Mail returned to Files:

Date 12-17

I have finished
with this now.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-36 BY SF8513X
(This slip should be
removed by Examiners)
Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

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,

R. L. Baldwin

[Signature]
Butte, Montana
November 13, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: ROGER BALDWIN,
American Civil Liberties Council,
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATED 1944 BY SPB0X.

Dear Sirs:

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 of any importance she could be very glad to call him 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 he was still in conference. He was advised that he was; however, she again told Mr. Baldwin that she would be glad to call him out of the conference if he desired. 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,
                                       [Signature]

KLLEB
AIR MAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY
February 7, 1942

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

To: Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

There is enclosed herewith a photostatic copy of

\( \_ \) 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,

John Edgar Hoover
Director


dated

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
FEB 7, 1942

P. M.
Encl: BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DECLASSIFIED BY SECTION 5, 2011

RE: ROGER M. BALDWIN
INTERNAL SECURITY

FEB 7, 1942

10 FEB 12 1942

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Feb 9, 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CONFIDENTIAL
REGISTERED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. L. M. C. SMITH
CHIEF, SPECIAL DEFENSE UNIT

February 19, 1942

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

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

Very truly yours,

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

TITLE
ROGER NASH BALDWIN

INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

ROGER NASH BALDWIN, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, resides at 232 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.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FEB 25 1942

FILE

EX 18
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 283 West 11th Street, telephone number WA. 9-1233, with the business address of 170 5th Avenue, telephone number CH. 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 SARRA 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 N. 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, 1922, 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 $200,000 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 Bridgeport Secret Communist meetings that BALDWIN, in a letter to FOSTER, head of the Communist Party in America, 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 FISHER 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 incitement. 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 Chairman the Right Reverend EDWARD L. PARSONS, Dr. MARY WOOLEY, and Dean LLOYD H. GARRISON; Treasurer B. R. HUEBSCH; and General Counsel ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS and MORRIS LERNSTERN. 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, NATTEN and ELIZABETH GURLY WYNN.

In an article dated October 29, 1939, it was reported that while under fire as a Communist organization by the Dies Committee, the American League for Peace and Democracy pertaining to Nazi and Fascist threat 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.
From Confidential Source of Information A, it was ascertained that as of January 13, 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 LOYD K. GARRISON, Treasurer B. W. HEBBON, Director ROGER NASH BALDWIN, Secretary RUSSELL B. MILLER, 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, ARNOLD ISSERMAN, CARLOS LAMONT, F. LASKER, WILLIAM E. NUNN, ELLIOTT D. PRATT, EMMET RICE, ROGER WILLIAM RIIS, WILLIAM E. SEPPORD, NORMAN THOMAS, MARY VAN KIECK, RAYMOND A. WISE, DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY, CARL CARMEY, 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 assembly wherever 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 2,000 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, 300 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 $1,829.98. The net worth of the organization was set forth as $34,324.64. 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.

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

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,
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,

[Signature]

RNB/sa

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DATE OF RECORD 3-8-42 BY STG（573）O

FEDERAL BUREAU OF IN

1. MAR. 23

U.S. DEPARTMENT

[Signature]
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.

March, 1942
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**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE 8-20-46 BY SF86751090
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*)
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 executions 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 usage, 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-
ory 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 XI (U.S.C. Tit. 18§343) of the latter act would authorize you to ex-
elude 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)
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, ...
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)
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-
time, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President. The Chair-
man 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 performing 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 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.” (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 8-20-42 BY 267521

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

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.
WAfWhd the BILL OF RIGHTS

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;
   (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 violations 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.
      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.
      Rear Adm. Leigh Noyes, Naval Intelligence.
      Breckenridge Long, Asst. Secretary of State.
      Herbert E. Gaston, Asst. Secretary of Treasury.
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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE: 20-8-42
RECORDED BY STS

[Stamp: 1 JUL 8 1942]
[Stamp: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE]
MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: ROGER HASK BALDWIN
232 West 11th Street,
New York, New York

Reference is made to your memorandum concerning the above subject dated July 29, 1942, your reference BILLS/40, 146-7-1016.

In accordance with your request I am enclosing herewith a copy of the following material:


Advice is requested as to whether further investigation is desired in this case.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATED 8-10-46 BY 8887

Enclosure

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Henden
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quind Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

100-49565-28 28
OFFICER
8/20/42
RECORDED
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER,
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: Baldwin, Roger N.
31 Union Square West, 282 W 11th St
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,
Assistant Attorney General.
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 Beige
Assistant Attorney General
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED.
DATED 2/2/1942
October 16, 1942

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

[Signature]

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**COMMENT**

**ADVISORY BOARD**

- 

**P. B. I. WATCH LIST**

- DR. JOHN HOUGHTON
- VINCENIE O. COX
- OSWALD T. ATWALL

**ENCLOSURES:**

- Two cards
- One return envelope
INDIA SEDITIOUSISTS 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 press 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 WALKER. 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."

