at no time have received any complaints that anyone representing the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or the Department of Justice, is alleged to have worked with local authorities in investigating communistic activities, or in joining a "Drive on Radicals".

I fully realize that this Bureau has no investigative jurisdiction over activities of this kind, and while I might mention that practically every day someone volunteers information concerning communists in this vicinity, I have always advised such parties that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has no jurisdiction over such matters and that I did not know of any Federal Agency that did. Only today, a newspaper man, who has called at this office frequently since the offices have been located in the present quarters, inquired of me whether this Bureau was taking a part in such investigations. He has made similar inquiries before and I have always advised him to the contrary. He stated that he knew that the United States Secret Service was conducting such investigations, and that they did it on the theory that they were guarding the life of the President. I informed him today, that I could not understand why he was making such inquiry when I had previously told him we had no jurisdiction over such matters. He stated that his reason for making such inquiry was that when he was at the Police Department yesterday, he overheard the Chief of Detectives state that the Government was looking for a certain individual who was a communist. He said that he assumed that it was the Federal Bureau of Investigation that was looking for this man, which was the reason he was making the inquiry.

I might also mention that I made inquiry of all the agents who were in Birmingham today, and they all informed me that they at no time had been with any local law enforcement officers when the latter gentlemen might have been working on a case involving communists. Neither myself nor any of these agents had ever heard of the film entitled "Earth's Mother" which is mentioned in the letter of Mr. Baldwin to you.

RECORDED & INDEXED

MAR 25 1935

FOREIGN SERVICE

vestigation in connection with the communistic inquiry. The Chief stated that he would not be surprised if Boyol is not still assisting [illegible]iff, and that possibly Boyol is the person who has represented [illegible]self as being a Department of Justice Agent, and who has perhaps been guilty of some of the acts described to you by Mr. Baldwin.

I am forwarding the above to you in this form, thinking that you would like to know about this, and I am also continuing the inquiry in Birmingham with a view to ascertaining if Boyol or any other Federal agents have worked on communistic investigations. I might also mention that Chief Collins stated that to his knowledge he does not know of any Federal agents who have ever worked with his officers on communistic inquiries.

Very truly yours,

J. W. Ellison,
Special Agent in Charge.

AIRMAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

Division of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice

JHH:EC
62-954

Post Office Box 314,
Birmingham, Alabama,
March 7, 1935.

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Pennsylvania Ave. at 9th St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to my letter of March 6, 1935, concerning the communication addressed to you on February 26th last by Mr. Roger N. Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, concerning alleged interfering on the part of Special Agents of this Bureau in communistic matters.

This is to advise that today, when talking to Chief of Police Luther Hollums in Birmingham, Alabama, he advised me that there had never come to his attention any information indicating that any Federal agents had been assisting the local law enforcement officers in conducting communistic investigations. The Chief stated that up until a few months ago two of his officers, namely Detectives Mozier and Cole, were assigned to handle such investigations, but that they had been taken off of this work. The Chief stated also that Mr. Milton McDuff, now a private detective in Birmingham, who, as you know, is the son of the former Chief of Police in Birmingham, having been the superintendent of the Identification Bureau at the time his father was the Chief of Police, had been retained by the Tennessee, Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, which is the largest steel plant operating in the Birmingham vicinity, and which is a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation; that McDuff as a private detective investigated a number of bombing cases that occurred in Birmingham in connection with labor difficulties, and that, according to Chief Hollums, he understood that the T.C.I. Co. had also retained Milton McDuff to investigate communistic activities. The Chief stated that he found out that his two officers, Mozier and Cole, were supplying McDuff with considerable data as a result of their investigation, and that McDuff in turn transmitted this information to the T.C.I. Co. as having been gathered by himself.

RECORDED & INDEXED

The Chief also stated that there was employed by Milton McDuff, in his private detective agency, a man named Seyol, who at the present time is employed by the Alcoholic Tax Unit of the Treasury Department; that Seyol worked with McDuff considerably and undoubtedly conducted some in-

MAR 25 1935

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

METROPOLIS BUILDING, 31 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK CITY . . TOmpkins Square 6-4330

OFFICERS

HARRY F. WARD, *Chairman*
HELEN PHELPS STOKES, *Vice-Chairman*
JAMES H. MAURER, *Vice-Chairman*
REMONT OLDER, *Vice-Chairman*

ROGER N. BALDWIN, *Director*
B. W. HUEBSCH, *Treasurer*
ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, *General Counsel*
MORRIS L. ERNST, *Counsel*

LUCILLE B. MILNER, *Secretary*
Attorneys and Correspondents in leading cities

National Committee
ON. CHARLES P. AHERN
ON GEORGE W. ANDERSON
OF. HARRY ELMER BARNES
REN BEARDSLEY
ERBERT S. BIGELOW
OF. EDWIN M. BORCHARD
OF. RICHARD C. CABOT
REN A. COWAN
LARENCE DARROW
OF. JOHN DEWEY
R. JAMES H. DILLARD
BERT W. DUNN
ERWOOD EDDY
LIZABETH GLENDOWER EVANS
EN F. FINERTY
LIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
LTER FRANK
OF. FELIX FRANKFURTER
TE CRANE GARTH
RMAN HAPGOOD
WES HAPGOOD
BERT C. HERRING
T. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
AN CHARLES H. HOUSTON
DERIC C. HOWE
NRY T. HUNT
OF. JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
L. GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY
L. JOHN A. LAPP
NES BROWN LEACH
L. HENRY R. LINVILLE
OF. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
RY C. McDOWELL
NE MARTIN
OF. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
OF. HENRY R. MUSSEY
J. MUSTE
OF. WALTER NELLES
OF. WILLIAM C. NUNN
LIA S. O'CONNOR PARKER
LIAM PICKENS
OF PINCHOT
NNETTE RANKIN
OF. EDWARD A. ROSS
AN HERBERT RUSSELL
IN DEVIN SAYRE
REV. WILLIAM SCARLETT
EPH SCHLOSSBERG
OF. VIDA D. SCUDDER
EL ABBA HILLEL SILVER
IN F. SINCLAIR
OF. CLARENCE R. SKINNER
RMAN M. THOMAS
WARD D. TITTMANN
LLIE M. TRUMBULL
WALD GARRISON VILLARD
CHARNEY VLADECK
ORGE P. WEST
ER WITT
HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD
[illegible]

March 6, 1935.

Mr. John Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your letter of March 2nd addressed to Mr. Baldwin is received in his absence. I have forwarded it to him on his trip in the South so that he can send you the further information you request.

Sincerely yours,

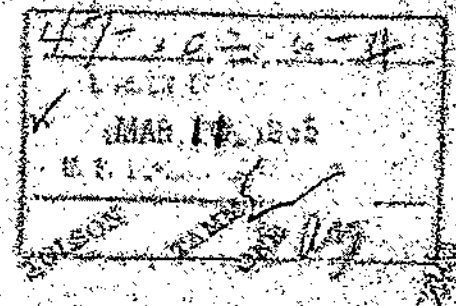
Lucille B. Milner

LBM:RW
(Signed in Mrs. Milner's absence)

Secretary.

RECORDED

MAR 25 1935



did not work on any communist investigations. Hoover also stated that he did not know where the picture entitled "Gorki's Mother" had been shown in Birmingham.

Mr. G. B. Sims, Chief Police Officer of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, which organization, as I have mentioned before, is a subsidiary of the United States Steel and which is the largest steel enterprise in this area, employing a large number of special police officers, informed me that neither he nor his officers are conducting any active investigations in connection with communistic matters. He stated that from time to time information is furnished to him and his department, but that for the past year no active investigations have been conducted, and that to his knowledge no Special Agent of this Bureau, nor any Federal representative has engaged in such investigations. He mentioned, however, that he had heard that some of the industrial leaders in Birmingham were interested in communism, and he thought that possibly Hilton Mcduff had been retained by these people to secure certain data. He stated, however, that he knows nothing of the efforts started by Mcduff in this connection.

I inquired of Mr. Sims whether he knew a Jim Mallory, reported to be a communist in Birmingham, which party I mentioned to you in my letter of March 6th. Mr. Sims stated that the information that has been furnished to him is to the effect that the party representing himself as Jim Mallory, and who is editor of one of the communist papers, is a woman who also is known as Elizabeth Jennings and who has also used the name of Jim Allen. He mentioned that his most recent information is that this woman is no longer in Birmingham; further that the newspaper with which she is connected is published in Roseville, Georgia, just across the city limits from Chattanooga, Tennessee. Mr. Sims also mentioned that he had never heard of the showing of the film in Birmingham entitled "Gorki's Mother".

It seems to me that the complaint that has been made to you is so indefinite that if further inquiry is made it will result in the possibility of spreading information to the effect that this Bureau is engaged in such investigations. I could, however, speak to Hilton Mcduff about this matter, but knowing him I doubt very much if he would admit that anybody in his employ or working with him ever engaged in such investigations and had represented themselves to be Department of Justice Agents.

Very truly yours,

R. E. HARSON,
Special Agent in Charge.

Division of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice

Postoffice Box 314,
Birmingham, Alabama,
March 11, 1935.

JHM:T
62-954

VIA AIR MAIL.

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Pennsylvania Avenue at 9th St.,
Washington, D. C.

RECORDED
MAR 13 1935

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to my letter of March 7, 1935, concerning a communication addressed to you on February 26th last by Mr. Roger N. Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, concerning alleged interfering on the part of Special Agents of this Bureau in communistic matters.

This is to advise that I talked to Detective J. E. Moser of the Birmingham Police Department, who is one of the officers who, as I have ~~instructed~~ before, was engaged in anti-communistic work in behalf of the Birmingham Police Department. Detective Moser informed me that he did not know of any Special Agent of this Bureau or of any Federal Agent who had ever worked with the local law enforcement officers in connection with anti-communistic work, or who had ever on their own accord engaged in such work. He stated that from time to time he has furnished information to officers of the Military and Naval Departments who have made inquiry concerning communists in this area, inasmuch as they have been interested in such persons in connection with possible sabotage cases involving the fabrication of steel in this area on Government contracts. He stated, however, that he knows of no instances where such representatives of the U. S. Government have made any other inquiries or conducted any other investigative work.

Mr. Moser also mentioned that his former partner in this investigative work was former Detective Paul Cole, who has retired from the Police Department and who is now in the employ of Lilton Lehurr, a private detective in Birmingham. He also stated that he understood that Lilton Lehurr had been making some inquiries in connection with the communists in behalf of some of the industries located in this area. Detective Moser also mentioned that Mr. Boyd, who is now a prohibition agent, formerly worked for Lilton Lehurr in the capacity of a private detective, but as far as he knows Boyd

NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 4, 1934

IN REPLY REFER TO _____

Dear Peter

Thanks for your letter of April 15 with enclosures. I've been in Washington since the latter part of March. Saw you at Chief Counsel Darrow on National Recovery Review Board almost immediately offered me of the legislative & legal positions in NRA and accepted, with Darrow's approval. Family still in Memphis; will probably come East this summer.

I am Legal Advisor on the Labor Policy Board of NRA. We have as members: L.C. Marshall of Chicago University (Chairman), Isidor Hillman from the Labor Group, Charles from the Consumers Group, Dahlberg from Research & Planning, Doris of Standard Oil from the Industrial Group, and myself from the Legal Group. Before I am through, I hope to turn the country over to the workers, for next to fear that office will offer me. I expect to try to advance the interest of labor as far as possible under our present system. If more time, your Fellows can do it.

Heard (confirmation of a lawsuit between ... Smith ... over ... in ... Smith ... my ... If my ... Smith ... Co. ...

[redacted] Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company is not taking an active part in investigation of communistic or other radical matters by means of its own men, but I believe that perhaps the Pinkert National Detective Agency in Birmingham is making these inquiries for them and that they are the people who located the papers mentioned in this letter.

I will take no further inquiry in connection with this matter unless advised by you to do so.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Talbot,
Special Agent in Charge.

Enc.

Division of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice

Postoffice Box 514,
Birmingham, Alabama,
March 21, 1935.

MM:T

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Pennsylvania Avenue at 9th St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to my letter of March 11, 1935, referring to mine of March 7th, concerning a communication addressed to you on February 25th last by Mr. Roger N. Baldwin concerning alleged interfering on the part of Special Agents of this Bureau in communistic matters.

This is to advise that Mr. T. B. Sims, Chief Police Officer of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, who was mentioned in my letter of March 11th, telephoned me yesterday requesting that I call to see him. At that time Mr. Sims informed me that he had secured certain documents as a result of a raid that had been made on the headquarters of some organization for the Communists. Mr. Sims stated that there were several people arrested at that time, one of them being Irving Owen, alias Peter Caldwell, alias Boris Tereel, alias Pete Caldwell, who, Sim stated, is the Secretary for District No. 17 of the Internal Labor Defense, Post-office box 604, Birmingham, Alabama, which organization is reported to have headquarters in Room 614 Federated Bank Building in Birmingham. Sims stated that at the time of Owen's arrest, mentioning also that Owen is generally known as Peter Caldwell, there was found among his effects a carbon copy of the letter sent to the Birmingham office on January 19, 1935 signed by Jim Mallory, a copy of which letter was sent to you with my letter of March 6, 1935.

There was also found among Owen's papers a letter written by Robert C. Saubler, The Charleston, 16th and R. Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., which letter is addressed to "Dear Peter", who evidently is Peter Caldwell, and which letter indicates that Saubler, who represents himself as being a legal adviser on the Labor Policy Board of the N.R.A. is a very close acquaintance of Caldwell's. Mr. Sims furnished us with a photostatic copy of this letter, and I am attaching it hereto for your information.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Mr. Sims stated that Caldwell was not arrested by Birmingham officers, but he did not indicate who had arrested Caldwell, and I do not believe it wise to ask him. It is my opinion that Sims

LMD:EBG
47-10206

April 3, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
MR. WILLIAM STANLEY

On March 29, 1935 the Birmingham Office of this Bureau was informed by Mr. W. H. Sims, Chief Police Officer of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, that in a raid on the headquarters of some organization for the Carpenters, Elaine Lyon, alias Peter Caldwell, alias Merle Loreal, alias Pete Caldwell, was arrested, and among his effects was found a letter, dated May 4, 1934, addressed to "Dear Peter" and signed "Robert E. Keeler". According to this letter, Robert E. Keeler states he is legal adviser on the Labor Policy Board of the National Recovery Administration. A photostatic copy of this letter was left with the Birmingham Office by Mr. Sims and I am forwarding to you with this memorandum a photostatic copy of it for your confidential information.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

Enclosure 30,614.

1 yellow

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation

U. S. Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

April 6, 1934

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Re: Allegation of Roger N. Baldwin that Bureau Agents participated in a raid conducted in Birmingham, Alabama upon premises utilized by radicals of that city.

Mr. McGrath of the Department called me with reference to the memorandum addressed to Mr. Stanley on April 3, concerning Robert S. Keebler, a member of the Labor Policy Board of the National Recovery Administration. Mr. McGrath stated that a photostatic copy of the letter written by Keebler had been transmitted to Mr. Richberg of the National Recovery Administration and that they regarded this as "very hot stuff". Mr. McGrath stated that the National Recovery Administration wanted to be governed by the Department's judgment as to whether Keebler should be immediately dismissed from the National Recovery Administration or whether he should be placed under surveillance. I told McGrath that this did not appear to be a matter in which this Bureau should be expected to suggest any action, since when it was brought to the attention of the National Recovery Administration it became an administrative problem in their own organization to be dealt with as they saw fit. I pointed out that the Bureau was not conducting any investigation of communistic or radical activities and accordingly we had no further interest in this particular situation. I pointed out to Mr. McGrath that as indicated in our memorandum to Mr. Stanley, this letter had come into our possession from an outside source and that we had as is our usual procedure in such cases, brought the matter to the attention of the Department for whatever action they deemed appropriate. I informed him that any action which the National Recovery Administration took in this matter would not in any way jeopardize or retard any investigation being conducted by this Bureau.

For your information, the letter of Mr. Keebler referred to above was turned over to the Bureau by W. R. Sims, a police officer of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, having been obtained by him as a result of a raid conducted on the head quarters of a radical organization, during which time Peter Caldwell, with aliases was arrested and this letter was found in his possession. The letter bearing Keebler's signature was addressed "Dear Peter".

Respectfully,

RECORDED & INDEXED
APR 12 1934

62-12[illegible]-7

APR 12 1934

"1. A person whose earning capacity is limited because of age, may be employed on light work, at a wage scale below maximum established by a Code if the employer obtains from the State authority, designated by the United States Department of Labor, a certificate authorizing such person's employment at such wages and for such hours as shall be stated in the certificate. Such authority shall be guided by the instructions of the United States Department of Labor in issuing the certificate to such person.

"2. Each employer shall file monthly with Code Authority a list of all such persons employed by him, showing the wages paid to, and the maximum hours of work for such employees."

"It is deemed by the Authorities that you have violated the above Executive Order and Code in connection with your employee. You are hereby summoned to appear before said authorities within the next three days for the purpose of an investigation here.

Yours truly,
(signed) K. K. Fuller."

In reply to the above letter, Mr. Williams addressed a letter, dated 2-26-35, to 408 Federal Building, Louisville, Ky., advising that he had not violated any provision of the code of Fair Competition and was not an employer in any respect and was at a loss to understand why the letter was addressed to him.

On February 28, 1935, Mr. Edward F. Fuller, Executive Assistant, National Recovery Administration, 413 Federal Building, Louisville, Ky., addressed a letter to Mr. Williams advising that the letter which he had received was not official and for him to disregard it altogether.

AT LEXINGTON, KY.

Agent discussed the facts of this case with Mr. Ray Swinford, United States Attorney, who advised that there was no violation of a Federal Statute and no investigation need be conducted at this time.

C100320.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1409053-001

Total Deleted Page(s) = 1
Page 44 ~ Referral/Direct;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X For this Page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

ADDRESS REPLY TO
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WWG-AS

June 20, 1921.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER

61-1050

In connection with the popular drive among the radicals for amnesty for political prisoners, and the great pressure lately brought to bear on the Government, particularly the present administration, I feel that it is of interest that the following be called to your attention, as indicating the utter contempt in which these individuals hold the Government and how they play a double game. ROGER BALDWIN, who with ALBERT DE SILVER, managing most of this propaganda through the American Civil Liberties Union, spoke at Cincinnati on May 24th. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN was booked to speak at the same meeting. Baldwin was supposed to speak on the subject of war prisoners, but in fact his speech contained very little on that subject and the greater part was on behalf of the One Big Union and the I.W.W. He said:

> "The three organizations obtaining the best results for the object of free speech and assemblage in the United States, which had been denied them due to the war hysteria, were the Non Partisan League, the I. W. W. and the Communist Party."

He admitted that, "There is a great deal of propaganda for bolshevism in the universities and I hope there will be bolshevism in every college in the country". He outlined their particular interest in the case of CHARLES ASHLEIGH and VINCENT ST. JOHN and dwelt particularly on the case of CLYDE HOUGH, the American citizen and draft slacker. Because Hough surrendered himself, Baldwin considers his case one of the weakest and the surest as the basis of propaganda on the Government for amnesty and said that:

> "Action will be brought on this weakest case in order to weaken the other cases, which, while there may be some grounds for the conviction, still were based upon the fact that these people had spoken or distributed literature advocating their principles."

61-1050-3
100-4956-5 RECORDED

1922

A significant remark of his was:

> "Russia stands as an example of what you can do when you get away with radicalism."

Referring to the escape of HAYWOOD, Baldwin said:

> "He could accomplish more by going th Moscow to attend the next red meeting there than he could by going on to Leavenworth to serve his sentence".

He also indicated that the power of the Third Internationale over the Communists in America was greater than that of the Government. Also that they have representatives stationed in Washington to keep alive interest in the DEBS case and others, and that they would soon have two representatives. Their plan was to flood various members of Congress and officials with protest communications in the form of telegrams and letters.

In making his report on the return from his western trip, he indicated that he not only spoke at public meetings but at "private gatherings", at Rochester, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh, and

> "As a result of the conference at Chicago with the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W., attended by Baldwin and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the Committee has circularized the prisoners at Leavenworth, asking whether they are willing to have efforts made for the release of individuals as well as for the group as a whole".

This action indicates the extent to which Baldwin and his organization are carrying their work.

Marcus Boone

CONFIDENTIAL

Special Report on

Address by

Roger Baldwin

61-1051

SUBJECT:- HELL IN WEST VIRGINIA

under auspices of

Amalgamated Clothing Workers at Germania Hall,

Rochester, New York.

February 10, 1922.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP3 DJ TS/pg
ON 8-19-80

Began speaking at 8:30 to an audience of 2200. Finished at 9:30. Baldwin is a good speaker and held the close attention of audience and was vigorously cheered when he made reference to gains of Communists in West Virginia. He said,

> "The so-called Government in West Virginia pretends to believe that every miner who belongs to the union or wants to belong to a union is a Communist. They are not now but at the rate they are going in West Virginia, they soon will all be "in". (Vigorous and prolonged applause). "In West Virginia, they have a Governor named Morgan and when he was running for the office, the operators in the non-union fields alone put up $250,000.00 to help him get in. Well, he got in and, of course is their man. There is no law in West Virginia! Men are jailed without charges or knowing what for. In one jail, I saw 115 miners in a jail that was built to accommodate 35 and they were there for months. The tent colony has over 5000 men, women and children, living on the barest necessities of life, no shoes, no floors in tents, bare feet on the bare ground, but their spirit of unbreakable resistance in the great message to organized labor the world over. They are fighting the great U.S.Steel Co. with its unlimited resources for the privilege of American citizenship." (Loud applause). There followed strong denunciation of U.S.Steel Co.

He described Senatorial investigation at Washington, D. C. and said,

> The largest single operator from Logan County was a pompous bud-mouthed, old hard-boiled guy, who admitted that he took 100% profit last year and was justified. Walsh, who was conducting the miners' end of the farce, turned to one of his colleagues and said, 'And I have been telling people all over the U.S. there were men like that in West Virginia and they would not believe me,' and the foolish old 'Colonel' did not have enough sense to know but that he was complimented and came over and shook hands with Walsh."

MAR 100-49565-X1 RECORDED
61-1051-2
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 8 1922 P.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
HOOVER | FILE

Baldwin predicted the last great stand in the U.S., April 1st, and in May when the U.S. Steel Co. grapples with the U.M. of A. and the solidarity of the R.R. Unions at the same time, which will be a fight to a finish and the result will be in no doubt. "The U.S. Steel Co. is going to its 'Waterloo' as opposer of right to organize." He said he heard Mother Jones in Kansas City address striking miners. She said, "What is the matter with you miners? What is wrong with you? Here you have been on strike for eight weeks and not a striker in jail. Must be you are all feeling bad." (laughter and applause).

He asked the Amalgamated and all organized workers to remember that the tent colony of West Virginia is fighting for the right to organize as American citizens and that the fight is yours, mine and every other fellow's with a spark of manhood. The audience understood that sudden death at the hands of hired gunmen is the lot of any miner in five lower countries who joins a union, etc. (Long applause at close of speech.)

Instructions Special Agent in C Blackmon.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPO
Buffalo, N.Y.	2/11/22	2/10/22	E.B.Harrigan

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

ROGER BALDWIN, AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Rochester, New York,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-19-80 BY

Acting under instructions from Special Agent in Charge Blackmon, I proceeded to Rochester, New York, where I attended a meeting last night given by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, at the headquarters of the Union, #476 Clinton Avenue, North, and who were addressed by ROGER BALDWIN, head of the American Civil Liberties Union and who took as his subject "Hell in West Virginia".

MR. BALDWIN bagan his address by giving an account of the coal strike by the Uninn miners in West Virginia, especially in Mingo and Logan Counties and described his first visit there with the United States Senate Investigating Committee and also described conditions found among the union miners in the tent colony in Mingo Co., He also described the activities of the State police and other peace officers in curbing union activities.

He further related that on or about April 1st there would be a national strike of coal miners together with the co-operation of the railroad brotherhoods, the center of which strike would be pivoted in West Virginia.

Filed by
FEB 14 1922
Wm. J. Burns.

He described the inability of the miners, during the

RECORDED

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO

Washington-3, Buffalo.

EBH-ES

last conflict between the miners and peace officers, to obtain firearms but that at this time the union miners in Mingo County had been able to obtain at least five machine guns, which were now hidden somewhere to be used, if necessary, in armed resistance in April if the necessity requires and that the State Constabulary had not been able to obtain all of the rifles and revolvers owned by the union miners; that these arms were concealed in the manner that a dog buries his bone.

MR. BALDWIN'S speech throughout was simply a recital of past performances by the union miners and what they were likely to do in a continuance of the strike expected in April.

There were about five hundred Garment Workers present and when he remarked that the union miners of Mingo County had obtained five machine guns, he was applauded very vigorously by the audience.

He also made reference to the inability of the union organizers to organize in Logan County and after a few remarks about DON CHAFIN the Sheriff of Logan County, he further stated that when the strike took place in April, special efforts would be made to organize the coal fields in this county.

He further stated that he did not expect any relief to be given the union miners as a result of the investigation conducted by the United States Senate Committee and that in his opinion the only friend that labor had on that Committee was Senator Kenyon and that his help was now gone because of the fact that he had been appointed to a judicial position.

MR. BALDWIN without a doubt is making a careful study of conditions in the West Virginia coal fields and undoubtedly he is now spreading propaganda among the union sympathizers so that when the strike takes place in April, union sympathizers throughout the country will be informed of conditions in West Virginia and they will undoubtedly give aid to the union miners. The Amalgamated Garment Workers in Rochester, N.Y. are composed of Jewish, Polish and Lithuanians.

Attached is the Amalgamated bulletin which I obtained at the meeting last night.

CLOSED.

E/13th

The Man Who Doesn't Want To Join The Union Because There Are Foreigners In It.

(Mr. Non Union Worker No. 3)

He doesn't like spaghetti and the people who eat spaghetti. Whenever Jewish workers start talking Yiddish he says that they sound like a bunch of barbarians.

He hates the Lithuanians because he has heard somewhere that they are related to the Bolsheviks. He makes fun of the broken English of the Polish tailors who have just come from the old country.

He forgets that if he tried to speak Polish among the Polish people he would sound like the phonograph when the needle hits a crack.

He forgets that the Lithuanians were turning out great artists and writers when America was inhabited by savages.

He probably goes to church and worships a Carpenter of Palestine, but he never associates his faith with Jewish workingmen in 1922.

He eats Boston beans and then laughs at the people who eat spaghetti! Like the horse who laughs at the rabbit for eating grass.

He doesn't want to join the union "with them damn foreigners!"

He thinks that a foreigner is good enough to work with in the shop but not good enough to work with in the union hall.

This is the kind of a worker who is loved by the non-union boss. The boss plays him for a fool all the time. He works for starvation wages rather than associate with a "wop." He forgets that America was discovered by a wop and that the Italians have fought as hard as any other class of workers to maintain the American standard of living in the clothing industry.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers do not stand for cheap, ignorant jealousy among the workers in the clothing shops. We are a union of WORKERS.

And the working class is international. All the workers in the clothing shops need a living wage. All the workers need fair working conditions. All the workers must stand together to get these things. The bosses bring the foreigners into the industry. Our job is to organize them.

To the non-union worker who hates the foreigners we say:

"If you are too good to join a union with the foreigners, you are too good to work with the foreigners. We don't want snobs in the clothing shops and we don't want snobs in the union. We are one brotherhood with one noble purpose, and there is no room in our brotherhood for quarrels between the man who eats spaghetti and the man who eats Boston beans, between the man who never eats ham and the man who eats fish on Friday."

UNCLE SOLOMON SAYS:

The difference between a foreigner and an American is that the American's grandfather got here first. The Mayflower wasn't big enough for the foreigners, so they waited and took the Aquitania. And who says the Aquitania is not a better boat?

Girls' Bowling League

Highest Bowlers

Reds:	
1st game—Anna Komiss	116
2nd game—Dora Englert	110
Blues:	
1st game—Millie Hofschneider	106
2nd game—Lena Cohen	110
Reds won both games.	
Average—1st game	702
Average—2nd game	622

Cursi To Speak for Local 204

General Organizer Aldo Cursi will be the speaker at the next session of the Women's Local of the union next Wednesday, February 15th, in Room 100, at Union Headquarters. Brother Cursi has not appeared as the speaker for Local 204 for some time and his remarks will be received with an unusual interest. Women members of the union have adopted the attendance card plan for local meetings so they expect a great increase in attendance at the regular local meetings.

SARTORIAL NOTE

In Honk Kong is a tailor named Ah Men.

The last word in tailoring, one might say.—Boston Transcript.

NEW CONSTITUTION

TO BE GIVEN OUT AFTER NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Members who are receiving the new membership cards will miss the old constitution and by-laws which were printed in the old red membership books. For the next three months members will be compelled to get along without new copies of the constitution since it is expected that a number of important changes will be made at the next national convention in Chicago. After this convention the revised constitution will be distributed among all locals.

BASKETBALL TEAM TO MEET STRONG OPPONENTS
Friday Night After Lecture: Dancing Until Midnight.

A new plan of entertainment for Friday nights will be undertaken this week by the Amalgamated Athletic Association when a dance and basketball game will be scheduled after the lecture by Roger Baldwin on "Hell in West Virginia." An admission fee of twenty-five cents per couple will be chrged for the basketball and dancing which will begin at 9:30 and last until midnight.

Although the Athletic Association was defeated in its efforts to have Sunday night social affairs the officers of the Association are determined to continue the work of the basketball team with renewed energy. Manager Goldman will place a strong team on the floor Friday night, and the game should be of interest to all Amalgamated members.

Ladies will be at a premium Friday night, since all gentlemen accompanied by a lady can get in for twenty-five cents. If he comes alone the two bits will be extracted anyway. Two girls will be admitted for twenty-five cents.

WOMEN'S LOCAL TO HAVE BIG DANCE IN AMALGAMATED HALL THIS SATURDAY NIGHT: EXPECT GREAT CROWD.

The Lincoln Dance arranged by the Women's Local of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in this city will take place next Saturday night, February 11th, in the large hall at union headquarters. Hundreds of tickets have already been sold to this dance and a large attendance is certain.

The dance will be given for the benefit of a special fund created by Local 204 and the officers of that local will have complete charge of arrangements. The fact that there will be no basketball game this week at the armory where the Centrals usually play is expected to bring a large part of the armory audience to Amalgamated hall Saturday night.

Tickets for Saturday's dance are on sale at the union office for thirty-five cents. The committee consists of Eudice Gutkovsky, Sarah Rickles, Rose Cominsky, Ida Dubin, Ida Bernstein and others.

TO ADLER'S EMPLOYEES.

All of Adler Bros. employees who are not working are requested to attend a meeting which will take place Tuesday, February 14, at 2:30 P. M. sharp at the office of the Union, 476 Clinton Ave. No.

AVISO
Agli Operai di Adler Bros.

Gli operai di Adler Bro. che non sono occupati sono invitati ad intervenire alla riunione che avia luogo Martedi 14 Febbraio, alle ore 2:30 p. m. precise all' ufficio dell' Unione, 476 Clinton Av. N.

Vaudeville and Unique Address Next Week Friday Night

Children of Amalgamated members will appear in a new series of dances at the Friday night meeting of the Amalgamated next week, February 17th. In addition to the musical and vaudeville program there will be an address by William E. Sweet of Denver, banker and capitalist. His subject will be "Why I Oppose the Open Shop Movement as an American Business Man."

Star Shops and Chairmen

Stein-Bloch Shops 8 and 9—Salvatore Leonardi, H. Wedel, Fred Berg.

Stein-Bloch Trimming Room—Al. Sherman.

Adler Shop 5—Harry Levy.

(Several other shops have almost 100% orange cards. Watch for their names next week. Shop chairmen should report to the Financial Secretary not later than Saturday noon if they wish their shops to be recorded in the next Star List of the Bulletin.)

JOSEPH SUSSMAN
Ladies' Tailor and Dressmaker
FURS AND GARMENTS
Remodeled in the Latest Style
LADIES' AND GENTS' GARMENTS
Cleaned, Pressed and Repaired
57 LOWELL STREET
Open Evenings

This Society has Money to Loan
In time of need, do not borrow unless absolutely necessary, then consult with
The Provident Loan Society
(A PERSONAL LOAN CO.)
25 MAIN ST. EAST LOANS ON PERSONAL PROPERTY ONLY

STONE 1823 Dr. F. H. BROWN MAIN 3096
Dr. L. K. Mezger
SPECIALIST CHRONIC DISEASES
Office Hours; 1 to 3 P.M. 7 to 8 P.M.
9 to 12 A.M Sundays. No Office Hours Friday.
9 Cumberland Street, Near Clinton Ave. North

GIFTS THAT LAST
High Grade Jewelry at Reasonable Prices
Money refunded if not satisfactory
Harry A. Hurvitz, Jeweler
316 Joseph Ave., Cor. Vienna St.
Repairing Established 20 years

LOOKING AHEAD
In making your plans for the new year please keep in mind the fact that this store is here to serve you every day—to your entire satisfaction.
Sibley, Lindsay & Curr Co.

DR. J. LESTER BAILEY
DENTIST
Office Hours: Daily 9 a. m. to 6 p. m.
Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday 6 to 8 p. m.
Sundays by appointment
STONE 6343 73 CLINTON AVE. S.

WE CARRY A FULL LINE OF
Woolens, Cloth Remnants
AND TAILORS' TRIMMINGS
for Men's and Ladies' Suits, Coats and Dresses
OUR QUALITY IS SUPREME
OUR PRICES ARE REASONABLE
H. LEVIN, 230 JOSEPH AVE.

ZUKERMAN'S
Kosher Restaurant and Delicatessen
BANQUET, SUPPER AND DANCES
222 Clinton Ave. South
Phone Stone 7117 Rochester, N. Y.

Amalgamated Bulletin

ISSUED BY THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT, ROCHESTER JOINT BOARD, AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

VOL II. — 14 — ROCHESTER N. Y., FEBRUARY 8, 1922 — 14 — No. 15

"HELL IN WEST VIRGINIA" TO BE DESCRIBED BY ROGER BALDWIN FRIDAY NIGHT: BASKETBALL AND DANCING AFTERWARDS.

A message from the battle front of West Virginia will be brought to Rochester this Friday night, February 10th, by Roger Baldwin, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, who has just returned from the scene of the miners' struggle against the "open shop" coal barons. The subject of Baldwin's address is, "Hell in West Virginia." He will tell how the capitalists of West Virginia, financed by the United States Steel Corporation, have driven union miners and their wives out of their houses and have imported armies of thugs and detectives to terrorize the districts.

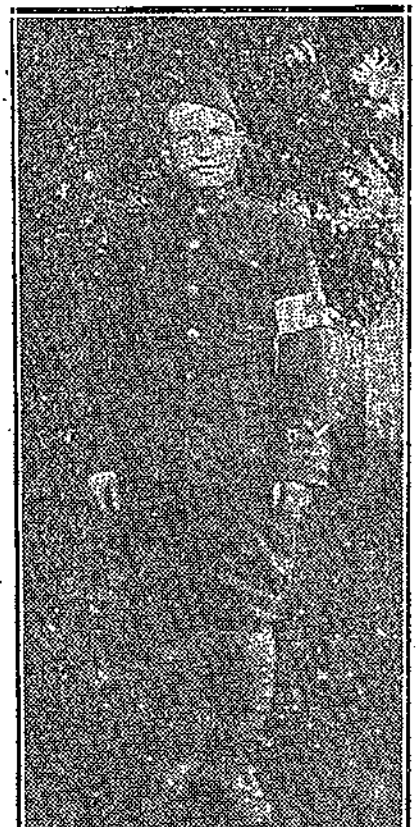
The West Virginia mining district which will be described Friday night is the key to the whole mining situation in the United States and will probably be the center of the great coal strike which is expected in April. Baldwin is an able and experienced speaker who is familiar with every angle of the West Virginia situation. He is a Harvard graduate who became a conscientious objector during the war and served a term in Fort Leavenworth penitentiary.

THE MINER ON THE FIRING LINE

At the end of Friday's lecture the Amalgamated basketball team will appear in a regulation game with a fast opposing team in Joiner St. Hall. An admission price of twenty-five cents will be charged for the basketball game and the dance which follows. The dancing will last until midnight.

LETTORI ITALIANI

Non mancate di leggere la seconda pagina, scritta in Italiano.



JACOB WEBBER
who was asaulted by a Michaels-Stern worker while distribuntng bulletins

MICHAEL-STERN WORKER ARRESTED FOR ASSAULTING Amalgamated Member While Distributing Leaflets.

The arrest of Chester Tanner, a worker in the Child St. shop of Michael, Stern, on the charge that he assaulted Jacob Webber, marked the campaign of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of this city to spread educational propaganda among the clothing workers of Rochester. The arrest occurred Monday afternoon at the factory of Michael Stern's and the warrant was sworn by Jacob Webber, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers who was passing out leaflets before the Michael, Stern factory on January 19th.

Webber charges that while standing in front of the Michael, Stern factory passing out notices for a regular educational meeting of the union, he was struck by Chester Tanner and his nose broken. It is alleged that foremen from the plant tried to prevent workers from the shop from receiving leaflets and that when they failed in this attempt Webber was assaulted.

The case came up for preliminary hearing in police court Tuesday morning and was adjourned to February 14. Judge Sutherland represented the defendant and Maurice G. Ellenbogen appeared as personal representative for Mr. Webber.

YOU ARE NOT A GOOD UNION MEMBER IF YOU ARE WORKING IN A ROCHESTER SHOP AND NOT CARRYING A UNION CARD.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-19-96 BY [illegible]

100-49565-X2

LEVE BROTHERS
CHIROPRACTORS
Palmer School Graduates
311-14 BECKLEY BUILDING
27 Clinton Ave, S. Opp. Hotel Seneca

BUY YOUR TRUNKS
Traveling Bags, Suit Cases at
Rosenbloom's Trunk Store
252 Clinton Ave. North
Open Evenings

Mrs. J. J. Levin & Miss J. Goldblatt
offer you an opportunity to save money when buying dresses and blouses at their moderate shoppe--a private house
264 Baden St., Near Hudson Ave.
Dress and Blouse Sale Now Going On

Wm. Yalowich Drug Co.
Prescriptions Carefully Compounded by a Lincensed Pharmacist
658 HUDSON AVE.

PIANOS Sonora PLAYERS
World's Best Phonographs
LUDWIG'S
566-570 CLINTON AVE. N.

STAR CLEANING AND DYEING
Wearing Aparel of Every Description Dry Cleaned, Dyed, Pressed, Repaired
Quality Dry Cleaning & Dyeing Serviec, Inc.
5 BUCHAN PARK (Rear)
Phone, Stone 4901 Auto Call-Delivery

YALOWICH BROS. DRUG CO.
390-394 JOSEPH AVE.

Main 413
A-1 TAXIS
IN CITY
$1.50 per hour

BUY YOUR SHOES
AT THE
Famous Sample Shoe Store
636 Clinton Ave. North
High Quality Reasonable Prices

Le bestie e er crumiro

Una vorta un Cavallo struccione
Ch'ogni tanto cascava pe' strada,
Sciopero' pe' costringe er Padrone
A passaje piu' fieno e piu' biada:
Ma er padrone s'accorre der tiro
E penso' de pjasse un crumiro.

Chiamo' er Muro, ma er Mulo rispose:
—M dispiace, ma proprio nun posso,
Se Dio guardi je faccio ste cose
Li cavalli me sarteno addosso....
Er Padrone, pe' mette un riparo,
Fu costretto a ricorre ar Somaro.

Nun po' sta' che tradisca un compagno
—Disse er Ciuccio—So' amico der Mulo,
E pur' io come lui, non magno,
Tiro carci, m'impunto e rinculo.
Come voi che nun sia solidale
Se ciavemo l'istesso ideale?

Chiama l'Omo e sta' certo che quello
Fa er crumiro co' vera passione,
Per un sordo se venne er fratello
Pe' du sordi va dietro ar padrone
Finche' un giorno tradisca e rinnega
Er fratello, er padrone e la lega.

Trilussa.

TUTTI ALLA LOCALE ITALIANA

Luendi, 13 Febbraio, alle ore 7:45 p. m. precise, alla Sede dell' Unione, 476 Clinton Av. N., Sala No. 5, avra' luogo la riunione della locale Italiana.

Una serie di questioni importantissime saranno soggetto di discussione. Il comitato conferenza ha gia' avuto parecchie riunioni e senza dubbio rapportera' alla locale del cosa finora e' stato fatto. La sospensione temporanea del lavoro in aleune fabbricke della citta sara' soggetto di discussione e di esame.

Si votera' anche in merito al proposto fondo di riserva, fondo necessario per far fronte a qualsiasi [illegible] enienza e per mettere l'Unione in gr[illegible] di intensificare il lavoro di propaga[illegible] e di organizzazzione nelle varie fa[illegible] bricke e nei piccoli centri tuttora disorganizzati.

Venite tutti.

Locale Italiana No. 202,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of A.

N. B.—L'ingresso alla sala e' permesso ai soli membri dell' Unione.

SHE WAS PUZZLED

Little Jane's mother brought home a box of candy given to her by an Episcopal friend shortly before Easter, and passed around some of its contents to her children, explaining that Mrs. Cox's children had given up eating candy until after Easter, "so they cannot eat any now, as it is Lent."

Little Jane's brothers promptly ate their pieces, but she stood looking at the candy in her hand with a puzzled air.

"Why don't you eat it, Jane?" her mother asked.

"Because," she explained, "then how could I give it back if it's just lent?"

OF
BUREA

JEH/LMR

November 21, 1922.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RUCH.

Will you kindly prepare for me a short but complete memorandum upon the antecedents of Roger Baldwin.

Very truly yours,

J. Ed. H.

61-1050

61-100-495-65-X3

61-1050-5

Memo

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JAN 4 1923 A.M
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-19-86 BY SP3 [illegible]

Instructions from [illegible]ncer, Special Agent [illegible]r

REPORT MADE AT:	[illegible]ADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REP
Pittsburgh, Pa.	Dec.5,1922	Dec.5,1922	H.J.LENON.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,
ROGER N. BALDWIN - Speaking Tour.

61 - 1060

FACTS DEVELOPED:

AT PITTSBURGH, PA. Office File No.209-MR.

The following report was received from a traveling informant covering Eastern Ohio and Western Pennsylvania:-

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE DEC 9 1922 DIVISION

"ROGER N.BALDWIN, national director of the Union, will start on a tour of the country and will address meetings or interview local American Civil Liberties Union committees in the following cities. Where he does address meetings it will be in behalf of the Labor Defense Council of Chicago.

Sunday & Monday	- December	3rd & 4th	- Boston
Tuesday	- "	5th	- Rochester
Wednesday	- "	6th	- Buffalo
Thursday	- "	7th	- Cleveland (massmeeting)
Friday	- "	8th	- Youngstown-Pittsburgh (Probably in evening)
Saturday	- "	9th	- Detroit-Toledo
Sunday	- "	10th	- Detroit
Monday	- "	11th	- Chicago
Tuesday	- "	12th	- "
Wednesday	- "	13th	- St.Louis
Thursday	- "	14th	- " "
Friday	- "	15th	- Indianapolis-Terre Haute
Saturday	- "	16th	- Cincinnati
Sunday	- "	17th	- Charleston,W.Va.

In Youngstown he will interview the local C. L. committee headed by W.Metcalf and such few liberals as this chap may be able to muster for the occasion. He will no doubt have an evening mass meeting in Pittsburgh."

DEC 12 1922

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
FILE NO. 61-10650-4 RECORDED
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEC 6-1922
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
ROUTED TO: HOOVER

Read by

DEC - 6 1922

Wm. J. Burns.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-1986 BY SP8 DTJ/pp

REFERENCE: Hoover-2

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

LEO

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—1169

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
EDWARD J. BRENNAN
(GJS:VD)

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

January 10th, 1923.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-21-2009

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 61-1050

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
JAN 13 1923
DIVISION

DIRECTOR,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

RE: ROGER BALDWIN:

b2
b7D

Dear Sir:-

[redacted] Referring to report of [redacted] dated January 8th, 1923 entitled "One BALDWIN, Alleged Soviet Agent", this Informant states that according to the latest information he has secured at 110 W. 40th St., the BALDWIN referred to is ROGER BALDWIN, of the American Civil Liberties Bureau.

The statement in this report, to the effect that he recently arrived in New York is evidently incorrect. The Informant states that as nearly as he can ascertain, all the other statements are correct.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN,
Special Agent in Charge.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Classified by SE80T75/80
Declassify on: OADR 11-4-80

FEB 7 1923
100-49565-X5
1050-6
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION RECORDED
JAN 11 1923 P.M
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
HOOVER
FILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

15 1922

MEMORANDUM.

IN RE: ROGER NASH BALDWIN

1884? 61-1050

Roger Nash Baldwin was born in 1884 in Baldwin, Connecticut, where his father was a prosperous farmer. He is a direct descendant from Miles Standish. While a student at Harvard University he became interested in Socialism and after graduating from Law School, he specialized in defending radicals. He has traveled abroad quite extensively, spending considerable time in Germany. He

During 1917, while in St. Louis, the Subject became associated with Max Eastman, Christal Eastman, Fannie Witherspoon and other radicals. Leaving St. Louis for New York, he traveled by way of Washington, where he stopped long enough to stage an anti-war demonstration. (This was just before the declaration of war.)

Convicted for violation of the Conscription Act, Subject was sentenced to serve one year in the Newark County Jail. Upon expiration of this term he married Madeline Doty, a writer, and a member of a prominent Massachusetts family. During the Russian revolution, Miss Doty had been in that Country, and from there had gone into Germany, where she was in communication with Liebknecht, whom she financially aided.

Baldwin went to Pittsburgh while the steel strike was in progress, established contact with W. Z. Foster, strike leader, and offered to act as confidential informant for the strike committee. He succeeded in securing employment at the Homestead mill of the Carnegie Steel Company, and made a confidential report of conditions in the mill. This report was circulated widely throughout the Pittsburgh district. After this he worked for a while as a railroad track laborer.

Because of his education, training and executive ability, Baldwin is said to approach his work in an entirely different manner than the average red worker, but he has had some difficulty in establishing himself as one of the proletariat because of his prior environment.

Baldwin is, or at some time has been, chairman of the League for Mutual Aid, member of the Six or Eight Committee, the Advisory Committee of the National Public Ownership League, secretary of the Civic League of St. Louis, Missouri, member of the American Union Against Militarism, member of Executive Committee of National Urban League, People's Council, Executive Board of the Friends of Freedom for India, head of the American Civil Liberties Union of New York, member of the General Advisory Board of International Worker's Defense League, the General Advisory Board of League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners, member of Executive Committee of Intercollegiate Socialist Society, and secretary of the Liberty Defense League.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY [illegible]

JUL 17 1923
100-49565-X6
61-1050
RECORDED

September 25, 1923.

JEH/LMR
100-49565-X7
61-1050-8

OCT 1 - 1923

Mr. Robert C. Deming,
Director, Connecticut State Board of Education,
Hartford, Conn.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 14th instant, in which you request certain information referred to in the recent release by the United Mine Workers of America relating to the activities of Roger Baldwin, one of the leading officers of the American Civil Liberties Union at New York City.

I note that you refer particularly to a so-called transaction which Mr. Baldwin is alleged to have had in connection with the activities of the Communist International. I would suggest that in view of the fact that reference to this matter is made in the articles issued by the United Mine Workers you communicate with Mr. Ellis Searles, Room 802, Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D.C., who is the editor of the United Mine Workers Journal and who, I understand, prepared these articles. There is, of course, considerable information upon the activities of Baldwin both in regard to the efforts of the American Civil Liberties Union to bring about the release of Communist agitators and in regard to efforts to evade the Selective Service Act. However, I assume that you are referring particularly to the matter mentioned in the articles which recently appeared in the press and for this reason I am making the suggestion that you communicate with Mr. Searles.

Very truly yours,

RECORDED & INDEXED

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-19-86 BY SP8 STJ/pg

MAILED
SEP 26 1923

CONNECTICUT
STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF AMERICANIZATION

ROBERT C. DEMING
DIRECTOR

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT SEP 15 192

September 14 1923

To the
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington
D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED 61 - 105
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8B IJ/pg

Dear Sirs:-

I have been somewhat interested in the career of one Roger Baldwin, present executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union of New York City. This gentleman is by birth, I believe, and of interest a Connecticut man.

The recent purported exposé of and by the United Mine Workers of America relative to the spread of communism in the United States and through the workers of the country, cites the Civil Liberties Union as loaning money to the Communist International from the Charles Garland Foundation Fund. This information is quoted as having been obtained "by authorities" in raids on revolutionary headquarters.

Can you give me information relative to the Baldwin Communist Transaction now in your possession ? Baldwin recently appeared at Waterbury, Connecticut, and created much interest as an ardent advocate of "free speech", with complications. Please specify if the information you send me need be confidential or not.

Yours truly

RCD_CAK

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
SEP 20 1923

OCT 1 - 1923

100-249565-X7
61-1050-78
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SEP 17 1923 P. M.
OVER

November 3, 1923.

JEH/LMR

Mr. Lawrence Richey,
Department of Commerce,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Richey:

I would appreciate being advised as to the location and identity of radio station WJZ. It apparently is located somewhere in the vicinity of New York and I recently ascertained that Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union, a notorious radical and agitator, proposes to use this radio station to broadcast a speech, wherein he intends to direct an attack against the efforts of government officials in curbing the activities of ultra-radicals.

Very truly yours,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8 STP

MAILED
NOV 3 1923

RECORDED & INDEXED
DIVISION OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 6 1923 P.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

NY File 9-1 General

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
N.Y. City	10-26-23	10-26	Wm. Ralph Palmera

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

IN RE: #3.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

was engaged from 9 A. M. to 5.30 P.M. and the following information was obtained.

Chelsea 0340 11.35 A.M. (Outgoing).

Tresca called Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Bureau and told him that Nieri had heard on the radio last night at 10 o'clock, a speech of Mr. Burns, in which Baldwin's name was mentioned in connection with the Third International and the Moscow Government, of which Baldwin was said to be the paid agent. Tresca urged him to answer Burns at once. Baldwin said he had to after that son of a b----. He did not mind, he said, to be called an Anarchist, but to be confused with that Moscow crowd was too much. He told Tresca that he was preparing a speech to be broadcasted through Station W. J. Z., in which he would answer Burns the way he deserved. Tresca made an appointment with Baldwin to meet at the usual place tonight.

Spring 0349. 4.55 P.M. (Outgoing)

Tresca called Quintilliano and told him the train for Providence would leave P.R.R. Station at 1.55 tomorrow, and Quintilliano and Allegra should meet Tresca at the Pennsylvania Station at 1.30 by the "Information Bureau". Quintilliano said he would be there.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FILE NO.

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO: FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-19-80 BY SP8 DTJ/sp

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

Washington -2- New York -1-

WRP

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

November 6, 1923.

WJB-a

Mr. E. J. Brennan,
Agent in Charge,
New York City, New York.

61 / 1050

My dear Ed:

I am enclosing herewith two letters, and wish you would immediately call on the Radio Corporation of America and speak to General Harbord, explaining fully to him who Roger Baldwin is and what his orgainzation, "The Civil Liberties Union" stands for, and urge him as strongly as possible not to permit Baldwin, or any of the radicals, to use W J Z to broadcast their rotton propaganda.

Give this your immediate and personal attention.

Very truly yours,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-76 BY SP3 BTJ/pg

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-49565-X9
61-1050-10
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 8 1923 P. M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

M A I L E D
NOV 6 1923

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
EDWARD J. BRENNAN

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Nov. 8 1923

Personal

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8DTS/ag

Mr. William J. Burns,
Director Bureau of Investigation
Dept. of Justice,
Washington D.C.

61-1050

Dear Sir:

For your information I am transmitting herewith memorandum from Special Agent Scully in regard to the matter contained in your letter of Nov. 6th 1923, initialed WJB:C of the reported speech to be made by one Roger Baldwin using the WJZ station to broadcast it.

Very truly yours,

Edward J. Brennan
Special Agent in Charge.

EJB:DD

NOV 17 1923

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
NOV 14 1923
DIVISION
100-495-65-X10
61-1050-11
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 14 1923 P. M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
DIRECTOR HOOVER | ALLEN

RECORDED & INDEXED

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN
Attempt to Broadcast Radical Speech Via Radio.

November 7th, 1923.

MEMORANDUM FOR SPEC. AGT. IN CHARGE BRENNAN:

Referring to Bureau letter dated Washington,D.C. November 6th, 1923, initialed by the Director, concerning reported arrangements being made by Roger N. Baldwin to broadcast a speech over the radio station WJZ of the Radio Corporation of America, in which Baldwin was to attack government officials, and pursuant to instructions received, in company with Agent Starr, I interviewed General Harbord, president of the aforementioned concern early today at his office, 1856 Woolworth Building, New York City.

Agents after explaining the purpose of the visit and informing General Harbord of the information we possessed concerning both Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union, he advised that up to this time no application has been made by Baldwin to broadcast a speech over his station but that Norman Hapgood of the American Civil Liberties Union had made a request to speak, but up to the present time no decision had been reached on Hapgood's request.

General Harbord further stated that Roger N. Baldwin would not be given the privilege of speaking over the WJZ station nor Norman Hapgood either, if he, Harbord, could prevent it. He expressed the opinion that probably Hapgood intended to broadcast the speech prepared by Baldwin. During this interview, General Harbord made notes of the information furnished him concerning both subjects, as well as the American Civil Liberties Union.

November 8th, 1923

Pursuant to instructions received from

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8R37/108

Mr. Brennan, I again interviewed General Harbord today at his office in the Woolworth Building and when asked as to his statement of yesterday concerning Hapgood, he, General Harbord, stated that after my visit he had conferred with Mr. Owen B. Young, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Radio Corporation of America and that that gentleman had stated that under no circumstances would Hapgood or any person with extreme radical tendencies be permitted to use their station to broadcast a speech. General Harbord stated that he was but one of fourteen members comprising the Board of Directors but that we could be assured that his decision, as well as that of Chairman Young, would be followed by his fellow members. The other members of the directorate are:

ARTHUR E. BRAUN, ALBERT G. DAVIS, GEORGE P. DAVIS, HARRY P. DAVIS, HON. J. W. GRIGGS, JOHN HAYS HAMMOND JR., EDWARD W. HARDEN, EDWIN M. HERR, EDWARD J. NALLY, EDWIN W. RICE, JAMES R. SHEFFIELD AND GENERAL GUY E. TRIPP.

General Harbord advised that his organization was against permitting any persons to broadcast their political views, and as a matter of fact, says that in the future it may be limited to the two major political parties. He further advised that in the event he should receive any correspondence from the American Civil Liberties Union or any similar organization, that he would immediately notify this office concerning same.

Charles Lindbergh

7—1169

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 12, 1923.

HN:JVM

ALL INFORMATION ON THIS PAGE IS CLASSIFIED UNLESS OTHERWISE

Classified by SP8 STJ/RB
Declassify on: OADR 8-19-86

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-21-2009

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F.L.Esola,
Post Office Building
San Francisco Calif.

REFER REPORT AGENT COSTELLO OCTOBER TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERAL RADICAL SITUATION STOP OBTAIN AND FORWARD IMMEDIATELY BULLETIN MENTIONED PAGE ELEVEN SAID REPORT CONTAINING STATEMENT BY BALDWIN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.STOP TWO

BURNS

Roger Baldwin
61-1050 J 4

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-49565-X 11 J 4
61-1050-19
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 15 1923 A.M
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTRUCTIONS FROM [redacted] CHARGE L. C. WHEELER

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Los Angeles, California. JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
LOS ANGELES, CAL.	11/14/23	11/14/23	E. KOSTERLITZKY /N

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, Los Angeles - RADICAL MATTERS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-19-80 BY SP2 SJJ/pp

61-105-0

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Los Angeles, California.

Attention Mr. Hoover-No.2
Los Angeles File 180/1120

Reference the following letter received from Acting Agent in Charge Edw. P. Morse, San Francisco, California, dated November 12th:

"Following is copy of a telegram received this date from the Director:-

'Refer report Agent Costello Oct. 27th General Radical situation stop Obtain and forward immediately bulletin mentioned page eleven said report containing statement by Baldwin Civil Liberties League stop two.'

"See pages eleven and twelve of Agent Costello's report on the General Radical Situation for the week October 27th, 1923. This office has already mailed Better American Federation bulletin requested by the Director. It is respectfully suggested that you endeavor to secure the original copy of the bulletin from the headquarters of the Federation in your city and forward it to the Director, sending a copy of your letter to this office. If no bulletin is available, can the source of information be ascertained?"

Pursuant to instructions from Agent in Charge Wheeler to obtain the desired information, Agent called on Mr. Joplin in charge of the BETTER AMERICA FEDERATION, and while the original copy of the Bulletin referred to (No. 227, October 23, 1923) could not be obtained since only one copy was kept in the Federation's files, Mr. Joplin stated that the full text referred to in the

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-495-65

FILE NO: 61-105-0-1/6

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 20 1923
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
NOV 21 1923
DIVISION

RECORDED & INDEXED

ROUTED TO: HOOVER

FILE

DEC 5 - 1923

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington-3 File-1 San Francisco-1

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—1169

RE: AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

Federation Bulletin of October 23, 1923, is contained is and taken from the book entitled REPORT BY THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF NEW YORK, KNOWN AS THE "LUSK INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE", pages 1979-80-81, a copy of which book can be obtained at New York.

Closed at this end unless the Director desires further information.

TION MR. HOOVER

EPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

JOURNAL MEMORANDUM

Date Nov. 15th, 1923 Office San Francisco, Calif.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
ROGER N. BALDWIN — CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION N.Y.C.

Origin of Case Wire fromDirector Date 11/12/23.

Local Office No. 6795-B-320 Bureau No. 61-1050 Other Office No.

Assigned to Special Agent D.F. Costello Date 11/12/23

Reassigned to Special Agent Date

Reassigned to Special Agent Date

STATUS OF CASE

Referred to U. S. Attorney Date

U. S. Comm. Warrants Issued (Name of commissioner.) Date

Preliminary Hearing Date

Continued Hearings Date

Presented to Grand Jury Date

Indictment Returned Date

Arraignment and Plea Date

Set for Trial (Name of judge, court, and place.) Date

Court Verdict Date

Remarks: CLOSED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-19-86 BY SP3 STP

NOTE.—This form is to be filled in by typewriter or ink. 7—1256

DOCKETED

61-1050

Case originated at San Francisco. (S.F. No.6795-B-320)

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
San Francisco	Nov. 15th	Nov. 12 and 16, 1923	D.F. COSTELLO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

ROGER N. BALDWIN. CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION N.Y.C.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-21-2009

CONFIDENTIAL

61-1050

FACTS DEVELOPED:

AT OAKLAND, CALIF.

APPROVED
Edw. P. Morse
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

--ATTENTION MR. HOOVER-2--

Reference is made to Director's part code telegram stop two dated Nov. 12, 1923.

Self-explanatory telegram and correspondence follows:

"Nov. 12, 1923.

F.L. Esola,
Postoffice Bldg., San Francisco.

Refer report Agent Costello October twenty seventh general radical situation stop obtain and forward immediately bulletin mentioned page eleven said report containing statement by Baldwin civil liberties league stop two.
Burns".

"Nov. 12, 1923.

W.J. Burns, Esq.,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Classified by SP3 BJS/lap
Declassify on: OADR
8-19-86

Attention Mr. Hoover-2.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith please find bulletin of the 'Better American Federation of California' requested in your telegram of this date. Am writing the Alameda County representative of the Federation at Oakland, Calif., and Agent in Charge Wheeler at Los Angeles, in whose district the main office of the Federation is located with a view to securing the original copy if possible.

Very truly yours,
Edw. P. Morse,
Acting Agent in Charge".

"Nov. 12, 1923.

L.C. Wheeler, Esq.,
P.O. Box 694,
Los Angeles, Calif.

NOV 27 1923

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FILE NO. 61-1050-13

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 30 1923
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
NOV 31 1923
DIVISION

RECORDED & INDEXED

ROUTED TO: HOOVER

FILED

REFERENCE: EA

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: WASHINGTON 3; FILE 1; LOS ANGELES 1.

DOCKETED

CONFIDENTIAL

7—1169

O.E.F.

ROGER N. BALDWIN. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sir:

Following is copy of a telegram received this date from the Director:

'Refer report Agent Costello Oct. 27th General Radical situation stop Obtain and forward immediately bulletin mentioned page eleven said report containing statement by Baldwin Civil Liberties League stop two".

See pages eleven and twelve of Agent Costello's report on the General Radical Situation for the week ending October 27th, 1923. This office has already mailed Better American Federation bulletin requested by the Director. It is respectfully suggested that you endeavor to secure the original copy of the bulletin from the headquarters of the Federation in your city and forward it to the Director sending a copy of your letter to this office. If no bulletin is available, can the source of information be ascertained.

Very truly yours,
Edw. P. Morse,
Acting Agent in Charge".

Agent consulted Mgr. Brown of the Alameda County Branch of the Better American Federation of California 530-16th St., Oakland, Calif. relative to the source of the information that appeared in the Better American Federation of California Bulletin of Oct. 23, 1923, concerning Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the Civil Liberties Union of New York City. Mr. Brown immediately wired the main office of the Federation at Los Angeles, Calif. for the desired information. Nov. 16th Mr. Brown informed Acting Agent in Charge E.P. Morse, over the telephone, that the main office at Los Angeles had advised him that the information in the bulletin referred to was taken from a report of the Lusk Investigating Committee of New York, pages 1980 and 1981.

Copy of this report to the Los Angeles office for its information.

CLOSED. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7—1169

THE AMERICAN LEGION
NATIONAL AMERICANISM COMMISSION
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

1853-18

OFFICE OF THE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

February 19, 1924.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP3 STJ/kp

Hon. William J. Burns,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

61-1050

My dear Mr. Burns:

Would you be kind enough to send me some data on Roger N. Baldwin of The American Civil Liberties Union? Also anything that you have that I can back up by proof in attacking this organization.

I believe that Baldwin is an arch-slacker if I am not mistaken. If possible, would like to have his record and any extremely radical extracts from speeches he has made. I would more than appreciate your assistance in this matter.

I sincerely hope I may have the pleasure of seeing you while in Washington in the next few weeks.

My kindest regards and very best wishes.

Faithfully yours,
Garland Powell
GARLAND W. POWELL,
National Director.

RECEIVED
WM. J. BURNS
FEB 23 1924

MAR 5 1924
RECORDED & INDEXED

100-49565-X14

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
FEB 25 1924
DIVISION

61-1050-13
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FEB 23 1924 PM
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
DIRECTOR HOOVER
MAIL FILE

JCH/LHH

February 26, 1924.

~~61-1050-15~~ 100-49565-X19

MAR 5 1924

Mr. Garland W. Powell,
National Director, The American Legion,
Indianapolis, Ind.

My dear Mr. Powell:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 19th instant, requesting information concerning Roger N. Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union.

In connection with the activities of Roger N. Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union, I suggest that you refer to the report of the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York investigating seditious activities. The four volumes of this report contain considerable information upon practically all of the prominent radicals and radical organizations, particularly the two in whom you are interested.

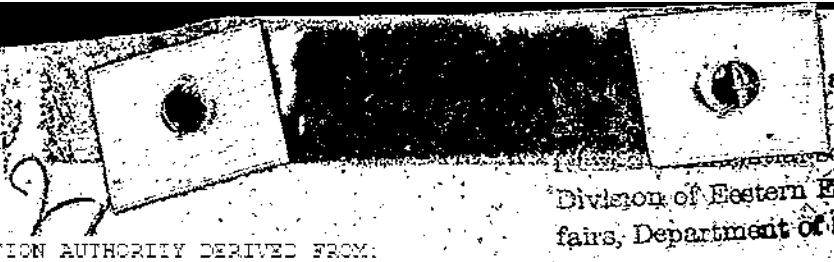
I note that you expect to be in Washington within a very short period of time and I shall be very glad to see you at that time and to make available to you certain information upon this individual and his organization, in which I believe you will be interested.

Very truly yours,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-80 BY SP1 AJS/pw

MAILED
FEB 26 1924



ation, dated
been received
source by the
Division of Eastern European Affairs, Department of State.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-21-2009

August 21, 1928.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

M E M O R A N D U M.

Referring to B.A.B. memorandum No. 218 of June 21, 1928, regarding ROGER N. BALDWIN, information has just been received that he proposes to sail, with a party of friends, on the AMERICAN BANKER, in September, coming in transit to London for Paris, where his address may conceivably be, as it was in 1927, care of The American Express Company, 11 rue Scribe.

61

RECORDED & INDEXED.

100-19565-X15

SEP 10 1928

SEP 8 1928 A.M.
DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FILED

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

June 19, 1935

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Would it be possible for you to send me any records you have concerning the convictions and arrests, or prison records, of the following: Earl R. Browder, Carl Haessler and Roger N. Baldwin?

I do not have much information concerning these cases, but understand that Earl Browder was committed to Leavenworth on July 14, 1919, and Roger Baldwin was convicted of draft dodging and one or two other charges during the war period. Also, I believe that Carl Haessler was sentenced to various occasions, serving at both Leavenworth and Alcatraz.

If you can let me have the complete records in these cases, including the charges made against each of them and the ones on which they were convicted, I will appreciate it.

Thanking you, and with kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(s) Hamilton Fish Jr.

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-495 65-X17

JUL 19 1935

JUL 18 1935

FBI

DEPT. OF JUSTICE

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-21-2009

[redacted]

information, dated
, has been received
al source by the
Div[redacted] of Western European Af-
fairs, Department of State.

RECORDED & INDEXED 61-5164

May 3, 1929.

JUN 11 1929

100-99565-X16

No.472
SECRET.

M E M O R A N D U M.

Div. Four

In R.A's secret memorandum, No. 328, of December 18, 1928, regarding ROGER N. BALDWIN and the meeting in Paris with CHATTOPADHYAYA, the Indian revolutionary and secretary of the League against Imperialism, it was stated that Roger Baldwin was putting the League here in touch with the Washington organization known as THE PEOPLE'S LOBBY. It has now been ascertained that BENJAMIN C. MARSH, the Executive Secretary of the People's Lobby, proposes to bring over 20 to 25 representatives for a joint conference with the Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism. He proposes to bring his party by the MAJESTIC sailing from New York at midnight on July 10, and arriving at Southampton on July 16.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUN 8 1929

Mr. James Maxton seems originally to have suggested that the conference should take place in the House of Commons. Whether, now that so many people are being brought, this proposal still holds, is matter for conjecture.

It is gathered that Marsh wants full publicity for the conference, but proposes to start organizing it at the American end, because it may be difficult for his people to get passports if the purpose of the meeting is prematurely disclosed.

The/

The discussion is to consist of a very plain statement on the part of Benjamin C. Marsh about the "plan of the United States to dominate the world", and the discussion is, it is suggested, to proceed on the following lines:-

1. How the United States is trying to dominate the world.
2. The British Labor Party and British Imperialism.
3. How to get Invading Marines and Troops out of occupied countries and areas.
4. Publicity on Concessions.
5. International Allocation of Natural Resources.
6. An International Investment Board.

CT:MC

RECORDED 100-49565-X17

July 8, 1935

Honorable Hamilton Fish, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-80 BY SP8 STJ/ap

My dear Congressman:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 19, 1935, in which you inquire whether there is any criminal record in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning Earl R. Browder, Carl Haessler, and Roger N. Baldwin.

I have caused a thorough search to be made of our records and the files contain no criminal data concerning Roger N. Baldwin. However, the files contain a record of one Carl H. Hoessler, who was received at the United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on June 22, 1918, for wilful disobedience of orders, having been sentenced to a term of twelve years. The files further reflect that this individual, who was listed under the name of Carl Haessler, was committed to the United States Disciplinary Barracks at Alcatraz, California, on April 8, 1919, apparently being transferred from the Fort Leavenworth Disciplinary Barracks. Of course, without a check of the fingerprint records, it is not possible to definitely determine that the individual whose record is given is identical with the person concerning whom you inquire.

With respect to Earl R. Browder, I find a record on a man by the same name, who was received at the United States Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, July 14, 1919, on a charge of conspiracy. The records reflect a sentence of two years and that Browder was paroled November 5, 1920. There is a further record on the same individual, indicating his arrest by the police at Detroit, Michigan, on May 26, 1930, as a fugitive from justice, with disposition shown as "discharged on writ." As in the case of Hoessler, there is no way to determine that the man whose record is given is identical with the man concerning whom you inquire, but I am pleased to forward this information for such value as it may have.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-21-2009

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Classified by SP3BIS/bsp
Declassify on: OADR
8-20-86
Roger Baldwin

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR CLASSIFICATION ACTION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OCT 17 1940

BALDWIN. ROGER N. COMMUNIST

Office: 31 Union Square West, New York City 6/25/40

As director of the American Civil Liberties Union, talked before meeting of that organization on December 11, 1920, Hotel Bellvue, Boston, Massachusetts, and appealed for the moral and financial support of those belonging to prevent the personal rights of workers from being sacrificed by Federal and State laws, which prevent a free expression of opinion. He stated that 39 States "had enacted laws making it an offense to advocate the overthrow of the Government" and that some States prohibited the display of "Red Flags", which legislation has driven the radical movements under cover. Referred to as "a conscientious objector released some months ago from Leavenworth" (Special Agent Wm. J. West 202600-22-35)

Representative of the U. S. on the Executive of the League Against Imperialism. (Confidential State Department report 2/26/29 61-5917-6 p6)

Editorial from Washington Herald of October 18, 1935, entitled, "Unmasked", relating to the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union, quoting "verbatim" a letter written by Mr. Parson, published in the Herald Tribune, October 8, 1935, in which Mr. Parson relates that he was a classmate of Mr. Baldwin at Harvard and in the classbook for 1935, appears Baldwin's description of himself as follows: "I have continued directing the unpolular fight for the rights of agitation, as director of the American Civil Liberties Union...I have been to Europe several times, mostly in connection with international radical activities, chiefly against war, Fascism and Imperialism: and then have traveled constantly in the United States to areas of conflict over workers rights to strike and organize. My chief aversion is the system of greed,

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-49565-X 18

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 OCT 12 1940
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

H. Ranstad

FIVE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BALDWIN, ROGER N. 1 - A

private profit, privilege and violence which makes up the control of the world, today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. Therefore I am for socialism, disarmament and ultimately, for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class and sole control of those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal." (61-190-A)

In the same editorial published above, reference is made to a decision of Superior Court Judge, Arthur M. Mundo, in upholding the schoolboard of San Diego, California, in an action on the part of American Civil Liberties Union to hold meetings in the schoolhouse. Certain testimony before the school board is quoted in this editorial as follows: "The Chairman: Does your organization uphold the right of a citizen or alien--it does not make any difference which--to advocate murder? Mr. Baldwin: Yes. The Chairman: Does your organization uphold the right of an American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government? Mr. Baldwin: Certainly, in so far as mere advocacy is concerned. The Chairman: Does it uphold the right of an alien in this country to urge the overthrow and advocate the overthr of the Government by force and violence? Mr. Baldwin: Precisely on the same basis as any citizen. The Chairman: You do uphold the right of an alien to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence? Mr. Baldwin: Sure; certainly. It is the healthiest kind of thing for a country, of course, to have free speech--unlimited." (61-190-A)

As director of the American Civil Liberties Union, addressed a letter to Bureau 2/26/35 "with what we regard the rights of citizens", alleging Agents at Birmingham, Alabama cooperated with local officials "in a drive on radicals." (47-10206-1)

(Cont'd)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

BALDWIN, ROGER N. (Card 2)

One of the principal speakers at meeting, Naval Armory, Detroit, Michigan, 2/14/36 sponsored by the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, "a radical organiz tion." His record as shown on page 263 of "The Red Network" reflects that among other things, he is a director of the Garland Fund created by a radical, Charles G land of Boston, Massachusetts, to further the the radical cause; formerly connecte with Industrial Workers of the World; former associate Berkman Anarchist gang: Ame League to Limit Armaments: Labor Defense Council 1923; Russian Reconstruction Farm 1925; National Committee, International Workers Aid, 1927; National Committee, Wor International Relief 1928; delegate with Communistic Gomes to World Congress Again Imperialism (Communist) Brussels 1927; Committee, U. S. Congress Against War; Amer Committee to World Congress Against War 1933; supporter of Communist National Stud League (and Student Review); speaker at Communist meetings; Reception Committee, Soviet Flyers: American Committee for Struggle against War; National Mooney Counci of Action, 1933; National Scottsboro Committee of Action, 1933; National Committee, Friends of Soviet Union, 1933. (Confidential informant, Detroit Office 61-7559-12 encl. p. 14, 15)

In February of 1940, as director of American Civil Liberties Union, he issued a "release" attacking the activities of the F.B.I. in connection with the Spanish Re- cruiting Cases in Detroit and Attorney General Jackson's reports concerning the arr of the defendants. (61-190-185x)

As director of the American Civil Liberties Union represented John E. Spivak, a writer for the Daily Worker, in an action to defeat extradition from Pennsylvania to Kansas under the Criminal Libel Law. (Daily Worker 4/15/40 61-7559-A)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

BALDWIN, ROGER N. 2 - A

As director of the American Civil Liberties Union sought an injunction to restrain Governor Edward Rivers of Georgia from registering aliens in Georgia, claiming that there are "adequate laws and agencies both State and Federal to cope with acts of sabotage and espionage", claiming the fingerprinting of aliens to be unconstitutional. In reply, Governor Rivers charged that the American Civil Liberties Union "has been the prestige front for the Communistic agitation since the days of Lenin"; -"they have tried to keep out of jail every Fifth Columnist and notorious criminal who ought to be in jail from Sacco-Vanzetti to the Scottsboro rapists, and Angelo Herndon." (Augusta Herald, Augusta, Georgia 5/22/40 62-9322-9)

CONFIDENTIAL

HR:wmc

April 3, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. L. M. C. SMITH
CHIEF, SPECIAL DEFENSE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BIJ/sp

There is transmitted herewith a dossier showing the information presently available in the files of this Bureau with respect to Roger N. Baldwin whose address is 31 Union Square West, New York, New York

It is recommended that this individual be considered for custodial detention in the event of a national emergency. The information contained on the attached dossier constitutes the basis for appropriate consideration in this regard.

It should be understood, of course, that additional information may be received from time to time supplementing that already available in the Bureau's files, and as such data are received they will be made available to you so that the dossier in your possession may be supplemented thereby.

It will be greatly appreciated if you will advise this Bureau at your earliest convenience as to the decision reached in this case.

Very truly yours,

RECORDED 100-49565-X-19

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 APR 7 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
APR 4 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Enclosure

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York, New York

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Foxworth	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Drayton	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Gandy	
FILES	

RWM:JB
100-8424

DECLASSIFIED BY DP3 SIJ/bg
ON 8-20-76

July 14th, 1941.

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: ROGER NASH BALDWIN
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Roger Baldwin

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the photostatic copy of the Custodial Detention card furnished to this office by the Bureau on ROGER NASH BALDWIN, 31 Union Square, West, New York City, N. Y.

Investigation conducted by Special Agent (A) D. W. Chappelear, Jr., reflects that subject BALDWIN maintains a business office at 31 Union Square West, New York City, and resides at 282 West 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

From the publication "THE AMERICAN LABOR WHO'S WHO" it was ascertained that subject BALDWIN was born at Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, on January 21st, 1884.

It is suggested that the Bureau files be amended to show this additional information concerning subject.

RECORDED INDEXED

100-49565-X2

Very truly yours,

T. J. Donegan

T. J. DONEGAN, Acting for
E. J. CONNELLEY,
Assistant Director U.S. D...

SERIALIZED

COPIES DESTROYED 2/10/58 RJ

CT-23

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Copy to Records

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

General Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

October 21, 1941

CHC:LL

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Mendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

Re: ROGER BALDWIN
DIRECTOR
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

1:05 P. M.

SAC Brantley, Kansas City, telephonically advised that Mr. Roger Baldwin is in Kansas City today and that Special Agent Jerry Campbell of the Kansas City office had occasion to interview him in connection with an undeveloped lead set out by the New York office for the Kansas City office in a conscientious objector case, which lead requested that Mr. Baldwin be contacted in care of Jerome Walsh, a local attorney who represents the Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. Brantley said that during the above interview, Baldwin told Agent Campbell that he is on his way from the East to the West Coast, Denver being his next stop, and that recently he had a conference with the Director of the FBI in which he told the Director that he wanted the Director to discontinue referring subversive complaint cases to police for investigation, for the reason that the police, in their clumsy efforts and methods, were violating civil liberties and human rights; further, that he had completed an investigation of the FBI field office in St. Louis yesterday (October 20th) and found that the police department, in investigating a case which had been referred to it by the FBI, had infringed and invaded the civil liberties of an Episcopal minister (whose name he did not furnish) and that the minister had lost his church; that he was in Kansas City today to contact his friends and members of the Civil Liberties Union and to look around and that he would very likely investigate the Kansas City office of the FBI. (Relative to his contacts, Mr. Brantley said that they undoubtedly include Jerome Walsh and Decker, the President of the Kansas City University and also the President of the local chapter of the Civil Liberties Union.)

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-49565-1

Mr. Brantley said that Baldwin wanted to know how many Agents were assigned to the Kansas City office, how many complaints received, etc. Mr. Brantley advised that, of course, Agent Campbell gave Baldwin no information, and that Baldwin told Agent Campbell would probably come to see the Agent in Charge of the Kansas City office of the FBI.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 27 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LADD

FIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8STJ/ap

CH-26

COPIES DESTROYED 10/6/64 47

Mr. Brantley pointed out that during Agent Campbell's interview with Mr. Baldwin, Baldwin was not hostile or unpleasant; that, as a matter of fact, Baldwin did not lean toward the conscientious objector concerning whom Agent Campbell interviewed him.

