

CARTON 9.33

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Federal Bureau of Investigation

1941-2007

2017/193
c

To: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
Hyde Park, NY

FROM: Robert L. Allen, Ph.D
University of California, Berkeley

RE: Research Request

DATE: June 11, 2007

I am a researcher doing a study of the March on Washington Movement of 1941. I am writing to request copies of two documents. These are FBI reports found in President Roosevelt's Official Files. They are identified below:

OF 10-B, Numbered FBI Reports, box 13, no. 794, J.E. Hoover to Major General Edwin M. Watson, Secretary to the President, The White House, May 31, 1941.

OF 10-B, Numbered FBI Reports, box 14, no. 835, "Memorandum Re: March on Washington Movement," enclosure J.E. Hoover to Major General Edwin M. Watson, Secretary to the President, The White House, June 19, 1941.

Please advise me of any fees associated with copying and sending copies of these documents. I would be pleased to pay a reasonable fee for such services. Please send the materials to:

Robert L. Allen
Adjunct Professor
Department of African American Studies
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720-2572

E-mail: rlallen@berkeley.edu
Phone: 415 377-9478

Thank you for your assistance.



Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library

Facsimile TRANSMITTAL

to: Robert L. Allen
fax #: 510 238 9165
re: FBI Reports
date: 6/19/07
pages: 5 Pages (including cover sheet).

Dear Dr. Allen,

Here are the FBI reports that you ordered. As per your request, hard copies of these documents will be mailed to you along with your credit card receipt.

Sincerely,

Matthew C. Hanson

Enclosures:

FBI Report 794, J. E. Hoover to E. M. Watson, May 31, 1941 (1 page)
FBI Report 835, J. E. Hoover to E. M. Watson, June 19, 1941 (3 pages)

From the desk of...

Matthew C. Hanson
Archives Technician
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library
4079 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, NY 12538
Telephone: (845) 486-7760
Fax: (845) 486-1147
Email: Matthew.Hanson@nara.gov

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Subject: FBI Reports 794 & 835

From: "Matthew Hanson" <Matthew.Hanson@nara.gov>

Date: Mon, June 18, 2007 11:34 am

To: rlallen@berkeley.edu

Priority: Normal

Options: [View Full Header](#) | [View Printable Version](#) | [Download this as a file](#)

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be faxed
6/19

Dear Dr. Allen:

This is in response to your request for FBI reports # 794 and # 835.

We have located FBI report # 794 in Official File 10b, Justice Department: FBI Reports, 1941: 781 - 799 (box 13). This document is one page in length. We have also located FBI report # 835 in Official File 10b, Justice Department: FBI Reports, 1941: 833 - 854 (box 14). This material is three pages in length. Reproductions made by the Library Staff at your request are \$0.50 per page, with a minimum charge of \$10.00. Therefore, to order these four pages, it will cost the \$10.00 minimum charge. The Library accepts payments by check, money order, or any major credit card. Remittances should be made to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. On credit card orders, provide the type of card, the name on the card, the card number and expiration date, and a telephone number where you can be reached during business hours. You will be sent the yellow copy of the credit card slip as your receipt. Since our e-mail is not encrypted, we recommend that you fax your credit card and order and mailing information to 845-486-1147 (Attn: Archives Department).

We hope you find this information helpful. Please let us know if you would like to proceed with this order, or if there is anything else we can do to be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Matthew C. Hanson
Archives Technician
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library
4079 Albany Post Road Hyde Park, NY 12538
Phone: (845) 486-7760 Fax: (845) 486-1147

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Move to:

5/18-232 8/5

Subject: FBI Report 704 & 832
 From: "Matthew Hanson" <Matthew.Hanson@nara.gov>
 Date: Mon, June 18, 2007 11:34 am
 To: thallen@haskel.edu
 Priority: Normal
 Options: View Full Header View Plain Text Version Download Attachments

Dear Dr. Allen:

This is in response to your request for FBI reports # 704 and # 832. We have located FBI report # 704 in Official File 100, Justice Department, FBI Reports, 1941: 704 - 709 (box 11). This document is one page in length. We have also located FBI report # 832 in Official File 100, Justice Department, FBI Reports, 1941: 832 - 834 (box 11). This material is three pages in length. Reproductions made by the library staff at your request are \$0.50 per page, with a minimum charge of \$10.00. Therefore, to order these four pages, it will cost the \$10.00 minimum charge. The library accepts payments by check, money order, or any major credit card. Remittance should be made to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. On credit card orders, provide the type of card, the name on the card, the card number and expiration date, and a telephone number where you can be reached during business hours. You will be sent the yellow copy of the credit card slip as your receipt. Since our e-mail is not encrypted, we recommend that you fax your credit card and order and calling information to 845-486-1147 (After: Archives Department).

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Sincerely,

Matthew O. Hanson
 Archives Technician
 Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library
 4075 Albany Post Road, Hyde Park, NY 12528
 Phone: (845) 486-1760 Fax: (845) 486-1147

VISIT US AT: www.fdrlibrary.marietta.edu
 The Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum
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 photographs, finding aids, educational resources, upcoming events
 and visitor information.

Thank you for your inquiry.
 Matthew Hanson

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



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

May 31, 1941

PERSONAL AND [REDACTED]

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Watson:

Information has been received from a confidential source to the effect that on June 1, 1941, the National Negro Congress plans a mass demonstration in Washington, D. C. It is confidentially reported that the Negroes assembling in Washington, D. C., will demonstrate against alleged "Jim Crow" practices.

These data, as I have pointed out, have been obtained confidentially and are being made available to the President and you in order that you might be kept currently advised of matters of this kind.

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. E. Hoover

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 5(E)(2)

Justice Dept. letter, 9-21-72

By DBS, NLR, Date

APR 3 1975

794
File
E.M.W.

10-B

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



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

May 31, 1941

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Secretary to the President
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BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 5(E)(2)
Justice Dept. letter, 9-21-72
By DBS, NLR, Date APR 3 1975

794
J.E.H.
L.M.W.
10-B
OF 10-B
removed FBI report
Box 13, #794

June 18, 1941

M E M O R A N D U M

Information has been received to the effect that A. Phillip Randolph, a Negro leader in the United States and former head of the National Negro Congress has organized a "Negro March on Washington" which is to take place on July 1, 1941. The object of this March is to make a "tremendous demonstration against jim-crowism and imperialist war."