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. HOBBINS SMITH, Vice-President
HEMENDRA K. BHATT, Secretary
DR. ANUP SINGH, Director
Research Bureau
ROGER N. BALDWIN, Treasurer (Y6638)
NIRAHU R. CHEEKER
A. CHOUDRI
HRS. JOHN BUNTER

Mr. Carson
Mr. P. K. "Little"
Mr. Miss Ward
Mr. L. H. "Nicholson"
Mr. E. H. "Monroe"
MAJ DPM

September 20, 1943

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.
September 3, 1943

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 has 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
prognosticate 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 country. 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,
August 31, 1943

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

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 it is giving our country during this war and the manner in which it is rendered 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 contains, 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 refusing to permit any policeman to 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,

Roger N. Baldwin

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/31/43 BY 101/15/15 16 SEP 25 1943

RECORDED INDEXED 8-20-43 SP 57368 2126251
August 19, 1943

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
Director
American Civil Liberties Union
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

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 regarded in his community as a liberal. The communication pointed out that Mrs. O. 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 Bismarck and expanded by Hitler. Americans believe in freedom, not in being taxed for their own good and bosses by bureaucrats.'"

The directories were checked and the name of O. G. Lang did not appear. Accordingly, the Danbury, Connecticut, Police Department was requested to make a preliminary inquiry to ascertain the identity of Mrs. O. G. Lang. Since 42 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. O. G. Lane," and the report further stated that apparently..."
the name "Lang" was copied incorrectly. I do know that the name was furnished as "Lang/"

Mrs. Rose Wilder Lane, in the booklet 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. Charles 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. Lane's 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 writing 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
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
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 postcard sent to Samuel Grafton by Mrs. Jose 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 mildly, 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.

Sincerely yours,

Rdiey n. Barbann

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED.

DATE: 8-30-43

8:30:30: 58717368

929625
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,

[Signature]

September 22, 1943

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 8-20-43

By: S. M. J.

September 22, 1943

I will see him at noon 12 o'clock on Wednesday.
November 9, 1943

FAG, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 20-36 BY 503 573 08

ROGER HASS 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
investigators. No further investigation or any inquiries should be made
other than those sources without prior Bureau authority.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

M A L E S

* NOV 5 1943 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

28 NOV 8 194396
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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<td>TITLE</td>
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SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:
Check of directories indicates subject's office address 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

REFERENCE:
Letter from Bureau to New York Office, dated November 6, 1943.
Bureau file number 100-49565

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATED 209/66 BY SE88775/66

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.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATED 209/66 BY SE88775/66

[Signature]
NY 100-8424

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.
February 22, 1944

RECORDED J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

ROGER NASH BALDWIN
Security Letter - 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.)

(MIIT YORK FIELD OFFICE)

(NETARK FIELD OFFICE)

Born January 21, 1884, at Wellesley, Massachusetts.

The New York Field Division should correct its card to read as set out above.
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

CC: New York
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 NASH 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.
June 11, 1945

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.
Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: May 22, 1945

FROM: SAC, New York

SUBJECT: ROGER NASH-BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER — C
(Bureau File No. 100-49565)

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.
Letter to Director  
NY 100-8424

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
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 veterans and 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...
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 subsistence 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 comparatively 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 B. Macully
Mrs. Burt T. Anderson
Mr. & Mrs. T. J. Dykema
Dr. & Mrs. L. O. Grondahl
Mr. & Mrs. Adam Hazlett
Mr. & Mrs. Glenn E. McCombs
Mr. Frederick G. Moede

Mr. & Mrs. Edward Lodge
Mr. & Mrs. Harold Munk
Mr. & Mrs. John Lester Ferry
Mr. & Mrs. Earl 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 E. McCombs
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Bassett
Mr. & Mrs. William Lemp
Mrs. Harold Munk
Mr. George Ketger
Mr. John E. Webster.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

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 BARNETT on Mar. 9, 1936 but no background information available. Resides at 283 W. 11th St., NYC, (WA 9-1433). Also receives mail at Bellbrook Farms, RFD, Oakland, N.J. Continues as Director, American Civil Liberties 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. 13, 1945, he viewed Communism as not a threat but a nuisance. Holds membership in Civil Rights and Liberties Groups.

**REFERENCE:** Bureau File Number 100-49565. Bureau Letter, November 15, 1943.
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 POLLO and LOY 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 3, 1919 to MADILINE ZAHRESKOGRW 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 22098, 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 Bellbrook 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 Wickhoffs, 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
NY-100-8424

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, RED, Oakland, New Jersey.