Mr. Brantley said that he would advise SAC Nicholson at Denver of Baldwin's contemplated trip to Denver.

Mr. Brantley inquired as to whether Baldwin had actually talked with the Director recently and what Baldwin should be told if he calls at the Kansas City office.

1:15 P. M.

After talking with Mr. E. A. Tamm, I called Mr. Brantley back and told him to treat Baldwin very courteously, as Baldwin has talked to the Director about these matters; to tell Baldwin that he, Mr. Brantley, would be very happy to receive any suggestions or comments that Baldwin might be in a position to offer, and bring same to the attention of the Director, and that the Director would be very pleased to receive any such comments or suggestions. Mr. Brantley inquired as to the matter of giving out actual information on the number of complaints referred to the police, etc., to Baldwin. He was told that he should not do this but should courteously explain to Baldwin that this information is not available and is confidential.

Respectfully,

C. H. Carson

C. H. Carson

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

DML:CSH

October 21, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Mendan
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TAMM

RE: ROGER BALDWIN, Director,
American Civil Liberties Union

6:00 p.m.

SAC Brantley called from Kansas City with reference to the presence of Baldwin in Kansas City, and advised that Baldwin visited him this afternoon, accompanied by a Kansas City attorney, Joseph L. Judson, who is probably also one of the Civil Liberties men.

Baldwin stated while in St. Louis he had ascertained that the FBI had referred to the local police an investigation involving a clergyman, and the police had conducted the inquiry in an ignorant, clumsy manner, violating the clergyman's civil rights, et cetera. Baldwin further stated he had ascertained in Kansas City that some of the police officers had investigated alleged subversive activities and in connection therewith had told some young girls to burn literature in their possession, such as "Mein Kampf" and other material, probably of a Communistic nature; that these officers were accompanied by a Bureau agent and told the girls they were working with the FBI. b6 b7C

Brantley inquired as to names and details, and Baldwin indicated one of the police officers was a [redacted] was at one time connected with the Kansas City police, but is not now so connected. Baldwin indicated he would furnish affidavits relative to these complaints. Brantley told him we would be glad to receive such affidavits, and anything he might care to submit would be promptly forwarded to the Director for his consideration.

Brantley stated Baldwin was not at all offensive, and merely indicated he did not believe the Bureau should refer cases of this type to the police. Brantley informed him that we had always been most circumspect in the types of cases referred to police agencies for investigation, and had impressed upon all concerned the fact that these people had rights and liberties which should not be violated. All in all, Brantley stated the interview was very pleasant. Brantley will advise the Bureau as soon as the affidavits are received.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

100-49565-21
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 OCT 27 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TAMM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-76 BY SP2 AJT/jpm/kad

CLI - 185

JEH:HCB

October 23, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TAMM

Please let me have a memorandum as soon as possible upon the matter about which Mr. Roger Baldwin called to see SAC Brantley at Kansas City. I would like to have this information, and if Mr. Baldwin does not give Mr. Brantley the details about the matter about which Baldwin spoke, then I think a letter should be prepared for my signature to Mr. Baldwin, asking him to let us have this information in order to check into and make certain no improper action was indulged in by either Special Agents of this Bureau or by local police authorities acting on our behest.

Very truly yours

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8 STS/pp

RECORDED

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 1245P
DATE 10-23
BY 13

100-49565-3
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 29 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Harbo
Miss Gandy

CH-15

JLE:ICC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-86 BY SP3 STJ/ps

November 1, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

I am attaching hereto, for your information, a copy of a communication dated October 28, 1941, from Mr. Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

I thought that you would be interested in Mr. Baldwin's observations, first, as to his reaction upon the work of the FBI in the field, and second, his comment upon the use of local law enforcement authorities in the National Defense investigations.

As to the first observation he makes, it is gratifying to note that one of Mr. Baldwin's viewpoint does note with unanimous approval, as he has visited the various sections of the country, the care and impartiality being manifested by the Agents of the FBI in handling the National Defense work.

As to his second observation, namely, that investigative work of this type should be handled exclusively by the Agents of the FBI and not by the local authorities, the suggestion presents several very definite problems. In the first place, to comply with his suggestion would require an increase in the investigative staff of the FBI by at least double its present size, if not more so. It of course would be desirable, in order to have absolute uniformity and assure complete impartiality, to have these investigations conducted by a Governmental agency. But the question of cost is one that must be considered, particularly in view of the disinclination of the Budget Bureau to authorize additional appropriations for the FBI.

(INDEXED) RECORDED EX-11 100-49565-4 FBI NOV 1 1941

The other aspect of this problem is that it has been thought desirable to enlist the local authorities in the task of National Defense investigations so that they might share and feel the responsibility of carrying on this work. As you well know, local communities frequently resent the interference of Federal agencies in law enforcement, and it has been my purpose to eliminate the various jealousies that over a long period of years were held against Federal law enforcement, by endeavoring to have the local law enforcement agencies feel that they are working shoulder to shoulder with the Federal authorities, in any common project of National interest and importance.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Boyton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trotter
Miss Gandy

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 3:45 P
DATE 11-1
BY

I well realized the fact that the local authorities might overstep certain lines of propriety in this project and with that in mind, I have initiated regular training courses and conferences in our various field divisions with the local authorities so as to endeavor tactfully to instruct them as to the things that should be done, and more importantly, the things that should not be done. Until the Budget Bureau or Congress sees fit to grant such expansion to the FBI as would enable it to handle this work exclusively, it will be necessary, of course, to utilize local law enforcement machinery, but I shall continue to reiterate and re-intensify our efforts to properly instruct and direct the local authorities so that abuses against such liberties will not be indulged in.

I am attaching hereto, for your information, a copy of my reply to Mr. Baldwin in which I thought you might be interested.

Respectfully

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Inclosures

copy

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 Fifth Avenue - New York City
(at 22nd Street)

Albuquerque, New Mexico
October 23, 1941

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director FBI
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Following our conversation in Washington I have occupied to find out as I have come across the country just what complaints there are concerning those very difficult investigations of what are regarded as subversive opinions and activities. I find that your local agents are keenly aware of the delicacy of these inquiries and faithfully reflect the bureau's policies.

But I find one aspect that seems to me to deserve your personal attention. It appears that in some offices at least, complaints of subversive activities or opinions are turned over to the local police department for investigation where the local FBI staff is overburdened. You can imagine the result in most communities where city detectives are utterly incompetent to use any discretion whatever. Representing themselves as making investigations for the FBI, as they frequently do, they tend to compromise the policies of your bureau.

May I suggest that, in this field at least, instructions be given that such investigations be made only by your own agents who alone are qualified in such cases? The case is so self-evident that it hardly requires argument.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Roger BALDWIN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP2 BTS/sp

100-495[illegible]-4

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
DR. HARRY ELMER BARNES
HON. JOHN BEARDSLEY
ALFRED BETTMAN
REV. HERBERT S. BIGELOW
BISHOP EDGAR BLAKE
PROF. EDWIN M. BORCHARD
VAN WYCK BROOKS
PEARL BUCK
WILLIAM F. COCHRAN
JOHN S. CODMAN
PROF. GEORGE S. COUNTS
MELVYN DOUGLAS
SHERWOOD EDDY
DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER
REV. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
WILLIAM HENRY GALLAGHER
KATE CRANE GARTZ
DEAN CHRISTIAN GAUSS
DEAN CHARLES W. GILKEY
DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM
POWERS HAPGOOD
MARVIN C. HARRISON
CHARLES H. HOUSTON
HENRY T. HUNT
DR. FRANK KINGDON
FREDA KIRCHWEY
DR. JOHN A. LAPP
PROF. HAROLD D. LASSWELL
AGNES BROWN LEACH
WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
PROF. KIRTLEY F. MATHER
PROF. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
RT. REV. WALTER MITCHELL
FELIX MORLEY
CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON
A. J. MUSTE
DR. WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON
BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM
WILLIAM PICKENS
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
JEANNETTE RANKIN
DEAN ELBERT RUSSELL
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
RT. REV. WILLIAM SCARLETT
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
PROF. VIDA D. SCUDDER
ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
JOHN F. SINCLAIR
PROF. CLARENCE R. SKINNER
HELEN PHELPS STOKES
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
GEORGE P. WEST
A. F. WHITNEY
PETER WITT
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
ALFRED M. BINGHAM
HARRY LORIN BINSSE
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY
CARL CARMER
REV. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
RICHARD S. CHILDS
ROBERT W. DUNN
JOHN F. FINERTY
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL
WALTER FRANK
NATHAN GREENE
QUINCY HOWE
DOROTHY KENYON
CORLISS LAMONT
FLORINA LASKER
PROF. EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
THURGOOD MARSHALL
ELIOT D. PRATT
ELMER RICE
ROGER WILLIAM RIIS
WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR
REV. WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD
NORMAN THOMAS
RAYMOND L. WISE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

170 Fifth Avenue • New York City
(at 22nd Street)
GRamercy 7-4330

OFFICERS

PROF. EDWARD A. ROSS, *Chairman, National Committee*
REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, *Chairman, Board of Directors*
RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS
DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY
DEAN LLOYD K. GARRISON, *Vice-Chairmen*
B. W. HUEBSCH, *Treasurer*
ROGER N. BALDWIN, *Director*
LUCILLE B. MILNER, *Secretary*
ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
MORRIS L. ERNST, *Counsel*

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hollomon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTS/apf

Albuquerque, New Mexico
October 28, 1941

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director F.B.I.
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Following our conversation in Washington I have attempted to find out as I have come across the country just what complaints there are concerning those very difficult investigations of what are regarded as subversive opinions and activities. I find that your local agents are keenly aware of the delicacy of these inquiries and faithfully reflect the bureaus policies.

But I find one aspect that seems to me to deserve your personal attention. It appears that in some offices at least, complaints of subversive activities or opinions are turned over to the local police department for investigation where the local F.B.I. staff is overburdened. You can imagine the result in most communities where city detectives are utterly incompetent to use any discretion whatever. Representing themselves as making investigations for the F.B.I., as they frequently do, they tend to compromise the policies of your bureau.

EX-11 RECORDED 100-19563-5

May I suggest that, in this field at least, instructions be given that such investigations be made only by your own agents who alone are qualified by such tasks? The case is so self-evident that it hardly requires argument.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

Roger Baldwin
ROGER BALDWIN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 6 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

COPIES DESTROYED 10/10/58 KP

100-49565-5

November 1, 1941

RECORDED

Mr. Roger Baldwin
Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York City

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8/STP/sdp

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I was very glad to receive your letter of October 30th, from Albuquerque, New Mexico, and particularly to note your observation that after you have travelled through the country you have found the Special Agents of the FBI to be keenly aware of the responsibility which they have in properly conducting such investigations as must be carried on incident to the National Defense work.

I am also particularly gratified to note that the basic policies which the Federal Bureau of Investigation has laid down in this project, particularly those tending to safeguard the rights and civil liberties of all persons, are being faithfully observed and followed by the representatives of the FBI throughout the country. As I have indicated to you personally, it is my earnest desire to have the FBI stand for those principles that are so close to the hearts of all interested in maintaining our liberal form of Democracy, particularly in these very trying times. I have sincerely believed that American law enforcement during this period can once and for all establish the fact that it, too, can function in the American way and thereby justify confidence and faith and trust in it, under our established institutions. In this program I have cast the Federal Bureau of Investigation to play a prominent part, and I am gratified to know that as you have travelled through the country you have observed that we are taking some headway

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COPIES DESTROYED

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
NOV 4 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

With regard to the observation that you make concerning the handling of certain investigative work by the local authorities at the instance of the FBI, I fully appreciate the difficulties and problem involved in this aspect. It of course would be most desirable if all investigations which have to be made incident to the National Defense work, with which this Bureau is charged for responsibility, could be handled by the Agents of the FBI. However, at the present time this is impossible for the reason that our personnel is not sufficiently large in number to carry on these investigations. We have, for instance, on our dockets today a total of 127,660 investigative matters. We have a total of 2,137 Special Agents in our entire field service. We are receiving on an average of 23,434 cases per month. I believe that you can see from these few statistics the very definite problem with which we are faced. In order for the official representatives of the FBI to handle this entire volume of work it would require at least a doubling of our present investigative force, which I do not believe would be viewed with favor by the Budget Bureau.

I had anticipated the development of some of the conditions which you have observed which would follow the assignment to local authorities of some types of investigations of matters which are submitted to us by persons in various communities. Therefore, I had arranged for each of our fifty-five field offices to hold series of regional meetings with the local authorities in order to instruct and direct them in the proper type of approach which should be made in the handling of these matters. For your information, during the past year 1,054 such conferences have been held, attended by representatives of over 7,000 law enforcement agencies. The Special Agents in Charge of the FBI at these conferences have endeavored to point out not only the things that should be done, but more importantly, the things that should not be done, and I do believe that some progress is being made along this line. I shall, of course, continue to intensify our efforts to eliminate by tactful direction and instruction to the local authorities, those tendencies which do not reflect credit upon law enforcement and endeavor to bring about, as much as possible, a fair and judicial approach to these problems.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

There, of course, is another aspect to this particular situation that I know you appreciate, and that is the need for enlisting local assistance in a matter of such National importance and coverage. For many years the local law enforcement authorities of this country had strong prejudices and jealousies toward Federal law enforcement agencies. Whether well intended or not, there developed in many circles in this country a demand for a National police in order to supersede local law enforcement and overcome these local prejudices and jealousies. I, however, have always been a strong opponent to any National police idea. I have considered it basically repugnant to our form of Government and I earnestly believe that it would be entirely unworkable and impractical. Consequently, I have endeavored to remove, as much as possible, the jealousies and prejudices that have existed by bringing about a closer relationship between the local authorities and the Federal authorities. I took active steps in 1935 to initiate a plan for police training under the supervision and direction of the FBI so as to bring into direct and personal touch the forces of the FBI with the local law enforcement agencies. This project has been quite successful and when the National Emergency developed, realizing the fact that the FBI would not be able to handle exclusively all of the investigative work incident to such an emergency, I then took steps to bring into this program for coverage and responsibility the local authorities by initiating, as I have indicated, regional conferences for the purpose of endeavoring to point the way to how this added responsibility to law enforcement might be handled in an effective, and at the same time judicial and fair manner. I believe that marked progress has been made along this line. Certainly, the conditions today in our country are less flagrant in the instances and number of abuses against the rights of the individual than there were during the last World War, and I believe this has been largely due to the approach to it by the law enforcement agencies and the control of investigative activity by constituted authorities, and not by sometimes well-meaning, but often ill-guided efforts of local groups with the spirit of the vigilante.

As I have indicated, I shall endeavor to insofar

our efforts in the FBI toward the training and direction of the local authorities in the proper handling of these matters, and I would welcome and appreciate receiving from you any information of specific instances where either representatives of this Bureau or representatives of local law enforcement agencies indulged in actions that are improper and prejudicial to the civil rights and liberties of any person or persons.

With expressions of my best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Denver, Colorado
October 24, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Helloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy
Files

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2BTS/bsf
ON 3-20-86

Dear Sir:

RE: ROGER BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

In accordance with telephone conversation between Mr. HENDON and Special Agent R.J. BRANDT of the Denver Office, and Mr. E.A. TAMM'S later conversation with Mr. BRANDT, I desire to advise that ROGER BALDWIN, who is connected with the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City, called at the Denver Office at approximately 3:00 P.M. on October 23, 1941, and was interviewed by Agent BRANDT.

Mr. BALDWIN endeavored to give the impression that he was most cordial, and Agent BRANDT has advised me that he endeavored to handle this interview in a very diplomatic manner. Mr. BALDWIN stated he was particularly concerned with the policy of the Bureau in assigning cases for investigation to various Police Departments, and he inquired as to whether any cases had been assigned to the Police Department in Denver, Colorado. He was advised that upon certain occasions, certain types of cases are assigned to the Police for investigation. He had indicated by his prior conversation that he was aware of the fact that this was the practice and that it was being followed in various cities throughout the United States, including Kansas City and Chicago. BALDWIN was advised that under the presidential directive of September, 1939, the Bureau was designated as the coordinating and recording agency for National Defense matters, and that under this Directive, cases were being assigned to local law enforcement agencies for investigation.

Mr. BALDWIN stated that he had not received any complaints from his local representatives in the Denver area, but that in Kansas City and some other eastern cities he had received complaints concerning investigations made by police officers because they had been made in an indiscreet manner, and certain officers had, in fact, indicated

RECORDED
INDEXED
100-495657
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 30 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LADD
TAMM
NICHOLS
FIVE

EX-17

COPIES DESTROYED

handle these cases in a judicious manner because of their educational background and training. Mr. BALDWIN then went into a rather lengthy discussion concerning the term "subversive". He stated he interpreted that term to mean any person who placed his loyalty to a foreign government above that to the United States, and could not see how this could be applied to a Catholic, for example, who expresses his loyalty to the Pope, or to a member of Jehovah's Witnesses, who places his loyalty to his religion before that to his country. Agent BRANDT did not comment concerning this remark.

He then inquired as to whether the Bureau investigates Government employees, and was informed that the Bureau investigates all individuals suspected of violations of the Federal Statutes within the primary investigative jurisdiction of this Bureau, or actions inimical to the best interests of the United States Government. However, investigations of governmental employees arenot conducted without the specific authority of the Attorney General.

BALDWIN also referred to the fact that certain individuals connected with strikes might be termed subversive individuals, and he was definitely advised by Agent BRANDT that this Bureau is not interested in labor difficulties or employer-employee relations, and, in fact, has no jurisdiction in labor disputes as such. He stated he realized this and knows Mr. HOOVER is very careful in restricting the Bureau activities to those within its jurisdiction.

The interview with Mr. BALDWIN lasted approximately five minutes. It will be noted that this interview was conducted by Special Agent R.J. BRANDT during my absence from the city, and Agent BRANDT has advised me that Mr. BALDWIN was afforded every courtesy and that he endeavored to handle this interview in a discreet and diplomatic manner.

For the Bureau's information, I am enclosing a copy of an article which appeared in the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colorado, on Thursday, October 23, 1941, and also a copy of an article which appeared in the Denver Post on that same date.

Very truly yours,

G.A. NICHOLSON
Special Agent in Charge

Enclosure

that they were investigating for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which, he stated, had on some occasions created undue concern on the part of persons being investigated.

He inquired as to whether any complaints had been received in this office concerning the action of Police Officers, and he was advised that Agent BRANDT had no personal knowledge of any such complaints. He also inquired as to whether there had been any newspaper publicity concerning such complaints, and he was advised that Agent BRANDT was not aware of any such publicity.

Mr. BALDWIN also inquired as to whether there was any great amount of Communistic activity in Denver, and was not given any direct answer. He was advised that Agent BRANDT was not particularly familiar with this type of activity, inasmuch as it was supervised, for the most part, by Mr. NICHOLSON, the Special Agent in Charge. When this question was not answered, BALDWIN stated he had inquired of his associates in Denver as to Communist activity in Denver, and that the only name mentioned to him by those individuals was that of [redacted] and who, BALDWIN stated, had been in Denver for a number of years. He apparently intended to infer that [redacted] probably was a reputable citizen, although he did not say so in so many words. Agent BRANDT did not manifest any interest in [redacted] or indicate that this office had investigated or contemplated any such investigation. In fact, Agent BRANDT has advised me he was entirely non-committal on this point.

b6
b7C

Agent BRANDT inquired as to whether Mr. BALDWIN had any specific complaints to make, and courteously informed him that if he had any information which he believed would indicate improper conduct on the part of any officers conducting an investigation for this office, it would be appreciated if he would furnish complete details to this office so that they could be forwarded to Mr. HOOVER at Washington, so that appropriate inquiry could be made concerning the facts. He stated that he has no complaints whatsoever concerning the activities of the Denver Office or the Denver Police Department, and merely wished to voice his objection to the practice of assigning National Defense cases to various local law-enforcement agencies, because he believes that Bureau Agents are much better qualified to

CALMNESS OF U. S. AMAZES DIRECTOR OF CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

America is calm, composed and without hysteria, despite the apparent gathering of war clouds.

This was the opinion expressed in Denver Thursday by Roger N. Baldwin of New York city, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who was in Denver on a countrywide tour to "feel the pulse of the nation."

"I'm astonished at the degree of calm," he said.

"Interference with the civil rights of people is slight.

"The prevalent assumption that our accustomed liberties cannot stand the pressure of crisis and must be suspended, in part at least, is imbedded in distrust and fear of democracy.

COUNTRY ON WHOLE IN GOOD CONDITION.

"Those who yield so easily to the notion that wars cannot be fought nor great emergencies met without sacrificing the process of debate and the right of dissent forget the very purpose for which democracy exists. They forget that national unity is sound only so far as it represents voluntary support, not enforced conformity."

Baldwin, who conferred here with school authorities, United States District Attorney Thomas J. Morrissey, the FBI and other federal agencies, said that on the whole he considered the country in good shape.

In speaking of free speech, free assembly and a free press, he said Denver had been one of three cities in which pupils had not been required to salute the flag of the United States. The other two cities are New York city and Berkeley, Calif.

"We point to these cities as examples of the right of citizens to exercise their civil liberties," he said.

"In Denver, I am told, for whatever cause, children in the public schools who do not wish to salute the flag are permitted to remain in their seats.

"No reasonable man in the United States now approves the sweeping restraint imposed in the United States during the World war."

From Denver Baldwin will go to the Pacific coast, and then to other points before returning to New York.

Finds Americans Calm on War

ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who said in Denver Thursday that he believes the citizens of the United States are calm and without hysteria over the war in Europe.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-20-86 BY SP8 STS/pp

THE DEN
DENVER

THURSDAY, OCTOB

Denver Schools Praised For Omitting Flag Salute

Head of Civil Liberties Union Says Colorado Has Good Record for Liberalism

By ROBERT L. PERKIN
Rocky Mountain News Writer

The Denver Public Schools system is among the only three large school systems in the country which do not make flag-saluting a prerequisite to education, Roger Baldwin of New York City, national director of the American Civil Liberties Union, said in Denver last night.

"On the whole, Colorado's record on the safeguarding of its citizens' civil liberties has been very good in recent years," Mr. Baldwin, gray-haired and sharp-eyed veteran of three decades of struggle for guarantee of the Bill of Rights, said.

"From what I can learn, it would seem that the citizens of Denver have been extremely fortunate in this respect. Your schools have a good record, there has been little labor trouble and apparently no oppression of your small Communist group."

On Tour to Coast

Mr. Baldwin stopped in Denver en route to the Pacific Coast in connection with a national tour of inspection of local chapters of the ACLU.

He addressed a dinner of the Colorado ACLU chapter in Boggio's Rotisserie, and is scheduled to confer today with local Federal Bureau of Investigation officials, U. S. District Attorney Thomas J. Morrissey of Investigation officials. He met with Charles E. Greene, superintendent of schools, yesterday.

Information on three principal situations holding dangers to civil liberties is being sought by Mr. Baldwin in cities he visits. They are use or denial of use of schools for public meetings, the FBI investigation of subversive individuals, and treatment by local authorities of the Jehovah's Witnesses religious cult.

Schools Open Here

"Many school systems are denying use of their buildings for controversive public meetings, and are, in effect, editing what the public may talk about," he said. "I find that situation is not true in Denver.

"Mr. Greene tells me that the Denver schools have had no difficulty over the matter of saluting the flag. Children whose religious training has been against such saluting have been permitted to sit still in their seats in Denver for several years.

"In addition, the American Legion has apparently been unsuccessful in its efforts to determine what books are to be used in Denver. Mr. Green tells me the Legion has been invited to help educate the children in Americanism and that the co-operation is working out very well."

Sees Danger in FBI

Mr. Baldwin said he conferred recently with J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the FBI, with regard to the investigation of subversive activities and individuals and that the interview, "to put it mildly, left much to be desired."

"There is considerable danger here, especially in these times of emotional stress and neighborly gossip," he said. "After all, they don't know what loyalty or subversiveness means—no one knows."

Mr. Baldwin said the ACLU has no official position on conscription except that "we feel the government should not draft those who conscientiously object to military service on any grounds, religious or otherwise." So far, he said, the record of local draft boards has been good.

The campaign for legislation to outlaw strikes has failed, he said, "because those who have supported such a move have been ineffective in opposing the position of ORM, which opposes anti-strike laws as having the danger of spreading disaffection in labor's ranks and causing more harm to the defense effort than strikes do."

Roger Baldwin

ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS

DENVER, COLORADO

THURSDAY OCTOBER 23, 1941

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
OCTOBER 22, 1941

DECLASSIFIED BY 2838TP/sdp
ON 7-20-76

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Dear Sir:

On October 21, 1941, Special Agent CHARLES G. CAMPBELL of this office had occasion to interview Mr. BALDWIN in the case entitled, "GEORGE BURNHAM DeSILVER, SELECTIVE SERVICE, CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR," in which New York is the office of origin.

Mr. BALDWIN was very courteous and cooperative during this interview. He gave every assistance, with no partiality or favor on behalf of the Subject. During the course of the interview BALDWIN stated to Agent CAMPBELL that he recently saw the Director and discussed with him the assignment of subversive activity cases to police agencies; that it is his, BALDWIN'S, belief that the police are incompetent and lack sufficient intelligence to handle such cases without possible injury to the character and reputation of the subjects involved. As BALDWIN put it, some of the officers are "bound to get off the reservation."

BALDWIN also said he had discussed the investigative activities of Agents in labor matters with the Director, who informed him, BALDWIN, that the Bureau was not engaged in such investigative activities, which he, BALDWIN, believes is right, because he feels the Bureau has no business therein.

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-49565-8

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

BALDWIN made inquiry as to the size of the Kansas City Field Office and the number of personnel assigned here, and was informed by Agent CAMPBELL that he was unable to furnish such information for the reason that he was not in position to be aware of these facts. BALDWIN also inquired as to whether this office had received complaints regarding the investigative activities of the police who were engaged on subversive activity cases assigned to them by this office. BALDWIN was again informed by Agent CAMPBELL that he was not in a position to receive such complaints and therefore was unable to enlighten him on

1 ENCLO.

COPIES DESTROYED 10/10/58 pg

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 61-190-109

this matter. BALDWIN then stated he had just completed an investigation of several complaints involving the St. Louis office of the Bureau. He informed that apparently our St. Louis office had referred some complaints to the St. Louis police for investigation. BALDWIN said he had learned that the police had conducted one investigation in such a clumsy manner that it resulted in the loss of his church by an Episcopal minister in St. Louis.

Agent CAMPBELL interviewed BALDWIN in the early morning, at which time he said he had received no complaints regarding the activities of the Kansas City office of the Bureau. However, he intended to inquire among his "people," after which he intended to call on the Special Agent in Charge at the Kansas City office before departing for Denver and the West Coast.

During the late afternoon of October 21, 1941, BALDWIN appeared at the office accompanied by JOSEPH L. JUDSON, a local attorney. BALDWIN presented his card, which shows his address as 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City, The American Civil Liberties Union, telephone - GRamercy 7-4330. BALDWIN and his companion, JUDSON, were polite and courteous. They were treated in the same manner by me.

BALDWIN stated he recently had had a conversation with you; that he had known you for a good many years, the acquaintance with you dating back to World War #I days. He stated that he had admiration for you; that he knows you are doing a good job, and believes you are doing it fairly and impartially, and that it is your desire that all of the Bureau personnel be fair and impartial in their investigations of all types of cases. I told BALDWIN that you most certainly are doing a good job, and that it is your earnest desire to see that every employee of the Bureau is courteous, polite, and conscious of civil liberties and human rights at all times; that such had always been your practice, and that you would make no departure from it during the emergency.

BALDWIN said he is quite concerned about the reference by the Bureau of subversive complaints to police and local law enforcement agencies. He stated he felt that the police had not received sufficient training and were not sufficiently intelligent to handle these matters as Bureau Agents handle them. He said that in his conversation with you recently he had expressed to you some concern

with respect to this particular phase of our participation in the national defense program.

BALDWIN said that he had had lunch with some of his "people" on October 21, 1941, and it had been brought to his attention that two members of the Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department; namely, Lieutenant [redacted] and [redacted] of the Internal Security Squad, had apparently told some young women in Kansas City, whose names he did not furnish, that they should burn some literature in their possession. He said that this literature, he believed, consisted of the book, "Mein Kampf," and possibly some other books, the names of which he could not recall. He stated he considers this a violation of civil liberties. He stated he had heard that [redacted] and [redacted] had said they were working for or with the FBI in connection with the particular matter under consideration. He said he had heard that possibly an Agent of the Bureau was present.

b6
b7C

I told BALDWIN that I had not heard of the case; that I should like to have the names of the persons involved; and that I was certain no Special Agent had been present under any such circumstances or conditions. He stated that he would furnish the names of the individuals concerned at an early date to this office. I told him that you would be promptly furnished with any information supplied by him; that you would be eager to receive it; and that I knew you would give it appropriate attention.

I cited to BALDWIN again your concern with respect to the preservation of civil liberties and human rights, in pointing out to him that there is no man in the United States who is more interested in the preservation of these attributes of democracy than you, and that you seek to inculcate that into the minds of every employee in the service. I pointed out to him that in many public utterances you had pointed out that you wanted no violations of civil liberties; that you were desirous that investigations with respect to subversive activities be handled through the existing machinery of law enforcement; that citizens promptly report anything of this nature to the nearest office of the FBI, and that in many public utterances you had indicated that such matters should not be handled by private groups or persons, and that there should be no vigilante activities in connection with these matters.

I also pointed out to BALDWIN that in our Quarterly Peace Officers' Conferences we had stressed the preservation of civil liberties and related matters; that we had pointed out to the officers at these meetings that information coming to their attention relating to subversive activities should be promptly reported to the Bureau; that investigations of these matters should be handled in such a manner that the persons under investigation, who are guilty of no wrongdoing, should not suffer, and that their reputations should not be injured.

I am attaching hereto a clipping from The Kansas City Times of October 22, 1941, relating to the presence of BALDWIN in the City on October 21, 1941.

The substance of the foregoing was furnished telephonically to Mr. LADD and Mr. CARSON of the Bureau on October 21, 1941.

Should BALDWIN furnish me any information relating to the activities of the Bureau in any connection, it will be promptly furnished the Bureau.

For the information of the Bureau, JOSEPH L. JUDSON, the attorney who was in the office with ROGER N. BALDWIN, is an admitted Communist, is active in the affairs of the Human Rights Club, a Communist Front Organization here, and has caused the Human Rights Club to become identified with the American Peace Mobilization. In this connection attention is invited to the report of Special Agent M. B. RHODES, Kansas City, dated January 30, 1941, for more information relative to JOSEPH L. JUDSON.

Very truly yours,

Dwight Brantley

DWIGHT BRANTLEY
Special Agent in Charge

DB:CM
cc - St. Louis
Denver
Salt Lake City
San Diego
San Francisco
Portland
Seattle
NewYork

HE "TIMES" STRIKE BLAME

Civil Liberties Union Head Here on "Check Up" Tour.

The issue of labor and defense production was settled satisfactorily when Congress "refused to yield to pressure to limit the right to strike," Roger Baldwin of New York, president of the American Civil Liberties union, said here yesterday.

"You can't get production by compulsion," Baldwin asserted. "Britain knows that and has put no restrictions on its labor, even in the midst of war. The unions themselves have decided they must not strike. It seems to me that the blame for our record in the last year must be placed upon those employers who have refused to comply with the law."

Here on what he describes as one of his regular "educational" tours to check up on the state of civil liberties over the nation, Baldwin conferred with friends of his organization at a luncheon.

All in all, Baldwin reported, he is finding the country surprisingly calm in regard to Communists, Bundists and other groups.

He is concerned, however, about possible abuse by the FBI of a recently passed law giving agents the privilege of investigating "subversive activities" by such federal employes as WPA workers.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-20-86 BY SP2 STG/pa

CLIPPING FROM
THE KANSAS CITY TIMES
DATE: October 22, 1941
FORWARDED BY THE KANSAS CITY
FIELD DIVISION

100-49565-8

RPK:

100-49565-8

October 29, 1941

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
170 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 DJJ/dg
266251

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I have been advised by Mr. Dwight Brantley, Special Agent in Charge of the Kansas City, Missouri, Field Office of this Bureau, of your visit with him on October 22, 1941. I trust that the discussion which you had with Mr. Brantley may have served to clarify such questions as you might have had in mind concerning the functioning of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

There is one matter which arose during your conference with Mr. Brantley which has occasioned considerable concern on my part. I have reference to the incident you reported to Mr. Brantley where certain police officers are alleged to have demanded that certain young women in Kansas City, Missouri, destroy literature in their possession. You advised Mr. Brantley that the police officers are reported to have been working under instructions from the Federal Bureau of Investigation in this instance and that it was rumored an Agent of this Bureau was present on this occasion.

As you were informed at the time, the Special Agent in Charge of the Kansas City Office of this Bureau had no information concerning the incident and I must advise you that no report of it had previously reached me. I am sure that you appreciate my concern over this affair, particularly when you consider the long standing policy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation requiring strict compliance with the constitutional guarantees of human freedom and civil liberties.

You promised Mr. Brantley that you would furnish him at an early date specific facts surrounding the incident, including the names of the individuals involved. I am informed that this information has not as yet been made available and I should like to urge that you personally communicate it to me at your earliest possible opportunity. In order to preserve and maintain the standards of fair play under which this Bureau at all times desires to operate, it is imperative that reports

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
OCT 30 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

such as you referred to Mr. Brantley be promptly traced and corrective action taken if necessary. So long as such reports are permitted to remain vague and uncertain, it is not only impossible to take appropriate action on them but there is the constant danger that by repetition and imagination, they may grow to even more alarming proportions. I should, therefore, appreciate your immediately furnishing me with the facts in this matter and I can assure you that prompt attention will be afforded this information.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover,
Director

NO-36

Hlrceb

October 21, 1941

Confidential

Special Agent in Charge

DECLASSIFIED BY DP2 BTJ/DB
ON 2-22-86

New York, New York

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to my letter of August 19, 1941, to all Special Agents in Charge enclosing a copy of a memorandum from Mr. Lawrence M. C. Smith, Chief of the Special Defense Unit of the Department of Justice, relative to the classification, as to dangerousness, of the individuals under consideration for custodial detention and the classification, as to sufficiency, of the evidence upon which the dangerousness classification is made.

RECORDED 100-49565-9
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 OCT 30 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Please be advised that information has now been received from the Special Defense Unit that

Roger N. Baldwin
31 Union Square West
New York City

has been tentatively placed in:

_____ Group A. Individuals believed to be the most dangerous and who in all probability should be interned in event of War.

DEPT. OF JUSTICE
NOV 22 11 15 AM
RECEIVED

_____ Group B. Individuals believed to be somewhat less dangerous but whose activities should be restricted.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 21 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

_____ Group C. Individuals believed to be the least dangerous and who need not be restricted in the absence of additional information, but should be subjected to general surveillance.

The evidence relating to Subject has been classified by the Special Defense Unit as:

_____1. Sufficient to establish the charges upon which the dangerous classification was made.

_____2. Not satisfactory to substantiate the charges.

With respect to citizenship status, Subject has been tentatively classified by the Special Defense Unit as:

_____(A) An alien

_____(N) A naturalized citizen

_____(NB) A native born citizen

The above classifications are subject to revision in the light of additional information and you will be promptly informed of any revision of the status of the above named individual.

This investigation must be given preferred and expeditious attention in accordance with existing Bureau instructions and concluded at the earliest possible date. The citizenship status of Subject should be definitely ascertained as soon as possible where this has not already been done.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK

TELEPHONE CALEDONIA 5-1582

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
JONAS J. SHAPIRO
WALLACE D. JENNINGS
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
ALEXANDER LINDEY

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

November 6, 1941.

Hon. John Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-76 BY SP3 STJ/lap

Dear Edgar:

1. Thanks for the courtesy extended to Harold Stern, who was quite overwhelmed.

2. As to Roger Baldwin's communication, I would certainly suggest that you follow up at some proper time, and ask him the names of the cities, the names of the people and the names of the cases, because certainly you do not want to do an injustice to the local officials, and Roger must know how easy it is to unjustly accuse people. Furthermore, you might ask him whether he does not agree with you that despite all the errors and diversities of local administrations, he would oppose a complete concentration into a national police force.

3. I am sending you a copy of a letter that I received from Francis Biddle. At his suggestion I am to talk to you about the matter further.

Yours,

MLE-PG
Enc (1)

1 ENCLO. 2

RECORDED 100-49565-10
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 NOV 24 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Rec'd to Director's office 11-7-41

100-49565

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

C
O
P
Y

November 5, 1941.

Dear Morris:

The suggestion in your letter with regard to the "subversives" is also the line we are considering, and I have shown your letter to Edgar Hoover.

He and I have worked out an approach which I think will be satisfactory. Rather than write about it, talk to him or me the next time you are in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

F.B.

Francis Biddle

Morris L.Ernst, Esq.
Greenbaum Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York City

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-20-76 BY SP8 AT Jalp

100-49565-10

EAT:GEG November 13, 1941

Time: 12:10 P.M.

THE DIRECTOR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-76 BY SP6 STSdp

SAC Pieper called from San Francisco, advising that access had been obtained to the room of Robert Minor last night and that the following letter written on the letterhead of the American Civil Liberties Union was obtained. Mr. Pieper stated he did not know the meaning of the letter but thought the Bureau might know what it refers to.

October 17, 1941

"Dear Bob:

"I could not get you this afternoon because I was not out of the Department of Justice and tonight I got no reply from your Croton number so here goes for a confidential memo on what I learned. Please keep it out of your files.

"1. Nothing will be even started until Mrs. King files the further memo she indicated would come on comparative sentences in the New York District. When it does it will be checked so be sure it is a careful job. It is now incomplete if it is the document Unger sent me.

"2. The Attorney General is handling the matter personally from now on though he did not even know of it until I saw him. He is disposed to think that action should be taken in the reasonably near future but not right now in view of the considerations stated in Mr. Wilkie's letter which the Attorney General on his own account reflected. He will not, however, let the matter go with an adverse report to the President as might happen if it followed routine.

"3. Reports will be sought from the officials connected with the prosecution as usual and what they say will have considerable influence. I have arranged to see that each of them except the trial judge is interviewed and I should know in advance of their official action how they feel. Letters from influential citizens should be held up until that is determined so we will know what points

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Carson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carter
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Miss Gandy

Original and one copy filed in this office. Original is routed to files Division if it will be filed with this copy or may be given a new serial. 11/25/41

100-4-3-65-

have to be countered. I doubt if the machinery of official reports will be completed inside a month after the check-up on comparative sentences.

"4. The international situation and domestic opposition which might be complicated by favorable action will doubtless play a part so the action itself is to be pursued on the sole basis of excessive sentence.

"5. Publicity in the daily press on the part of non-party people would be unwise as yet for the reasons you quite understand and petitions from such quarters should be withheld until the officials have a chance to make their recommendations.

"You can reach me through my office at any time while I am away and I shall be pursuing the work by contact with those I have already enlisted.

Yours ever,"

Mr. Pieper stated that the signature which is written in a scrawled fashion appears to be "Roger", he pointing out that in addition to the name of Roger Baldwin appearing on the letterhead there is an individual listed as Roger William Riis.

I suggested to Mr. Pieper that the letter might refer to the O'Neill perjury case although he felt it might have reference to the Browder case. Mr. Pieper stated he did not have a copy of the signature of Roger Baldwin but since the signature on the letter is quite distinctive he does not feel identification will be difficult. Mr. Pieper stated several copies of the above-mentioned letter are available, some of which are being forwarded to the Bureau air mail, special delivery, this morning.

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

DML:CSH

November 15, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-76 BY SP8 STJ ap

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: ROGER BALDWIN
Director, American Civil Liberties Union

In accordance with your instructions, I telephonically contacted the field offices listed below, and talked with the individuals indicated, on the dates indicated, advising them of the possibility of a visit from Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union. I furnished them with the background of this matter, and conveyed to them the instructions set forth in Mr. Tamm's memorandum of October 23rd in connection with his calls to Denver, Salt Lake, and other Western offices.

Office	Agent contacted	Date of call
Butte	SAC K. Logan	11/10/41
Des Moines	SAC J. L. Dalton	11/15/41
El Paso	SAC D. A. Bryce	11/10/41
Houston	SAC R.J.Abbaticchio	11/12/41
Oklahoma City	Agent R. T. Hood	11/10/41
Omaha	Agent A. J. Rafferty	11/12/41
Phoenix	SAC H. R. Duffey	11/12/41
Portland	Agent H. A. King	11/10/41
St. Paul	SAC C. W. Stein	11/12/41
San Antonio	Agent George W.Carlson	11/12/41
Sioux Falls	Agent C. Fletcher	11/15/41

While talking with SAC Johnson of the Chicago Office on November 12th, and Agent Shiley of the New Orleans Office on November 14th, I also conveyed the above information to them.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

RECORDED

100-49565-11

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 NOV 24 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CHF 21 (13)

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Bureau of Investig
States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
October 23, 1941

EAT:DMP

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nease
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR *THE DIRECTOR*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY [illegible]

I telephoned Special Agent Brandt at Denver, Special Agent Nulty at Salt Lake City, SAC Hood at Los Angeles, SAC Pieper at San Francisco, SAC Nathan at San Diego, and SAC Fletcher at Seattle, regarding the attached memorandum on Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union and his trip to Kansas City and tour of the western cities. I informed them that Baldwin is making it a practice to drop in on the various Field Offices on his way and ask to see the Special Agent in Charge.

I instructed each of them to see Baldwin when he calls and to be exceedingly courteous, polite but extremely discreet and judicious in talking with Baldwin. I warned them that Baldwin is quite cagy, telling them about his interview with you and how apparently pleased he was with you and the fine work the Bureau has been doing down through the years, then about his statement to the press in Denver to the effect that there was danger in the FBI and that his interview with you left much to be desired.

I instructed these men to be the essence of courtesy, diplomacy and finesse, telling them that if Baldwin brings up the subject of the use or denial of public buildings, to inform him that we have nothing whatsoever to do with matters of this nature. I told them that if he brings up the matter of our referring cases to the police, to inform him that matters of policy affecting the operation of the Bureau are determined by the Attorney General and that if he, Mr. Baldwin, has any criticism to make in this regard, they will be glad to receive it for you and forward it to you for your attention. I warned them about committing themselves in any way or getting into any controversy with Baldwin.

RECORDED

I told each of these men to point out to Baldwin that you had always insisted that the civil rights of all subjects under investigation be completely observed and that you took vigorous administrative steps against any Agent who in any way contravened the civil

100-495652
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 NOV 4 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TOLSON NICHOLS NEASE TRACY

Enclo, not received in Routing, gtw

COPIES DESTROYED 10/1/68 97

rights of any subject. They were told that Mr. Baldwin should be informed that you had personally issued instructions that whenever any allegation of abrogation of civil rights came to their attention, they should obtain all of the details and forward them to Washington for your personal attention in order that you might personally assign an administrative officer to conduct an appropriate inquiry and to take drastic administrative action if this was necessary.

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

Attachment

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

October 23, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-20-86 BY SP8 TAP

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Miss Neaso
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

RCH:DW

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLS

Special Agent R. J. Brandt, Acting in Charge of the Denver Office, just telephoned. Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union telephoned this morning asking for SAC Nicholson who is out of the city and advised Brandt that he was coming up to the Denver Office at 2:00 p.m. this afternoon to see Brandt about "some matters."

Baldwin is in Denver where he gave two addresses yesterday and he is quoted in today's paper as praising the Denver schools for eliminating the saluting of the American Flag. He also praised Colorado in general for the guarding of various civil liberties. The paper states that Baldwin was scheduled to confer with the FBI and the United States Attorney seeking information upon (1) the use or denial of use of public buildings for public meetings. (2) the FBI investigations of subversive individuals and (3) treatment by local authorities of Jehovah's Witnesses. There is a subheading to the article, "Sees danger in FBI" and quotes Mr. Baldwin as follows:

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-49565-12

"Mr. Baldwin said he conferred recently with J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the FBI, with regard to the investigation of subversive activities and individuals and this interview 'to put it mildly, left much to be desired.' There is considerable danger here especially in these times of emotional stress and neighborly gossip," he said. "After all, they don't know what 'loyalty' or 'subversiveness' means - no one does."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Brandt stated that he had received a letter from SAC Brantley of Kansas City indicating that Baldwin had recently called at the Kansas City Office and had particularly discussed the assignment of cases to police. I advised Brandt that this matter would be brought to the attention of the Director and unless advised to the contrary he should indicate to Baldwin that the Bureau of course had no control over the use or denial of use of public buildings for any purpose. (2) That all of our investigations were conducted into alleged violations of Federal laws and pursuant to the instructions of the President and the Attorney General of the United States. (3) That this Bureau while always doing everything possible to protect the rights of any individual had no control over the activities of

1 ENCLO. ✓

Tamm:

Call Denver at once & advise them to handle as Brantley did. They should be very courteous. Also call

For Director's personal attention. 10.

local authorities insofar as Jehovah's Witnesses were concerned and suggested that he refer Mr. Baldwin to the Attorney General, whose office had made an expression in connection with this subject in the past. I stated that insofar as the assignment of cases to the police was concerned he should indicate that of course in this we were following out specific instructions of the President in the coordination of all law enforcement matters insofar as national defense is concerned.

Respectfully,

R. C. Hendon

ADDENDUM: 10/23/41

Brandt was specifically instructed to not go beyond the above, not to engage in any controversy whatsoever with Baldwin and on anything doubtful to refer Baldwin to the Washington Headquarters of the Bureau. Brandt is acquainted with Baldwin's background and I think he can tactfully handle the situation.

R.C.H.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP3B77 [illegible]

ADDITION

BALDWIN, ROGER N. COMMUNIST

31 Union Square West
New York City (office)

A letter dated 4-15-41 from the American Civil Liberties Union addressed to Senator Carter Glass and signed by Baldwin op osed the bill granting a sum of money to the FBI to investigate government employees who are members of subversive organizations and advocate overthrow of the U. S. Government. (Copy of letter furnished to Bureau by Arthur Garfield Hays, 120 Broadway, NYC, 4-24-41, 61-190-201)

RECORDED 100-49565-13
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
12 NOV 28 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

CH-23

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

San Francisco, California
November 8, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8BTD108

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: ROGER BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Dear Sir:

Mr. ROGER BALDWIN of the American Civil Liberties Union and the local director, ERNEST BESIG called at the San Francisco office on November 7, 1941.

Mr. BALDWIN had an appointment at three o'clock. He was 20 minutes late; he made no explanation and stayed about ten minutes. He rushed into the office, talking hurriedly, and seemed to be preoccupied in his mind about something while conversing with me.

He handed me his card, stating that the FBI certainly wanted to know to whom they were talking, and I stated that I recognized him from his photograph, and had no difficulty in knowing who he was, in fact I had on my desk a copy of a newspaper item which showed his photograph together with his statement. Mr. BESIG began to laugh, and stated - "Have you seen this?" Mr. BALDWIN stated - "I am not interested in personal publicity - I don't like it." I then read to him part of the article which appeared in the San Francisco News on November 6, 1941, (which is attached hereto): "The place to watch for the machinery of suppression of opposition to Administration policies is the Federal Bureau of Investigation." He denied the statement, and stated that he had said no such thing. He said - "This is a misquote; this is hooey." He stated that he had said that in troubled times people could tell the trend as to civil liberties by the way the Department of Justice carried on its functions.

I stated that I, of course, wanted very much to have his views on this statement since I knew the Director would personally be interested, particularly in view of the fact that the Director had long been a champion of civil liberties, which Mr. BALDWIN certainly knew, and that he had always insisted that any

1 ENCLO.

RECORDED
INDEXED
100-49565-14
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 NOV 12 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LADD
NICHOLS
TAMM

COPIES DESTROYED 10/10/58 R97

6 DEC 30 1941

violations on the part of any of the agents in the service be brought to his attention. In his hurried manner, Mr. BALDWIN cut in and stated that - yes, he knew the Director had done a very fine job along this line.

He then advised that his attention had been directed however, to some examples of police violations of civil liberties in connection with our practice of having the local authorities handle cases involving subversive activities. He mentioned having been in correspondence with the Director about a case in Kansas City. He wanted to know about our practice here of referring cases to local authorities and I told him that in conformity with the policy which had been laid down by the Attorney General and the President of the United States, we referred appropriate matters to the local authorities for their attention, pointing out to him that it was a decided advantage in having the benefit of local officers who had an intimate knowledge of a local picture, aiding us in protecting the rights of innocent people, who might be injured should the investigations be conducted on innocent persons based upon unfounded complaints.

Mr. BALDWIN asked me whether or not I didn't think that agents were much better qualified to handle investigations than the local officers. I replied that I, of course, felt that we had the highest type of investigators, but smilingly stated that I certainly was not going to say that local officers were no good, and could not handle cases because as a matter of fact the officers had been given intensive training not only in general investigative work through the police training program of the FBI, but had been given particular training in national defense matters, and in that type of investigations, the latest type of training which is not in progress being that which was given to local police officers by the specific direction of the Office of Civilian Defense under Mayor F. H. LaGUARDIA. I turned to Mr. BESIG, and stated that he knew of the great amount of training that we in the FBI had given officers in this area, and he nodded that he did.

Mr. BALDWIN came back again to the specific point - didn't I think that it was much better for the Bureau to handle all cases and not refer them to the police, and I replied again that those were matters beyond my purview, that those were matters of policy which were decided by persons other than the Bureau.

He then stated that with 9000 people in the Bureau, there certainly must be some who are indiscreet. I smilingly stated that I certainly knew that among 9000 people, that the human element would arise - that we would like very much to have 9000 agents, but to my knowledge, we had just about 2,500. He then said he meant the whole personnel of the Bureau.

I then asked him if he had any complaints of any type regarding any of our personnel because if he did, I most certainly would want to know about them, and I knew that the Director, personally would insist upon them being brought to his attention. He said, no, that he had no complaints, and he turned to Mr. BESIG, and asked him whether he had any complaints and Mr. BESIG stated that he had none; that as a matter of fact we had some very fine boys here. He liked them, and he had no complaints. The only thing that he recalled was that sometime ago a school teacher had been requested to come down to our office, and had been questioned by our agents; that this school teacher had only been a member of a peace organization. She had come down with her husband, and the agents had talked to her about Communists in the schools. He was unable to give me any names or time. I asked him to give me specific information on it in order that I could determine the reason for it. Mr. BALDWIN stated that he certainly felt that I was entitled to something specific rather than just a general complaint, and told Mr. BESIG that he should get me the specifics because I certainly was entitled to them. Mr. BESIG then began to hem and haw around and said that he couldn't figure out at the time why they had been called about it either because there apparently was no basis for a complaint, and the school teacher said that she was not concerned about it.

He then asked about having people come to the office, didn't I think that was embarrassing them by asking them to call at our office, and I stated that I certainly did not think so. As a matter of fact we had about 100 people a day come to our office who came for help, who came seeking advice, and direction in a great variety of subject matter because they had the confidence in us, and we always did what we could for those people, helping them in many ways. I further stated that if this person whom Mr. BESIG mentioned had nothing to conceal, and was a good citizen, that there must have been a good reason for our agents requesting her to call at the office, possibly in order

to ask her help in a matter which dealt with some case in which we were interested. Further, that a number of people preferred to come to our office for interview. Mr. BESIG was left flat-footed on this one, and I have made inquiry in the office, and nobody can remember the case, and even Mr. BALDWIN obviously felt that Mr. BESIG was talking too much in generalities, particularly after his original statement that he had no complaints.

Mr. BALDWIN then got back on the subject of the police handling subversive activities again, and said he thought it was a dangerous practice. I again stated that those were matters of policy which were not decided by us.

He said, "You know Mr. HOOVER has a hard time defining subversive activities to me. What are subversive activities? Do you go out and investigate someone just because they are a member of the Communist Party?" I replied that we investigated violations of the Federal laws; that if a person was accused, or if it was developed through investigation initiated by us, that an individual was engaged in activities inimical to the best interests of this country, we would conduct an investigation.

He then wanted to know how many cases of subversive activities were being handled by police and how many by us. I ducked this question, stating that I had no figures on that because we were working in very close cooperation with them on matters in which they could be of assistance to us; that our agents were conducting investigations constantly regarding violations of Federal laws and in national defense matters, and those types of cases dealing with actions inimical to the best interests of this country.

He then said, what about these cases where men are discharged in industries because of their sypathies or allegations of their activities. I professed amazement at such a statement, and stated that I knew of no such instances. I stated that under no circumstances and at no time had we ever told anybody that they were to discharge a person for his beliefs or expressions. I stated that if there were a person in a plant who was guilty of any violations of law, he would be brought before our courts to determine whether or not he was guilty of those violations, and that we under no circumstances ever took

upon ourselves to tell any employer what he should do about his employees. BESIG jumped in at this point, and stated - "What about the Mare Island cases?" (The Bureau will recall that there are a number of employees that have been discharged at Mare Island because of investigations conducted by ONI which reflected their possible connection with the Communist Party.) I replied that any matters pertaining to Mare Island were not under our control, being under the jurisdiction of the Navy. Mr. BESIG backed down on this one, and said, yes, that would be the Navy and not us.

I repeated to them again that we certainly could not and would not tell any employer what he should do, nor had we ever prejudiced the position of an employee. As a matter of fact by the discreet manner in which we conducted investigations, we had been able to protect numerous individual whose positions might have been prejudiced by our inquiry even after it had been proved that the original complaint was unfounded, had we not been doing a good job in this regard.

I then told Mr. BALDWIN that I had been here over four years and that there had never been an instance that I knew about or that had been called to my attention, and that I certainly felt that I should know about them in order that I could let the Director know if there had been any misconduct as far as civil liberties were concerned on the part of any of our agents. Mr. BESIG said there were none, and Mr. BALDWIN said there were none.

The whole interview was most unusual. BALDWIN rushed in, and seemed to be going through the motions of asking certain questions while his mind was on something else. After about 10 minutes of very rapid talking, he jumped up and said that he had to be going, and dashed out with owl-eyed BESIG tagging along.

Very truly yours,

N. J. L. PIEPER
Special Agent in Charge

NJLP:FL
Encl.

Roger N. Baldwin

California Is Both Joy and Sorrow to Liberties Union

California seems to be the joy and the sorrow of Roger N. Baldwin, national director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who arrived in San Francisco yesterday for a series of Bay Area lectures.

It is his joy because, out of all the States of the Union, California has maintained the most balanced and liberal attitude toward the war.

And it is his sorrow because California now has five cases before the United States Supreme Court that bear heavily upon civil liberties.

These cases, according to Baldwin, will establish repressive legal precedents if they are decided adadversely. Liked all test cases involving the intangible of the public weal, he believes they they may lead to a growth or a disintegration of justice.

The cases involve:

1—**The Los Angeles Times, held in contempt for editorially criticizing a court decision.**

2—**Harry Bridges, held in contempt for giving to the newspapers a letter he had written to the Secretary of Labor.**

3—**A Court of Appeals decision denying citizenship to aliens on relief.**

4—**The Anti-Okie law, which makes it a crime to help an indigent to enter the State.**

5—**Revocation of the citizenship of William Schneidermann, State secretary of the Communist party.**

Conditions which produce cases such as these make a lot of work for Baldwin and his ACLU, but this does not make him happy. He believes that a democracy should have no need of a civil liberties watchdog, and that, eventually, it should be possible to abolish his organization.

But there are good signs as well as bad in California, Baldwin said yesterday.

There is, for instance, the general acceptance of the process of collective bargaining under the National Labor Relations act, the decrease of State vigilanteism, and the apparent decline of the power of the Associated Farmers.

ROGER N. BALDWIN
Civil Liberties chief

This may be due to the international impact of the war which has reduced local tensions everywhere, Baldwin believes, or it may be due to the generous policy of the national administration which has chosen whenever possible, not to interfere with minority rights. (Examples: the America First Committee, and conscientious objectors).

The fate of civil liberties in the coming war years depends, according to Baldwin, upon the FBI and the Department of Justice. The response of these organizations to restrictive is the best national guage of the policy of the administration.

Baldwin will remain in the Bay Area through Saturday, and will then travel north to Oregon and Washington.

En route he will keep an eye on a coming test case involving a California bill which would keep parties having international connections off the ballot. As an old time watch dog, Baldwin thinks he smells a rank bone here.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-76 BY SP8 BTS/alp

San Francisco Chronicle
11/7/41

100-16675-14

Civil Liberties Group Studying Racial Discrimination in Unions

Democracy within the nation's trade unions is being investigated by Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who arrived here today on a nationwide tour.

ROGER BALDWIN

He is interested particularly in unions which deny membership to members of certain races, notably Negroes.

Mr. Baldwin was conferring with Ernest Besig, local Civil Liberties Union director, and other leaders regarding five California civil liberties cases which are being fought by the organization.

These cases are the contempt action against The Los Angeles Times for editorial comment on a case during litigation; the contempt action against Harry Bridges for releasing a telegram criticizing a court decision; the revocation of citizenship of William Schneidermann on the ground he was a Communist when he was granted citizenship in 1927; a California law which makes it a crime for anyone to aid an indigent to enter the state; the denial by Federal courts of citizenship to persons on relief.

The Civil Liberties Union is striving to implement President Roosevelt's request that racial discrimination be eliminated in hiring workers.

Mr. Baldwin has been amazed, in his swing across the country, he said, by the calmness with which the nation is taking today's crises. From East to West he found the attitude the same.

"If the time comes, there will be no opposition to war with Japan. Everybody already realizes that we are in a naval war with the Axis."

He was amazed, also, at the calmness and openness of debate on the issues confronting America, contrasting it with the hysteria of 1917. So far, suppression of free speech has not become apparent, Mr. Baldwin said, but

"The place to watch for the machinery of suppression of opposition to Administration policies is the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

San Francisco News
11/6/41

AMERICAN C...
170 FIFTH A...
NEW YORK

November 6,1941

Mr.John Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington,DC

Dear Mr.Hoover:

Your letter of November 1st comes to me in Mr. Roger Baldwin's absence from the city. It will be called to his attention upon his return November 17th.

Sincerely yours,

Lucille B. Milner

LBM:LB

Secretary

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-76 BY SP8 STJ/ks

100-49565-6

RECORDED

INDEXED 11 NOV 8 1941

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

181

EX-2

San Diego, California
November 22, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 12-24-86 BY 2838TSP/RS 210625

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Dear Sir:

b2
b7D

The following is a report of the meeting at the Unitarian Church, San Diego, California, on the evening of October 30, 1941, at which ROGER N. BALDWIN spoke, which report was furnished to this Office by the office of Confidential Informant [redacted].

" 1. Subject, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, spoke at the Unitarian Church, 1525 6th Ave., Thursday, Oct. 30, 1941, at a meeting sponsored by the San Diego League for the Defense of Democracy. Capt. Jessie B. Gay, (641 San Gorgonio St., San Diego) introduced the Subject.

" 2. In his speech Subject said the purpose of the A.C.L.U. was to defend all minority groups whose rights were violated, citing as an example, a case in which his organization defended Bund members in an instance 'involving no overt acts, but freedom of speech alone.'

" 3. The remainder of his talk was concerned with the 'exaggerated emphasis' which was placed upon the denial of civil liberties to Communist groups and Labor Unions. Subject cited the following examples to illustrate this alleged persecution:

a. F.B.I., Military Intelligence and Naval Intelligence were unduly concerned with Communist activities even to the extent that their investigations injured the prestige of innocent people who were not Communists. On the other hand, these agencies were said to neglect the more dangerous activities of Nazi Falangist and Japanese minorities.

RECORDED 100-49565-15

b. The Post Office Department, according to the subject, enforced bans on literature sent here from Russia and neglected written material from other countries, notably Japan, because of its inability to read that language. (Laughter from audience).

INDEXED

3 DEC 27 1941

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director - 2
ROGER BALDWIN

November 3, 1941

this time that this Bureau has better facilities than most government agencies, and more personnel trained for investigative activities. He said that the Director stressed the fact that no Trade Union members were considered subversive because of their membership in the union, but that HOOVER openly showed his hate of the Communist Party. [redacted] reported that BALDWIN bitterly criticized the FBI for investigating citizens and leaving the impression that they were not loyal. He cited a case of a churchman, who, although completely exonerated and given a letter by the FBI, had to be sent away by his church as the damage had already been done, and the people of his parish thought something was wrong. He also stated that the FBI was not qualified to judge loyalty or what was subversive, but did state that most of the Agents are lawyers, and because of that they now have a higher type of personnel than the average police force.

b6
b7C
b7D

BALDWIN also informed this group that he intended to see the FBI representative in Denver, and, among other things, wanted to learn whether local policemen had been assigned to make subversive investigations for the FBI. He criticized this condition, and stated that he knew it to exist in Kansas City. He is alleged by [redacted] to have stated, "I'm collecting evidence against the FBI."

One of the individuals present inquired as to the right of the FBI to make investigations of students who had gone to Spain during the war there, and BALDWIN advised him that it was a violation of the law, and enthusiastically requested him to obtain affidavits from persons who had talked to the Agents; stated he specifically wanted the name of the Agent making the investigation, the place, the time of the conversation, and the precise subject matter under discussion. This individual replied that he would obtain the affidavits. [redacted] stated that through a casual inquiry of one of the individuals present at this meeting, he believes that the person holding this latter conversation with BALDWIN is one Dr. COHEN of the University of Colorado, at Boulder, Colorado.

In this connection, it is noted that this individual reported to be Dr. COHEN may have been referring to the case entitled, "BORIS TAMLER, with aliases, et al; Recruiting American Citizens for Service in Spanish Loyalist Army;" Denver origin, Bureau file 54-596.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director - 5
ROGER BALDWIN

November 5, 1941

It is noted from the report of Special Agent D. C. SPENCER in this case, dated at Denver, Colorado, February 5, 1938, that some investigation in this matter was conducted at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.

It is noted that the Dr. COHEN referred to above may be identical with the Subject of the case entitled, "JOSEPH COHEN; Internal Security - C;" Denver origin, which was closed with the report of Special Agent HENRY W. BECKER, dated at Denver, Colorado, May 1, 1941.

Bureau advice is requested as to whether any inquiry should be conducted for the purpose of determining if Dr. COHEN is in fact endeavoring to obtain affidavits as referred to above.

Very truly yours,

G. A. NICHOLSON
Special Agent in Charge

GAN:BEC

61-255

" c. Subject said the State Department was singularly cooperative in aiding refugees from Germany, Italy or Spain in obtaining visas to the U.S., but foreign men of prominence who, for political reasons alone had associated with Communists, were excluded from the country.

" 4. The audience consisted of about 150 persons.

" 5. Members of the Executive Council of the S.D. League for the Defense of Democracy who were present included: Capt. Jessie B. Cay, president; Mrs. Cynthia Copeland, treasurer; Mr. Orton Darnall; Dr. A. P. Nasitir; Clarence Novotny; and Etta Mae Wallace.

" 6. Others in the audience included Assemblyman Paul A. Richie; Emily Morse; Margaret Rock; and Mrs. Daisy Worcester. "

- -

For the information of the Bureau, BALDWIN did not contact the San Diego Bureau Office.

Very truly yours,

H. NATHAN
Special Agent in Charge

FCD:rmb
100-478

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-20-76 BY SP8 BTJ/ap

DML:WGR

November 10, 1941

6:20 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. TAMM

RE: ROGER BALDWIN

SAC Pieper of the San Francisco Office telephonically advised as follows in connection with Roger Baldwin.

Roger Baldwin, who had an appointment at the San Francisco Office for 3:00 today, did not arrive until 3:20; and when he arrived, he did not give any excuse for being late, but rushed into the office and stated that he thought he had better give Mr. Pieper his card because an FBI Agent ought to know whom he is talking to. Mr. Pieper advised Baldwin that he knew who Baldwin was because he recognized him by his photographs. Pieper had before him on his desk a newspaper clipping of Baldwin's interviews, which also had his photograph. One clipping which Mr. Pieper had before him contained a quotation which Baldwin had made, the exact quotation having been furnished to the Bureau previously. With Baldwin was Ernst Befig who is the local director. Befig began to laugh when he saw the newspaper clipping and asked Baldwin whether he had read it. Baldwin said "No", that he did not like publicity and had not read it. Pieper told Baldwin that he was very glad Baldwin was there as he wanted to ask Baldwin about the newspaper clipping because of the reference to the FBI. Baldwin stated that the quotation was a misquotation, that "it was a lot of hooey", that he had never made such statements, that he had stated that the matter of civil liberties could be judged by the manner in which the Department of Justice conducts itself these days.

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-49565-16

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
10 DEC 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Pieper stated that Baldwin talked very, very rapidly and seemed to have a preoccupied mind. He wanted to know about the policy of referring cases to police departments, and Pieper told him that was beyond the purview of the FBI, that matters of policy along that line were laid down by the Attorney General and the President. Baldwin wanted to know how many cases the FBI have assigned to the police departments. Mr. Pieper stated that he "ducked" that question by stating that we are working very closely with the police agencies and have been for a number of years. Baldwin also stated that he thought the assignment of such cases to police departments was a dangerous thing because of the fact that law enforcement officers were not qualified to handle subversive activities. He stated that the Director himself could not define just exactly what subversive activities were and Baldwin then asked Pieper whether he did not feel that the FBI is much better qualified to handle those investigations than police officers. Pieper replied that he thought the FBI had the highest type of law-trained personnel, but he was certainly not going to say that he thought police officers were incapable and could not conduct investigations. As a matter of fact, Pieper stated that he replied to Baldwin in such a way that he could not say that the FBI said at any time that we have the best officers, yet he let Baldwin know that he, Pieper,

RECEIVED

EX-16

thinks the FBI has the best officers without criticizing any police officers.

Pieper stated that he then pointed out to Baldwin the police training program which the FBI has effected and which is now at its height in following out the directives of the President through cooperation and working with Mayor LaGuardia and the Office of Civilian Defense. Pieper told Baldwin that the police officers in San Francisco had had a great deal of training.

Baldwin then asked Pieper about men in industry being accused of subversive activities and losing their jobs. Pieper told him that at no time, and no place had the FBI told anyone what they should or should not do in industry, that the FBI never takes upon itself to tell people whether to buy or sell, that if an individual in industry had violated the law or was conducting himself in such a manner which was against that individual, he was brought before the courts for proper action, and that he, Pieper, had never heard of an instance where the FBI had done such a thing as cause a man to lose his job. Pieper told Baldwin that he would certainly like to know of any instance of this kind which Baldwin might be referring to. Befig then stated, "What about the Mare Island cases?" Pieper told him that he did not know anything about those cases that they were naval matters and the Navy had complete jurisdiction.

Pieper stated that he questioned Baldwin as to whether there had been any instances brought to his attention where any of the FBI Agents had been accused of having violated any civil rights of any person. Befig stated that there had not been any instances, as a matter of fact the San Francisco Office "had a bunch of good boys, that he liked them very well and always got along well with them". Pieper told them that in five and one-half years he had never received any complaints and he felt he should be entitled to receiving the complaints if there were any. Befig stated that there had not been any complaints, that everything was all right. He stated that Baldwin kept coming back to the question of the police cases, and that he, Pieper, kept mentioning the policy which the Bureau had to follow. Pieper stated that Baldwin said he was making every instance known to the Director as he was in touch with the Director regarding a case in Kansas City. Pieper said that he then changed the subject as he did not want to talk about individual cases.

Befig brought up a case of some school teacher who was supposed to have been invited down to the office, coming down with her husband, and she was only a member of a peace group, that she was questioned about Communist activities in the school. Pieper told them that he would like to know the name of the person and the allegation of the violation of her rights. Befig stated, "Don't you think that's rather embarrassing, and is that the right thing to do to have someone come down to your office?" Pieper told him that there are many people coming to the FBI Office all the time, that as a matter of fact many people come in for help on matters over which the FBI does not have jurisdiction, but they have confidence in the FBI and therefore ask us for help.

Pieper told them that this woman was probably told to stop in at the San Francisco Office the next time she was down town, that she may have been helping the FBI on a particular matter. Pieper asked them what the specific matter was in which there was a violation. Befig said that she did not have anything, that he could not see what she called him about. Baldwin then turned to Befig and said, "Well, that's not very specific. If there is anything, Mr. Pieper certainly is entitled to something specific". Befig then coughed a couple of times and said there wasn't anything to it that he would try to find the name of the woman. Pieper stated that he could find no reference of such an incident occurring. Pieper pointed out to them that there are a number of people coming to the San Francisco Office.

Pieper stated that the interview with Baldwin lasted for only about ten minutes, that he left as fast as he had come, that his mind seemed to be preoccupied on something else.

Pieper stated that he dictated a letter to the Bureau immediately after the interview was over, which letter left San Francisco Saturday via Air Mail.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

Denver, Colorado

November 8, 1941

AMASD

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: ROGER BALDWIN
American Civil Liberties Union

Dear Sir:

b6
b7C
b7D

Reference is made to my letter dated October 24, 1941, wherein an interview which was had with captioned individual by Special Agent R. J. BRANDT during my absence is reported.

Supplementing that report, for the Bureau's information, this is to advise that [redacted] who has only been in this territory a short time, working directly out of the office of Colonel A. W. ROPER, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, has advised me that he attended an American Civil Liberties Union meeting held at Poggio's Rotisserie, Denver, Colorado, on the evening of October 22, 1941, which was held as a private meeting for the purpose of having BALDWIN speak to interested members of the American Civil Liberties Union. [redacted] stated that the meeting and dinner lasted for approximately two hours, and that there were some forty-five individuals present, identities of whom he was unaware. He stated that the following comments were made by BALDWIN concerning this Bureau. These comments are not verbatim, but as nearly so as [redacted] could report from the meager notes he was able to take under the circumstances.

BALDWIN is reported to have commented that he had recently had a conference with the Director, and that the Director was very cordial, but did not give out very much satisfaction. He also stated that HOOVER is a man without convictions, in that he will follow all of the Attorney Generals and plays politics. He also stated that from a government point of view, there was something to the concentration of investigations with the FBI; this was said by BALDWIN in connection with a question concerning Civil Service applicants. He pointed out at

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 S75/pdp
ON 2-20-86

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-96 BY 7987 STS/pc

NEW YORK, N.Y. NOV 17 8-PM 1941

MADISON SQUARE STATION

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington D. C.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
DR. HARRY ELMER BARNES
HON. JOHN BEARDSLEY
ALFRED BETTMAN
REV. HERBERT S. BIGELOW
BISHOP EDGAR BLAKE
PROF. EDWIN M. BORCHARD
VAN WYCK BROOKS
PEARL BUCK
WILLIAM P. COCHRAN
JOHN S. CODMAN
PROF. GEORGE S. COUNTS
MELVYN DOUGLAS
SHERWOOD EDDY
DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER
REV. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
WILLIAM HENRY GALLAGHER
KATE CRANE GARTZ
DEAN CHRISTIAN GAUSS
DEAN CHARLES W. GILKEY
DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM
POWERS HAPGOOD
MARVIN C. HARRISON
CHARLES H. HOUSTON
HENRY T. HUNT
DR. FRANK KINGDON
FREDA KIRCHWEY
DR. JOHN A. LAPP
PROF. HAROLD D. LASSWELL
AGNES BROWN LEACH
WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
PROF. KIRTLEY F. MATHER
PROF. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
RT. REV. WALTER MITCHELL
FELIX MORLEY
CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON
A. J. MUSTE
DR. WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON
BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM
WILLIAM PICKENS
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
JEANNETTE RANKIN
DEAN ELDERT RUSSELL
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
RT. REV. WILLIAM SCARLETT
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
PROF. VIDA D. SCUDDER
ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
JOHN F. SINCLAIR
PROF. CLARENCE R. SKINNER
HELEN PHELPS STOKES
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
GEORGE P. WEST
A. F. WHITNEY
PETER WITT
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
ALFRED M. BINGHAM
HARRY LORIN BINSSE
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY
CARL CARMER
REV. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
RICHARD S. CHILDS
ROBERT W. DUNN
JOHN F. FINERTY
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL
WALTER FRANK
NATHAN GREENE
QUINCY HOWE
DOROTHY KENYON
CORLISS LAMONT
FLORINA LASKER
PROF. EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
THURGOOD MARSHALL
ELIOT D. PRATT
ELMER RICE
ROGER WILLIAM RIIS
WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR
REV. WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD
NORMAN THOMAS
[illegible] L. WISE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

170 Fifth Avenue • New York City
(at 22nd Street)
GRamercy 7-4330

OFFICERS

PROF. EDWARD A. ROSS
Chairman, National Committee

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
Chairman, Board of Directors

RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS
DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY
DEAN LLOYD K. GARRISON
Vice-Chairmen

B. W. HUEBSCH
Treasurer

ROGER N. BALDWIN
Director

LUCILLE B. MILNER
Secretary

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
MORRIS L. ERNST
Counsel

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lord
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY 2338 STS/ajp

November 17, 1941

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I appreciate greatly your letter of November 1 which I have on my return from a trip to the Coast.

By the way, I referred your letter concerning the Kansas City complaint to Jerome Walsh, attorney, in the Commerce Building, who said he would make inquiry and reply to you direct.

I quite understand the general problem with which your agents are confronted and the necessity for getting the co-operation of the local police. I wonder, however, whether the complaints of so-called subversive activities by private citizens are sufficiently numerous to justify turning them over to comparatively untrained men with hardly the degree of discretion and horse-sense which your men have.

At best this is an exceedingly difficult field, since it inevitably involves complaints concerning people's opinions, membership in perfectly legitimate organizations, and activities not only legal but regarded by many as patriotic. When an investigation is made, for instance, of a private citizen active in a peace movement on the ground that he is subversive--as has of course been done--it arouses indignation. Even in time of war it could hardly be held that the activities of pacifist organizations are subversive; yet even now in time of peace that appears to be the assumption in some police departments.

EX-16 RECORDED

100-49565-17
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVEST
DEC 4 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF

In the difficult task you confront of examining the loyalty of federal employees by mandate of Congress

Reply - 11/24/41
EX-16 INDEXED

you would, I am sure, not turn over to any local police department so difficult an investigation. It is equally delicate in the case of private citizens. If the number of complaints deserving investigation is not too much, I should think an exception could be made in those cases, confining the inquiries to your own men; or if that is not possible, in certain districts, at least, having them carefully sifted by one of your staff before the investigations are made.

This is the only substantial complaint I have heard in regard to the F.B.I. activities in a tour around the country, and it seems to me serious enough to merit consideration.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

RNB/sa

EAT:GEG

November 24, 1941

RECORDED
EX-16 100-49565-17

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-86 BY SP3 TJ/sb

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I have received your letter of November 17, 1941, and desire to advise you in answer to your specific inquiry that the number of complaints of subversive activities on the part of private citizens are sufficiently numerous to necessitate the Bureau's turning over a limited number of them to police departments for investigation. I desire to point out with reference to the handling of all of these cases that upon receipt of any complaint involving an allegation of subversive activities on the part of any person the matter is very carefully evaluated by the Special Agent in Charge of the Bureau's Field Division in which the complaint is initially received. Each Special Agent in Charge is, of course, a carefully selected man who has had years of experience and training in the Bureau and who has been found qualified to act in charge of a Field Office because not alone of his ability but also because of his judgment. Of course, facetious and ridiculous allegations are never made the subject of inquiries. Those cases referred to police departments are generally those in which it is considered that the local department has appropriate contacts through which accurate information may be obtained without embarrassment to the subject of the investigation. The police officers utilized in this type of investigation have received special instructions in the manner in which the Bureau desires these investigations conducted and in the type of information which should be obtained.

Local police departments which are requested to assist the Bureau in conducting its investigations are cautioned against taking any action which would constitute a violation of the civil rights of any person or would otherwise jeopardize that person in his position in his

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Lacy
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Handon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

NOV 25 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

COPIES DESTROYED 4/10/86 97

community. Of course, if any situation arises in which a local police department takes any action in abrogation of the civil rights of a subject of a Bureau investigation I would take immediate and decisive action.

I desire to point out further that the Bureau has never investigated any private citizen merely because he is active in a peace movement. In any cases in which such persons have been investigated there have been other allegations of subversive activities. Most certainly the Bureau does not subscribe to a policy that construes any bona fide activity in a peace movement as being subversive.

With reference to the investigation of employees of the Federal Government who are alleged to be engaged in subversive activities, you are advised that all of these cases are being handled by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that none of these cases are being referred to police departments for handling.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

707 U. S. COURT HOUSE
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
November 21, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8B7J/lsf
ON 12-28-86

Dear Sir:

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Reference is made to my letter of October 22, 1941, relative to the recent visit to this office of the above named. I am now in receipt of a report from the Kansas City Police Department relative to a luncheon held in honor of BALDWIN during his recent visit in this city by JEROME WALSH, an attorney, affiliated with the Civil Liberties Movement in Kansas City, which luncheon was held on October 20, 1941. Present were:

BALDWIN; WALSH; BUZZ MERCHANT; JOE JUDSON; ROY RUCKER; TED O'LEARY.

[redacted]

Who is the informant in this instance.

b6
b7C
b7D

At this luncheon BALDWIN "did flaunt, brag about and display a letter from Director J. Edgar Hoover stating in part that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had no intention of suppressing civil liberties, or words to that effect, according to informant. Subject gave the impression he had the protection of the FBI, and exhibited a fiendish glee over that misapprehension."

The foregoing is furnished for your information.