Randolph's "Negro March on Washington Committee" is calling for 100,000 Negroes to join in the March to demand abolition of jim-crowism against Negroes in government departments and in national defense industries.

Of particular significance is the attitude of the Communist Party concerning the proposed March. It is to be noted that A. Phillip Randolph in April 1940 severed his connection with the National Negro Congress because of its alleged control and domination by the Communist Party. It appears that the Communist Party has not been invited to participate in this March. The Party, however, has expressed a very real interest in the proposed undertaking. James W. Ford, leading Negro member of the Communist Party and three times its candidate for Vice President of the United States, has issued numerous statements in support of the said March. In speaking of the March, Ford declared:

"It reflects the trends of militancy to be observed at the present moment--trends which go far beyond the intent and purpose of those who initiated the March on Washington."

Ford also alleged that the March unquestionably

"reflects the bitterness which a large section of the Negro people has expressed against jim-crowism as a national policy.

- 2 -

It also reflects the deep concern of progressive trade unions and other similar forces among the whites over the situation of the Negro in the United States today."

The purpose to which the March will undoubtedly be put by the Communist Party is indicated by the following statement recently issued by Ford:

"The Communist Party endorses all efforts of the Negro people to fight against this jim-crowism, which is now the national policy of the government. The Negro people want jobs, democracy, and a decent standard of living; they want healthy bodies, the right to vote in the deep South, passage of the anti-lynching bill and the abolition of jim-crow as a national policy. The Communist Party supports 100 per cent the Negro people in their demands for economic security, full equality, and a happy life in this country."

There is some indication that the Communist Party will endeavor to convert the March into a Communist demonstration. This is indicated by Ford's statement to the effect that the program of A. Phillip Randolph who is organizing the March calls for "complete support of a war program." He further alleged that Randolph's aim is "without a doubt to head off any real struggle of the Negro people against this war program." Without this struggle, Ford declared there can be no successful elimination of discrimination.

Ford finally recommended:

"The Negro people, together with their white friends and allies, should use the occasion of the March on Washington to make a tremendous demonstration against jim-crowism and the imperialist war."

June 18, 1941

MEMORANDUM

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Ford finally recommended:

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JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



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

June 19, 1941

PERSONAL AND [REDACTED]
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Watson:

I am transmitting herewith as of possible interest to the President and you a memorandum concerning A. Phillip Randolph, a Negro leader in the United States and former head of the National Negro Congress, who has organized a "Negro March on Washington" which is to take place on July 1, 1941.

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

835

10-B

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



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

June 19, 1941

Box 14, # 835

OF 10-B

PERSONAL AND [REDACTED]
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

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Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

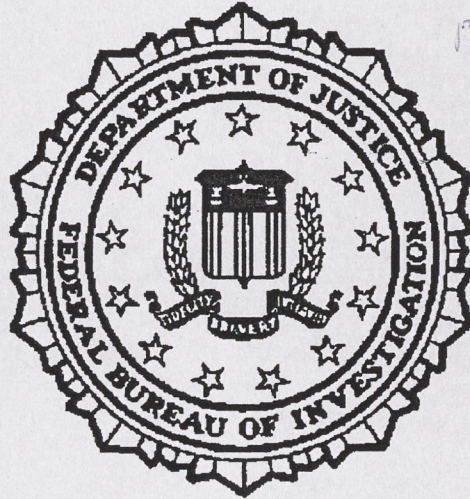
Enclosure

No suggestion
expressed that March
might be a bluff
or contrary, memo
takes March seriously
and frets about
CP take over

2/10/03

Morva Dellums
receiving

(Note: Morva has
President's Letter appointing
CL to draft Board)



Federal Bureau of Investigation

Freedom of Information / Privacy Acts

Release

Subject: COTTRELL LAURENCE DELLUMS



FILE DESCRIPTION

SUBJECT COTTRELL L. DELLUMS

FILE NO. 100-20803

190 14 / 10 11-2 194-43-1738156
JUN 11 1964

San Francisco, California
March 14, 1941

Special Agent in Charge
Los Angeles, California

Re: COTTRELL L. DELLUMS, W/A
INTERNAL SECURITY

94669

Dear Sir:

It has been reported to this office that the above individual had been placed on local Draft Board 73 in Oakland, California, through the influence of [redacted] from Los Angeles.

b7C

It is requested that this office be advised of the relation between [redacted] and the Communist Party, as indicated by the general files in your office on the Communist Party. We will also appreciate any information available in your office regarding the above Subject.

Yours very truly,

M. J. L. PIEPER
Special Agent in Charge

REM: [redacted]
cc: Bureau

100-756

#384417-1

5/10/44 SP9 AG/dmj

216-3-1

10 91

TY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*Augustus Hawkins
Subject*

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA**

FILE NO **100-4142**

REPORT MADE AT LOS ANGELES	DATE WHEN MADE 4/2/41	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 3/25, 26/41	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>
TITLE COTTRELL L. DELLUMS, with alias C. L. Dellums			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 25%;"> SYNOPSIS OF FACTS <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-top: 10px;"> <i>Photo</i> CC TO: <i>Adm. Div.</i> REQ. REC'D <i>3-5-61</i> FEB 10 1965 ANS. <i>Adm. Div.</i> BY: <i>Adm. Div.</i> </div> </div> <div style="width: 70%;"> <p>Subject C. L. DELLUMS formerly connected with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at Oakland, California, was on the executive committee of Labor's Non-Partisan League in December, 1937. [REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED] registered as a Socialist in Los Angeles County in 1930, but changed his party affiliation to Democrat in 1934. [REDACTED] had an article in a Communist Party publication called the "Winner" in 1936. This publication was sponsored by the American Youth Congress. Other Communists had articles in this publication. [REDACTED] has been connected with Communist Party front organizations particularly in the year 1936. [REDACTED] advocated the repeal of the California State Criminal Syndicalism Law.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- RUC -</p> </div> </div> <div style="position: absolute; right: 0; top: 50%; transform: translateY(-50%);"> b7C </div> <div style="position: absolute; right: 0; top: 10%;"> AL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9AG/dmj #384,417-1 </div>			