OCCUPATION

On May 14, 1942 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 appropriates the capitalist class and to take control of all social property”. He indicates that he is opposed to revolutionary violence and that 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 - 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 the 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 elements 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 Host, 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, ACPI, spoke on the subject, "Can Democracy Survive?", at a meeting at the Hotel Peter Stuyvesant at 3 West 36th 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 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 NEUBUHR during the course of the meeting as chairman when the latter was taken ill.

With respect to the American League for Peace and Democracy, with which BAVWIN was also affiliated, he stated in May 1939 in an interview conducted by Special Agent [redacted] that the organization started 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, BAVWIN 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. BAVWIN 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 appropriate 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 citizen committees.

Confidential Informant T-2 advised that the Chicago Council 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 Carmen’s 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 Town Hall 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, shortly after its formation on November 12, 1941. The organization was created to investigate and establish the fundamentals of the nature 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 T.-FOSTY (his former wife) of 19 Rue du Vieux-College, Geneva, Switzerland, that a dinner was held in the honor of the 70th birthday of OSWALD CARRIOTT, M.L.A.D. 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 a 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 Beechwood School Auditorium, Fairlawn, New Jersey, on Sunday evening, May 10, 1942, according to the files of the Newark Field Division. The topic for his discussion was "Civil Liberties" and he deplored the policy of moving against minority groups and minority leaders such as Father Coughlin and William Dudley Pelely. 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 43rd 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," BILLY was one of the speakers.

Confidential Informant T-3 whose identity is known to the Bureau, on October 1, 1942 reported that [blank] an associate of BILLY in the ACLU, had resigned in order to return to California. As a measure of BILLY's activities, Informant T-3 stated that although [blank] had cooperated with the Communists rather more than BILLY and other east coast ACLU leaders had, [blank] 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.
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.

BAIDWIN 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 Volkseitung" in the January 5, 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 29, 1945 issue of the "New Leader" denied these allegations and in the same issue, SEGER and KATZ reiterated their claims. BAIDWIN 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, BAIDWIN and Dr. HENRY D. ORIDONESE 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, BAIDWIN 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 BAINWIN 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 Immigrant 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 Bird-Biden, 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 3-8, 1942, sponsor
- New York Committee
- Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder — Signed petition, 1941
- Green-Wood Village Group of the American Free World Association, Vice Chairman, 1943
- Book Union — Advisory Council, 1943
- National Urban League, Member, Executive Board, 1943.
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The confidential informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent dated September 5, 1946 at New York City, are as follows:

T-1 [Name] 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.

T-2 [Name] 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.
SAC, New York.

November 6, 1946

Director, FBI

Roger Nash Baldwin
Security Matter - C
(New York File #100-3424)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-36 BY 283 (SU)

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: mj

MAILED 15
NOV 6 1946 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SUBJECT OF INVESTIGATION

O 6 NOV 5 1946
TO: Director, FBI
FROM: SAC, Boston
SUBJECT: RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN, INFORMATION CONCERNING.

DATE: December 5, 1947

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

ROGER N. BALDWIN, OA, 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, SALTONSTALL, 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.

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.
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
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...
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 Communist 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.
CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSANGER

Date: April 1, 1948

To: Director of Intelligence
   General Staff
   Department of the Army
   The Pentagon
   Washington 25, D.C.

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 16, 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 of the United States military government in Korea."

This message is sent to you in view of the remarks made by Baldwin concerning the Army's occupation of Japan and Korea.
July 9, 1948

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,

[Signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-20-48 BY S93551480
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
Dated 20/36 by 583 6751

Deferred Recording

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, 18
Washington, D.C.

Recorded 109

19 Jul 28 1943
Mr. Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union, called and phoned.文明 Liberties Union.

Phone No. __________

Hour 10:00 am  Date  July 9, 1948

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.

Mr. Hoover's regrets were expressed at not being able to see him today. He said he understood.

Recorded 10:39  19 Jul 23 1948
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,

Chairman, Board of Directors
American Civil Liberties Union
TO:

Director  5633  Mr. Mohr  5744
Mr. Tolson  5744  Mr. Nease  5633
Mr. Ladd  5736  Mr. Q. Tamm  4131 IB
Mr. Clegg  6256  Mr. Waikart  7204
Mr. Fletchett  7232  Miss Gandy  5633
Mr. Glavin  5617  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  Peliotype  5644
Mr. Leonard  6222 IB
Mr. McCoy  5587  Mrs. Chisholm
Mr. McGuiness  Gandy  Miss Harris
Mr. Harbo  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 Fam Letter - Disregard It.