INDEXED & RECORDED
Very truly yours,

Dwight Brantley

DWIGHT BRANTLEY
Special Agent in Charge

100 — 49565-18
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 DEC 4 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

3 DEC 2 1941
CGC-ebg
100-12202

2-21

JEH:HCB

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-76 BY SP2 TAJ/pg

December 5, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. EDDY
MR. LADD
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union called to see me today. He said the New Republic had asked him to prepare an article on the FBI, which he expects to have finished next week, and it will then be submitted to me for my comments and reply. In connection with the preparation of this article, Mr. Baldwin stated he sent a man out and told him to "get all the dirt he could on the FBI," but that after two weeks he came back with almost nothing. He says the article deals particularly with the new duties delegated to us by Congress in the line of subversive investigations. He spoke of the criticism which will naturally be directed at us by reason of the nature of such investigations.

With reference to the criticisms which Mr. Baldwin had previously advised me he had heard concerning us throughout the country, he stated he is going to send me specific information of the cases referred to; that he has written to his people, asking them to give specific information of the cases referred to; that he has asked them to include affidavits to support the allegations. He admitted, however, that the only criticism he has heard has dealt only with investigations made by local police under our direction. I told him, of course, that we will be glad to receive this material. I explained to him the necessity for our using the local police, stating that if we were not able to do this we would need a much larger force, and that also we felt by directing the activities of the police in these cases, we can more or less exercise restraint in their activities, which otherwise might work to the detriment of our cause.

INDEXED
RECORDED 100-49565-19

Mr. Baldwin was not clear in his mind as to the scope of our investigative activities. I explained the Security Matter - Investigations Section as distinguished from our regular Investigative Division, and the functions it performs. I told him that investigations of Government applicants are investigated by the Civil Service Commission, with the exception of ONI, which is also makes investigations of subversive allegations. I cited several embarrassing incidents which have come to our attention recently, in which individuals had been interviewed allegedly by FBI Agents, but which in fact turned out to be agents of other governmental agencies. I also explained the reports which we make to the Army and Navy of industries having Government contracts, making it clear that we do not furnish reports to the industries themselves. I told him that the Special Defense Unit of the Department decides what organizations would come under the classification of subversive.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glass
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nordon
Mr. Hottelet
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 12 10 P
DATE 12-6
BY

I told Mr. Baldwin of the rigid requirements of the FBI and of its training course. He stated he realized that other Governmental agencies cannot compare with us in this respect.

He inquired who is responsible for alien investigations and I told him this comes under Mr. Espinosa of Immigration and Naturalization.

He wanted to know if we have made investigations concerning persons' opinions, as such, and I told him we do not, although the Department has ruled certain investigations could be made of various organizations.

Very truly yours

John Edgar Hoover
Director

c
o
p
y ram

December 3, 1941

012087

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I expect to be in Washington on Friday and in the Department of Justice during the morning. I shall hope to have the privilege of a few minutes with you. I will call your secretary shortly after 9. The only definite appointment I have is with the Attorney General at 11:30.

Sincerely yours,

S/ Roger N. Baldwin

RNB:IE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-76 BY Sp3 STP/sp
266251

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FBI
INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION
RECORDED
DEC 12 8 00 AM '41
RECEIVED

100-4956S-20
FBI
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

6 DEC 29 1941

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1409053-001

Total Deleted Page(s) = 7
Page 144 ~ b1; b3;
Page 147 ~ b1; b3;
Page 148 ~ b1; b3;
Page 149 ~ b1; b3;
Page 155 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 156 ~ Referral/Direct;
Page 157 ~ Referral/Direct;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X For this Page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

RETURN

Mail returned to Files:

Date 12-17

I have finished with the mail.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8 STJ/jap

(This slip should be removed by Examiners)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
DR. HARRY ELMER BARNES
HON. JOHN BEARDSLEY
ALFRED BETTMAN
REV. HERBERT S. BIGELOW
BISHOP EDGAR BLAKE
PROF. EDWIN M. BORCHARD
VAN WYCK BROOKS
PEARL BUCK
WILLIAM F. COCHRAN
JOHN S. CODMAN
PROF. GEORGE S. COUNTS
MELVYN DOUGLAS
SHERWOOD EDDY
DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER
REV. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
WILLIAM HENRY GALLAGHER
KATE CRANE GARTZ
DEAN CHRISTIAN GAUSS
DEAN CHARLES W. GILKEY
DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM
POWERS HAPGOOD
MARVIN C. HARRISON
CHARLES H. HOUSTON
HENRY T. HUNT
DR. FRANK KINGDON
FREDA KIRCHWEY
DR. JOHN A. LAPP
PROF. HAROLD D. LASSWELL
AGNES BROWN LEACH
WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
PROF. KIRTLEY F. MATHER
PROF. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
RT. REV. WALTER MITCHELL
FELIX MORLEY
CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON
A. J. MUSTE
DR. WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON
BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM
WILLIAM PICKENS
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
JEANNETTE RANKIN
DEAN ELBERT RUSSELL
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
RT. REV. WILLIAM SCARLETT
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
PROF. VIDA D. SCUDDER
ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
JOHN F. SINCLAIR
PROF. CLARENCE R. SKINNER
HELEN PHELPS STOKES
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
GEORGE P. WEST
A. F. WHITNEY
PETER WITT
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
ALFRED M. BINGHAM
HARRY LORIN BINSSE
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY
CARL CARMER
REV. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
RICHARD S. CHILDS
ROBERT W. DUNN
JOHN P. FINERTY
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL
WALTER FRANK
NATHAN GREENE
QUINCY HOWE
DOROTHY KENYON
CORLISS LAMONT
FLORINA LASKER
PROF. EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
THURGOOD MARSHALL
ELIOT D. PRATT
ELMER RICE
ROGER WILLIAM RIIS
WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR
REV. WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD
NORMAN THOMAS
RAYMOND L. WISE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 Fifth Avenue, New York City
(at 22nd Street)
GRamercy 7-4330

OFFICERS

PROF. EDWARD A. ROSS, *Chairman, National Committee*
REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, *Chairman, Board of Directors*
RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS
DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY
DEAN LLOYD K. GARRISON, *Vice-Chairmen*
B. W. HUEBSCH, *Treasurer*
ROGER N. BALDWIN, *Director*
LUCILLE B. MILNER, *Secretary*
ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
MORRIS L. ERNST, *Counsel*

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy
Files

100-49565-

November 27, 1941

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

26625

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/sp

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am very grateful to you for your letters of November 24 and 25. I think that nothing would be gained by further correspondence since your position is now entirely clear, but I should like to submit to you specific instances where the policies you laid down seem to have been transgressed, not by your own men but by local police officers co-operating with them. I presume the only way is to tackle each instance as it comes up.

Sincerely yours,
ROGER BALDWIN

RNB/sa

100-49565-21
RECORDED & INDEXED
2 DEC 15 1941

61-190-

181

Butte, Montana
November 13, 1941

7147

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: ROGER BALDWIN,
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES
COUNCIL.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-21-76 BY SP3 DJ/ks

Dear Sir:

This will advise that on November 12, 1941, the above captioned individual called at the Butte Field Division at approximately 10:20 A. M., at which time the writer was holding a conference with new Agents. MR. BALDWIN advised the receptionist of his identity and requested to see the writer. The receptionist advised MR. BALDWIN that the writer was in conference; however, if it was a matter of importance she would be very glad to call me out. MR. BALDWIN stated to her that it was not that important, and left the office.

MR. BALDWIN apparently remained in the Federal Building for the next thirty or forty minutes inasmuch as he again came into the office at about 11:10 A. M., and asked the receptionist whether or not I was still in conference. He was advised that I was; however, she again told MR. BALDWIN that she would be glad to call me out of the conference if he desired, to which MR. BALDWIN stated that it was not that important, and left the office, advising that he was going to leave town at 1:00 P. M.

It will be noted from the above that MR. BALDWIN was apparently making a routine call and had no particular desire to talk to the writer on any specific subject which might relate to the Bureau's activities in this area.

In the event MR. BALDWIN should call at the Butte Field Office in the future, every courtesy will be extended to him.

Very truly yours,

RECORDED 100-4-[illegible]-22

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 DEC 18 1941
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

KENNETH LOGAN
Special Agent in Charge

9 JAN 2 1942

KL:LB
AIR MAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

February 7, 1942

FR:LW

CONFIDENTIAL
REGISTERED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

DECLASSIFIED BY [illegible]
ON [illegible]

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

There is enclosed herewith a photostatic copy of

X an addition to the Custodial Detention card relating to Subject. This addition is to be attached to the photostatic copy of the Custodial Detention card already in your possession.

___ a revised Custodial Detention card relating to Subject to be substituted for the photostatic copy of the Custodial Detention card presently in your possession which should be destroyed.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
FEB 7 1942
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED

100-405105-23

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FEB 9 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

10 FEB 12 1942

HR:ijm

February 19, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. L. M. C. SMITH
CHIEF, SPECIAL DEFENSE UNIT

There is submitted herewith an addition to a dossier dated August 11, 1941, concerning Roger N. Baldwin, which was originally submitted under date of April 3, 1941, re Roger N. Baldwin.

In view of the additional information, it will be appreciated if you will advise of your opinion in this case.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Attachment

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hottelman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

9 FEB 24 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 8
★ FEB 19 1942 ★
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-20-26 BY SP8 STJ/ap

RECORDED

100-4-185[illegible]-24

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FEB 20 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

NY FILE NO. 100-8424 PS

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK	2/23/42	10/18,20,24/41; 2/11/42	L. H. BRASHEAR

TITLE
ROGER NASH BALDWIN

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-2086 BY SP8 DISP

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

ROGER NASH BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, resides at 282 West 11th Street, with business offices at 170 5th Avenue, both addresses NYC. Subject was formerly a professor of Sociology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. Was in prison during first World War for violating Selective Service Act. Has been active in directing American Civil Liberties Union since its inception and has denied association of this organization with the Communist Party. Subject has in public utterances advocated terrorism in accomplishing industrial and political reform in the United States. Has stated it is his belief that aliens have the right to "advocate murder and assassination." He was indicted in 1923 for participating in fraudulent scheme to colonize American workmen in Russia. As trustee of Garland fund, subject was charged with having influenced the loaning of money to Communist newspaper, "Daily Worker." In 1939, he made the statement that he was not a believer in any philosophy which was committed to the use of violence in any form. BALDWIN is absent from NYC frequently according to information. Travels about the U. S. in connection with position as Director of American Civil Liberties Union. This subject has been considered for custodial detention.

- C -

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4426 25

COPIES DESTROYED

COPIES OF THIS REPORT
5 Bureau
3 New York

1 MAR 3 '42

FEB 25 1942

FIVE

INDEXED

OPY IN FILE

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—2034

EX - 18

100-8424

REFERENCE: Copy of letter from the Phoenix Field Division to the Bureau dated October 29, 1941.

DETAILS:

Reference letter from the Phoenix Field Division sets forth that ROGER NASH BALDWIN stated he was making a tour of different cities throughout the United States to determine if in the investigation of subversive activities by the Bureau there had been any violation of the civil liberties of persons who might have been the subjects of the investigations.

This letter further advised that BALDWIN had made specific inquiry as to whether or not the Bureau was engaged in conducting investigations of subversive activities on the part of Federal employees. He was informed that he should direct an inquiry to the Bureau.

The following investigation was conducted to ascertain the activities and associations of ROGER NASH BALDWIN:

The writer telephonically ascertained that the subject is residing at 282 West 11th Street, telephone number WA. 9-1433 with the business address of 170 5th Avenue, telephone number GR. 7-4329, where he is listed as Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Subsequent telephone inquiries were made and it was noted that in response to these inquiries, the answer was forthcoming that Mr. BALDWIN is seldom at his residence and office address, and that he is actively engaged in travel in the interest of the organization.

At the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, 393 7th Avenue, Miss EVELYN SBARRA searched the indices and was successful in finding only one credit card on ROGER NASH BALDWIN and this was in the nature of a request previously made listing only his name and address. There was a reference, however, to this individual as he was mentioned in an article entitled, "Muddled Millions," which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post, February 15, 1941. This article was written by BENJAMIN STALBERG, and dealt with certain prominent Communist leaders in the United States and their activities.

ROGER NASH BALDWIN is mentioned in this article as being one of the trustees over a fund left by a ROBERT MARSHALL, Geographer and Explorer. This fund which was equal to one-half of $1,554,070 was dedicated to the promotion and advancement of an economic system in the United States based on a theory of use and not profit. One-half of this fund was to be used for the cause of civil liberties and one-half for preservation of American wild life.

ROGER NASH BALDWIN is also mentioned in this article as being secretary and one of the trustees of the American fund for Public Service, Incorporated, a Delaware corporation with capital at $900,000, said capital being obtained from the CHARLES GARLAND fund.

BALDWIN, according to this article, was asked how the directors of this Garland fund were chosen. In reply, he stated, "Probably I picked the members."

ROBERT W. DUNN succeeded BALDWIN as secretary of the board in 1926 and according to this article DUNN has been since the early part of 1920 the "go-between" of the National Committee of the Communist Party and various official Soviet agencies in this country.

On October 20, 1941, reporting agent at the New York Times Newspaper Morgue, 229 West 43rd Street, New York City, obtained the following information from clippings contained in the file on ROGER NASH BALDWIN:

Under date of October 31, 1918, an article appeared entitled, "Pacifist Professor Gets Year in Prison." The gist of this article was that ROGER NASH BALDWIN, former director of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, official and an officer of the American Civil Liberties Union against militarism was sentenced on October 30, 1918 to one year in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, for violating the Selective Service law and refuses to submit to a physical examination.

In an article entitled, "ROGER BALDWIN Weds Writer," it was set forth that subject and MADELINE Z. ZOTY were married on August 9, 1919, in an article dated September 20, 1919.

In an article dated January 25, 1919, it was stated that R. N. BALDWIN now in prison for violation of the Selective Service Act - was a former instructor in Sociology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. He was listed as being connected with the

National Service Liberties Bureau, the American Union against Militarism, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Liberty Defense Union, and on the Board for Legal Advice - League for the Amnesty of Prisoners.

In an article dated May 24, 1919, it was noted that BALDWIN, draft obstructor and member of the I.W.W. stated at the Socialist Society dinner held at the Hotel Des Artistes, "That the negroes are aiming to get their rights and that he for one did not blame them."

In an article dated May 24, 1919, it is set forth under the caption, "Prison Holds Back Probation Expert," that ROGER NASH BALDWIN was not able to address the National Probation Association at its annual meeting held at Atlantic City. He was on the Executive Committee and President of the Missouri State Conference of Charities and Corrections. He was at one time Chief Probation Officer in St. Louis.

BALDWIN was prevented from addressing the National Probation Association because of the fact that he was in Federal prison for evading the draft.

In an article dated May 27, ~~1941~~ 1921, ROGER NASH BALDWIN, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union was accused by the American Legion for utterances at the Amnesty Rally at the Labor Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio, in which he was charged with having advocated methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial and political reform; to wit: The Soviet Government in America.

In an article dated April 13, 1923, SAMUEL GOMPERS was stated to have charged that the $800,000, Garland Fund, known as the American Fund for Public Service, is being used to sponsor a Communist revolution in the United States. This news article also set forth Mr. BALDWIN was one of the early advisers to young Garland and was one of the trustees of the fund.

In an article dated April 18, 1923, BALDWIN was again mentioned as being subject of an indictment charging grand larceny against he and eight others of the Civil Liberties Union, a Pacifist organization, in that these individuals were alleged to have defrauded two men in a scheme to colonize American workmen in Russia.

The American Civil Liberties Union declared BALDWIN's connection in this matter was his own personal affair and not representative of the Civil Liberties Union. This article further noted that BALDWIN was one of eleven trustees of the American Fund for Public Service endowed with $800,000 by CHARLES GARLAND of Boston, and that BALDWIN was attacked recently in a signed statement by SAMUEL GOMPERS of the American Federation of Labor who asserted that this fund was bringing an interlocking network of 50 or more revolutionary and Pacifist organizations into a unified action.

An article dated May 27, 1923, sets forth a challenge in which denial is made to GOMPERS by HARRY F. WARD, Chairman, and ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director, that the American Civil Liberties Union is pro-Soviet, in accord with the Soviet philosophy, and admits the Union is in accord with "their right to free speech."

In an article dated February 8, 1923, there is set forth the following: O. L. SMITH, Assistant Attorney General of Michigan, who prosecuted recent Communist trial said as to the Bridgeman Secret Communist meetings that BALDWIN in a letter to FOSTER, head of the Communist Party in American, had stated, "Good luck to you and work of your league, the future belongs to your bunch." In reply, BALDWIN stated that FOSTER was not known to be a Communist in 1922 when this letter was written and that the letter referred to the Trade Union League.

In a newspaper article dated December 6, 1930, entitled, "FOSTER and Aides Put Red Flag First," ROGER NASH BALDWIN testified before the Dies Committee that FOSTER, a director in the Civil Liberties Union until about a month previous had resigned because of holding different social views from that organization.

Representative FISH asked BALDWIN the question, "Does your organization uphold the right of an alien to advocate murder or assassination." In reply BALDWIN stated, "Yes, of course, but only generally speaking as in Hyde Park or London, and in a specific incitation. It is the healthiest thing for a country." BALDWIN further denied connection with the Communist Party and that the Civil Liberties Union had made loans to various Radical newspapers including $30,000 to the "Daily Worker."

In an article dated July 20, 1937, commenting on a telegram which BALDWIN had sent to President Roosevelt, BALDWIN acting as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, protested in this telegram the so-called Neutrality policy of the United States and urged proclamation of arms embargo against Italy, Germany, and Portugal.

There followed a series of articles concerning BALDWIN and difficulties which he incurred with Mayor HAGUE of Jersey City, New Jersey, over the latter's refusal to allow BALDWIN to speak in that city.

In an article dated February 6, 1940, it was noted that BALDWIN had been re-elected Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, with Vice Chairmen the Right Reverend EDWARD L. PARSONS, Dr. MARY WOOLEY, and Dean LLOYD H. GARRISON; Treasurer B. W. HUEBSCH; and General Counsel ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS and MORRIS L. ERNST. Dr. WARD, Professor of Christian Ethics at the Theological Seminary resigned his position as Chairman of the National Committee.

Dr. WARD stated that the Civil Liberties Union was not Communist; that the Union had only two Communists on its National Committee, FOSTER and ELIZABETH GURLY FLYNN.

In an article dated October 29, 1939, it was reported that while under fire as a Communist organization by the Dies Committee, tge American League for Peace and Democracy pertaining to Nazi and Fascist aggression left for the decision of its individual members whether or not Soviet Russia should be classified as a common aggressor with Italy and Germany.

This news article also noted that ROGER NASH BALDWIN resigned his position with the American League for Peace and Democracy and that Dr. WARD, Chairman of the National Board claimed that only 10% of the National Committee is Communist.

In a news article dated January 5, 1939, ROGER NASH BALDWIN in a personal affidavit was reported as having stated that he was a Pacifist wholly disbelieving in any philosophy, program or movement committed to the use of violence in any form. This affidavit was presented by subject before the Dies Committee.

The writer obtained a photograph of ROGER NASH BALDWIN through the New York Times which reveals him addressing students at New York City on May 4, 1935. This photograph is being retained in the files of this case as an exhibit.

100-8424

From Confidential Source of Information A, it was ascertained that as of January 18, 1940, the following individuals were listed as being officers of the American Civil Liberties, Union, Incorporated, with offices at that time at 31 Union Square, Room 702. Chairman DR. HARRY F. WARD, Vice Chairman Right Reverend EDWARD L. PARSONS, Vice Chairman DR. MARY E. WOOLEY, Vice Chairman LLOYD K. GARRISON, Treasurer B. W. HEUBSCH, Director ROGER NASH BALDWIN, Secretary Russell B. MILLNER, Counsel ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, Counsel MORRIS W. ERNST, Directors of the organization in addition to the officers were Dr. John H. HOLMES, RICHARD S. CHILDS, ROBERT W. DUNN, HAROLD E. FRY, OSMOND FRAENKEL, WALTER FRANK, QUINCY HOWE, A. J. ISSERMAN, CARLOS LAMONT, F. LASKER, WILLIAM L. NUNN, ELLIOTT D. PRATT, ELMER RICE, ROGER WILLIAM RIIS, WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD, NORMAN THOMAS, MARY VAN KLECK, RAYMOND A. WISE, DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY, CARL CARMER, MARGARET D. SILVER, JOHN C. FINERTY, LESTER B. GRANGER, NATHAN GREENE, THURGOOD MARSHALL, WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR.

The American Civil Liberties Union was incorporated in 1920 under New York laws as a non-profit organization with headquarters at 1055th Avenue until 1935 when it was removed to 31 Union Square. The organization was formed for the purpose of providing freedom of speech, press and assemblage whenever these constitutional rights are violated anywhere in the United States. It deals also with other guarantees of personal liberty contained in the Bill of Rights and with the academic freedom from censorship and race discrimination. The association has over 3,000 members and contributors and over 5,000 persons are active in one way or another in its work.

It makes use of 600 cooperating attorneys, 800 correspondents and investigators, and 500 speakers, writers and ministers who have volunteered their services. It is managed by a board of directors under ultimate control of the National Committee. The latter is made up of about 70 persons throughout the country. The board of this organization is made up of members in or about New York City, who meet weekly.

The National committee is elected by the members in a mail vote and also by the members of the Board of Directors. The officers are elected by a board of directors in consolidation with the National committee. The Union has a representative in Washington, D. C. and State Chairmen in 41 states, and has branches in 23 cities. It is supported financially by voluntary contributions ranging from $1.00 to $1200 per year; total number of contributors said to be over 2700.

The organization also derives funds from the quarterly bulletin at $1.00 per issue and other publications which it disseminates through the year. For example, "Civil Liberties," a quarterly publication; "The Arbitrator," a monthly publication; "The Weekly Press," and other periodical releases.

The financial statement issued by this organization as of January 31, 1939, listed as of that date total assets in the amount of $36,653.72. Of this amount $10,774.59 was listed as cash on hand and investments were set forth as $24,857.73. Fixtures were valued at $692.10. Loans receivable listed as $329.30. Under liabilities was listed deferred contributions of $1,600.00. Accrued taxes in the amount of $12.48. Funds for transmission $216.60, leaving total current liability as $1,829.08. The net worth of the organization was set forth as $34,824.64. This net worth subject to two adjustments:

1. Difference between book value and market value of investigation.

2. In 1938, the United States Treasury Department held that the Union is liable for Social Security taxes.

All old age benefit taxes have been determined and paid. Unemployment insurance taxes for 1936 and 1937 and the first quarter of 1938 are still unpaid. The amount due without penalty or interest is approximately $520. The net worth of the organization is subject to reduction. This financial statement was certified as being in accord with the books and in the opinion of the certifying accounting agency sets forth the Union's financial condition as of January 31, 1939, certification made by the Cooperative League, Accounting Bureau.

ROGER NASH BALDWIN has been considered for custodial detention.

C L O S E D

100-8424

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE OF INFORMATION A: [redacted] DUN AND BRADSTREET
290 Broadway
New York City

b6
b7C
b7D

GEO:GDC

DJ 146-25-2-26

March 16, 1942

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-26 BY SP3 BIS/pf

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I have received your letter dated March 12, 1942, together with the enclosures which I have noted with interest and I do appreciate your making this information available to me.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

9 APR 8 1942

NOTICE

MAR 20 1942 A.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED-MAIL ROOM

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hollo
Mr. McGu
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Ncase
Miss Gandy
Comm-Fbi

March 12, 1942

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

You may find of interest the enclosed pamphlets which summarize the war-time laws and regulations adopted to date.

Sincerely yours,

Roger N. Baldwin

RNB/sa

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/pp

1 ENCLO.

RECORDED 100-49565-26

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 23
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

3/18/42 RKS

490

62-14

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

100-49565-26

War-Time Restraints

Texts of federal laws and regulations affecting utterances, communication, enemy aliens, labor, etc.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

181

March, 1942

100-49565-26

INDEX

Aliens 25, 26
- property control 25
- public employment 26
- private employment 26

Amateur Radio 20

Cablegrams 21

Censorship 11-21
- cablegrams 21
- communications 11
- domestic mail 13
- foreign mail 14, 15
- printed material, incoming 16
- printed material, outgoing 17
- press code 12
- radio code 19
- wire communications 21

Civil Rights Laws, Federal 8-10

Conscription of Industry 29

Customs Regulations 16, 17

Defense Communications Board 18

Domestic Mail 13

Enemy Aliens 22-25
- exemptions 25
- identification cards 25
- naturalization 22
- regulation 22, 23

Espionage Act of 1917 ..... 5, 6, 13, 14

Federal Communications Act 17, 18, 21

Foreign Countries, communications 11, 17, 18, 21
- mail 14, 15

Labor and Industry 29, 30

Labor Relations Agreement 29

Mails 13-16
- domestic 13, 14
- foreign 14, 15

Naturalization
enemy aliens 22
Office of Censorship 11, 12, 15, 19, 21
Press Code 12
Racial Discrimination 27, 28
Radio 17-20
amateur radio 20
executive wartime power 17
defense communications board 18
code 19
Search Warrants 5
Sedition 4
federal policy 7
Smith Act 4
Subversive Organizations, membership 31, 32
federal employment 31
investigations 32
private employment 32
relief employment 31
Telephone and Telegraph 21
Trading with the Enemy Act 11, 17, 25
Treason 4
Wire Communications 11, 21
Work or Fight Order 30

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 TJ lap

TREASON AND SEDITION

U.S. Constitution—Art. III, Section 3

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

TITLE 18 (U.S. Code)

Section 1. Treason. Whoever, owing allegiance to the United States, levies war against them or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere, is guilty of treason. (*1909*)

Section 6. Seditious conspiracy. If two or more persons in any State or Territory, or in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, conspire to overthrow, put down, or to destroy by force the Government of the United States, or to levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take or possess any property of the United States contrary to the authority thereof, they shall each be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than six years, or both. (*1909*)

Section 9. It shall be unlawful for any person, with intent to interfere with, impair, or influence the loyalty, morale, or discipline of the military or naval forces of the United States. . . .

(1) to advise, counsel, urge, or in any manner cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces of the United States; or

(2) to distribute any written or printed matter which advises, counsels, or urges insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces of the United States. . . . (*The so-called Smith Act, Section 1, June 28, 1940*)

Section 10. It shall be unlawful for any person . . .

(1) to knowingly or willfully advocate, abet, ad-

vise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence, or by the assassination of any officer of any such government;

(2) with the intent to cause the overthrow or destruction of any government in the United States, to print, publish, edit, issue, circulate, sell, distribute, or publicly display any written or printed matter advocating, advising, or teaching the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence.

(3) to organize or help to organize any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any government in the United States by force or violence; or to be or become a member of, or affiliate with, any such society, group, or assembly of persons, knowing the purpose thereof. (*The so-called Smith Act, Section 2, June 28, 1940*)

Section 98. Possession or control of property or papers in aid of any foreign government designed or intended for violating penal statutes. Whoever, in aid of any foreign government, shall knowingly and willfully have possession of or control over any property or papers designed or intended for use or which is used as the means of violating any penal statute, or any of the rights or obligations of the United States under any treaty or the law of nations, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than two years, or both. (*Espionage Act of June 15, 1917*)

Section 612. Search warrants. A search warrant may be issued under this chapter . . . when the property, or any paper, is possessed, controlled, or used in violation of section 98 of this title; in which case it may be taken on the warrant from the person violating said section, or from any person in whose possession it may be, or from any house or other place in which it is concealed. (*Espionage Act of June 15, 1917*)

TITLE 50 (U.S. Code)

Section 32. Unlawfully disclosing information affecting national defense. Whoever, with intent or rea-

son to believe that it is to be used to the injury of the United States or to the advantage of a foreign nation, communicates, delivers, or transmits, or attempts to, or aids or induces another to, communicate, deliver, or transmit, to any foreign government, or to any faction or party or military or naval force within a foreign country, whether recognized or unrecognized by the United States, or to any representative, officer, agent, employee, subject, or citizen thereof, either directly or indirectly, any document, writing, code book, signal book, sketch, photograph, photographic negative, blue print, plan, map, model, note, instrument, appliance, or information relating to the national defense, shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than twenty years:

Provided, that whoever shall violate the provisions of subsection (a) of this section in time of war shall be punished by death or by imprisonment for not more than thirty years; and (b) whoever, in time of war, with intent that the same shall be communicated to the enemy, shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct, or supposed plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with, or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense, which might be useful to the enemy, shall be punished by death or by imprisonment for not more than thirty years. (*Espionage Act of June 15, 1917*)

Section 33. Seditious or disloyal acts or words in time of war. Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States to the injury of the service of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000

or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both. (*Espionage Act of June 15, 1917*)

Department of Justice Press Release
December 21, 1941

The Attorney General issued instructions to all United States Attorneys that no arrests or prosecutions for alleged seditious utterances or for the making of false reports or statements with intent to interfere with the operation and success of the military or naval forces shall hereafter be made or instituted without prior specific authorization from the Attorney General.

In this particular type of case, the Department has concluded that free speech as such ought not to be restricted by punishment unless it clearly appears that such speech will cause direct and dangerous interference with the conduct of the war.

FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS

TITLE 18 (U.S. Code)

Section 51. Conspiracy to injure persons in exercise of civil rights. If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same, or if two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured, they shall be fined not more than $5,000 and imprisoned not more than ten years, and shall, moreover, be thereafter ineligible to any office, or place of honor, profit, or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States. (*1909*)

Section 52. Depriving citizens of civil rights under color of State laws. Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects, or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both. (*1909*)

TITLE 8 (U.S. Code)

Section 41. Equal rights under the law. All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses, and exactions of every kind, and to no other. (*1870*)

Section 43. Civil action for deprivation of rights. Every person who, under color of any statute, ordi-

nance, regulation, custom, or usuage, of any State or Territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress. (*1871*)

Section 47. (3) Same; to deprive citizen of rights or privileges. If two or more persons in any State or Territory conspire or go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another, for the purpose of depriving, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of persons of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges and immunities under the laws; or for the purpose of preventing or hindering the constituted authorities of any State or Territory from giving or securing to all persons within such State or Territory the equal protection of the laws; . . . in any case of conspiracy set forth in this section, if one or more persons engaged therein do, or cause to be done, any act in furtherance of the object of such conspiracy, whereby another is injured in his person or property, or deprived of having and exercising any right or privilege of a citizen of the United States, the party so injured or deprived may have an action for the recovery of damages, occasioned by such injury or deprivation, against any one or more of the conspirators. (*1861, 1871*)

Section 48. Same; action for neglect to prevent. Every person who, having knowledge that any of the wrongs conspired to be done, and mentioned in the preceding section, are about to be committed, and having power to prevent or aid in preventing the commission of the same, neglects or refuses so to do, if such wrongful act be committed, shall be liable to the party injured, or his legal representatives, for all damages caused by such wrongful act, which such person by reasonable diligence could have prevented; and such damages may be recovered in an action on the case; and any number of persons guilty of such wrongful neglect or refusal may be joined as defendants in the action; and if the death of any party be caused by any such wrongful act and neglect, the legal representatives of the deceased shall have such action therefor, and may recover not exceeding $5,000 damages therein, for the benefit of the widow

of the deceased, if there be one, and if there be no widow, then for the benefit of the next of kin of the deceased. But no action under the provisions of this section shall be sustained which is not commenced within one year after the cause of action has accrued. (*1871*)

COMMUNICATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

40 STAT. 411

Section 303. Communications with foreign countries. Whenever, during the present war, the President shall deem that the public safety demands it, he may cause to be censored under such rules and regulations as he may from time to time establish, communications by mail, cable, radio, or other means of transmission passing between the United States and any foreign country he may from time to time specify, or which may be carried by any vessel or other means of transportation touching at any port, place, or Territory of the United States and bound to or from any foreign country. Any person who willfully evades or attempts to evade the submission of any such communication to such censorship or willfully uses or attempts to use any code or other device for the purpose of concealing from such censorship the intended meaning of such communication shall, upon conviction, be fined not more than $10,000, or, if a natural person, imprisoned for not more than 10 years, or both. . . . (*Trading with the Enemy Act, October 6, 1917; the First War Powers Act of 1941, December 18, 1941*)

OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP

Executive Order Prescribing Its Functions and Duties December 19, 1941

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, and particularly by section 303, Title III of the act of December 18, 1941, Public Law 354, 77th Congress, 1st Session, and deeming that the public safety demands it, I hereby order as follows:

1. There is hereby established the Office of Censorship, at the head of which shall be a Director of Censorship. The Director of Censorship shall cause to be censored, in his absolute discretion, communications by mail, cable, radio, or other means of transmission passing between the United States and any foreign country or which may be carried by any vessel or other means of transportation touching at any port, place, or Terri-

tory of the United States and bound to or from any foreign country, in accordance with such rules and regulations as the President shall from time to time prescribe. The establishment of rules and regulations in addition to the provisions of this order shall not be a condition to the exercise of the powers herein granted or the censorship by this order directed. The scope of this order shall include all foreign countries except such as may hereafter be expressly excluded by regulation.

3. The Director of Censorship shall establish a Censorship Operating Board, which shall consist of representatives of such departments and agencies of the Government as the Director shall specify. Each representative shall be designated by the head of the department or agency which he represents. The Censorship Operating Board shall, under the supervision of the Director, perform such duties with respect to operations as the Director shall determine.

CENSORSHIP CODE FOR PRESS

Office of Censorship
January 14, 1942
(Condensation)

Specific information which newspapers, magazines and book publishers are asked not to publish except when such information is made available officially by appropriate authorities falls into the following classes:

Troops
Ships
Planes
Fortifications
Production
Weather
Photographs and Maps
General

(a) Casualty lists
(b) Damage to military and naval objectives
(c) Transportation of war material
(d) Information about the movements of U.S. officials

CENSORSHIP OF MAILS

TITLE 18 (U.S. Code)

Section 334. Mailing obscene matter (after defining obscene matter, declaring such matter nonmailable and undeliverable, and penalizing its distribution in the mails, the Section provides): The term "indecent" within the intendment of this section shall include matter of a character tending to incite arson, murder, or assassination. (*1876 and 1911*)

Section 335. Mailing libelous and indecent matter on wrappers or envelopes. All matter otherwise mailable by law, upon the envelope or outside cover or wrapper of which, or any postal card upon which, any delineations, epithets, terms, or language of an indecent, lewd, lascivious, obscene, libelous, scurrilous, defamatory, or threatening character, or calculated by the terms or manner or style of display and obviously intended to reflect injuriously upon the character or conduct of another, may be written or printed or otherwise impressed or apparent, are hereby declared nonmailable matter, and shall not be conveyed in the mails nor delivered from any post office nor by any letter carrier, and shall be withdrawn from the mails under such regulations as the Postmaster General shall prescribe. . . . (*1888, 1909*)

Section 343. Certain letters or writings nonmailable; opening letters. Every letter, writing, circular, postal card, picture, print, engraving, photograph, newspaper, pamphlet, book, or other publication, matter or thing, of and kind, in violation of any of the provisions (of the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917) is hereby declared to be nonmailable matter and shall not be conveyed in the mails or delivered from any post office or by any letter carrier. . . . (*Espionage Act of June 15, 1917*)

Section 344. Letters or writings advocating treason declared nonmailable. Every letter, writing, circular, postal card, picture, print, engraving, photograph, newspaper, pamphlet, book, or other publication, matter or thing, of any kind, containing any matter advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to

any law of the United States, is hereby declared to be nonmailable. (*Espionage Act of June 15, 1917*)

Section 345. Using or attempting to use mails for transmission of matter declared nonmailable by title; jurisdiction of offense. Whoever shall use or attempt to use the mails or Postal Service of the United States for the transmission of any matter declared by sections 343 and 344 of this title to be nonmailable, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both. Any person violating any provision of said sections may be tried and punished either in the district in which the unlawful matter or publication was mailed, or to which it was carried by mail for delivery according to the direction thereon, or in which it was caused to be delivered by mail to the person to whom it was addressed. (*Espionage Act of June 15, 1917*)

FOREIGN MAIL

From the Opinion of the Attorney General on Exclusion from Mails of Foreign Propaganda, December 10, 1940

(*After an argument, the opinion concludes*):

"If, therefore, the mail matter involved is of such a character that its dissemination within the United States by an agent of a foreign principal acting within the United States would fall within the purview of the act of June 8, 1938, as amended, it follows that its dissemination here by such an agent acting outside the United States but using the United States mails to effect the dissemination, without first having filed with the Secretary of State the "registration statement" required by section 2 of said act, would constitute a violation of the penal provisions of the act, rendering the agent liable to the penalties therein prescribed.

"Also, it is believed that in such circumstances the act of such agent in so mailing the matter—thus using matter under his control as a means of violating the penal provisions of the act of June 8, 1938, as amended—would constitute a violation of section 22 of Title XI of the act of June 15, 1917 ((U.S.C. Tit. 18§98), and that, therefore, section 1 of Title XII (U.S.C. Tit. 18§343) of the latter act would authorize you to ex-

clude the matter from the mails. A contrary ruling would permit agents of foreign principals who had not registered as such to disseminate their propaganda in this country through the mails, thereby defeating the purposes of the 1938 act.

"Accordingly, if you find that the mail matter involved is of such a character that distributors of it in this country would be subject to the provisions of the act of June 8, 1938, as amended, and you further find that the foreign mailers of the matter have not complied with section 2 of that act by registering as foreign agents with the State Department, you will be authorized, in my opinion, under section 1 of Title XII of the act of June 15, 1917, to exclude the matter from the United States mails."

Office of Censorship Regulations

January 9, 1942

1. Postal communication with enemy or enemy-occupied countries is illegal, and will not be permitted, except:

(a) Through the agency of the American Red Cross, which will transmit short messages of a personal nature.

(b) Communications with prisoners of war.

2. In order to make the censorship of international mail as effective and economical as possible the public is earnestly requested to conform to the following rules in regard to correspondence with persons in foreign countries, other than enemy or enemy-occupied countries:

(a) The name and full address of the sender must be stated both on the outside of the envelope and in the letter itself.

(b) Correspondence should be in English if possible; the letters should be legible, clear and brief. Avoid use of abbreviations, nick-names, phrases or codes in place of customary reference or descriptions of any person, firm, location or other information.

(c) If English is not used the name of the language should be written in English on the face of the envelope.

(d) No mention should be made of defense matters, shipping or weather conditions.

(e) Firms employed on munitions or other government work should not mention that fact in writing abroad.

(f) Firms and individuals except as indicated in (g) below should refuse to act as intermediaries or agents for the receipt and transmission of postal correspondence on behalf of persons in foreign countries.

(g) A member of the Army corresponding with foreign countries will not give the name of his post, camp or station, but should give as his address the Army post office number of his unit in care of postmaster New York or San Francisco or the address of a friend or relative in the United States to whose care a reply can be sent for forwarding.

3. Failure to comply with these rules may lead to delay in transmission or to the return of correspondence to the sender.

CUSTOMS REGULATIONS

TITLE 19 (U.S. Code)

Section 1305. Immoral articles—Importation prohibited. All persons are prohibited from importing into the United States from any foreign country any book, pamphlet, paper, writing, advertisement, circular, print, picture, or drawing containing any matter advocating or urging treason or insurrection against the United States, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States, or containing any threat to take the life of or inflict bodily harm upon any person in the United States. . . . No such articles whether imported separately or contained in packages with other goods entitled to entry, shall be admitted to entry; and all such articles and, unless it appears to the satisfaction of the collector that the obscene or other prohibited articles contained in the package were enclosed therein without the knowledge or consent of the importer, owner, agent or consignee, the entire contents of the package in which such articles are contained, shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture as hereinafter provided. . . . (*1930*)

40 STAT. 411

Section 3. (c) Exportation of written material prohibited. It shall be unlawful . . . for any person (other than a person in the service of the United States Government or of the Government of any nation, except that of an enemy or ally of enemy nation, and other than such persons or classes of persons as may be exempted hereunder by the President or by such person as he may direct), to send, or take out of, or bring into, or attempt to send, or take out of, or bring into the United States, any letter or other writing or tangible form of communication, except in the regular course of the mail; and it shall be unlawful for any person to send, take, or transmit, or attempt to send, take, or transmit out of the United States, any letter or other writing, book, map, plan, or other paper, picture, or any telegram, cablegram, or wireless message, or other form of communication intended for or to be delivered, directly or indirectly, to an enemy or ally of enemy: PROVIDED, HOWEVER, That any person may send, take, or transmit out of the United States anything herein forbidden if he shall first submit the same to the President, or to such officer as the President may direct, and shall obtain the license or consent of the President, under such rules and regulations, and with such exemptions, as shall be prescribed by the President. (*Trading With The Enemy Act. October 6, 1917*)

RADIO CONTROL AND CENSORSHIP

TITLE 47 (U.S. Code)

Section 606. (a) Executive wartime power over radio. During the continuance of a war in which the United States is engaged, the President is authorized if he finds it necessary for the national defense and security, to direct that such communications as in his judgment may be essential to the national defense and security shall have preference or priority with any carrier subject to this Act. He may give these directions at and for such times as he may determine, and may modify, change, suspend, or annul them and for any such purpose he is hereby authorized to issue orders directly, or through such person or persons as he designates for the purpose, or through the Commission.

Any carrier complying with any such order or direction for preference or priority herein authorized shall be exempt from any and all provisions in existing law imposing civil or criminal penalties, obligations, or liabilities upon carriers by reason of giving preference or priority in compliance with such order or direction.

Section 606. (c) Upon proclamation by the President that there exists war or a threat of war or a state of public peril or disaster or other national emergency, or in order to preserve the neutrality of the United States, the President may suspend or amend, for such time as he may see fit, the rules and regulations applicable to any or all stations within the jurisdiction of the United States as prescribed by the Commission, and may cause the closing of any station for radio communication and the removal therefrom of its apparatus and equipment, or he may authorize the use or control of any such station and/or its apparatus and equipment by any department of the Government under such regulations as he may prescribe, upon just compensation to the owners. (*The Federal Communications Act of 1934 as amended*)

Executive Order Prescribing Regulations Governing the Use, Control and Closing of Radio Stations and the Preference or Priority of Communications

December 10, 1941

Now, therefore, by virtue of authority vested in me under the Constitution of the United States and under the aforementioned joint resolution of Congress dated December 8, 1941, and under the provisions of the aforementioned Section 606 of the Communications Act of 1934, I hereby prescribe that from and after this date the Defense Communications Board created by the Executive Order of September 24, 1940 (hereinafter referred to as the Board) shall exercise the power and authority vested in me by Section 606 of the Communications Act of 1934 pursuant to and under the following regulations:

1. The Board shall determine and prepare plans for the allocation of such portions of governmental and nongovernmental radio facilities as may be required to meet the needs of the armed forces, due consideration being given to the needs of other governmental agencies, of industry, and of other civilian activities.

2. The Board shall, if the national security and defense and the successful conduct of the war so demand, designate specific radio stations and facilities or portions thereof for the use, control, supervision, inspection or closure by the Department of War, Department of Navy or other agency of the United States Government.

3. The Board shall, if the national security and defense and the successful conduct of the war so demand, prescribe classes and types of radio stations and facilities or portions thereof which shall be subject to use, control, supervision, inspection or closure, in accordance with such prescription, by the Department of War, Department of Navy or other agency of the United States Government designated by the Board.

5. No radio station or facility shall be taken over and operated in whole or in part or subjected to governmental supervision, control or closure unless such action is essential to national defense and security and the successful conduct of the war. So far as possible action taken pursuant to this Order shall not interfere with the procurement needs of civilian governmental agencies, the normal functioning of industry or the maintenance of civilian morale.

6. Until and except so far as said Board shall otherwise provide, the owners, managers, boards of directors, receivers, officers and employees of the radio stations shall continue the operation thereof in the usual and ordinary course of business, and in the names of their respective companies, associations, organizations, owners or managers, as the case may be.

OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP

January 16, 1942

(Condensation)

The censorship code for radio is divided into three categories:

1. News programs
2. Ad lib programs
3. Foreign language programs

Radio management may act as its own censor outside of the suggestions contained in the code.

News Programs

News falling into the following classifications should be kept from the air except in cases where the release has been authorized by appropriate authorities:

weather reports
troop movements
ships
planes
experiments
fortifications
production
casualty lists
releases of photographs and Selective Service enrollments
unconfirmed reports
communications

Ad lib Programs

The broadcaster is asked to remember that there is need for extraordinary care, especially in cases where he or his authorized representative is not in full control of the program. There informal types of programs fall into four classifications:

request programs
quizz programs
forums and interviews
commentaries and descriptions

Foreign Language Programs

Full transcriptions should be kept for all foreign language programs and it is further suggested that broadcasters take all necessary precautions to prevent deviation from the script by foreign language announcers or performers. (Foreign language is here taken to mean any language other than English.)

Federal Communications Commission
Order No. 87-A
January 8, 1942

. . . consideration of national defense require the complete cessation of all amateur radio operation. . . .

CONTROL OF TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE

TITLE 47 (U.S. Code)

Section 606. (d) Executive wartime power over wire communication. Upon proclamation by the President that there exists a state or threat of war involving the United States, the President, if he deems it necessary in the interest of the national security and defense, may, during a period ending not later than six months after the termination of such state or threat of war and not later than such earlier date as the Congress by concurrent resolution may designate, (1) suspend or amend the rules and regulations applicable to any or all facilities or stations for wire communication within the jurisdiction of the United States as prescribed by the Commission, (2) cause the closing of any facility or station for wire communication and the removal therefrom of its apparatus and equipment, or (3) authorize the use or control of any such facility or station and its apparatus and equipment by any department of the Government under such regulations as he may prescribe, upon just compensation to the owners. (*Federal Communications Act, amended January 26, 1942*)

FOREIGN

Office of Censorship.
January 3, 1942
(Condensation)

1. No communication with enemy occupied territory is permitted except on licensed occasions.

2. No codes or cable addresses are permitted on terminal traffic at this time.

3. Transit traffic in code or foreign language may be passed if complying with the censorship regulations at the office of destination.

4. The plain languages permitted are English, French, Spanish and Portuguese except that unofficial radio telephone calls may be subject to delay if other than the English language is used.

ENEMY ALIENS

TITLE 8 (U.S.C.A.)

Section 726. Naturalization. An alien who is a native, citizen, subject, or denizen of any country, state, or sovereignty with which the United States is at war may be naturalized as a citizen of the United States if such alien's declaration of intention was made not less than two years prior to the beginning of the state of war, or such alien was at the beginning of the state of war entitled to become a citizen of the United States without making a declaration of intention, or his petition for naturalization shall at the beginning of the state of war be pending and the petitioner is otherwise entitled to admission, notwithstanding such petitioner shall be an alien enemy at the time and in the manner prescribed by the laws passed upon that subject.

(c) Nothing herein contained shall be taken or construed to interfere with or prevent the apprehension and removal, agreeably to law, of any alien enemy at any time previous to the actual naturalization of such alien.

(d) The President of the United States may, in his discretion, upon investigation and report by the Department of Justice fully establishing the loyalty of any alien enemy not included in the foregoing exemption, except such alien enemy from the classification of alien enemy, and thereupon such alien shall have the privilege of applying for naturalization. (*Nationality Act, Oct. 14, 1940*)

TITLE 50 (U.S. Code)

Section 21. Restraint, regulation, and removal. Whenever there is a declared war between the United States and any foreign nation or government, or any invasion or predatory incursion is perpetrated, attempted, or threatened against the territory of the United States by any foreign nation or government, and the President makes public proclamation of the event, all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of the hostile nation or government, being of the age of fourteen years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed as aliens enemies. The President is authorized in any such

event, by his proclamation thereof, or other public act, to direct the conduct to be observed, on the part of the United States, toward the aliens who become so liable; the manner and degree of the restraint to which they shall be subject and in what cases, and upon what security their residence shall be permitted, and to provide for the removal of those who, not being permitted to reside within the United States, refuse or neglect to depart therefrom; and to establish any other regulations which are found necessary in the premises and for the public safety. (*April 16, 1918*)

PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION

December 7, 1941

Whereas it is provided by Section 21 of Title 50 of the United States Code as follows:

Whereas by Sections 22, 23 and 24 of Title 50 of the United States Code further provision is made relative to alien enemies:

All alien enemies are enjoined to preserve the peace towards the United States and to refrain from crime against the public safety, and from violating the laws of the United States and of the States and Territories thereof; and to refrain from actual hostility or giving information, aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States or interfering by word or deed with the defense of the United States or the political processes and public opinions thereof; and to comply strictly with the regulations which are hereby or which may be from time to time promulgated by the President.

All alien enemies shall be liable to restraint, or to give security, or to remove and depart from the United States in the manner prescribed in the regulations duly promulgated by the President.

Regulations

5. No alien enemy shall have in his possession, custody or control at any time or place or use or operate any of the following enumerated articles:

(a) Firearms

(b) Weapons or implements of war or component parts thereof

(c) Ammunition

(d) Bombs

(e) Explosives or material used in the manufacture of explosives

(f) Short-wave radio receiving sets

(g) Transmitting sets

(h) Signal devices

(i) Codes or ciphers

(j) Cameras

(k) Papers, documents or books in which there may be invisible writing; photograph, sketch, picture, drawing, map or graphical representation of any military or naval installations or equipment or of any arms, ammunition, implements of war, device or thing used or intended to be used in the combat equipment of the land or naval forces of the United States or of any military or naval post, camp or station.

All such property found in the possession of any alien enemy in violation of the foregoing regulations shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture.

6. No alien enemy shall undertake any air flight or ascend into the air in any airplane, aircraft or balloon of any sort whether owned governmentally, commercially or privately, except that travel by an alien enemy in an airplane or aircraft may be authorized by the Attorney General, or his representative, or the Secretary of War, or his representative, in their respective jurisdictions, under such regulations as they shall prescribe.

7. Alien enemies deemed dangerous to the public peace or safety of the United States by the Attorney General or the Secretary of War, as the case may be, are subject to summary apprehension.

13. No alien enemy shall be a member or an officer of, or affiliated with, any organization, group or assembly hereafter designated by the Attorney General, nor shall any alien enemy advocate, defend or subscribe to the acts, principles or policies thereof, attend any meetings, conventions or gatherings thereof or possess or distribute any literature, propaganda or other writings or productions thereof.

PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION

January 14, 1942

(By virtue of authority under Section 21 of Title 50 U.S.C.)

All alien enemies within the continental United States, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands are hereby required, at such times and places and in such manner as may be fixed by the Attorney General of the United States, to apply for and acquire certificates of identification. . . .

EXEMPTIONS FROM ENEMY ALIEN REGULATIONS

Department of Justice

February 8, 1942

(The following classes of aliens are relieved of the restrictions placed on enemy aliens):

1. Austrians, Austro-Hungarians and Koreans who registered as such under the Alien Registration Act of 1940 and who have not since that time voluntarily become citizens of Germany, Italy or Japan.
2. Former citizens of Germany, Italy or Japan who before Dec. 7, 1941, in the case of Japan and before Dec. 8, 1941, in the case of Germany and Italy, became citizens or subjects of countries with which the United States is at peace, provided that in acquiring such citizenship they did not in any way retain allegiance to any one of those three Axis countries. The dates were those on which the three nations declared war on the United States.

Note: The following three sections apply to all aliens.

40 STAT. 411

Section 301. Property control. The President may through any agency that he may designate. . . .

(b) investigate, regulate, direct and compel, nullify, void, prevent or prohibit, any acquisition, holding, withholding, use, transfer, withdrawal, transportation, importation or exportation of, or dealing in, or exercising any right, power, or privilege with respect to, or transactions involving, any property in which any foreign

country or a national thereof has any interest, by any person, or with respect to any property, subject to the jurisdiction of the United States; and any property or interest of any foreign country or national thereof shall vest, when, as, and upon the terms, directed by the President, in such agency or person as may be designated from time to time by the President, and upon such terms and conditions as the President may prescribe such interest or property shall be held, used, administered, liquidated, sold, or otherwise dealt with in the interest of and for the benefit of the U. S. . . . (*The First War Powers Act of 1941, December 18, 1941*)

APPROPRIATIONS ACT

Section 502. Public Employment. No part of any appropriation contained in this Act or authorized hereby to be expended shall be used to pay the compensation of any officer or employee of the Government of the United States, or of any agency, the majority of the stock of which is owned by the Government of the United States, whose post of duty is in continental United States, unless such officer or employee is a citizen of the United States or a person in the service of the United States on the date of the approval of this Act who being eligible for citizenship has filed a declaration of intention to become a citizen or who owes allegiance to the United States. (*Appropriations Act, June 28, 1941*)

PUBLIC NO. 671

Section 11. (a) Private Employment. No alien employed by a contractor in the performance of secret, confidential, or restricted Government contracts shall be permitted to have access to the plans or specifications, or the work under such contracts, or to participate in the contract trials, unless the written consent of the head of the Government department concerned has first been obtained. . . . (*Section 11a of Public Act No. 671, June 28, 1940*)

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Executive Order

June 25, 1941

Whereas it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of consideration of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity;

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Prac-

tice, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President. The Chairman and members of the Committee shall serve as such without compensation but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence and other expenses incidental to performance of their duties. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

LABOR AND INDUSTRY

TITLE 50 (U.S.C.A.App.)

Section 309. Conscription of industry. . . . Compliance with all such orders for products or material shall be obligatory on any individual, firm, association, company, corporation, or organized manufacturing industry or the responsible head or heads thereof and shall take precedence over all other orders and contracts . . . the President, through the head of the War or Navy Departments of the Government, in addition to the present authorized methods of purchase or procurement, is hereby authorized to take immediate possession of any such plant or plants, and through the appropriate branch, bureau, or department of the Army or Navy to manufacture therein such product or material as may be required. . . . (*Selective Service Act, September 18, 1940*)

LABOR RELATIONS AGREEMENT

Executive Order
January 12, 1942

Whereas by reason of the state of war declared to exist by joint resolutions of the Congress, approved December 8, 1941, and December 11, 1941, respectively (public laws No. 328, 331, 332, 77th Congress), the national interest demands that there shall be no interruption of any work which contributes to the effective prosecution of the war; and

Whereas as a result of a conference of representatives of labor and industry which met at the call of the President on December 17, 1941, it has been agreed that for the duration of the war there shall be no strikes or lockouts, and that all labor disputes shall be settled by peaceful means, and that a National War Labor Board be established for the peaceful adjustment of such disputes;

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, it is hereby ordered:

1. There is hereby created in the Office for Emergency Management a National War Labor Board,

hereinafter referred to as the Board. The Board shall be composed of twelve special commissioners to be appointed by the President. Four of the members shall be representative of the public, four shall be representative of employees and four shall be representative of employers.

2. This order does not apply to labor disputes for which procedures for adjustment or settlement are otherwise provided until those procedures have been exhausted.

3. The procedures for adjusting and settling labor disputes which might interrupt work which contributes to the effective prosecution of the war shall be as follows: (a) the parties shall first resort to direct negotiations or to procedures provided in a collective-bargaining agreement. (b) If not settled in this manner, the commissioners of conciliation of the Department of Labor shall be notified if they have not already intervened in the dispute. (c) If not promptly settled by conciliation, the Secretary of Labor shall certify the dispute to the Board, provided, however, that the Board in its discretion, after consultation with the Secretary, may take jurisdiction of the dispute of its own motion. After it takes jurisdiction, the Board shall finally determine the dispute, and for this purpose may use mediation, voluntary arbitration, or arbitration under rules established by the Board.

"WORK OR FIGHT" ORDER

June 9, 1941

. . . The citizen who has been deferred because of the job he is perfoming in the national defense program, cannot expect to retain the status of deferment when he ceases to work on the job for which he was deferred. The status of deferment and the responsibility to perform the necessary work are inseparable.

Therefore, I hereby direct all agencies of the selective service system to take the necessary actions to reconsider the classification of all registrants who have ceased to perform the jobs for which they were deferred, and who are, by such failure, impeding the national defense program.

—Lewis B. Hershey
Director Selective Service

EMPLOYMENT OF MEMBERS OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

TITLE 18 (U.S.C.A.)

Section 61. (i)

1. "It shall be unlawful for any person employed in any capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation, or any part thereof, is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by any Act of Congress, to have membership in any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States."
2. "Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be immediately removed from the position or office held by him, and thereafter no part of the funds appropriated by any Act of Congress for such position or office shall be used to pay the compensation of such person." (*Hatch Act, August 2, 1939*)

APPROPRIATIONS ACT

Section 504. No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall be used to pay the salary or wages of any person who advocates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence: PROVIDED, That for the purposes hereof an affidavit shall be considered prima facie evidence that the person making the affidavit does not advocate, and is not a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence: PROVIDED FURTHER, That any person who advocates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence and accepts employment, the salary or wages for which are paid from any appropriation contained in this Act, shall be guilty of a felony. . . . (*Appropriations Act, June 28, 1941*)

EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS ACT

Section 15. (f) No alien, no Communist, and no member of any Nazi Bund Organization shall be given employment or continued in employment on any work project prosecuted under the appropriations contained

in this joint resolution and no part of the money appropriated shall be available to pay any person who has not made or does not make affidavit as to U.S. citizenship and to the effect that he is not a Communist and not a member of any Nazi Bund organization, such affidavit to be considered prima facie evidence of such citizenship and that he is not a Communist, and not a member of any Nazi Bund Organization.

Section 17. (b) No portion of the appropriation made under this joint resolution shall be used to pay any compensation to any person who advocates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States. (*Emergency Relief Appropriations Act for 1941*)

TITLE 50 (U.S.C.A.App.)

Section 8. (i) It is the expressed policy of the Congress that whenever a vacancy is caused in the employment rolls of any business or industry by reason of induction into the service of the United States of an employee pursuant to the provisions of this Act such vacancy shall not be filled by any person who is a member of the Communist Party or of the German-American Bund. (*Selective Service Act, Public No. 783, 76th Congress, September 18, 1940*)

APPROPRIATIONS ACT

The FBI has a special mandate from Congress with an apropriation of $100,000 "to investigate the employees of every department, agency, and independent establishment of the Federal Government who are members of subversive organizations or advocate the overthrow of the Federal Government, and report its findings to Congress. . . ." (*Appropriations Act, June 28, 1941*)

PUBLIC NO. 671

Section 6. . . . provided further, that during the emergency declared by the President on September 8, 1939, to exist, the provisions of Section 6, of the Act of August 24, 1912 (U.S.C. Title 5, Section 652), shall not apply to any civil service employee of the War, or Navy Departments, or of the Coast Guard, or their field services, whose immediate removal is, in the opinion of the Secretary concerned warranted by the demands of national security. . . . (*Public No. 671, June 28, 1940*)

WAR
and the
BILL OF RIGHTS

Wartime laws and regulations affecting freedom of speech, press and communication. With a directory of federal agencies concerned.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP1 BJS/ajp

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

181

January, 1942

WITH the entry of the United States into the World War numerous laws and regulations became effective relating to civil liberties. This pamphlet summarizes the laws and regulations and includes a directory of the federal agencies responsible for their administration. A separate appendix with the texts of the laws and regulations has also been prepared for those concerned with the legal provisions. If a copy does not accompany this pamphlet we will send one free on request to the Union, at 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

THE position of the Union on civil liberties in wartime is best expressed by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *ex parte Milligan:*

> "The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government."

THE Union of course recognizes the necessity for controlling military information at its sources; for restricting the activities of the nationals of enemy countries; for registering foreign agents and identifying their propaganda; and for censoring communications with foreign countries. The Union does not therefore contest wartime statutes and regulations with these ends in view. It will contest any unreasonable application of them or any irregularities or injustices.

The Union is opposed to any proceedings under cover of war measures, against utterances or opinions which do not incite to illegal acts, or to restraints on public discussion. It is opposed to censorship of domestic mails and the press; to government censorship or ownership of domestic radio save in areas under military control; and to racial discrimination, especially in the armed forces and defense industries.

The Union's work is conducted in wartime as in peace on the general principle that civil liberties are

essential to the preservation of democracy, and that we must not suspend in wartime the very principles for which the country is fighting.

The federal government has wide powers to check abuses by state and local officials under recent Supreme Court decisions, and by mobs and vigilantes. The public temper is far better than it was in the corresponding period of the first World War. But eternal vigilance by both public and private agencies is obviously needed to check inevitable tendencies to intolerance and repression.

All supporters of civil liberties are urged to report violations involving local officials to the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Copies of all clippings, letters, etc. involving incidents should be sent to the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Union or its local branches should be called upon for prompt action in the courts or otherwise wherever any issues arise.

Local committees should be formed where none exist.

Send to local newspapers for publication letters of comment on any issue of civil liberties which arises.

Added vigilance is the obligation of all those who believe that American democracy must survive intact.

This is a large order for our friends. We urge each of you to select those issues which most arouse you and to act on them. Further information on any issues may be obtained by writing to the Union.

1. Freedom of Speech

Utterances, either in public or in private, may be prosecuted under both federal and state laws if they are held to constitute advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force of arms, incitement to disaffection in the armed forces, or discouraging of recruiting and enlistment. Such prosecutions may be brought under

a. The War-time Espionage Act, automatically operative on a declaration of war;

b. The so-called Smith Act of 1940 containing two sections:

(1) Penalizing incitement to disaffection in the armed forces; and

(2) Advocacy of the overthrow of government by violence;

c. State criminal syndicalism and sedition laws, which penalize similar advocacies.

There are also special statutes under which prosecutions for utterances can be brought, such as the statute penalizing threats against the President, and a number of state laws penalizing certain doctrines or advocacies.

2. Freedom of the Press

(1) Publications printed in the U. S. and sent through the mails for delivery may be controlled under the Espionage Act and Post Office statutes by several methods:

a. Publishers, authors and senders may be prosecuted for language held to incite to military disaffection.

b. Particular issues of a periodical may be declared unmailable on the ground that they violate one of these laws, and since continuity is thereby broken, the Post Office may then revoke second-class mailing privileges.

c. The P. O. may also declare mail to a particular address undeliverable if a fraud order has been issued involving printed matter mailed from that address.

(2) Mail coming into the U. S. from abroad is subject to any censorship which the government may choose to impose in war-time. Outgoing foreign mail is subject to similar censorship. Mail to American territories in war areas is commonly censored. All mail to and from members of the military forces abroad is subject to military censorship.

Printed matter is subject to censorship, both incoming and outgoing. No formal censorship has yet been imposed on outgoing printed matter and presumably any publication which goes freely through the U. S. mails may also be sent abroad.

Incoming printed matter is, however, subject to two forms of control:

a. If it is sent by freight or express, it is subject to control by the customs authorities, who may bar anything held to be seditious as well as obscene. Final determination as to barring any matter is lodged in the courts in case a customs decision to exclude is contested by an importer.

b. Printed matter coming from abroad in the mails is subject to control by the Post Office Dept. under an opinion by the Attorney-General of December, 1940, which permits the P. O. Dept. to exclude any matter published by agencies abroad not registered with the State Dept. The Attorney-General's opinion virtually extends the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act from the U. S. to all over the world.

While the opinion holds that no matter may be imported unless the foreign agency publishing it has registered with the Secretary of State, as a practical matter the P. O. Dept. admits what it approves and bars what it disapproves. In other words, the opinion is invoked as a means of censorship.

3. Freedom of Communication by Telephone, Telegraph and Radio

Censorship of domestic telegrams is possible under special legislation, but unlikely, — save as telegrams are addressed to or sent by members of the military forces. There is, however, a strict control under the

Navy Dept. of all outgoing cables. Agents of the Navy Dept. pass on all cables for foreign countries and may refuse any deemed objectionable. The same restrictions exist on telephonic communication with foreign countries.

No control whatever exists over telephonic communication within the U. S., not even in relation to the military forces, except that in a National Emergency the President may take over all communications. The tapping of telephone wires by government agents seeking evidence of crime is prohibited by law, and evidence so obtained is inadmissible in court under Sec. 605 of the Communications Act.

The entire radio industry may, under the terms of the Federal Communications Commission law, (Sec. 606) be taken over in time of war by the federal government and operated by it. While such sweeping power is evidently not contemplated, the President has issued an order permitting the Army and Navy to suspend the operation of any station and take it over, if necessary, for military purposes. This is in order to meet military needs, and is evidently not intended to interfere with the ordinary operation of radio stations. Under the law, while radio stations remain in private hands, licensed by the federal government, no censorship over programs can be legally imposed. The office of censorship has, however, adopted a code of "suggestions" to the radio industry which in practice constitutes a partial censorship. Most of the regulations are common-sense cautions against divulging information of use to the enemy and do not impair freedom of discussion.

Short-wave broadcasts from the U. S. to foreign countries are under control by the director of censorship. The short-wave stations have long worked closely with government agencies and reflect the government's conception of desirable propaganda for foreign consumption. There is no restriction upon the reception in the U. S. of short-wave broadcasts from abroad, except that enemy aliens may not possess short-wave radios.

All further amateur radio operation has been prohibited by order of the Federal Communications Commission.

4. Control of Enemy Aliens

Aliens residing in the U. S. who are citizens of enemy countries are under special restrictions by Presidential order, enforced by the Department of Justice. Any or all such aliens may be legally interned for the duration of the war. As a practical matter, only those suspected of hostile activities are taken into custody. All detentions thereupon are ordered only on recommendation of boards of inquiry which have been set up throughout the country.

Under executive order enemy aliens may not travel without special permit, nor may they possess short-wave receiving sets, cameras, fire-arms, and maps without special permission. All citizens of countries with which the United States is at war are required to carry special registration cards as distinguished from other registered aliens.

Any enemy aliens whose applications for citizenship are pending in the courts may, after some months delay, proceed to complete their naturalization if they

a. Are married to American citizens;

b. Made their applications for first papers at least two but not more than seven years ago;

Aliens may not be employed in certain defense industries without special permission of the Army or Navy Departments, a statutory restriction applying equally to enemy aliens and others.

5. Conscientious Objectors

The provisions in war-time for conscientious objectors are no different from those under the draft act in peace-time. The law provides that men who are objectors "by religious training or belief may be exempted from active military service on condition that they perform either non-combative service in the military forces or work of national importance under civilian direction." The only civilian work yet provided is assignment to camps on the CCC model, operated by various religious agencies.

Conscientious objectors whose claims are not recognized by local boards may appeal to the regional appeals boards where their cases are heard by officials

appointed by the Department of Justice, after an FBI investigation of their claims. Those whose claims are not recognized on appeal may, by special permission, get a review "by the President."

6. Rights of Negroes

Discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces takes the form of segregation in the Army and limitation of their entrance into the Army Air Corps and the Navy. In the Navy Negroes are accepted only in the messmen division.

Discrimination against the employment of Negroes in defense industries was prevalent enough to prompt a Presidential order of June 25, 1941, providing that "There shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, or national origin." A special emergency bureau was created under the name of the Office of Fair Employment Practices to insure against discrimination in defense industries. Efforts are being made to work out in practice the policies voiced in principle by the administration.

7. Subversive Activities

Under the President's order creating a limited national emergency in September, 1939, the Department of Justice was directed to investigate "subversive activities." The FBI has since been engaged in that enterprise, along with investigations of espionage and sabotage. No definition has been published as to what constitutes subversive activities, but it is evident that the FBI conceives them to involve membership in the Communist Party and related organizations, and the German-American Bund and related organizations. Apparently there has been little disposition to include in that category either organizations sympathetic with foreign dictatorships (other than the German) or native organizations of semi-fascist character.

In addition to investigating subversive activities generally, the FBI has a special mandate from Congress with an appropriation of $100,000 "to investigate the employees of every department, agency, and independent establishment of the Federal Government who are

members of subversive organizations or advocate the overthrow of the Federal Government, and report its findings to Congress." It is evident that in war-time, connections with organizations allegedly sympathetic with enemy countries will be regarded as subversive, in addition to the apparently fixed assumption that all Communist activities, direct or indirect, are subversive. The F.B.I. reports on federal employees will be transmitted to department heads without recommendation, leaving to each department complete freedom to act on the reports.

Several provisions of law make ineligible to public employment persons who are members of certain named organizations (usually the Communist Party and the German-American Bund) or who advocate the overthrow of government by violence. Dismissals in such cases may be made without hearing or review, on written charges only. Efforts are being made to establish a system of review wherever charges involve opinions or membership. A system of hearings is in effect in relation to such discharges in defense industries holding contracts with the Army and Navy.

8. Labor and Industry

The rights of trade unions during war-time are not curtailed in law. By voluntary agreement, however, labor organizations have suspended the right to strike in defense industries, and employers have agreed not to use the lockout. All disputes are to be submitted to arbitration by a government board.

Under the President's War-time and National Emergency powers dating from May 27, 1941, the government through the Secretaries of War and of the Navy may take over the management of any plant which is not operating to the President's satisfaction either because of strikes or inefficiency.

Directory of Federal Agencies Involving Civil Rights

(Incomplete and subject to some change on account of shifts in emergency arrangements)

1. Department of Justice

a. The *Criminal Division,* which has the enforcement of the Espionage Act and all other federal criminal statutes.

Head: Wendell Berge.

b. *F.B.I.* Which has charge of all investigations of subversive activities and of violations of federal law.

Head: J. Edgar Hoover.

c. *Civil Rights Section,* which investigates violaitons of civil liberties involving federal law, or the unlawful acts of local officials (not the unlawful acts of private citizens except where violation of federal statutes is involved).

Chief: Victor Rotnem.

d. *The Special Defense Unit,* created in 1940 to deal with the emergency. It handles preparation of legislation in the interests of defense, enforces the act requiring the registration of certain organizations, and assists other bureaus of the Department of Justice in relation to national defense activities.

Chief: L. M. C. Smith.

e. *The Immigration and Naturalization Service,* which has charge of the registration of all aliens, enforcement of regulations affecting enemy aliens, and of all cases of immigration, deportation and naturalization.

Special Assistant to the Attorney-General in Charge of Immigration and Naturalization: Lemuel B. Schofield.

f. The handling of appeals of conscientious objectors, the appointment of hearing officers, and direction of the F.B.I. investigations, is in the hands of the Assistant to the Attorney-General, Linton Collins.

2. Post Office Department

Office of the Solicitor, who has charge of the enforcement of the statutes barring certain unlawful matter from the mails, both domestic and foreign.
Solicitor: Vincent Miles.

3. Treasury Department

a. *Bureau of Customs,* in charge of the exclusion of imported matter (other than mail) held to be obscene or seditious, but subject to review in the courts.
Commissioner: W. R. Johnson.

b. *Internal Revenue Bureau* controlling organizations found to be supported by foreign enemy capital.
Commissioner: Guy T. Helvering.

c. *The Secret Service* investigates crimes against the United States relating to the Treasury Department and the several branches of the public service under its control.
Chief: Frank J. Wilson.

4. Federal Communications Commission

With jurisdiction over the granting and revocation of radio licenses, both standard and short-wave, and control over cables and telegrams.
Chairman: James L. Fly.

5. War Department

a. *Selective Service Administration,* controlling the enforcement of the Selective Service Act and the provisions for conscientious objectors.
Head: Brig. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey.

b. *Military Intelligence Division* (*G-2*). The duties of this Division relate to the collection, evaluation, and dissemination of military information, including activities concerning military topographical surveys and maps, military attaches, military observers and foreign-language students, intelligence personnel of all units, foreign military attaches and missions, codes and ciphers, and translations.
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2 (Military Intelligence): Brig. Gen. Sherman Miles.

6. Navy Department

a. *Intelligence Division.* It cooperates with the other executive departments of the Government in discovering and bringing to justice persons engaged in activities against the United States.

Asst. Chief of Naval Operations: Rear Admiral Royal E. Ingersoll.

b. *Cable and Radio Censorship.* Censors all outgoing messages such as cablegrams, radiograms and transatlantic telephone calls in accordance with instructions of the Office of Censorship.

Chief Cable Censor: Capt. H. K. Feen.

7. State Department

a. *Visa Division.* Control of granting visas to all persons wishing to enter the U. S.

Chief: Avra M. Warren.

b. *Passport Division.* In charge of granting and withholding passports for American citizens for foreign travel, and the regulation of foreign travel under the war-time Passport Control Law.

Chief: Ruth B. Shipley.

8. Censorship

a. *Office of Censorship* which has power to censor all communications by mail, cable, radio or other means between the United States and any foreign country.

Director of Censorship: Byron Price.

Assistant Directors: John H. Ryan, in charge of radio. John H. Sorrells, in charge of press. James F. King.

b. *Defense Communications Board.* The purpose of the *Defense Communications Board* is to coordinate the relationship of all branches of communication to the national defense.

James L. Fly of F.C.C., Chairman.
Maj. Gen. Jos. O. Mauborgne, Signal Corps.
Rear Adm. Leigh Noyes, Naval Intelligence.
Breckenridge Long, Asst. Secretary of State.
Herbert E. Gaston, Asst. Secretary of Treasury.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

CCM:MED

June 23, 1942

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: ROGER BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

It is felt that the following will be of interest to you:

The Daily Worker of June 9, 1942, contains an article reflecting that the dubious action of being the first member of the International Labor Defense to resign his membership has gone to Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

It is reflected that Mr. Baldwin gave as his reason for resigning the fact that the International Labor Defense supports the government in its prosecution on sedition charges of the Minneapolis Trotskyites, whom Baldwin and his organization are defending. It reflected that Mr. Baldwin's resignation was the first ever received by the International Labor Defense from one of its members.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

100-19-2419
NOT RECORDED COPY FILED IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STS/ab

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-49565-27

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 JUL 8 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FOR DEFENSE
BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

54 JUL 18 1942

100-49565-~~28~~ 26
CTF:MER
8/29/42
RECORDED

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
WENDELL BERGE

RE: ROGER NASH BALDWIN
282 West 11th Street,
New York, New York

Reference is made to your memorandum concerning the above subject dated July 29, 1942, your reference WB:LLL:MAC, 146-7-4078.

In accordance with your request I am enclosing herewith a copy of the following material:

Report of Special Agent L. H. Brachear, dated February 23, 1942, at New York, New York.

Advice is requested as to whether further investigation is desired in this case.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-2036 BY SP8T75bp

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 2
AUG 28 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED-ROOM 5640
F B I
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
AUG 28 12 00 PM '42

8 SEP 4 1942

385

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

WB:LLL:MAC

146-7-4078

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 29, 1942

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Kramer	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
Files	

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER,
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: Baldwin, Roger N.
31 Union Square West, 282 W 11th St NYC
New York, New York.

Mr. L. M. C. Smith, Chief of the Special Defense Unit, has forwarded a file containing an abstract of information concerning the above entitled subject who appears to be a citizen of the United States.

It is requested that any investigative reports and other background information contained in your files relative to the subject be forwarded to the Criminal Division, and that you keep this Division advised of any information received by you in the future on the subject.

Respectfully,

Wendell Berge

WENDELL BERGE,
Assistant Attorney General.

Memo Berge 7/29/42
CTF:MER

FOR DEFENSE
BUY
UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

RECORDED 100-49565-28
MC
F B I
7 JUL 30 1942
FIVE

EX-17

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

WB:LLL:CB

146-7-4078

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 8, 1942

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Kramer	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
Files	

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: Roger Nash Baldwin
282 West 11th Street
New York, New York

Receipt is acknowledged of your memorandum dated August 28, 1942, transmitting a copy of the report of Special Agent L. H. Brashear, dated February 23, 1942, at New York, New York, relative to the above-named individual.

No further investigation is requested in this matter at this time.

Respectfully,

Wendell Berge

WENDELL BERGE
Assistant Attorney General

100-49565-29

RECORDED

F B I

2 SEP 9 1942

4-11-26

50 SEP 12 1942

FOR VICTORY
BUY UNITED STATES DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes
Hon. John Beardsley
Stephen Vincent Benet
Alfred Bettman
Prof. Edwin M. Borchard
Van Wyck Brooks
Pearl S. Buck
Dr. Henry Seidel Candy
William F. Cochran
John S. Codman
Morris L. Cooke
Prof. George S. Counts
John Dos Passos
Melvyn Douglas
Sherwood Eddy
Rep. Thomas H. Eliot
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick
William Henry Gallagher
Kate Crane Gartz
Dean Christian Gauss
Dean Charles W. Gilkey
Dr. Frank P. Graham
Powers Hapgood
Marvin C. Harrison
Charles H. Houston
Henry T. Hunt
Dr. Frank Kingdon
Dr. John A. Lapp
Prof. Harold D. Lasswell
Agnes Brown Leach
Prof. Max Lerner
William Draper Lewis
Robert Morss Lovett
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Malcolm S. MacLean
John P. Marquand
Prof. Kirtley F. Mather
Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn
Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell
Felix Morley
Charles Clayton Morrison
A. J. Muste
Dr. William Allan Neilson
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
William Pickens
Amos R. E. Pinchot
John Nevin Sayre
Rt. Rev. William Scarlett
Joseph Schlossberg
Prof. Vida D. Scudder
Robert E. Sherwood
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
John F. Sinclair
Prof. Clarence R. Skinner
Helen Phelps Stokes
Oswald Garrison Villard
George P. West
A. F. Whitney
Peter Witt
L. Hollingsworth Wood
Dr. William Lindsay Young

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Alfred M. Bingham
Harry Lorin Binsse
Prof. Paul Brissenden
Dorothy Dunbar Bromley
Carl Carmer
Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers
John Chamberlain
Richard S. Childs
John F. Finerty
Osmond K. Fraenkel
Walter Frank
Nathan Greene
Quincy Howe
Dorothy Kenyon
Corliss Lamont
Florina Lasker
Prof. Eduard C. Lindeman
Thurgood Marshall
Eliot D. Pratt
Elmer Rice
Roger William Riis
Whitney North Seymour
Rev. William B. Spofford
Norman Thomas
Raymond L. Wise
181

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 Fifth Avenue, New York City
(at 22nd Street)
GRamercy 7-4330

OFFICERS

Prof. Edward A. Ross, *Chairman, National Committee*
Rev. John Haynes Holmes, *Chairman, Board of Directors*
Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons
Dr. Mary E. Woolley
Dean Lloyd K. Garrison, *Vice-Chairmen*
B. W. Huebsch, *Treasurer*
Roger N. Baldwin, *Director*
Lucille B. Milner, *Secretary*
Arthur Garfield Hays
Morris L. Ernst, *Counsel*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-76 BY SP8 STS/pg

October 16, 1942

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I shall be in Washington for the day on Friday the 23rd, and would like to have a few minutes of your time. I will call your secretary early in the morning in the hope of an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

RNB/sa

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-19665-30
F B I
12 JUL 27 1942

OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONFIDENTIAL

TYPE OF CENSORSHIP

RECORD No. SE-8227-43

Mail No. | Sea (S) Air (A) Land (L). | Mail (M) | Cable (C) | Telephone (T) | Registered No. | Serial No. | Page 2 of 2 pages.