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

FILE NO **100-4142**

<p>REPORT MADE AT LOS ANGELES</p>	<p>DATE WHEN MADE 4/2/41</p>	<p>PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 3/25,26/41</p>	<p>REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C</p>
<p>TITLE COTTKELL L. DELLUMS, with alias C. L. Dellums</p>			<p>CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY</p>
<p>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS</p> <p>Subject C. L. DELLUMS formerly connected with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at Oakland, California, was on the executive committee of Labor's Non-Partisan League in December, 1937. [REDACTED] at the same time. [REDACTED] registered as a Socialist in Los Angeles County in 1930, but changed his party affiliation to Democrat in 1934. [REDACTED] had an article in a Communist Party publication called the "Winner" in 1936. This publication was sponsored by the American Youth Congress. Other Communists had articles in this publication. [REDACTED] has been connected with Communist Party front organizations, particularly in the year 1936. [REDACTED] advocated the repeal of the California State Criminal Syndicalism Law.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- RUC -</p> <p style="text-align: right;">ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 AG/dmj #384,417-1</p>			
<p>REFERENCE:</p> <p>Letter from San Francisco Division office to Los Angeles Division, March 14, 1941.</p>			
<p>APPROVED AND FORWARDED</p>		<p>SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE</p>	
<p>COPIES OF THIS REPORT</p> <p>5-Bureau 3-San Francisco 2-Los Angeles</p>		<p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p>	

L. A. #100-4142

DETAILS:

[redacted] as of June 5, 1940, resided [redacted] Los Angeles. This information was secured from the Los Angeles County Registrar of Voters, whose records indicated that he was a Democrat as of that date and a member of the California State Assembly. He identified himself as [redacted]. He had a former address of [redacted] Los Angeles. The Precinct book indicated that a [redacted]

For the information of the San Francisco Division office, [redacted] is a Negro.

In an effort to ascertain whether [redacted] was connected with the Communist Party, the Los Angeles County Registrar of Voters record was checked back to the year 1930. The first registration of [redacted] occurred on January 11, 1930, when he gave as his political party affiliation the designation "Socialist." He gave his occupation as [redacted] Los Angeles, [redacted]. On June 13, 1934 he changed his party affiliation to Democrat and gave his address as [redacted]. On January 30, 1936 he advised his party affiliation was Democrat and his occupation [redacted]. He still registered as a Democrat on March 2, 1936, when he changed his address to [redacted]. On June 7, 1937 he again gave as his address, [redacted] and his party affiliation as Democrat.

[redacted] organization known as "Sponsor for the California Committee of One Hundred for Political Unity." [redacted] was issued in October 1937.

In the "Western Worker", a Communist publication formerly published in San Francisco, [redacted] in the issue of [redacted] [redacted] had an article which in substance exposed the false ideology of many Negro leaders who advocate isolation of the Negro people.

[redacted] was one of a group of speakers who spoke at the Epic Auditorium at a meeting at 123 North Lake Street, Los Angeles, on February 28, 1936. The source of this information was an article in the "Western Worker" on [redacted] at pages [redacted] and [redacted]. The article stated that there were about two thousand people present, and indicated that the meeting was called to advocate the repeal of the California State Criminal Syndicalism Law. At this meeting recommendations were

L. A. #100-4142

made which also covered a request for a minimum sentence imposed upon the Sacramento, California victims. Resolutions also called for the death of vigilantism. The speakers at this meeting were [redacted]

[redacted] and others who were involved in the Sacramento, California State charge of a Criminal Syndicalism Law violation. This was in 1935. [redacted]

[redacted] the State of California, was present as a speaker.

Other prominent persons attending were [redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted] is a Los Angeles attorney and a former registered voter as a Communist. He is attorney for [redacted] He is also attorney for numerous Communists when they become involved in trouble.

Both [redacted]

the State of California [redacted]

[redacted] and others named afore-mentioned were [redacted]

[redacted] at Sacramento, California in 1935.

In 1936 the American Youth Congress, a Communist front organization, had a publication entitled the "Winner." The March 1936 issue of the "Winner", at page 7, contained an article by [redacted] entitled "Not to Toy with Theory." This apparently concerned the watchword of the Negro Congress held at Chicago, Illinois on February 14, 1936. The "Winner" was a five-cent pamphlet-type paper published at Los Angeles by the American Youth Congress in 1936. The [redacted] - a Communist Party name for an individual known as [redacted] who is a well-known Communist in Southern California. [redacted] at that time was [redacted] In 1936 the "Winner" was published at Room 404 in the American Bank Building, Los Angeles.

b7C

A Communist Party member named [redacted] who was prominent in Oakland, California and Alameda County, California Communist circles in 1935 and 1936, and who is now connected with the I.L.D. at Los Angeles, also had an article in the "Winner", which article advocated the repeal of the California Criminal Syndicalism Law.

A review of the "Winner" of March 1936 reflects that the article afore-mentioned of [redacted] advocated Negro cooperatives and the use of a United Front.

[redacted] was interested in the California Conference for the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law, which was held April 19, 1936 in the Bay Region area. He was also interested in the organization known as the "Epic."

L. A. #100-4142

The "People's World", a San Francisco Communist Party publication which replaced the "Western Worker" in its issue of June 3, 1938, reflected that [redacted] paraded in behalf of the "Citizens News" strike. The "Citizens News" is a Hollywood, California newspaper.

Confidential Informants [redacted] and [redacted] advised that they have no information that indicates that [redacted] was a holder of a Communist Party membership book. They stated, however, that he has close association and interest with other Communists, particularly the Negro groups.