L. B. Nichols
Room 5640  Ext. 691

100-49565-46X2

ENCLOSURE

62-87035-4
Roger H. 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 to which book was published by the Vanguard Press, presumably for the League for Industrial Democracy (June 1949). Baldwin's article appears on pages 76 - 63, 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 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.

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 Council of Unemployed is an organization that had been set up by the Communist Party and had put on a demonstration on Friday, February 21, 1949, 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 Garman Hall on March 5, 1950. 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 assembly and stated that the American Civil Liberties Union should support the Communists so long as they were persecuted by the police.

According to the World Telegram issue of January 72, 1949, Baldwin argued: "In the worst years of the depression did Communists attract any...

EX-95
"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.

(100-19565-18).

Original to Office of Secretary of Defense
cc: Air Forces
IDM:

J. N. Dinsmore: mem
February 17, 1949
SAC, Newark
Director, FBI

ROGER NACH BAlDWIN
SECURITY HArrER - C
Your file #100-15050
Bureau file #100-49565

ALL INTEHON CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8.20.46 BY SEBASTIAN

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 1949 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

57 APR 21 1949
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, NEWARK
SUBJECT: ROGER NASH BALDWIN
       SECURITY MATTER - C
       (Bureau File 100-49565)

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: 2-20-49 BY: SP85TS100

cc New York

RECORDED - 62 100-49565 48

EX-141

3·MAR·29·1949

F 16

5-7·APR·21·1949
April 23, 1949

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover —

The enclosed copy of a Town Meeting is sent you for your information in connection with a recent press statement 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.

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.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED THEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-49 BY SBE 3/25/49

April 23, 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
DATE 8-22-49

Dear Edgar Hoover,

Chief, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington 25, D.C.

(Confidential)
One colleague 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 regarding Communism. (It would be well to make record of radio broadcast regarding Communism as the tone of voice and emphasis may simply 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 could 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 as 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 perfect government agencies. And few important things is today.

You are traveling a difficult path and I wish to be among the 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 America."

These words are said to have been written home by an American
paled, 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 America in this hour, when so many statesmen and leaders
have only their own interests at heart, and so little regard to our America.
Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: MR. FLETCHER
FROM: V. P. KRAY
SUBJECT: ROGER BALDWIN

DATE: February 15, 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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 Civil Liberties Union from 1929 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:

It is recommended that the State Department 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-Bureau Section for appropriate stamping and for transmittal to the State Department. (100-49565-A)

Attachment

LNC: rma
July 19, 1950

Mrs. B. L. Whitkop
304 Bridge Street
Springfield, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Whitkop:

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.
it was by Senator Burton's estate on a hill near the beach was a flag pole. She refused to have the American flag displayed saying I prefer the communistic flag - as that time she was Mrs. Leif Ericson. Gallenbuhr - divorced him about 1920-3 in Mexico. He married a German. He was then connected with the Swift Liberty Union. They are both decided Communists, and I wonder if their trip over there is they went in one of friend shift for Russia. He also had a commissary who worked with the others. They would have guests and guests, who would speak about Communism. And if you wish I will give you the name of the couple who will testify to me.
J. F. Hoover - 3353 9 July 12 - 1950
Washington - D.C.

I feel in view of the serious situation in Europe that I should acquaint you with a couple of things which I said elsewhere last week. I feel you must know the man - they are Mr. and Mrs. Roger Dallenger of N.Y. City. Also she has a summer home at Wellard, Mass. Martha's Vineyard Island.

We were just played by her. At her farm, 'Tallad-Windy-Fall.'
was recently interviewed by a 
Bureau agent in Paris, France. was a Comintern 
representative in the United States during the years 
1928-1938. He originally was sent to the United States 
to, which had its headquarters at Berlin, Germany and was headed by WILLI MUENZENBERG. 
was and while 
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 Poliburo, 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 
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 travelers take instructions. The 
explanation of this fact lies in BALDWIN'S background. 
In his youth he was a Wobbly. He was INW with a strong 
individualistic and anarchistic trend. BALDWIN disassociated 
his activities very definitely from any Communist cause.

cc. Bureau
cc. NY 105-1261

CONFIDENTIAL
Letter to Director, FBI
NY 100-8424.

"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. CAROLE 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."

"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 INTERNAL SECURITY. [Handwritten: ]

An extra copy is also being placed in the New York file on [Handwritten: ].
March 15, 1952.

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
Chairman, National Committee
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

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,

Helen W. Cady
Secretary
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
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 Pondquist made a similar address in the Friends Meeting House in Purchase N.Y.

I wish to ask why this organization (A.C.L.U.) is permitted to make inflammatory addresses in this area denouncing the United States Government and its
policies and advising me to Conquest 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 served by the Grand Jury.

What this go on?

Caroline Allison
CAROLINE ALLISON - 9.4.11
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.