FROM:	TO:
LIST:	LIST:

Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated):	To be photographed:	To whom photograph is to be sent:	DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL COMMUNICATION:
Previous relevant records:	For interoffice use by A. C. or D. C. only:	Station distribution:	Held (H). Released (R). Condemned (C). Returned to sender (RS)
	Language:	Previously censored by:	Or sent with comment to:

DR use only	Division (or Section)	Table	Examiner (Censor-Cable)	D. A. C.	Exam. date	Typing date

COMMENT

ADB
AG
BEW
BF
BR
BP
CAA
CAN
CCC
CIAA
COI
COM
CPC
DL
ED
FBI
FCC
FR
FSA
FTC
IMM
INT
JSM
LC
MC
MEW
MID
~~NI~~
OPA
PO
RFC
SC
SD
T
WPB

ADVISORY BOARD

[redacted]

LOUIS BROMFIELD

[redacted] F. B. I. WATCH LIST

b6
b7C

DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

[redacted]

PIERRE van PAASSEN

VINCENT SHEEAN

[redacted]

OSWALD G. VILLARD

[redacted]

ENCLOSURES: Two
1 card
1 return envelope

Form OC-8
(Rev. April 1, 1942)

SPECIAL NOTICE—The attached information was taken from private communications, and its extremely confidential character must be preserved. The information must be confided only to those officials whose knowledge of it is necessary to prosecution of the war. In no case should it be widely distributed, or copies made, or the information used in legal proceedings or in any other public way without express consent of the Director of Censorship.

BYRON PRICE,
Director.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 016—28125-1

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONFIDENTIAL

Mail No.

Sea (S) Air (A) Land (L) Mail (M)

TYPE OF CENSORSHIP Cable (C) Telephone (T)

Registered No. NONE Serial No.

RECORD No. ST-8227-43

Page 1 of 2 pages.

FROM:

ROGER N. BALDWIN, Treasurer
INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA
70 EAST 49TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.

LIST: Y 6638

TO:

[redacted]

File

b6
b7C

LIST: NONE

Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated):	To be photographed:	To whom photograph is to be sent:	DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL COMMUNICATION:
Feb.19, 1943	NO		Held (H).
Previous relevant records: NONE	For interoffice use by A. C. or D. C. only: DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 STJ/ap ON 3-20-86	Station distribution: DR	Released (R) Condemned (C). Returned to sender (RS)
	Language: ENGLISH	Previously censored by: NONE	Or sent with comment to:

DR use only	Division (or Section)	Table	Examiner (Censor-Xaminer)	D. A. C.	Exam. date	Typing date
	SPECIAL ACTIVITIES	POLITICAL	3658	3560	Feb. 25, 1943	Feb. 26, 1943 - hs

COMMENT

ADB
AG
BEW
BF
BR
BP
CAA
CAN
CCC
CIAA
COI
COM
CPC
DL
ED
FBI
FCC
FR
FSA
FTC
IMM
INT
JSM
LC
MC
MEW
MID
ONI
OPA
PO
RFC
SC
SD
T
WPB

Mr. Carson
Mr. Cunningham
Mr. Fitch
Laboratory
Mr. Little
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Patterson
Mr. Strickland
Mr. Timm
Mr. Watkins

INDIA SEDITIONISTS OPERATE FROM NEW YORK CITY

The letter is an appeal for funds, in the form of dependable monthly contributions, to pay the overhead expenses of the LEAGUE (amounting to $400 per month, with all the executive work volunteered) that it may "relentlessly keep on the job" of promoting here in the UNITED STATES the cause of INDIA'S FREEDOM (i.e., her separation from the BRITISH EMPIRE). The address of the league is that of JOHN DAY CO., publishers, and of ASIA MAGAZINE, edited by RICHARD WALSH. Formerly the address of the LEAGUE was 17 EAST 48TH ST., NEW YORK, N.Y.

Quotation:

"Despite discouragements and setbacks the cause of India's freedom cannot be side-tracked. It is our duty to keep relentlessly on the job, promoting it here in the United States in every way open to us. We can do that job only with the loyal and continuing support of each and every member."

"May we request to make your pledge of a monthly donation for the current year to insure maintaining our overhead expenses."

"Our minimum expenses for rent, secretarial services, telephone etc. (with all executive work volunteered) amount to $400 a month."

The names of "the new officers" and of the members of the executive committee appear on the letter-head as follows:

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SIRDAR J.J. SINGH, President
DR. J. HOLMES SMITH, Vice-President
HEMENDRA K. RAKHIT, Secretary
DR. ANUP SINGH, Director Research Bureau
ROGER N. BALDWIN Treasurer (Y6638)
NIBAHU R. CHECKER
A. CHOUDRY
MRS. JOHN GUNTHER
SIDNEY HERTSBERG
MIRZA JAFFER
DR. S. R. MANDAL
MRS. KAMALA MUKERJI
RUSTOM D. WADIA
S.J. WYNN

Form OC-8
(Rev. April 1, 1942)

SPECIAL NOTICE—The attached information was taken from private communications, and its extremely confidential character must be preserved. The information must be confided only to those officials whose knowledge of it is necessary to prosecution of the war. In no case should it be widely distributed, or copies made, or the information used in legal proceedings or in any other public way without express consent of the Director of Censorship.

BYRON PRICE, Director.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE e16—28125-1

CONFIDENTIAL

MAJ:DPM

September 20, 1943

100-49565-32

SAC, New York

Dear Sir:

For your information I am enclosing herewith copies of recent correspondence with Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, in connection with Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

cc - New Haven

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 15
Sept. 20, 1943 P.M.

COMM. SEC.
9-20-43
ON ORIGINAL

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-24806

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/84 BY 9145 auk/rpw

34 OCT 1 1943

8-20-86 SBS STS 24806 26625

LBN:GDC

COPY MES

RECORDED

September 3, 1943

100-49565-32

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue at 22nd Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I appreciate very much your writing as you did on August 31st advising me of the information which you have received from Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane. Obviously her statements to you are not consistent with the newspaper accounts of her statements regarding the Bureau and the manner in which the Connecticut State Police conducted its investigation. In this connection I am advised that the Connecticut State Trooper was personally acquainted with Mrs. Lane who invited him into her house for a cup of coffee. Even though the matter was mishandled, Mrs. Lane would never have been subjected to any embarrassment had she not, herself, first called it to the attention of the public.

Obviously, had we known that Mrs. Lane was the author of the statements which were furnished to us, no questions would have been asked. It was unfortunate that the name "Mrs. C. G. Lang" was furnished to us by the very responsible citizen who called it to our attention. While Mrs. Lane regards the matter closed, nevertheless, the fact does remain that the entire situation has been aired in the newspapers and, as you well know, once charges are made the explanations never catch up. I wish that she had communicated with us directly when the State Trooper called upon her in order that the matter might have been straightened out then and there and certainly I am sure you will agree that Mrs. Lane's statements to you pertaining to the FBI and my administration of it, do not support her charge, "Is there a Gestapo," which was widely publicized by the National Economic Council.

As I have previously pointed out to you, the FBI is not interested in, and does not investigate matters solely involving expressions of opinion, yet, as you well know, expressions of opinion at times do reflect a state of mind and

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-16-6577

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/84 BY 9178 SLL/spsp
comp2198cc

8-2-3801 2588TS198
26625

prognesticate possible activities. As a specific illustration, in the recent Detroit spy case, wherein individuals of the most vicious Fascist tendencies were apprehended, our investigation began when a patriotic citizen reported that one of the individuals involved had made the statement, "Hitler is not only my Fuehrer, but my God." I am sure that you would be the first to say that one who makes such statements should at least be the subject of an inquiry sufficient to determine whether or not the individual might be dangerous to the internal security of the countr. I could go on and enumerate many cases of this nature. Obviously, I am just as zealous as you are to maintain civil liberties, however, this cannot be done unless the enemies of American Democracy are identified and brought before the bar of justice when they violate our laws.

I appreciate very much your thoughtfulness in bringing this matter to my attention and as I have told you on many occasions, I welcome the opportunity of answering any inquiries which you might have, and having the benefit of any observations you might care to make.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
[redacted]0 Fifth Avenue - New York Cit[redacted]10)
(at 22nd Street)

Roger N. Baldwin

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

August 31, 1943

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have been corresponding with Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane of Danbury, Conn. in regard to the incident about which you wrote me under date of the 19th.

She regards it as entirely closed. She makes the following comment which you should see:

"I expressed emphatically to all reporters my belief that the FBI is absolutely necessary and my sincere admiration for the service is is giving our country during this war and the manner in which it is rendeering this service. Unfortunately, the fact that I share this opinion held by all patriotic Americans, is not news. If Mr. Hoover has been given the mistaken impression that I lack enthusiasm for the valuable work that the Bureau is doing, I wish you would do what you can to remove that impression.

"I do believe simply that the existence of a secret police always dontains, per se, a potential danger to the individual freedom. The fact that this danger has not developed here is conclusive evidence that the Chief of the Bureau conducts its work on American principles and guards against the development of that danger. I regard it as the duty of every individual citizen to support what is, obviously, Mr. Hoover's effort, by refusine to permit any policementto put so much as the toe of his boot across the line protecting every American's freedom of thought and of speech. I have no doubt whatever that, if he understands me correctly, Mr. Hoover agrees with me."

Mrs. Lane very properly raises again the question as to why the comments on her postcard merited investigation; and further, if investigations of expressions of opinion are frequently made, as your representative in Connecticut indicated, "do they not constitute the danger of what may amount to intimidation of expressions of opinion"?

Sincerely yours,

RNB/sa

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-249565-32
F B I
16 SEP 25 1943

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/84 BY 9115 Swb/mpm
Comp 249806

8-2086 SPS BTOJ 226251

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-249565-32

Rec'd 6-7-1943 8:30 A.M. - 284

COPY MES

LBN:AL

AL

August 19, 1943

RECORDED 100-49562-33

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-19-80 BY SP4 AMW/mm

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of August 17, 1943. I was glad that you wrote me about the publicity which has occurred in connection with Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane, and I think that you would be very much interested in the facts of the case.

In March of 1943 the Bureau received a communication from a private citizen of excellent reputation, and who, incidentally, is regarede in his community as a liberal. The communication pointed out that a Mrs. C. G. Lang, 42 King Street, Danbury, Connecticut, had sent a communication to Samuel Grafton which read:

> "If schoolteachers say to German children, 'We believe in social security' the children will ask, 'Then why did you fight Germany? All these 'social security' laws are German, instituted by Bismark and expanded by Hitler. Americans believe in freedom, not in being taxed for their own good and bossed by bureaucrats."

The directories were checked but the name of C. G. Lang did not appear. Accordingly, the Danbury, Connecticut, Police Department was requested to make a preliminary inquiry to ascertain the identity of Mrs. C. G. Lang. Since 52 King Street was a rural address, the matter was referred by the Chief of Police at Danbury to Mr. Edward J. Hickey, Commissioner of the Connecticut State Police, without, of course, advising us of this matter.

Commissioner Hickey, under date of May 20, 1943, submitted a report to our New Haven Office. The report reflected that "Mrs. Lane is not in sympathy with our social security laws and was merely expressing her opinions on a card to Mr. Grafton," and that there was "no reason to believe that she is connected in any manner with any subversive activity." According to the report, Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane was interviewed and stated that she signed the card "Mrs. C. G. Lane," and the report further stated that apparently

cc - New Haven 8-19-43

28 SEP 30 1943

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

the name "Lang" was copied incorrectly. I do know that the name was furnished us as "Lang."

Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane, in the leaflet issued by the National Economic Council, Inc., refers in detail to her conversation with the Connecticut State Trooper. I, of course, do not know what the trooper said, and I am not in a position to comment on the statements attributed to him. I do know that such statements would not have been made by a Special Agent of this Bureau, and certainly such statements do not meet with my approval. I do know that the FBI never had the postal card directed to Mr. Grafton, and contrary to the initial statements made in the press, Mr. Grafton did receive the postal card. As far as statements of Mr. Richard H. Simons, Special Agent in Charge of the Bureau's New Haven office, are concerned, I think that there was proper justification to have ascertained the identity of "Mrs. C. G. Lang." It was unfortunate if Mrs. Laness name was misspelled by the patriotic citizen who thought it his duty to refer it to our attention.

I am sure you are just as anxious as I am that the FBI be ever-vigilant to protect the internal security of the nation. I am sure that you would be the first to want us to resolve every doubt in the favor of being cautious and secure. I do disavow any statements to the effect that the writing of the card was "a subversive activity." Had a Special Agent of this Bureau conducted himself as Mrs. Lane complains I would have taken administrative action. I cannot, nor will I disavow the action of my New Haven Office in resolving a doubt in the interest of caution in wanting to know the identity of "Mrs. C. G. Lang," although I do admit it was most unfortunate that Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane did not use her correct name, otherwise, the whole situation would have been avoided.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

COPY MES

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 Fifth Avenue - New York City (1[illegible]
(at 22nd Street)

August 17, 1943

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your attention has undoubtedly been called to what appears to be a rather unusual inquiry made by one of your agents of Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane of Danbury, Conn. which she wrote up in a pamphlet entitled "What is this--The Gestapo?"

It appears that a postal card sent through the mails by Mrs. Lane to Samuel Grafton of the New York Post furnished information on which an inquiry was made as to her views. The views expressed on the postal card were those which any citizen might express and obviously did not justify any inquiry.

Instead of admitting what appears to be a clear error your special agent in New Haven, Richard H. Furman, justified the investigation as a routine matter.

It would seem to us that if this represents the policy of the FBI a word of caution to federal agents to use ordinary good sense might be in order. Perhaps good sense cannot be accomplished by any instructions; but when an incident of this sort takes place it would seem that a frank disavowal would at least put the FBI in a fairer light with the public and it might serve also to restrain the excess zeal of some agents.

Sincerely yours,

Roger N. Baldwin

RNB/sa

100-49565-33
B 1
SEP 25 1943

RECORDED & INDEXED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/7/84 BY 9145 uel/cpm
conf 2198 06

8-20-86 DTJ/qp
266251

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-2 2 11 56-19

Lee 62-157 897-227-

COPY MES

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES
170 Fifth Avenue
NEW YORK CITY

August 26, 1943

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am obliged to you for yours of August 19 with regard to the incident concerning the postat card sent to Samuel Grafton by Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane of Danbury, Conn.

Certainly I agree that in wartime every doubt should be resolved in favor of caution; but caution does not require so indiscreet an inquiry as this, to put it midly. You say yourself that you would have taken action if an agent of your Bureau had so conducted himself.

I can only add what I said to you before, both by letter and in personal conversation, when we discussed the same sort of complaints--that it seems very risky to entrust to local police officers investigations dealing with expressions of opinion. I quite appreciate that you must rely on local police repeating the observation that where freedom of speech and publication is involved the danger of trespassing upon rights is so great that only your own agents should handle them.

Singerely yours,

RNB/sa

Roger N. Baldwin

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-22411-5676-18

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/10/84 BY 9145 auk/mpm
comp 249804

RECORDED
100-49562-34
B 1
16 SEP 25 1943

8-20-86. 58B7 J/aB
26625

34 SEP 30 1943

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
BISHOP JAMES CHAMBERLAIN BAKER
DR. HARRY ELMER BARNES
HON. JOHN BEARDSLEY
ALFRED BETTMAN
PROF. EDWIN M. BORCHARD
VAN WYCK BROOKS
DR. HENRY SEIDEL CANBY
WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN
WILLIAM F. COCHRAN
JOHN S. CODMAN
REP. JOHN M. COFFEE
MORRIS L. COOKE
PROF. GEORGE S. COUNTS
JOHN DOS PASSOS
MELVYN DOUGLAS
SHERWOOD EDDY
THOMAS H. ELIOT
DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER
REV. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
WILLIAM HENRY GALLAGHER
KATE CRANE GARTZ
DEAN CHRISTIAN GAUSS
DEAN CHARLES W. GILKEY
POWERS HAPGOOD
MARVIN C. HARRISON
CHARLES H. HOUSTON
DR. MORDECAI JOHNSON
DR. JOHN A. LAPP
PROF. HAROLD D. LASSWELL
AGNES BROWN LEACH
MAX LERNER
WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS
HON. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
PROF. ROBERT S. LYND
BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
JOHN P. MARQUAND
PROF. KIRTLEY F. MATHER
DR. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
RT. REV. WALTER MITCHELL
FELIX MORLEY
CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON
A. J. MUSTE
DR. WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON
PROF. WILLIAM F. OGBURN
BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM
JAMES G. PATTON
JENNINGS PERRY
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
RT. REV. WILLIAM SCARLETT
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
PROF. VIDA D. SCUDDER
PROF. ODELL SHEPARD
ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
PROF. CLARENCE R. SKINNER
HELEN PHELPS STOKES
RAYMOND GRAM SWING
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD
DR. WILLIAM LINDSAY YOUNG

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
ERNEST ANGELL
ALFRED M. BINGHAM
HARRY LORIN BINSSE
PROF. PAUL F. BRISSENDEN
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY
REV. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
RICHARD S. CHILDS
JOHN F. FINERTY
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL
WALTER FRANK
NATHAN GREENE
QUINCY HOWE
DOROTHY KENYON
CORLISS LAMONT
FLORINA LASKER
PROF. EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
PROF. KARL N. LLEWELLYN
PROF. ROBERT M. MACIVER
THURGOOD MARSHALL
ELMER RICE
WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR
REV. WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD
NORMAN THOMAS
RAYMOND L. WISE
181

ERICAN CIV TIES UN
170 Fifth Avenue City (10)
(at 22nd Street)
GRamercy 7-4330

OFFICERS

PROF. EDWARD A. ROSS
Chairman, National Committee
REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
Chairman, Board of Directors
PEARL S. BUCK
DEAN LLOYD K. GARRISON
DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM
RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS
DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY
Vice-Chairmen
B. W. HUEBSCH
Treasurer
ROGER N. BALDWIN
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Acers
Mr. Carson
Mr. Henden
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Starke
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8 STJ lap

September 22, 1943

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I expect to be in Washington on Wednesday and Thursday of next week. I would appreciate very much the opportunity of having an appointment with you. I will call your office early on Wednesday morning to arrange it.

Sincerely yours,

Roger N. Baldwin

RNB/sa

I will see him at noon 12 o'clock on Wednesday.

RECORDED
100-49565-35
F B I
8 SEP 30 1943

OCT 6 1943

SC:cm

100-49565

November 5, 1943

SAC, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-76 BY SP8 STS/mp

ROGER NASH BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER (C)

It has been determined that the above captioned individual, who is the subject of a security index card being maintained at the Bureau, is presently residing at Dell Brook Farm, Oakland, New Jersey and that his business address is 170 5th Avenue, New York, New York. Both of these addresses should be verified by the offices receiving copies of this letter.

In this regard, the attempts to verify the addresses should be confined to checking the various directories and indices available to the Field Offices. Active investigation or any inquiries should be made other than these sources without prior Bureau authority.

RECORDED
100-49565-36
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 6 1943
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
RECEIVED
NOV 5 1943 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

28 NOV 8 1943

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK NY FILE NO. 100-8424 KRE

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK	1/10/44	11/23,30/43	LLOYD W. DAVIDSON

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
ROGER NASH BALDWIN	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Check of directories indicates subject's office address 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

- C -

REFERENCE: Letter from Bureau to New York Office, dated November 5, 1943.
Bureau file number 100-49565

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-96 BY 5683STS/ap

DETAILS: AT NEW YORK CITY

Upon the authority of the Special Agent in Charge, this case was closed on February 23, 1942 in a report written by Special Agent L. H. BRASHEAR, at New York, New York.
This case was reopened for further investigation.

On November 23, 1943, a check was made of the telephone book for Manhattan in New York City and it was ascertained that the address of the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION is 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

On the same date, a check of the telephone book, being the summer-fall 1943 issue of the telephones listed in Manhattan, showed that the office address of ROGER NASH BALDWIN was 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
E. E. Conroy		100-8424-5

COPIES OF THIS REPORT
(5) Bureau
4 New York

COPY IN FILE

40 JAN 12 1944

RECORDED
INDEXED
EX-40

COPIES DESTROYED 54 FEB 23 1944

7—2031

On November 30, 1943, the Building Directory at 170 Fifth Avenue, an office building, showed that the ninth floor of that building was occupied by the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION and by ROGER NASH BALDWIN. This directory listed no other individuals or firms for the ninth floor in that building.

C L O S E D

SC:mjm
100-49565 - 38
SAC, Newark

February 22, 1944

RECORDED J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

ROGER NASH BALDWIN
Security Matter - C

Reference is made to your letter of January 29, 1944, in which you advised that the above-captioned individual's residence address is apparently Dell Brook Farm, Oakland, New Jersey.

For your information, a Security Index card is being maintained on this individual, a copy of which is already in the possession of the New York Field Division. To conform with instructions, the Newark Field Division should also prepare a Security Index card on this individual containing the information set out below:

BALDWIN, ROGER NASH NATIVE BORN COMMUNIST

Dell Brook Farm
Oakland, New Jersey (Res.)

170 5th Avenue
New York, New York (Bus.)

(NEW YORK FIELD OFFICE)
(NEWARK FIELD OFFICE)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ lag

Born January 21, 1884, at Wellesley, Massachusetts.

The New York Field Division should correct its card to read as set out above.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Piper
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 12
FEB 22 1944 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

43 FEB 23 1944

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Newark, New Jersey

100-15050
PCL:DW

January 29, 1944

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: ROGER NASH (1) BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the Bureau letter to New York with copies to Newark dated November 5, 1943, in the above-captioned matter.

Please be advised that files of the Newark Field Division reflect that the property on which the Delbrook Farms, Oakland, New Jersey, is located is owned by ELEANOR PRESTON who is reportedly the wife of the subject. According to the files in the Newark Field Office, the subject is very seldom on the premises and is reported to spend most of his time in New York City and Chicago.

In compliance with the referenced letter, no active investigation or inquiries will be made without prior Bureau authority.

Very truly yours,

S. K. McKEE
SAC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STS/sdp

CC: New York

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-47550-38
167 F B I
10 FEB 2 1944

Op. 15

RECEIVED

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

BALDWIN, ROGER N.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-96 BY SP8 DTS/ldb
envelope empty
remove

Empty #7
12/3/73

ENCLOSURE*

ENCLOSURE

100-HQ-5505-39

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

AGJ:MXR
100-8424

TO : DIRECTOR, F.B.I.

DATE: February 19, 1945

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK

SUBJECT: ROGER NASH BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C
Bureau File # 100-49565

Reference is made to the Security Index card maintained in connection with the above subject and to Bureau letter to New York dated November 5, 1943 which instructed that attempts to verify the subject's addresses should be confined to checking various directories and office indices.

This is to advise that the 1945 Manhattan telephone directory lists ROGER N. BALDWIN'S business address as 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and residence address as 282 West 11th Street, New York City.

According to information previously reported to the Bureau the subject has also maintained a residence at 3 Dell Brook Farm, Oakland, New Jersey.

Form FD-119 is enclosed herewith.

Enclosure
cc: Newark- Encl.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY 2068 DTJ/ag

RECORDED 100-49565-46
FEB 21 1945

(MX-15)

74 APR 13 1945

CC:bpa

File No. 100-49565-41

RECORDED

SAC, New York

June 11, 1945

EX-72

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Roger Nash Baldwin
Security Matter - C
(New York File No. 100-3424)

Reference is made to your letter of May 22, 1945, wherein you recommended the cancellation of the Security Index card in the captioned case.

Although it has not been proven that the subject is a member of the Communist Party, it is true that he had openly advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. It is also pointed out that through his writings and lectures Baldwin may be able to exercise considerable influence which would be of material benefit to the Communists or any similar radical group. It is therefore believed that the Security Index card on the subject should not be canceled.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 7
JUN 11 1945 P.M.
FBI
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6-2-86 BY [illegible]

58 JUN 15 1945

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

RJB:FOH
100-8424

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: May 22, 1945

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: ROGER NASH BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C
(Bureau File No. 100-49565)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-76 BY [illegible]

Reference is made to the above-captioned Subject, who is Director of the American Civil Liberties Union and on whom this office is presently maintaining a Security Index Card.

This file has been reviewed in order to determine whether or not the Subject is dangerous or potentially dangerous to the internal security of the United States, and the following information was noted:

In a description of himself BALDWIN stated: "Therefore, I am for Socialism, disarmament and ultimately, for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class and sole control of those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal." (This statement appeared in an article published in the Washington Herald dated October 18, 1935).

In testimony before a Superior Court Judge in San Diego, California, Subject stated that the American Civil Liberties Union upheld the right of an alien in this country to urge the overthrow and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. BALDWIN then stated that he believed the same.

According to confidential informants of the Detroit Field Division, Subject was a director or trustee of the Garland Fund.

According to information received from ONI, BALDWIN in 1934 was reported to be an honorary member of the National Advisory Board of the Communist Party of the USA.

In an article dated May 27, 1941 BALDWIN was accused by the American Legion for utterances in which he advocated methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial and political reform, to wit, the Soviet Government in America.

The Bureau's interest in the Subject was noted when on November 5, 1943 a request was received for the New York Field Division to verify Subject's business and residence addresses.

Ltr to Sec'y 6-11-45

RECORDED & INDEXED 189 100-49565-41 IP IB II 37 MAY 26 1945

COPIES DESTROYED 10/10/62 297

EX-61

May 22, 1945

It was further noted, however, that there is no evidence that the Subject is or has ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States or of the Communist Political Association.

In view of the foregoing, the Bureau is requested to advise whether or not the Security Index Card presently maintained on this Subject should be retained.

cc: Newark

SHADYSIDE COMMUNITY FORUM

MR. ROGER BALDWIN, LECTURER.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STS/ap

Pittsburgh, Pa.,

October 24, 1945.

Attended a Community Forum meeting at the First Unitarian Church, Ellsworth and Morewood Avenues, East End, Pittsburgh, Pa., the first of a series extending to April 1946.

Arrived at 8:25 P. M. and found that Mr. Roger Baldwin had already started his lecture on the subject, "How Goes the Bill of Rights?" He reviewed the changes in government taking place in England, and more recently France, and pointed to these as illustrations of Democracy failing to work. He spoke of Communism spreading over Europe. Then he gave an illustration and explanation of Communism.

"Communism", he said, " results from the downfall of Democracy, and is carried into effect by seizing the property and everything of value of those who have it, and dividing it up among the Proletariat, and then putting all of them under a Dictatorship."

He spoke of the persecution of peoples in the U.S.A. as the result of war, and what the Civil Liberties Union was and has been doing to relieve this situation. The Conscientious Objectors, he said, will get out soon. But, at the present time it is the pressure being put on their situation by the Veterans of Foreign Wars organization that is holding up their release, as this organization is maintaining that not a single Conscientious Objector shall be released until after the last Service Man has received his discharge from the armed forces. The rights of the [illegible] and out of the armed forces were explained at length and the problems the Civil Liberties Union has had to handle in this connection. But, he said, the Negroes are getting better and better organized and equipped to understand fully their rights under the law. The Japanese situation on the West Coast was a difficult task for the Civil Liberties Union to handle, after these Japanese had been forced into Concentration Camps on the strength

100-49565-42
RECORDED & INDEXED
94 NOV 8 1945

of powers derived from the war situation. He explained that the Civil Liberties Union finally was able to get these Japanese in most cases released from these Camps and sent back to their original locations. He said the main reason for putting these Japanese in the Camps was to favor the white farmers on the coast, because the Japanese were producing for less and selling their products under the prices charged by the others. He said Canada did not put their Japanese in camps, but just ordered them out of certain active war regions, and then gave those who could not earn their way a subsistance to live on. He spoke of the peoples of the Islands in the Pacific who fought by the thousands in and by the side of our armed forces, and still have great difficulty in getting citizenship in this country. He spoke against conscription in peace times as a means of taking away the rights of those conscripted. He said the present wave of strikes over the nation at this time is due to labor being bottled up in the war area with a pledge not to strike. He predicted that, in the event this nation should drift into a long period of depression, Fascist tendencies will develop in organizations all over. He said it is only a matter of time until all peoples, regardless of race, will be allowed citizenship in this country. Blame for most ills he placed on what he called "Power Politics". He praised the Wagner Act as a great step forward in allowing the people to exercise the rights they had been denied before. Segregation in this Nation, he said, will soon be abolished. The most outstanding statement, in the opinion of the writer, is that he said, "The white man in the not too distant future will no longer hold a monopoly on the Bill of Rights."

Baldwin finished his speech at 9:45 P. M. and the rest of the time until 10 P.M. was devoted to questions. The questions were mainly from students on technicalities of government. There were some questions on the good and bad features of the CIO, which Mr. Baldwin answered in his usual evasive manner. He said the CIO was not perfect yet, but it is a comparitively new organization.

One woman brought up the point as to whether the quota system of the colleges was legal. He maintained that the Supreme Court of this country is the main protector

of the Bill of Rights.

One hundred sixty people attended this meeting, as near as it could be arrived at by half count and half estimate. There were very few negroes in the crowd. There appeared to be more women than men. Most of the men appeared to be small business men.

The proceeds of the meeting, above expenses, will be given to the Community Fund.

This Forum lists the following people as PATRONS, and same is marked as incomplete, list still being made up. It carries the following names:

Hon. and Mrs. Cornelius D. Scully
Mrs. Burt T. Anderson
Mr. & Mrs. T. J. Dykema
Dr. & Mrs. L. O. Grondahl
Mr. & Mrs. Adam Hazlett
Mr. & Mrs. Glenn C. McCombs
Mr. Frederick G. McKee
Mr. & Mrs. Edward Madge
Mr. & Mrs. Harold Munk
Mr. & Mrs. John Lester Perry
Mr. & Mrs. Earl C. Reed
Mr. & Mrs. C. K. Robinson
Mr. H. K. Siebeneck
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Wilhelms

The Forum Committee is listed as:

Dr. & Mrs. L. O. Grondahl
Mrs. E. D. Hessenmueller
Mr. & Mrs. Glenn McCombs
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Bassett
Mr. & Mrs. William Lamb
Mrs. Harold Munk
Mr. George Metger
Mr. John E. Webster.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK NY FILE NO. 100-8424 EED

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEW YORK	9/5/46	5/14,23;8/13, 14/46	

TITLE
ROGER NASH BALDWIN

CHARACTER OF CASE
SECURITY MATTER - C

DECLASSIFIED BY [illegible]
ON 2-28-78

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject, white, born Jan. 21, 1884 at Wellesley, Mass., and has had "an essentially American upbringing and background", educated in Boston public schools and at Harvard College. Married second wife, EVELYN PRESTON on Mar. 7, 1936 but no background information available. Resides at 282 W. 11th St., NYC, (WA 9-1433). Also receives mail at Dellbrook Farms, RFD, Oakland, N.J. Continues as Director, American Civil Liberty Union, 170 5th Ave., NYC. Referred to himself in 1929 as a pacifist and stated he believes in revolution "not necessarily the forcible seizure of power in armed conflict but the process of class movements determined to expropriate the capitalist class and to take control of all social property". He also stated at this time that despite his favorable attitude toward Communist activities which he thought justified by facts "I am not a Communist as is well known. I could not join the Communist movement both for theoretical and practical reasons. Philosophically I am an anarchist though I do not work at it". In 1942 with respect to racial discrimination he wrote, "The white man's world is going as it should". On America's Town Meeting Broadcast, Jan. 11, 1945, he viewed Communism as not a threat but a nuisance. Holds membership in Civil Rights and Liberties Groups.

- C -

REFERENCE: Bureau File Number 100-49565.
Bureau letter, November 15, 1943.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: Edward Scheidt SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
100-49565-43

COPIES DESTROYED 11/01/97

COPIES OF THIS REPORT
5 - Bureau
3 - New York

RECORDED & INDEXED

JAN 16 1947

7—2034

NY 100-8424

Report of Special Agent Lloyd W. Davidson, New York City, January 10, 1944.
SAC Letter #28, Series 1946, dated March 12, 1946.

DETAILS:

SUBJECT A CITIZEN BY BIRTH

"Who's Who" for 1942 - 1943 contains a biographical sketch of ROGER NASH BALDWIN. In this he describes himself as a political reformer (pacifist). He stated that he was born in Wellesley, Massachusetts, on January 21, 1884, the son of FRANK TENNO and LUCY CUSHING (NASH) BALDWIN. No further information was given as to his immediate family background but the "New York Times" of October 31, 1918 at the time of his sentencing to Atlanta for violating the Selective Service Draft Law quoted him as saying "I have had an essentially American upbringing and background" ... "I was educated in the Boston public schools and at Harvard College".

The subject was married in New York City on August 8, 1919 to MADELINE ZABRISKIE DOTY who was born in Bayonne, New Jersey. The marriage was performed by NORMAN M. THOMAS, clergyman and Socialist leader. No information was contained in this marriage certificate, Number 22088, with respect to the background of either other than to name the parents of each. However, "Who's Who" for 1942 - 1943 relates that the subject was married for a second time on March 7, 1936 to EVELYN PRESTON. There is no record of the subject's marriage in New York City.

The Newark Field Division has advised that the subject has been known to receive mail as late as June 1946 at the Dellbrook Farm, Oakland, New Jersey, and confidential Informant T-1 has advised that office that the farm is owned by ELEANOR PRESTON, who, to this informant's knowledge, is BALDWIN's wife. However, the Newark Office was unable to locate any announcement of the engagement or marriage of the couple in the various newspapers such as the Bergen Evening Record, Hackensack, The Paterson, New Jersey Call and the News, and the Wickhoff, New Jersey, News. The records of the Pompton Bulletin were not available prior to 1940. The marriage records of the Clerk of the Marriage Bureau of Oakland, New Jersey, likewise contain no reference to the marriage of ELEANOR or EVELYN PRESTON in that community on March 7, 1936 or at any time five years prior to or since that time.

RESIDENCE

In keeping with the instructions contained in the referenced

Bureau letter dated November 15, 1943, it was ascertained that the subject continues to reside at 282 West 11th Street, New York City, (Telephone Number WA 9-1433) and as has been mentioned in the previous section the subject also currently receives mail at the Dellbrook Farms, RFD, Oakland, New Jersey.

OCCUPATION

On May 14, 1946 it was learned that the subject's name still appears on the building directory of the building at 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City, in which the American Civil Liberties Union maintains its headquarters. The subject in his biographical data presented in "Who's Who" for 1942-1943 stated that he had been a director of the ACLU since 1917. In accordance with the referenced Bureau letter dated November 15, 1943, no further steps have been taken to ascertain the status of the subject's connection with the ACLU.

ACTIVITIES

The subject contributed an article entitled "The Need for Militancy" to a book named "The Socialism of Our Times", which represented papers delivered at a symposium on the subject by a number of prominent writers which book was published by the Vanguard Press presumably for the League for Industrial Democracy (June 1929). The subject's article appears on Pages 76 - 83. On Page 77 BALDWIN refers to himself as a pacifist. He states that he believes in revolution "not necessarily the forcible seizure of power in armed conflict but the process of class movements determined to expropriate the capitalist class and to take control of all social property". He indicates that he is opposed to revolutionary violence and then states, "I would rather see violent revolution than none at all though I do not personally support it because I believe other means far better. Even the terrible cause of bloody revolution is a cheaper price to humanity than the continued exploitation and wreck of human life under the settled violence of the present system."

On Pages 80 - 81 he writes: "Despite my favorable attitude to Communist activities which is justified, I think, by the facts, I am not a Communist, as is well known. I could not join the Communist movement both for theoretical and practical reasons. Philosophically I am an anarchist though I do not work at it."

In the proceedings of the Second United States Congress Against War and Fascism which was held in September 1934 in New York City, BALDWIN

is quoted in such published proceedings, on Page 78, as stating: "this is the report of your (Presidium), an organization committee, recommending permanent national executive committee for the coming year. We have added to the executive a number of people to make it a much larger group. We have tried to get a balanced group, so that all the forces at the Congress would be adequately represented. We have left open places for some of our intellectual friends who have not so far participated -- writers, artists, etc., also representatives of cooperatives among the farmers, and we have left places which we hope the Socialist Party is going to fill".

BALDWIN then went on to state that the nominations unanimously agreed upon by the organization committee and by the presidium committee placed new persons on the executive committee. Included among others was "Harry Bridges of the ILA, San Francisco Marine Transport".

In an article entitled "More to Spain" the EUGENE V. DEBS Column by AMICUS MOST, published in the February 1937 issue of the American Socialist Monthly, the statement appears:

"Although the Socialist Party initiated and is giving its hearty support to the friends of the Debs Column, that organization is entirely separate from the Party. Its sponsors include such well known people as ..... Roger Baldwin ..... and others representing all shades of political opinion and labor, literary and liberal circles".

The files reflect that on April 13, 1937 BALDWIN as Director, ACLU, spoke on the subject, "Can Democracy Survive?", at a meeting at the Hotel Peter Stuyvesant at 2 West 86th Street, New York City. He served as the acting chairman of a meeting of the Scottsboro Defense Committee which was held on July 29, 1937 at the New York Hippodrome.

According to a letterhead in use by the organization on February 14, 1938 the subject was a member of the Advisory Board of the alleged Communist-front organization, The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, 100 Fifth Avenue.

In April 1938 the subject delivered two lectures at Harvard under the Godkin Foundation which lectures were subsequently published with others in a book entitled "Civil Liberties and Industrial Conflict" (Harvard University Press, 1938).

On October 5, 1938 a Madison Square Garden meeting was held in celebration of the two years of activities of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (later known as the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy). Professor HAROLD LASKI, then as now a member of the British Labor Party Executive Committee, was one of the principal speakers. The New York Times of October 6, 1938 reported that the subject replaced Dr. REINHOLD NIEBUHR during the course of the meeting as chairman when the latter was taken ill.

b6
b7C

With respect to the American League for Peace and Democracy with which BAIDWIN was also affiliated, he stated in May 1939 in an interview conducted by Special Agent [redacted] that the organization started off with the idea that it would be an international organization with sections in various countries. The international organization did not control or finance the national organization and the latter was never an agent of the international organization. Defense of the Soviet Union was in the program of the League until 1935. This meant defense of the principles of the Workers Republic not military defense. Capitalism was never adequate in Party literature.

The Communist Party, BAIDWIN stated, had always supported the American League for Peace and Democracy and for a time was a member as an organization. He was positive that the Communists did not at any time dominate the national office of the League after the incident of the demonstration by Communists against Socialists at Madison Square Garden in New York City. At that time a number of people resigned from the League. BAIDWIN also planned to do so but subsequently decided to stay with the League.

For the American Civil Liberties Union, the subject on September 26, 1939 wrote to the Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, requesting clarification as to the scope of the national emergency powers invoked by the President of the United States which he said were incompletely reported in the press. He inquired as to how many additional FBI Agents had been added to the staff of the Bureau and for what purposes and with what duties. He also asked what substance there was to the report of the organization of citizens committees stimulated through the FBI for the purpose of reporting apparent violations of neutrality and if such committees were being formed, with what authority and for what specific purposes. An apprppriate reply was made on October 7, 1939 in which he was informed that 150 Agents had

been authorized for general investigation of the violations of the laws of the United States and further that the Bureau was not participating in the formation of citizens' committees.

Confidential Informant T-2 advised that the Chicago Councils of Unemployed is an organization that had been set up by the Communist Party and had put on a demonstration on Friday, February 21, 1940, with a hunger march on the City Hall. The police were present and were under instructions not to use force. However, the Reds made an attack upon the officers and as a result several were arrested and jailed. To take advantage of this situation, the Communist Party of Chicago held a protest meeting under the auspices of the International Labor Defense at Carmens Hall on March 5, 1940. BALDWIN was one of the speakers. He emphasized the protection afforded by the provisions of the American Constitution relating to freedom of speech, press and assemblage and stated that the ACLU should support the Communists so long as they were persecuted by the police.

BALDWIN spoke at a memorial meeting for EMMA GOLDMAN, internationally known anarchist who died May 14, 1940, which meeting was held in June 1940 at the Townhall under the auspices of the Friends of Emma Goldman.

The New York Post of December 21, 1940 in its column "The American Forum" supplied the question, "Should Communist and Nazi Organizations be Outlawed?" for consideration. BALDWIN argued through the medium of the Post the negative of the question. He asserted, "No government has ever been overthrown by free speech but plenty of governments have been overthrown by suppressing free speech. Our civil liberties in the long run constitute our only sure bulwark against dictatorship and the only means of democracy".

BALDWIN became a member of the Board of Directors of the International League for the Rights of Man and for the New Democracy, Inc. shortly after its formation on November 12, 1941. The organization was created "to investigate and establish the fundamentals of the stature of the new democracy." (In February 1946 it was known to have its office at 86 Riverside Drive, New York City.)

The March 1942 issue of "India Today", a monthly bulletin of the India League of America, 17 East 48th Street, New York City, set out the officers of this organization all of whom were natives of India, but the Advisory Board was made up of both Americans and Indians. BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board.

Confidential Informant T-3 advised that the subject on March 15, 1942 stated as follows to MADELINE Z. DOTY (his former wife) of 1 Rue du Vieux College, Geneva, Switzerland, that a dinner was held in the honor of the 70th birthday of OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD at the Hotel Roosevelt on March 13, 1942. He said, "With speeches ranging all the way from unqualified support of the war to old fashioned pacifism, even the pacifists don't stress that much now; it sounds kind of remote but they are strong for making the right kind of peace and seem to sense that some sort of a revolution is going on in the ranks of the democracies, where it is sure needed if the conflict is to be raised to the necessary level of moral ends which will unite all peoples. A universal solution is the only possible one for lasting peace and order, not a victory by one side in battle alone. There is a lot of heartening evidence that these ideas are growing but it will be the devil of a fight to overcome the Tories and reactionaries everywhere who take the contrary view for such a peace will ruin their system of privilege. The white man's world is going as it should."

The subject was the guest speaker at a meeting of the Community Forum held at the Radburn School Auditorium, Fairlawn, New Jersey, on Sunday evening, May 10, 1942, according to the files of the Newark Field Division. The topic for his disoussion was "Civil Liberties" and he deplored the policy of moving against minority groups and minority leaders such as Father COUGHLIN and WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY. He cited anti-Communism as harmful at a time when the United States was officially allied with Russia. He expressed the opinion that the country was not yet prepared for peace, adding, however, that the problems of race discrimination and freedom for others will become and are becoming recognized and debated more widely every day.

The India League of America, 17 East 48th Street, New York City, sponsored a meeting at the Town Hall, 123 West 43d Street, on September 29, 1942. The theme of this meeting was "The United Nations' Stake in India and How to Mobilize India's Millions for Victory". BALDWIN was one of the speakers.

b6
b7C

Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, on October 15, 1942 reported that [redacted], an associate of BALDWIN in the ACLU, had resigned in order to return to California. As a measure of BALDWIN's activities, Informant T stated that although [redacted] had cooperated with the Communists rather more than BALDWIN and other east coast ACLU leaders had, [redacted] was never a Communist Party member. It pointed out that the ACLU had been defending the Japanese in a few cases in the past and had defended certain Nazis, mainly to show its impartiality.

b2
b7D

On March 1, 1943 the subject discussed civil liberties according to the Newark files before the Newark Young Mens and Young Women's Hebrew Association in that city on March 1, 1943. He again argued the case for preservation of civil liberties in war time and although he agreed that the government has a right to suspend civil liberties in war time, he declared that the public should be the judges of the reason for that suspension.

BALDWIN was one of the sponsors of a dinner arranged by the Refugee Relief Tourists, Inc. on the subject "Our Refugee Allies", which was held on February 18, 1944 in the Town Hall.

GERHART H. SEGER and Dr. RUDOLF KATZ, editor of the "Neue Volkszeitung" in the January 6, 1945 issue of the "New Leader", Socialist publication, charged that the Council for Democratic Germany, which was sponsored by the American Association for a Democratic Germany, was under the influence of Communist members of the Council and was a Communist-front organization. They stated that the American Association for a Democratic Germany and its sponsors were unknowingly being used by the Council to further the aims of the Communist-influenced Council.

Sponsors of the American Association for a Democratic Germany in the January 25, 1945 issue of the "New Leader" denied these allegations and in the same issue, SEGER and KATZ reiterated their claims. BALDWIN was one of the sponsors of the American Association for a Democratic Germany which signed the article denying the allegations.

On the question, "Is Communism a threat to the American way of life?", a debate on the weekly radio program, "America's Town Meeting of the Air", conducted on January 11, 1945 over WJZ, BALDWIN and Dr. HENRY D. VILLEDONESE conceded Communism was merely a nuisance while HENRY J. TAYLOR, World Telegram special writer, and WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLAIN, author and lecturer, contended it was a menace.

According to the World Telegram of January 12, 1945, BALDWIN argued "Not in the worst years of the depression did Communists attract any appreciable number of adherents. They are not and never have been a threat but I will agree that they are a nuisance. They mislead innocent liberals and are an obstacle to democracy in that they confuse the issue. The purpose of Communism inevitably is to act as agencies of the Soviet Union. Russia wants to win the war and rebuild the country after the war so our Communists are now against revolution and for American business expansion.

Pamphlets and literature in the New York Office reflect that BALDWIN has been affiliated with the following organizations in addition to his present connection with the American Civil Liberties Union:

American Youth Congress, advisory Committee, 1938
International Relief Association, 1941
Spanish Refugee Relief, Executive Board, 1941
Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, 1940, speaker
Joint Committee for Defense of Brazilian People, Committee Member, 1936.
New School for Social Research, Instructor, 1941
New York City Conference for a People's Delegate to Biro-Bidjan, sponsor, 1936.
Japanese-American Committee for Democracy, Advisory Board, 1942
International Rescue and Relief Committee -- National Committee of International Relief Association, 1942
National Sharecroppers Week, March 1 - 8, 1942, sponsor, New York Committee
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder -- Signed petition 1941.
Greenwich Village Group of the American Free World Association, Vice Chairman, 1943.
Book Union - Advisory Council, 1943
National Urban League, Member, Executive Board, 1943.

- C L O S E D -

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated September 5, 1946 at New York City, are as follows: b6 b7C

T-1 - [redacted] who supplied the reported information to the Newark Field Division which in turn transmitted it to the New York Office by letter dated November 13, 1943. b6 b7C

T-2 - Report of Special Agent J. C. Bills dated November 26, 1941 at Chicago, Illinois, in the case entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, VOORHIS ACT".

T-3 - Postal Censorship intercept made available by the Office of Censorship.

100-49565

SAC, New York

November 6, 1946

Director, FBI

Roger Nash Baldwin
Security Matter - C
(New York File #100-8424)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-20-86 BY [illegible]

You are advised that the Security Index card maintained for the subject at the Bureau has been cancelled and you are accordingly authorized to place your card in the investigative file. If your office has received further information which would warrant the continuation of subject's card, the Bureau should be advised in order that it may be reinstated.

ARS:mjj

RECORDED 100-49565-44

EX-8

13 NOV 13 1946

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 15
NOV 6 - 1946 P.M
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

56 NOV 5 1946

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: December 5, 1947

FROM : SAC, Boston

SUBJECT: RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN,
INFORMATION CONCERNING.

The Harvard Crimson of November 26, 1947 reported a meeting of the Harvard Law School Forum held November 25, 1947 at Rindge Technical School, Cambridge, Massachusetts under the general topic "How Safe Are American Civil Rights?"

The following is an article from that paper:

BALDWIN FEARS
TREND AGAINST
CIVIL LIBERTIES

Foreign Policy Also
Hit at Law Forum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP3 STS/pp

ROGER N. BALDWIN, 04, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, cast a dubious eye towards the query "How Safe Are American Civil Rights?" at the fourth Law School Forum last night.

Moderator MARK D. HOWE '28, professor of Law, led a spirited discussion between BALDWIN and E. MERRICK DODD '10, Fessenden Professor of Law, JOHN SALTONSTALL, JR. '38 and ELIJAH ADLOW '16, Justice of the Boston Municipal Court, who termed himself a "rare creature known hereabouts as a reactionary."

The Civil Liberties Union director was the main speaker, while ADLOW, SALTONSTAL_, and DODD served as interrogators.

DISLIKES TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

BALDWIN charged that in the past year or two "Had Enough?" forces have buttressed conservative elements and made it increasingly difficult to fight for human liberties. He decried the Taft-Hartley Law, the method of administering loyalty checks, and activities of the un-American Activities Committee as the most depressing aspects of this trend.

b6
b7C

Declaring that the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights is a landmark in the battle for civil liberties, BALDWIN noted that similar sentiments supporting human equalities are embodied in the UN charter. He voiced his belief that foreign critics of American failures in the sphere of human freedoms "... are, in large measure, right

RECORDED 100-42565-45
FBI

& INDEXED, 29 DEC 9 1947

52DEC 18 1947

COPIES DESTROYED 10/10/6[illegible]

E48 42

BS 100-1749

ATTACKS FOREIGN POLICY

BALDWIN stated, "Many do not think that you can reconcile capitalism and democracy -- and there is a lot to be said on their side." He added that democratic-socialism may well be the bulwark of human liberties and should Britain's experiment fail, chances of democracy in the world would be greatly dimmed.

Expanding on this remark, BALDWIN digressed to a criticism of American foreign policy on the ground that supporting reactionary governments rather than "middle-of-the-road" forces is a fundamental error that manufactures a previously non-existent Communist threat in those countries.

- - - - - -

The above information is being submitted to the Bureau and the New York Division for completion of their files regarding ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

TFM:JH
100-1749
cc: New York

SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED

FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 2/19/48

FROM : SAC, Boston

SUBJECT: ROGER N. BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-76 BY SP8 STS/pp

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

For the information of the Bureau, ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, spoke on January 18, 1948 at the Community Church service, Jordan Hall, Gainsboro Street and Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, on the subject "Our Blundering anti-Communism."

In the course of his talk, BALDWIN declared "J. Edgar Hoover, has made the statement he does not favor suppressing the Communist Party." BALDWIN declared "I agree with Mr. Hoover." Baldwin then went on to explain he that the Communist problem would better be faced by exposing the Communists to the public view and insisting that Communists be identified openly and not encouraged to follow a program of undercover activity. In this regard, Baldwin declared that he had recently been the guest of the War Department on a tour of Japan and Korea. BALDWIN said that he had only the highest praise for General MacArthur for the way MacArthur had handled the Communist problem in Japan. BALDWIN declared that MacArthur had not suppressed the Communists in Japan, and in permitting them to function openly had been able to demonstrate to the Japanese people "what real American democracy meant."

In contrast to conditions in Japan, Baldwin said that Korea was a "mess." BALDWIN said that in Korea the United States Military Government in that country had chosen to see the United States occupied area of Korea managed by "hand-picked individuals" who had no popular support among the Korean people. According to Baldwin, this policy in Korea had resulted in the creation of a "coalition" between moderate "left wing" Koreans, Communists and pro-Russian sympathizers who operated in a strong underground movement. BALDWIN expressed the belief that in Europe "we are following a policy much like that followed by the United States Military Government in Korea."

In speaking of the dangers to civil liberties because of the hysteria throughout the United States on the problem of "what to do with the Communists," BALDWIN referred to the Truman Loyalty Program. Baldwin stated that the Loyalty Program of the present administration in Washington "makes the FBI or some new organization a judge of who is and who is not loyal."

BALDWIN asked his audience to remember that a federal statute was created in 1940 making it a crime for anyone to advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence and that there was also a Registration

COPIES DESTROYED 10/18/58 P97

100-49565-45X
62-87025

RECORDED & INDEXED

19 APR 14 1948

F B I

60 APR 14 1948

EX-116

Act, making it a federal crime for an agent of a foreign principal failing to register with the United States Government as an agent of a foreign power. Baldwin said if it had been able, the United States Department of Justice would have acted had these laws been violated.

In his talk, BALDWIN declared that the Truman Doctrine with respect to the problem of condemning Russia was not enough unless it was supported and accompanied by a policy of affirmation of American democratic ideas. We must support Socialists and non-Communists worldwide in order to condemn Russia.

BALDWIN said we must remember that a great many persons in the United States had approached Communism with a kind of "duality of thinking." Many persons had approved of some of the idealistic portions of Communistic ideology and had failed to consider sufficiently the political phases of the Communist ideology.

BALDWIN said that prior to the famous Russo-German peace pact, BALDWIN himself had been one of these people, but that this collaboration between Nazi Germany and the USSR had finally convinced BALDWIN that the Communist policy followed Russia's national policy. BALDWIN said that the political ideology of Communism as practiced in Russia is irrevocably in conflict with American democracy.

In the course of his talk at the Community Church in Boston on January 18, 1948, BALDWIN declared "we are denying our American principles in a period of hysteria, in our fear of the Communist menace." BALDWIN stated "We must give liberty to everyone." "Failure to do this," Baldwin said, "results in (1) the creation of machinery to deny liberty and (2) driving Communists underground."

BALDWIN spoke at the Community Church on January 18, 1948 before an audience of approximately 200 persons or less who had gathered for the regular Sunday morning Community Church service.

RWD:md

CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Date: April 1, 1948

To: Director of Intelligence
General Staff
Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY DP8015 bdg
ON 3-20-86

Attention: Reading Panel Branch

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director - Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: ROGER N. BALDWIN
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

The above-named individual, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, spoke on January 18, 1948, at the Community Church, Jordan Hall, Gainsboro Street and Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, on the subject "Our Blundering Anti-Communism."

Baldwin pointed out that he was in favor of exposing the Communists to the public view and insisting that Communists be identified openly and not encouraged to follow a program of undercover activity. In this regard, he declared that he had recently been sent as a guest of the War Department on a tour of Japan and Korea. Baldwin stated that he had only the highest praise for General MacArthur and for the way General MacArthur had handled the Communist problem in Japan. Baldwin declared that General MacArthur had not suppressed the Communists in Japan, and in permitting them to function openly had been able to demonstrate to the Japanese people "what real American democracy meant."

In contrast to conditions in Japan, Baldwin said that Korea was a "mess." Baldwin said that in Korea the United States Military Government in that country had chosen to see the United States occupied area of Korea managed by "hand-picked individuals" who had no popular support among the Korean people. According to Baldwin, this policy in Korea had resulted in the creation of a "coalition" between moderate "left wing" Koreans, Communists and pro-Russian sympathizers who operated in a strong underground movement. Baldwin expressed the belief that in Europe we are following a policy much like that [illegible] United States Military Government in Korea."

This material is furnished to you in view of the remarks made by Baldwin concerning the Army's occupation of Japan and Korea.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Tele. Room
Miss
Mandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
APR 5 1948
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

5 APR

INDEXED

Letter from Baldwin 3/18/48 re subject

July 9, 1948

RECORDED - 109 100-49565-46X

62-87035-3

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I just stopped by my office on the way to the train and my secretary told me of your call this morning. I am mighty sorry that I was not in so that I could have had a visit with you. I hope that when you are down this way next time you will give me a ring.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-2086 BY SP3D73/pg

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

JEH:EH

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUL 12
☆ JUL 9 1948 P.M.
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

21 JUL 8 1948

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

July 7, 1948

My dear Mr. Hoover,-

I shall be in Washington for the day Friday, and possibly Saturday, and would like to see you briefly, if you are to have a free moment.

I will call your secretary Friday morning for an appointment.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

Roger Baldwin

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP3 STJ

DEFERRED RECORDING

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover,
Washington, D.C.

100-49565-46X

RECORDED 109

19 JUL 23 1948

TIME P.M.

DO-5

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Record of Telephone Call or Visitor

Mr. Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union called phoned.

Phone No.

Hour 10am Date July 9, 1948

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Jones
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

REMARKS

Mr. Baldwin asked if he was going to be able to see the Director today and was told that Mr. Hoover had an appointment at the Pentagon which he is keeping and that he is leaving town at noon. Mr. Baldwin said he supposed he wouldn't see the Director this time, that the matter was not urgent, he just wanted the Director's opinion on a matter of "high policy." He said he would probably call the Director sometime early next week and discuss the matter with him then.

100-49565-46X1

Mr. Hoover's regrets were expressed at not being able to see him today. He said he understood.

62-87055-2

mhm

RECORDED - 109 19 JUL 23 1948

CRIM

5 JUL 28 1948

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-2086 BY 2088 DLJ/lap

Minister
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Ten Park Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-76 BY SP8 STJ/ag

November 15, 1949

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On January 1st next, Roger Baldwin is to retire as the Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

In recognition of his extraordinary services through thirty years, we are planning, among other things, to present Roger with a handsomely bound volume of greetings and tributes from his host of friends in many places. We know you will want to be included in this company.

So I invite you to send us a letter, written preferably in your own hand, and on one side only of your stationery, telling us what you think of Roger Baldwin, and particularly any personal experiences you have had with him. We should have this letter posted to the above address not later than December 1st, to be promptly mounted in the projected volume.

With high regards,

Very sincerely yours,

John Haynes Holmes

Chairman, Board of Directors
American Civil Liberties Union

1 ENCL 75

100-49565-46X2

RECORDED - 75

62-67033-4

Please mail reply to:

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

_____ 1949

TO:

✓ Director 5633	___ Mr. Mohr 5744
✓ Mr. Tolson 5744	___ Mr. Nease 5633
___ Mr. Ladd 5736	___ Mr. Q. Tamm 4131 IB
___ Mr. Clegg 5256	___ Mr. Walkart 7204
___ Mr. Fletcher 1742	___ Miss Gandy 5633
___ Mr. Glavin 5517	___ Mr. English 5627
___ Mr. Harbo 7625	___ Records Section 7235
___ Mr. Rosen 5706	___ Pers. Records 6635
___ Mr. Tracy 4130 IB	___ Reading Room 5531
___ Mr. Cartwright	___ Mail Room 5533
___ Mr. Jones 4236	___ Teletype 5644
___ Mr. Leonard 6222 IB	
___ Mr. McCoy 5537	___ Mrs. Chisholm
___ Mr. McGuire	___ Miss Harris
	___ Miss Lurz

___ See Me ___ For Appropriate Action
___ Send File ___ Prepare Reply

Would Director like to give a testimonial for his Friend

No

This is a form letter. Disregard it.

L. B. Nichols
Room 5640 Ext 691

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-86 BY 8373 SP8

100-49565-46X2

ENCLOSURE

62-87035-4

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STJ pf

February 17, 1949

MEMORANDUM

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN

Roger N. Baldwin is reported to have contributed an article entitled "The Need for Militancy" to a book named "The Socialism of Our Times", which represented papers delivered at a symposium of the subject by a number of prominent writers which book was published by the Vanguard Press, presumably for the League for Industrial Democracy (June 1929). Baldwin's article appears on pages 76 - 83, and on page 77 Baldwin is reported to have referred to himself as a pacifist. Further, that he believes in revolution "not necessarily the forcible seizure of power in armed conflict but the process of class movements determined to expropriate the capitalist class and to take control of all social property". Baldwin is said to indicate that he is opposed to revolutionary violence and to have stated "I would rather see violent revolution than none at all though I do not personally support it because I believe other means far better. Even the terrible cause of bloody revolution is a cheaper price to humanity than the continued exploitation and wreck of human life under the settled violence of the present system."

Baldwin is said to have stated on pages 80-81 that "despite my favorable attitude to Communist activities which is justified, I think, by the facts, I am not a Communist, as is well known. I could not join the Communist movement both for theoretical and practical reasons. Philosophically I am an anarchist though I do not work at it."

Another source advised that the Chicago Councils of Unemployed is an organization that had been set up by the Communist Party and had put on a demonstration on Friday, February 21, 1940, with a hunger march on the City Hall. The police were present and were under instructions not to use force. However, according to this source, an attack was made upon the officers and as a result several persons were arrested and jailed. It was reported that to take advantage of this situation, the Communist Party of Chicago held a protest meeting under the auspices of the International Labor Defense at Carmens Hall on March 5, 1940. This source stated that Baldwin was one of the speakers at this meeting, and that he emphasized the protection afforded by the provisions of the American Constitution relating to Freedom of speech, press and assemblage and stated that the American Civil Liberties Union should support the Communists so long as they were persecuted by the police.

RECORDED - 72 100-49545-47

According to the World Telegram issue of January 12, 1945, Baldwin argued "Not in the worst years of the depression did Communists attract any

EX-95

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

appreciable number of adherents. They were not and never have been a threat but I will agree that they are a nuisance. They mislead innocent liberals and are an obstacle to democracy in that they confuse the issue. The purpose of Communism inevitably is to act as agencies of the Soviet Union. Russia wants to win the war and rebuild the country after the war so our Communists are now against revolution and for American business expansion."

Another confidential source advised that Roger Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Committee for the American Youth Congress in 1938.

No investigation of Roger N. Baldwin has been conducted by this Bureau, and the above data is being supplied for your confidential information and should not be disseminated to outside sources.

(100-49565-48)

Originals to Office of Secretary of Defense
cc-Air Forces
IDA

J. N. Dinsmore:mem
February 17, 1949

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Room
Miss Neagle
Miss Gandy

RELEASED

SAC, Newark
Director, FBI

April 18, 1949

ROGER NASH BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C
Your file #100-15050
Bureau file #100-49565

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP3 ATT/dlp

In accordance with your recommendation, the Security Index Card relative to the captioned individual has been cancelled and you are authorized to place your copy thereof in the investigative case file.

100-49565 — 48

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 1
APR 19 1940 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JEM:jdt

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 9
APR 19 1949 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

57 APR 21 1949

By Special Messenger

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: March 28, 1949

FROM : SAC, NEWARK

SUBJECT: ROGER NASH BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C
(Bureau File 100-49565)

Carnal 9-12-46

By letter of February 22, 1944 the Bureau instructed this office to prepare a Security Index Card on the above subject who maintained a residence at Oakland, New Jersey.

By letter of March 18, 1949 the New York Office advised that a Security Index Card is no longer being maintained in New York which is the office of origin and unless advised to the contrary by April 15, 1949 the Security Index Card in this office will be cancelled.

PRA:ed
100-15050

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STS/cg

cc New York

RECORDED - 62

100-49565-48

EX-141

3 MAR 29 1949

57 APR 21 1949

EX 16

ANONYMOUS USE ENVELOPE

April 23, 1949

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover -

Enclosure not received in records. Not located after extensive search efforts at present

The enclosed copy of Town Meeting is sent you for your information in connection with a recent press statement relative to Roger Baldwin and [redacted], his Communist associates' objections to F.B.I. wire-tapping.

Needless to say, no real American objects to wire tapping by the F.B.I. - whenever necessary.

Men like Roger Baldwin will, no doubt, find cause to object to whatever is done to protect America from Communism.

The fact that Baldwin took the affirmative as to Communists teaching in our Colleges speaks for itself.

I heard this broadcast and it was not merely the words uttered, but his tone which left no doubt in one's mind as to his personal views re: Communism. (It would be well to make recordings of radio broadcasts regarding Communism as the tone of voice and emphasis may imply much not contained in the script.)

I wish to say to you at this time that I do not believe any other living American claims the high regard and trust and esteem which you receive throughout the nation— Your organization, the high caliber men you have selected, the manner in which they operate, these things speak more for you than any direct word can do. No government agency can be what the F.B.I. is without a man of high honor and high ideals at its head.

I know this because I have worked many years in government agencies. A Federal Agency will be no better than its key men. If they are men of honor and principle, they will select the proper personnel - True and loyal Americans are all we need to give us proper government agencies, and how important this is today.

You are traveling a difficult path, and I wish to be among the many thousands who wish you success and happiness always.

Anonymous - No reply

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTS/af

49

60-JUL 14 1949

When I think of you I think of the immortal words of an American soldier: "If I should die, remember this - That there is one spot on foreign soil, That is forever American". (These words are said to have been written home by an American soldier, a few hours before death during the last war - and were borrowed by him in part, from Rupert Brook's poem,

"If I should die Think Only this of me
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is forever England."

It is because of leaders like you that American soldiers died with these words in their hearts, and only your continued splendid courage, and that of your men will save Americans in this hour, when so many statesmen and leaders have only their own interests at heart, and so little regard is given to our America -

from
An American

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Chief, Federal Bureau of
Investigation
Washington 25,
D. C.

(Personal & ~~Confidential~~)

49

SAC/ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-22-86 BY SP8 STP

April 23, 194

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Washington

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-2-2006 BY 65179 dmh

Dear [redacted] Hoover:

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION RECEIVED ATTACHED

I enclosed copy of town meeting to sent you for your information in connection with a recent press statement Baumgartner relative to Roger Baldwin and his Communist associates' objections to F.B.I. wire-tapping.

Needless to say, no real american objects to wire tapping by the F.B.I. whenever necessary.

[redacted] Men like Roger Baldwin will, no doubt find cause to object to whatever is done to protect us from Communists.

RECORDED - 130 100-49565-41
INDEXED - 130 JUL 1 1949
EX-121

The fact that Baldwin took the affirmative as to Communists teaching in

60 JUL 14 1949 COPIES DESTROYED

b6
b7C

own Colleges speaks for itself

I heard this broadcast and it was not merely the words uttered, but his tone which left no doubt in one's mind as to his personal views re: Communism. (It would be well to make recordings of radio broadcasts regarding Communism as the tone of voice and emphasis may imply much not contained in the script)

I wish to say to you at this time that I do not believe any other living American claims the high regard and trust and esteem which you receive throughout the nation. Your organization

RECEIVED-NUMBERED
F B I
U S DEPT OF JUS
JUL 13 12 PM '49

the high caliber men you have selected, the manner in which they operate, these things speak more for you than any direct word can do. No government agency can be what the FBI is without a man of high honor and high ideals at its head.

I know this because I have worked many years in government agencies. A federal agency will be no better than its key men if they are men of

honor and principle, they will select the proper personnel - True and loyal americans are all we need to give us proper government agencies, and how important this is today.

You are traveling a difficult path and I wish to be among the many thousands who wish you success and happiness always.

When I think of you I think of the immortal words of an American poet:
"If I should die, remember this - That there is one spot on foreign soil, That is forever American".

(These words are said to have been written home by an American

poem a few hours before death during the last war — and were borrowed by him, in part, from Rupert Brook's poem:

"If I should die
Think only this of me
That there's some corner
of a foreign field
That is forever England."

It is because of leaders like you that American poeders died with these words in their hearts and only your continued splendid courage and that of your men will save America in this hour, when so many statesmen and leaders

RECEIVED
RECEIVED – DIRECTOR
F B I
APR 28 12 06 PM '49
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
APR 27 4 00 PM '49
FBI
RECEIVED – FLETCHER
APR 28 8 43 AM '49
RECEIVED
F B I
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
MAY 3 6 24 PM '49

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. FLETCHER

DATE: February 15, 1950

FROM : V. P. KEAY

SUBJECT: ROGER BALDWIN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY

Tolson
Ladd
Clegg
Glavin
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Harbo
Mohr
Tele. Room
Nease
Gandy

BACKGROUND:

A name check form has been received from the State Department on Roger Baldwin, Civil Liberties Union, New York City. The form indicates that Mr. Baldwin is being considered for appointment as a consultant in Germany.

Mr. Baldwin was director of the American Civil Liberties Union from 1920 until 1949. According to the November 22, 1949, issue of the "Washington Star", Baldwin stated he was resigning from the Civil Liberties Union to engage in specialized work in the field of "international civil rights." (100-49565-A)

FACTS:

It appears from a review of Bureau files that there has been extensive correspondence between Baldwin and the Bureau concerning matters relating to civil liberties and on one occasion Baldwin called at the Bureau and talked to the Director.

Baldwin, prior to September, 1946, was the subject of limited inquiries by the Bureau, but he has not been the subject of a full and complete investigation. No dissemination has been given to any reports submitted in connection with this inquiry.

Bureau files reflect that in 1938, Roger Baldwin was listed as a member of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and that in 1941, he was reported to have signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. On October 5, 1938, at Madison Square Garden at a meeting of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Baldwin acted as Chairman, replacing Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr who became ill. In May, 1935, Baldwin advised a representative of the Bureau that he had been a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy. All of the above-listed organizations were cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Baldwin, according to the "New York World Telegram" issue of January 12, 1945, is quoted as describing Communism as a nuisance and an obstacle to democracy. He was quoted as stating that "the purpose of Communism inevitably is to act as agencies of the Soviet Union."

RECOMMENDATION: Form stamped "No record" 2-15-50 sent to State Dept

It is recommended that the State Department's name check form be stamped "no investigation conducted by the FBI pertinent to your inquiry." If approved, the attached name check form should be returned to the Correlation-Liaison Section for appropriate stamping and for transmittal to the State Department.(100-49565)

Attachment

LNC:rma

RECORDED 100-49565-56

FILED 1950

EX-136

COPIES DESTROYED 11 JUL 1972

July 19, 1950

RECORDED - 100-49565-51
INDEXED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-22-86 BY 2028 STJ/lgp

Mrs. B. L. Whitkok
304 Bridge Street
Springfield, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Whitkok:

Your letter of July 12, 1950 has been received.

Your thoughtfulness in forwarding this information is indeed appreciated and I am grateful for the interest which prompted your communication.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Information relating to Roger N. Baldwin is contained in Bureau files 100-49565 and 62-87035. Baldwin was Director of Civil Liberties Union from 1920 to 1949. He has been subject of limited inquiries by the Bureau but complete investigation has not been conducted concerning his activities.

Bureau indices negative re correspondent.

WWK:CMC

MAILED 10
JUL 20 1950
COMM-FBI

RECEIVED - DIVISION
JUL 19 1950

RECEIVED READING ROOM
JUL 19 3 54 PM
FBI
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

Tolson
Ladd
Clegg
Glavin
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Harbo
Belmont
Mohr
Tele. Room
Nease
Sandy

5 T AUG 2 1950

it was Ex-Senator Butler's estate on a hill near the beach was a flag pole - she required to have our American flag displayed - saying I preferr the Communistic flag - at that time she was Mrs. Stetson Painchenbush - divorcing him about 1932 or 3 in Mexico. Then she married Baldwin - he was very connected with the Civil Liberty Union -

They are both dead Communists, and I wonder if their trip over seas - if they went - was one of friendship for Russia -

We also had a couple who worked with us there and on a week they would have guests and pack-baker who would speak about Communism - and if you wish, I will give you the name of the couple who will testify to my story -

Yours very truly yours
Mrs - E. L. Whitlock

RECEIVED
FBI
JUL 13 3 29 PM '50
U S DEPT OF JUSTICE
MR. JONES
RECEIVED
RECORDS SECTION
FBI
DEPT OF JUSTICE
JUL 14 1 33 PM '50
RECEIVED

304 Bridge St
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

July 12 - 1950

J. E. Hoover - F.B.I.
Washington - D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-23-97 BY SP2 AUC/MLF

Ack. 7-19-50 - hwk:eme

My dear Mr. Hoover — b6 b7C

I feel in view of the [redacted] religious situation in Puerto Rico that I should acquaint you with a couple of facts to said over dear, last week - I feel you must know the man - & Mrs. Rogers they are Mr. & Mrs. Roger Baldwin of N.Y. City & also she has a summer home at Chilmark - Mass. Martha's Vineyard Island - We were shocked by her passing [redacted] at her home on the Vineyard - Called - Windy Gates

RECORDED AND INDEXED

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: March 13, 1951

FROM: SAC, New York

SUBJECT: ROGER BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C
(Bufile 100-49565)

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] was recently interviewed by a Bureau agent in Paris, France. [redacted] was a Comintern representative in the United States during the years 1928-1938. He originally was sent to the United States to [redacted] which had its headquarters at Berlin, Germany and was headed by WILLI MUENZENBERG. [redacted] was [redacted] and while [redacted] was in the United States he not only was engaged in organizing and operating relief organizations for the benefit of the Soviet Union but likewise was engaged in activities of a propaganda nature for the Soviet Union.

While in the United States he was in frequent contact with members of the Politburo, CP, USA and also top Communist Party functionaries. In the course of his activities in the United States, he became acquainted and familiar with the work of individuals engaged in Communist Party work.

During the course of the interview with [redacted] he stated the following concerning ROGER BALDWIN:

"The connections of ROGER BALDWIN with the Communist Party were rather unhappy. While the Communists were always trying to use the services of ROGER BALDWIN and his American Civil Liberties Union in order to defend Communists who were persecuted in America or some other countries, they were always antagonized by the spirit of free criticism of BALDWIN and his refusal to take instructions from the Party to any extent or to the extent that fellow traveling liberals take instructions. The explanation of this fact lies in BALDWIN'S background. In his youth he was a Wobbly. He was IWW with a strong individualistic and anarchistic trend. BALDWIN disassociated his activities very definitely from any Communist cause

cc. Bureau
cc. NY 105-1261

INDEXED

RECORDED

MAR 15 1951

MAR 22 1951

CONFIDENTIAL

COPIES DESTROYED

CONFIDENTIAL

"from the early 1930's. At that time the Communists not being able to profit from the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union created a new organization which was called the Congress for Civil Liberties. They delegated to it Mrs. CAROLA KING and some other lawyers who were Communists. BALDWIN is not a Communist. He is a genuine liberal. His activities sum up in a defense of the American Constitution in which he has implicit faith. The American Civil Liberties Union thinks that by the observance of the American Constitution there are no civil liberties' problems." (AU

"BALDWIN is of the conviction that America does not need any revolutionary upheaval to improve its institutions. The Constitution gives such opportunity for any aspirations."

An extra copy of this letter is being transmitted to the Bureau for inclusion in Bureau file on [redacted] INTERNAL SECURITY - R. b7D

An extra copy is also being placed in the New York file on [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

March 15, 1952

RECORDED - 160 100-49565-53

EX-120

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
Chairman, National Committee
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STS/ap

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

Your letter of March 13th was received during Mr. Hoover's absence from the city and has been called to his attention. He asked that you be advised that he did not anticipate being back by the 21st, but that he would be very happy to arrange for the Acting Director to see you in his absence, if this will be satisfactory to you.

Very truly yours,

H Helen Gandy

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 10:07 AM
DATE 3-17-52
BY WDR

Tolson
Ladd
Clegg
Glavin
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Harbo
Belmont
Mohr
Tele. Room
Nease
Gandy

JEH:HWG:eh:mpd

F-120

64 MAR 31 1952

FBI
RECEIVED

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Ernest Angell
Mrs. Katrina McCormick Barnes
Mrs. Dorothy Dunbar Bromley
Carl Carmer
Richard S. Childs
Norman Cousins
Edward J. Ennis
Morris L. Ernst
John F. Finerty
H. William Fitelson
James Lawrence Fly
Osmond K. Fraenkel
Walter Frank
Varian Fry
Walter Gellhorn
Arthur Garfield Hays
August Heckscher
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
B. W. Huebsch
Rev. John Paul Jones
Dorothy Kenyon
James Kerney, Jr.
Corliss Lamont
Prof. Eduard C. Lindeman
Merle Miller
Herbert R. Northrup
Merlyn S. Pitzele
Elmer Rice
Whitney North Seymour
Telford Taylor
Norman Thomas
William L. White
Raymond L. Wise

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Sadie Alexander
Thurman Arnold
Bishop James Chamberlain Baker
Roger N. Baldwin
Francis Biddle
Van Wyck Brooks
Pearl S. Buck
James R. Caldwell
Dr. Henry Seidel Canby
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
William Henry Chamberlin
Grenville Clark
Prof. Henry Steele Commager
Morris L. Cooke
Prof. George S. Counts
Prof. Robert E. Cushman
Elmer Davis
J. Frank Dobie
John Dos Passos
Melvyn Douglas
Sherwood Eddy
Frederick May Eliott
Thomas H. Eliot
Walter T. Fisher
Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick
Lloyd K. Garrison
Dean Charles W. Gilkey
Dr. Frank P. Graham
Abram L. Harris
Earl G. Harrison
Quincy Howe
Palmer Hoyt
Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson
Benjamin H. Kizer
Dr. John A. Lapp
Prof. Harold D. Lasswell
Mrs. Agnes Brown Leach
Max Lerner
Prof. Robert Morss Lovett
Prof. Robert S. Lynd
Prof. Archibald MacLeish
John P. Marquand
Mike Masaoka
William Mauldin
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Millicent C. McIntosh
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn
Karl Menninger
A. J. Muste
Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons
James G. Patton
A. Philip Randolph
Will Rogers, Jr.
Elmo Roper
John Nevin Sayre
Rt. Rev. William Scarlett
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
Joseph Schlossberg
Odell Shepard
Robert E. Sherwood
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Lillian E. Smith
Edward J. Sparling
George R. Stewart
Mrs. Dorothy Tilly
William W. Waymack
Aubrey Williams
L. Hollingsworth Wood
Dr. William Lindsay Young

LOCAL ACLU ORGANIZATIONS
in Sixteen Areas

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

170 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
ORegon 5-5990

Ernest Angell, *Chairman, Board of Directors* | Roger N. Baldwin, *Chairman, National Committee* | Arthur Garfield Hays, *General Counsel* | Morris L. Ernst, *General Counsel* | B. W. Huebsch, *Treasurer*

Patrick Murphy Malin, *Executive Director*

Alan Reitman, *Assistant Director* | Louis Joughin, *Research Director* | Herbert Monte Levy, *Staff Counsel* | Clifford Forster, *Special Counsel* | George E. Rundquist, *Field Director* | Jeffrey E. Fuller, *Membership Direct*

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Laughlin
Mr. Mohr
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

March 13, 1952

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

I shall be in Washington on the 20th and 21st of March and would like to see you briefly, if I may. I have some problems in your field on which I would like to get your views.