The report of Labor's Non-Partisan League on the State Convention held at San Francisco, December 11 and 12, 1937 reflects that Subject C. L. DELLUMS was connected with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters group at Oakland, California and at Alameda County, California.

b2
b7C
b7D

A letterhead as of January 3, 1938, of Labor's Non-Partisan League reflects that Subject DELLUMS was a member of the executive committee. The minutes of the California State Convention of L.N.P.L. which was held at San Francisco December 11 and 12, 1937, names the election of officers and indicates that Subject DELLUMS was on the executive committee. [redacted] who is well known to the San Francisco office in his Communist connections, [redacted] at that time, representing the San Francisco.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA**

FILE NO **100-756**

REPORT MADE AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.	DATE WHEN MADE 5-12-41	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 3-8, 24, 26, 30; 4-9-41	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; display: inline-block;"></div> CWS
TITLE <u>Changed</u> COTTRELL L. DELLUMS, with aliases; Carroll Dellums, C. L. Dellums.			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY (C)
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: <div style="text-align: right; margin-right: 50px;">b7C</div> <p>Subject is U. S. citizen, resides at 829 Brookhurst Street, Oakland, California, member of local draft board 73, Oakland, and reported to be issuing orders there in violation of regulations in placing undesirable individuals in the armed forces of the U. S. </p> <p> on account of activities of Subject and others of the board. Subject alleged placed on board by </p> <p> former registered Socialist Party voter in Los Angeles and presently Negro California State Legislature.</p> <p> is associated with Communist Party front groups. Resigned position as chairman of National Youth Congress on basis of wire from National President to the effect the officers were Communists. Reported to be associated with Negro Communists in Oakland, and to have Communist Party connections. Reported to have filed false income tax returns for 1940.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-C-</p> <p>The title of this case is changed to include the alias CARROLL DELLUMS.</p> <p>REFERENCE: This investigation is predicated on information received from Confidential Informants and sources of information.</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED <hr/>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <hr/>	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT			
(5) Bureau 2 Los Angeles 2 San Francisco		ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 AG/dnj	

There is set out below in summary form the information required by the Bureau in internal security cases together with that required by Bureau teletypes dated March 3 and March 6, 1941.

NAME: COTTRELL L. DELLUMS, with aliases: Carroll Dellums, and C. L. Dellums.

Address: 829 Brockhurst Street, Oakland, California.

Reputation: a Communist.

Occupation: Former vice-president local Brotherhood, Sleeping Car Porters. Member of Local Draft Board 73, Oakland. Proprietor of pool hall, 1718 Seventh Street, West Oakland.

Automobile: 1940 Cadillac Four-door touring sedan, motor number 8344951. 1941 California license plate 1LK 541.

Organizations: National Negro Congress, Labor's Non Partisan League, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Citizenship: United States. Born in Texas, January 3, 1900.

Nationality: unknown.

Description: Negro; age 41; born 1-3-00; height 5' 11"; weight 184; eyes gray; hair black; marital status, married.

early sublim
X
Confidential Informant [] advised on July 3, 1940, that he had been advised by an informant that Subject was an official of the C.I.O. Union, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and obtained a salary from that position. [] informant advised he was positive in his own mind that DELLUMS was a Communist, although he was unable to give any substantiating evidence to that effect. He stated that DELLUMS was an official in the Labor's Non Partisan League for the 17th Assembly District, and that DELLUMS held an executive position in the National Negro Congress, which is Communistically controlled. The Labor's Non Partisan League is a Communist front organization. This informant advised that some of DELLUMS' associates are []

[] and [] This last individual is subject of an internal security case in the San Francisco Field Office.

[] that if Christ were on the earth he would "sure be a Communist".

This informant advised that it was his belief that DELLUMS filed a false income tax return for 1940.

b2
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b7D

Informant [] advised on [] that [] from Los Angeles, got DELLUMS on Draft Board 73 in Oakland. He also advised that DELLUMS was vice president of the Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the Democratic Party Central Committee.

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [] of April 2, 1941, San Francisco File in instant case. Los Angeles File 100-4142, wherein it is shown that [] from Los Angeles, who was formerly a Socialist Party registered voter and was associated with various Communist front organizations.

On January 4, 1941, [] advised that Subject's full name is COTTRELL L. DELLUMS and that he resides at 829 Brockhurst Street, Oakland; that he registered in Alameda County as a Democrat in the 1940 election and stated that he was born in Texas. Subject is described by informant as being 5' 11".

Informant further advised that Subject is proprietor of a pool hall at 1718 Seventh Street in West Oakland, California.

[] of Oakland, advised that Subject is generally known in Oakland as a leader of the Negro Communists, with his headquarters at the pool hall, address stated above. He still is associated in his Communist activities with [] until recently the [] in West Oakland. He stated that [] was relieved of his position in July 1940, []

[] Not long ago a [] was taken from [] because they were receiving Communist literature []

[] was again contacted on [] and he submitted the following chronological report on Subject.

DELLUMS, Cottrell L.

Sponsored Vane W. Dart for School Director # 1 in city election 4-20-37.

8-25-38. Subject reported to be on Executive Board of A. D. Erickson for District Attorney.

4-4-38. Subject, of the Sleeping Car Porters, spoke at a meeting of the Joint Publicity Committee of the Maritime Federation January 12th, Park Chapel Church, 9th and Chester Streets, Oakland.

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4-20-37. Sponsored [redacted]
Gave address as 1088 - 10th Street, Oakland.

12-30-37. Spoke at a mass meeting this date for the benefit of the Scottsboro boys.

2-25-38. See picture of subject in [redacted] envelope.

4-4-38. Reported to have definite C.P. connections. He is connected with the Pullman Car Union, also with Labor's Non-Partisan League, and is an associate of [redacted]

1-9-40. Subject is named by a report by the Political Purification League of California as a communist leader who is one of a group who meets frequently with [redacted]

1-16-40. Subject named as member of state executive committee of the Non-Partisan League at the state convention. X

2-16-40. Subject listed as speaker at a Relief Rally at the Oakland auditorium, this date under the auspices of Labor's Non-Partisan League. Listed as the vice chairman of LNPL of Alameda County, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

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6-14-40. Tribune: Subject named on California Commission to raise funds for an exhibit at the American Negro Exposition in Chicago, named by Governor Olson.