Mr. Baldwin says the "epidemic of loyalty oaths," the "McCarthys" and the "McCarrahrs," the Feinberg Law, and the present administration of American foreign policy.

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 10, 1950. The Daily Worker of March 23, 1950, announced the committee had been formed at a meeting in the Roger Smith Hotel and its purpose was "to work for equality of opportunity."

At previous meetings of the committee it has heard as speakers three persons whom witnesses before Congressional committees identified under oath as Communists.

The Committee is under attack by the Americanism Committee of the American Legion.

Dr. Gertie Doppie 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 Hurwitz of 33 Pinecrest Parkway, Hastings; Katherine Kornblum of 31 Manor Avenue, White Plains; Cecil Lubell of Mount Airy Road, Croton.

Cites Support in Yonkers

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Office Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI P & C
FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE
SUBJECT: ROGER BALDWIN

DATE: 5/28/52

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.

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."

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: 5/15/52 BY 5/23/52

JUN 20 1952 55
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/20/36 BY 5BF31SF8

100-49565-58
CHANGED TO
100-336949.15X

FF DEC 8 1954
20

C
Director, FBI

Suite 1729-111 Sutter Street
San Francisco, 4, Calif.

November 14, 1945

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 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 FERC 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 SMITH, 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".

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
Heidelberg, Germany

Date: 1/20/55

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).

Women's International Democratic Federation
Unter den Linden 13
Berlin W 8, Germany

GAV: BMC
Enc. (2) AVI LENCO. ATTAC
DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-22-2009.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-21 BY 05851318

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ENCLOSED

ENCLOSURE

47525-59
OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: DIRECTOR, FBI
   (100-49565)

From: SAC, NEW YORK (100-8424)

Subject: ROGER BALDWIN

Rebulet to NY 3/24/55, captioned, IS-R, which signified the Bureau desired that immediate steps be taken to correct the previous characterization of [blank] in all reports and letters prepared in the past. Rebulet directed that in all instances information furnished by [blank] should be attributed to [blank] 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 [name] by name and characterization:

(Rpt., Letter) (Date) (Agent's Name) (Place Where) (Page Numbers) (T-Symbol) (Airtel, Etc.) Made)

NY letter to 3/13/51

Bureau

Where this communication was a report, the information corresponding to the T-symbol number for [blank] 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 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 GIBARTI'S 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 -

(REM) W

1. File 61-6629
2. NY 105-1261-Subfile A-2

RECORDED - 40 100-49565-68
EX-125 11 MAY 18 1955

JEW: PAQ

71 MAY 27 1955
PERSONAL ATTENTION

PROPOSED VISIT OF ROGER BALDWIN TO PUERTO RICO FOR STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. REMAR: 5/20/55. INASMUCH AS NO PROBLEMS KNOWN TO EXIST REGARDING CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS, YOU SHOULD NOT CONTACT GOVERNOR LUIS MUÑOZ 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 INFORMED OF DETAILS OF HIS INQUIRY.

CC: Mr. Nichols (Handled separately)

OLM: rush
(10) Memo Price to Rosen, same re same date

Hoover all information contained herein is unclassified dated 2/3/66 by 56815A9

[Signature]

[Date] 5/28/55

[Stamp] FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

[Stamp] U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[Stamp] COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

[Stamp] TRANSMITTED

[Stamp] FILED BY

[Stamp] APPROVED BY

[Stamp] TYPED BY

[Stamp] DATED 3/14/56 BY

[Stamp] DATED 2/21/56 BY

[Stamp] DATED 2/12/56 BY
F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

DECODED COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FROM SAN JUAN

DATE 5-20-55 NR 200430 4:43 AM

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

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 MUÑOZ 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 MUÑOZ 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 (MUÑOZ 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.

CONFIDENTIALLY ADVISED TODAY THAT HE HAD NO IDEA WHY MUÑOZ 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 MUÑOZ 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 MUÑOZ MARIN AND AGAIN POINT OUT TO HIM BUREAU'S JURISDICTION.

Mr. Rosen

RECORDED 5/20/55 100-49565-01

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.
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

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.
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)

NOTE: SAC, NEW YORK!


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."
This case was received in the NY branch 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" (File 100-4956s, 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 5/4 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 the above-mentioned subject be made under the Voice of America program. During this investigation the Bureau requested that a check 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 requesting that the date of 5/27/41 be changed to read 5/27/21.

1/10/55
1/11/55
1/12/55
1/14/55
NOT RECORDED
31MAR 22, 1955
Letter to Director
NY 65-16814.

SA Lardner, in writing his report of 11/16/54, relied on the information set forth in report of SA Brasheir 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 Brasheir 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.
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERIN IS UNCLASSIFIED.