If you can arrange an appointment don't bother to reply. I will call your secretary on the morning of the 20th.

Sincerely yours,

Roger N. Baldwin

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STJ lap

RECORDED - 160 100-495-65-53

EXPEDITE PROCESSING

White Plains N. Y.
March 19, 1952

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ bgs

Sirs:

Enclosed you will find a clipping from the front page of our daily newspaper ("The Reporter Dispatch") telling of a meeting addressed by Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union. It was just a few weeks ago that another member of A. C. L. U. named Rondquist made a similar address in the Friends' Meeting House in Purchase N. Y. I wish to ask why these gentlemen (A. C. L. U.) is permitted to make inflammatory addresses in this area denouncing the United States Government and its

EXPEDITE PROCESSING
MAR 17 1952

RECORDED - 129
INDEXED - 129
100-49565-5ff possible
MAR 20 1952
multiple addressee
TJB

ENCL. 129
EX. - 69
EX. - 69

64 APR 3 1952

policies and advising us, as Bondyuck did, to read the "Daily Worker" communist newspaper and to have Paul Robeson take the platform. The appearance of Paul Robeson in Westchester Co. last year was supported by A. C. L. U. and was as you know the cause of a severe riot and jury trial — The A. C. L. U. was scored by the Grand Jury.

Must this go on?

Caroline Allison

CAROLINE ALLISON - 3.4.1.

MR. JONES
RECEIVED
MAR 24 2 29 PM '52
F B I
U S DEPT OF JUSTICE
RECEIVED
F B I
MAR 24 1952
U S DEPT OF JUSTICE

Civil Liberties First Love, Baldwin Tells Human Rightists

By KENNETH DANIELSEN

Roger Baldwin, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, last night at a meeting of the Westchester Committee for Human Rights told an audience of 100 that his love for "civil liberties" is greater than his love for American institutions.

He opened his address in the Roger Smith Hotel with an attack on the Westchester grand jury investigation of the Peekskill riots of 1949, the greatest display of Communist military strength ever shown in the United States.

Furthermore, he identified the Westchester Committee for Human Rights as an organization "formed as a result of the most scandalous mass violence at Peekskill."

The grand jury in 1949 blasted the ACLU for its widely circulated report, "Violence in Peekskill," for being "so far from the truth as to be scandalous" and for supplying the Communists with an effective propaganda weapon.

Mr. Baldwin received the greatest applause of the evening when he admitted going to jail rather than be drafted in World War I.

He attacked the "epidemic of loyalty oaths," the "McCarthys and the McCarrans," the Feinberg Law, and the present administration of American foreign policy.

Raymond P. Currier of 6 Hillside Avenue, Croton, chairman of the meeting and a member of the executive board of the Committee for Human Rights, ran through a list of incidents in Westchester which he called examples of discrimination.

11
6
3
6
11
4
6
6
12
8
6
4
4
7
9
5
6
14
10

Cites Support in Yonkers

Mr. Currier announced the Committee had received "the admirable support of the Yonkers Council of Churches."

The other speaker of the evening was Victor Bernstein, managing editor of The Nation. He claimed Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern expert and former member of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has not had a fair hearing before the Senate Subversives Activities Committee.

This Committee for Human Rights was formed March 19, 1950. The Daily Worker of March 23, 1950, announced the committee had been formed at a meeting in the Roger Smith Hotel and its pur-

(Please)

Civil Liberties First Love, Baldwin Tells Human Rightists

(Continued from Page 1)

pose was "to work for equality of opportunity."

At previous meetings of the committee it has had as speakers three persons whom witnesses before Congressional committees identified under oath as Communists.

Group Under Legion Attack

The Committee is under attack by the Americanism Committee of the American Legion.

Dr. Gertie Dooneief of Bedford Hills, who arranged last night's meeting, identified the members of the executive board of the Committee as herself, Mr. Currier and the following persons:

James Ellis of 9 Elinor Place, Yonkers; Claire Hurwitt of 33 Pinecrest Parkway, Hastings; Katherine Kornblum of 31 Manor Avenue, White Plains; Cecil Lubell of Mount Airy Road, Croton; Beatrice Milwe of 919 Grove Street, Mamaroneck, and Milton Okin of 82 Hamilton Avenue, New Rochelle.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8DTJ/ap

100-415... 54

ENCLOSURE

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Laughlin	
Mr. Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

TO DIRECTOR, FBI P & C

DATE: 5/28/52

FROM SAC, BALTIMORE

SUBJECT: ROGER BALDWIN

One RAYME W. FINCH, 207 W. 29th St., Balto., Md., a former BU Agent in World War I days, called Supervisor STANLEY ROTZ of this Office this past weekend and furnished certain info relative to ROGER BALDWIN which may be of interest to you.

As a matter of background, FINCH explained that in 1918, as a BU Agent, he raided the office of ROGER BALDWIN in NY and arrested BALDWIN for draft evasion, following which BALDWIN's files were removed to the BU's office

[redacted] b7D

Apparently FINCH has made some attempt to keep in touch with BALDWIN during the intervening years and states he contacted BALDWIN on the occasion of BALDWIN's appearance in Baltimore recently to speak before the Hadassah, a Jewish women's organization. BALDWIN, according to FINCH, called him following the speech and during the conversation, commented that he thought "Director Hoover was all right." He added in a complimentary vein that the Director has a "real liberal in his organization in the person of the son of former Senator Ladd."

EXPEDITE PROCESSING

Apparently BALDWIN did not further enlarge on the above matters but definitely appeared to be friendly towards the Director and Mr. LADD.

FINCH wanted to know if there were any questions the BU would like to have him ask BALDWIN, or, if we wanted him to introduce an Agent to BALDWIN.

There is no reason known to this office to have any questions asked of MR. BALDWIN or to have an Agent meet him, and unless there is something in the knowledge of the BU which would indicate the advisability of such action, nothing, of course, will be done in this regard.

The above is submitted for your info.

SSA:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP2 BTJ/ajs

100 - 49565-55

RECORDED-84

JUN 20 1952

OJUL 15 1952

EX-140

PERS. FILES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR CLASSIFICATION ACTION

RECORDED - 18
100-49565 — 57

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Date: November 18, 1952

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

EX. 106

Director
Central Intelligence Agency
2430 E Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Mr. Frank G. Wisner
Deputy Director, Plans

~~S-I~~ S

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: ROGER N. BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

~~Classified by: SP2 BJP/ps~~
Declassify on: OADR 8-20-80

(C)

G I.R. 8

Reference is made to your letter dated November 3, 1952,

~~(C)~~ (C)

b1
b3

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Baldwin was Director of the Civil Liberties Union from 1920 to 1949. He has been the subject of limited inquiries by the Bureau but a complete investigation of his activities has not been made.

JJW:mmr

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 26X(1)
DATE 11-18-2009

Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Mohr
Tele. Rm.
Nease
Gandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BY SPL. MSGR.
66 NOV 19
10:59 AM - FBI

67 DEC 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR
FBI
NOV 18 5 57 PM '52

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8D75lap

100-49565-58
CHANGED TO
100-336949-15X

F·F· DEC 8 1954

20

C

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Suite 1729-111 Sutter Street
San Francisco, 4, Calif.
November 14, 1945

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO
FILE NO.

100-326958

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director, FBI

RE: CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Bureau File 100-326958

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the letter of the San Francisco Field Division, dated October 24, 1945, captioned as above.

On November 13, 1945, according to Confidential Informant [redacted] DAVID JENKINS, Director of the California Labor School, related to BARTLEY C. CRUM that he had received a letter from MIKE ROSS (undoubtedly MALCOLM ROSS of FEPC in Washington) to the effect that the subject organization would receive a share of the profits from the sale of the book, "The House I Live In". CRUM remarked that this should mean $25,000 to the school. The informant advised that CRUM sent the following telegram to JAMES SMYTH, Collector of Internal Revenue at San Francisco who is presently in Washington, D.C. stopping at the Statler Hotel: "As you know the California Labor School has been attempting to get a ruling from the Treasury Department stating that the school is tax exempt. I am going to call Judge MAYOCK (ph.) today. It is imperative that the school be ruled tax exempt as it may get $25,000 and that the exemption be effective for the past three years as all people have donated to the school on the theory that it is tax exempt. Must have a decision by this Friday."

b2

Previous information concerning the school's activity indicates that individuals solicited for contributions to the school have been encouraged by the school to believe that their contributions would be deductible from their income tax returns.

This information is being forwarded to the Bureau in accordance with previous Bureau instructions to advise the Bureau of activities undertaken by the school in an effort to obtain the desired ruling from the Treasury Department.

Very truly yours,

J.W. Vincent
Special Agent in Charge

WWR:lmr
61-390

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-22-2009

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR CLASSIFICATION ACTION

Heidelberg, Germany

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

VIA ARMY COURIER

Date: 1/20/55

Classified by SP3 DIJ ppp
Declassify on: OADR 8-20-06

To: Director, FBI

From: Liaison Representative, Heidelberg (100-253)

Subject: ROGER BALDWIN
Chairman, Int'l League for the Rights of Man
25 East 64th Street
New York, NY
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Attached is (are) 2 photostatic copy(ies) of 1 letter(s) dated 6/23/54 from the subject, a USA resident, to the following addressee in the German Democratic Republic (Soviet Zone of Germany, including the Soviet Sector of Berlin). S-1 ~~S-1~~

[XX] Women's International Democratic Federation
Unter den Linden 13
Berlin W 8, Germany

[ ] [redacted] S-1 ~~S-1~~

[ ]

1 Encl + 1 cc letter to ny by R/S 2/9/55 wmm/sm

b6
b7C

Referral/Direct

[redacted]

GAV:BMc
Enc. (2)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ATTACHED

RECORDED - 71
INDEXED - 71

21 FEB 1 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

123

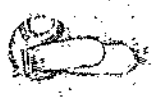
58 FEB 14 1955

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-22-2009

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-2010 BY 60322 DTM/sab

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ENCLOSED

ENCLOSURE



ENCLOSURE

100 77565-59

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-49565) 5/11/55

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-8424)

SUBJECT: ROGER BALDWIN
SM- C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-76 BY SP1 Mac Rie

Rebulet to NY 3/24/55, captioned, [redacted] IS-R," which signified the Bureau desired that immediate steps be taken to correct the previous characterization of [redacted] in all reports and letters prepared in the past. Rebulet directed that in all instances information furnished by [redacted] should be attributed to [redacted] by name. He should be characterized as "an alleged former Comintern representative whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished both reliable and unreliable information." Rebulet additionally instructed that the characterization be inserted on all copies of the communication in ink, noting the date of change and the initials of the person making the change.

In accordance with the above, the following communication has been changed in the NYO to properly attribute the information to [redacted] by name and characterization:

b7D

(Rpt., Letter) (Airtel, Etc.)	(Date)	(Agent' Name)	(Place Where Made)	(Page Numbers)	(T-Symbol)
NY letter to Bureau	3/13/51			Page 1	not used

Where this communication was a report, the information corresponding to the T-symbol number for [redacted] on the informant page has been marked "Deleted."

It is requested that the Bureau and all interested offices who received copies of the communication make changes on all copies in their possession.

It is to be noted that copies of this communication were disseminated locally to the following NY agencies: none

These agencies have been advised by separate letter of [redacted] new characterization and they have been advised that they may desire to change their copy of the communication accordingly.

It is noted that a copy of the above communication was disseminated locally to none . It is requested that the Office notify this agency in writing, making reference to the communication which has been changed, that [redacted] credibility cannot be evaluated since he is known to have furnished both reliable and unreliable information and the agency may desire to change the copy of the communication in its possession accordingly.

cc -

(HM)

1 - Bufile 61-6629
1 - NY 105-1261-Subfile A-2

RECORDED - 40 100-49565-60
EX-125
11 MAY 18 1955

JEW:PAO

71 MAY 27 1955

INT. SEC

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

EX.-113
RECORDED-63

5/20/55

RADIOGRAM

100-414565-61

SAC, SAN JUAN

PERSONAL ATTENTION

PROPOSED VISIT OF ROGER BALDWIN TO PUERTO RICO FOR STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. REURRAD 5/20/55. INASMUCH AS NO PROBLEMS KNOWN TO EXIST REGARDING CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS, YOU SHOULD NOT CONTACT GOVERNOR LUIS MUNOZ MARIN IN THIS MATTER. BUREAU NOT CONTACTED BY BALDWIN REGARDING CIVIL RIGHTS STUDIES. WEEKLY BULLETIN OF ACLU DATED 1/17/55, REFLECTED BALDWIN DEPARTED FOR EUROPE AND MIDDLE EAST TO INQUIRE INTO COURT TRIALS REGARDING ESPIONAGE WHERE CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES WERE ALLEGEDLY A FACTOR. THIS TRIP MADE BY HIM, AS CHAIRMAN OF INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR RIGHTS OF MAN, A UNITED NATIONS CONSULTANT AGENCY. IN EVENT BALDWIN CONTACTS YOUR OFFICE, INFORMATION OFFERED BY HIM SHOULD BE ACCEPTED; BUREAU'S JURISDICTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES MAY BE EXPLAINED. IF BALDWIN DESIRES DETAILED INFORMATION, HE SHOULD BE REFERRED TO THE BUREAU IN WASHINGTON. IN THE EVENT BALDWIN CONTACTS YOUR OFFICE, THE BUREAU SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY NOTIFIED AND ADVISED OF DETAILS OF HIS INQUIRY.

HOOVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-30-76 BY SP3 STP

CC: Mr. Nichols (Handled separately)

CLM:ush
(10)

Memo Price to Rosen, same re, same date, initials.

NR. 240037

ENC. 6037-6045 BY

CK 6411-6416 BY

APPROVED BY

TYPED BY

FILED BY

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

RADIO-BE

MAY 25 1955

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 1 1955

4-42a

F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

DECODED COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8BTJ

FROM SAN JUAN 5-20-55 NR 200430 4:43 AM

DIRECTOR DEFERRED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

PROPOSED VISIT OF ROGER BALDWIN TO PR FOR STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. MAY 19, 1955, ISSUE OF QUOTE EL MUNDO UNQUOTE DAILY SPANISH LANGUAGE SAN JUAN NEWSPAPER CONTAINS ARTICLE REFLECTING THAT GOVERNOR LUIS MUNOZ MARIN HAS ISSUED INVITATION TO ROGER BALDWIN, IDENTIFIED AS QUOTE GENERAL ADVISER TO AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION UNQUOTE TO VISIT PR TO MAKE STUDY OF LEGISLATION IN EFFECT ON CIVIL RIGHTS AND METHODS OF APPLYING THESE LAWS IN PR. BALDWIN IS IDENTIFIED IN ARTICLE AS QUOTE ONE OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING FIGURES IN THE WORLD IN DEFENSE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS. UNQUOTE. ARTICLE ALSO STATES THAT ACCORDING TO MUNOZ MARIN QUOTE THE GOVERNMENT OF PR IS A COMPLETE DEMOCRACY WITH GREAT RESPECT FOR THE LIBERTY AND RIGHTS OF ALL ITS FELLOW CITIZENS, UNQUOTE. FURTHER, ARTICLE STATES QUOTE HE (MUNOZ MARIN) COMPARED THIS STUDY WHICH HE IS REQUESTING WITH A PHYSICAL EXAMINATION WHICH PERSONS SHOULD HAVE MADE PERIODICALLY ALTHOUGH THEY DO NOT FEEL THEY ARE AT ALL ILL BUT WHICH (EXAMINATIONS) SERVE TO AVOID OR CHECK ANY ILL WHICH MAY THREATEN US UNQUOTE.

[redacted] CONFIDENTIALLY ADVISED TODAY THAT HE HAD NO IDEA WHY MUNOZ MARIN WAS REQUESTING BALDWIN-S VISIT AND DID NOT KNOW OF ANY CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEMS EXISTING IN PR. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT IN ANY CIVIL RIGHTS CASES AFFECTING GOVERNMENT OF PR EMPLOYEES THE GOVERNOR-S OFFICE IS PROMPTLY ADVISED WHEN INVESTIGATION IS INITIATED BY THIS OFFICE. NO REASON CURRENTLY KNOWN WHY GOVERNOR WOULD HAVE REQUESTED CURRENT STUDY ON CIVIL RIGHTS BY BALDWIN OTHER THAN FACT MUNOZ MARIN RETURNED FROM TRIP TO US ON MAY 17 AND MAY HAVE HAD OCCASION TO SEE BALDWIN WHILE IN US. IT IS MY RECOMMENDATION THAT I CALL UPON GOVERNOR MUNOZ MARIN AND AGAIN POINT OUT TO HIM BUREAU-S JURISDICTION

b7D

Mr. Rosen

RECORDED - 63 100-49565-61

MAY 23 1955

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

4-42a

F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

DECODED COPY

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

OVER CIVIL RIGHTS CASES AND FACT THAT BUREAU IS CURRENTLY WILLING AND ABLE TO DISCHARGE ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THIS REGARD. BUREAU IS ALSO REQUESTED TO ADVISE WHETHER ROGER BALDWIN HAS MADE ANY SIMILAR STUDIES TO BUREAU-S KNOWLEDGE AND WHETHER IN DOING HE HAS CONTACTED EITHER BUREAU HEADQUARTERS OR FBI DIVISIONAL OFFICES. IN EVENT BALDWIN CONTACTS THIS OFFICE IN CONNECTION WITH PROPOSED STUDY, IT IS MY INTENTION TO ACCEPT WHATEVER INFORMATION HE DESIRES TO OFFER AND TO REFRAIN FROM FURTHER COMMENT WITH EXCEPTION OF POINTING OUT BUREAU-S JURISDICTION IN CONNECTION WITH CIVIL RIGHTS CASES. NEWS CLIPPING BEING FORWARDED BUREAU AMSD.

RECEIVED: 5-20-55 4:58 AM BLH

cc: MR. ROSEN
AND SUPERVISOR
INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

CONFIDENTIAL

rs - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Branigan
inistrative Division
Consolidation Unit,
Records Sect

Mr. Armando di Girolamo (original & 1)
Chief, Records Administration Branch

March 17, 1955
Mr. Nasca

Director, FBI

100-49565
ROGER NASH BALDWIN
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 BTJ/ap
ON 8-20-86

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent L. H. Brashear dated February 23, 1942, at New York, New York, in the captioned matter.

The date May 27, 1941, appearing on page 4, paragraph 4, line 1, of the details of the referenced report should be changed to read May 27, 1921.

100-49565

cc - 2 - New York (100-8424)

MAIL ROOM DUPLICATE MAR 18 1955 MAILED

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTE: SAC, NEW YORK:

Reurlet 3-9-55 captioned "Theodore Takeshi Ohno, aka, Espionage - KO," New York file 65-16814.

The date May 27, 1941, on page 4, paragraph 4, line 1, of the report of SA L. H. Brashear concerning Baldwin dated 2-23-42 at New York, New York, should be changed to read May 27, 1921.

cc - 65-62854

VHN:bsb
(12)

A cover memorandum from Belmont to Boardman was prepared by VHN:bsb on 3-15-55 in connection with this outgoing mail, captioned "Theodore Takeshi Ohno, aka, Espionage - KO."

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

63 APR 5 1955

RECEIVED READING ROOM
FBI
MAR 10 9 32 AM '55

Director, FBI (65-62854) 3/9/55

SAC, New York (65-16814)

266251

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY 5581/5/cp

THEODORE TAKESHI OHNO, aka
ESPIONAGE-KO

Rebulet 3/3/55.

This case was received in the NYO from San Francisco with leads requesting interviews with ROGER BALDWIN of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and RUSSELL DURGIN of the Japan International Christian University Foundation, Inc. The Bureau instructed that an interview with BALDWIN was inadvisable and it was determined that DURGIN was hospitalized and physically unable to be interviewed.

In a report, captioned as above, by SA THOMAS J. LARDNER, dated 11/16/54, a documentation of ROGER BALDWIN was set forth. This documentation was taken from BALDWIN's case file, entitled "ROGER NASH BALDWIN, SM-C, IS-C" (Bufile 100-49565, NY file 100-8424). One of the reports used in the BALDWIN case file was that of SA L. H. BRASHEAR dated 2/23/42 at NY, entitled "ROGER NASH BALDWIN, IS-C". On page 4 of this report there is set forth information from articles concerning BALDWIN which SA BRASHEAR obtained from the New York Times Morgue. One of these articles is set forth by SA BRASHEAR as appearing in the issue of the "New York Times" of 5/27/41. This appears at paragraph 4, page 5 of BRASHEAR's report, beginning as follows: "In the article dated 5/27/41, etc."

On 1/12/55 the Bureau requested that an investigation of above mentioned subject be made under the Voice of America program. During this investigation the Bureau requested that a check should be made of the reference to an article in the "New York Times" mentioned in the report of SA JAMES F. SCANLAN, in the VOA case, in the first sentence of page 2, where the date is reflected as 5/27/41. As a result, the original source was checked at the New York Times Morgue and it was then discovered that this date should have been 5/27/21. As a result thereof, the VOA report was changed to reflect the correct date, and on 2/14/55 a letter was directed to Bureau in instant investigation requesting that the date of 5/27/41 be changed to read 5/27/21.

1/100-419565-1

NOT RECORDED
31 MAR 22 1955

TGS:EG

ENCLOSURE FILED IN 65-62854-5

SA Lardner, in writing his report of 11/16/54, relied on the information set forth in report of SA Brashear in the BALDWIN case since it has been the procedure to rely on information that has been set forth in reports without going back to check original sources.

SA Brashear is no longer assigned to NYO.

In view of this, I can see no error or culpability on the part of either SA Lardner or Relief Supervisor John J. Danahy, who approved this report. I am, therefore, recommending that no administrative action be taken in this regard.

L. V. Boardman

March 15, 1955

A. H. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-96 BY SP2 STJ/dp

SUBJECT: SA THOMAS J. LARDNER, aka
CAPTIONING - CO

By letter 2-14-55, New York requested Bureau change date 5-27-41 in report SA Thomas J. Lardner dated 11-16-54 at New York, New York, concerning subject to read 5-27-21. On 3-3-55, New York was requested to forward explanations for error from responsible personnel, together with recommendations for any necessary administrative action.

By letter 3-9-55, New York advised report SA Lardner 11-16-54 set forth a documentation of Lacer Caldwin in which information from a report of SA L. H. Bradshear dated 5-22-42 at New York, New York, concerning Caldwin was utilized. Bradshear's report set forth information from articles obtained from the "New York Times" morgue concerning Caldwin, including an article dated 5-27-21. On 1-28-55, a Voice of America (VOA) investigation was instituted concerning subject. During VOA investigation Bureau requested check of "New York Times" article dated 5-27-21 in report SA James F. Scanlon in VOA case which resulted in determining date should have been 5-27-21. VOA report corrected and Bureau advised to correct date in reports concerning Chad. New York advised SA Lardner in writing his report of 11-16-54 relied on information set forth in report of SA Bradshear in the Caldwin case since it has been the procedure to rely on information that has been set forth in reports without going back to check original sources. New York office advised SA Bradshear no longer assigned New York. The SAC, New York, advised he could see no error or culpability on part of either SA Lardner or Relief Supervisor John J. Lanahy who approved the report. The SAC recommended no administrative action be taken in this regard.

A review of the personnel file of SA Lonnie Hugh Bradshear reflects that he resigned from the Bureau to practice law on August 31, 1960.

Attachment
62-82554

CO - 100-19550

100-4952-1

NOT RECORDED
16 MAR 23 1955

Pickford - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Brantigan
Administrative Division
Correlation Unit, Records Section

MAR 25 1955

MHM:bbo
(8)

ORIGINAL FILED IN

The date 6-27-32 which appears in the report of SA Brashear dated 2-23-43 concerning Baldwin has been corrected to read 6-27-31. A notation on this report indicates that on August 23, 1943, a copy was furnished former Assistant Attorney General Kendall Berge.

Recommendations:

(1) That no administrative action be taken against SA Lardner and Relief Supervisor Gaughy.

(2) That the attached letter be sent to the Records Administration Branch, NO New York, correcting the report of SA Brashear dated 2-23-43 concerning Baldwin. New York is being instructed to correct its copies of this report.

Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III

May 26, 1955

Director, FBI

RECORDED - 30 100-19565-62
INDEXED-30

PROPOSED STUDY OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN PUERTO RICO BY ROGER BALDWIN

There is transmitted herewith for your information a translation of a news clipping which appeared in the May 19, 1955, issue of "El Mundo," a daily Spanish-language newspaper published at San Juan, Puerto Rico. A copy is also being furnished to Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins.

It is noted that the article reflects that Governor Luis Munoz Marin has invited Mr. Roger Baldwin, General Adviser to the American Civil Liberties Union, to visit Puerto Rico to study the legislation in effect on civil rights and the methods of applying these laws in Puerto Rico.

Enclosure

1 cc: Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins (Enclosure)

1 cc: Mr. Nichols
1 cc: Mr. Baumgardner

CLM:mfb
(11)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY 2082 TJ/pf

Note: Copy of news clipping being furnished to Criminal Division and Internal Security Division of Department in accordance with recommendation in memorandum, Price to Rosen, 5-23-55, captioned "Proposed Visit of Roger Baldwin to Puerto Rico for Study of Civil Liberties," which is attached.

MAILED 25
MAY 26 1955
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

4177

55 JUN 7 1955

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: Director, FBI

DATE: May 19, 1955

FROM: SAC, San Juan (44-0)

AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

SUBJECT: PROPOSED VISIT OF ROGER BALDWIN TO PUERTO RICO FOR STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

100-

Remyrad 5/19/55, captioned as above.

Enclosed is a news clipping from the May 19, 1955, issue of "El Mundo", daily Spanish language newspaper published at San Juan, Puerto Rico. The enclosed article points out a proposed trip of ROGER BALDWIN, identified as General Adviser to the American Civil Liberties Union. It is noted that according to the enclosed article, BALDWIN is making a trip to Puerto Rico at the invitation of Governor LUIS MUNOZ MARIN.

CD:MLS
(3)

Enclosures (2) ENCL.

10 cc made of translation dtd 5/25/55.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STG/ag

EX-115

RECORDED - 30 100-49565-1
INDEXED - 30
2 MAY 23 1955

cc Baumgardner

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5642 _____ 1941

To:

___Director	___Mr. Patterson
___Mr. Tolson	___Mr. Renneberger
___Mr. E.A. Tamm	___Mr. Skousen
___Mr. Clegg	___Mr. Quinn Tamm
___Mr. Glavin	___Mr. Nease
___Mr. Ladd	___Miss Gandy
___Mr. Rosen	___Files Section
___Mr. Tracy	___Pers. Files Sect.
___Mr. Carson	___Reading Room
___Mr. Coffey	___Tours
___Mr. Harbo	___Miss Lurz
___Mr. Hendon	___Miss Weber
___ _____	___Mr. Redel

See Me — For Appropriate Action
Send File — Prepare reply

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STJ/kp

26625T L. B. Nichols

Muñoz Auspiciará Un Estudio Sobre Derechos Civiles

Ha Invitado A Baldwin Que lo Haga

Confirma Planea Viaje a Europa

Por JUAN MARTINEZ CHAPEL
Redactor de EL MUNDO

El gobernador Luis Muñoz Marín reveló ayer que va auspiciar un estudio en la Isla sobre la aplicación y el respeto a los derechos civiles.

Por otro lado el Gobernador manifestó que es cierto que tiene planes para realizar un viaje por Europa, pero que todavía no sabe la fecha en que lo iniciará ni el tiempo que dedicará al mismo.

Su intención hasta ahora es visitar Inglaterra, Francia, Italia y España. El viaje no tiene propósito político, según dijo. Será, agregó con fines culturales, educativos y de diversión. Cuando lo realice irá acompañado por su esposa y sus dos hijas.

Durante su viaje último por Estados Unidos el señor Muñoz Marín invitó al señor Roger Baldwin, consejero general de la Unión Americana de Libertades Civiles, para que venga a la Isla a hacer un estudio de la legislación vigente sobre derechos civiles y los métodos de aplicación de esas leyes en Puerto Rico.

El propósito del señor Muñoz Marín es que Baldwin, una de las figuras que más se ha destacado en el mundo en defensa de los derechos civiles ciudadanos, le rinda un informe sobre las leyes que garantizan esos derechos y de la forma como se ejercitan esos derechos en la Isla.

Dijo el señor Muñoz Marín que el Gobierno de Puerto Rico es una completa democracia con gran respeto a la libertad y derechos de todos sus conciudadanos y que esto es hecho reconocido por todas las conciencias libres del mundo. Pero agregó que ese respeto a los derechos civiles es algo tan apreciable que es conveniente hacer estudios periódicos de como se ejercitan para evitar que puedan insensiblemente irse deteriorando o malogrando.

Comparó este estudio que solicita con el examen médico que deben hacerse las personas periódicamente aunque no sientan enfermedad alguna; pero que sirven para evitar o detener cualquier mal que nos amenace.

Cree el Gobernador que para el estudio y examen que el desea se le haga al Gobierno, ningún especialista más eminente, y confiable que el señor Roger Baldwin.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-96 BY SP3/STJ/pp

"El Mundo"
San Juan
5/19/55

62
ENCLOSURE

TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-86 BY 2028 1575 pop

EL MUNDO
May 19, 1955
San Juan, Puerto Rico
Page 1, Column 8

MUNOZ WILL SPONSOR A STUDY ON CIVIL RIGHTS

HAS INVITED BALDWIN TO MAKE IT

CONFIRMS PLAN FOR TRIP TO EUROPE

By Juan Martinez Chapel
Editor of EL MUNDO

Governor Luis Munoz Marin revealed yesterday that he is going to sponsor a study on the application of and respect for civil rights on the Island.

On the other hand the Governor stated that it is true that he is planning to take a trip to Europe but he does not yet know the date when the will stamthit nor the length of time he will spend on it.

His intention now is to visit England, France, Italy, and Spain. The trip has no political purpose, according to him. He added that it will be for the purpose of culture, education, and pleasure. When he takes it he will be accompanied by his wife and his two daughters.

During his last trip to the United States, Mr. Munoz Marin invited Mr. ROGER BALDWIN, General Adviser to the American Union for Civil Liberties, to come to the Island to make a study of the legislation in effect on civil rights and the methods of applying these laws in Puerto Rico.

The plan of Mr. Munoz Marin is for BALDWIN, one of the most outstanding figures in the world in defense of the civil rights of citizens, to give him a report on the laws guaranteeing these rights and on the manner in which these rights are exercised on the Island.

ENCLOSURE
100-411565-62

Mr. Munoz Marin said that the Government of Puerto Rico is a complete democracy with great respect for the liberty and rights of all its fellow-citizens and that this is a fact recognized by all free consciences in the world. However, he added that this respect for civil rights is something so valuable that it is proper to make periodic studies in regard to how they are exercised in order to avoid their possible imperceptible deterioration or failure.

He compared this study which he is requesting with a physical examination which persons should have made periodically, although they do not feel that they are at all ill, but which (examinations) serve to avoid or check any ill which may threaten us.

The Governor believes that for the study and examination which he wishes to have done for the Government there is no more eminent and reliable specialist than Mr. ROGER BALDWIN.

---

zl

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/pg

TO : Mr. Rosen DATE: May 23, 1955

FROM : F. L. Price Roger Baldwin

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: PROPOSED VISIT OF ROGER BALDWIN TO PUERTO RICO FOR STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

San Juan Office has advised that 5/19/55, issue of "El Mundo" reflected Governor Luis Munoz Marin had issued invitation to Roger Baldwin, General Advisor to American Civil Liberties Union, to visit Puerto Rico to make study of legislation in effect on civil rights and methods of applying these laws in Puerto Rico. Governor Marin allegedly compared such study with physical examination received by individuals periodically which serve to check or avoid any ill that may threaten them.

[redacted] advised SAC, San Juan on 5/19/55, that he did not know of any civil rights problem existing in Puerto Rico and had no idea why Baldwin being invited. b6 b7C b7D

SAC, San Juan recommended that he call on Governor Marin and again point out Bureau's jurisdiction in civil rights cases. He requested advice as to whether Baldwin had made similar studies and contacted Bureau Headquarters or FBI offices. SAC, Puerto Rico stated in event Baldwin contacted office, any information Baldwin offers would be accepted; no comment would be made except to advise him of Bureau's jurisdiction in civil rights cases. News clipping containing details of the article being forwarded to the Bureau by San Juan.

ACTION:

(1) There is attached for your approval a radiogram to the SAC at San Juan advising him that no special contact should be made with the Governor in this matter, as no civil rights problems known to exist. (Governor Marin previously advised of Bureau's jurisdiction in civil rights matters.) No information that Baldwin has contacted any Bureau offices in recent study of civil rights, although Baldwin in January 1955 travelled to Europe and the Middle East inquiring as to trials on espionage where civil rights allegedly a factor, according to 1/17/55, weekly bulletin of the

cc: Mr. Nichols
Enclosure
CLM:ush
(8)

100-495655-63

RECORDED - 30

INDEXED-30

21 JUN 2 1955

21 JUN 6 1955

PERS. FILES

61-190 - (Autostated) UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. Rosen

"Feature Press Service" published by the American Civil Liberties Union.

SAC, San Juan being instructed to accept any information Baldwin offers and being instructed in the event any detailed information desired by Baldwin, he should be referred to the Bureau in Washington, D. C. SAC being further instructed to immediately advise the Bureau if contacted by Baldwin.

(2) Upon receipt of the news clipping from the San Juan Office, copies will be prepared and this matter will be brought to the attention of the Criminal Division and the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice.

RECORDED - 73 100-176-64

Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III

June 6, 1955

Director, FBI

PROPOSED STUDY OF CIVIL RIGHTS
IN PUERTO RICO BY ROGER BALDWIN

EX-100

Reference is made to my memorandum of May 26, 1955.

There is transmitted herewith for your information a translation of an editorial which appeared in the May 21, 1955, issue of "El Mundo," a daily Spanish newspaper published at San Juan, Puerto Rico. There is also enclosed a Photostat of a cartoon which appeared in the May 24, 1955, issue of the same paper. A copy of each of these enclosures is also being furnished to Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins.

It is noted that the cartoon reflects an individual holding in his right hand a magnifying glass with the words in Spanish printed on a tag reading: "Studies on Civil Rights." In the other hand the individual is carrying a sign which reads "They have a free hand L.M.M." (Luis Munoz Marin, Governor). Behind the tree is the caricature of Insular Law 53, which is patterned after the Smith Act of the United States and which has been used in the prosecution of Nationalists in Puerto Rico.

The above is submitted for your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STP/ah

Enclosures

cc: Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins (Enclosures - 2)

cc: Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

GLM:ush
(11)

COMM - FBI
JUN 6 - 1955
MAILED 24

FBI

62 JUN 15 1955

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: May 27, 1955

FROM : SAC, San Juan (44-0)

SUBJECT: PROPOSED VISIT OF ROGER BALDWIN TO PUERTO RICO FOR STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

100-49565-62

Remyrad 5/19/55 and Bureau radiogram 5/24/55.

Enclosed is an editorial (with translations) from the May 21, 1955, issue of "El Mundo", San Juan Spanish language daily newspaper, and a cartoon from the May 24, 1955, issue of "El Mundo".

It is noted that the cartoon reflects an individual (probably ROGER BALDWIN) with a magnifying glass and words stating, "Studies on Civil Rights". In the other hand he is carrying a sign saying, "They have a free hand. L.M.M. (LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, Governor)". Behind the tree is the caricature of Insular Law 53, which is patterned after the Smith Act of the United States and which has been used in the prosecution of Nationalists in Puerto Rico.

This is being furnished to the Bureau as a matter of information.

CD:MLS
(3)

Enclosures (3)

ENCL. 3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-2086 BY SP8TJ/ap

Memo to Malone re King Tshombe 5-25-55

RECORDED - 73

INDEXED - 73

100-49565-64

6/9

8 MAY 31 1955

Nicaragua

EX-100

EX-102

MAY 31 1955

TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH

EL MUNDO
May 21, 1955
San Juan, Puerto Rico

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP2 [illegible]

EDITORIAL

CIVIL RIGHTS

We second and applaud the action taken by the Governor of Puerto Rico, Mr. Luis Munoz Marin, in commissioning Mr. ROGER BALDWIN with an investigation and study on the application of civil rights and respect for the same on the Island.

Mr. ROGER BALDWIN is the General Adviser for the AMERICAN UNION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES and has distinguished himself in civic struggles to keep and maintain these liberties pure and intact.

We realize that the Governor munoz Marin has taken a step in good government in initiating this re-examination of civil liberties in Puerto Rico.

Even in the most democratic regimes it is proper and plausible to make a periodic revision of how liberty is developing in the milieu because even in very democratic regimes there may filter through methods, details, aspects, reactions and attitudes which injure civil rights, without their being able to be suspected at first.

Merely by accosting this re-examination, this revision, Governor Munoz Marin indicates that he is ready to rectify, if it is necessary to rectify, and to improve, if the recommendations of Mr. BALDWIN indicate any path of improvement.

This is what we hope that the action by the Governor means in all its extension. And for this purpose we believe

100-11956 ENCL 1

ENCLOSURE

that he should be accompanied and well accompanied by all those who are concerned with civic questions in the country, by all those who have love and ardor here for true liberty.

In this an answer would be given to one of the conditions imposed by liberty and it is that whoever enjoys it should always be alert, and vigilant to be assured that nothing will mar or obstruct it.

We believe that this good opportunity should not be lost for examining thoroughly all the steps taken in the country in regard to the civil rights.

This newspaper recalls without making aggregate demands in memory that not so many years ago it found itself with the civic obligation of placing itself at the head of a movement to stop several bills which we considered fundamentally injurious to a normal and reasonable concept of civil liberties.

These bills, among them Law 53, became the law of the country in spite of the protest, and they have remained in the statutes without conciliatory or liberalizing amendments. The gag laws continue to be in force in Puerto Rico.

We hope that there is sufficient decision, clarity, and integrity in the country to inform Mr. BALDWIN freely about these and other laws which may contain debatable or criticizable aspects.

If the investigation has been ordered with sincerity and a desire to improve, as we believe that it has been, then the Governor, Mr. BALDWIN, and the entire government should be grateful for all opinions and should not reject any even if they may be adverse or disagreeable in regard to some law which is in our statutes. Otherwise the investigation would not have any merit.

Nevertheless, we have complete confidence in the man chosen by the Government to make this study. Munoz Marin

has chosen well and in this we see in this another proof of sincerity.

We believe that Mr. BALDWIN is a person devoted to principles and very ready to face reality. For this reason we believe that all co-operation should be given him and he should be spoken to frankly. In addition, when liberty is in the middle , that is, civil rights, a very great and important thing is being defended in the life of man , and no one should think about personal conveniences or interests but of the general good.

Good citizens then should be encouraged to investigate such a vital theme and to co-operate in every way possible so that the plans of the Governor to submit the question of civil rights to revision and re-examination may not be frustrated or that they may not be fulfilled.

---

zl

EL MUNDO

Fundado en 18 de febrero, 1919.
VERDAD Y JUSTICIA

Presidente y Administrador General ... Angel Ramos
Director ... Pablo Vargas Badillo

Editores: EL MUNDO, INC.
Oficinas: Edificio Puerto Rico Ilustrado, Apartado de correos 1072, San Juan (5), Puerto Rico. Tel. 2-2000.
En Nueva York: 41 E. 42nd. St. Tel. MUrray Hill 2-0886

ABC

Los Derechos Civiles

Secundamos y aplaudimos la gestión hecha por el Gobernador de Puerto Rico, señor Luis Muñoz Marín, al encomendarle al señor Roger Baldwin una investigación y estudio sobre la aplicación de los derechos civiles y el respeto a los mismos en la Isla.

El señor Roger Baldwin es consejero general de la Unión Americana de Libertades Civiles y se ha distinguido en luchas cívicas en pro de conservar y mantener intactas y puras esas libertades.

Reconocemos que el gobernador Muñoz Marín ha dado un paso de buen gobierno al iniciar este reexamen de las libertades civiles en Puerto Rico.

Aun en los regímenes más democráticos, es cosa conveniente y plausible hacer revisión periódica de cómo se desenvuelve la libertad en el ambiente porque, aun en esos regímenes muy democráticos, se pueden colar imperceptiblemente modos, detalles, aspectos, reacciones y actitudes que lesionen los derechos civiles, sin que de primera vista se pueda sospechar de ellos.

Con sólo abordar ese reexamen, esa revisión, el gobernador Muñoz Marín indica estar dispuesto a rectificar, si es que se necesita rectificar, y a mejorar, si las recomendaciones del señor Baldwin indican algún camino de mejoramiento.

Eso es lo que esperamos que signifique, en toda su extensión, la gestión del Gobernador. Y en ese propósito creemos que debe ir acompañado, y bien acompañado, por todos los que en el país se preocupan de las cuestiones cívicas, por todos los que aquí le tienen amor y calor a la verdadera libertad.

En eso se estaría respondiendo a una de las condiciones que impone la libertad, y es la de que quien la disfrute se encuentra siempre alerta, vigilante, para asegurarse de que nada la empañe ni la entorpezca.

Creemos que no se debe perder esta buena oportunidad de examinar a fondo todos los pasos dados en el país en relación con los derechos civiles.

Este periódico recuerda, sin forzar mucho la memoria, que en años no muy lejanos se vió en la obligación cívica de ponerse al frente de un movimiento para detener unos proyectos de legislación que considerábamos fundamentalmente lesivos a un concepto normal y razonable de las libertades civiles.

Esos proyectos, entre ellos la Ley 53, pasaron a ser la ley del país a pesar de la protesta y han permanecido en los estatutos, sin enmiendas conciliatorias o liberalizantes. Las leyes de la mordaza continúan vigentes en Puerto Rico.

Esperamos que en el país haya suficiente decisión, claridad y entereza para informar al señor Baldwin libremente sobre estas y otras leyes que puedan contener aspectos debatibles o criticables.

Si la investigación ha sido ordenada con sinceridad y deseo de mejorar, como creemos que lo ha sido, entonces el Gobernador, el señor Baldwin y todo el Gobierno deben de agradecer, y no rechazar, todas las opiniones, aunque fueren adversas o desagradables respecto de alguna ley que figure en nuestros estatutos. De otro modo la investigación no tendría mérito alguno.

Sin embargo, tenemos plena confianza en el hombre escogido por el Gobernador para hacer este estudio. Muñoz Marín ha escogido bien y en esto vemos otra prueba de sinceridad.

Creemos que el señor Baldwin es persona consagrada a los principios y muy dispuesta a enfrentarse con la realidad. Por eso creemos que se le debe dar toda cooperación y que se le debe hablar con franqueza. Además, cuando está de por medio la libertad, esto es, los derechos civiles, se está defendiendo una cosa muy grande y muy importante en la vida del hombre, y nadie debe pensar en conveniencias o intereses personales, sino en el bien general.

Animemos, pues, los buenos ciudadanos a ahondar en tema tan vital y a cooperar en todo lo posible a que no se frustren, o queden incumplidos, los propósitos del Gobernador, al someter a revisión y reexamen la sensible, pero básica, cuestión de los derechos civiles.

"El Mundo"
San Juan,
Puerto Rico
5/21/55

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STJ

ENCLOSURE

64

¿La Encontrará? **Por Filardi**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP2 8736

"El Mundo"
San Juan,
Puerto Rico
5/24/55

100-U9565-64
ENCLOSURE

G.H.K.

Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III

July 27, 1955

Director, FBI

PROPOSED STUDY OF CIVIL RIGHTS
IN PUERTO RICO BY ROGER BALDWIN

Reference is made to my memorandum of June 6, 1955, which transmitted a translation of an editorial that appeared in the May 21, 1955, issue of "El Mundo", published at San Juan, Puerto Rico, reflecting that Roger Baldwin had been invited to make an investigation and study on the application of civil rights in Puerto Rico.

There is transmitted herewith for your information a copy of an article which appeared in the July 18, 1955, issue of "Feature Press Service" published by the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 5th Avenue, New York 10, New York.

Enclosure

cc: Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins (Enclosure)

cc: 1 San Juan (Enclosure)

CLM:dmj (12)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP2 STJ sc

ENCL

RECORDED-57

INDEXED-57

AUG 4 1955

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

MAILED 5
JUL 27 1955
COMM-FBI

-Thornton

SAC, New York (100-3620) June 2, 1955

Director, FBI (100-7046)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION
OF FOREIGN BORN
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

Re Detroit tel 5-27-55 which contained information concerning a claim by Abner Green that one Roger Baldwin initiated the captioned organization 23 years ago.

It would appear that this individual is identical with Roger Nash Baldwin who has long been associated with the American Civil Liberties Union and who is the subject of your file 100-8424.

A review of his file at the Bureau fails to reflect any indication that Baldwin actually initiated the captioned organization. It is desired that you immediately review the files of your office to determine whether any such information may appear therein. The results of the action taken by you in this regard should be forwarded to the Bureau in the near future.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8 STJ/lgb

WCT:bas
(5)
cc: 100-49565 (Baldwin)
ON YELLOW: Above info will be furn to the Department upon the receipt of advice from the New York Office.

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

YELLOW DUPLICATE
JUN 2 1955
MAILED

100-49565
NOT RECORDED
165 JUN 3 1955

53 JUN 9 1955

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-7046-17

ROGER BALDWIN TO SURVEY PUERTO RICO CIVIL LIBERTIES

Roger N. Baldwin, the Union's International Work Adviser, has been invited by Governor Luis Muñoz Marin of Puerto Rico to make a survey of civil liberties in the Island. Mr. Baldwin was a guest of the Governor in Puerto Rico following the action of the United Nations in declaring that Puerto Rico is now self-governing.

Mr. Baldwin replied to the Governor that he would be happy to accept the invitation sometime in the fall, observing that: "There are many other places much more in need than Puerto Rico of a survey of civil liberties." The Union's counsel in Puerto Rico, Professor Santos P. Amadeo of the University of Puerto Rico commented publicly on the invitation that there is considerable for Mr. Baldwin to examine in the administration of justice.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-20-76 BY SP3 STSlop

100-49565-45

Ticklers - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Winterrowd
Mr. Price
Mr. Conroy

G. I. K.

The Attorney General

January 26, 1956

Director, FBI

ROGER NASH BALDWIN,
VISIT TO PUERTO RICO FOR
STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

266251

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 STS/pg

RECORDED - 89

100-9565-66

EX-122

Information has been received that on January 24, 1956, Roger Nash Baldwin, the former Executive Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union, who was accompanied by Mr. Francisco Espinosa, Special Assistant to the Sub-Secretary of the Commonwealth Department of Justice, visited the San Juan, Puerto Rico, Office of this Bureau.

After identifying himself, Mr. Baldwin advised that he was in Puerto Rico at the request of Governor Luis Munoz Marin to survey existing legislation and procedures in Puerto Rico with respect to civil rights. He stated that he was principally concerned with the agencies of the Commonwealth Government but said that he was also looking into this matter with respect to Federal agencies currently operating in Puerto Rico. Mr. Baldwin did not enlarge further on the latter statement.

Mr. Baldwin mentioned that when his survey is completed he will make a report to the Governor of Puerto Rico and to the United Nations International League for Rights of Man. He stated that in this report he intends to particularly stress any differences existing in Puerto Rico as compared to the United States.

COMM — FBI
JAN 26 1956
MAILED 26

Mr. Baldwin advised that the purpose of his visit to our San Juan Office was to personally call on the heads of all Federal agencies as a part of his survey. He inquired into the jurisdiction of this Bureau in Puerto Rico and asked specifically if this Bureau's jurisdiction included the handling of narcotics, counterfeiting or tax matters. The general jurisdiction of this Bureau was briefly explained to Mr. Baldwin and he was advised that Federal narcotics matters in

K.J
Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

JUL 6 1956

LEC:bab
(13)

NOTE: Director noted on incoming San Juan radiogram "Send memo to A.G. and Rogers."

Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont

FEB 10 1956

Puerto Rico are handled by the Agent in Charge of the Bureau of Customs and counterfeiting and tax matters by the United States Secret Service and the Bureau of Internal Revenue, respectively. Mr. Baldwin was specifically advised of this Bureau's jurisdiction in civil rights matters. He then volunteered the statement that he was generally quite familiar with this jurisdiction and then asked if there was any difference in the manner of conducting civil rights investigations in Puerto Rico as compared to any place in the United States. He was advised that there is no difference in the handling of civil rights investigations.

Mr. Baldwin expressed appreciation for the reception he had received at our San Juan Office and upon departing he stated that he had the utmost respect for and confidence in the Federal Bureau of Investigation "from top on down."

The above is furnished for your information. You will be advised of any additional pertinent developments which may come to the attention of our San Juan Office in connection with Mr. Baldwin's survey.

cc - 1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

cc - 1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

cc - 1 - Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III

F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

DECODED COPY

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

FROM SAN JUAN 1-24-56 NR 242133

TO DIRECTOR DEFERRED

PROPOSED VISIT OF ROGER BALDWIN TO PUERTO RICO FOR STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. RE BUREAU RAD MAY 24, 1955. ROGER N. BALDWIN, ACCOMPANIED BY FRANCISCO ESPINOSA, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO SUB-SECRETARY OF COMMONWEALTH DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, WHO WAS ACTING IN CAPACITY OF GUIDE, VISITED SAN JUAN OFFICE JANUARY 24, 1956. AFTER IDENTIFYING HIMSELF, BALDWIN ADVISED WAS IN PUERTO RICO AT REQUEST OF GOVERNOR LUIS MUNOZ MARIN TO SURVEY EXISTING LEGISLATION AND PROCEDURES IN PUERTO RICO WITH RESPECT TO CIVIL RIGHTS. SAID MAIN CONCERN WITH AGENCIES OF COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT BUT WAS ALSO LOOKING INTO MATTER WITH RESPECT TO FEDERAL AGENCIES OPERATING IN PR. DID NOT FURTHER ENLARGE ON LATTER STATEMENT. ADVISED WHEN SURVEY COMPLETED WILL MAKE REPORT TO GOVERNOR OF PR AND TO UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR RIGHTS OF MAN. IN LATTER REPORT HE STATED HE INTENDS TO PARTICULARLY STRESS ANY DIFFERENCES EXISTING IN PR AS COMPARED TO REST OF U.S. ADVISED PURPOSE OF VISIT TO OFFICE WAS TO PERSONALLY CALL ON HEADS OF ALL FEDERAL AGENCIES AS PART OF SURVEY. INQUIRED AS TO FBI JURISDICTION IN PR, ASKING SPECIFICALLY IF IT INCLUDED NARCOTICS, COUNTERFEITING OR TAX MATTERS. BUREAU-S GENERAL JURISDICTION BRIEFLY EXPLAINED AND BALDWIN TOLD FEDERAL NARCOTICS MATTERS HANDLED IN PR BY CUSTOMS AGENT IN CHARGE AND COUNTERFEITING AND TAX MATTERS BY U.S. SECRET SERVICE AND BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE, RESPECTIVELY. MR. BALDWIN WAS SPECIFICALLY ADVISED OF BUREAU-S JURISDICTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS. HE VOLUNTEERED HE WAS GENERALLY QUITE FAMILIAR WITH THIS AND THEN ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY DIFFERENCE IN THE MANNER OF CONDUCTING CIVIL RIGHTS INVESTIGATIONS IN PR AS COMPARED TO ANY OTHER PLACE IN U.S. HE WAS ADVISED NO DIFFERENCE. BALDWIN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION AT BEING RECEIVED AND ON DEPARTING STATED HE HAD

RECORDED - 69 100-347565-66

EX-122

FEB 2 1955

Mr. Nichols

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP2 STJ

F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

4-42a

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

DECODED COPY

PAGE TWO

UTMOST RESPECT FOR AND CONFIDENCE IN F.B.I. QUOTE FROM ~~TOP ON DOWN~~ UNQUOTE. BUREAU WILL BE PROMPTLY ADVISED OF ANY ADDITIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH BALDWIN-S SURVEY COMING TO ATTENTION OF SJO.

RECEIVED: 9:20 PM RADIO

10:20 PM CODING UNIT MEH

cc - Mr. Nichols CC - Conroy

Send memo to A.G. ✓ (memo to A.G., cc Rogers, Tamm, Clegg 1-26-56 LPC)

Rogers.

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-7046) 10/6/55

SAC, NEW YORK (100-3620)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION
OF FOREIGN BORN
INTERNAL SECURITY - C;
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1950

Attached are 6 copies of the report of SA [redacted] NY, 10/6/55, in the captioned matter. b6 b7C

It is noted that information is set out from ROGER NASH BALDWIN that he plans to review the records of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the American Fund for Public Service (AFPS) for precise information regarding the formation of the subject organization. BALDWIN stated that he believes that the correspondence of both the ACLU and AFPS is available at either the New York Public Library or the Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey. He said that the correspondence relating to the ACLU would run to about 3,000 volumes, with a lesser number for the AFPS. However, he stated that he thought that an index of this material would be available to him, and that he plans to locate the pertinent volumes. BALDWIN said that he would get in touch with this Office after he determined the location, and perhaps reviewed some of the correspondence.

It may be noted in the attached report that Mr. READ LEWIS, Executive Director of the Common Council for American Unity, states that IRVING NOVICK, in 1941, withdrew as acting secretary of the ACFFB after an unsuccessful contest for power with ABNER GREEN for the position of Executive Secretary of the ACPFB. Accordingly, it would appear that NOVICK may be in a position to furnish information regarding the origin and early years of the ACPFB.

However, as set out in New York letter of 9/15/55, captioned as above, NOVICK was interviewed by agents of this Office on 2/11/54 and 4/27/54. As set

1 ENCL

RM

Encs. (6)

100-49565-1

RECORDED
150 OCT 14 1955

SEH:wpf

64 OCT 19 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-7046-1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-30-86 BY SP8 STJ/pg

b6
b7C

out on page 3 in the report of SA [redacted] 5/12/54, captioned, "IRVING NOVICK, wa; SM-C", NOVICK stated on 4/27/54 that it had been approximately 15 years since he has been connected with the ACPFB. He stated that to discuss matters which occurred more than 15 years ago would cast suspicion on him. NOVICK advised that in his youth he had been idealistic and temperamental and had done some things which he did not care to discuss.

b2

It is noted that MAURICE MALKIN as set out in the report of SA ALDEN C. MC CRAY, 1/28/55, entitled, "IRVING NOVICK, wa; SM-C", [redacted] states that IRVING NOVICK joined the CP in 1925 and continued to be a member of the CP until at least 1937, and that NOVICK continues to be sympathetic to, if not a member of the CP. NOVICK'S name was at one time included in the Security Index of this Office.

In view of the above information concerning NOVICK, no interview with him is contemplated at this time UACB.

CONFIDENTIAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEW YORK	10/6/55	10/3-5/55	[redacted] mpf

b6
b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN	INTERNAL SECURITY-C; INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1950

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

ROGER NASH BALDWIN, former Executive Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); READ LEWIS, Executive Director, Common Council for American Unity (CCAU); and EDWARD J. EWING, all of New York City, interviewed, but were unable to furnish specific information concerning the origin of current activities of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPFB). BALDWIN stated that he planned to review the records of the ACLU and the American Fund for Public Service for pertinent information regarding the origin of the Committee. LEWIS stated that he is unable to recall CCAU participating in the formation of the ACPFB.

- P -

DETAILS: Mr. ROGER NASH BALDWIN, former Executive Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), was interviewed on October 5, 1955, by SAs [redacted] and [redacted] at his residence, 232 West 11th Street, New York, New York.

Mr. BALDWIN stated that he is unable to recall what organization or individual first approached the ACLU or the American Fund for Public Service (AFPS) for assistance in starting the American Committee for Protection

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 BTS/bdb
ON 8-20-96

ENCLOSURE

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
		100- 49565- ✓

COPIES OF THIS REPORT
6 - Bureau (100-70146) (RM)
2 - New York (100-3629)

NOT RECORDED
150 OCT 1 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-70146-1

PROPERTY OF FBI—THIS REPORT IS LOANED TO YOU BY THE FBI AND NEITHER IT NOR ITS CONTENTS ARE TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE THE AGENCY TO WHICH LOANED.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—59255-3

of Foreign Born (ACFFB). Mr. BALDWIN stated that he had been an official of both the AFFS and the ACLU, and that it is his best recollection that the original approach to aid in the establishment of the ACFFB in the early 1930's was to the AFFS for a grant of money. BALDWIN was unable to be more specific regarding the initial approach.

Mr. BALDWIN advised that he believes that several groups interested in immigration cases and related problems decided to form a separate committee to handle such matters. He believes that three organizations, including the ACLU, were originally interested in problems in the field of immigration, and that each organization, under a rather loose arrangement, designated representatives to meet together to provide guidance for the newly formed organization. Mr. BALDWIN said that he personally did not take an active part in this work and had only attended a few meetings connected with it, and at this date was unable to recall information regarding them. He stated that he was unable to recall the names of officers or others participating in the governing body. Mr. BALDWIN said that while there may have been a few Communists connected with the ACFFB at the time of its inception, he was sure that it was not then under Communist control.

Mr. BALDWIN said that he could not furnish specific information to substantiate his belief concerning the non-partisan control of the ACFFB during its early years. However, he said that when the Communist influence first began to make itself felt he "sensed" this development, but could not be more specific in this regard.

With respect to one of the early secretaries of the Committee, DWIGHT MORGAN, now deceased, BALDWIN said he recalled the name and knew him slightly, but

that he could furnish no information regarding MORGAN'S activity in the ACPFB. He also recalled Mr. IRVING NOVICK as being active in the affairs of the Committee, but said he did not believe this was during the time when he, BALDWIN, was interested in the affairs of the organization.

Mr. BALDWIN declared that he had no actual knowledge of the Communists acquiring control over the ACPFB, but that he believed that it was accomplished through "their usual tactics" of attending meetings regularly and reaching policy decisions at meetings held when the majority of members were absent. He said that he did not know ABNER GREEN, even by sight, but feels that Communist Party (CP) control of the organization became evident after GREEN'S assumption of the office of Secretary. He stated that he did not know when ABNER GREEN became an official of the ACPFB nor could he furnish information as to maneuvering which led to the installation of ABNER GREEN as Secretary. He said that after GREEN'S installation in office, it was "too partisan an organization to participate with" and so the non-Communist Party groups withdrew. Here again Mr. BALDWIN said that he had no specific information concerning persons, places and the specific time when these events occurred.

Mr. BALDWIN stated that he has not had an opportunity to review the records of the ACLU or the AVPS for precise information to refresh his recollection concerning the role played by these organizations in the formation of the ACPFB. He said that he would do this in the near future and make the results of his inquiry available to this Bureau.

Mr. BALDWIN stated that the International Rescue Committee, New York City, New York, was one of

the many organizations in the field of immigration service. According to Mr. BALDWIN, the International Rescue Committee assists persons abroad to come to the United States, a great many of whom are from countries behind the "iron curtain". Mr. BALDWIN pointed out that since their field of operation did not actually overlap with that of the ACPFB, he could suggest no particular reason why the International Rescue Committee would be more likely to have pertinent current information regarding the ACPFB than other organizations dealing with immigration matters.

b6
b7C

On October 4, 1955, SAS [redacted] and [redacted] interviewed Mr. READ LEWIS, Executive Director, Common Council for American Unity (CCAU), 20 West 40th Street, New York City, relative to his knowledge of subject organization.

Mr. LEWIS stated at the outset that to the best of his knowledge, he could not recall that he or his organization helped found the ACPFB. He stated that perhaps the ACLU and the International Labor Defense may have helped in the formation of subject organization, but he certainly could not recall assisting in its founding or even help guide it once it was founded.

Mr. LEWIS informed that having been Executive Director of the CCAU for over 30 years, he has come in contact with many organizations working with and on behalf of aliens and the foreign born. It was in this manner that he came in contact with DWIGHT MORGAN, the Secretary of the ACPFB, now dead, during the 1930's. According to Mr. LEWIS, it was only after MORGAN'S death when IRVING NOVICK and ABNER GREEN "battled" for the secretaryship, that the Communists took over subject organization when GREEN was successful and became the Secretary of subject organization.

Mr. ENNIS informed further that he had no other information to furnish relative to the CP control of subject organization or any knowledge of its current activities.

Mr. ENNIS furnished a copy of a sworn affidavit, dated February 4, 1955, submitted by him on behalf of FRANCIS J. BROWN, a member of the staff of the American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., who was charged with being a member of the ACFFB. He related that the following paragraph of his affidavit sums up the only information he has concerning subject organization:

"As a result of my interest in activities relating to the foreign born, I have been familiar in a general way with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. My understanding is that this Committee has always worked closely with labor and left-wing groups. During the earlier years of its activities, my impression is that people working in the immigration and naturalization field, including government officials, believed it to be a genuinely American organization, and from time to time cooperated with it. Following the death of its then secretary, DWIGHT MORGAN, in the late 1930s and the withdrawal of its acting secretary, IRVING NOVICK, in 1941, ABNER GREEN became Secretary and has, I believe, continued in that capacity. During the 1940s, following Mr. GREEN'S becoming Secretary - but at just what point it would be hard to say - the general impression has, I believe, developed that the Committee was dominated by pro-Communist sympathies and philosophy. As a result, there has been so far as I know, no cooperation in recent years between the Committee and other agencies working with the foreign born."

Mr. EDWARD J. ENNIS, 165 Broadway, New York City, was interviewed on October 4, 1955, by SA [redacted] Mr. ENNIS could not recall that he had ever had a law case referred to him by the ACFFB since he went into private practice in 1945.

b6
b7C

In 1941, Mr. ENNIS as Chief Counsel for the United States Immigration Service, prosecuted the HARRY BRIDGES deportation case. CAROL KING, an Attorney since deceased, represented BRIDGES. ENNIS also was successor Counsel to KING in an immigration case concerning GERALD ERNEST RAMSEY after ENNIS entered private practice. ENNIS looked upon KING as the ACPFB's leading Attorney since she seemed to always represent defendants in the kind of case the ACPFB was interested in. ENNIS knows of no official connection between KING and the ACPFB. Neither does he have personal knowledge of any questionable affiliations of KING. He explained that the ACPFB is looked upon as the "radical" group in its field of interest and he considered KING of like reputation.

Mr. ENNIS pointed out that he has been active in non-sectarian groups working in the alien, social service field. ENNIS serves on the Board of Directors of the Common Council For American Unity (CCAU), 20 West 40th Street, New York City and is Chairman of the American Immigration Conference (AIC), 509 Madison Avenue, New York City. He describes both as conservative agencies, non-sectarian in nature. The AIC is a "holding company" for such groups as the CCAU and was formed in 1954. The ACPFB, according to Mr. ENNIS, was specifically not asked to join because the ACPFB is considered a "political" group and the AIC constitution requires that members be apolitical.

Mr. ENNIS has had no contact with the ACPFB through either the AIC or the CCAU. He knew of no support given by the CCAU to the ACPFB in its initial organization or later development.

Mr. ENNIS stated that he is not conversant with current activities of the ACPFB and could not recall ever meeting ABNER GREEN or having any knowledge of any political ramifications of the ACPFB.

NY 100-3620

The CP and International Labor Defense are organizations which have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

MISCELLANEOUS

This report has not been disseminated locally because the results of interviews set forth herein have been conducted in accordance with a Departmental request, and because referenced report of SA [redacted] on which these interviews were predicated, was not disseminated. b6 b7C

By cover letter the NYO has advised why it does not contemplate interview with IRVING NOVICK, who was identified by READ LEWIS, as having broken with the AGPFE.

LEADS

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will recontact Mr. ROGER NASH BALDWIN for further information which he may be able to obtain from the records of the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Fund for Public Service.

REFERENCE Boston report of SA [redacted] 8/29/55.
Bureau memo, 9/30/55, to AAG WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS.

COPY/was

L. V. Boardman September 29, 1955

A. H. Belmont

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR
PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN (ACPFB)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950
FBI FILE 100-7046

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP 2 STP/bb

Roger Baldwin, former Executive Director of American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), was recently interviewed at request for Department by our Boston Office for information relative to his knowledge of formation of ACPFB which is subject of current hearing before Subversive Activities Control Board.

By memorandum dated September 23, 1955, Department is now requesting that we reinterview Baldwin or check ACLU records to obtain additional information concerning ACPFB. Department also requests that we interview Reed (Read) Lewis and Edward J. Ennis, both of whom have been affiliated in some degree with Communist front organizations, for any information they can furnish concerning ACPFB.

In view of specific request of Department and inasmuch as it is Bureau's responsibility to develop all possible evidence concerning this case, it is believed the above-requested interviews should be conducted with appropriate instructions issued to the New York Office to conduct such interviews most circumspectly.

1 ENC.

ACTION:

There is attached a more detailed memorandum relative to this matter.

Enclosure

WCT:dli
(5)

cc - Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Thornton

100-475622-1
NOT RECORDED
141 OCT 6 1955

6 OCT 11 1955

L. V. Boardman

September 29, 1955

A. H. Belmont

cc - Boardman
Belmont
Nichols
Thornton

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR
PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN (ACPFB)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950
FBI FILE 100-7046

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-21-86 BY SP5 STJ/sp

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-7046

BACKGROUND:

ACPFB is subject of current hearing before Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) which commenced on June 21, 1955, and was recently resumed after a recess. Information had been previously received by our Detroit Office that ACPFB claims it can prove that Roger Baldwin, former Executive Director of American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) helped initiate ACPFB 23 years ago and that ACPFB hopes to induce Baldwin to testify in above hearing for ACPFB. Above information forwarded to Department which subsequently requested by memorandum July 28, 1955, that Baldwin be interviewed re this matter. By memorandum August 8, 1955, to you, it was recommended and approved that Baldwin be interviewed with such interview confined strictly to data requested by Department. Baldwin was subsequently interviewed by our Boston Office in Massachusetts where he was on vacation. Results of interview were submitted by Boston Office in report form under dated of August 29, 1955, copy of which was promptly furnished to Department.

DEPARTMENTAL REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL INTERVIEWS:

By memorandum September 23, 1955, Department is now requesting that Baldwin be reinterviewed to obtain additional information relative to certain aspects of data previously furnished by him concerning formation of ACPFB. Department further requests that appropriate inquiry be made of Baldwin or the ACLU to obtain additional data relative to Baldwin's previous statement that participation of ACLU in the organization and early work of ACPFB would be a matter of record with ACLU.

ENCLOSURE

Department further requests that we interview Reed (Read) Lewis, Director of Common Council for American Unity and Edward J. Ennis, a New York attorney who according to Baldwin should know of current activities of ACPFB.

100-49565-4

NOT RECORDED
OCT 6 1955

Enclosure
WCT:dlf (6)

cc - Buffile 100-49565 (Roger Baldwin)

~~ENCLOSURE~~

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

Bureau files fail to reflect any previous investigation of Lewis. It is noted, however, that on January 27, 1945, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past furnished Bureau with membership list dated October, 1940, of American Friends of the Mexican People. Under the heading of Foreign Members, name of Read Lewis, 230 Riverside Drive, New York City, appeared as member of this organization. American Friends of the Mexican People has been cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. (100-338784-2)

With regard to the Common Council for American Unity our files fail to reflect that this organization has ever been investigated by the Bureau. It is reportedly an organization formerly known as the Foreign Language Information Service, a public service-type organization dealing particularly in the foreign language field, endeavoring to procure American unity, democracy and intergroup understanding. It is also known as an organization which maintains an information service on immigration, naturalization and related problems and conducts periodic surveys of the foreign language publication field which it sells to interested clients. (100-7046-1942)

With regard to Edward J. Ennis our files reflect he was subject of applicant-type investigation in 1950 which reflected that he was regarded as of good character, reputation and loyal to the United States. [redacted] OTHER

He was formerly director of the Alien Enemy Control Unit in Department. In 1948 as attorney for ACLU Ennis with other attorneys requested dismissal of indictment against the 12 Communist leaders. As chairman of ACLU's Civil Rights Committee, he was critical of detention as security risks of aliens seeking re-entry into the United States and was a signer of ACLU's letter dated December 31, 1953, criticizing Bureau's action in Harry Dexter White case. (100-98549-7)

OBSERVATIONS:

1. Inasmuch as ACPFB hearing before SACB is one in which Bureau has a direct interest and in view of Department's specific request, it is felt we should thoroughly interview above individuals for all pertinent information in their possession relative to this matter. New York Office will be instructed to conduct such interviews most circumspectly in view of position of these individuals.

2. It is also noted that the historical development of ACPFB is pertinent to this hearing before SACB and it is our responsibility to develop all possible evidence in this regard.

3. With regard to possibility of checking ACLU records concerning this matter, it is felt that any such arrangements should be handled through Baldwin rather than approaching ACLU directly it being noted that Baldwin has previously advised that such records would contain pertinent information.

ACTION:

If you approve, there is attached an appropriate communication to Department acknowledging their request with copies to New York Office instructing that inquiry requested by Department be conducted most expeditiously.

CONFIDENTIAL

1-Thornton

100-49565

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

September 1, 1955

Director, FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY [illegible]
ON 8-20-76

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION
OF FOREIGN BORN
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950
FBI FILE 100-7946

Reference is made to your memorandum dated July 28, 1955, in which you requested that this Bureau give consideration to the interview of Roger Baldwin relative to the captioned organization.

Pursuant to your request Mr. Baldwin was interviewed by Agents of our Boston Office on August 25, 1955, and furnished the following information:

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPFB) was created during the early 1930's as a joint enterprise of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Common Council for American Unity and the International Labor Defense. He believed that a substantial amount of money was furnished by the Garland Fund to help form the ACPFB.

About 1936 the Communist Party took over control of the ACPFB and the non-Communist groups withdrew from the organization at that time. The ACPFB was not under Communist Party control for the first three years of its existence but was under such control thereafter. When Abner Green, who according to Baldwin was a Communist Party member, took over the secretaryship of the ACPFB it became completely controlled by the Party.

The attorney for the ACPFB for a long time was Mrs. Carol King, now deceased, who was also the attorney at that time for the Communist Party or the "Daily Worker." The auditor for the ACPFB was also the auditor for the Communist Party or the "Daily Worker."

Baldwin has no knowledge concerning the ACPFB from 1950 to 1953 since he resigned as executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1950. He is willing to testify for the Government concerning the origin

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-7946-1934

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

2cc - New York (100-3620) (SEE PAGE 2 FOR NOTE)

WCT:bas (7)

1 - 100-49565 (Roger Baldwin)

CONFIDENTIAL

YELLOW DUPLICATE
SEP 1 -
MAILED

64 SEP 9 1955

Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

of the ACPFB provided he can refresh his recollection. He plans to return to New York in early September.

Any additional pertinent information which may be received relative to this matter will be promptly forwarded to you.

ATTENTION SAC, NEW YORK:

Re Boston airtel 8-26-55 concerning interview of Baldwin.

The New York Office is instructed to advise immediately as to whether your files contain any information which would tend to substantiate or disprove the information furnished by Baldwin as set forth in reairtel, especially if it pertains to the formation of the ACPFB. It is desired that this information be furnished the Bureau no later than 9-15-55. In the event you fail to meet this deadline you should submit your explanation as to why it could not be met.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AIRTEL

Transmit the following ~~(type)~~ message to:

FBI, BOSTON 8/26/55

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-7046) AND SAC, NEW YORK (100-3620)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN, IS - C, INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950.

Re New York airtel to Bureau dated August 17, 1955.

ROGER NASH BALDWIN, former Executive Secretary of American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) interviewed August 25, 1955. Advised that the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born (ACPFB) was created during the early 1930's as joint enterprise of the ACLU, the Common Council for American Unity and the International Labor Defense. Believed substantial amount of money furnished from the Garland Fund to help form the ACPFB in the beginning.

BALDWIN stated that about 1936 the Communist Party took over control of the ACPFB, and the non-Party groups withdrew from the Committee at that time. Stated the ACPFB was not under CP control for the first three years of its existence but was thereafter. BALDWIN advised that when ABNER GREEN, whom BALDWIN states was a CP member, took over the secretaryship of the ACPFB, the Committee then became completely controlled by the CP. Also advised that the attorney for the Committee for a long time was Mrs. CAROL KING, now deceased, who was also the attorney at that time for CP or the "Daily Worker." Also the auditor for the Committee was the auditor of the CP or the "Daily Worker."

BALDWIN has no knowledge concerning the ACPFB from 1950 to 1953, as he resigned as Executive Secretary of the ACLU in 1950. BALDWIN is willing to testify for the Government concerning the origin of the ACPFB provided he can refresh his recollection. BALDWIN plans to return to New York in early September. Report will be submitted August 29, 1955.

END

JBD:jdd
(6)

Approved: _____ Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

POWERS

20 AUG 29 1955

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 DTJ/jdp

Mr. Belmont

BOSTON 100-278

MR. L. V. BOARDMAN August 10, 1955

MR. A. H. BELMONT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY 2058 TJ/ag

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION
OF FOREIGN BORN (ACPFB)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950
BUFILE 100-7046

Captioned organization is subject of current hearing before Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) which commenced on June 21, 1955, and is currently recessed until September 6, 1955.

By teletype 5-27-55 Detroit Office advised that at meeting of Detroit affiliate of ACPFB on 5-26-55 Abner Green, executive secretary of ACPFB, stated that ACPFB plans to refute Attorney General's charge that ACPFB was founded by Communist Party. Green claimed ACPFB can prove that Roger Baldwin initiated this organization 23 years ago and that they have letters Baldwin supposedly wrote at that time substantiating this claim. Green further stated he hopes to induce Baldwin to testify for ACPFB.

After checking with New York Office and reviewing Bufiles Department was advised by memorandum 6-27-55 that our files reflect that while Baldwin has supported the work of ACPFB on various occasions in past our files contain no indication that he actually initiated this organization.

By memorandum 7-28-55 Department requests that we consider advisability of interviewing Baldwin concerning this matter and in event he is interviewed to determine his attitude toward testifying on behalf of Government in this case.

Baldwin was executive director of American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) from 1920 to 1949 and is still connected with ACLU in advisory capacity. There has been extensive correspondence in the past between the Bureau and Baldwin concerning matters relating to civil liberties and on at least one occasion, 12-5-41, Baldwin talked to the Director concerning an article Baldwin was preparing on the FBI for "New Republic." (100-49565-19)

Enclosure
WCT:bas
(5)
1 - 100-49565 (Baldwin)
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Thornton

100-49565-1
NOT RECORDED
44 AUG 17 1955
INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

1955

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

Baldwin has been subject of investigation by Bureau prior to 1946, results of which we furnished to the Department. In 1941 he was placed on Security Index due to his activities in support of Communist programs. On 11-6-46 his Security Index card was canceled and no investigation has been conducted since that time.

In 1938 Baldwin was listed as a member of ACPFB and in 1941 he was reported to have signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder. On 10-5-38 Baldwin acted as chairman of meeting at Madison Square Garden of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. In May 1955 Baldwin advised a Bureau representative that he had been a member of American League for Peace and Democracy. All of the above-mentioned organizations have been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (100-49565-50)

In May 1955 Baldwin was invited by Governor Luiz Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico to visit there and make study of legislation on civil rights and methods of applying these laws in Puerto Rico.

Despite the background of this individual and his well-known antipathy toward Government security measures it is felt we should contact him and determine what part, if any, he played in the founding of captioned organization. Appropriate instructions will be afforded the New York Office to conduct interview with utmost tact and to confine it strictly to data requested by Department.

ACTION:

If you approve there is attached an appropriate communication to New York in accord with the foregoing.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1409053-001

Total Deleted Page(s) = 1
Page 20 ~ Referral/Direct;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X For this Page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH

EL IMPARCIAL
San Juan, P.R.
May 23, 1956
Page 14, Cols. 2 &3

COMMITTEE WILL BEGIN STUDY ON

CIVIL RIGHTS IN P.R.

The committee appointed by the Governor Muñoz Marin to carry out a study on civil rights in Puerto Rico is ready to begin its work. It is composed of JOSE TRIAS MONGE, Secretary of Justice, President; FELIX OCHOTECO,Jr., President of the Bar Association; ABRAHAM DIAZ GONZALEZ, member of the Superior Council of Education and ex-Superior Judge; and FRANCISCO PONSA FELIU, attorney in the Statehood Party ; and MARCOS A. RAMIREZ, Independentist.

The study will be carried out in accordance with a resolution which was approved last year by the United Nations offering the service of legal advice to governments requesting it to make studies on the practice and protection of civil rights in the respective countries.

The Government of Puerto Rico was the first to request these services , and ROGER BALDWIN, President of the International League on Human Rights , was appointed to offer the government his services as a consultant.

zm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-20-86 BY SP2 BIJ/pg
266251

100-49565-67

ENCLOSURE

TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH

EL IMPARCIAL
San Juan, P.R.
May 24, 1956
Page 3, Col. 2

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

NOTICE

THE COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS WISHES TO ADVISE THE PUBLIC IN GENERAL THAT A STUDY HAS BEEN BEGUN ON THE PRACTICE AND PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN PUERTO RICO.