7-29-40. Post Enquirer. Subject running for member of County Central Committee, 17th District. Address 829 Brockhurst St., Oakland, phone OLYmpic 7143.

8-21-40. See report in envelope on [redacted] Informant reports that those people work under Dellums are forced to vote the way he tells them or else they lose their jobs. Dellums recommends people to [redacted] for positions on the W.P.A.

9-22-40. Tribune: Subject selected Regional Campaign Director by Alameda Co. Democratic Campaign Committee from 17th A.D.

9-25-40. See Report and F.B.I. File #2 re subject, [redacted]
[redacted] etc., going into N.Y.A. groups.

7-17-40. Peoples World. Subject named as Chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League of Alameda County.

1-10-41. Subject's name appears on letterhead of the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as sponsor of the committee.

November 1940. Telephone Directory lists C. L. Dellums, 829
Brockhurst, Olympic 7143. (Note: [redacted])

2-24-41. Subject's name appears on letterhead of the Harry
Bridges Defense Committee as a member of the California Sponsoring
Committee, Northern Division.

- - - - -

[redacted] Oakland, Cali-
fornia. [redacted]

[redacted] and that he believes
Subject is intentionally placing undesirable persons in the Armed
Forces of the United States through his position on the draft
board, and that he is operating without regard to instructions and
regulations.

There is quoted below a letter dated December 11, 1940,
written by [redacted] to Mr. R. E. MITTELSTAEDT, Director of
Selective Service, State of California, Plaza Building, Sacramento.

[redacted]
[redacted] that exists at Local
Board No. 73, 18th & West Sts., Oakland, Calif.

"This Board consists of [redacted]
[redacted] and Mr. C. L. Dellums, Member
of the Board, (Col.)

[redacted]
[redacted] and could not devote much of his
time to the work of the Local Board, although he was very
sincere in his efforts [redacted]

"Mr. Dellums is an Official of the Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters Union; also connected with Labor's
Non Partisan League and the Negro Congress.

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[REDACTED] contrary to instructions in the Regulations and Bulletins issued by your office.

"Letters and Special Instructions from your office [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The 'DI' circular dated early in November advising that Registrants that had been convicted of a Felony would not be accepted. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] I saw an article in the Tribune, stating that these men would not be accepted at the Induction Station. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] he said that he had read the article and wondered why the Board had not been informed of the fact. [REDACTED] 'DI' circular addressed to Local Boards. [REDACTED] the attention of Mr. Dellums [REDACTED] men had been convicted of

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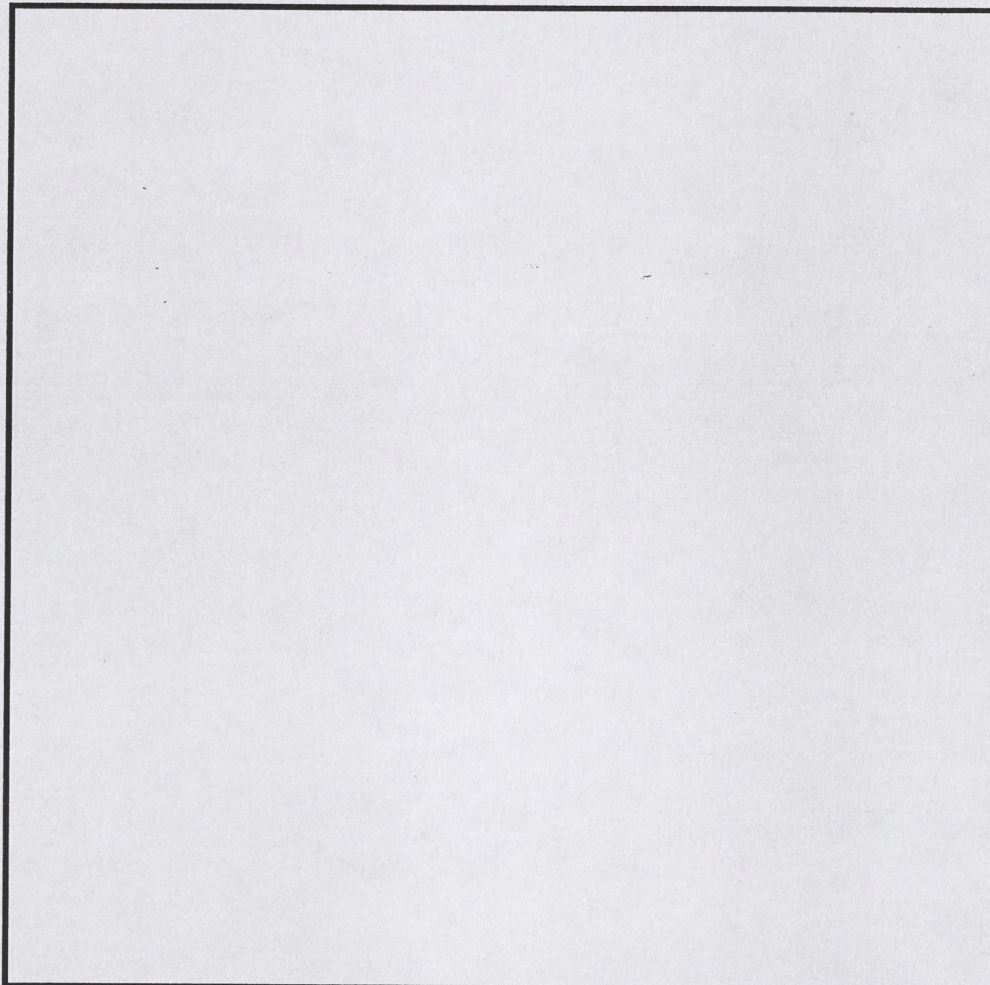
a felony in the Superior Court of Alameda County, and that he was a married man not living with his wife, but he had been classified in Class I-A and he insisted on sending him. He has been convicted of Negligent Homicide, but Mr. Dellums replied, 'Oh, they hung that on him.' [redacted] should be placed in Class III-A, on account of having a wife, but he said that his wife would not cause any trouble. This man was sent to the Induction Station at 14th & Mission Sts., San Francisco, and immediately rejected 'Convicted of a Felony'. When it was learned that he had been rejected on this account, Mr. Dellums commented 'Those Brass Hatted, Stiff Shirt, Army Officers will find out that they are not running this.'