DATE 3-20-55 BY 28.3K515

By letter 2-16-55, New York requested Turino change date 5-27-41 in report to Thomas J. Lardner dated 11-16-44 at New York, New York, concerning subject to read 5-27-41. 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 to Thomas J. Lardner 11-16-44 set forth a documentation of Ester-Loidin in which information from a report of C.A. H. Brashear dated 2-25-45 at New York, New York, concerning Ester-Loidin was utilized. Brashear's report set forth information from articles obtained from the "New York Times" Lisco concerning Loidin, including an article dated 5-27-41. On 3-15-55, a Joint of America (JUA) investigation was instituted concerning subject. During JUA investigation Bureau requested check of "New York Times" articles dated 5-27-41 in report to James A. Scovano in 101 case which resulted in determination date should have been 5-27-41. JUA report corrected and Bureau advised to correct date in record concerning Loidin. New York advised to Lardner in writing his report of 11-16-44 relies on information set forth in report of C.A. Brashear in the Loidin 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 C.A. Brashear no longer assigned New York. The JUA, New York, advised he could see no error or culpability on part of either C.A. Lardner or Relief Supervisor John J. Landah who approved the report. The JUA recommended no administrative action be taken in this report.

A review of the personnel file of C.A. Lardner Hugh Brashear reflects that he resigned from the Bureau to practice law on August 31, 1943.

Attachment

CS-4955A

ca - 104-4955A

Pickles - Mr. Bonadonna
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Bonadonna
Administrative Division
Consolidation Unit, Records Section

MAR 28, 1955
The date 5-37-42 which appears in the report of SA Brashear dated 2-30-42 concerning Baldwin has been corrected to read 5-27-42. A notation on this report indicates that on August 20, 1942, a copy was furnished former Assistant Attorney General Wendell Corpse.

(1) That no administrative action be taken against SA Larcher and Relief Supervisor Conchty.

(2) That the attached letter be sent to the Records Administration Branch, at New York, correcting the report of SA Brashear dated 2-30-42 concerning Baldwin. New York will be instructed to correct its copies of this report.
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

CC: Assistant Attorney General

CC: William F. Tompkins (Enclosure)

CC: Mr. Nichols

CC: Mr. Baumgardner

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREBY IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATED 6-20-56 BY 2131232748

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 255 DM

MAY 26 1955

COMM.-FBI

JUN 7 1955

24077
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.
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<td>Mr. Tolson</td>
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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
DATED 20-36 BY 563573
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 Marin reveló ayer que va auspiciar un estudio en la Isla sobre la aplicación y el respeto a los derechos civiles.

El propósito del señor Muñoz Marin 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 Marin que el Gobierno de Puerto Rico es una completa democracia con gran respeto a la libertad y derechos de todos sus ciudadanos y que eso es hecho reconocido por todos los conciudadanos del mundo.

Comparó este estudio con el examen médico que deben hacerse las personas periodismo aunque no sugieren enfermedad alguna, pero que sirvan para evitar o detectar cualquier mal que nos amenace.

Cree el Gobernador que el estudio es beneficioso al gobierno, no hay especialista más eminentes, y consta que el señor Roger Baldwin, quien se le ha invitado a la Isla, se ha destacado como figura en defensa de la libertad y los derechos civiles en 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 he will start it 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.

ENVELOPE
1104-417565-62
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.
Office Memorandum - United States Government

TO: Mr. Rosen
FROM: F. L. Price

DATE: May 23, 1955

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.

SAC, San Juan 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.

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 office 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
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.
Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III
Director, FBI

PROPOSED STUDY OF CIVIL RIGHTS
IN PUERTO RICO BY ROGER BALDWIN

June 9, 1955

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.N." (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.
Director, FBI

SAC, San Juan (44-0)

PROPOSED VISIT OF ROGER BALDWIN TO PUERTO RICO FOR STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

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: MES
(3)

Enclosures (3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERIN IS UNCLASSIFIED.
EL MUNDO
May 21, 1955
San Juan, Puerto Rico

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
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 great demands on 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.
Los Derechos Civiles

Secundamos y aplaudimos la gestión hecha por el Gobernador de Puerto Rico, señor Luis Muñoz Marín, al encomendar 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 últimas cívicas en pro de conservar y mantener intactas y puras, esas libertades.

Reconocemos que el señor Muñoz Marín ha dado un paso de buen gobierno al iniciar este reexamen de las libertades civiles en Puerto Rico.

Aún en los regímenes más democráticos, es cosa conveniente y plausible haber revisión periódica de cómo se desenvuelve la libertad en el ambiente porque, aunque en esos regímenes muy democráticos, se pueden cometer imperceptiblemente muchos 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, ese examen, 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.