THE PUBLIC IN GENERAL IS INVITED TO SEND IN INFORMATION OR COMMENTS ON THE SITUATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN PUERTO RICO.

ALL INFORMATION OR COMMENT SHOULD BE SENT TO:

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
BAR ASSOCIATION
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

JOSE TRIAS MONGE, President

zl

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 DIJ/sdb
26625

100-49565-67

ENCLOSURE

TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH

EL IMPARCIAL
San Juan, P.R.
May 24, 1956
Pages, 22,44; Cols. 1,1

PUERTO RICO IN WASHINGTON

David Fernsler

Washington,D.C.---"The weakest points," says ROGER BALDWIN of the American Union of Civil Liberties (UALC---Union Americana de Libertades Civiles) after a study of the civil and political liberties in Puerto Rico,"are in the administration of criminal law which has not been revised in twenty years and is ready to be revised and in the lack of nongovernmental democratic agencies, the pressure of which on the government helps to maintain democracy."

In regard to the Virgin Islands, BALDWIN says that he had conferences with members of the Legislature interested in problems connected with the recently revised Congressional law which "deprives the islands of a large part of the limited self-government they had previously enjoyed."

BALDWIN is an adviser to the American Union of Civil Liberties in international work. Governor Luis Muñoz Marin invited him to make a study of civil and political liberties in Puerto Rico under the Charter of Community Rights. BALDWIN is likewise president of the "International League of the United Nations for the Rights of Man". This is an advisony a gency.

A recent resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations established advisory services for the governments that so requested either through the office of the Secretary

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-20-86 BY SP8 DTJ/pp

100-49565-67

ENCLOSURE

or through nongovernmental advisory agencies. Upon the request of the governor, Muñoz Marin, a communiqué of the UALC says, "Puerto Rico is the first country to take advantage of the resolution of the United Nations."

In his capacity, the communiqué continues, Mr. BALDWIN held preliminary interviews in order to define the scope of the study and he set up the machinery for the study in cooperation with the Governor of Puerto Rico, the Attorney General, the University of Puerto Rico, and the Bar Association. On the basis of this preliminary concentration of attention, BALDWIN says:

"The weakest points are in the administration of criminal law in Puerto Rico which has not been revised in twenty years and is ready to be revised and in the lack of nongovernmental democratic agencies, the pressure of which on the government helps to maintain democracy. This lack is undoubtedly due to a great extent to the tradition of the centralized government under the colonial regime, continued now under an extremely popular government which is developing a noteworthy program of economic well-being. But the citizens are inclined to depend chiefly on the government for their leadership---a natural thing under an immensely popular government--- and private associations are weak. They need a stimulus to assure these democratic principles which should cement any administration."

In regard to the trip of BALDWIN to the Virgin Islands, the UALC says that"opinion is unified in these islands in regard to the nature of changes that should be made"in the amended Organic Charter. "It is believed that some changes should be proposed to Congress this spring and that a thorough revision of the entire Organic Charter should be carefully prepared to be submitted to Congress in 1957." Mr. BALDWIN agreed to help obtain the expert help which will be necessary in drawing up these proposed revisions.

"He emphasized that a strong backing of public opinion will be necessary in the United States to achieve a desirable measure of self-government in the Virgin Islands."

(General opinion among key members of Congress responsible for legislation for the Virgin Islands continues to be that it is "too soon" to speak of changes; that the present law should be given a longer trial. This opinion is shared everywhere.)

The UALC was in the center of the segregation battle lastyear and warned that this battle will have to be waged for a long time to come.

"The political situation, the complexities of the solidarity of the Democratic and Republican parties continue to paralyze any movement towards an effective federal legislation on civil rights," says the UALC.

"The progress which has been made on the state level--- in those states which understand and support the constitutional guarantee of equality."

The organization continues to warn that a continual battle will have to be waged to guarantee the access of newspapers to government news "from the Department of National Defense to the committees on state highway funds , to the officials of county courts."

However, it concludes that the "concern of the nation with problems of loyalty and security which have adversely affected civil liberties has changed due to a general awakening of the public conscience towards the damage done to the constitutional rights of the people, the functioning of the federal courts,and the courage of a number of responsible legislators and government officials who have thrownha clear light on the danger we were in."

---

zl

The Attorney General

June 26, 1956

Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY 2088DTI/ap

ROGER NASH BALDWIN
STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN
PUERTO RICO

RECORDED - 88 100-49565-67

EX-107

Our San Juan, Puerto Rico, Office has forwarded copies of three news articles which appeared in "El Imparcial," a Spanish language newspaper in San Juan, together with the translations of these articles. Two of these news articles dated May 23, 1956, and May 24, 1956, mention the appointment by the Governor of Puerto Rico of a committee to study civil rights in Puerto Rico. The other news article dated May 24, 1956, reflects the results of an interview with Roger Nash Baldwin which was conducted in Washington, D. C., by David Fernsler, Washington correspondent of "El Imparcial."

I am enclosing for your information one Photostat of each of the above-mentioned news articles together with the translation of each of the news articles.

Enclosures (6)

cc: Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General — Enclosures (6)

cc: Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins — Enclosures (6)

cc: Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III — Enclosures (6)

100-49565
LEC:bak
(7)

NOTE: On 1/26/56, a memorandum was previously furnished to the Attorney General with copies to Rogers, Tompkins and Olney reflecting information concerning the visit of Roger Nash Baldwin to Puerto Rico for a study of civil liberties.

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

MAILED 5
JUN 27 1956
COMM-FBI

JUL 6 1956

RECEIVED READING ROOM
FBI
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
JUN 27 11 22 AM '56

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/19/56

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN

SUBJECT: CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS

Reference is made to San Juan radiogram to the Bureau, 1/24/56, captioned "Proposed Visit of ROGER BALDWIN to Puerto Rico for Study of Civil Liberties".

Enclosed are translations, and the originals, of two articles from "El Imparcial", San Juan Spanish language newspaper dealing with the appointment by the Governor of Puerto Rico of a committee to study civil rights in Puerto Rico and the fact that said committee is now ready to begin operations and is advising the general public to send information and commentaries to it.

Also enclosed is the original and a translation of an article from "El Imparcial" covering an interview with ROGER BALDWIN conducted in Washington, D. C. by DAVID FERNSLER, Washington Correspondent of "El Imparcial". This article reports the opinions and conclusions of Mr. BALDWIN in connection with his survey of civil rights matters in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

These items are being referred to the Bureau as a matter of information.

(2) - Bureau (Enclosures 6)
1 - San Juan (44-0)

JCS:htg
(3)

100-49565-67

7-3

JUN 20 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-20-86 BY SP2 TJ/pf 26625

Photostats mark. desk clipping - # copies typed of each translation } all sent to dept by memo 6-26-56 CCC

Memo to AG with enc. 6-26-56 RLC

JUN 20 1956

Comité Sobre Derechos Civiles
San Juan, Puerto Rico

AVISO

El Comité Sobre Derechos Civiles desea avisar al público en general que ha dado comienzo al estudio sobre la práctica y protección de los derechos civiles en Puerto Rico.

Se invita al público en general para que envíe información o comentarios sobre la situación de los derechos civiles en Puerto Rico.

Toda información o comentario debe dirigirse a:

Comité Derechos Civiles
Colegio de Abogados
San Juan, Puerto Rico

José Trías Monge
Presidente

"El Imparcial"
San Juan, P. R.
5/24/56
Page 3, Col. 2

CIVIL RIGHTS
MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8 CTJ/ad

100-175[illegible]

ENCLOSURE

Comité Iniciará Estudio Derechos Civiles En PR

A iniciar sus labores se encuentra el comité designado por el gobernador Muñoz Marín para realizar un estudio sobre los derechos civiles en Puerto Rico, el cual está integrado por José Trías Monge, Secretario de Justicia, presidente; Félix Ochoteco, hijo, presidente del Colegio de Abogados; Abraham Díaz González, miembro del Consejo Superior de Enseñanza, y ex juez superior, y Francisco Ponsa Feliú, abogado estadoista y Marcos A. Ramírez, independentista.

El estudio se realizará de acuerdo con una resolución aprobada el pasado año, por las Naciones Unidas ofreciendo servicio de asesoramiento a los gobiernos que así lo solicitaren para hacer estudios sobre la práctica y protección de los derechos civiles en los países respectivos.

El Gobierno de Puerto Rico fué el primero en solicitar estos servicios y designó a Roger Baldwin, presidente de la Liga Internacional sobre Derechos Humanos, para que ofreciera al Gobierno sus servicios consultivos.

"El Imparcial"
San Juan, P. R.
5/23/56
P. 14, Cols. 2 & 3

CIVIL RIGHTS
MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-76 BY [illegible]

100-49363-1

ENCLOSURE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — "Los puntos más débiles", dice Roger Baldwin, de la Unión Americana de Libertades Civiles, (UALC), después de un estudio de las libertades civiles y políticas en Puerto Rico, "están en la administración de la ley criminal que no ha sido revisada en veinte años y está próxima a serlo, y en la falta de agencias democráticas no gubernamentales cuyas presiones sobre el Gobierno ayudan a sostener la democracia."

De las Islas Vírgenes, Baldwin dice que conferenció con miembros de la Legislatura interesados en problemas relacionados con la recién revisada Ley del Congreso "que priva a las islas de una gran parte del limitado gobierno propio que ellos antes habían disfrutado."

Baldwin es consejero de la Unión Americana de Libertades Civiles en trabajo internacional. El gobernador Luis Muñoz Marín lo invitó a hacer un estudio de las libertades civiles y políticas en Puerto Rico bajo la Carta de Derechos de la Comunidad. Baldwin es también presidente de la "Liga Internacional de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos del Hombre." Esta es una agencia consultora.

Una Resolución reciente de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas estableció servicios de asesores a los gobiernos que los solicitaren, bien por la Secretaría o por agencias asesoras no gubernamentales. A petición del gobernador Muñoz, dice un comunicado de la UALC, "Puerto Rico es el primer país en aprovecharse de la Resolución de las Naciones Unidas."

En su capacidad, prosigue el comunicado, el señor Baldwin celebró entrevistas preliminares para definir el alcance del estudio y ha establecido la maquinaria para el estudio en cooperación con el Gobernador de Puerto Rico, el Procurador General, la Universidad de Puerto Rico y el Colegio de Abogados. A base de este enfoque preliminar, Baldwin dice:

"Los puntos más débiles están en la administración de la ley penal en Puerto Rico, que no ha sido revisada en veinte años y está próxima a serlo, y en la falta de agencias democráticas no gubernamentales cuyas presiones sobre el Gobierno ayuden a sostener la democracia. Esta falta sin duda se debe en gran parte a la tradición del gobierno centralizado bajo el régimen colonial, continuado ahora bajo un gobierno altamente popular que está desarrollando un notable programa de bienestar económico. Pero los ciudadanos son propensos a depender principalmente del Gobierno para su liderato — cosa natural bajo un gobierno inmensamente popular — y las asociaciones privadas son débiles. Necesitan estímulo para asegurar esos principios democráticos que deben cimentar cualquier administración."

Del viaje de Baldwin a las Islas Vírgenes, la UALC dice que opinión unificada en esas islas sobre la naturaleza de cambios que

(Pasa a la pág. 41)

"El Imparcial"
San Juan, P. R.
5/24/56
P. 22, 41
Cols. 1 and 1

CIVIL RIGHTS
MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY DSB DIJ/ajp
266251

Puerto Rico En Washington

(Viene de la pág. 22)

deben ser hechos" en la Carta Orgánica enmendada. "Se cree que algunos cambios deben ser propuestos el Congreso en esta primavera, y que una revisión minuciosa de toda la Carta Orgánica debe ser preparada cuidadosamente para ser sometida al Congreso en el 1957." El señor Baldwin ha convenido en ayudar a obtener la ayuda experta que será necesaria en la redacción de estas propuestas revisiones.

"Se recalcó que un fuerte respaldo de al opinión pública será necesario en Estados Unidos para lograr una medida deseable de gobierno propio en las Islas Vírgenes."

(La opinión general entre miembros claves del Congreso, responsables por legislación para las Islas Vírgenes, sigue siendo de que es "demasiado pronto" para hablar de cambios; que la actual Ley debe dársele una prueba más prolongada. Esta opinión viene de todas partes.)

La UALC durante el pasado año ha estado en el centro de la lucha sobre la segregación, advirtiendo que esta lucha tendrá que ser librada en mucho tiempo por venir.

"La situación política, las complejidades de la solidaridad de los partidos Demócrata y Republicano, siguen paralizando cualquier movimiento hacia una efectiva legislación federal sobre derechos civiles." dijo la [illegible] ordenanza municipal. Los mantenimiento y expresión simple

tía constitucional de igualdad."

La organización sigue advirtiendo que tendrá que librarse una lucha continua para garantizar el acceso de los periódicos a las noticias gubernamentales, "desde el Departamento de Defensa Nacional, a las comisiones de fondos estatales de carreteras, a los funcionarios de tribunales condales."

Pero concluye que "la preocupación de la Nación con problemas de lealtad y seguridad que habían afectado adversamente las libertadas civiles ha cambiado," debido a "un despertar general de la conciencia pública hacia el perjuicio hecho a los derechos constitucionales del pueblo, el funcionamiento de las cortes federales, y la valentía de un número de legisladores responsables y funcionarios gubernamentales, que han proyectado una luz clara sobre el peligro e nque estábamos."

AINED

100-49563

ENCLOSURE

1. Roger N. Baldwin

2. 100-49565

3. yes

4. no

5. no

6. [redacted] —

7 yes, 1949

8 More than 30 orgs —
primarily in 1920's & 1930's
some in 1940's. but independent
activity was not for c.p. but independent
radical & liberal involvement

9. No

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP2 DTS/ag

100-49565-68 file 1-gw

ENCLOSURE

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - Mr. Belmont
[redacted]

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

October 9, 1956

b6
b7C

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - BRIEF
(Prosecution of Additional
Communist Functionaries Under
the Smith Act - San Juan)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Our San Juan Office has advised that Roger N. Baldwin, the former executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union, has arrived in San Juan for the purpose of contacting the heads of the Puerto Rican Bar Association and the Federal Bar Association in Puerto Rico. These contacts are purportedly for the purpose of attempting to interest these bar associations in contributing to a fund which would be used to help defray the expenses of the Defense Attorney David I. Shapiro.

It has also been reported that Shapiro has requested a free hand in the Smith Act trial and has stated he will withdraw as defense attorney if any attorneys from the Communist Party, USA, are used during the trial. Defendant [redacted] has indicated that the Communist Party of Puerto Rico will give Shapiro a free hand in this matter.

100-3-74-48

1 - Bufile (100-49565) (Roger N. Baldwin)

PWD:lmk
(6)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8SJ/pdp
ON 3-2016

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

YELLOW
DUPLICATE
OCT - 1956

Olson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trease
Interrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Sandy

CONFIDENTIAL

4-41 (Rev. 9-20-56)

DECODED COPY

XX Radio ☐ Teletype

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

FROM SAN JUAN 10-2-56 NR 021907

TO DIRECTOR AND SAC NEW YORK DEFERRED

COMFROS, SJ, IS-C; SSA, 1940. ON OCTOBER 2, 1956, ACTING USA RUBEN RODRIGUEZ ADVISED THAT ROGER BALDWIN, ACLU, HAS ARRIVED IN SAN JUAN FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONTACTING THE HEADS OF THE PUERTO RICO BAR ASSOCIATION AND THE FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION IN AN EFFORT TO HAVE THEM CONTRIBUTE TO A FUND TO HELP DEFRAY THE EXPENSES OF DAVID I. SHAPIRO, ACLU ATTORNEY, WHO HAS INTERCEDED IN THE DEFENSE OF THE ELEVEN SAN JUAN SMITH ACT DEFENDANTS. THE BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS MATTER. BOSTON ADVISED AMSD.

RECEIVED: 5:26 PM RADIO

5:49 PM CODING UNIT JAG

NEW YORK VIA RADIO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-76 BY SP3 SIJ/alp

100-[illegible]-V

RECORDED
OCT 15 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-3-74-468-425

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 11-04-2009

(U)

Tics: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. deBelleencourt

[redacted] (S)

(Orig & 2)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

August 31, 1956

b7D

RE: WALTER ZARSE
ROGER BALDWIN

~~SECRET~~

12071

(U) [redacted]

Our files do not contain any derogatory security information concerning Walter Zarse or the Technological Alliance Service Committee, Incorporated, New York City. Our files reflect that Walter Zarse, who was born in New York City on November 26, 1923, claimed to be a conscientious objector in 1943 as he was opposed to participation in war in any form.

Our files reflect that the International League for the Rights of Man, 23 East 64th Street, New York 21, New York, under the chairmanship of Roger N. Baldwin, has described itself in 1955 as the only international agency recognized by the United Nations as a consultant devoted solely to the nonpartisan promotion of all human rights. This organization further commented that its efforts cover the whole range of human rights handled by the United Nations where it serves as the representative of over twenty national affiliates throughout the world. It stated that for over ten years the League has been "persistently plugging away as a lobbyist at the United Nations."

Roger N. Baldwin has in the past been an officer of the American Civil Liberties Union. The American Civil Liberties Union, in its thirty-fourth annual report (1954), reaffirmed its anticommunist and antifascist policy, but still maintained it would defend the civil liberties of persons regardless of any political party, organization, denomination, race, or nationality to which a person may belong. We have not conducted any investigation of Roger N. Baldwin.

Our files do not contain any information concerning the Movement for Colonial Freedom at the United Nations.

cc - 2 - London

cc - 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit

~~SECRET~~ Classified by SP8DTJ/08
Declassify on: ~~CADR~~ 8-20-86
NW26623

JMD:scc:sac
(11)

June 30

(SEE NOTE PAGE 2)

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

ORIGINAL FILED IN

(U)

[redacted] (S)

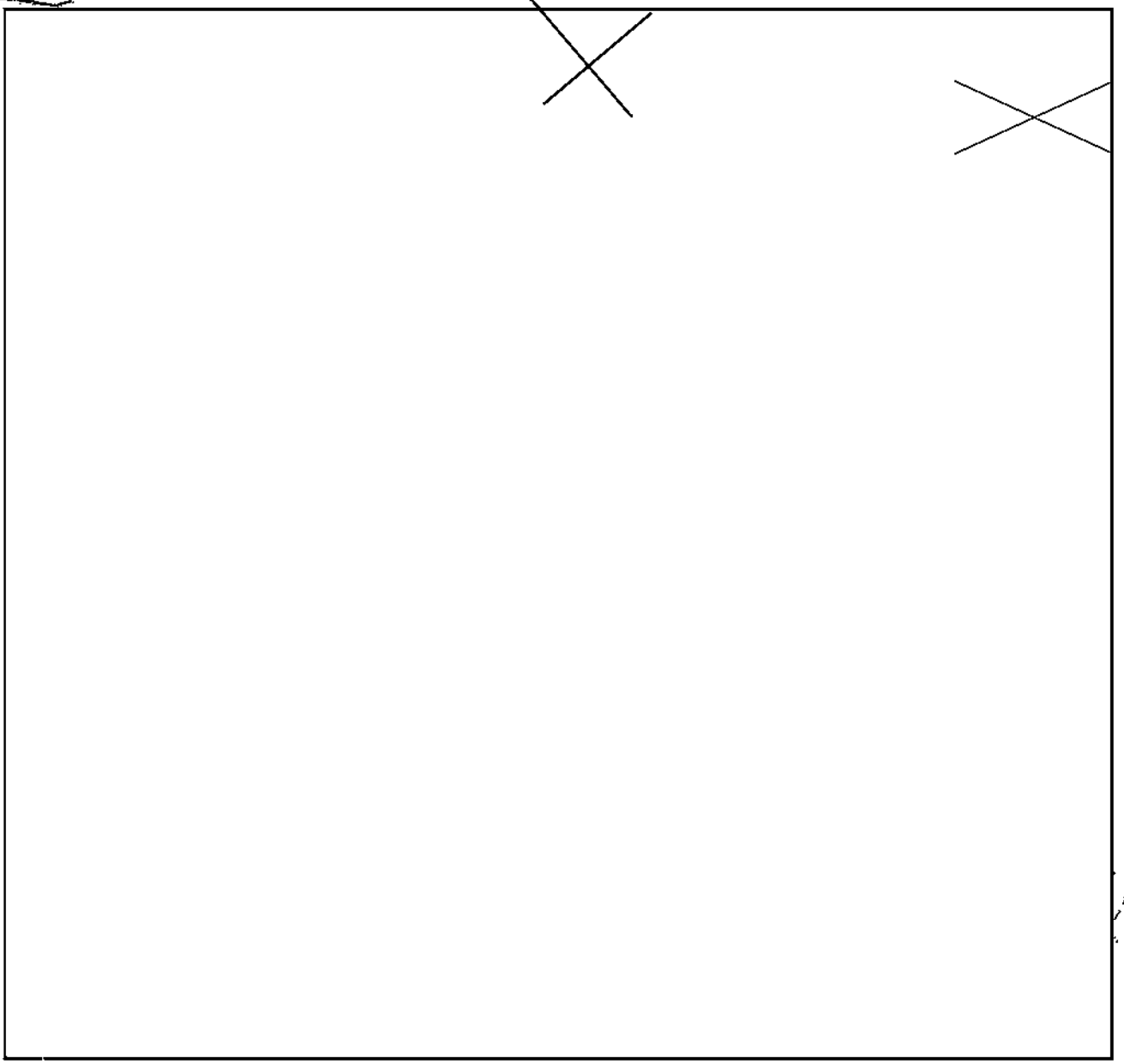
~~SECRET~~

NOTE:

[redacted] Roger N. Baldwin has been a controversial figure as head of the American Civil Liberties Union. Although there has been allegations in the past that he belonged to several organizations cited by Attorney General, we have not conducted (U) investigation of him. Believe that in view of his controversial status, we should not advise [redacted] of the alleged affiliation with front organizations, but merely advise we have not conducted investigation of him. (S)

b7D

~~SECRET~~



b1
b7D

(U)

b7D

NOT RECORDED
126 SEP 7 1956

Aug 20 1956

Classified by 2820T3/ebp
Declassify on: OADR 2-2036
266251

ORIGINAL FILED IN

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : F. J. Baumgardner

DATE: June 30, 1958

FROM : J. J. O'Connor

SUBJECT: Roger Baldwin
SM-C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/afp

Roger N. Baldwin

Attached is a memorandum prepared by the New York Office concerning captioned individual, which does not include any information obtained as the result of a file review at Seat of Government. The attached was transmitted by New York letter dated June 9, 1958, captioned "Communist Infiltration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Internal Security - C," the original of which is filed in Bufile 61-3176-2558.

EXTREME CAUTION SHOULD BE TAKEN IN UTILIZING THE INFORMATION IN THE ATTACHED AS INCLUDED THEREIN MAY BE INFORMATION, PARTICULARLY THAT FROM THE INDICES OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (HCUA), WHICH HAS NOT BEEN DEFINITELY IDENTIFIED AS BEING IDENTICAL WITH CAPTIONED INDIVIDUAL. THE ATTACHED MEMORANDUM, OR ANY REPRODUCTION THEREOF, SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED IN ITS ENTIRETY.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that instant memorandum and its attachment be routed to the Records Branch:

☑ To be filed in case file of captioned individual.

☐ To have a new 100 main inactive file opened on captioned individual and for filing therein.

3-ENC.

REC 12 100-49565-68

16 JUL 3 1958

Enclosure
Bufile 100-49565

66 JUL 8 1958

JUN 6 1958

NY 100-7629 Sub C

ROGER N. BALDWIN
"Committee of 100"
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Background information concerning Roger N. Baldwin was obtained from "Who's Who in America", Volume 30, 1958 through 1959, page 137, and the current 1957-1958, Manhattan, New York City, telephone directory.

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to Whom Furnished	File No. Where Located
T-1 [redacted] G-2, Military District of Washington				100-8424-39, 41

b6
b7C

The informants utilized in the characterization of "Americans for Traditional Liberties" are [redacted] and NY 694-S* who have furnished reliable information in the past. The pretext telephone call to Ella Baker was made by Special Agent [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C

Classified by SE3 SIJ/ap
Declassify on: OADR 8-20-86

100-424265-1

1

In reviewing information available in the files of this office concerning Roger Baldwin, it has been noted that he is a very prominent person in the field of civil liberties, due to his position with the American Civil Liberties Union. Considerable information is available indicating that Baldwin was affiliated with Communist Party front groups, which connections would appear to be adequately brought out through the attached record check of the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In Baldwin's case file in this office (NY 100-8424), there is a Photostat which is identified by a notation "From ONI at Conference held 9-18-42." This is typed material concerning the captioned individual, and among other things it is stated, "In 1934, he was reported to be an honorary member of the National Advisory Board of the Communist Party of the U.S." This allegation was not included in the attached memorandum in the absence of information as to its accuracy and its meaning, if accurate.

It is noted further that Baldwin's activity which brought him in contact with the Communist movement has extended over several decades. It would appear from information made available by sources of this office that Baldwin was indirectly in touch with Communist Party Headquarters about certain matters at least as late as 1956-1957. Possibly these contacts related to amnesty for the Communist Party (CP) leaders, Trachtenberg and Charney, in whose case Baldwin reportedly took an interest and on whose behalf he apparently allowed his name to be used for fund raising purposes on at least one occasion. It is noted also that John Gates, at CP National Headquarters on March 25, 1957, received an invitation and agreed to speak at a discussion club founded by Roger Baldwin called "The Dissenters", according to information furnished by [redacted] It would appear from information furnished by [redacted] that Gates was going to debate

b2
b7D

 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Michael) Harrington (of the National Action Committee of the Young Socialist League) before "a private discussion group run by Roger Baldwin."

In view of the fact that Baldwin is a prominent person, who is well known in his field, and because the instant memorandum would be more extensive than its proper scope if all of the many aspects of Baldwin's past Communist and other subversive associations were set forth, representative material only, taken from various periods in his career, has been included in the attached memorandum.

For the information of the Bureau, it is noted that Baldwin has been interviewed by Agents of the New York Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the past and displayed an apparently cooperative attitude. On February 21, 1949, he was interviewed in connection with the "JAY DAVID WHITTEKER CHAMBERS, was.; Perjury; Espionage - R; Internal Security - R." case (Report of Special Agent Robert F. X. O'Keefe, dated March 10, 1949, at New York, pages 82-86).

Baldwin acknowledged acquaintance with several individuals who figured prominently in the previously mentioned "CHAMBERS" case, and that he had been acquainted with Harold Ware and his mother, Mother Bloor over a period of 25 years. He stated that he visited Harold Ware in Russia and spent a week or ten days at the Cooperative Farm operated by Ware in Southern Russia.

Baldwin was questioned concerning his association with numerous organizations which have been subsequently declared to be subversive groups by the Attorney General of the United States. Baldwin stated that he was well aware of the Communist infiltration of these groups and in many instances was able to recognize the Communists who were endeavoring to seize control of these organizations.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

However, he stated that the major portion, if not all of these organizations, were originally founded by sincere individuals without Communist leanings, who were endeavoring to accomplish worthwhile objectives which would provide a better Democracy and a better life for the citizens of the United States. Subsequently, because these organizations appealed to masses and underprivileged, the Communists would endeavor to seize and control positions of power in these organizations.

Baldwin stated that in many instances, he remained in such organizations even after he realized that they had been taken over by the Communists because he still believed in the fundamental tenets and ideals of the organization and became active in them to combat Communist domination and influence.

JUN 6 1985

NY 100-7629-Sub C

ROGER N. BALDWIN
"Committee of 100"
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Legal Defense and Educational
Fund, Inc.

Roger N. Baldwin is a white male, born January 21, 1884. Mr. Baldwin was a director, American Civil Liberties Union, New York City, 1917-1950, national chairman, 1950-1955, and advisor on international work from 1950; and he is also chairman of the board, International League for Rights of Man. Mr. Baldwin maintains residences at Dell Brook Farm, Oakland, New Jersey, and 282 West 11th Street, New York City. This office is at 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The "New York Times" of October 31, 1918, contained an article captioned "Pacifist Professor Gets Year in Prison". The article stated that Roger Nash Baldwin, former Director of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, and an official of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) was sentenced on October 30, 1918, to one year in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, for violating the Selective Service Law, and refusing to submit to a physical examination.

In an article in the "New York Times" of May 27, 1921, Roger Nash Baldwin was accused by the American Legion for utterances at the Amnesty Rally at Cincinnati, Ohio, in which he was charged with having advocated methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial and political reform in that he desired a Soviet Government in America.

The "New York Times" of April 13, 1923, contained an article in which Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), was stated to have charged that the $800,000.00 Garland Fund, which was known as the American Fund for Public Service, was being used to sponsor a Communist Revolution in the United States. This news article listed Roger Baldwin as one of the early advisors to the young Garland, and also as a trustee of this fund.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-2086 BY SP8C75/jap

The "New York Times" of April 18, 1923, contained an article that Roger Baldwin was the subject of an indictment, along with eight others of the ACLU, charging grand larceny, in that these individuals were alleged to have defrauded two men in a scheme to colonize American workmen in Russia.

The "New York Times" of December 6, 1930, contained an article captioned "Foster and Aides Put Red Flag First." This article stated that Roger Nash Baldwin testified before the Dies Committee that William Z. Foster, a Director in the ACLU until a month ago, had resigned because of holding different social views than that organization. Representative Hamilton Fish, of the Dies Committee, asked Baldwin the question, "Does your organization uphold the right of an alien to advocate murder or assassination?" Baldwin replied, "Yes, of course, but only generally speaking, as in Hyde Park, London, and in a specific incitation. It is the healthiest thing for a country."

In an article in the "Washington Herald" dated October 18, 1935, Baldwin was quoted as saying, "Therefore, I am for Socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the property class, and sole control of those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal."

In the book entitled "The Socialism of Our Times," published in June, 1929, Baldwin contributed an article entitled "The Need for Militancy." This book represented papers delivered at a symposium on Socialism by a number of prominent writers. Mr. Baldwin's article appeared on Pages 76 to 83 of this book.

On Page 77 Baldwin refers to himself as a Pacifist. He stated that he believes in revolution, "not necessarily the forceful seizure of power in armed conflict, but the process of class movements determined to expropriate the capitalist class, and to take control of all social property".

Baldwin indicated that he is opposed to revolutionary violence and states, "I would rather see violent revolution than none at all, though I do not personally support it because I believe other means far better. Even the terrible cost of bloody revolution is a cheaper price to humanity than the continued exploitation and wreck of human life under the settled violence of the present system."

On Pages 80 and 81 Baldwin wrote, "Despite my favorable attitude to Communist activities which is justified, I think, by the facts, I am not a Communist, as is well known. I could not join the Communist movement, both for theoretical and practical reasons. Philosophically, I am an Anarchist, though I do not work at it."

The "New York Post" of December 21, 1940, in its column entitled "The American Forum" supplied the question, "Should Communist and Nazi organizations be outlawed?" for consideration. Baldwin argued through this medium the negative of the question. He asserted, "No government has ever been overthrown by free speech, but plenty of governments have been overthrown by suppressing free speech. Our civil liberties in the long run constitute our only sure bulwark against dictatorship, and the only means of democracy."

On the question, "Is Communism a threat to the American way of life?", a debate on the weekly radio program "American Town Meeting of the Air", conducted on January 11, 1945, over Radio Station WJZ, Baldwin stated that Communism was merely a nuisance.

According to the "New York World-Telegram" of January 12, 1945, the day after the above broadcast, Baldwin was quoted as saying "Not in the worst years of the depression did Communism attract any number of adherents. They are not and have never been a threat, but I will agree that they are a nuisance. They mislead innocent liberals and are an obstacle to democracy, in that they confuse the issue. The purpose of Communism inevitably is to act as agencies of the Soviet Union. Russia wants to win the war, and rebuild the country after the war, so our Communists are now against revolution and are for American business expansion."

The "Harvard Crimson", a publication of Harvard University, issue of November 26, 1947, reported a meeting of the Harvard Law School Forum held on November 25, 1947, at Rindge Technical High School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the general topic, "How Safe are American Civil Rights?" This article had the subheading, "Baldwin Fears Trend Against Civil Liberties", and stated in part as follows:

"Roger N. Baldwin, '04, Director of the ACLU, cast a dubious eye towards the query 'How Safe are American Civil Rights?' at the Fourth Law School Forum last night." Baldwin charged that in the past year or two 'had enough'? forces have buttressed conservative elements, and made it increasingly difficult to fight for human liberties. He decried the Taft-Hartley law, the method of administering loyalty checks, and activities of the Un-American Activities Committee, as the most depressing aspects of this trend."

b7D

[redacted] an alleged former Comintern representative whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished reliable and unreliable information, has stated "the connections of Roger Baldwin with the CP were rather unhappy. While the Communists were always trying to use the services of Baldwin and his ACLU in order to defend the Communists, who were persecuted in America or some other country, they were always antagonized by the spirit of free

criticism of Roger Baldwin and his refusal to take instructions from the CP to any extent or to the extent that fellow travelling liberals take instructions. The explanation of this fact lies in Baldwin's background. In his youth he was a 'Wobbly'. He was IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), with a strong individualistic and anarchistic trend. Baldwin disassociated his activities very definitely from any Communist cause from the early 1930's. At that time, the Communists, not being able to profit from the activities of the ACLU, created a new organization which was called the Congress for Civil Liberties..... Baldwin is not a Communist. He is a genuine liberal. His activites sum up in a defense of the American Constitution, in which he has implicit faith. The ACLU thinks that by the observation of the American Constitution there are no civil liberties problems. Baldwin is of the conviction that America does not need any revolutionary upheaval to improve its institutions. The Constitution gives such opportunity for any aspirations."

T-1, another government agency which conducts personnel and security investigations, advised on April 21, 1952, that a meeting was held at the Men's Club of the Unitarian Church at Summit, New Jersey, on March 16, 1952, at which Roger Baldwin was the principal speaker. During the speech Baldwin made the following statements:

"We have intimidated civil service because of investigations."

"Loyalty oaths for teachers have made them fearful."

"Congress has no right to question people concerning their private political opinions."

"The eleven Communist leaders in jail did nothing wrong."

"I am against McCarthyism and against Communist prosecutions."

Benjamin Gitlow, Communist candidate for Vice President of the United States in 1924 and 1928, writing in his book "I Confess", subtitle "The Truth About American Communism", stated on page 226 (concerning the reaction of Communist Party leaders to the Supreme Court verdict on June 8, 1925, upholding his conviction for criminal syndicalism):

"While my comrade who was head of the I.L.D. (International Labor Defense), together with his caucus chieftan, the erstwhile standard bearer of the Party, could not think beyond the possibility of having a factional opponent removed, even if the removal was to a capitalist prison in punishment for service to the Party, and both rejoiced at the thought, the American Civil Liberties Union, at that time free of any vestige of Communist control and attacked by our Party because its head, Roger Baldwin, had the temerity to champion the cause of political prisoners in Russia, immediately appealed to Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York to pardon me."

The "New York Times", Thursday, January 5, 1939, on page 9, column 6, carries an article entitled "RED LINK IS DENIED BY LIBERTIES UNION. Baldwin Also Sends Disavowal to Dies Committee."

This article reads as follows:

"The American Civil Liberties Union disavowed any connection with the Communist Party in an affidavit sent yesterday to Representative Martin Dies, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In a separate affidavit Roger N. Baldwin, director of the union, denied that he had ever belonged to the Communist Party and said he was opposed to many of the party's principles and tactics.

"The affidavits were prepared at the invitation of Robert E. Stripling, Secretary of the Dies Committee, who assured the Civil Liberties Union that they would be included in the official record of the committee.

"'The American Civil Liberties Union has never been a front or part of a united front for the Communist Party' the organization's affidavit said. 'The American Civil Liberties Union has no direct or indirect connection with any political movement.

"'The American Civil Liberties Union has no connection with any other organization except when cooperating on some particular issue or case involving a question of civil liberties. It has no official connection as testified to by certain witnesses with the International Labor Defense, the Workers Defense League or the American League for Peace and Democracy.'

"The management of the union is vested in a board of directors and a national committee of seventy, only one of whom is a Communist, the affidavit declared.

"The union's sworn statement was signed by John Haynes Holmes, vice chairman; B. W. Heubach, treasurer; and Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin described himself as 'a pacifist, wholly disbelieving in any philosophy, program or movement committed to the use of violence in any form'".

An article entitled "Trotzkyist Case Tied to Defense of 29 - Baldwin" in the "Daily Worker" dated June 10, 1944, reflects:

"Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union told an audience of Trotzkyists and Norman Thomas Socialists at a meeting Thursday night that the hope of the 18 imprisoned Minneapolis Trotzkyists is bound up with the defense of the seditionists on trial at Washington.

"Baldwin was given prolonged applause as he joined with the other speakers in the denunciation of the Communists and he particularly attacked the 'Daily Worker' for favoring imprisonment of the accused seditionists on trial. The Communists, he charged, favored imprisonment of the Trotzkyists 'because they are anti-Communist.'

"'And now,' he added, 'the Communists and the Daily Worker are determined to get those fellows in Washington in jail, too, because they are anti-Communists.'

"'We take no sides,' said Baldwin explaining the 'liberalism' of the ACLU. 'We know that an instrument against one side can be an instrument for another.'"

ROGER N. BALDWIN

A Member of the "Committee of 100,"
NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.

b6
b7C

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of HCUA on the name ROGER N. BALDWIN, on 5/12/58, by SE [redacted] reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source:

1. The "Daily Worker" for 2/16/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a signer of a letter to the President, issued by the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

2. An undated letterhead (75th birthday) reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor Celebration Committee.

3. A Program for 1/24/36, pp. 7 & 9, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN sent greetings and was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor Banquet.

4. A letterhead dated 4/11/28, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Committee of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League.

5. A letterhead dated Jan., 1940, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

6. A letterhead for the 4th Annual Conference, Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D.C., March 2,3, 1940, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of this Conference held by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

7. The "Daily Worker" for 4/11/38, p. 5, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a supporter of the Celler Bill.

8. An undated letterhead reflected on ROGER BALDWIN was aasponsor of the New York Tom Mooney Committee.

9. The "Daily Worker" for 2/27/37, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of Tag Day in NYC, held by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

10. "ADA World" for 5/26/49, p.2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN protested against the Attorney General's ruling on the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy as subversive.

11. "New Masses" for 9/28/37, p. 28, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN as a sponsor of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

12. The "Student Almanac" for 1939, p. 32, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker at the 4th National Convention of the American Student Union.

13. The pamphlet, "Presenting the American Student Union," reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

14. The "Student Almanac" for 1939, p. 32, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker at the 4th National Convention of the American Student Union.

15. An undated letterhead reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of Frontier Films.

16. "New Masses" for 5/13/41, p. 22, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN sent a letter to "New Masses."

17. A leaflet, "Call to a National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance," p. 3, Jan. 5-7, 1935, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance.

18. "Unemployment Insurance Review," Vol. 1, 1935, p.3, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of American Civil Liberties Union, was a signer of Call (to?) the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance.

19. "The People vs. H.C.L.," p. 2, Dec. 11-12, 1937, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of the Consumers National Federation.

20. "The Struggle Against War," June, 1933, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War.

21. The "Daily Worker," for 2/27/37, p. 2, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a speaker at the Legislative Conference of the American League Against War and Fascism.

22. "Fight," for Nov., 1933, p. 10, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a contributor to "Fight," issued by the American League Against War and Fascism.

23. "Fight," for Sept., 1937, p. 18, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a contributor to this publication put out by the American League Against War and Fascism.

24. "New Masses," for 10/5/37, p. 30, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a participant in a Mass Meeting, "China Today! U.S. Tomorrow?", held 10/1/37 by the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People.

25. The "Daily Worker," for 9/29/37, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker, (at a meeting of?) the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, NYC.

26. The "Daily Worker," for 5/25/56, p. 1, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was to be moderator at Fellowship of Reconciliation debate to be held 5/27/56 at Carnegie Hall. Speakers were to be Rev. A.J. MUSTE, W.E.B. DuBOIS, EUGENE DENNIS and NORMAN THOMAS.

27. The "Daily Worker," for 1/11/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was an endorser of the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference.

28. The "Daily Worker," for 1/25/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a supporter of the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference.

29. The "Daily Worker," for 5/14/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker in Newark, (at a meeting of?) United Anti-Nazi Council.

30. The "Daily Worker," for 5/12/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker (at?) United Anti-Nazi Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

31. A leaflet, "The Theatre Union," reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of The Theatre Union.

32. A letterhead of the Baltimore Division, dated 5/18/39, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

33. A pamphlet, "7½ Million . . . ," p. 13, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN as Secretary of the Civil Rights Commission of the American League for Peace and Democracy. (On p. 34 of this pamphlet is reflected same information as #32.)

34. A leaflet, "Call to Action," of American Congress for Peace and Democracy, Jan. 6,7,8, 1939, Washington, D.C., listed one ROGER BALDWIN as an endorser.

35. The "Daily Worker," for 5/3/33, p. 2, c. 7, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Scottsboro Committee of Action.

36. A leaflet, dated March 1, to 8, 1942, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Committee of Sponsors of the National Sharecroppers Week.

37. A pamphlet, "Do You Want to Discover Something New this Summer?," issued by Work Camps for America, 1940, listed one ROGER BALDWIN as a speaker.

38. The "Daily Worker," for 2/9/38, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, sent a telegram to President ROOSEVELT, urging veto of bill which forbids picketing of foreign embassies.

39. "Congressional Record," for 3/9/48, p. 2484, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a signer of a letter to the Committee on Rules, condemning the Un-American Activities Committee, opposing appropriation, and endorsing H.R. 4564.

40. The "Daily Worker," for 4/16/48, p. 16, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a sponsor of the National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties.

41. A letterhead, dated 7/11/38, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, labor attorney, was a sponsor of the Anti-Injunction Committee of the United Retail & Wholesale Employees of America.

42. A letterhead, dated 1/30/33, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Committee to Aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation.

43. The "Daily People's World," for 8/14/51, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, opposed the Smith Act.

44. The "Daily Worker," for 11/20/47, p. 7, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker at a "Civil Rights Rally," held at Newark, N.J., (by the?) American Civil Liberties Union.

45. The "Daily Worker," for 1/2/36, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN attended the BARBUSSE funeral.

46. A letterhead, dated Nov., 1931, contained same information as #42.

47. "Congressional Record," for 2/12/51, p. A739 (Hon. R.B. WIGGLESWORTH) gives the record of one ROGER BALDWIN.

48. The "People's World," for 3/9/42, p. 4, listed one ROGER BALDWIN as an honorary pall-bearer at funeral of TOM MOONEY, San Francisco.

49. An undated leaflet published by the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, appealed to President ROOSEVELT for justice in the Browder case.

50. The "Daily Worker," for 9/24/40, p. 5, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a signer of an open letter (sponsored by the CP and ACLU?) demanding discharge of CP defendants in Fulton and Livingston Counties.

51. The "Daily Worker," for 9/5/40, p. 3, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, (sponsoring?) the Lewistown Defense Committee, pledges aid to Communist Party defendants.

52. "The Worker," for 10/30/49, pp. 3 & 6, southern edition, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN of NY was a signer of statement on Communist cases.

53. "Call to the U.S. Congress Against War," Sept. 1-4, 1933, NYC, p. 3, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, was a member of the Arrangements Committee of this Congress.

54. The "Daily People's World," for 6/22/51, p. 1, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, former Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, sponsored a half-page advertisement in the "San Francisco Chronicle," taking issue with the Supreme Court decision upholding conviction of 11 Communists.

55. "The Struggle Against War," for August, 1933, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Arrangements Committee for the U.S. Congress Against War.

56. "NY Times," for 10/20/49, p. 25, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, NY, was a signer of an anti-Communist statement.

57. The "Congressional Record," for 3/8/48, p. 2433, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN opposed deportation of Communists.

58. "Iberica," for 2/15/54, inside front cover, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of "Iberica"(bulletin on Spanish Affairs)

59. Pamphlet, "One Year in Spain," p. 14, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN, of the Civil Liberties Union, was a supporter of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy.

60. A letterhead, dated 11/18/36, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Executive Commistee of the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

61. "Labor Defender," for Nov., 1928, p. 223, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN as the author of "Liberty Under the Soviets."

62. The "Daily Worker," for 1/2/36, p. 2, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN headed commission, 3rd U.S. Congress Against War & Fascism.

63. A letterhead, dated 11/3/37, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Executive Committee of the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace.

64. A letterhead, dated 11/3/37, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a member of the National Bureau of the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace.

65. A letterhead, dated 3/16/37, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the National People's Committee Against Hearst.

66. One ROGER BALDWIN, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, was a speaker at the Michigan Conference for Civil Rights of the Civil Rights Federation, 2/10/40, Detroit, Michigan.

67. A letterhead, dated 7/3/34, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a supporter of the National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism.

68. One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned in the "Liberator" for June, 1923, p. 16.

69. "Fraternal Outlook," June-July, 1940, p. 15, reflected one ROGER BALDWIN was a speaker at Stop Dies Rally of the International Workers Order, at Newark, N.J.

70. "Security and Freedom the Great Challenge," 30th Annual Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, published by the American Civil Liberties Union, June, 1951, dedicated to one ROGER N. BALDWIN.

71. "Korean Independence," for August 6, 1947, p. 1, and "Nation," for August 2, 1947, reprinted article by one ROGER N. BALDWIN, entitled, "U.S. Blunder in Korea."

72. "New Masses," for 11/16/37, p. 20, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN as a contributor.

73. A card in GI file bearing name of one ROGER N. BALDWIN has notation to see Foreward to "Violence in Peekskill -- A Report of the Violations of Civil Liberties at Two PAUL ROBESON Concerts Near Peekskill, New York, 1949," published by American Civil Liberties Union, NY.

74. "Youngville, U.S.A.," p. 62, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the National Advisory Committee of the American Youth Congress.

75. A letterhead, dated 4/27/38, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

76. The "Daily Worker," for 6/14/37, p. 8, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor's Birthday Celebration.

77. The "Daily Worker," for 11/4/57, p. 3, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was to speak with ELIZABETH GURLEY GLYNN, JOHN T. McMANUS and others at a reception Dec. 6, honoring A.J. MUSTE, which was to precede a conference of the American Forum for Socialist Education on Dec. 7, at the Great Northern Hotel, NYC.

78. Program of the "Third Biennial National Conference of the International Labor Defense," reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN, of the American Liberties Union, sent greetings.

79. "Labor Defender," for July, 1931, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Prisoner's Relief Fund of the International Labor Defense.

80. Program of the Conference, 2/12/40, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a speaker at the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.

81. "Soviet Russia Today," for Sept., 1934, p. 11, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN as a contributor.

82. "The Liberator," for Dec., 1918, p. 11, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN as a contributor.

83. The "Daily Worker," for 5/15/51, p. 3, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN, Ex-Director of American Civil Liberties

Union, as a signer of National Council Against Conscription report denouncing efforts to spread the doctrine of inevitability of war.

84. The "Daily Worker," for 11/27/47, p. 2, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN attacked the purge of Communists in the film industry.

b6
b7C

85. The "Daily Worker," for 3/31/50, p. 4, reflected the statement of one ROGER N. BALDWIN, of Pittsburgh, Pa., as follows: "Undercover agents are a dirty way of doing business. When this sort of thing happens people stop saying what they think;" defends

86. A letterhead of the International Labor Defense, Dec., 1931, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Prisoners Relief Fund.

87. The "Nation," for 10/12/40, contained article on Conscientious Objectors by one ROGER N. BALDWIN.

88. The "Daily Worker," for 5/12/33, p. 2, cols. 6-7, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the National Mooney Council of Action.

89. "Congressional Record," for 3/8/48, p. 2433, gives the record of one ROGER N. BALDWIN.

90. The "Daily Worker," for 6/9/42, p. 3, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director of American Civil Liberties Union, was the first member to resign from the International Labor Defense; because of Government's prosecution of MINNEAPOLIS TROTSKYITE, whom he and the ACLU were defending.

91. A pamphlet, "Human Rights -- World Declaration and American Practice," written by one ROGER N. BALDWIN, associated with ACLU, and its Director for 30 years, and published by Public Affairs Committee, Inc.

92. "Voice of Labor," for 10/20/22, p. 12, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Defense Council.

93. One ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director of ACLU, protested the Committee's investigation of radio commentators' scripts.

94. The "Daily Worker," for 1/11/37, p. 2, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a sponsor of the NYC Conference Against War & Fascism.

95. The "Daily Worker," for 2/24/37, p. 3, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a speaker at a Mass Meeting for Spain, held in Brooklyn (Meeting supported by the CP).

96. The "Daily Worker," for 3/23/48, pp. 2 & 6, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN appealed in behalf of A.B. MAGIL, Communist writer.

97. Commonwealth College, "Fortnightly," for 8/15/37, p. 3, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN endorsed a Reorganization Plan for Commonwealth College.

98. The "Daily Worker," for 5/18/56, p. 6, contained an article which stated one ROGER N. BALDWIN wrote a "friendly review" of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN's autobiography, "I Speak My Own Piece," in "The Nation." The article quoted at length from the review.

99. "NY Times," for 9/25/55, p. 51, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN, National Chairman of American Civil Liberties Union, was a signer of "Open Letter to the American People," released by Americans for Traditional Liberties, asking the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights to probe "Constitutional violations" of the Bill of Rights.

100. A letterhead, dated 3/13/39, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

101. A letterhead, dated 9/8/30, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Board of Directors of the American Fund for Public Service.

102. A letterhead, dated 2/21/38, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

103. A letterhead, dated 3/20/26, reflected one ROGER N. BALDWIN was a member of the Advisory Board of Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.

104. Communist Political Subversion -- Part I. Hearings before the HCUA, 84th Congress, 2nd session. Testimony of IRVING NOVICK, 11/13/56:

p. 6247: NOVICK testified that one ROGER BALDWIN joined with him in the formulation of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born.

105. "Trial By Treason," The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGs and MORTON SOBELL. House Document No. 206:

p. 124: One ROGER BALDWIN is a signer of a scroll presented to Dr. UREY at a testimonial dinner for UREY at the Hotel Hamilton, in Chicago, 2/12/55. The UREY dinner was under the immediate sponsorship of the Chicago Sobell Committee.

106. Investigation of Communist Propaganda. Hearings before a Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the U.S.; 71st Congress, 2nd session.

Part 1, Vol. 2: (June 18, 19, 1930)

p. 5: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

p.24: Exhibit 7: -- The Workers Library -- Books for Workers. Listed is "Liberty Under the Soviets" by one ROGER BALDWIN, price 50 cents.

Part 1, Vol. 3:

Statement of H. RALPH BURTON, Attorney, Washington, D.C.)

p.14: BURTON stated that one ROGER BALDWIN's activities in different directions were facts --

Part 1, Vol. 4:

(Testimony of FRANCIS RALSTON WELSH):

p.141: WELSH Exhibit No. 3: Membership of officers and national committee (of the American Civil Liberties Union) in radical organizations. One ROGER NASH BALDWIN is listed under each of the following organizations: All-America Anti-Imperialist League (Communist); People's Lobby; International Workers Aid; and League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners (anarchist).

p.142: WELSH Exhibit No. 4 -- re The People's Council of America; one ROGER NASH BALDWIN listed as having worked hard to organize this Council.

p.143: WELSH Exhibit No. 4: One ROGER NASH BALDWIN, Chief leader of the American Civil Liberties Union is quoted as having said in August, 1924: "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."

p.145: WELSH Exhibit No. 7 -- re International Labor Defense Meeting, Chicago, 3/5/30. One ROGER NASH BALDWIN pledged the aid of the ACLU, which he stated he represented at the meeting. According to this exhibit, "he said all differences between the ACLU and the ILD were friendly ones. He greeted the ILD as a revolutionary working-class element. He said, 'The ACLU will attend to getting the money out of the middle class to help the working class.' By working class he meant Communists. He said, 'The real struggle here in the United States today, as throughout the world, is between the militant section of the working class with its political aims on one side and the capitalist class on the other. Now we (meaning the

American Civil Liberties Union) cooperate with the ILD at many points. Spoke of aid given ILD in Gastonia matters and mendaciously said that the political and religious views of the defendants were involved in that case. The case was one of murder and the defendants were convicted and the conviction affirmed on appeal and the defendants skipped their bail. Spoke of the right of the working class to 'conduct the kind of education which the Communist Party conducts' and, evidently referring to himself and friends, stated that some believed 'that even revolutionary agitation is within the free speech.' He spoke of a Bishop of the Episcopal Church whom the ACLU used on occasions. He stated, 'We like to have Bishops and Communists ride around in the patrol wagon together. It does the Bishop a lot of good and doesn't do the Communist any harm.' The Communist was WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. He encouraged the Communists in their intention to carry out an illegal parade in the loop district of Chicago the next day. His address was apparently meant to intimidate the police and encourage the Communists. Promised the Communists the benefits of civil and criminal actions if they were interfered with. He praised the Communist lawlessness and said, " The violence, my friends, is all violence against you. It is the violence of the police. It is the violence of lawless officials.' He incited to contempt of courts and told Communists they would find the American Civil Liberties Union back of them in their struggle. He classed the police with thugs."

p.151: One ROGER NASH BALDWIN mentioned as a member of the Save Our Schools Committee and a supporter of the I.W.W. war obstructors, etc.

p.154: One "ROGER NASH BALDWIN, for years the most prominent representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, stated that the whole of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union believed in the right to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, and stated that the advocacy of murder was within the limits of free speech."

p.156: One "ROGER NASH BALDWIN was described by his co-committeeman, NORMAN THOMAS, as an intellectual anarchist. He associated with the BERKMAN anarchist gang and was on BERKMAN's League for Amnesty for Political Prisoners. ...BALDWIN's correspondence during war times with various subversive pacifists and aiders in opposition to the United States is set forth at length in the Lusk report. The Lusk Committee seized documents, letters, circulars, etc., of the American Civil Liberties Union and has quoted extensively from them. BALDWIN himself has stated the advocacy of violent revolution, assassination, and so forth, is within the rights of free speech. He is the husband of MADELINE DOTY, who is at the head of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at Geneva. He is in various openly Communist organizations such as the All-America Anti-Imperialist League."

p.220: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as an official of the American Fund for Public Service.

p.221: One ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the Fund quoted as follows (from a pamphlet, "Twenty Years of Social Pioneering," issued by the League for Industrial Democracy, which organization has received thousands of dollars from the Fund): "To many of us interlocking Directors, and to many of us interlocking contributors, it is pretty difficult to tell from whom to bring

the greetings and to whom to give the greetings. It is sometimes difficult for me to tell whether I am in a meeting of the L.I.D. (meaning League for Industrial Democracy) or a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union."

p.279: The Vanguard series, issued by the Vanguard Press, which was organized and financed by the American Fund for Public Service, Inc., and distributed by the Rand Book Store, included "Liberty Under the Soviets," by one ROGER N. BALDWIN, ("America's fighter for liberty tells how free Russia is.").

p.284: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the People's Lobby.

p.296: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the National Urban League.

p.297: One ROBER BALDWIN listed as a speaker at the Civic Club, a beneficiary of the American Fund for Public Service, Inc.

p.405: Testimony of ROGER N. BALDWIN. (12/5/30)
to
p.417: He refused to be sworn because he did not believe in a God that punished him for not telling the truth, and stated there was no other purpose in an oath. He affirmed that he would give to the Committee the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. He stated he represented the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), that he had held the position of Director of this organization for ten years.
He stated he was not a Communist. He was asked if he were sympathetic with the Communist aims and principles. He replied he was testifying as the representative of the ACLU and did not want to go into his personal views about Communism, politics, religion, or anything else. He was again asked

if he were sympathetic with the aims and principles of the CP. He declined to answer. He was asked if he were a member of the I.W.W. He stated he was a member four short months.
He stated, "I declined to accept the invitation of your chairman to appear voluntarily as a witness, because the American Civil Liberties Union is opposed to your committee and its work."
"Far more important in our view of the country's best interests is the maintenance of the right of agitation by Communists and all others who have a grievance. The country is not menaced by Communist propaganda."
"Your committee's work is based on the proposition that revolutionary propaganda produces revolution. All history refutes that notion. Revolutions are produced by unbearable conditions, not talk. If the proposals made to your committee to outlaw the Communist movement in the United States, to deport all alien Communists, and to establish a Federal Secret Service to ferret out subversive activities were all put into effect, they could not possibly stop protests against intolerable conditions of living and labor. The best they could do from the point of view of those who seek to outlaw radicalism would be to drive the movement into underground channels, with the inevitable tendency to secret conspiracies and to violence. That condition would be far worse even from a conservative standpoint than the tolerance of radical propaganda."
He then attacks the methods of operation of the committee and its causing scores of unjustified arrests and prosecutions and stated, "Concerning the work of the Civil Liberties Union itself, we state to you that we have no connection

whatever with Communist organizations, except to defend their rights of freedom of speech, press, and assemblage on precisely the same basis as we defend the rights of others. That we have had more occasion to defend Communists than others is due solely to the fact that they are the chief victims of attack. Several Communists have served upon our national or executive committees just as do many Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists. We accept in our membership anybody who believes in the right of free speech, regardless of his political views. We have on occasion defended the rights of reactionaries to free speech, notably in cases affecting the Ku-Klux Klan and the American Fascists in the South, just as we have defended the rights of radicals.

BALDWIN was then asked and affirmed that his organization upheld the right of an alien or American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government, in so far as mere advocacy was concerned.

He was asked and affirmed that his organization had no limit on the extent to which a man might go in expressing his ideas or opinions about the Government.

He stated they would not defend a man who had committed an overt act.

He testified as to the organization's part in the GASTONIA case. They had furnished bond for the defendants while the cases were on appeal; that five of the defendants were then in Russia, and that they were making an effort to get them back.

BALDWIN testified that Mr. (WILLIAM Z.?) FOSTER was a member of the national committee (of the ACLU), becoming affiliated with the organization in 1920.

BALDWIN testified that he spoke at what was called the "blacklist dinner" in Chicago. He also testified at some length re the Garland Fund -- the original amount was $950,000, and it skyrocketed to about $2,000,000. He stated they had about $500,000 left. He stated they had financed, among other things, the "Daily Worker" Building in Chicago.

Part 3, Vol. 2:

p.197: One ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the ACLU, mentioned as having been a speaker at a meeting in Chicago, held under the auspices of the National Defense Committee. BALDWIN spoke in defense of _____ FOSTER, and pledged his support, making this statement, "When somebody starts out with a gun, we don't defend them there, but when somebody talks about starting out with a gun, we are right with them there."

p.509: A letter from one ROGER BALDWIN to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, 6/30/22, re COSTELLO's relation to the Federated Press, asking FOSTER to straighten things out.

p.548: One ROGER BALDWIN, national chairman of the ACLU, praised Soviet Russia Pictorial, saying, "You are twice as effective in your new appeal. You ought to get a quickened understanding and an increased volume of aid. If anything can make the facts cry aloud, these pictures will. And a picture-minded public must hear them."

p.566: One ROGER BALDWIN, managing Director of the ACLU, served a term as a draft evader in the Essex County Jail in N.J. in 1918 and 1919; "one of the most active revolutionary radicals in the country."

p.567: "When BALDWIN was sentenced in 1918 by the Federal Court at New York for the violation of the conscription act, he made a speech to the court, as follows: 'Though at the moment I am of a tiny minority, I feel myself just one protest in a great revolt surging up from among the people -- the struggle of the masses against the rule of the world by the

few -- profoundly intensified by the war. It is a struggle against the political state itself, against exploitations, militarism, imperialism, authority in all forms. It is a struggle to break in full force only after the war. Russia already stands in the vanguard, beset by her enemies in the camps of both belligerents -- the Central Empires break asunder from within, the labor movement gathers revolutionary forces in Britain -- and in our country the Nonpartisan League, radical labor, and the Socialist Party hold the germs of a new social order. Their protest is my protest!"

p.567: One ROGER N. BALDWIN, NYC, listed as a member of the National Committee of the Labor Defense Council.

p.574: An application by the Workers' Education Bureau for an endowment from the American Fund for Public Service brought this reply from one ROGER BALDWIN, trustee of the Fund:
"The American Fund for Public Service, (Inc.), in its support of labor education, shall favor those organizations and institutions which instill into the workers the knowledge and the qualities which will fit them for carrying on the struggle for the emancipation of their class in every sphere.
As it seems to us pretty clear that the work of the Workers' Education Bureau does not come within this definition, we come to the conclusion that we could not make the appropriation you request. We do not see our way clear to financing any enterprises except those definitely committed to a radical program of the character indicated in that resolution."

Part 3, Vol. 3: (Testimony of GROVER WHALEN)

p. 21: Chairman of the Committee stated that some very wild and false statements had been released to the public press by one ROGER BALDWIN, representing the American Civil Liberties Union.

Part 4, Vol. 2:

p.540: Address by one Mr. ROGER BALDWIN at a meeting of the International Labor Defense, Chicago, 3/5/30, at Ashland Auditorium.

Part 5, Vol. 2:

p. 47: (Exhibit [redacted] #2) "California Attacked by One of Her Own Laws," compiled by California Committee of American Civil Liberties Union, reflected views of one ROGER BALDWIN, ACLU Director. b6 b7C

Part 5, Vol. 3:

p.323: (Testimony of [redacted] testified he did not think one ROGER BALDWIN was a Communist.

Part 5, Vol. 4:

p.1243: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the National Board of the American Committee for Fair Play in China, San Francisco, California.

NOTE:

Some references are contained in Part 2, Vol. 2, pp. 394, 395 and Vol. 4, p. 75. These references are not available at HCUA.

Appendix IX:

p.416f: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the National Bureau of the American League Against War and Fascism.

p.537: One ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, listed as a member of the National Advisory Board of the 4th American Youth Congress, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 7/4/37.

p.589: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Council of Book Union, Inc.

p.758f: National Committee Friends of the Soviet Union endorsed by one ROGER BALDWIN; one ROGER N. BALDWIN on the Reception Committee for the Soviet Flyers of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

p.949: One ROGER BALDWIN signer of a cablegram sent to the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies on behalf of one ARTHUR EWERT, (sent under auspices of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Brazilian People.)

p.961: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the Labor Defense Council.

p.1037: Letter from League of Young Southerners to one ROGER BALDWIN, ACLU, NYC, asking for the publications and news releases of the ACLU for use and assistance in their work.

p.1142: One ROGER N. BALDWIN, of the ACLU, listed as a member of the National Mooney Council of Action.

p.1309: One ROGER BALDWIN, of the ACLU, listed as a member of the executive committee of the National Scottsboro Action Committee.

p.1313: Call for Support to National Student League, (in the "Daily Worker," 9/28/32, p.2) was signed by one ROGER BALDWIN.

p.1367: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a speaker at the New York Professional Workers Conference on Social Insurance.

p.1452: Under the heading; Party and Party Line Publications, is listed the publication Liberator and shows one ROGER BALDWIN as a contributing editor.

p.1471f:
One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a trustee of the Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee.

p.1773f:
One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a U.S.A. supporter of the Anti-NaziFFederation of New York.
One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the Committee to Aid the Striking Fleischer Artists.

107. Testimony of WALTER S.STEELE, 8/16/38

p.376: One ROGER BALDWIN listed among those individuals who constituted themselves as a committee in defense of MARCUS GRAHAM (editor of "Man an Anarchist"), who had been arrested and ordered deported), and to protest his deportation.

108. Statement of H.L. CHAILLAUX, Director, National Americanism Commission, American Legion.

p.436: CHAILLAUX stated he did not know that one ROBERT NASH BALDWIN was a Communist, but he read one of BALDWIN's own statements, written into the Harvard College Class Book of the Class of 1905, published in 1935, as follows:
"My chief aversion is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I see social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control by those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal."

p.440: One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned as being a speaker at the convention of the Third U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism.

p.441: One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned as being a member of the executive board of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

109. Testimony of WALTER S.STEELE, 8/17/38:

p.462: One ROGER BALDWIN selected to head the nominations committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

p.475: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

p.502: One ROGER BALDWIN of the ACLU listed as a speaker at a Scottsboro, Mass. Project, staged by the New York District of the International Labor Defense in 1932.

p.510: One ROGER N. BALDWIN named as the national chairman of the International Committee for Political Prisoners, which was organized in 1924.

p.518: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as being affiliated with the Friends of the Soviet Union.

p.520: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the executive committee of the National Civil Liberties Bureau.

p.521: One ROGER N. BALDWIN named as the moving spirit of the Civil Liberties Bureau during W.W.I and in August, 1917, wrote to LOUIS LOCKNER, then actively engaged in radical circles. . . . . warning him to "steer clear from making it look like a Socialist enterprise. Too many people have already gotten the idea that it is nine-tenths a Socialist movement. . . . . We want also 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. . . ."

p.522: On 1/11/18, one _____ BALDWIN sent out copies of a report on an I.W.W. meeting which was held in Washington, D.C., on 1/8/18.

p.524: One ROGER BALDWIN, on 6/21/18, wrote to GEORGE VANDAVEER and suggested that unorganized labor work against the A.F. of L. "with a view to staging a revolution," according to the report of the NY State Legislature Committee, BALDWIN also wrote to others, suggesting boring within and influencing churches. BALDWIN, in writing to conscientious objectors who had been court-martialed for draft violations, assured them that he judged from what he "heard from the War Department" that the men would all be freed as soon as the war was over. But the administration then in power was voted out of office by the American people, and it was not until December, 1934, that the administration now in power (through which many of these radicals returned to office) released them by Presidential decree.

p.526: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of a labor defense committee, established to help raise funds for the Bridgman Communists.

p.533: A review of Liberty Under the Soviets by one ROGER N. BALDWIN, in which book he admitted that he recognized "fully the dangers in the extreme measures of control in effect in Russia today." He deplored "them for their unnecessary cruelties" but admitted his "personal prejudices in favor of the economic achievements and purposes of the Russian revolution." In the book he said, "I have aided enterprises organized in the United States to help Soviet industry and agriculture, and to gain recognition for Russia. . . First-hand contact has strengthened my hopes for the effects of economic liberty and diminished my fears for the effects of political repression." Yet when he was in Russia, he admitted that "hundreds of persons were being arrested. The political prisons were crowded. The Government was nervous. . . Georgia. . . obviously was being held inthe Union (of Soviet Republics) against the desire of its people for independence." He stated, "In the Communist philosophy , from the days of KARL MARX to the present, there is no room for the ideas of freedom of speech, press, assemblage, or liberty of individual conscience." It was then pointed out that it was interesting to note in this connection (that there was no liberty worthy of mention in Russia) that the ACLU, of which BALDWIN was an official, was constantly defending the so-called "rights" of Communists in the United States under the American Constitution to advocate the overthrow of the American Government and the establishment of a Communist system.

p.534: An editorial in the "NY Evening American" attributed the following statement to one ROGER BALDWIN: "I am for Socialism, disarmament, and, ultimately, for abolishing the state itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the properties class and sole control of those who produce wealth." "An article in the 'NY Times,' 4/8/37, indicated that BALDWIN possibly made an acknowledgement of his real purpose and that of the American Civil Liberties Union in behalf of so-called 'civil liberties' in the United States when he said: 'Civil liberties, like democracy, are useful only as tools for change. . . I am interested to maintain such freedom of agitation as can be won not primarily as a political principle, but as a means of resolving economic conflict with a minimum of violence.'"
In a statement which appeared in the American Labor Year Book, one ROGER BALDWIN was extremely critical of the immigration, passport, and naturalization regulations of the U.S. Government. He said, in part: "Admission is denied not only to anarchists (since 1901) but to any person who believes in the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States. . . or who disbelieve in organized government."

p.568: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the executive committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

p.574: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

p.582: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

p.639: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as among those persons viciously scored by Mr. (JOHN L.?) LEWIS as Moscow agents in attempting to shackling on to our country. Moscow's scheme of industrial unionism through illegal methods such as the sit-down, coercion, thuggery, and lockouts.

p.668: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the International Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

p.669: In Dec., 1934, officers and members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation could not come to an amicable agreement on the question of whether the organization should go on record as being willing to participate in the class war. One ROGER BALDWIN was among those who demanded that the organization not refuse to take part in a class war.

p.689: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as a speaker for the League for Industrial Democracy.

110. Testimony of HARRY MIKULIAK, 10/20/38

p.1592: One ROGER BALDWIN spoke at the 3rd Session of the Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland, Ohio, 1/5/36, regarding leaflets, pamphlets, and literature -- that the lack of funds for "this ammunition prevents us from educating the masses in our fight for peace." ". . .To work to stop shipments of ammunition, to expose every move toward war and fascism, to resist all military training in schools."

p.1594: One ROGER BALDWIN made a suggestion to wire the Senate their opposition to two bills then pending (S. 2253 and H.R. 6427). No objection voiced.

111. Testimony of HERMAN LUHRS, (Joint Americanism Committee of the American Legion at Flint, Michigan), 10/21/38.

p.1655: One ROGER BALDWIN attended meeting, held under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy, in Flint, Michigan.

112. Testimony of J.B. MATTHEWS, 11/7/38

p.2175: MATTHEWS stated that, in radical circles, for a number of years, there were "so few of us participating in Communist united fronts that ROGER BALDWIN and I were called the united front turns."

p.2177: MATTHEWS presented a copy of the first issue of "Fight" magazine, which contained an article by one ROGER BALDWIN (this publication was the official organ for the League for Peace and Democracy).

p.2178: MATTHEWS stated one ROGER BALDWIN wrote in a book entitled, "Socialism of Our Times," and quoted BALDWIN as saying on page 77 of this book as follows: "I would rather see violent revolution than none at all"; and also on page 77, "Trade Unionism alone furnishes a class base of revolutionary power for the exploited masses"; on page 80, "You cannot touch militant labor activity anywhere without finding Communist inspiration and participation."
MATTHEWS stated he had been closely associated with one ROGER BALDWIN in organizational work and that they were active in other than the Communist united-front organizations.
MATTHEWS stated that from the above quotations it was clear that Mr. BALDWIN was advocating Communism. He read one more quotation: "Its (Communist Party) main policies center on what are obviously the two greatest issues looking to labor and Socialist control -- the building up of revolutionary consciousness in the trade unions, and support by western labor of the movements for colonial independence." (page 80 of the book.)

113. Testimony of RALPH DeSOLA, 11/21/38

p.2410: DeSOLA stated he believed one ROGER BALDWIN to be a fairly sincere liberal, despite BALDWIN's statement re being in favor of Communism.

114. Testimony of ALICE LEE JEMISON, 11/22/38

p.2448: One ROGER N. BALDWIN, Executive Director of the ACLU, graduate of Harvard, class of 1905, had this to say about himself (in the 30-year class book of that class) and his activities in the ACLU: "I have continued directing the unpopular fight for the rights of agitation, as Director of the American Civil Liberties Union; I have been to Europe several times, mostly in connection with international radical activities. . . I am opposed to production for private profit. . . I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class. . ."

115. Testimony of SAM BARON, 11/23/38, 11/28/38

p.2641: Chairman of the Committee read into the record a statement by one ROGER BALDWIN, Executive Director of the ACLU, which appeared in the Nov., 1933, issue of "Fight," as follows: "For militant tactics against war in the United States, we of the Anti-War Congress must not count upon conscientious objection based upon individual consciences as any force whatever. We must count only upon organized workers, farmers, and their sympathizers among intellectuals, to refuse service to the war machine, to block a declaration of war by a general strike, to impede a war by the same tactics after it has been declared, and failing that the moment the opportunity comes to refuse to go on with the war.

Historically examined, such mass refusals have always been the prelude to ousting the war government and ushering in revolutionary change. No adequate power can be built to end war, as all its opponents identify themselves with the struggle of those classes which alone can abolish the system of conflicting greeds on which war thrives."

p.2660: BARON testified that one ROGER N. BALDWIN was not a Communist, nor did he follow the Communist line in any particular.

p.2661: BARON stated ROGER N. BALDWIN, of the ACLU, was on record in the defense of FRED BEALL (one of the Gastonia defendants who fled to Russia, saw what Communism was in actual practice, and returned to the U.S. to denounce Communism) although U.S. Communists violently denounced BEALL.

116. Testimony of HENRY G. ALSBERG, National Director, Federal Writers Project, WPA.

p.2896: One ROGER N. BALDWIN listed as Chairman of International Committee for Political Prisoners.

117. Testimony of BURTON A. GASKILL, Grand Sire, Sovereign Grand Lodge of the I.O.O.F., Atlantic City, N.J., 12/9/38.

p.3081: Affidavit of ROGER N. BALDWIN, for inclusion in the Record of House Committee on Un-American Activities:
"Witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities have attempted to connect me with the Communist Party on the basis of a statement published in a Harvard University Class Book of 1935. From a discussion of my economic views, the single statement, "Communism is the goal," is taken to make it appear that I am a Communist. It is obvious

from the text of my statement that the word "Communism" was used in its ordinary dictionary sense to designate the common ownership of property, not the political movement of Communism.

"The full text of the statement dealing with my views which were compressed into a single statement from answers to a questionnaire, is as follows:"

"My 'chief aversion' is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I am opposed to the New Deal because it strives to strengthen and prolong production for private profit. At bottom I am for conserving the full powers of every person on earth by expanding them to their individual limits. Therefore, I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State ... itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control by those who produce wealth.

"Communist is the goal. It all sums up into one single purpose -- the abolition of the system of dog-eat-dog under which we live, and the substitution of the most effective nonviolence possible of a system of cooperative ownership and use of all wealth."

"For the sake of the record, I may state that I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party. I could not be a member of that Party under any circumstances, as I am opposed to many of its principles and tactics. I have been criticized publicly overa a long course of years for my views

by official Communist spokesmen and in Communist publications, although I have worked with Communists, as with Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists, in practical movements for specific reforms.

". . . The summary of the testimony published by the committee was so condensed as to make it appear that I support and sympathize with the advocates of violence. The position I took, as indicated by the official record was quite contrary. The Americal Civil Liberties Union for which I was testifying holds that any utterance not associated with an overt act or an attempted act is within the limits of free speech. That has been sound American doctrine since the origin of our Constitution. Personally, I am and have been for years a pacifist, wholly disbelieving in any philosophy program or movement committed to the use of violence in any form. . ."

118. p.3085: One ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director, signed a letter refuting accusations against the ACLU and setting forth purposes of the organization.

119. Testimony of MAURICE L. MALKIN, New York City, 10/13/39.

p.5749: A letter from one ROGER BALDWIN, on
p.5750: the letterhead of the ACLU, dated 4/25/29, to MALKIN was introduced, advising MALKIN that the ILD (International Labor Defense) was so willing to help him that there was not point in the ACLU doing so, too (re getting a pardon for MALKIN in the Mineola Case, which arose during 1926 fur strike).

120. Testimony of FRED ERWIN BEAL, former Communist Organizer in Laurence, New Bedford, and Gastonia, 10/18/39.

p.6035: BEAL testified that he wrote one ROBERT
p.6036: BALDWIN, of the ACLU re getting back
p.6037: to America, that BALDWIN urged him to come back to the U.S.A. from Russia, that BALDWIN sent some money to the White Star Line in Warsaw so BEAL might return. BEAL stated he was asked by members of the CP at the Comintern if he didn't know that ROGER BALDWIN was working for the Department of Justice.
BEAL then went on to state that ROGER BALDWIN had put into the newspapers, NY Times especially, the story that BEAL insisted upon coming back.
BEAL stated he did not think ROGER BALDWIN was a Communist. He considered BALDWIN to be a good friend of his.
p.6040: BEAL testified that the Comintern wanted
p.6041: him to sign a document denouncing one ROGER BALDWIN.
p.6126: BEAL stated that upon his arrival in
p.6127: NY, he got in touch with one ROGER BALDWIN, Director of the ACLU, as BEAL had been very much in favor of going to prison and not leaving the country at all. He found in ROGER BALDWIN a friend who agreed with him, and, BEAL stressed, ROGER BALDWIN did not harbor him (BEAL was a fugitive -- having jumped bail while Gastonia Case was on appeal) as a fugitive but as a friend who agreed with BEAL that BEAL should go to prison and carry out his ideals of that period of time. BALDWIN took BEAL to his camp in N.J. with the idea in mind that BEAL was going to return to North Carolina and begin his sentence.

7

BEAL stated notice was sent to him through ROGER BALDWIN that representatives of the CP wanted to see him, and that BALDWIN took him to his home where BEAL met CLARINA MICHAELSON who was sent by the CP to try to urge BEAL to return to Soviet Russia.

p.6135: BEAL testified re his second trip to Russia, made at the urging of the CP rather than serve sentence. He stated he wanted to return to the U.S. for the second time, and cabled one ROGER BALDWIN for aid. This time BALDWIN cabled him to "go back east." BEAL managed to return to the U.S. where he found ROGER BALDWIN not so friendly. BEAL stated that since he was evidently not going to stay over there, ROGER BALDWIN thought he had better not help BEAL out so much the second time.

p.6144: A letter to one ROGER BALDWIN from J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, of the International Labor Defense, refuting BALDWIN's accusations re the Gastonia defendants, demands for return of bond money put up for the defendants, etc.

121. Testimony of HARRY FREEMAN WARD, 10/23/49

p.6233: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War.

p.6236: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Arrangements Committee for the United States Congress Against War.

p.6249: One ROGER BALDWIN read translation of MAXIM GORKY's greetings to the Chicago Conference (of above Congress?)

p.6278: One ROGER BALDWIN, of New York, listed as a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

122. Testimony of FRANCIS ADAMS HENSON, Consultant on Public Relations, 10/24/39.

p.6355: HENSON stated that he helped to organize the Medical bureau in Aid of Spanish Democracy, along with one ROGER BALDWIN and others, in 1936.

p.6371: HENSON stated he was asked by one ROGER BALDWIN to help the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Refugees.