IV-F. This case was not an oversight but a deliberate attempt to force an undesirable man into the armed forces, [redacted]

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[redacted] Mr. Dellums has, apparently, taken over the Classification and made the decisions and the other members of the Board have fallen into line without too much consideration of the facts or claims made.

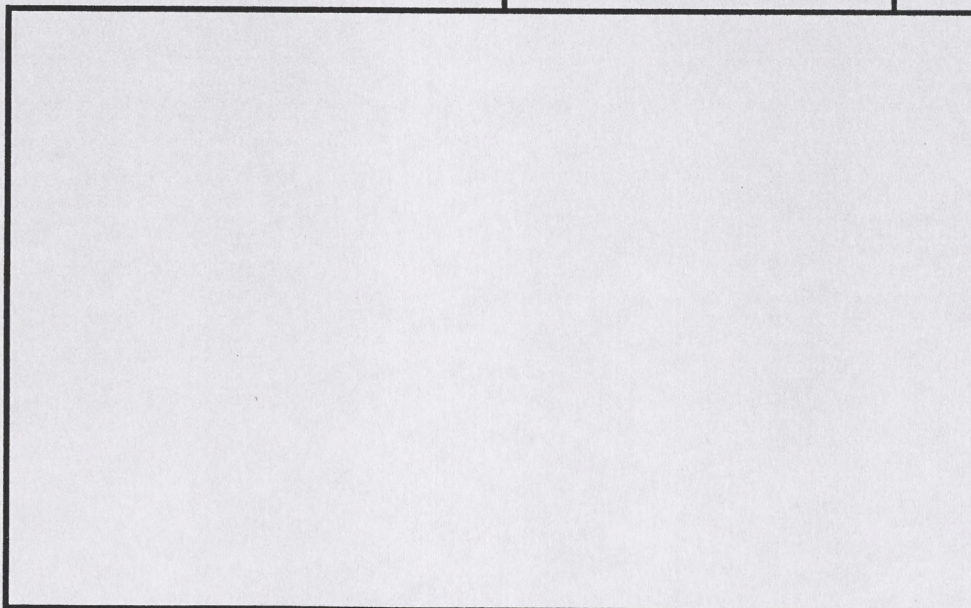
[redacted] large number of Registrants have changed their address and have notified the Board, - some in person, others by mail and when-

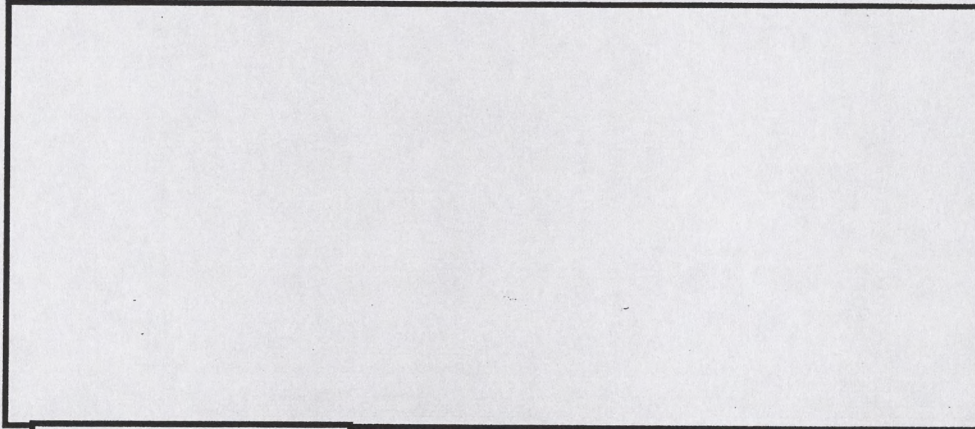


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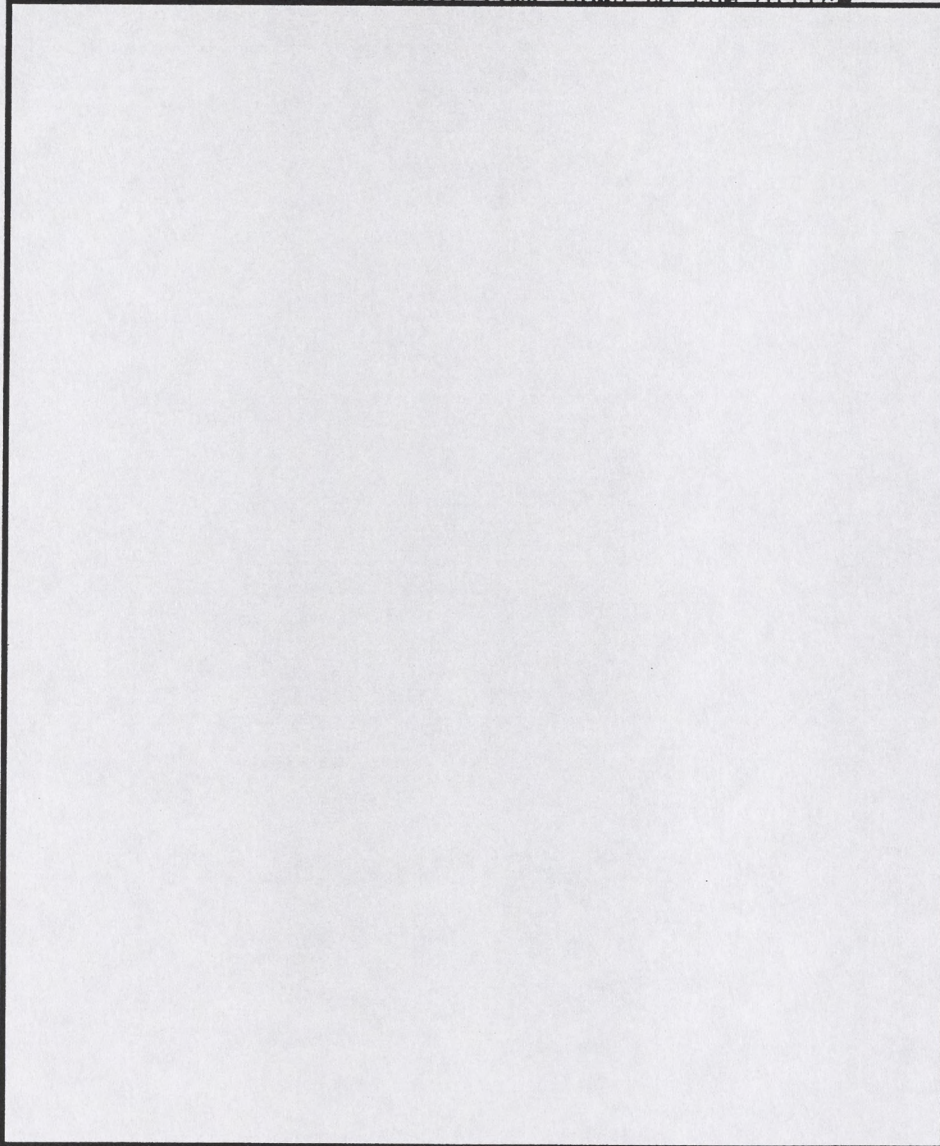
[redacted] Act be enforced and that the Govern-
ment receives the service that it is paying for.