Es lo que esperamos que se haga, en toda su extensión, la gestión del Gobernador. Y en ese propósito creemos que debe estar acompañado, y bien acompañado, por todos los que en el país se preocupan de las cuestiones cívicas, por todos los que aquí tienen amor y cariño a la verdadera libertad.

En eso se estaría respondiendo a una de las condiciones que impone la libertad, es la de que quien la disfruta se encuentra siempre alerta, vigilante, para asegurarse de que nada la elimine 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 vio en la obligación cívica de ponerse al frente de un movimiento para detener unos proyectos de legislación que considerábamos, fundamentalmente, festivos 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 debe dar la mayor 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.

Animense, pues, los buenos ciudadanos a abordar en tema tan vital y a cooperar en todo lo posible a que no se frustren, o queden incumplidos, los propósitos del Gobernador, al someterse a revisión y reexamen la sensible perillanía y cuestión de los derechos civiles.
¿La Encontrará?

Por Filardi

"El Mundo"
San Juan,
Puerto Rico
5/24/55

Firma de Filardi

M. M. M.

Estudios sobre derechos civiles

Tienen mano libre.
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: San Juan (Enclosure)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/20/56 BY SMD-7511

Toole
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Kenne
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Pann
Silver
Wintergoud
Tele, Room
Holloman
Gandy
SAG, 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  
100-6424.

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: 3-30-56 BY 5P20167JAG

WCT: Gas  
(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.
ROGER BALDWIN TO SURVEY PUERTO RICO CIVIL LIBERTIES

Roger H. Baldwin, the Union's International Work Adviser, has been invited by Governor Luis Munoz 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 F. Casadeo 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.
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.

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

The Attorney General
Director, FBI

ROGER NASH BALDWIN, VISIT TO PUERTO RICO FOR STUDY OF CIVIL LIBERTIES ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-20-36 BY SP8 73-1028

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.

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Memorandum to The Attorney General

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
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, COUNTERTFEITING OR TAX MATTERS. BUREAU'S GENERAL JURISDICTION BRIEFLY EXPLAINED AND BALDWIN TOLD FEDERAL NARCOTICS MATTERS HANDLED IN PR BY CUSTOMS AGENT IN CHARGE AND COUNTERTFEITING 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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATED 08-30-65 BY S/P 8575 0885

RECORDED - 69

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.
UTMOST RESPECT FOR AND CONFIDENCE IN FBI 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 - Candy

Send memo to B.G. Rogers, Tambronn.

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.
ATTACHMENT

ATTACHED ARE 6 COPIES OF THE REPORT OF SAC, NY, 10/6/55, IN THE CAPTIONED MATTER.

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 ACPPB after an unsuccessful contest for power with ABNER GREEN for the position of Executive Secretary of the ACPPB. Accordingly, it would appear that NOVICK may be in a position to furnish information regarding the origin and early years of the ACPPB.

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
Letter to DIRECTOR, FBI
NY 100-3620

out on page 3 in the report of SA \underline{5/12/54},
captioned, "IRVING NOVICK, wa; SM-0". 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.

It is noted that MAURICE MALKIN as set out in
the report of SA ALDEN C. MG GRAY, 1/28/55, entitled,
"IRVING NOVICK, wa; SM-U" 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.
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 (CAAU); and EDWARD J. LIMIS, all of New York City, interviewed, but were unable to furnish specific information concerning the origin or current activities of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPF). 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. LIMIS stated that he is unable to recall CCAU participating in the formation of the ACPF.

DETAILS: Mr. ROGER NASH BALDWIN, former Executive Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), was interviewed on October 5, 1955, by FBI 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 of Foreign Born.
of Foreign Born (ACFEB). Mr. BALDWIN stated that he had been an official of both the AEPF and the ACLU, and that it is his best recollection that the original approach to aid in the establishment of the ACFEB in the early 1930’s was to the AEPF 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 ACFEB 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 ACFEB during its early years. However, he stated that when the Communist influence first began to make itself felt he ceased this development, but could not be more specific in this regard.

With respect to one of the early secretaries of the Committee, LEIGHT MORAN, 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 ACLU. He also recalled DR. IRVING NOVICK as being active in the affairs of the Committee, but said he did not believe this was during the time when Mr. 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 ACLU, 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 ACLU 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 AAPB for precise information to refresh his recollection concerning the role played by these organizations in the formation of the ACLU. 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 ACFFB, he could suggest no particular reason why the International Rescue Committee would be more likely to have pertinent current information regarding the ACFFB than other organizations dealing with immigration matters.

On October 4, 1955, SAS [redacted] interviewed [redacted], Executive Director, Common Council for American Unity (CCAU), 20 West 10th Street, New York City, relative to his knowledge of subject organization.