123. Appendix 10 (from p. 6240)

p.II: Re proceedings of the 2nd U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism, Chicago, Ill., 9/28,29,30/34. One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Arrangements and National Committees.

p.XVI: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of Organization and Finance Committee at above Congress.

p.XX One ROGER BALDWIN reported on the financial condition of the Congress.

p.XXIII: One ROGER BALDWIN reported for the Organization and Finance Committee.

p.XXV: One ROGER BALDWIN called on the delegates for a collection.

p.XXVI: One ROGER BALDWIN gave report of the Presiding and Organization Committee, recommending the National Executive Committee for the coming year.

p.XXVII: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a present member of the National Executive Committee.

124. Testimony of JOSEPH TOORU KANAZAWA, 7/2/43.

p.9469: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the Japanese American Committee for Democracy.

p.9490: KANAZAWA stated that he knew one ROGER

p.9491: BALDWIN, and that BALDWIN resigned from the Japanese American Committee for Democracy because he came to the conclusion that this Committee was controlled by Communists.

125. Testimony of MIKE MASAOKA, 7/3/43.

p.9529: One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned in a letter from MASAOKA to Mr. MAMARO WAKOSUGH re War Relocation Agency problems.

p.9550: One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned as having made a contact for MASAOKA with EDWARD J. ENNIS, Director of the Alien Enemy Control Unit, Department of Justice.

p.9554: One ROGER BALDWIN mentioned further by MASAOKA as being a contact of his.
p.9557: MASAOKA stated that he met one ROGER BALDWIN at least twice a month (when MASAOKA was in the East) in NYC and Washington, D.C., and that he made special trips to see BALDWIN.
p.9569: Statement of MASAOKA mentioned that he remained in Washington, D.C., to see one ROGER BALDWIN, National Director of the American Civil Liberties Union re problems dealing with the Japanese Americans.

126. House Report No. 2, 76th Congress, 1st Session, 1/3/39.
p.45: One ROGER BALDWIN is mentioned as being the author of an article which appeared in "Fight" magazine.

127. Testimony of LUCIEN KOCH, member of the Shipbuilding Commission, National War Labor Board, 3/29/43.
p.3026: KOCH stated he thought one ROGER BALDWIN
p.3027: was a member of the Advisory Board of Commonwealth College.

128. Testimony of Wm. PICKENS, Principal Defense Securities Specialist; Treasury Department, 4/2/43.
p.3303: PICKENS stated he had known one ROGER BALDWIN quite well for many years, and that BALDWIN never said anything about attending the Congress of the League Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism, held in Brussels, Belgium.
p.3305: One ROGER BALDWIN, according to the Daily Worker of 3/9/27, was a delegate, representing the National Urban League, sent to Brussels to the aforementioned Congress.
p.3311: PICKENS mentioned that one ROGER BALDWIN attended a dinner of the All America Anti-Imperialist League at which PICKENS spoke.

p.3317: PICKENS stated he knew -- BALDWIN was not a Communist.

129. Testimony of ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Government Secretary, Virgin Islands, Department of the Interior, 4/16/43.
p.3502: LOVETT stated one ROGER BALDWIN was the prime mover in the matter of the Garland Fund or American Fund for Public Service.

130. Hearings re the Communist Infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry.
Testimony of MORRIE RYSKIND, 10/22/47.
p.183: RYSKIND stated that a good part of the money collected for the Scottsboro case went to the Daily Worker and that confirmation of this might be obtained from one Mr. ROGER BALDWIN of the American Civil Liberties Union.

131. Hearings re Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups -- Part I
Testimony of GEORGE K. HUNTON, 7/13/49:
p.450: HUNTON stated that, in connection with the Scottsboro Case, one Mr. ROGER BALDWIN was among those who found the Communists exploited the defendants, goaded the South, defied the courts and prosecutors, and made it impossible to secure freedom for the defendants.

132. Hearings on Legislation to Outlaw Certain Un-American and Subversive Activities (H.R. 3903 and H.R. 7595)
Testimony of ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS; 3/24/50.
p.2189: HAYS stated he had personally never belonged to a front organization, but that he had been asked to join an organization and he would ask who was on the Board, and he would be told one ROGER BALDWIN was among those on the Board.

133. Exposé of the CP of Western Pennsylvania -- Part 3
(Based on testimony of MATTHEW CVETIC)

p.3046: One ROGER BALDWIN, of the ACLU, wrote on his return from Korea, in 1947, that the regime was a "feeble puppet government" and "a police state."

134. Hearings re Communist Activities Among Farm Groups; 82nd Congress, 1st Session.
Testimony of LEMENT U. HARRIS, 3/9/51.
p.1911: HARRIS testified that he was introduced to HAROLD WARE by one ROGER BALDWIN,, of the Civil Liberties Union.

135. Investigation of Communist Activities in the NYC Area -- Part 7.
(Based on testimony of MANNING JOHNSON)
p.2173: (MANNING JOHNSON Exhibit #11 --"Fight," Dec., 1935, p.2). One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a member of the National Executive Committee, American League Against War and Fascism.
p.2183: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a speaker at the 2nd National Congress of the Canadian League Against War and Fascism, held at Toronto on Dec. 6, 7, and 8, 1935.
p.2192: One ROGER BALDWIN listed as a speaker at Barbusse Memorial Service at the Third U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism, held at Cleveland, Ohio (from MANNING JOHNSON Exhibit #13 -- "Fight," Feb., 1936, pp. 8,9.)
p.2193: At the Congress mentioned in p. 2192 above, one ROGER BALDWIN presented the 10 point program considered by the war and fascism commission.

136. Testimony of Bishop G. BROMLEY OXNAM, 83rd Congress, 1st Session, 7/21/53:
p.3632: Bishop OXNAM stated he resigned from his post as editorial adviser of the Protestant Digest because one ROGER BALDWIN of the ACLU told him that that magazine had Communist support. He stated that ROGER BALDWIN was a man who knew that whole field intimately and that he resigned because of what BALDWIN had told him.

p.3656: Bishop OXNAM stated he thought one Mr. ROGER BALDWIN led a movement to insist that no Communists be allowed in the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The following organizations have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
American League Against War and Fascism
American League for Peace and Democracy
American Youth Congress
Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder
Civil Rights Federation (Michigan)
Commonwealth College
Communist Party, USA, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates
Friends of the Soviet Union
Industrial Workers of the World
International Labor Defense
International Workers Order
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

The "Peoples' World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist weekly newspaper.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Committee for Struggle Against War:

"1. Cited as a Communist front which was formed in response to directives from a World Congress Against War held in Amerstardam in August 1932 under the auspices of the Communist International. Avowed Communist Donald Henderson was executive director of the American Committee.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 47 and 119)."

NY 100-7629 Sub C

AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION (AFFSE)

According to an article appearing in the May 13, 1957, issue of the "Daily Worker", page 1, column 2, A. J. Muste, well known pacifist, announced the formation of the AFFSE. According to this article, the American Forum seeks to promote "study and servious untrammeled political dsicussions among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives, . . . however deep and bitter their differences may have been."

This article reflects that a forty-member national committee had been established and, according to Muste, these persons serve as individuals and not as delegated representatives of any group.

Muste, according to this article, stated that the American Forum is not a membership organization and does not propose to promote united action by various parties or groups, mergers or new organizations.

The article reflects that among other purposes the AFFSE seeks to call attention to the various publications of the groups whose people engage in discussion; to publish bulletins or pamphlets; to organize regional and national conferences; contribute to the building of new morale and ethic, a spirit of fair play, labor militancy, determination and hope among the progressive and radical forces in this country.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist daily newspaper which suspended operation on January 13, 1958.

NY 100-7629 Sub C

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Friends of the Chinese People:

"1. Cited as a Communist front. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 40 and 147.)

"2. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' organization. (Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 145 and 146)."

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Friends of Spanish Democracy:

"1. 'In 1937-1938, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations *** such as *** American Friends of Spanish Democracy.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 82)."

NY 100-7629

AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE (GARLAND FUND)

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund):

"1. 'Established in 1922 * * * it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises' such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the Party, served on the board of directors of the Fund. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76.)"

AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Student Union:

"1. Cited as a Communist front which was the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists in Columbus, Ohio in 1935. The Young Communists League took credit for the creation of the organization, which offered free trips to the Soviet Union. It claimed to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities Annual Report, H. R. 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80; also cited in Annual Reports, H.R. 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 9, H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 16; and in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 159.)

"2. Cited as subversive and un-American.
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

AMERICANS FOR TRADITIONAL LIBERTIES

According to a fact sheet furnished by a confidential informant on February 7, 1955, Americans for Traditional Liberties (ATL) was organized in January, 1955, to coordinate activities of groups then working independently to combat "MC CARTHYISM" in the United States. The aim of the organization is to act as a national clearing house to keep anti-Mc Carthy groups in touch with each other and to suggest a concerted program to fight threats to Tradional American Liberties.

The Communist Party (CP), according to another confidential informant, was extremely interested in the formation and activity of ATL, although there is no indication that the CP is in any way interested in the committee. Members of the committee will be non-party people, unaware of the CP interest in the committee. Herbert Danska, a CP member residing in Queens, New York, will be the man behind the scene for the CP.

According to the "New York Herald Tribune" of January 23, 1956, page 13, column 1, ATL made public telegrams sent from its headquarters, 40 East 40th Street, New York City, to the United States Senate calling for the Senate to take "appropriate action" against Senator James O. Eastland for Eastland's inquiry into the political beliefs of employees of the "New York Times". This has been a recent ATL activity.

A pretext telephone call was made by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on January 2, 1957, to Ella J. Baker at Plaza 5-7169. Ella Baker advised that the ATL, formerly located at 40 East 40th Street, New York City, was no longer in existance since the Mc Carthy issue had subsided. She said that she had previously handled office correspondence for ATL, but that ATL no longer maintained office space or any personnel.

NY 100-7629 Sub 0

ALL-AMERICAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the All-American Anti-Imperialist League:

"1. Cited as a Communist-front organization. (Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).

"2. Cited as a Communist enterprise. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 76.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

BOOK UNION

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Book Union:

"1. 'Distributors of Communist literature.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 96.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

CONSUMERS' NATIONAL FEDERATION

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Consumers' National Federation:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 155.)"

FEDERATED PRESS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Federated Press:

"1. Cited as a Communist-controlled organization financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 76, 143, and 147.)

"2. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' news syndicate.
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 95 and 146.)

"3. 'Certain Communist fronts are organized for the purpose of promulgating Communist ideas and misinformation into the bloodstream of public opinion. Examples of such organizations are the * * * Federated Press. * * *'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

George Hewitt, who was a member of the Communist Party from about 1929-1943, advised in 1948 that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is an inter-racial Pacifist type of organization designated by religions rather than political motives. It strives to solve the world problems through the use of peaceful means rather than by force and it also strives to eliminate racial discrimination.

NY 100-7629 Sub C

FIGHT

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning Fight:

"1. Cited as the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, later known as the American League for Peace and Democracy.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 113 and 138; also cited in Annual Report H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 15.)"

The American League Against War and Fascism has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade:

"1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above Communist-front organization.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 82 and 125; also cited in Annual Report, H.R. 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 9.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights:

"1. Cited as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 96 and 129.)

"2. Among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1115 on the Civil Rights Congress, November 17, 1941, originally released September 2, 1947, p. 3.)"

JAPANESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Japanese-American Committee for Democracy:

"1. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' organization. (Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, p. 146.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

KOREAN INDEPENDENCE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning Korean Independence:

"1. A bilingual Korean-English newspaper published in Los Angeles since approximately 1943, which is exclusively a vehicle for Communist Party propaganda.

The newspaper is circulated among persons of Korean descent for the purpose of popularizing the policies of the Soviet Union, the North Korean Government, and the Communist conspiracy in America.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1955, H. R. 1648, January 17, 1956, originally released January 11, 1956, p. 27.)"

LABOR DEFENDER

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Labor Defender:

"1. A 'Communist magazine.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 18.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

The following is noted concerning the League for Industrial Democracy (LID):

The report of the Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Volume I, page 683, reflects that in 1905, the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, later known as the League for Industrial Democracy, had been organized for the purpose of promoting and creating interest in Socialism among college men and women, graduates and undergraduates.

Walter F. Steele, Editor of the "National Republic", when testifying before the Dies Committee, stated that the League for Industrial Democracy was the main propaganda and agitation agency of the Socialists.

The March 25, 1955, issue of "USA - An American Bulletin of Fact and Opinion", on page 1, relates "The League for Industrial Democracy does not want public attention drawn to the fact that from 1905 until 1920, the organization was called 'The Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society.' The motive for this main change was a strong one. Even in 1921, at the tender age of 16, the organization's record was so bad, and public reaction against alien ratification was so strong, that the members found it wise to adopt a collective alias . . . . . .

"Under the new name, the LID is Socialist, and whenever the old-time members of the Executive Board found it expedient, they formed a united front with Communists and pro-Communists."

NY 100-7629 Sub C

LIBERATOR

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Liberator:

"1. A Communist magazine.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, H. R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 18.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

MEDICAL BUREAU TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy:

"1. Cited as one in a series of Communist enterprises which have dealt with Spain and and the Spanish Civil War. Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee ***. (Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2233, June 7, 1946, p. 27.)"

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE

It is noted that the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prpared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., states the following on page 60 with respect to the National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell:

"1. Cited as a Communist front 'organized at least as early as November 1951' to conduct the United States phase of 'a mammoth propaganda campaign designed to obliterate the crime (of) and exploit the Rosenbergs and their codefendant, Morton Sobell, for the purposes of international communism.' Headed by Joseph Brainin as chairman, the committee had national headquarters at 1050 6th Avenue, New York City, and more than 40 local affiliates throughout the country. (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 'Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell,' August 25, 1956, pp. 1,13, 21, 63 and 120; also cited in Annual Report for 1955, House Report 1648, January 17, 1956, originally released January 11, 1956, pp. 3 and 29-33.)

"2. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. When the

'Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL INSURANCE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance:

"1. Cited as a Communist front, held January 5, 6, 7, 1935, in Washington, D.C., and headed by Herbert Benjamin, leading Communist.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 94 and 116.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

NATIONAL COUNCIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

The Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activity, 1948, California Legislature, contains the following statement on page 321 regarding the National Council Against Conscription:

"Undoubtedly many of these good people (religious groups and others opposed to war at any time) will be innocently attracted to a Communist front such as the National Council Against Conscription."

NY 100-7629 Sub C

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE AGAINST HEARST

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National People's Committee Against Hearst:

"1. A 'subsidiary' organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 16.)"

"NEW MASSES"

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "New Masses":

"1. A 'Communist periodical.'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688.)

"2. 'Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service' (Garland Fund).
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75; also cited in Annual Reports, H.R. 2, January 3, 1939, p. 80; and H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

NEW YORK TOM MOONEY COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957; prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the New York Tom Mooney Committee:

"1. Cited as a Communist front. 'For many years, the Communist Party organized widespread agitation around the Mooney case, and drew its members and followers into the agitation.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 154.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

PROTESTANT DIGEST

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "Protestant Digest":

"1. 'A magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 48.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION FARMS, INC.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.:

"1. Cited as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor. It received funds from the Garland Fund. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 76.)"

NY 100-7629 Sub C

"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "Soviet Russia Today":

"1. Cited as a Communist front. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 167; also cited in Annual Report, H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 21.)

"2. Cited as a 'Communist-front publication.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 108.)

"3. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' publication. (Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 96 and 146.)"

UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the United States Congress Against War:

"1. 'The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. * * * The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union. * * * Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program.'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683.)

"2. 'Convened in St. Nicholas Arena, New York City, on September 29, 1933 * * * it was completely under the control of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was a leading figure in all its deliberations. In his report to the Communist International, Browder stated, "The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly."'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 119; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 11, and House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 14.)"

VANGUARD PRESS

This organization was described by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a "Communist enterprise" which was established by a donation from the American Fund for Public Service. This description appeared in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, which also stated that "one of the first large publishing projects of the Vanguard Press" was "a series of propaganda books on Russia, edited by Jerome Davis."

The Committee on Un-American Activities is in receipt of a sworn affidavit, dated May 24, 1951, from one James Henle, who identified himself as president of Vanguard Press, Inc., of New York. Mr. Henle stated that he purchased one-half the voting stock of Vanguard Press, Inc., from the owner, the American Fund for Public Service, on December 1, 1928, and that he and his wife acquired the balance of the stock on January 2, 1932. Since 1932, Mr. Henle deposes, "no member of the Garland Fund (American Fund for Public Service) has ever served as an officer, director or employee of Vanguard Press," and "The members of my family - those who actually control and run the business of Vanguard - are uncompromisingly anti-Communist." Mr. Henle stated that Vanguard Press published its propaganda books on Russia prior to his acquisition of the corporation's stock.

References to Vanguard Press appear in the May 14, 1951, edition of this committee's Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, page 114. The committee has agreed to delete the reference from this edition of the Guide.

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

With respect to the Workers Library Publishers, the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following:

"1. An 'official Communist Party publishing agency.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 8; also cited in Annual Report, H.R. 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 18.)

"2. 'Official Communist Party, U.S.A., publishing house.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1920 on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence, May 11, 1948, pp. 72 and 80.)"

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: 10-31-58

FROM : G. H. Scatterday

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-20-86 BY SP8 871/pf

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy
W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: ROGER NASH BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Summary

Roger Nash Baldwin, former president of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), has, according to the November 1, 1958, issue of "The Nation" said, "'The Nation' does a greatly needed service in casting a fair and critical eye on the FBI, so immune to criticism, and yet so dangerous to our liberties." Baldwin was referring to Fred J. Cook's article "The FBI" which appeared in "The Nation" issue of October 18, 1958.

Baldwin, a political reformer, was born in Massachusetts in January, 1884, and received his A.B. degree from Harvard University in 1904. He was a director of the ACLU in New York City from 1917 to 1950. During 1950-55 he served as National Chairman of ACLU and also from 1950 to date has been advisor to ACLU on international matters. Although Baldwin has been the subject of limited inquiries by the Bureau, a complete investigation of his activities has not been made. (Who's Who 1958-59; 100-49565-57)

Baldwin first came to the attention of the Bureau in 1921 when in a speech at Cincinnati, Ohio, he indicated contempt for the Government by stating, "The three organizations obtaining the best results for the object of free speech and assemblage in the United States, which has been denied them due to the war hysteria, were the Non Partisan League, the I. W. W. and the Communist Party." He admitted that "there is a great deal of propaganda for bolshevism in the universities and I hope there will be bolshevism in every college in the country."

During 1941 Baldwin, in traveling across the United States, contacted several Agents in charge for the purpose of determining how we investigated complaints of what Baldwin called subversive activities, and criticized our referral to local law enforcement officers of some of these complaints. He stated they were untrained with hardly the degree of discretion and horse sense the Agents possess. In this connection the files indicate that Baldwin has

1 - Belmont
1 - Nease
1 - Name Check Section
1 - [redacted]

WFW/nmn
(5)

100-49565-69

NOV 6 1958

b6
b7C

57 NOV 13 1958

LIAISON

written the Bureau on numerous occasions criticizing our use of local law enforcement officers and making the observation that where freedom of speech and publication is involved, the danger of trespassing upon rights is so great that only Agents should handle them. The Bureau has replied cordially to his correspondence in each instance.

In December, 1941, Baldwin, in talking to the Director, said that the "New Republic" had asked him to prepare an article on the FBI which he expected to have finished in December, 1941, and prior to publication would be submitted to the Director for his comments and reply. In connection with the preparation of this article Baldwin stated that he had sent a man out and told him to "get all the dirt he could on the FBI" but that after two weeks the man came back with almost nothing. Baldwin said the article would deal particularly with the new duties delegated to the Bureau by Congress in the lines of subversive investigations and observed that criticism would naturally be directed at us by reason of the nature of such investigations.

Bufiles also revealed that Baldwin has been a member of or associated with numerous organizations, many of which have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. During World War I Baldwin served a short period in prison for violation of the Selective Service Act. Bufiles also indicate that he has been active in directing the ACLU since its inception, but has denied association of this organization with the Communist Party. In public utterances he has advocated terrorism in accomplishing industrial and political reform in the United States. He has stated that it is his belief that aliens have the right to "advocate murder and assassination." The files further reveal that Baldwin has stated, "I am not a communist as is well known. I could not join the communist movement both for theoretical and practical reasons. Philosophically I am an anarchist though I do not work at it." Baldwin [redacted] made this statement in June, 1929.

In January, 1956, Baldwin visited the San Juan, Puerto Rico, Office and advised the Agent in charge that he was in Puerto Rico at the request of the Governor to survey existing legislation and procedures in Puerto Rico with respect to civil rights. Upon leaving

Memorandum Scatterday to Belmont
Re: Roger Nash Baldwin
Information Concerning

the office Baldwin expressed appreciation for the reception he had received at our office and stated that he had the utmost respect for and confidence in the Federal Bureau of Investigation "from top on down."

According to our files Baldwin has not corresponded with the Bureau, nor has he been in contact with Bureau personnel since 1956. (100-49565 Main File)

ACTION:

None. For information.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

FROM : MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY

DATE: October 21, 1959

SUBJECT: ROGER NASH BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-86 BY 2838 [illegible]

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

DeLoach
McGuire
W.C. Sullivan

On instant date Mr. Tolson requested information concerning the above-captioned individual. There is attached a memorandum dated October 31, 1958, captioned as above which sets forth information in Bufiles with regard to Baldwin. Briefly this memorandum mentions that the November 1, 1958, issue of "The Nation" said "'The Nation' does a greatly needed service in casting a fair and critical eye on the FBI so immune to criticism, and yet so dangerous to our liberties." The memorandum also mentions Baldwin's membership or association with numerous organizations, many of which have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Also incorporated in this memorandum is information concerning Baldwin's contacting several Agents in charge during 1941 for the purpose of determining how we investigated complaints of what Baldwin called subversive activities.

Baldwin, long associated with the American Civil Liberties Union, is a political reformer who has stated that philosophically he is an anarchist though he does not work at it.

Bufiles reveal that since October 31, 1958, Baldwin has come to the attention of the Bureau in connection with American Civil Liberties Union activity and also as President of the International League for the Rights of Man of the United Nations. In the latter capacity, he spent approximately one month in January and February, 1959, in Puerto Rico in connection with civil rights activities.

In July, 1959, the Bureau was advised that Baldwin, as Chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man was a member of the board of trustees for the Institute for Mediterranean Affairs, an independent non political organization established for the purpose of investigating the basic problems of the Mediterranean area. (100-49565)

ACTION:

None. For Mr. Tolson's information.

REC-21 100-49565-70

* Baldwin in

Enclosure filed in 100-49565-69

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Name Check Section

WFW:dmg(4)

14 OCT 28 1959

EX-101

62 NOV-2 1959

NAME CHECK

b6
b7C

SUMMARY

ROGER NASH BALDWIN

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 11-04-2009

NY 100-7629 Sub D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OCT 14 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Roger Nash Baldwin, Member of the "Committee of 100" In Support of The National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Incorporated

Background information concerning ROGER NASH BALDWIN was obtained from the 1962 - 1963 edition of "Who's Who in America"; the 1963 Manhattan Telephone Directory and the 1963 Bergen County, New Jersey, Telephone Directory.

The following are the confidential sources utilized in the attached letterhead memorandum:

(U)

First Source
Second Source
Third Source
Fourth Source
Fifth Source
Sixth Source
Seventh Source
Eighth Source

[CG 5824-S*](C)

[redacted]

NY 694-S*

[redacted]

[redacted]

(Requested)

Ninth Source

[redacted]

[redacted] (requested)

Classified by 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF
Declassify on: CADR
11-4-36

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

2-Bureau (61-3176)(Encls 4)
(1)100-49565)
1-New York (100-8424)
1-New York (100-7629 Sub D)

JET:bab
(4)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In BALDWIN's case file there is a photostat which is identified by a notation "From ONI at conference held 9/18/42." This is typed material concerning captioned individual and among other things, it is stated "in 1934 he was reported to be an honorary member of the National Advisory Board of the Communist Party of the United States." This allegation is not included in attached memorandum in the absence of information as to its accuracy and its meaning if accurate.

In view of the fact that BALDWIN is a prominent person who is well known in his field and because instant memorandum would be more extensive than its proper scope if all of the many aspects of BALDWIN's past Communist and other subversive associations were set forth, representative material only taken from various periods in his career has been included in the attached memorandum.

It is noted that BALDWIN was interviewed by agents of the New York Office in the past and displayed an apparently cooperative attitude. On 2/21/49 he was interviewed in connection with the "Jay David Whitteker Chambers, with aliases, Perjury; Espionage -R; Internal Security - R" case (report of SA ROBERT F.X. O'KEEFE, dated 3/10/49, at New York, pages 82-86).

BALDWIN acknowledged acquaintance with several individuals who figured prominently in the above-mentioned "Chambers" case and that he had been acquainted with HAROLD WARE and his mother, Mother BLOOR, over a period of 25 years. He stated that he visited HAROLD WARE in Russia and spent a week or ten days at the Cooperative Farm operated by WARE in Southern Russia in the early 1930's.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-7629-Sub D

The attached letterhead memorandum is classified "confidential" because it contains information from confidential sources of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which would jeopardize the security of these sources and thus have an adverse effect on the nation's security.

This letterhead memorandum is also classified "confidential" because it contains information from confidential investigative techniques, the unauthorized disclosure of which would have an adverse effect on the nation's security.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 11-04-2009

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

61-3176

OCT 14 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin, Member of the "Committee of 100" In Support of The National Association For The Advancement of Colored People, Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Incorporated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Roger Nash Baldwin, a white male, was born January 21, 1884, in Wellesley, Massachusetts. He was graduated from Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1904 with a Bachelor of Arts degree and received his Master of Arts degree from Harvard University in 1905. Baldwin was the Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, New York, New York, from 1917 to 1950, National Chairman from 1950 to 1955, and an advisor on international work since 1950. He is also Chairman of the Board of the International League for Rights of Man. Baldwin maintains residences at Dell Brook Farm, Midvale Road, Oakland, New Jersey, and 282 West 11th Street, New York, New York. Baldwin maintains an office at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

The "New York Times", a New York daily newspaper, of October 31, 1918, contained an article captioned "Pacifist Professor Gets Year in Prison".

Classified by [illegible]
Declassify on: OADR
11-24-86

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[illegible] 1
from automatic
and
cation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

The article stated that Roger Nash Baldwin, former Director of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, and an official of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), was sentended on October 30, 1918, to one year in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, for violating the Selective Service Law, and refusing to submit to a physical examination.

In an article in the "New York Times" of May 27, 1921, Roger Nash Baldwin was accused by the American Legion for utterances at the Amnesty Rally at Cincinnati, Ohio, in which he was charged with having advocated methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial and political reform in that he desired a Soviet Government in America.

The "New York Times" of April 13, 1923, contained an article in which Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), was stated to have charged that the $800,000 Garland Fund, which was known as the American Fund for Public Service, was being used to sponsor a Communist Revolution in the United States. This news article listed Roger Baldwin as one of the early advisors to the young Garland, and also as a trustee of this fund.

Concerning American Fund for Public Service, also known as Garland Fund, a characterization is contained in the appendix hereto.

The "New York Times" of April 18, 1923, contained an article that Roger Baldwin was the subject of an indictment, along with eight others of the ACLU, charging grand larceny, in that these individuals were alleged to have defrauded two men in a scheme to colonize American workmen in Russia.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

Benjamin Gitlow, Communist candidate for Vice President of the United States in 1924 and 1928, writing in his book "I Confess", subtitle "The Truth About American Communism", stated on page 226 (concerning the reaction of Communist Party leaders to the Supreme Court verdict on June 8, 1925, upholding his conviction for criminal syndicalism):

"While my comrade who was head of the I.L.D. (International Labor Defense), together with his caucus chieftain, the erstwhile standard bearer of the Party, could not think beyond the possibility of having a factional opponent removed, even if the removal was to a capitalist prison in punishment for service to the Party, and both rejoiced at the thought, the American Civil Liberties Union, at that time free of any vestige of Communist control and attacked by our Party because its head, Roger Baldwin, had the temerity to champion the cause of political prisoners in Russia, immediately appealed to Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York to pardon me."

The I.L.D. has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In the book entitled "The Socialism of Our Times," published in June, 1929, Baldwin contributed an article entitled "The Need for Militancy." This book represented papers delivered at a symposium on Socialism by a number of prominent writers. Mr. Baldwin's article appeared on Pages 76 to 83 of this book.

On Page 77 Baldwin refers to himself as a Pacifist. He stated that he believes in revolution, "not necessarily the forceful seizure of power in armed conflict, but the process of class movements determined to expropriate the capitalist class, and to take control of all social property."

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

Baldwin indicated that he is opposed to revolutionary violence and states, "I would rather see violent revolution than none at all, though I do not personally support it because I believe other means far better. Even the terrible cost of bloody revolution is a cheaper price to humanity than the continued exploitation and wreck of human life under the settled violence of the present system."

On Pages 80 and 81, Baldwin wrote, "Despite my favorable attitude to Communist activities which is justified, I think, by the facts, I am not a Communist, as is well known. I could not join the Communist movement, both for theoretical and practical reasons. Philosophically, I am an Anarchist, though I do not work at it."

The "New York Times" of December 6, 1930, contained an article captioned "Foster and Aides Put Red Flag First." This article stated that Roger Nash Baldwin testified before the Dies Committee that William Z. Foster, a Director in the ACLU until a month ago, had resigned because of holding different social views than that organization. Representative Hamilton Fish, of the Dies Committee, asked Baldwin the question, "Does your organization uphold the right of an alien to advocate murder or assassination?" Baldwin replied, "Yes, of course, but only generally speaking, as in Hyde Park, London, and in a specific incitation. It is the healthiest thing for a country."

Concerning William Z. Foster, a source advised on August 14, 1962, that William Z. Foster was formerly National Chairman of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), who died in Moscow, Russia, in early September, 1961.

Roger Nash Baldwin

In an article in the "Washington Herald", a Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, dated October 18, 1935, Baldwin was quoted as saying, "Therefore, I am for Socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the property class, and sole control of those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal."

b7D

[redacted] an alleged former Comintern representative whose credibility is not known since he has in the past furnished reliable and unreliable information, has stated "the connections of Roger Baldwin with the CP were rather unhappy. While the Communists were always trying to use the services of Baldwin and his ACLU in order to defend the Communists, who were persecuted in America or some other country, they were always antagonized by the spirit of free criticism of Roger Baldwin and his refusal to take instructions from the CP to any extent or to the extent that fellow travelling liberals take instructions. The explanation of this fact lies in Baldwin's background. In his youth he was a 'Wobbly'. He was IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), with a strong individualistic and anarchistic trend. Baldwin disassociated his activities very definitely from any Communist cause from the early 1930's. At that time, the Communists, not being able to profit from the activities of the ACLU, created a new organization which was called the Congress for Civil Liberties..... Baldwin is not a Communist. He is a genuine Liberal. His activities sum up in a defense of the American Constitution, in which he has implicit faith. The ACLU thinks that by the observation of the American Constitution there are no civil liberties problems. Baldwin is of the conviction that America does not need any revolutionary upheaval to improve its institutions. The Constitution gives such opportunity for any aspirations."

Roger Nash Baldwin

The IWW has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "New York Times", Thursday, January 5, 1939, on page 9, column 6, carries an article entitled "RED LINK IS DENIED BY LIBERTIES UNION. Baldwin Also Sends Disavowal to Dies Committee."

This article reads as follows:

"The American Civil Liberties Union disavowed any connection with the Communist Party in an affidavit sent yesterday to Representative Martin Dies, Chariman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In a separate affidavit Roger N. Baldwin, director of the Union, denied that he had ever belonged to the Communist Party and said he was opposed to many of the party's principles and tactics.

"The affidavits were prepared at the invitation of Robert E. Stripling, Secretary of the Dies Committee, who assured the Civil Liberties Union that they would be included in the official record of the committee.

"'The American Civil Liberties Union has never been a front or part of a united front for the Communist Party' the organization's affidavit said. 'The American Civil Liberties Union has no direct or indirect connection with any political movement.

"'The American Civil Liberties Union has no connection with any other organization except when cooperating on some particular issue or case involving a question of civil liberties. It has no official connection as testified to by certain witnesses with the International Labor Defense, . . . or the American League for Peace and Democracy.'

Roger Nash Baldwin

"The management of the Union is vested in a board of directors and a national committee of seventy, only one of whom is a Communist, the affidavit declared.

"The Union's sworn statement was signed by John Haynes Holmes, vice chairman; B.W. Heubach, treasurer; and Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin described himself as 'a pacifist, wholly disbelieving in any philosophy, program or movement committed to the use of violence in any form'".

The American League for Peace and Democracy has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "New York Post", a New York daily newspaper, of December 21, 1940, in its column entitled "The American Forum" supplied the question for consideration "Should Communist and Nazi organizations be outlawed?" Baldwin argued through this medium the negative of the question. He asserted, "No government has ever been overthrown by free speech, but plenty of governments have been overthrown by suppressing free speech. Our civil liberties in the long run constitute our only sure bulwark against dictatorship, and the only means of democracy."

An article entitled "Trotzkyist Case Tied to Defense of 29 - Baldwin" appearing in the "Daily Worker" dated June 10, 1944, reflects in part that:

"Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union told an audience of Trotzkyists and others at a meeting Thursday night that the hope of the 18 imprisoned Minneapolis Trotzkyists was bound up with the defense of the seditionists on trial at Washington."

This article stated that:

"Baldwin was given prolonged applause as he joined with the other speakers in the denunciation of the Communists and he particularly attacked the 'Daily Worker' for favoring imprisonment of the accused seditionists on trial. The Communists, he charged, favored imprisonment of the Trotzkyists 'because they are anti-Communist.'

"'And now,' he added, 'the Communists and the "Daily Worker" are determined to get those fellows in Washington in jail, too, because they are anti-Communists.'

"'We take no sides,' said Baldwin explaining the 'liberalism' of the ACLU. 'We know that an instrument against one side can be an instrument for another.'"

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

On the question, "Is Communism a threat to the American way of life?", a debate on the weekly radio program "American Town Meeting of the Air", conducted on January 11, 1945, over Radio Station WJZ, Baldwin stated that Communism was merely a nuisance.

According to the "New York World-Telegram", a New York Daily newspaper, of January 12, 1945, the day after the above broadcast, Baldwin was quoted as saying "Not in the worst years of the depression did Communism attract any number of adherents. They are not and have never been a threat, but I will agree that they are a nuisance. They mislead innocent liberals and are an obstacle to democracy, in that they confuse the issue.

Roger Nash Baldwin

"The purpose of Communism inevitably is to act as agencies of the Soviet Union. Russia wants to win the war, and rebuild the country after the war, so our Communists are now against revolution and are for American business expansion."

The "Harvard Crimson", a publication of Harvard University, issue of November 26, 1947, reported a meeting of the Harvard Law School Forum held on November 25, 1947, at Rindge Technical High School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the general topic, "How Safe are American Civil Rights?" This article had the subheading, "Baldwin Fears Trend Against Civil Liberties", and stated in part as follows:

"Roger N. Baldwin, '04, Director of the ACLU, cast a dubious eye towards the query 'How Safe are American Civil Rights?' at the Fourth Law School Forum last night." Baldwin charged that in the past year or two 'had enough'? forces have buttressed conservative elements, and made it increasingly difficult to fight for human liberties. He decried the Taft-Hartley law, the method of administering loyalty checks, and activities of the Un-American Activities Committee, as the most depressing aspects of this trend."

A second source advised on November 6, 1959 that recently Arnold Johnson was in contact with Joseph Brandt who told Johnson that he was trying to find a method of getting to Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union who was leading a delegation to Spain in connection with the arrest of some outstanding Spanish individual. Brandt further stated that the "vets", referring to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, would like to get to Baldwin before he departs for Spain. (U)

Roger Nash Baldwin

Johnson stated that Baldwin was easy to reach and that Brandt could call Baldwin and state that he, Johnson, suggested the call. Johnson stated that it "sometimes" helps to mention his name. Brandt stated "sometimes" was not good enough; that "we" want to be sure that as "we" have a proposition for him. Brandt stated that "we" want him, Baldwin, to visit some of "our prisoners" and that "we" want to organize a mass meeting for him when he returns so that he can report. (C)

(U) Johnson stated that he was sure Baldwin would respond to Brandt's call because, he, Johnson, and Baldwin have sort of a running agreement. (C)

(U) Johnson stated that he always sees Baldwin at his home, 282 West 11th Street, New York City. (C)

(U) Brandt stated he would call Baldwin and say "we are from the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. We read that you are going to Spain and want to talk to you about something important." (C)

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(U) The first source advised on February 12, 1963, Joseph Brandt was brought into the National Office of the CP, USA, in 1963 as an Administrative Assistant to the National Organizational Secretary, CP, USA. (C)

"The Worker", February 28, 1963, edition, contains an announcement on page 11, columns 4 and 5, that referred to Arnold Johnson as Public Relations Director, CP.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

(U) A third source advised on January 27, 1960, that recently Irving Potash had advised Elizabeth Gurley Flynn that he had an appointment soon with Roger Baldwin regarding the case of Henry Winston. Potash stated that he has always been able to get along with Baldwin and recalled how Baldwin had sent a strong letter to the judge, when he, Potash, was in court in 1957.

A fourth source advised on May 7, 1962, that Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was then Chairman of the CP, USA.

This fourth source advised on July 12, 1963, that Irving Potash was then Labor Secretary of the CP, USA.

(U) The first source advised on August 12 and 13, 1961, that at a CP, USA, National Committee meeting held on those dates, Henry Winston was elected to the CP, USA, National Committee, the National Executive Committee, and was also elected Vice Chairman, CP, USA.

(U) A fifth source advised on January 27, 1960, that Irving Potash recently stated that he had an appointment with Roger Baldwin at the United Nations set up for the afternoon of January 27, 1960. Potash stated that he desired to interest Baldwin on the question of a parole for Henry Winston on the basis of discrimination against Communists by the Parole Board. Potash stated that he intended to request that Baldwin involve the American Civil Liberties Union on the question of a parole for Winston and other Communists.

Roger Nash Baldwin

A sixth source advised on March 9, 1960, that recently Irving Potash mentioned that he had been to see Roger Baldwin at his, Baldwin's home, and (U) that Baldwin had verbally attacked him in front of his, Baldwin's, wife and daughter.

A seventh source advised on March 10, 1960, that recently Irving Potash mentioned that he had gone to the home of Roger Baldwin on the previous Saturday regarding the Henry Winston case and that (U) Baldwin had confronted him with the question of moral right. Potash stated that Baldwin stated that "we", referring to CP Leaders, have no right to put forward the moral question on the Winston case, because "we" condone such things in other countries.

On page 12, column 1, of the November 6, 1960, edition of "The Worker" there appeared an article which reported that Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League for [illegible] Rights of Man was a sponsor of a Washington, D.C., weekend conference to be held during 1960 in order to secure Presidential clemency for Morton Sobell. This weekend conference, according to this article, was to be sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

Concerning the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, a characterization is contained in the appendix hereto.

On page 10, column 3, of the November 28, 1960, issue of the "National Guardian" there appears an article which reports that a "Freedom Weekend Conference" was to be held in Washington, D.C., November 19 through 21, 1960, sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. Among those listed as sponsors of the "Freedom Weekend Conference" was Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Concerning the "National Guardian", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

An eighth source advised on January 6, 1961, that a greeting card postmarked Oakland, New Jersey, December 27, 1960, bearing the return address Roger N. Baldwin, 282 West 11th Street, New York 14, New York, had been sent to Morton Sobell then incarcerated in the United States Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia.

On page 1, columns 3 and 4, continued on page 2, columns 3, 4 and 5, of the February 6, 1961, issue of the "Morning Freiheit" there appeared an article entitled "Impressive Funeral For Eugene Dennis; Speakers Point Out His Record In The Struggle For the People". This article stated in part that on the previous day, funeral services for Communist leader Eugene Dennis were held at the "Riviera", Broadway and 53rd Street, New York City. Moving eulogies about the deceased National Chairman of the CP, USA, were delivered and telegrams of condolences from a number of prominent individuals were read. Among the telegrams which were read was one from Roger Baldwin who was described as a leader in the fight for Civil Rights.

Concerning the "Morning Freiheit", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

On page 2, column 2, of the February 12, 1961, edition of "The Worker", there appeared an open letter from Roger Baldwin to Mrs. Eugene Dennis. This letter stated in part: "Dear Mrs. Dennis, You have my sympathy in the passing of a man whose integrity of purpose and independence of thinking distinguished him even among those who, like myself, did not share his political philosophy....."

A ninth source advised on February 14, 1963, [redacted] b7D

[redacted]

The above information is not to be made public except in the usual proceeding following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

The individual to be subpoenaed is [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

[redacted]

Concerning the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust Fund, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Roger Baldwin advised Special Agents John J. Danahy and Francis J. Gallant, on February 21, 1949, that he was well aware that he was associated with numerous organizations which were subsequently declared to be subversive by the Attorney General of the United States. Baldwin stated that he was well aware of the Communist infiltration of these groups and in many instances was able to recognize the Communists who were endeavoring to seize control of these organizations.

However, he stated that the major portion, if not all of these organizations, were originally founded by sincere individuals without Communist leanings, who were endeavoring to accomplish worthwhile objectives

which would provide a better Democracy and a better life for the citizens of the United States. Subsequently, because these organizations appealed to masses of the underprivileged, the Communists would endeavor to seize and control positions of power in these organizations.

Baldwin stated that in many instances, he remained in such organizations even after he realized that they had been taken over by the Communists because he still believed in the Fundamental tenets and ideals of the organization and became active in them to combat the Communist domination and influence.

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) on the name Roger N. Baldwin, on May 12, 1958, by Special Employee [redacted] reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source: b6 b7C

A letter dated April 11, 1928, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the National Committee of the All American Anti-Imperialist League.

> Concerning the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

A letterhead dated April 27, 1938, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

> The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Roger Nash Baldwin

A letterhead dated January, 1940, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

A letterhead for the 4th Annual Conference, Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D.C., March 2, 3, 1940, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of this Conference held by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

"The Struggle Against War," June, 1933, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War.

Concerning the American Committee for Struggle Against War, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

A leaflet, "Call to Action," of the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, January 6, 7, 8, 1939, Washington, D.C., listed one Roger Baldwin as an endorser.

Concerning the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker," for November 4, 1957, page 3, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was to speak, among others, at a reception December 6, which was to precede a conference of the American Forum for Socialist Education on December 7, at the Great Northern Hotel, New York City.

Concerning the American Forum for Socialist Education, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

A letterhead dated November 18, 1936, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Executive Committee of the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Concerning the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker" for February 16, 1938, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a signer of a letter to the President, issued by the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

A letterhead dated March 13, 1939, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

A letterhead, dated February 21, 1938, reflected oneRoger N. Baldwin was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

A letterhead dated September 8, 1930, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Board of Directors of the American Fund for Public Service.

The "Daily Worker" for February 27, 1937, page 2, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a speaker at the Legislative Conference of the American League Against War and Fascism.

The American League Against War and Fascism has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

"Fight", for November, 1933, page 10, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a contributor to "Fight", issued by the American League Against War and Fascism.

Concerning "Fight", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"Fight", for September, 1937, page 18, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a contributor to this publication put out by the American League Against War and Fascism.

"New Masses", for October 5, 1937, page 30, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a participant in a Mass Meeting, "China Today: U.S. Tomorrow?", held October 1, 1937, by the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People.

Concerning "New Masses", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Concerning the American Friends of the Chinese People, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker," for May 12, 1938, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a speaker (at?) United Anti-Nazi Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The "Daily Worker" for May 14, 1938, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a speaker in Newark, (at a meeting of?) United Anti-Nazi Council.

A pamphlet, "7½ Million...," page 13, reflected one Roger Baldwin as Secretary of the Civil Rights Commission of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Page 34 of this pamphlet reflected one Roger Baldwin as a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

The "Student Almanac" for 1939, page 32, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a speaker at the 4th National Convention of the American Student Union.

Concerning the American Student Union, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The pamphlet, "Presenting the American Student Union," reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

"Youngville, U.S.A.", page 62, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the National Advisory Committee of the American Youth Congress.

The American Youth Congress has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

An undated leaflet published by the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder reflected Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, appealed to President Roosevelt for justice in the Browder case.

The Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

Roger Baldwin, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, was a speaker at the Michigan Conference for Civil Rights of the Civil Rights Federation, February 10, 1940, Detroit, Michigan.

Concerning the Civil Rights Federation, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Commonwealth College "Fortnightly", for August 15, 1937, page 3, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin endorsed a Reorganization Plan for Commonwealth College.

Commonwealth College has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"The People vs. H.C.L.,", page 2, December 11-12, 1937, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of the Consumers' National Federation.

Concerning the Consumers' National Federation, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker", for September 29, 1937, reflected on page 2 one Roger Baldwin was a speaker, (at a meeting of?) the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, New York City.

Concerning the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

An undated letterhead reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of Frontier Films.

Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning Frontier Films, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Program of the Conference, February 12, 1940, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a speaker at the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.

Concerning the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

A letterhead of the International Labor Defense, December, 1931, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Prisoners Relief Fund.

"Voice of Labor", for October 20, 1922, page 12, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the National Executive Committee of the .... Labor Defense Council.

A characterization of "Voice Of Labor" appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker", for June 9, 1942, page 3, reflected Roger N. Baldwin, Director of American Civil Liberties Union, was the first member to resign from the International Labor Defense; because of Government's prosecution of Minneapolis Trotskyite, whom he and the ACLU were defending.

"Labor Defender," for November, 1928, page 223, reflected one Roger Baldwin as the author of "Liberty Under the Soviets".

Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning "Labor Defender", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Program of the "Third Biennial National Conference of the International Labor Defense," reflected Roger N. Baldwin, of the American Liberties Union, sent greetings.

"Labor Defender", for July, 1931, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Prisoner's Relief Fund of the International Labor Defense.

"Fraternal Outlook,", June-July, 1940, page 15, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a speaker at Stop Dies Rally of the International Workers Order, at Newark, New Jersey.

Concerning "Fraternal Outlook", a characterization appears in the appendix attached hereto.

The International Workers Order (IWO) has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"Korean Independence", for August 6, 1947, page 1, and "Nation," for August 2, 1947, reprinted an article by one Roger N. Baldwin, entitled "U.S. Blunder in Korea."

Concerning "Korean Independence," a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"The Liberator", for December, 1918, page 11, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin as a contributor.

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning the "Liberator", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

One Roger Baldwin was mentioned in the "Liberator" for June, 1923, page 16.

Pamphlet, "One Year in Spain," page 14, reflected Roger Baldwin, of the Civil Liberties Union, was a supporter of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Concerning the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

An undated letterhead (75th birthday) reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor Celebration Committee.

Concerning Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, in appendix 9, page 1162, of a report entitled "Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activity in the U.S.", by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 78th Congress, referred to as the Dies Report, Ella Reeve was described as being one of the most notorious leaders of the CP in the United States for many years.

A Program for January 24, 1936, pages 7 and 9, reflected one Roger Baldwin sent greetings and was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor Banquet.

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

The "Daily Worker" for June 14, 1937, page 8, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor's Birthday Celebration.

A letterhead dated July 3, 1934, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a supporter of the National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism.

Concerning the National Committee To Aid Victims of German Fascism, A characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

A leaflet, "Call to a National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance," page 3, January 5-7, 1935, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance.

Concerning the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"Unemployment Insurance Review," Volume 1, 1935, page 3, reflected one Roger Baldwin, Director of American Civil Liberties Union, was a signer of Call (to?) the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance.

The "Daily Worker", for May 15, 1951, page 3, reflected Roger N. Baldwin, Ex-Director of American Civil Liberties Union, as a signer of National Council Against Conscription report denouncing efforts to spread the doctrine of inevitability of war.

Concerning the National Council Against Conscription, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Roger Nash Baldwin

A letterhead dated March 16, 1937, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the National People's Committee Against Hearst.

Concerning the National People's Committee Against Hearst, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"New Masses", for November 16, 1937, page 20, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin as a contributor.

"New Masses" for May 13, 1941, page 22, reflected one Roger Baldwin sent a letter to "New Masses."

An undated letterhead reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of the New York Tom Mooney Committee.

Concerning the New York Tom Mooney Committee, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

The "Daily Worker" for February 27, 1937, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of Tag Day in New York City, held by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"New Masses" for September 28, 1937, page 28, reflected one Roger Baldwin as a sponsor of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

"ADA World" for May 26, 1949, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin protested against the Attorney General's ruling on the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy as subversive.

A letterhead, dated November 3, 1937, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the National Executive Committee of the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace and a member of the National Bureau of the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace.

Concerning the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

A letterhead dated March 20, 1936, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of Russian Reconstruction Farms, Incorporated.

Concerning Russian Reconstruction Farms, Incorporated, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"Soviet Russia Today," for September, 1934, page 11, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin as a contributor.

Concerning "Soviet Russia Today", a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"The Struggle Against War," for August, 1933, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin was a member of the Arrangements Committee for the United States Congress Against War.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning the United States Congress Against War, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

"Call to the U.S. Congress Against War", September 1-4, 1933, New York City, page 3, reflected Roger Baldwin, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, was a member of the Arrangements Committee of this Congress.

The "Daily Worker", for January 2, 1936, page 2, reflected one Roger Baldwin headed commission, 3rd United States Congess Against War and Fascism.

The "Daily Worker", for May 18, 1956, page 6, contained an article which stated one Roger N. Baldwin wrote a "friendly review" of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's autobiography, "I Speak My Own Piece," in "The Nation." The article quoted at length from the review.

The "Daily Worker", for February 24, 1937, page 3, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin was a speaker at a Mass Meeting for Spain held in Brooklyn (Meeting supported by the CP.)

The "Daily Worker" for November 27, 1947, page 2, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin attacked the purge of Communists in the film industry.

The "Congressional Record", for March 8, 1948, page 2433, reflected one Roger Baldwin opposed deportation of Communists.

The "Daily Worker", for March 23, 1948, pages 2 and 6, reflected one Roger N. Baldwin appealed in behalf of A.B. Magil, Communist writer.

Roger Nash Baldwin

"The New York Times" for October 20, 1949, page 25, reflected Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, New York, was a signer of an anti-Communist statement.

"The Worker", for October 30, 1949, pages 3 and 6, southern edition, reflected one Roger Baldwin of New York was a signer of statement on Communist cases.

The "Daily People's World", for June 22, 1951, page 1, reflected Roger Baldwin, former Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, sponsored a half-page advertisement in the "San Francisco Chronicle", a San Francisco daily newspaper, taking issue with the Supreme Court decision upholding conviction of 11 Communists.

The "Daily People's World" was a West Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on February 1, 1957.

Investigation of Communist Propaganda. Hearings before a Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States; 71st Congress, 2nd Session.

Part 1, Volume 2: (June 18, 19, 1930)

Page 5: Roger N. Baldwin listed as a Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Page 24: Exhibit 7: -- The Workers Library -- Books for Workers. Listed is "Liberty Under the Soviets" by Roger Baldwin, price 50 cents.

Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning The Workers Library, Publishers Incorporated, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Communist Political Subversion -- Part I.

Hearings before the HCUA, 84th Congress, 2nd Session.

Testimony of Irving Novick, November 13, 1956

Page 6247

Novick testified that one Roger Baldwin joined with him in the formulation of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born.

Part I, Volume 4:

Testimony of Francis Ralston Welsh

Page 141

Welsh Exhibit Number 3: Membership of officers and national committee (of the American Civil Liberties Union) in radical organizations. Roger Nash Baldwin is listed under .... All America Anti- Imperialist League (Communist)....

Page 143

Welsh Exhibit Number 4: Roger Nash Baldwin Chief leader of the American Liberties Union is quoted as having said in August, 1924: "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."

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 145

Welsh Exhibit Number 7 -- re International Labor Defense Meeting, Chicago, March 5, 1930: Roger Nash Baldwin pledged the aid of the ACLU, which he stated he represented at the meeting. According to this exhibit, "he said all differences between the ACLU and the ILD were friendly ones. He greeted the ILD as a revolutionary working-class element. He said, 'The ACLU will attend to getting the money out of the middle class to help the working class.' By working class he meant Communists. He said, 'The real struggle here in the United States today, as throughout the world, is between the militant section of the working class with political aims on one side and the capitalist class on the other. Now we (meaning the American Civil Liberties Union) cooperated with the ILD at many points. Spoke of aid given ILD in Gastonia matters and mendaciously said that the political and religious views of the defendants were involved in that case. The case was one of murder and the defendants were convicted and the conviction affirmed on appeal and the defendants skipped their bail. Spoke of the right of the working class to 'conduct the kind of education which the Communist Party conducts' and, evidently referring to himself and friends, stated that some believed 'that even revolutionary agitation is within the free speech.'.... He encouraged the Communists in their intention to carry out an illegal parade in the loop district of Chicago the next day. His address was apparently meant to imtimidate the police and encourage the Communists..... He praised the Communist lawlessness and said, 'The violence, my fiends, is all violence against you. It is the violence of the police. It is the violence of lawless officials.' He incited contempt of court and told Communists they would find the American Civil Liberties Union back of them in their struggle. He classed the police with thugs."

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 151

Roger Nash Baldwin mentioned as.... a supporter of the I.W.W. war obstructors, et cetera.

Page 154

"Roger Nash Baldwin, for years the most prominent representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, stated that the whole of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union believed in the right to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, and stated that the advocacy of murder was within the limits of free speech."

Page 220

Roger Baldwin listed as an official of the American Fund for Public Service.

Page 221

Roger Baldwin, Director of the Fund quoted as follows (from a pamphlet, "Twenty Years of Social Pioneering," issued by the League for Industrial Democracy, which organization has received thousands of dollars from the Fund): "To many of us interlocking Directors, and to many of us interlocking contributors, it is pretty difficult to tell from whom to bring the greetings and to whom to give the greetings. It is sometimes difficult for me to tell whether I am in a meeting of the L.I.D. (meaning League for Industrial Democracy) or a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union."

Concerning the League for Industrial Democracy, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 279

The Vanguard series, issued by the Vanguard Press, which was organized and financed by the American Fund for Public Service, Incorporated, included "Liberty Under the Soviets," by Roger N. Baldwin, ("America's fighter for liberty tells how free Russia is.")

Concerning the Vanguard Press, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 297

Rober Baldwin listed as a speaker at the Civic Club, a beneficiary of the American Fund for Public Service, Incorporated.

Page 405 to 417

Testimony of Roger N. Baldwin, December 5, 1930

He refused to be sworn because he did not believe in a God that punished him for not telling the truth, and stated there was no other purpose in an oath. He affirmed that he would give to the Committee the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. He stated he represented the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), that he had held the position of Director of this organization for ten years.

He stated he was not a Communist. He was asked if he were sympathetic with the Communist aims and principles. He replied he was testifying as the representative of the ACLU and did not want to go into his personal views about Communism, politics, religion, or anything else. He was again asked

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

if he were sympathetic with the aims and principles of the CP. He declined to answer. He was asked if he were a member of the I.W.W. He stated he was a member four short months. He stated, "I declined to accept the invitation of your chairman to appear voluntarily as a witness, because the American Civil Liberties Union is opposed to your committee and its work." "Far more important in our view of the country's best interests is the maintenance of the right of agitation by Communists and all others who have a grievance. The country is not menaced by Communist propaganda."

"Your committee's work is based on the proposition that revolutionary propaganda produces revolution. All history refutes that notion. Revolutions are produced by unbearable conditions, not talk. If the proposals made to your committee to outlaw the Communist movement in the United States, to deport all alien Communists, and to establish a Federal Secret Service to ferret out subversive activities were all put into effect, they could not possibly stop protests against intolerable conditions of living and labor. The best they could do from the point of view of those who seek to outlaw radicalism would be to drive the movement into underground channels, with the inevitable tendency to secret conspiracies and to violence. That condition would be far worse even from a conservative standpoint than the tolerance of radical propaganda."

He then attacked the methods of operation of the committee and its causing scores of unjustified arrests and prosecutions and stated, "Concerning the work of the Civil Liberties Union itself, we state to you that we have no connection whatever with Communist organizations, except to defend their rights of freedom of speech, press, and assemblage on precisely the same basis as we

defend the rights of others. That we have had more occasion to defend Communists than others is due solely to the fact that they are the chief victims of attack. Several Communists have served upon our national or executive committees just as do many Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists. We accept in our membership anybody who believes in the right of free speech, regardless of his political views. We have on occasion defended the rights of reactionaries to free speech, notably in cases affecting the Ku-Klux Klan and the American Fascists in the South, just as we have defended the rights of radicals.

Baldwin was then asked and affirmed that his organization upheld the right of an alien or American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government, in so far as mere advocacy was concerned. He was asked and affirmed that his organization had no limit on the extent to which a man might go in expressing his ideas or opinions about the Government.

He stated they would not defend a man who had committed an overt act....

Baldwin testified that he spoke at what was called the "blacklist dinner" in Chicago. He also testified at some length re the Garland Fund -- the original amount was $950,000, and it skyrocketed to about $?,000,000. He stated they had about $500,000 left. He stated they had financed, among other things, the "Daily Worker" Building in Chicago.

The Ku-Klux Klan has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Part 3, Volume 2:

Page 197

Roger Baldwin, Director of the ACLU, mentioned as having been a speaker at a meeting in Chicago,.... Baldwin spoke in defense of _____ Foster, and pledged

his support, making this statement, "When somebody starts out with a gun, we don't defend them there, but when somebody talks about starting out with a gun, we are right with them there."

Page 509

A letter from one Roger Baldwin to William Z. Foster, June 30, 1922, re Costello's relation to the Federated Press, asking Foster to straighten things out.

Concerning the Federated Press, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 548

Roger Baldwin, National Chairman of the ACLU, praised Soviet Russia Pictorial, saying, "You are twice as effective in your new appeal. You ought to get a quickened understanding and an increased volume of aid. If anything can make the facts cry aloud, these pictures will. And a pictureminded public must hear them."

Concerning Soviet Pictorial, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 566

Roger Baldwin, managing Director of the ACLU, served a term as a draft evader in the Essex County Jail in New Jersey in 1918 and 1919; "one of the most active revolutionary radicals in the country."

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 567

"When Baldwin was sentenced in 1918 by the Federal Court at New York for the violation of the conscription act, he made a speech to the court, as follows: 'Though at the moment I am of a tiny minority, I feel myself just one protest in a great revolt surging up from among the people -- the struggle of the masses against the rule of the world by the few -- profoundly intensified by the war. It is a struggle against the political state itself, against exploitations, militarism, imperialism, authority in all forms. It is a struggle to break in full force only after the war. Russia already stands in the vanguard, beset by her enemies in the camps of both belligerents ...

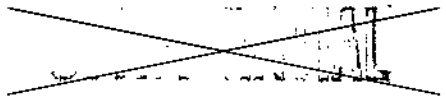
Page 567

Roger N. Baldwin, New York City, listed as a member of the National Committee of the Labor Defense Council.

Page 574

An application by the Workers Education Bureau for an endowment from the American Fund for Public Service brought this reply from Roger Baldwin, trustee of the Fund:

"The American Fund for Public Service, (Incorporated), in its support of labor education, shall favor those organizations and institutions which instill into the workers the knowledge and the qualities which will fit them for carrying on the struggle for the emancipation of their class in every sphere.



Roger Nash Baldwin

As it seems to us pretty clear that the work of the Workers' Education Bureau does not come within this definition, we come to the conclusion that we could not make the appropiation you request. We do not see our way clear to financing any enterprises except those definitely committed to a radical progam of the character indicated in that resolution."

Part 4, Volume 2:

Page 540

Address by Mr. Roger Baldwin at a meeting of the International Labor Defense, Chicago, March 5, 1930, at Ashland Auditorium.

Appendix IX:

Page 416F

Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the National Bureau of the American League Against War and Fascism.

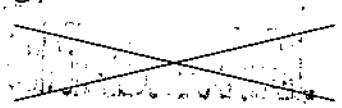
Page 537

Roger N. Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, listed as a member of the National Advisory Board of the 4th American Youth Congress, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, July 4, 1937.

Page 589

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Advisory Council of Book Union, Incorporated.

Concerning the Book Union, Incorporated, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.



Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 758F

National Committee Friends of the Soviet Union endorsed by one Roger Baldwin; one Roger N. Baldwin on the Reception Committee for the Soviet Flyers of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Friends of the Soviet Union has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Page 949

One Roger Baldwin signer of a cablegram sent to the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies on behalf of one Arthur Ewert, (sent under auspices of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Brazilian People.)

Concerning the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Brazilian People, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 1037

Letter from League of Young Southerners to one Roger Baldwin, ACLU, New York City, asking for the publications and news releases of the ACLU for use and assistance in their work.

Concerning the League of Young Southerners a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 1313

Call for Support to National Student League, (in the "Daily Worker,",September 28, 1932, page 2) was signed by one Roger Baldwin.

Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning the National Student League, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 1452

Under theheading, Party and Party Line Publications; is listed the publication Liberator and shows one Roger Baldwin as a contributing editor.

Statement of H.L. Chaillaux, Director, National Americanism Commission, American Legion

Page 436

Chaillaux stated he did not know that one Robert Nash Baldwin was a Communist, but he read one of Baldwin's own statements, written into the Harvard College Class Book of the Class of 1905, published in 1935, as follows:

"My chief aversion is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I see social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control of those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal."

Page 440

One Roger Baldwin mentioned as being a speaker at the convention of the Third United States Congress Against War and Fascism.

Page 441

One Roger Baldwin mentioned as being a member of the executive board of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Roger Nash Baldwin

Testimony of Walter S. Steele, August 17, 1938:

Page 462

One Roger Baldwin selected to head the nominations committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Page 475

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

Page 502

Roger Baldwin of the ACLU listed as a speaker at a Scottsboro Mass Project, staged by the New York District of the International Labor Defense in 1932.

Page 518

One Roger N. Baldwin lised as being affiliated with the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Page 521

Roger N. Baldwin named as the moving spirit of the Civil Liberties Bureau during World War I and in August, 1917, wrote to Louis Lockner, then actively engaged in radical circles..... warning him to "steer clear from making it look like a Socialist enterprise. Too many people have already gotten the idea that it is nine-tenths a Socialist movement.... We want also 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...."

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 533

A review of Liberty Under the Soviets by Roger N. Baldwin, in which book he admitted that he recognized "fully the dangers in the extreme measures of control in effect in Russia today." He deplored "them for their unnecessary cruelties" but admitted his "personal prejudices in favor of the economic achievements and purposes of the Russian revolution." In the book he said, "I have aided enterprises organized in the United States to help Soviet industry and agriculture, and to gain recognition for Russia... First-hand contact has strengthened my hopes for the effects of economic liberty and diminished my fears for the effects of political repression." Yet when he was in Russia, he admitted that "hundreds of persons were being arrested. The political prisons were crowded. The Government was nervous. Georgia... obviously was being held in the Union (of Soviet Republics) against the desire of its people for independence."

He stated, "In the Communist philosophy from the days of Karl Marx to the present, there is no room for the ideas of freedom of speech, press, assemblage, or liberty of individual conscience." It was then pointed out that it was interesting to note in this connection (that there was no liberty worthy of mention in Russia) that the ACLU, of which Baldwin was an official, was constantly defending the so-called "rights" of Communists in the United States under the American Constitution to advocate the overthrow of the American Government and the establishment of a Communist system.

Page 534

An editorial in the "New York Evening American", a New York daily newspaper, attributed the following statement to one Roger Baldwin:

Roger Nash Baldwin

"I am for Socialism, disarmament, and ultimately, for abolishing the state itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the properties class and sole control of those who produce wealth." "An article in the 'New York Times', April 8, 1937, indicated that Baldwin possibly made an acknowledgement of his real purpose and that of the American Civil Liberties Union in behalf of so-called 'civil liberties' in the United States when he said: 'Civil liberties, like democracy, are useful only as tools for change... I am interested to maintain such freedom of agitation as can be won not primarily as a political principle, but as a means of resolving economic conflict with a minimum of violence.'"

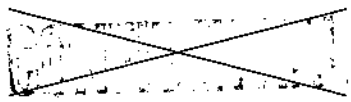
In a statement which appeared in the American Labor Year Book, one Roger Baldwin was extremently critical of the immigration, passport, and naturalization regulations of the United States Government. He said, in part: "Admission is denied not only to anarchists (since 1901) but to any person who believes in the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States... or who disbelieve in organized government."

Page 568

One Roger N. Baldwin listed as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Page 574

One Roger N. Baldwin listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.



Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 582

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union.

Page 689

One Roger N. Baldwin listed as a speaker for the League for Industrial Democracy.

Testimony of Harry Mikuliak, October 20, 1938

Page 1592

One Roger Baldwin spoke at the 3rd Session of the Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland, Ohio, January 5, 1936, regarding leaflets, pamphlets, and literature -- that the lack of funds for "this ammunition prevents us from educating the masses in our fight for peace." "...To work to stop shipments of ammunition, to expose every move toward war and fascism, to resist all military training in schools."

Testimony of Herman Luhrs, (Joint Americanism Committee of the American Legion at Flint, Michigan), October 21, 1938

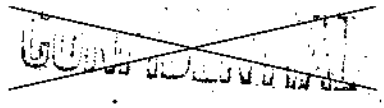
Page 1655

One Roger Baldwin attended meeting held under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy, in Flint, Michigan.

Testimony of J.B. Matthews, November 7, 1938

Page 2177

Matthews presented a copy of the first issue of "Fight" magazine, which contained an article by Roger Baldwin (this publication was the official organ for the League for Peace and Democracy).



Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 2178

Matthews stated Roger Baldwin wrote in a book entitled, "Socialism of Our Times," and quoted Baldwin as saying on page 77 of this book as follows:

"I would rather see violent revolution than none at all"; and also on page 77, "Trade Unionism alone furnishes a class base of revolutionary power for the exploited masses"; on page 80, "You cannot touch militant labor activity anywhere without finding Communist inspiration and participation."

Matthews stated he had been closely associated with Roger Baldwin in organizational work and that they were active in other than the Communist united-front organizations.

Matthews stated that from the above quotations it was clear that Mr. Baldwin was advocating Communism. He read one more quotation:

"Its (Communist Party) main policies center on what are obviously the two greatest issues looking tollabor and Socialist control -- the building up of revolutionary consciousness in the trade unions, and support by western labor of the movements for colonial independence." (Page 80 of the book.)

Testimony of Alice Lee Jemison, November 22, 1938

Page 2448

Roger N. Baldwin, Executive Director of the ACLU, graduate of Harvard, class of 1905, had this to say about himself (in the 30-year class book of that

class) and his activities in the ACLU: "I have continued directing the unpopular fight for the rights of agitation, as Director of the American Civil Liberties Union; I have been to Europe several times, mostly in connection with international radical activities...I am opposed to production for private profit...I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class..."

Testimony of Sam Baron, November 23, 1938, November 28, 1938

Page 2641

Chairman of the Committee read into the record a statement by Roger Baldwin, Executive Director of the ACLU, which appeard in the November, 1933, issue of "Fight", as follows: "For militant tactics against war in the United States, we of the Anti-War Congress must not count upon conscientious objection based upon individual consciences as any force whatever. We must count only upon organized workers, farmers, and their sympathizers among intellectuals, to refuse service to the war machine, to block a declaration of war by the same tactics after it has been declared, and failing that the moment the opportunity comes to refuse to go on with the war.

Historically examined, such mass refusals have always been the prelude to ousting the war government and ushering in revolutionary change. No adequate power can be built to end war, as all its opponents identify themselves with the struggle of those classes which alone can abolish the system of conflicting greeds on which war thrives."

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 2660

Baron testified that Roger N. Baldwin was not a Communist, nor did he follow the Communist line in any particular.

Testimony of Burton A. Gaskill, Grand Sire, Sovereign Grand Lodge of the I.O.O.F, Atlantic City, New Jersey, December 9, 1938

Page 3081

Affidavit of Roger N. Baldwin, for inclusion in the Record of House Committee on Un-American Activities:

"Witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities have attempted to connect me with the Communist Party on the basis of a statement published in a Harvard University Class Book of 1935. From a discussion of my economic views, the single statement, "Communism is the goal," is taken to make it appear that I am a Communist. It is obvious from the text of my statement that the word "Communism" was used in its ordinary dictionary sense to designate the common ownership of property, not the political movement of Communism. "The Full text of the statement dealing with my views which were compressed into a single statement from answers to a questionnaire, is as follows:

"My 'chief aversion' is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I am opposed to the New Deal because it

strives to strengthen and prolong production for private profit. At bottom I am for conserving the full powers of every person on earth by expanding them to their individual limits. Therefore, I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control by those who produce wealth.

"Communist is the goal. It all sums up into one single purpose -- the abolition of the system of dog-eat-dog under which we live, and the substitution of the most effective nonviolence possible of a system of cooperative ownership and use of all wealth."

"For the sake of the record, I may stated that I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party. I could not be a member of that Party under any circumstances, as I am opposed to many of its principles and tactics. I have been criticized publicly over a long course of years for my views by official Communist spokesmen and in Communist publications, although I have worked with Communists, as with Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists, in practical movements for specific reforms.

"...The summary of the testimony published by the committee was so condensed as to make it appear that I support and sympathize with the advocates of violence. The position I took, as indicated by the official record was quite contrary. The American Civil Liberties Union for which I was testifying holds that any utterance not associated with an overt act or an attempted act is within the limits of free speech. That has been sound American doctrine since

the origin of our Constitution. Personally, I am and have been for years a pacifist, wholly disbelieving in any philosophy program or movement commited to the use of violence in any form..."

Testimony of Fred Erwin Beal, former Communist Organizer in Laurence, New Bedford, and Gastonia, October 18, 1939.

Page 6035; 6036; 6037

Beal testified that he wrote one Robert Baldwin, of the ACLU re getting back to America, that Baldwin urged him to come back to the United States of America from Russia, that Baldwin sent some money to the White Star Line in Warsaw so Beal might return. Beal stated he was asked by members of the CP at the Comintern if he didn't know that Roger Baldwin was working for the Department of Justice.

Beal then went on to state that Roger Baldwin had put into the newspapers, "New York Times" especially, the story that Beal insisted upon coming back.

Beal stated he did not think Roger Baldwin was a Communist. He considered Baldwin to be a good friend of his.

Page 6040; 6041

Beal testified that the Comintern wanted him to sign a document denouncing one Roger Baldwin.

Page 6126; 6127

Beal stated that upon his arrival in New York, he got in touch with Roger Baldwin, Director of the ACLU, as Beal had been very much in favor of going to

prison and not leaving the country at all. He found in Roger Baldwin a friend who agreed with him, and, Beal stressed, Roger Baldwin, did not harbor him (Beal was a fugitive -- having jumped bail while Gastonia Case was on appeal) as a fugitive but as a friend who agreed with Beal that Beal should go to prison and carry out his ideals of that period of time. Baldwin took Beal to his camp in New Jersey with the idea in mind that Beal was going to return to North Carolina and begin his sentence.

Beal stated notice was sent to him through Roger Baldwin that representatives of the CP wanted to see him, and that Baldwin took him to his home where Beal met Clarina Michaelson who was sent by the CP to try to urge Beal to return to Soviet Russia.

Page 6135

Beal testified re his second trip to Russia, made at the urging of the CP rather than serve sentence. He stated the wanted to return to the United States for the second time, and cabled Roger Baldwin for aid. This time Baldwin cabled him to "go back east." Beal Managed to return to the United States where he found Roger Baldwin not so friendly. Beal stated that since he was evidently not going to stay over there, Roger Baldwin thought he had better not help Beal out so much the second time.

Testimony of Harry Freeman Ward,
October 23, 1949

Page 6233

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War.

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page 6236

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Arrangements Committee for the United States Congress Against War.

Page 6278

One Roger Baldwin, of New York, listed as a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Testimony of Francis Adams Henson, Consultant on Public Relations, October 24, 1939

Page 6355

Henson stated that he helped to organize the Medical Bureau in Aid of Spanish Democracy, along with one Roger Baldwin and others, in 1936.

Page 6371

Henson stated he was asked by one Roger Baldwin to help the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Refugees.

Appendix 10 (from page 6240)

Page II

Re proceedings of the 2nd U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism, Chicago, Illinois, September 28, 29, 30, 1934. One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Arrangements and National Committees.

Roger Nash Baldwin

Page XVI

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of Organization and Finance Committee at above Congress.

Page XX

One Roger Baldwin reported on the financial condition of the Congress.

Page XXIII

One Roger Baldwin reported for the Organization and Finance Committee.

Page XXV

One Roger Baldwin called on the delegates for a collection.

Page XXVI

One Roger Baldwin gave report of the Presiding and Organization Committee, recommending the National Executive Committee for the coming year.

Page XXVII

One Roger Baldwin listed as a present member of the National Executive Committee.

Testimony of Joseph Tooru Kanazawa, July 2, 1943

Page 9469

One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the Japanese-American Committee for Democracy.

Roger Nash Baldwin

Concerning the Japanese - American Committee for Democracy, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 9490; 9491

Kanazawa stated that he knew one Roger Baldwin, and that Baldwin resigned from the Japanese-American Committee for Democracy because he came to the conclusion that this Committee was controlled by Communists.

House Report Number 2, 76th Congress, 1st Session, January 3, 1939

Page 45

One Roger Baldwin is mentioned as being the author of an article which appeared in "Fight" magazine.

Testimony of Lucien Koch, member of the Ship Building Commission, National War Labor Board, March 29, 1943

Page 3026; 3027

Koch stated he though one Roger Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of Commonwealth College.

Testimony of William Pickens, Principal Defense Securities Specialist, Treasury Department, April 2, 1943.

Page 3311

Pickens mentioned that one Roger Baldwin attended a dinner of the All America Anti-Imperialist League at which Pickens spoke.

Page 3317

Pickens stated he knew -- Baldwin was not a Communist.

Roger Nash Baldwin

Testimony of Robert Morss Lovett, Government Secretary, Virgin Islands, Department of the Interior, April 16, 1943

Page 3502

Lovett stated one Roger Baldwin was the prime mover in the matter of the Garland Fund or American Fund for Public Service.

Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area -- Part 7

(Based on testimony of Manning Johnson)

Page 2173

(Manning Johnson Exhibit 11 -- "Fight,", December, 1935, page 2). One Roger Baldwin listed as a member of the National Executive Committee, American League Against War and Fascism.

Page 2192

One Roger Baldwin listed as a speaker at Barbusse Memorial Service at the Third U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism, held at Cleveland, Ohio (from Manning Johnson Exhibit 13 -- "Fight", February, 1936, pages 8 and 9.)

Page 2193

At the Congress mentioned in page 2192 above, one Roger Baldwin presented the 10 point program considered by the war and fascism commission.

Roger Nash Baldwin

Testimony of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, 83rd Congress, 1st Session, July 21, 1953:

Page 3632

Bishop Oxnam stated he resigned from his post as editorial advisor of the Protestant Digest because Roger Baldwin of the ACLU told him that magazine had Communist support. He stated that Roger Baldwin was a man who knew that whole field intimately and that he resigned because of what Baldwin had told him.

Concerning the Protestant Digest, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Page 3656

Bishop Oxnam stated he thought Mr. Roger Baldwin led a movement to insist that no Communists be allowed in the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Concerning the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, a characterization appears in the appendix hereto.

Roger Nash Baldwin

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on the name Roger N. Baldwin on September 30, 1963, by Investigative Clerk [redacted] for the period May 12, 1958 to September 30, 1963, reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source: b6 b7C

Roger N. Baldwin wrote the foreward to a pamphlet published by the American Civil Liberties Union, New York, entitled "Violence in Peekskill - A Report of the Violations of Civil Liberties at Two Paul Robeson Concerts Near Peekskill, New York, 1949".

Concerning Paul Robeson the following is set forth:

> The "New York Post and Home News", a New York newspaper, issue of July 14, 1949, contained an article entitled "Robeson Wants To Be A Stalin, Party Backs Him, House Told". This article stated that an admitted former member of the Communist Party National Committee described Paul Robeson as "a"member of the CP for many years". The article continued that Manning Johnson, testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee stated "Paul Robeson has delusions of grandeur. He is desirous of becoming the black Stalin and the Communist Party is encouraging that." The article stated that Johnson told the Committee that he had been a CP member up to 1940 and during his years of Communist membership, had frequently met Robeson in Party Headquarters, "going to or coming from" meetings with top Communist leaders. Johnson stated that Robeson's Party membership was kept secret from even rank and file Communists.

On the reverse side of a Sobell Committee Handbill; "June 19, 1953 The Moment That Shook The World", the name of Roger Baldwin was listed as "among those who have urged Sobell's release on many grounds."

Roger Nash Baldwin

Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League for Rights of Man, was among those who participated in a Sobell discussion meeting held in New York City on May 24, 1960.

An advertisement appeared in the "New York Times" of June 20, 1960, which stated that Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League for Rights of Man, had sent a message to be presented at a meeting to discuss the case of Morton Sobell. This meeting was scheduled to be held at the Community Church of New York on May 24, 1960.