"Very respectfully yours.
[redacted]





[redacted] was received she would be informed
by phone and that she could come down to the office



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and Mr. Dellums replied that 'nobody knows that' and

[redacted]
[redacted] that had not been notarized by competent authority.

[redacted] and judge for
yourself whether the work is being handled in an efficient
and competent manner. [redacted]

[redacted] and the record of the work
done by this Board, it would seem that the 'Oath of
Office' taken by all who accept employment in the
Selective Service is either not understood or regarded
lightly.

"This for your information.

"Very respectfully yours.
[redacted]

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One photostatic copy of the above letter is being
forwarded with this report, and one copy is being retained in
the San Francisco files.

[redacted] Oakland, California.
was interviewed on March 26, 1941, by Special Agent [redacted]
who advised that he attended a meeting of the National Negro
Congress on August 1940, and there was read at that meeting an
open telegram by [redacted] of the organization,
asking the officers to resign because he had found as a result
of the National Conference at Philadelphia that the officers of
the organization were Communists. At that same meeting, DELLUMS
read his letter of resignation, stating that he was resigning
because he thought that the constitution was based on Communistic
ideas. | +

[redacted] at Sacramento, California, advised on March 21,
1941, that this individual is the owner of the automobile the
identification of which is set out in the early portion of this
report. This source also gave the description of Subject as set
out above.

ENCLOSURE

TO BUREAU - One photostatic copy of letter set out above.

CLOSED

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

[REDACTED] National Automobile Theft Bureau,
Sacramento, California.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA**

FILE NO. 100-756

REPORT MADE AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.	DATE WHEN MADE 5-12-41	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 3-8, 24, 26, 30; 4-9-41	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; display: inline-block;"></div> GWS
TITLE Changed COTTRELL, L. DELLUMS, with aliases: Carroll Dellums, C. L. Dellums.			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY (C) A. INFORMATION OBTAINED WHICH IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 AG/dmj 384417-1
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>Photo</i></p> <p>CC TO <i>San Fran</i> REQ. REC'D. <i>5.65.</i> FEB 10 1965 ANS. BY: <i>Idu... Jan...</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 65%;"> <p>Subject is U. S. citizen, resides at 829 Brockhurst Street, Oakland, California, member of local draft board 73, Oakland, and reported to be issuing orders there in violation of regulations in placing undesirable individuals in the armed forces of the U. S. </p> <p> on account of activities of Subject and others of the board. Subject alleged placed on board by </p> <p> former registered Socialist Party voter in Los Angeles and </p> <p> California State Legislature.</p> <p> is associated with Communist Party front groups. Resigned position as chairman of National Youth Congress on basis of wire from National President to the effect the officers were Communists. Reported to be associated with Negro Communists in Oakland, and to have Communist Party connections. Reported to have filed false income tax returns for 1940.</p> </div> </div> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 20px;">b7C</div>			
-C-			
<p>The title of this case is changed to include the alias CARROLL DELLUMS.</p> <p>REFERENCE: This investigation is predicated on information received from Confidential Informants and sources of information.</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>W. J. L. Rieper</i>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE Am	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 40%;"> <p>5 Bureau (Encl)</p> <p>2 Los Angeles</p> <p>2 San Francisco</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%;"> <p><i>100-22812-3</i></p> <p>MAY 26 1941</p> <p><i>114</i></p> <p><i>5/24</i></p> </div> </div>		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 40%;"> <p><i>100-22812-3</i></p> <p>MAY 26 1941</p> <p><i>114</i></p> <p><i>5/24</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 50%;"> <p><i>Photo</i></p> <p>CC TO <i>Comm... de</i> REQ REC'D <i>7-15-69</i> JUL 17 1969 ANS BY: <i>QWB</i></p> </div> </div>	

NOV 18 1994

5/18/94 SP9 AG/dmj
#384417-1

ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300.

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU

San Francisco File 100-756

Oakland, Calif.,
December 11th, 1940.

Mr. R. E. Mittelstaedt,
Director of Selective Service,
State of California,
Plaza Building,
Sacramento, Calif.

Dear Sir:-

[redacted]
[redacted] that exists at Local Board No. 73, 18th &
West Sts., Oakland, Calif.

This Board consists of [redacted]

[redacted] and Mr. C. L. Dellums, Member of the Board, (Col.),

[redacted]
and could not devote much of his time to the work of the Local Board,
although he was very sincere in his efforts [redacted]
[redacted]

Mr. Dellums is an Official of the Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters Union; also connected with Labor's Non-Partisan League
and the Negro Congress.

[redacted]

51c

[REDACTED] contrary to instructions in the
Regulations and Bulletins issued by your office.