Mr. [REDACTED] stated at the outset that to the best of his knowledge, he could not recall that he or his organization helped found the ACFFB. He stated that perhaps the CCAU 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. [REDACTED] informed that having been Executive Director of the CCAU for over 30 years, he has been 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 MAURICE MORGAN, the Secretary of the ACFFB, now dead, during the 1930's. According to Mr. [REDACTED], it was only after MORGAN's death when INNOCENTIO 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.
NY 100-3620

Mr. EDWARDS 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. EDWARDS furnished a copy of a sworn affidavit,
dated February 14, 1955, submitted by him on behalf of
FRANCIS J. BRICK, a member of the staff of the American
Council on Education, Washington, D.C., who was
charged with being a member of the ACPEB. 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 leftist
organizations. 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, DAVID IDORF, in the late
1930s and the withdrawal of its acting secretary,
IRVING BOYD, in 1941, ABERN 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. EDWARDS, 165 Broadway, New York City,
was interviewed on October 14, 1955, by SA
Mr. EDWARDS could not recall that he had ever had a law case
referred to him by the ACPEB since he went into private
practice in 1945.
NY 100-3620

In 1961, 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 ACPFBA's 'leading' Attorney since he seemed to always represent defendants in the kind of case the ACPFBA was interested in. ENNIS knows of no official connection between KING and the ACPFBA. Neither does he have personal knowledge of any questionable affiliations of KING. He explained that the ACPFBA 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 ACPFBA, according to Mr. ENNIS, was specifically not asked to join because the ACPFBA is considered a "political" group and the AIC constitution requires that members be apolitical.

Mr. ENNIS has had no contact with the ACPFBA through either the AIC or the CCAU. He knew of no support given by the CCAU to the ACPFBA in its initial organization or later development.

Mr. ENNIS stated that he is not conversant with current activities of the ACPFBA and could not recall ever meeting AMBER GREEN or having any knowledge of any political ramifications of the ACPFBA.
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.
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.

By cover letter the NKO has advised why it does not contemplate interview with IRVING NOVICK, who was identified by RAY LEWIS, as having broken with the AOPFB.

LEADS

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will recontact Mr. ROGER NASH BAILIWIN for further information which he may be able to obtain from the records of the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Fund for Public Service.

REFERENCE

Bureau memo, 9/30/55, to AG WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS.
L. V. Boardman

A. H. Belmont

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN (ACFEB)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950
FBI FILE: 100-7046

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREBY IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE: 30-36 BY 05 857 0989

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 ACFEB, 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 ACFEB. Department also requests that we interview Reed (Read) Lewis and Edward J. Ernis, both of whom have been affiliated in some degree with Communist front organizations. For any information they can furnish concerning ACFEB.

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.

ACTION:

There is attached a more detailed memorandum relative to this matter.

Enclosure

WGT-d17
(5)

cc: Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Thornton

68 OCT 11 1955

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NOT CONFIDENTIAL

JAC: OCT 6, 1955

100
L. W. Boardman

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 8.31.56 BY 675140

BACKGROUND:

ACPFB is subject of current hearing before Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) which commenced on June 21, 1955, and was subsequently resumed after a break in 1956. 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 an 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 to Boston Office in report form under date 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 (Reed) 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.

Enclosure

NOT RECORDED

OCT 6 1955
cc = File 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 the Bureau with membership list dated October, 1940, of American Friends of the Mexican People; Under the heading of Foreign Members, name of Reuel Lewis, 330 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. (100-358784-2)

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 reported 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. (100-7046-1922)

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.

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 18 Communist leaders. As chairman of ACLU's Civil Rights Committee, he was critical of detention as security risk of aliens seeking re-entry into the United States and was a signer of ACLU's letter dated December 31, 1955, criticizing Bureau's action in Harry Dexter White case. (100-98549-7)

OBSERVATIONS:

1. Incasmuch as ACPEB 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.
Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

2. It is also noted that the historical development of ACEPE is pertinent to this hearing before SACE 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.
Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

Director, FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY [Redacted] ON [Redacted]

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 attorney for the ACPFB was also the attorney 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...
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 airtel, 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.

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
MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

August 10, 1955

MR. A. H. BELMONT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED.

DATE 8-20-55 BY 200867123

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN (ACPPB)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950
BUPH: 100-7046

Captured 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 ACPPB on 5-26-55 Abner Green, executive secretary of ACPPB, stated that ACPPB plans to refute Attorney General's charge that ACPPB was founded by Communist party. Green claimed ACPPB 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 ACPPB.

After checking with New York office and reviewing Buffies, Department was advised by memorandum 6-27-55 that our files reflect that while Baldwin has supported the work of ACPPB 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

1955
Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

Baldwin has been subject of investigation by Bureau prior to 1946, results of which were 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 ASPPB 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, (100-19565-50).

In May 1955 Baldwin was invited by Governor Luis Munoz Marín 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.