On page 12 of the November 6, 1960 edition of "The Worker", an article appeared which stated that Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League for Rights of Man, was a sponsor of a Washington, D.C. meeting held from November 19 through 21, 1960, under the auspices of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

In the Program for "Freedom Weekend", November 19 through 21, 1960, there appeared a statement that Roger Baldwin of the International League for Rights of Man was a signer of a statement opposing continued imprisonment of Morton Sobell. This statement was distributed under the auspices of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

Also in this program, the name of Roger N. Baldwin of New York City was listed as one of 48 sponsors who invited "your participation in a National Appeal for Freedom" for Sobell.

On page 9 of the December 3, 1960 edition of the "People's World", there appeared an article which stated in part that Roger Baldwin was one of the sponsors of a conference which was held in Washington, D.C. to formulate plans to try to secure the release of Morton Sobell.

"The People's World" is a West Coast Communist Newspaper.

Roger Nash Baldwin

On page A-3 of the December 20, 1960 edition of the "Evening Star", a Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, there appeared an advertisement asking President Eisenhower to release Morton Sobell during the traditional Christmas ammesty period. Among the names appearing as signers was one Roger Baldwin.

Pages 22 to 26 of the November, 1958 issue of "Jewish Currents" contained a review of Don Peretz's book "Israel and the Palestine Arabs", published by Middle East Institute, which book contained a foreward by one Roger Baldwin.

Concerning "Jewish Currents", a characterization is contained in the Appendix hereto.

One Roger Baldwin was among 13 individuals who signed an undated public statement "acting as individuals" protesting action by the House Committee on Un-American Activities when it subpoenaed youths who had attended World Youth Festivals.

Concerning World Youth Festivals, a characterization is contained in the Appendix hereto.

One Roger N. Baldwin was the author of an article contained within a pamphlet entitled "Twenty-five Years of Industrial Unionism", published by the Industrial Workers of the World.

Roger Baldwin, former head of the American Civil Liberties Union was quoted by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in a pamphlet, "What About Communism?" as having said: "A superior loyalty to a foreign government disqualifies a citizen for service to ours."

On page five of the February 18, 1961 edition of "The People's World", there appeared an article which stated that Roger Baldwin had sent a message to the funeral services of Eugene Dennis.

Roger Nash Baldwin

On page 3 of the May 14, 1961 edition of "The Worker", an article appeared which stated that Roger Baldwin, Director Emeritus, American Civil Liberties Union was the signer of a letter protesting "the attempted US invasion of Cuba" and demanding "a ban on any future military intervention."

On page 3 of the April 10, 1962, Midweek Edition of "The Worker", there appeared an article which stated that Roger Baldwin, representing the ACLU was among those present at a news conference announcing that a petition signed by 550 American, seeking a pardon for Junius I. Scales had been sent to President Kennedy.

Concerning Junius Irving Scales it is noted that Scales was sentenced to six years imprisonment on April 22, 1955 in United States District Court, Middle District, North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina for violation of the membership provisions of the Smith Act of 1940.

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"ALL-AMERICA ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "All America Anti-Imperialist League."

"1. Cited as a 'Communist-front organization.'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re
Harry Bridges, May 28,1942,p.12.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "American Committee For Struggle Against War":

> "1. Cited as a Communist front which was formed in response to directives from a World Congress Against War held in Amsterdam in August 1932 under the auspices of the Communist International. Avowed Communist Donald Henderson was executive director of the American Committee.
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,pp.47 and 119.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY"

"1. Cited as a Communist front advocating collective security against the Fascist aggressors prior to the signing of the Stalin Hitler pact. The American League for Peace and Democracy was formed at the above congress.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p.105.)

"2. Cited as 'among the more conspicuous Communist fronts that have defied brazenly the interests of the United States and other freedom-loving nations whenever they have been in conflict with the interests of Soviet Russia and world Communism.'
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p.67.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION (AFFSE)"

According to an article appearing in the May 13, 1957 issue of the "Daily Worker", page 1, column 2, A.J. Muste, well known pacifist, announced the formation of the AFFSE. According to this article, the American Forum seeks to promote "study and serious untrammeled political discussions among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives....however deep and bitter their differences may have been."

This article reflects that a forty-member national committee had been established and, according to Muste, these persons serve as individuals and not as delegated representatives of any group.

Muste, according to this article, stated that the American Forum is not a membership organization and does not propose to promote united action by various parties or groups, mergers or new organizations.

The article reflects that among other purposes the AFFSE seeks to call attention to the various publications of the groups whose people engage in discussion; to publish bulletins or pamphlets; to organize regional and national conferences; contribute to the building of new morale and ethic, a spirit of fair play, labor militancy, determination and hope among the progressive and radical forces in this country.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist daily newspaper which suspended operation on January 13, 1958.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "American Friends of Spanish Democracy":

> "1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations *** and as *** American Friends of Spanish Democracy.'
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 of the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,p.82.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "American Friends of the Chinese People":

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944, pp.40 and 147.)

"2. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' organization.
(Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp.145 and 146)."

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE (GARLAND FUND)"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "American Fund For Public Service (Garland Fund)":

> "1. 'Established in 1922 *** it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises' such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the Party, served on the board of directors of the Fund.
>
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

1.
"AMERICAN STUDENT UNION"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "American Student Union":

"1. Cited as a Communist front which was 'the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists' in Columbus, Ohio in 1935.[1] The Young Communist League took credit for the creation of the organization, which offered free trips to the Soviet Union. It claimed to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2, January 3, 1939, p.80; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p.9, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.16; and in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.159.)

"2. Cited as subversive and un-American.
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p.3.)

"1 Date incorrectly appears as 1937 in House Report 2 of January 3, 1939."

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"BOOK UNION"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Book Union":

> "1. 'Distributors of Communist literature.'
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,p.96.)"

[redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

1. APPENDIX

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE
FOR MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon MORTON SOBELL, 'the ROSENBERGS' codefendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a Communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then as the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'. . . ."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In March, 1955, the current name, "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell," first appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company, on April 16, 1963, lists the "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" (CSJMS) as being located at 940 Broadway, New York, New York.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Roger Nash Baldwin

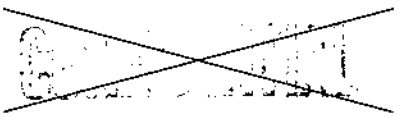
APPENDIX

1.
"CONSUMERS' NATIONAL FEDERATION"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Consumers' National Federation".

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,p.155.)"

[redacted]



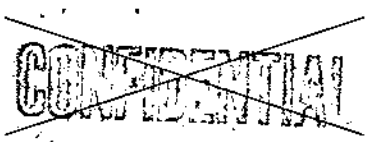
Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"FEDERATED PRESS"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Federated Press":

> "1. Cited as a Communist-controlled organization financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises.
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,pp.76,143,and 147.)"



Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"FIGHT"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Fight":

> "1. Cited as the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, later known as the American League for Peace and Democracy.
>
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,pp.113 and 128; also cited in Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25,1942,p.15.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"FRATERNAL OUTLOOK"

"1. Cited as a publication of the International Workers Order and 'among typical examples of the Communist press and publications.'
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp.49 and 225.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

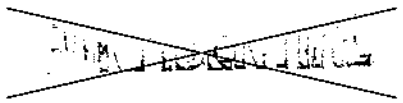
Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade":

> "1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above Communist-front organization.
>
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, pp. 82 and 125; also cited in Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 9.)"



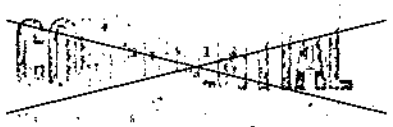
Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"FRONTIER FILMS"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersde Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Frontier Films".

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,pp.49,83, and 147.)"



Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS"

"1. Among a 'maze of organizations' which were 'spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1115 on the Civil Rights Congress, November 17, 1941, originally released September 2,1947,p.3.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

I.
"JAPANESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY"

"1. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' organization. (Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2,1952,p.146.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

"JEWISH CURRENTS,"
Formerly known as "Jewish Life"

"Jewish Life" for October, 1957, announced that after the October issue, and with the next issue to be published in January, 1958, the magazine was changing its name to "Jewish Currents," because of the claim to the name "Jewish Life" by the magazine "Orthodox Jewish Life."

The May, 1963, issue reported that "Jewish Currents" is published by Jewish Currents, Inc., Room 601, 22 East 17th Street, New York City.

Concerning "Jewish Life," the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, dated December 1, 1961, and prepared by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, stated:

> "(1) Cited as a Communist-front which 'first appeared in November, 1946, as a monthly published by the Morning Freiheit Association, publishers of the Yiddish Communist daily, Morning Freiheit. . . . The first issue contained this announcement of policy: Jewish Life dedicates itself to strengthening the friendship of the Jewish people with the Soviet Union. . . .'
>
> "Its Editor, LOUIS HARAP, has been identified as a Communist in sworn testimony.
>
> "(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 93.)"

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"JOINT COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE"

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p.335.)"

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"KOREAN INDEPENDENCE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Korean Independence":

> "1. A bilingual Korean-English newspaper published in Los Angeles since approximately 1943, which is 'exclusively a vehicle for Communist Party propaganda.'
>
> 'The newspaper is circulated among persons of Korean descent for the purpose of popularizing the policies of the Soviet Union, the North Korean Government, and the Communist conspiracy in America.'
>
> (Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1955, House Report 1648, January 17, 1956, originally released January 11, 1956, p. 27.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"LABOR DEFENDER"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Labor Defender":

> "1. A 'Communist magazine.'
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.18.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY"

The following is noted concerning the League for Industrial Democracy (LID):

The report of the Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Volume I, page 683, reflects that in 1905, the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, later known as the League for Industrial Democracy, had been organized for the purpose of promoting and creating interest in Socialism among college men and women, graduates and undergraduates.

Walter F. Steele, Editor of the "National Republic", when testifying before the Dies Committee, stated that the League for Industrial Democracy was the main propaganda and agitation agency of the Socialists.

The March 25, 1955, issue of "USA - An American Bulletin of Fact and Opinion", on page 1, relates "The League for Industrial Democracy does not want public attention drawn to the fact that from 1905 until 1920, the organization was called 'The Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society.' The motive for this main change was a strong one.. Even in 1921, at the tender age of 16, the organization's record was so bad, and public reaction against alien ratification was so strong, that the members found it wise to adopt a collective alias.....

"Under the new name, the LID is Socialist, and whenever the old-time members of the Executive Board found it expedient, they formed a united front with Communists and pro-Communists."

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"LEAGUE OF YOUNG SOUTHERNERS"

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 334 and 336.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"LIBERATOR"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Liberator":

"1. A 'Communist magazine.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.18.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"MEDICAL BUREAU AND NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy":

> "1. 'In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.' Among these was the above. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,p.82.)"

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"MEDICAL BUREAU TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy":

> "1. Cited as one in a 'series of Communist enterprises which have dealt with Spain and the Spanish Civil War. Directly related, organizationally or historically, with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee ***.'
>
> (Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2233, June 7,1946,p.27.)"

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"MICHIGAN CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Michigan Civil Rights Federation":

> "1. Cited as a subversive and Communist organization which has been succeeded by and now operates as the Michigan Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress.
> (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, June 1, 1948, and September 24, 1948.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

1. APPENDIX

"MORNING FREIHEIT"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "Morning Freiheit":

"Morning Freiheit

"1. The Communist International 'subsidized * * * the founding of the CPUSA's newspaper, Freiheit.'
(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 51-101, Modified Report with respect to the Communist Party of the United States of America, December 18, 1956, p. 159.)

"2. A 'Communist Yiddish daily.'
(Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.)

"3. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest organs of Communist propaganda in this country for almost a quarter of a century.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 75.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO AID VICTIMS OF GERMAN FASCISM"

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p.124.)

"2. Among organizations, created or controlled by the Communist Party or part of a united front with the party, which supported the First United States Congress Against War. The congress was openly led by the Communists.
(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 462 and 466.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL INSURANCE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "National Congress For Unemployment And Social Insurance":

"1. Cited as a Communist front, held January 5,6,7,1935, in Washington, D.C., and headed by Herbert Benjamin, leading Communist.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,pp.94 and 116.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"NATIONAL COUNCIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION"

"1. Cited as a Communist front 'organized for the purpose of attracting many good citizens..... who are against war.'
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p.319.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

1. APPENDIX

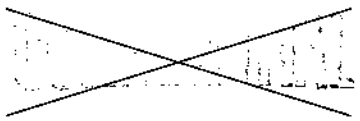
"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

"1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

CONFIDENTIAL



Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"NATIONAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE AGAINST HEARST"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "National People's Committee Against Hearst":

> "1. A 'subsidiary' organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy.
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.16.)"

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE"

"1. Cited as the Communists' front organization for students, about which Earl Browder, former general secretary of the Communist Party, said, 'From the beginning it has been clearly revolutionary in its program and activities.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,p.119; also cited in Annual Report, H.R.2, January 3,1939,p.80.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

I.
"NEW MASSES"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "New Masses":

"1. 'New Masses, a weekly publication, *** was an officially controlled organ of the (Communist) Party which dealt principally with problems in the arts and sciences from the Party point of view.'
(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 108-53, Report and Order with respect to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, December 21,1955,p.8.)

"2. A 'Communist periodical.'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24,1942,p.7688.)

"3. 'Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party *** whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service' (Garland Fund).
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,pp.48 and 75; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 2, January 3,1939,p.80; and House Report 2277, June 25,1942,pp.4 and 21.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

1.
"NEW YORK TOM MOONEY COMMITTEE"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "New York Tom Mooney Committee":

> "1. Cited as a Communist front. 'For many years, the Communist Party organized widespread agitation around the Mooney case, and drew its members and followers into the agitation.'
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.154.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"PEOPLE'S CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY"

"1. The above, 'meeting in Pittsburgh in November, 1937, spawned the American League for Peace and Democracy.'
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p.150.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"PROTESTANT DIGEST"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Protestant Digest":

> "1. 'A magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal.'
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activiites, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,p.48.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"ROBERT MARSHALL FOUNDATION"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Robert Marshall Foundation":

> "1. 'This fund of more than a million dollars, which originated with the rich man's son whose name it bears, has been one of the principal sources for the money with which to finance the Communist Party's fronts generally in recent years.'
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,p.50.)"

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

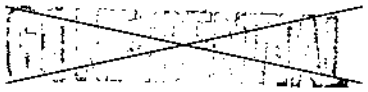
APPENDIX

1.
"RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION FARMS, INC."

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.":

> "1. Cited as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor. It received funds from the Garland Fund.
>
> (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 76.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

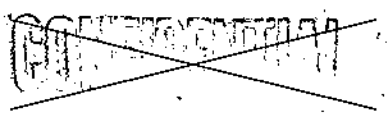


Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"SOVIET PICTORIAL"

"1. 'Soviet Pictorial, carrying glorified photographs of life in the Soviet Union, was a publication of the Friends of Soviet Russia.'
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p.243.)"



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

1

APPENDIX

"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning "Soviet Russia Today":

"1. 'Soviet Russia Today commenced as the official organ of Friends of the Soviet Union. *** It and its successor (New World Review) have a continuous record of over 22 years of uninterrupted publication and admittedly have operated in respondent's (the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.) interest and are used as educational media by respondent.' 'Jessica Smith was *** shown to be long-time member and functionary in the (Communist) Party, as well as in the Party-controlled Friends of the Soviet Union. She has been continuously the editor of Soviet Russia Today and its successor New World Review for years.' She has also been on the Board of Directors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., since it was incorporated in 1943 or shortly thereafter.
(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No.104-53, Report and Order with respect to the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, Inc., February 7, 1956, pp. 20 and 22; see also pp. 7 and 9.)

"2. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944, p.167; also cited in Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.21.)

"3. Cited as a 'Communist-front publication.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women,April 26, 1950, originally released October 23,1949,p.108.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

2
"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

"4. Cited as a 'Communist-controlled' publication. (Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pp. 96 and 146.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roger Nash Baldwin

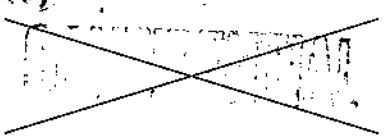
APPENDIX

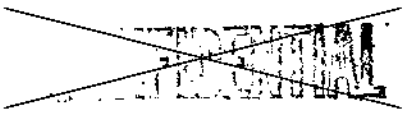
I.
"UNITED STATES CONGRESS AGAINST WAR"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "United States Congress Against War":

"1. 'The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. *** The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union *** Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program.'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p.7683.)

"2. 'Convened in St. Nicholas Arena, New York City, on September 29, 1933 *** it was completely under the control of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was a leading figure in all its deliberations. In his report to the Communist International, Browder stated: 'The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly.'"
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.119; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p.11; and House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.14.)"



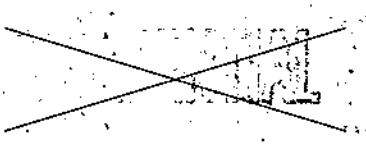


Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"VANGUARD PRESS"

"1. Cited as a 'Communist enterprise' which was established by the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) with a donation of capital amounting to $139,000. 'A series of propaganda books on Russia, edited by Jerome Davis, was one of the first large publishing projects of the Vanguard Press.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29,1944,pp.75 and 76.)"



Roger Nash Baldwin [redacted]

APPENDIX

1.
"VOICE OF LABOR"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., sets forth the following concerning "Voice of Labor":

> "1. 'Further dissension within the left-wing group (of the Socialist Party) led to the resignations of Reed, MacAlpine, and Gitlow from the staff of the Revolutionary Age, and a new paper, The Voice of Labor, was launched on August 15,1919.'
> (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1694 on Organized Communism in the United States, May,28,1954, originally released August 19,1953,p.25; also cited in House Report 209 on The Communist Party of the United States as an Agent of a Foreign Power,'April 1,1947,p.41.)"

[redacted]

APPENDIX

1.
"WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC."

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "Workers Library Publishers, Inc.":

"1. 'Workers Library Publishers, Inc., is established as a (Communist) Party publishing organization which also operated out of Party headquarters and was succeeded through reorganization by New Century Publishers.'
(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 108-53, Report and Order with respect to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, December 21,1955,p.8.)

"2. An 'official Communist Party publishing agency.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29,1944,p.8; also cited in Annual Report, House Report 2277,June 25,1942,p.18.)

"3. 'Official Communist Party, U.S.A., publishing house.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1920 on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence, May 11,1948,pp.72 and 80.)"

Roger Nash Baldwin

APPENDIX

1.
"WORLD YOUTH FESTIVALS (1949 and 1959)"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., sets forth the following concerning "World Youth Festivals (1949 and 1959)":

"1. The American Youth for a Free World 'cooperated with' the World Federation of Democratic Youth 'to promote' the World Youth Festival held August 14-28,1949 in Budapest Hungary.

A Seventh World Youth Festival, held in Vienna, July 26-August 4,1959, was 'Communist-arranged.' Testimony received by the Committee stated the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students set up an International Preparatory Committee to run the Vienna Youth Festival.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 378 on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, pp.77 and 78; and Annual Report for 1960, House Report 2237, January 2, 1961,pp. 44 and 45.)"

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/CE
ON 11-04-2009

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

OCT 14 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title: Roger Nash Baldwin, Member of the "Committee of 100" In Support of The National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Incorporated.

~~Character~~

Reference: ~~is made~~ to the memorandum, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1 - Mr. Harrington

November 16, 1959

Legal Attache, Madrid

Director, FBI (100-7060)

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM
LINCOLN BRIGADE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-76 BY SP8 DTJ/kp

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a self-explanatory airtel from New York dated 11-9-59 concerning a contemplated trip of Roger Baldwin to Spain.

Baldwin, former president of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), has been connected with ACLU since 1917. Although Baldwin has been the subject of limited inquiries by the Bureau, a complete investigation of his activities has not been made. The annual reports of the ACLU reaffirm its anticommunist and anti-fascist policy and maintain that it will defend the civil liberties of all persons regardless of any political party, organization, denomination, race, or nationality to which a person may belong. The ACLU has never been investigated by the Bureau.

No investigation should be conducted concerning Baldwin or his activities while in Spain. Any information coming to your attention concerning Baldwin's activities while in Spain, especially in connection with captioned organization, should be furnished to the Bureau.

Enclosure

(1) - 100-49565 - (Roger Baldwin)
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

JTH:mar
(6)

YELLOW DUPLICATE
MAILED
58 NOV 23 1959

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL COPY FILED

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/CF
ON 11-04-2009

11/9/59

AIRTEL Confidential

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OR Classification
DATE 7/31/78 JSP Ltr

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-7060)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-2545)

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM
LINCOLN BRIGADE
IS-C; ISA - 50

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

b2

[redacted] reported on 11/6/59, that ARNOLD JOHNSON (CPUSA Legislative Director), was on that date in contact with JOE BRANDT (N.J. CP functionary). BRANDT stated that he is trying to find a method of getting to ROGER BALDWIN (Director ACLU), who is leading a delegation to Spain, in connection with the arrest of some outstanding Spanish Jew. BRANDT further informed JOHNSON that the "Vets" (VALB) would like to get to BALDWIN before he departs for Spain.

JOHNSON stated that it is easy to reach BALDWIN, and that BRANDT can call BALDWIN and tell him that he (JOHNSON) suggested the call. JOHNSON further

4-Bureau (100-7060) (RM)
(1-100-49565) (ROGER N. BALDWIN)
1-Newark (100-38042) (JOSEPH BRANDT) (Info) (RM)
1-New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
1-New York (100-10159) (ACLU) (41)
1-New York (100-8424) (ROGER BALDWIN) (424)
1-New York (100-47211) (STEVE NELSON) (415)
1-New York (100-2545) (41)

100-49565-
NOT RECORDED
70 NOV 18 1959

RGS:rmv
(11)

Classified by SP3AT/sab 11-4-09 266251
Declassify on: CADR

Classifying by 12/69
Exempt from GDS, Category 3
Date of Declassification 7/31/78

Confidential

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-2545

stated that it "sometimes" helps to mention my name. BRANDT indicated that "sometimes" is not good enough, and that "we" want to be sure, as "we" have a proposition for him. BRANDT stated "we" want him (BALDWIN) to visit (U) some of "our prisoners," and then we want to organize a mass meeting for him when he returns, so that he can report.

BRANDT further stated that he wanted to be sure that BALDWIN doesn't "recoil." BRANDT indicated that neither he (BRANDT) or STEVE NELSON are going. (U) "We" (VALB) agreed that none of us should go, except a "few guys," who are not too well known.

JOHNSON stated that BALDWIN will not "recoil" at that, but that it would be better if he (BRANDT) did go, as he could then determine exactly what is transpiring. JOHNSON further stated that he feels sure that BALDWIN will respond to BRANDT's call, because of the fact that he (JOHNSON) and BALDWIN have sort of a running agreement. JOHNSON explained that BALDWIN recently referred an "Indian (U) student" to him, who had a question concerning civil rights, and the Negro people. JOHNSON stated that he always sees BALDWIN at his home, the address of which is 282 W. 11th St., NYC.

BRANDT indicated that he would call BALDWIN and say, "we are from the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. We read that you are going to Spain, and (U) want to talk to you about something important." BRANDT stated that he would have "the guys" call BALDWIN tomorrow (11/7/59), as he may be leaving for Spain next week.

(U) JOHNSON stated that he believes that BALDWIN will welcome all the advance information he can get on exactly that point.

Above furnished for information.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 3-19-64

FROM : D. C. Morrell

SUBJECT: AMELIE S. ROTHSCHILD
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
NEW YORK CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 5TH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-76 BY [illegible]

Captioned individual wrote on March 17th and stated that a book was to be presented to Roger Nash Baldwin at a party to be held for him at the residence of Mrs. Leonard Bernstein. This is in connection with his 80th birthday, and to make the celebration meaningful, personal messages from his "good friends" from all over the world are being requested. She states she feels sure the Director will be proud of Baldwin's great contributions in the international field of civil liberties, and she hopes that he will send a message as soon as possible to be placed in the gift book.

Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles. Mrs. Leonard Bernstein cannot be identified in Bufiles on the basis of information supplied, but she may be the wife of the prominent musician and orchestra conductor who was the subject of a security investigation by the Bureau from 1951 to 1958. He was connected in some way with 13 organizations designated by the Attorney General or cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Baldwin was at one time on the mailing list to receive the Uniform Crime Reports bulletin but was deleted when mail to him was returned. He has been long associated with the American Civil Liberties Union, and he is a political reformer who has stated that philosophically he is an anarchist though he does not work at it. He has had associations with numerous organizations cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Baldwin has written the Bureau on numerous occasions criticizing our cooperation with local law enforcement officers. The Bureau replied cordially to his correspondence in each instance.

1 MAR 26 1964

In December 1941, Baldwin spoke to the Director in connection with an article "The New Republic" had asked him to prepare. Baldwin stated he had sent a man out and told him to "get all the dirt you could on the FBI" but that after two weeks the man came back with almost nothing.

100-445655
NOT RECORDED
46 MAR 27 1964

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

1 - Mr. DeLoach
JH:ncr (3)

5 9 APR 2 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-109060

Morrell to DeLoach memo
RE: Amelie S. Rothschild

It does not appear that Baldwin has been a close friend of the Director. In view of the controversial nature of the American Civil Liberties Union, it would not be appropriate to send one of its acknowledged leaders over the years a congratulatory message which might, in effect, indicate the Director's endorsement of this organization. This is undoubtedly a form-type letter sent to a great number of persons by those interested in obtaining messages for this book. It is believed that ignoring the communication would be better than attempting to send any sort of acknowledgment.

RECOMMENDATION:

That no acknowledgment be made.

I concur.

New York Civil Liberties Union

Affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010 • ORegon 5-5990

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Victor S. Gettner
Chairman
Maxwell Dane
Vice-chairman
Robert M. Stein
Treasurer
Nanette Dembitz
Emanuel Redfield
Counsel
Sheldon Ackley
Newell G. Alford, Jr.
George Backer
Charles Ballon
Shirley F. Boden
William J. Butler
Helen L. Buttenwieser
Robert L. Carter
John A. Davis
Martin Dworkis
Henry M. Foley
Osmond K. Fraenkel
Charles Frankel
Helen M. Harris
Arnold Hoffman
Trude W. Lash
James A. Lee
Ephraim S. London
Dwight Macdonald
Robert B. McKay
Monrad G. Paulsen
Carl Rachlin
Henry Seiffin
Charles A. Siepmann
Judith P. Vladeck

NATIONAL OFFICERS
Board of Directors
Ernest Angell
Chairman
Ralph S. Brown
Sophia Yarnall Jacobs
Vice-chairmen
B. W. Huebsch
Treasurer
Dorothy Kenyon
Secretary
Edward J. Ennis
Osmond K. Fraenkel
General Counsel
Morris Ernst
John F. Finerty
John Haynes Holmes
Norman Thomas
Directors Emeriti
John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director

National Committee
Francis Biddle
Chairman
Pearl S. Buck
Howard F. Burns
Albert Sprague Coolidge
J. Frank Dobie
Lloyd K. Garrison
Frank P. Graham
Palmer Hoyt
Karl Menninger
Loren Miller
Morris H. Rubin
Lillian E. Smith
Vice-chairmen
Roger N. Baldwin
International Work Adviser

March 17, 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-20-86 BY SP8 DTJ/pg 26625/DC

Dear Mr. Hoover:

No celebration for Roger Nash Baldwin will be meaningful to him without personal messages from his good friends from all over the world. To make his eighties birthday party a success, we hope you will send a personal message to him to this office to be included in a book of mementos.

This book will be presented to him by Mrs. Leonard Bernstein at the party to be held at the Bernstein residence. Mrs. Bernstein, Chairman of the Women's Division of NYCLU, is being assisted by an active committee conducting an extensive program of education on civil liberties. The proceeds from this event will help to broaden the scope of this newly developed program.

Although you may have written a message to Mr. Baldwin upon his retiring from his active role in the American Civil Liberties Union, I am sure you are proud of his great contributions in the international field of civil liberties since 1950 with the International League for the Rights of Man and with the United Nations.

We hope you will send us your message as soon as posible so that it may be placed in his gift book.

Sincerely,

Amelie S. Rothschild

Amelie S. Rothschild
Associate Director

100-495685
NOT RECORDED
46 MAR 27 1964

MAR 26 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-1-28-1069

Rothschild - memo 3/17/64 re Baldwin 80th birthday

T - memo to Mr. Tolson memo 3-19-64 J.A.H.

(56)

FBI

Date: 10/14/63

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (61-3176)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-7629-Sub D)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
IS - C
(OO: NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-86 BY [illegible]

ReBuairtel 8/15/63, NYairtels 8/28/63, 10/4/63 and 10/11/63.

Enclosed are three copies of a LHM and one copy of a cover memorandum, as well as an additional copy of each for the Bureau file, where known, on the following individuals:

Roger Nash Baldwin
[redacted]
Hubert T. Delany
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Osmond K. Fraenkel
Frank Porter Graham
John Haynes Holmes
Sidney Hook

LHM are outstanding on the following names:

Freda Kirchwey - Awaiting additional information from HCUA records.

A. Philip Randolph - Awaiting additional information from HCUA records.

[redacted] - Minneapolis by airtel 10/10/63 advised [redacted] is employed and resides in NYC. Also awaiting results of HCUA check requested by Minneapolis airtel 10/10/63.

LHM on the above three names will be submitted upon receipt of necessary information from WFO.

1 ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc-8)(RM)
1 - WFO (100-2941)(RM)
1 - New York (100-7629-Sub D)#41
AEC:IM
(6)

100-11951-5
NOT RECORDED
98 OCT 15 1963
97 OCT 15 1963

ENCL 8 MICH.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

64 NOV 8 1963

OCT 15 11 03 AM '63

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b6
b7C

4-22 (Rev. 1-22-60)

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Bra[illegible]

2/5, 1965

- [ ] Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
- [ ] Service Unit - Room 6524
- [ ] Forward to File Review
- [ ] Attention
- [x] Return to [redacted] 4264 b6 b7C

Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

- [ ] Regular Request (Analytical Search)
- [ ] All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
- [ ] Subversive References Only
- [ ] Nonsubversive References Only
- [x] Main ~~& Summary~~ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

- [ ] Restricted to Locality of
- [ ] Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
- [ ] Buildup [ ] Variations

Subject Roger Baldwin
Birthdate & Place
Address

Localities

R# Date 2/5 Searcher Initials

Prod.

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
	100-49565	1
	61-167	
	Roger N. (Bud)	
mf	47-10206	
	100-49565-57 Summary	11-3-52
	Roger Nash (Bud)	
	100-49565-78 Summary	10-21-59
	-69 Sum	10-31-58
	40-31996-1 Summary	5-5-42

Approx 1000 See refs not listed

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-20-86 BY [redacted] SDJ/ap

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-20-96 BY 26625 SP1 LTL/mp

February 9, 1965

BY LIAISON

b6
b7C

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

Mrs. Mildred Stegall has requested FBI name checks on approximately 130 individuals. Set forth below are the results of the completed portion of this request.

The central files of the FBI, as well as the fingerprint files of the FBI Identification Division, contain no pertinent information or arrest data on the following individuals based upon the background information provided in this name check inquiry:

[redacted]

[redacted]

1 - Mr. Belmont (Sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. DeLoach (Sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Rosen (Sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Mohr (Sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Gale (Sent with cover memo)

NOTE: See M. A. Jones to DeLoach Memo of 2-3-65, captioned "Name Check Requests for White House." JMM:blh (10)

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

69 MAR 10 1965

RECORDED

ORIGINAL FILED

Honorable [illegible] Watson

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Attached are separate memoranda setting forth the results of information in FBI files, as well as a check of the fingerprint files of the FBI Identification Division, on the following individuals mentioned in this name check request, further identified as follows:

[redacted]

Roger Baldwin

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures (40)

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 11-04-2009

~~SECRET~~

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR CLASSIFICATION ACTION

February 10, 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
Classified by SP4 SJ/lcc
Declassify on: OADR 9-22-86

ROGER BALDWIN Summary
282 WEST 11TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10014

Roger Baldwin has been described as a pacifist, a political reformer and an anarchist. He has been associated with the American Civil Liberties Union in a leadership capacity for many years.

Baldwin never has been investigated by the FBI but information in FBI files reveals he has been associated or in contact with a number of leading members of the Communist Party, USA, and numerous organizations cited under provisions of Executive Order 10450. Among these organizations are:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
American League Against War and Fascism
American Youth Congress
Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder
International Workers Order
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
American League for Peace and Democracy
Friends of the Soviet Union

FBI fingerprint files contain no arrest record identifiable with Baldwin based on the background data furnished with this name check request. (100-49565)

NOTE: Enclosure to letter to Marvin Watson, White House.

DWB:mm
(10)

~~SECRET~~ SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR RADIO DISSEMINATION.

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE 100-49565-71

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Spotlight On:

ACLU's Roger Baldwin, Who 'Puts Things Right'

BY CARTER VAN LOPIK
Free Press Staff Writer

RIGHT or wrong, the American Civil Liberties Union has never been afraid to stick its neck out.

The organization—which most people consider ultra-liberal — will cut its 44th birthday cake in Detroit next Saturday and honor its 80-year-old founder, Roger Baldwin, a man who still trots to get places.

"Liberal, hell," said Ernest Mazey, executive director of the Michigan chapter. "In a sense, we are one of the most conservative groups going. We stick to the Constitution and that's it."

Since its founding, ACLU has defended civil liberties for everyone from Black Shirts to those who wear no shirts—or pants either.

Causes have included Communists and Fascists, and defenses have been offered for such not-so-flaming liberals as Gerald L. K. Smith, Senator Taft, Henry Ford and Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett.

"I always felt you had to defend people you disliked and feared as well as those you admired," says Baldwin, who once spent a year in jail because he refused to be conscripted in World War I.

* * *

THE ACLU was born of the American Union Against Militarism, which established a Civil Liberties Bureau that later became independent. It was reorganized in 1920 as the ACLU.

The founding fathers were a mixture of radicals, pacifists and rich eccentrics.

Boston-born and Harvard-educated, Baldwin was variously a social worker, a writer, in finance and banking before settling on a career as a do-gooder.

He went to St. Louis, where he was the head of the probation department in juvenile court and helped organize the National Probation Association.

After his prison stint for his "uncompromising opposition to the principle of conscription of life by the State," Baldwin worked as a laborer and a restaurant cook before devoting full time to ACLU.

* * *

BALDWIN'S determination and energy kept the union alive in the 20s. In the first year, he fought the deportation of aliens of radical belief, defended labor's right to organize and the rights of the old Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World.)

● In 1925, an ACLU team headed by Clarence Darrow went to Dayton, Tenn., to oppose William Jennings Bryan and defend John T. Scopes for teaching the theory of evolution.

The trial played a major part in ending a serious government threat to freedom of thought and academic liberty.

● The next year, in Passaic, N.J., the ACLU succeeded in enjoining the sheriff from interfering with meetings of employes called in a year-long textile strike.

● Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti died in 1927 for a crime committed seven years earlier. The ACLU fought for their lives, convinced that they were being prosecuted for their anarchist views.

* * *

● THE YEAR 1931 brought the famous Scottsboro, (Alabama) case in which nine Negro boys were convicted and sentenced to death for raping two white girl hoboes on a freight train. ACLU representatives collected facts and arranged appeal, though the case was taken over by the Communist-led International Labor Defense.

Retrial of the case resulted in long prison terms and the last of the "boys" was released in 1950.

● Acting through the ACLU, 41 distinguished citizens protested the 1932 eviction of the so-called Bonus Expeditionary Force from Washington. The Army used tear gas on men, women and children in violation of the right of assembly.

● In 1933, the Union backed the admission to the United States of James Joyce's "Ulysses" in an historic anti-censorship case.

Even the famous cases are too numerous to mention. The Union defended Henry Ford's right of free speech in 1937 before the National Labor Relations Board and in '38 together with the CIO, fought Mayor Hague's denial of free assembly and speech in Jersey City.

During World War II, the Union fought for the rights of the more than 100,000 Japanese-Americans who were relocated on military orders.

* * *

THE UNION has gone its way fighting what it feels are violations of American birthrights in thousands of cases.

Baldwin, who retired from administrative work in 1950, sums it up this way:

"I tackle the things that arouse me — injustice, cruelty, unfairness. The majority has rights, but they can take care of themselves. It's the new ideas, the new forces that come out of minorities, which make progress."

Over the years, the ACLU has become respectable. Its cause has become one that can be embraced by a corporation lawyer without embarrassing his friends or the Republican Party.

"I don't do something just because I think I'll win,"

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

2B Detroit Free Press
Detroit, Mich.

Date: 5/3/64
Edition: Metro Final
Author:
Editor: Lee Hills
Title:

Character:
Classification: 26625
Submitting Office: Detroit

☐ Being Investigated

ORIGINAL FILED IN 61-1[illegible]-4

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-19-96 BY [illegible]

NOT RECORDED
46 MAY 12 1964

6 MAY 11 1964

Van Lopik

Baldwin said to one writer. "It's the reformer's instinct, I suppose. It has nothing to do with doing people good. I just try to put things to right."

Although formally retired, Baldwin hasn't quit putting things right. From his home in New York and New Jersey, the old man goes forth almost daily to advise the ACLU in its international activities and to chair the International League for the Rights of Man, a United Nations-accredited group.

His honors range from an award from the American Veterans Committee to the Japanese Order of the Rising Sun.

* * *

BALDWIN'S presence in Detroit Saturday for the birthday celebration, starting at 6 p.m. in the Rackham Memorial on Farnsworth near Woodward, is a feather in the cap of the Michigan ACLU, one of the organization's most active groups.

It is pressing legal action in more than 30 cases, ranging from a suit against Wayne State University for denying "fair and equal access" to its McGregor Memorial Community Conference Center, to the right of an indigent prisoner to a transcript of his trial at public expense so he can appeal.

In one of the most recent cases, the ACLU intervened in the Recorder's Court trial of five Negroes arrested for booing during the playing of the National Anthem at an Olympic rally in Detroit last Oct. 11.

Among the reasons for ACLU interest were that the defendants weren't arrested until three days after the incident, and the contention that their prosecution amounted to "selective" law enforcement.

The Detroit case resulted in a mistrial last week but the defendants probably will be re-tried.

* * *

THE UNION'S battle does not begin or end with one case. It goes on continually and grows more important with the growth of bureaucracy and the diminishment of the importance of the individual and his rights.

Lawyers who give a lot of their time and effort to the union's work are liable to have their elbows poking through their tweeds.

But each year, Mazey's list of Michigan lawyers who "want to do something" about injustice grows.

The Michigan chapter has been formally organized only since mid-1961. The Detroit unit goes back to 1952. Actually, individual interest by attorneys in civil liberties problems is as old in Michigan as elsewhere in the nation, and there were voluteers here who assisted ACLU from the outset.

Mazey is proud to boast that ACLU of Michigan is "probably the fastest growing unit in the nation."

For every great cause—civil rights, government suppression of news, the rights to fair hearings, speech and press—there are a number of little cases that cannot be ignored and must be carried as high as they have to be.

Someone has to go to bat for a Marine courtmartialed without proper counsel for stealing small sums of money, and the rights of a couple to adopt a child, denied because the mother was of Japanese origin.

It is the little cases that make the organization.

* * *

THE NEW YORK chapter presented a classic example of civil liberties defense by intervening on both sides of a case. It supported a Brooklyn newspaper against the rare charge of criminal libel, even though the newspaper had assailed the NYCLU.

The ACLU said the denial of a cabaret license to a Playboy Club, because the bunnies might mingle with the guests, amounted to prior censorship.

The newspaper thereupon assailed the NYCLU's friend-of-the court brief in the case and also the judge who agreed with the brief. The paper questioned the judge's integrity in the case. When the judge took the case to a grand jury that indicted the newspaper, the Union ignored the attack upon itself, sought and won dismissal of the charge against the paper.

"This seeming inconsistency is readily explained in that the union adheres to principle objectively, free from emotional appeals and personalities, and has done so repeatedly throughout its history," explained the New York chapter. That about sums it up.

ROGER BALDWIN, founder of the ACLU, is surrounded by some of the more famous milestones in the union's history. Clockwise from bottom left, The World War I B o n u s Army, Alabama's Scottsboro Boys, the Scopes (monkey) trial, and the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

0-19 (Rev. 1-28-59)

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

1-1 SD

Low Rating

With so many topics that demand airing such as corruption in politics, stronger civil rights, reexamination of the 27½ per cent depletion returns for oil millionaires, etc., you apparently feel that the TV quiz shows have priority as a moral issue. I wonder how many of your righteous readers of low or moderate circumstances would have turned down similar offers as contestants. These shows have hurt no one except those involved and have actually made the television viewer wiser and more selective.

Frankly, I'm against the outlay of so much of the citizen's money going into this investigation. The networks do not need restrictive legislation. All the publicity they have received, which has incidentally helped you sell more papers, has made them wary. As for contestant Herb Stempel, who was beset with qualms of conscience after collecting a big bundle, the less said the better.

I realize your editorial page can't always contain gems, but you can use it for more important matters.

VIVIAN WEIL.

Two Basic Tenets

The statement by Roger Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, in the Post portrait of J. Edgar Hoover, has struck home! I quote from the article:

"The wide network of suspicion created by these inquiries strikes at the freedom of citizens to think, talk, print and associate. These rights are basic to a democracy. Yet Congress has directed the FBI to attack these rights in the name of a spurious security."

There have been many times in the past when I would have liked to speak up on various "security" subjects but refrained from doing so out of fear of retaliation against my good name and that of my family.

I feel that two basic tenets of our democracy must be immediately revived. The first—a man is innocent until proven guilty. The second—printed in Mr. Hoover's book—"... honest dissent should not be confused with disloyalty. A man has a right to think as he wishes; that's the strength of our form of government..."

I for one do not relish the police state!

DR. DANIEL D. EPSTEIN.

4.9

Files being checked - D 10/16

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post 5-7
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
Date

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY [redacted]

26625

REC. 31

100-49565-A

OCT 16 1959

52 OCT 23 1959

TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH

GIR 4

EL MUNDO
San Juan, P.R.
April 6, 1957
Page 1; Cols. 1,2,3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY

BALDWIN IS IN FAVOR OF REPEAL

OF LAW 53;"MORALLY"BAD LAWS

By Juan Martinez Chapel

According to the belief of Doctor ROGER BALDWIN, civil liberties will be guaranteed in Puerto Rico, but they can be improved if Law 53 of 1948 is repealed and the law which obliges persons to incriminate themselves when they testify under certain circumstances, although they cannot be prosecuted for their own confession. The first of these laws is called the Gag Law by part of the public;and the second, the Law of Immunity.

Doctor BALDWIN is the legal advisor of the CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION in the United States and is here as an advisor to the Committee on Civil Liberties appointed by Governor Munoz Marin.

100-49565-

NOT RECORDED
138 APR 24 1957

Yesterday afternoon Doctor BALDWIN held a press conference in the Music Room in La Fortaleza and he stated that he was "confident that the unprecedented investigation which is being effected in Puerto Rico upon ~~the request of~~ the government itself will place Puerto Rico at a legal level in the practice of democratic rights that will serve as a model for other countries that wish to live democratically."

He stated that he was returning to New York after two weeks on the Island, but that the CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION will continue to be in close contact with the Committee in Puerto Rico in its task of investigating how civil liberties are practised here and in the recommendations that will be made to the Governor. "I did not come here as an expert. I came to study the field and to ask questions, not to make decisions," he said.

61 A

He added that the government of Puerto Rico does not pay for his expenses and that he is a representative of the CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION and not an official of the Island government.

In reply to questions asked by reporters, he refrained from giving an opinion as to whether he believed it a good practice for governments to sustain their own newspapers, but he stated that governments should give the press ample information regarding their functionings and actions because the people has the right to know everything that the government does.

According to Doctor BALDWIN, civil liberties are not of great use if the people does not know how and does not wish to use them. In his opinion , political organizations are atrong in Puerto Rico, but civic and private organizations are few and weak and almost all are located in San Juan, the other regions of the country lacking them.

He believes that in general the laws in Puerto Rico are excellent,with the exception of Law 53 and the Law of Immunity which he considers morally bad.

"The situation here is so good that it is easy to improve it," he said, "because of the little that has to be done and because there is no resistance either among the people or in the government."

Mr. BALDWIN said in a communiqué commenting on what he has observed in three visits to the Island this year:

"Although I do not speak in the name of the Committee, I should like to make a few personal observations based on five questions that may be used as points of measure here or in any other place to evaluate the work done.

Question: Is the government sensitive to the protection

of the rights and liberties of citizens? The obvious answer in Puerto Rico is in the affirmative; otherwise, they would not have invited me to come here.

"Then: Are enough citizens alert to defending their rights if they are endangered? There could be a great many more,and more nonpolitical organizations are lacking. Thirdly: Do the press and radio adequately carry out their service of bringing to the people adequate information regarding democratic liberties and reflecting their diverse interests? They have many more opportunities, particularly on the radio.

"Fourthly: Is judicial independence as a guardian of constitutional guarantees responsible for the charges of violations of the Bill of Rights? The record shows that it is, but with less charges of violations than it is presumed an alert citizenry would make. Fiftly: Is there sufficient examination and verification to counterarrest undue centralization of powers, both political as well as economic? The weaknesses of civic agencies connected with the government, the traditional lack of strong local governments and of a well-developed movement of labor unions are reasons for this question's meriting attention.

PRAISES

"I am enthusiastic at the excellent Bill of Rights in the constitution of the Commonwealth, the desire of the Governor to improve its application in every way possible, the magnificent calibre of the administration,and the unrestricted liberty to discuss public questions. Another reason for encouragement is the representation of political minorities in the Legislature and the effort to extend this principle to the municipalities which give additional powers to the citizens and greater participation and experience in the government itself.

"I have reached the conclusion that the administration of the Penal Code from the time of intervention by the Police until the matter is taken to court needs careful investigation since the codes have not been revised for many years insofar as the law and proceedings are concerned. A revision is now being made. The system of nominations and elections, although it is just and free, apparently offers an opportunity for improvement.

"I should think that a serious problem lies in instilling a more adequate sense of the role that the citizens play in the government . The tendency to depend on the government instead of on themselves to solve their problems is natural in the light of tradition ,but it weakens the roots of democracy. Political parties in themselves, which seem to be the principal manner of expressing public interest, are not adequate to offer various modes of educating the citizenry. The best way of keeping democratic liberties is by means of a continuous close relation between the government and the people,in which both exercise their influence one against the other. It is necessary to foment the influence of the people on the government in Puerto Rico.

LAW 53

"Fortunately I find very few problems here or none in regard to the freedom of speech, the press, or association, or racial or religious discrimination ,or in regard to the rights of women. I should make an exception in this observation in the case of the sedition law, approved in an emergency and known as Law 53,which condemns mere beliefs and associations and also imposes an examination of opinion and association for public employees.

"It is important that there be laws to protect civil rights ; it is more important that they be put into practice; but the most important thing of all is the spirit and resolu-

tion of a people determined to maintain those liberties by means of which a democracy continues to evolve.

"I am confident that an investigation as special as the one that is being carried out will place Puerto Rico at a level of laws and practices that will serve very well as an example that other countries will follow."

zl

Malas Moralmente"

Baldwin Está a Favor Se Derogue la Ley 53

Por Juan Martínez Chapel

En Puerto Rico, según el sentir del doctor Roger Baldwin, las libertades civiles están garantizadas; pero pueden mejorarse si se derogan la Ley 53 de 1948 y la ley que hace obligatorio el declarar en determinadas circunstancias a personas que se incriminan ellas mismas, aunque no se les pueda procesar por su propia confesión. La primera de esas leyes parte del público la llama, Ley de la Mordaza y a la segunda la Ley de Inmunidad.

El doctor Baldwin es consejero de la Unión de Libertades Civiles en Estados Unidos y está aquí como consejero del Comité de Libertades Civiles nombrado por el gobernador Muñoz Marín.

Ayer por la tarde el doctor Baldwin celebró una conferencia de Prensa en el Salón de Música de La Fortaleza y expresó que "tiene confianza que la investigación sin precedentes, que se realiza en Puerto Rico a petición del propio Gobierno colocará a Puerto Rico en un nivel legal de práctica de derechos democráticos, que servirá de modelo a otros países que quieran vivir democráticamente".

Manifestó que regresa a Nueva York después de dos semanas en la Isla, pero que la Unión de Libertades Civiles continuará en íntimo contacto con la Comisión de Puerto Rico en su tarea de investigación de cómo se practican las libertades civiles aquí y en las recomendaciones que se hagan al Gobernador. "Yo no vine aquí en pose de experto, vine a estudiar sobre el terreno y a hacer preguntas, no a tomar decisiones", —dijo.

Agregó que el Gobierno de Puerto Rico no paga sus gastos y que es un representante de la Unión de Libertades Civiles y no un funcionario del Gobierno de la Isla.

A preguntas de los periodistas se abstuvo de dar opinión si creía buena práctica que los gobiernos sostengan sus propios periódicos, pero manifestó que los gobiernos deben dar a la Prensa información amplia de su funcionamiento y sus actuaciones, porque el pueblo tiene derecho de conocer todo lo que el Gobierno hace.

Según el doctor Baldwin, las libertades civiles no son de gran utilidad si no hay un pueblo que sepa y desee usarlas. En su opinión en Puerto Rico los organizaciones políticas son fuertes, pero las organizaciones cívicas y privadas son pocas y débiles y casi todas localizadas en San Juan, careciendo de ellas las otras regiones del país.

Foto EL MUNDO por Casenave

El señor Roger Baldwin, consejero de la Unión de Libertades Civiles, con el gobernador Luis Muñoz Marín.

EL MUNDO
San Juan, P.R.
4/6/57
Page 1, Col. 1-3

CIVIL RIGHTS
SJ 44-0

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-96 BY [illegible]

cree que en general las leyes de Puerto Rico son excelentes, excepto la Ley 53 y la de Inmunidad las que considera moralmente malas.

"La situación aquí es tan buena que mejorarla es fácil, buena que mejorarla es fácil", —dijo,— "por lo poco que hay que hacer y porque ni en el pueblo ni en el Gobierno hay resistencia".

El señor Baldwin en un comunicado haciendo comentarios sobre lo que ha observado en tres visitas a la Isla durante este año pasado, dijo:

"Aunque no habló a nombre de la Comisión, quiero hacer algunas observaciones personales basadas en cinco pre-

(Continúa en la Pág. 32, Col. 8)

Baldwin Está...

(Continuación de la página 1)

guntas que se pueden usar como puntos de medida aquí, o en cualquier otra parte para evaluar la labor efectuada: Pregunto: ¿Es el Gobierno sensible a la protección de los derechos y libertades de los ciudadanos? La contestación obvia en Puerto Rico es en la afirmativa; de lo contrario no me hubieran invitado a venir aquí.

"Luego: ¿Están suficientes ciudadanos atentos a defender sus derechos, para mantenerlos, si éstos se ven en peligro? Podría haber muchos más, y hace falta algo más de organizaciones que no sean políticas. Tercera: ¿Llevan a cabo la Prensa y la radio adecuadamente su servicio de hacer llegar a la gente información adecuada acerca de las libertades democráticas y de reflejar sus intereses diversos? A ellos se les presentan muchas más oportunidades, particularmente a la radio.

Cuarta: ¿Es la independencia judicial como guardián de las garantías constitucionales responsable de las acusaciones de violaciones a la Carta de Derechos? El récord muestra que lo es, pero con menos acusaciones de violaciones de los que se presume haría una ciudadanía despierta. Quinta: ¿Hay suficiente examen y comprobaciones para contrarrestarla centralización indebida de poderes, tanto políticos como económicos? La debilidades de agencias cívicas relacionadas con el Gobierno; la falta tradicional de fuertes gobiernos locales y de un movimiento desarrollado de uniones obreras son razones para que esta pregunta merezca atención.

HACE ELOGIOS

"Me entusiasma la excelente Carta de Derechos en la Constitución del Estado Libre Asociado, el deseo del Gobernador por mejorar su aplicación en todos los modos posibles; la magnífica calidad de la administración y la libertad no restringida para discutir las cuestiones públicas. Motivo de aliento es también la representación de las minorías políticas en la Legislatura, y el esfuerzo por extender ese principio a los municipios, que dan adiciones poderes

poderes adicionales a los ciudadanos y mayor participación y experiencia en gobierno propio.

"He llegado a la conclusión de que la administración del Código Penal, desde la intervención de la Policía hasta llegar a la corte, necesita investigarse cuidadosamente, ya que los códigos en lo que respecta a ley y procedimientos, no se han revisado por muchos años. Se está llevando a cabo ahora una revisión. El sistema de nominaciones y elecciones, aunque es justo y libre, ofrece aparentemente oportunidad para mejoras.

"Pensaría que un grave problema estriba en infundir un sentido más adecuado del papel que desempeña el ciudadano en el Gobierno. La tendencia de depender del Gobierno en vez de ellos mismos en sus propias asociaciones para la solución de sus problemas es natural a la luz de la tradición, pero debilita las raíces de la democracia. Los partidos políticos en sí, que parecen ser la principal manera de expresión de interés público, no son adecuados para brindar las diferentes modalidades de educar la ciudadanía. La mejor manera de mantener las libertades democráticas es por medio de una continua e íntima relación entre el Gobierno y el pueblo en la cual ambos ejerzan sus influencias, uno contra otro. Se necesita fomentar en Puerto Rico la influencia del pueblo sobre el Gobierno.

LEY 53

"Afortunadamente encuentro aquí muy pocos o ningún problema en cuanto a la libertad de palabra, de Prensa o de asociación, o a discriminación racial o religiosa, o en cuanto a los derechos de la mujer. Haría excepción en esta observación en el caso de la ley de sedición, aprobada en una emergencia y conocida como la Ley 53, que condena meras creencias y asociaciones, así como impone examen de opinión y asociación para empleos públicos.

"Es importante que hayan leyes para proteger los derechos civiles; más importante es el que se pongan en práctica; pero lo más importante de todo es el espíritu y la resolución de un pueblo determinado en mantener aquellas libertades por medio de las cuales una democracia consigue evolucionar.

"Estoy en la confianza de que la investigación tan especial que se está llevando a cabo pondrá a Puerto Rico en un nivel de leyes y prácticas que muy bien servirán de ejemplo que seguirán otros países".

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

File

BALDWIN GARDNER

Mc Gowan

Roger Baldwin, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, returned to the States Saturday after completing a survey for the United Nations on the subject of "human rights" here. Reportedly, he found the local situation satisfactory.... However, attorney Santos Amadeo, representative for the Civil Liberties Union in Puerto Rico, maintains that the procedures of investigation and accusation used by the Commonwealth Department of Justice are unfair to the suspects.

The Daily Compass
2-14-56
P. 4

PROPOSED VISIT OF ROGER BALDWIN TO P.R. FOR STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES
SJ 44-0

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-19-86 BY [illegible]

100 - [illegible]

60 FEB 21 1956

McCarthyism Hurts U.S., Says Baldwin

Chairman of C.L.U. Lists Five Effects on Foreign Policy

Roger N. Baldwin, national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, yesterday cited five ways in which "our foreign policy has been affected because of the passionate and unreasoning anti-Communism that dominates our nation's thinking."

Speaking before the Community Church of Boston at Conservatory Auditorium, 31 Hemenway st., on "McCarthyism and United States Foreign Policy," Baldwin listed the following effect:

1. It has impaired the morale of the State Department. No one feels safe or sure of his job.

2. The insistent McCarthy demands that all trade with Communist countries be cut off regardless of strategic or non-strategic materials. Our Allies have to conduct this sort of trade in order to live.

3. We have elevated anti-Communism to such a point that we obstruct negotiations. Any compromise essential to successful negotiations will be termed appeasement.

4. United States public opinion has become perverted.

5. We have created abroad a false concept of the United States. Many people abroad believe this country is going fascist.

The speaker said in his opinion there are counterforces to combat McCarthyism.

"There is hardly a Democrat who will support what McCarthy says," according to Baldwin.

"Furthermore, organized labor is against him, and the Protestant churches have pronounced themselves against him.

"More important is the obvious attitude of the present Administration in ignoring and by-passing what McCarthy stands for. It is a great tribute to the President."

Baldwin said that present indications are that this country "is almost to the point of recognizing Red China. We are coming around to the realization that we can't make peace in Korea without a guarantee from Red China that she will not attack again."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-19-86 BY SP3 BTJ/sp

100-425-A-
NOT RECORDED
163 MAR 1 1954

Case Title:

Classification: 100-

Newspaper THE BOSTON GLOBE

Date: 2-22-55

20 MAR 5 1954

Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Mohr
Tele. Rm.
Holloman
Gandy

Reg. N. Bannerman

Bannerman

W. B. Sheppard

35 YEARS WITH FREE SPEECH

The New American

FBI — U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

'Party Line'

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY

Times-Herald
Wash. Post
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N.Y. Mirror
N.Y. Compass

100-
ORDED
APR 16 1952

3 APR 24 1952

Date: APR 26 1952

This is the last instalment of a serial presentation of the complete text of the Roger N. Baldwin Foundation Address, delivered March 12 at Columbia by Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of Harvard University.

Under the title "Thirty-five Years with Freedom of Speech," Prof. Chafee analyzes the history of civil liberties in the U. S. since 1917.

By ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr

I am disturbed by the strong tendency to establish an American party-line. Loyalty and integrity are more and more getting tested by mental qualifications going far beyond the old-fashioned determination to support and defend the Constitution of the United States.

One prominent lawyer asserts that the Constitution "contemplates a free enterprise system" and hence everything inconsistent with that system deserves condemnation. The trouble is that the competition of small farmers and shopkeepers which the Founding Fathers knew was not quite the same as a nation of giant corporations. There is no definition of "free enterprise" suitable for application in any sort of legal proceeding.

Yet this lawyer's proposal has been put into operation by the school authorities of Englewood, New Jersey, where every teacher or school-head who proposes to use a text-book must certify in writing that the book does not "advocate . . . a doctrine inimical to the principles of government established by the Constitution . . . and further that it does not advocate a principle or doctrine inimical to the American system of free enterprise."

To some administrative officials, this might well include a book which pointed out the advantages of new federal hospitals for everybody or free college education or the abolition of holding-companies in public utilities.

Such a vague phrase can mean what anybody wants it to mean. It is a deviation from the American party-line to want democracy.

"Ours is a republic. Under a democratic government the major party can put the minority into slavery," said the chairman of the Californian investigating committee to Florence Eldridge, the actress, before he red-listed her as "typical of the individuals within the various Stalinist orbits."

It is becoming a tenet of the American party-line that there was only one right policy in the frightful tangle of Chinese affairs. If I were a cartoonist, I would picture a new recruit in the State Department holding up his right hand and swearing to defend the Constitution of the United States and Chiang Kai-shek.

Belief in natural law seeming essential to the American party-line. This is a highly controversial philosophical doctrine, as to which devoted and law-abiding citizens hold contrary views. Yet because Justice Holmes did not believe in natural law, he is now denounced as a totalitarian.

In short, honest differences of opinion are treated like moral differences. The common framework of discussion is getting torn to pieces. Instead of an orderly and enlightened search for facts and sound judgment, public opinion is getting framed by coercion and intrigue and insinuations. Government by representation is giving way to government by misrepresentation.

* * *

What can we in this hall do to help turn this nation back toward the freedoms which Englishmen and Americans attained through centuries of struggle and privations and hard thinking?

For years to come, I fear, there is a very small chance of our being able to affect decisions in specific cases or the enactment of sedition laws or the behavior of subversive control boards and legislative investigating committees. Little can we do there, but much can we do to aid in the formation of a sounder public opinion, which will revert to the courage of Thomas Jefferson.

Free speech problems are arising constantly in private lives. They are not limited to courtrooms and Congressional offices. Shall I let my child read this book? Shall I sit silent while the school committee dismisses an unpopular teacher? Shall this meeting take place in a local hall or a vacant lot? Shall I vote against a man because some Senator calls him subversive? Am I reading both sides of a controversy? Those are questions presented to common or garden people all the time, and the way they are answered can give us more freedom or less.

And it is very fruitful to keep discussing, in season and out of season, the great advantages of open discussion. Of all the arguments against restrictions on speech, the strongest of all (I have come to think) is that it gives us a better country to live in, with fewer suspicions, animosities, informers, heresy trials, and more scope for initiative and originality.

Although freedom cannot be maintained by expositions alone, in the end they furnish the main strength of liberty. A people gets sooner or later as much freedom as it wants. This want is partly created by prophets on or off the bench, but partly by constant discussion from plain citizens like us. The best safeguard against inroads on freedom of speech lies in the ferment in the thoughts of the young and of those who will not let themselves grow old.

(THE END)

0-20

Tolson ✓
Ladd ✓
Clegg
Glavin
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Harbo
Alden
Belmont
Laughlin
Mohr
Tele. Room
Nease
Gandy

(7:00 P.M. EST. RELEASE)

THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AFTER PAINSTAKING INVESTIGATION, DECIDED THAT ROGER N. BALDWIN, FORMER HEAD OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, IS NOT PRO-COMMUNIST.

THE DEPARTMENT, IN A SPECIAL REPORT TO THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, SAID THE DECISION WAS MADE DESPITE INFORMATION BY THE HOUSE UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE LINKING BALDWIN WITH COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS.

BALDWIN WAS APPROVED, AFTER THE INVESTIGATION, FOR A TRIP TO GERMANY LAST YEAR FOR WORK ON CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEMS.

CARLISLE H. HUMELSINE, DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE, SAID THE UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE'S INFORMATION WAS TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION BUT THAT OTHER INFORMATION LED THE SECURITY DIVISION TO RULE THAT BALDWIN WAS NOT PRO-COMMUNIST.

THIS WAS DONE EVEN BEFORE THE DIVISION KNEW OF A LETTER PERSONALLY WTTEN BY GEN. MACARTHUR, HIGHLY COMMENDING BALDWIN FOR HIS WORK, HUMELSINE SAID.

4/25--W0647P

G.I.R.-5

100-495615 ENCL 21
NOT RECORDED
47 AUG 8 1951

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY [illegible]

AUG 23 1951

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Politics Inspired 'll' Trial, Baldwin Tells AJC Parley

By Louise Mitchell

Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, yesterday expressed the hope that the higher courts would undo what Judge Medina and the Foley Square jury have done so that we may stick to our traditional methods of punishing not words but deeds."

Speaking at the afternoon session of the American Jewish Congress biennial convention, Baldwin labeled the heresy trial "another injustified measure inspired by politics." Baldwin's attack upon the trial and upon the current hysteria occurred during the panel on The Attack on Civil Liberties.

Prof. Thomas Emerson of Yale University, at the same panel, scored the government "loyalty" oaths, which he said were contributing to furthering hysteria. He pointed out that state and municipal governments were taking the lead of the federal government in hounding employes, and that private firms were also heading in that direction. He pointed out that there is legislation already on the books to handle cases of disloyalty.

Baldwin pointed out that Americans do not need the House Un-American Committee to tell them what is "subversive and what is patriotic."

"The Committee of Congress and the committee in the states all have a record of great disservice to our liberties by spreading fear and confusion," he noted. "They have made progressive causes appear to be Communistic. The Committee should be abolished as an effort to the intelligence and good sense of the American people."

BALDWIN

Referring to the Smith Act under which the Communists were indicted, Baldwin said that persons were persecuted for thoughts, the first time since 1798.

"The bill," he said, "should not stand up against the Bill of Rights provision for freedom of speech. I trust the higher courts will undo what the judge and jury in New York have done, so that we may stick to our traditional method of punishing not words but deeds. All these proceedings are the product of a hysteria over Communist infiltration. Better cures are exposition and democratic reforms. We need no free speech persecution nor inquisition to protect our democracy."

Although Baldwin's remarks in discussion were marked by strong anti-Communist bias, he stressed that a "clear and present danger" does not exist to justify the persecution.

Other panels at the convention

(Continued on Page 11)

dealt with Jewish Living in America, The Jewish State and the Jewish People, and Democratizing the Jewish Community. The session on The Attack on Civil Liberties was part of the panel on Safeguarding American Democracy.

The sharp difference of opinion among AJC delegates on the role and function of the organization was reflected in the panel discussion. Shad Polier, AJC vice-president, told participants of the Safeguarding American Democracy panel, which he chaired, that they must not align themselves with groups that are "irresponsible" and a "liability." He was referring, but not mentioning by name, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and American Jewish Labor Council two progressive affiliates of AJC which the leadership has expelled.

The present administration has also revoked the charter of the Detroit chapter because it attempted to follow an active civil liberties program.

The stormiest session of the convention was expected last night at a closed meeting, when Dr. David Petegorsky, executive director, was scheduled to report.

The administration, which is attempting to remove the AJC from mass participation in the critical issues facing American Jews, stacked the numerous convention committees and steamrollered the proceedings in order to tie the organization to its cold war, redbaiting program.

INDEXED - 140

100 49365-A-

83 DEC 14 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11-15-83 BY SP2TAP/cc 8-19-86

INDEXED-140

This is a clipping from Page 2 of the Daily Worker Date 11-11-49 Clipped at the Seat of Government.

100-49365-A

JAN 9-1950

Roger Baldwin to Resign As Civil Liberties Official

By the Associated Press

NEW YORK, Oct. 27.—Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, will resign January 1 to engage in specialized work in the field of international civil rights.

No successor has been chosen yet.

Mr. Baldwin, director of the union since it was formed in 1920, will continue to act for the union. He also will act for the International League for the Rights of Man, a United Nations consultative agency with which the union is affiliated.

The impending resignation was announced yesterday by John Haynes Holmes, chairman of the union's Board of Directors.

Mr. Holmes attributed the resignation to the "increasing concern of the union with the relation of the United States to the problems of international standards of civil liberties."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-19-86 BY SP8 BTS/cg

100-49565
47 DEC 6 1949

Clipped from
THE EVENING STAR
Washington, D.C.
Dated October 27
1949

49 DEC 14 1949
232

Tolson
Ladd
Clegg
Glavin
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Harbo
Mohr
Tele. Room
Nease
Gandy

Roger Baldwin to Resign As Civil Liberties Official

By the Associated Press

NEW YORK, Oct. 27.—Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, will resign January 1 to "engage in specialized work in the field of international civil rights."

No successor has been chosen yet.

Mr. Baldwin, director of the union since it was formed in 1920, will continue to act for the union. He also will act for the International League for the Rights of Man, a United Nations consultative agency with which the union is affiliated.

The impending resignation was announced yesterday by John Haynes Holmes, chairman of the union's Board of Directors.

Mr. Holmes attributed the resignation to the "increasing concern of the union with the relation of the United States to the problems of international standards of civil liberties."

G. I. R.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/ab

INDEXED - 35 100-49565-41
FILED
NOV 22 1949

WASHINGTON STAR
Page 23
Date

TO BUREAU

Nixon and Baldwin Oppose Outlawing Communist Party In Forum at Stonington

By JAMES McKENNA

STONINGTON—The Communist party in the United States should not be outlawed, both Rep. Richard M. Nixon (R., Calif.) and Roger Baldwin, a director of the Civil Liberties Union agreed last night in the third Stonington forum this season.

Nearly 400 in Stonington town hall heard Representative Nixon, 35 year old attorney, Quaker and navy veteran, advocate registration of all Communist party members and Communist front organizations; bar Communists from government employ, and prohibit the state department from issuing passports to Reds. These measures are all to be considered by congress in two or three weeks in a bill prepared by Representative Nixon's legislative subcommittee of the committee on Un-American activities.

Baldwin, director of the Civil Liberties Union, declared that the Communist party is not a political party but a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence. He said that the Communist party is not a political party in the sense that the Democratic and Republican parties are political parties.

Baldwin declared that the Communist party is not a political party but a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence. He said that the Communist party is not a political party in the sense that the Democratic and Republican parties are political parties.

Nixon

Nixon and Baldwin Oppose Outlawing Communist Party In Forum at Stonington

By JAMES McKENNA

STONINGTON—The Communist party in the United States should not be outlawed, both Rep. Richard M. Nixon (R., Calif.) and Roger Baldwin, a director of the Civil Liberties Union agreed last night in the third Stonington forum this season.

Nearly 400 in Stonington town hall heard Representative Nixon, 35 year old attorney, Quaker and navy veteran, advocate registration of all Communist party members and Communist front organizations, bar Communists from government employ, and prohibit the state department from issuing passports to Reds. These measures are all to be considered by congress in two or three weeks in a bill prepared by Representative Nixon's legislative subcommittee of Rep. J. Parnell Thomas' committee on un-American activities of which the young Californian representative is a member.

Defies American Tradition

"This novel, extraordinary and harmful piece of thought-policing legislation belies the American tradition and will not stand supreme court inspection," Baldwin asserted. The effect of the bill will be to drive the Communists underground, the Civil Liberties Union feels American democracy is strong enough to withstand all isms and suppression of Communists is "taking a leaf from their book," the noted champion of civil rights declared.

Should the Communist Party Be Outlawed was the question before the forum, an institution developed as an adult part of the Stonington Community Center. Many prominent Stonington, Westerly, New London and Hartford people made up the audience and participated in the brief question period after the speeches of the two protagonists. Rep. Horace Seely-Brown, (R., Conn.) of Pomfret, acted as moderator. Mrs. Henry W. Scheiber and Atty. Morgan C. McGuire, both of Stonington arranged the forum.

Representative Seely-Brown was introduced by Dr. Frederic C. Packard of Stonington at the opening of the program. "An well-informed public is our greatest national security, but abuse of the first amendment may be our greatest weakness," the moderator said. Living himself up with his house colleague, Representative Seely-Brown declared, "Freedom has the right to protect itself."

Analyzes Red Totalitarianism

The march of the Red totalitarianism across the face of the world was analyzed by Representative Nixon in his opening remarks. Nazism, Italian Fascism and the Soviet Union and her satellites are all cast in the same political mold, he declared. "Red" action is not a party of the left as is commonly stated, but a party of the far right." Its keynote is "a one-party system which smothers all opposition, is characterized by ruthless thought-extermination, and allows none of the freedom of the first amendment to the United States Constitution, the free speech, free press right," Representative Nixon asserted.

The 14,000 more or less American Reds owe their allegiance to Russia and cannot be called an American party, he explained. The long-range commitment of the American Communists is for the world-wide conquest by Communism; the short-range plan is to disrupt trade and commerce in the United States.

But the federal government constitutionally cannot outlaw Communism, Nixon said, since it does not have the power to say who shall be allowed to appear on a state ballot. The American people do not have to tolerate a political party in the United States that conspires with a foreign government, no party has the right to advocate disloyalty to the country, and the United States does not have to tolerate a party which advocates setting up a totalitarian system to replace our present constitutional government. With the action against the Nazi to World War II as a precedent congress will contemplate the measures, he said. It will require registration of all Communists and Red-controlled organizations. It will provide legislation that bars Reds from government employ. It will ban passports to Communists and cut the threads binding international Communism.

Bill Forces Reds Into Open

The two theories should be allowed to freely clash in public but with no secrecy on the Red side the bill will force Communists into the open and the American people will know who they are dealing with, Nixon declared. In conclusion he said, "Congress has the constitutional power to protect the country; the problem is to cut U. S. Reds from their foreign aid."

Baldwin opened his remarks with a swing at the un-American activities committee. "The moderate and for the most part sensible remarks of Representative Nixon show his temperament and attitude is wholly out of keeping with that of the un-American activities committee," he declaimed. Nixon's statements of the Red aims of world domination are entirely correct, he said, but working American democracy renders Communism in America ineffective. Labelling Communists as provided by the proposed bill will drive them underground, force them to change their name, and will not rid the country of Reds. Fair labelling without public hearing by the justice department and the Thomas committee "imply" the bill is dangerous, he asserted.

Baldwin, who recently returned from Japan, where he was an advisor to General MacArthur on minority groups rights, said MacArthur, with complete governmental power, places no restrictions on Communism. His fights Communism by giving the people hope. Japanese trade unions have grown from a half million people to ten million under MacArthur, and farmer cooperatives are developing. Communism is no danger in England because the Labor party, "a vital and progressive force," promises the working masses the things in life people have the right to expect. Only in those countries where the existing government offers no hope to the people do they embrace the Red doctrine, he averred.

The Nixon bill is an attempt to "immunize" Americans against Communism, he stated. As for Reds in government jobs, he asked for common sense application of laws, and noted that rural mail carriers, street cleaners and such would fall under such a ban.

Lauds Marshall Plan

Along with Representative Nixon, Baldwin lauded the Marshall plan, but noted that the ERP is not only to fight Communism but by giving people enough to eat, is the best antidote to Communism in the world. There will be no war over the Marshall plan, he affirmed, but said ideological civil wars now rage over the world. He spoke of the coming Italian elections and the United States foreign policy and drew the first burst of spontaneous applause when he said, "The idea that what is good for the United States is good for the rest of the world is fallacious. It should be: What is good for the rest of the world is good for the U.S."

The U. S. supreme court has opined that when there is clear and present danger, the law should step in, Baldwin concluded. "Do not legislate the field of opinion—trust the American people and the American system. Fight Communism by showing our superior advantages and the ultimately greater satisfaction of our democratic system."

In rebuttal Representative Nixon drew a storm of applause when he asked, "Since Communists are banned from the Civil Liberties union, as Mr. Baldwin said, why should the Civil Liberties union object to the American people barring Reds from their government?"

Shepard Participates in Program

Baldwin replied that if the Nixon bill attempts to bar passports and government jobs to Communists while they are still loyal voters it will not stand supreme court inspection. The bill will create second-class citizens. Fight Communism with effective democracy, not oppression, he closed.

In his final remarks, Representative Nixon said democracy will always defeat Communism when the Reds are out in the open, where people can make a clear choice, and this is what his bill provides. "When we are spending more than six billion dollars overseas to fight Communism, we are foolish not to fight it at home," he ended.

Active in the question period which followed was the former State Lieut. Gov. Odell Shepard. The discussion revolved chiefly about the details of the Nixon bill and the past actions of the Thomas committee.

G.I.R.-9

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-19-76 BY SP2 3 1 JP

Submitted by New Haven File

60 JUN 7 1950

014325

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Jones
Mr. Leonard
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr.
Miss

Smart Cookie, That MacArthur

The more we see of Gen. Douglas MacArthur's operations in the Far East, the more we're convinced that our country has on its pay roll a shrewd administrator as well as a top notch military gent.

MacArthur's latest move, announced yesterday, was the appointment of Roger N. Baldwin as War Department consultant on civil liberties and democracy in general. Baldwin is a nationally prominent pacifist, and director of the American Civil Liberties Union. He is known as a capable idealist who has devoted most of his life to plugging for free speech and democracy. And in so doing —as MacArthur knows—Baldwin has probably become our country's No. 1 expert on Communist tactics, and just how distasteful real freedoms and democracy are to our Red friends, Moscow, Tokyo or home-grown.

So to Baldwin we wish luck in his efforts to sell democracy to Japan, China, Korea and other Red-pestered lands. And to MacArthur, the tough military man, we extend congratulations for this unorthodox but smart appointment.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 100-47565-A
DATE 10-10-80 BY [illegible]

WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD
MORNING EDITION
DATE April 10, 1947

MAY 9 1947

In Name of 'Liberties'

HITLER'S main hope is to bring division among democratic peoples and a negotiated peace as a consequence. In this country the "pacifist" crowd of the Norman Thomas, Frederick Libby, George Hartman stripe is working side by side with the Wheelers, Nyes, Hearsts and McCormicks in their negotiated peace drive.

Now we have the announcement that Roger Baldwin, director of the Civil Liberties Union, is preparing to wage a fight for the right of fascist Gerald L. K. Smith to carry on his fifth column work.

The open fascists, appeasers and defeatists are receiving the support of the anti-Soviet Social-Democrats and of the so-called "pacifists," whose brethren in Europe helped Hitler to power.

There are still some in Europe who display that sort of mentality. British Home Minister Herbert Morrison, a Laborite, says that because we are winning the war, we could afford to ease up on fascists and release men such as Sir Oswald Mosley.

Real liberals who have fought for civil rights throughout America's history must be turning in their graves at the stupidities of the Baldwins. Under the "civil liberties" formula, fascists are given the right to work for democracy's destruction. Can the Civil Liberties Union continue its pretense of opposing race discrimination and anti-Semitism when it defends Gerald Smith?

The Baldwins and Thomas' should not be confused with those commonly known as liberals, who throughout America's history have defended its Bill of Rights. They disgrace the memory of such men and women and should be repudiated by all sincere liberals.

100-49563-A
NOT RECORDED
87 DEC 3 1943

This is a clipping from page 6 of the DAILY WORKER
Date Nov 29 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government

FIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6-19-86 BY SP2 STOLP

Civil Liberties Infringements Drop Reported

CHICAGO, March 23 (C.T.P.S.). An "extraordinary development" of this war is the fact there have been fewer cases of infringement on civil liberties than there were during peacetime or during the last war, Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, said today at a meeting of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee. Then Baldwin criticized several contemporary civil liberties cases.

"The Department of Justice was split on the decision to bring Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling from Chicago to the District of Columbia in her sedition case," he declared. "An official of the department told me it was foolish of the Government to do this because he felt these people are not really dangerous and that there was no conspiracy against them. 'It would be making a martyr of Lizzie—what an object for the Government to achieve!' he said."

Baldwin cited another instance in which the Post Office Department accused an Idaho publisher of making seditious statements in his newspaper, which had a circulation of 500. Because the paper was antidraft and antiwar, he said, the Post Office revoked the publisher's second-class mailing privileges, but permitted third-class mailing privileges, a peculiar procedure.

The Civil Liberties Union head asserted that at least one newspaper has felt the wrath of the Government for seditious statements which also could be found in the Nation, the New Republic and PM. He pointed out that the newspaper was antiwar and said the Government bans publications from the mails "not because of what they say but because of their motives."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-19-86 BY SP2STJ/pb

MK
100-49565
15 - NOT RECORDED
3-24-43
Herald Tribune
FBI

CH-24