Letters and Special Instructions from your office

[REDACTED] The
"DI" circular dated early in November advising that Registrants that
had been convicted of a Felony would not be accepted. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[redacted] I saw an article in the Tribune, stating that these men would not be accepted at the Induction Station. [redacted]

[redacted] he said that he had read the article and wondered why the Board had not been informed of the fact. [redacted] "DI" circular addressed to Local Boards. [redacted] the attention of Mr. Dellums [redacted] men had been convicted of a felony in the Superior Court of Alameda County, and that he was a married man not living with his wife, but he had been classified in Class I-A and he insisted on sending him. He has been convicted of [redacted] but Mr. Dellums replied, "Oh, they hung that on him." [redacted]

b7C [redacted] should be placed in Class III-A, on account of having a wife, but he said that his wife would not cause any trouble. This man was sent to the Induction Station at 14th & Mission Sts., San Francisco, and immediately rejected "Convicted of a Felony". When it was learned that he had been rejected on this account, Mr. Dellums commented "Those Brass Hatted, Stiff Shirt, Army Officers will find out that they are not running this."

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] This case was not an oversight but a deliberate attempt to force an undesirable man into the armed forces. [redacted]

[redacted]

Mr. Dellums has, apparently, taken over the Classification and made the decisions and the other members of the Board have fallen into line without too much consideration of the facts or claims made.

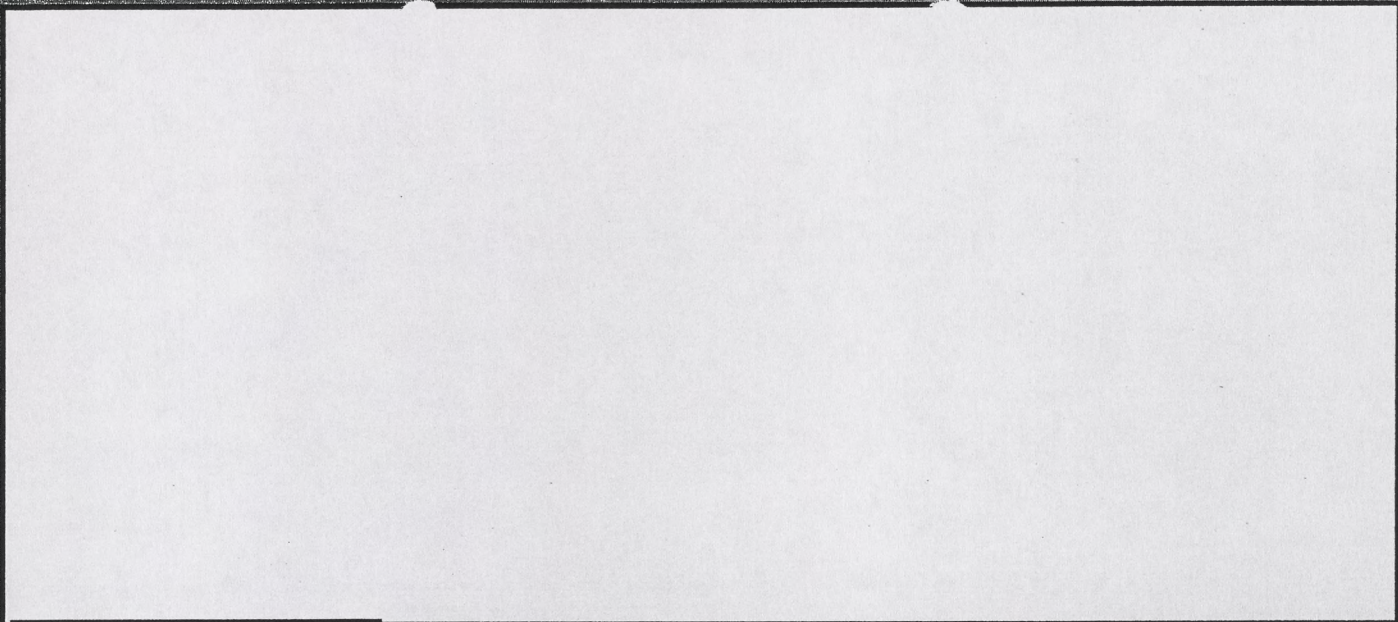
[REDACTED]

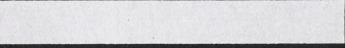
[REDACTED] large number of Registrants have changed their address and have notified the Board,- some in person, others by mail and when [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

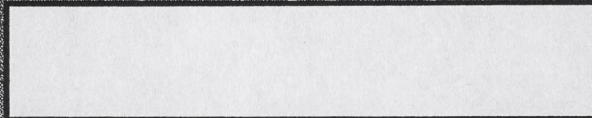
[REDACTED]



 that the Act be enforced and that the Government receives the service that it is paying for.

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Very respectfully yours.



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[REDACTED] was received she would be informed by phone and
that she could come down to the office [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

and Mr. Dellums replied that "nobody knows that" and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that had not been notarized

by competent authority.

[redacted]
[redacted] and judge for yourself
whether the work is being handled in an efficient and competent
manner. [redacted]

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[redacted]
[redacted] and the record of the work
done by this Board, it would seem that the "Oath of Office"
accept
taken by all who ~~enter the~~ employment in the Selective Ser-
vice is either not understood or regarded lightly.

This for your information.

Very respectfully yours,

[redacted]

MSJ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 AG/dmj
#3844M-1

100-20803-3

CUSTODIAL DETENTION MEMORANDUM

COTTRELL L. DELLUMS, with aliases:
Carroll Dellums, C. L. Dellums.
829 Brockhurst Street,
Oakland, California.

COMMUNIST

San Francisco
File 100-756

The name of the above individual is submitted to the Bureau for consideration for custodial detention in the event of a national emergency. The following is summarized from the San Francisco File.

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Subject was
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organization. This informant advised that some of Subject's associates are:
[redacted] This
last individual is subject of an internal security case in the San Francisco
Field Office. [redacted]

[redacted] that if Christ were on the earth, he would "sure be a Communist".
SF-12 advised on October 28, 1940 that [redacted]
Los Angeles, got Dellums on Draft Board 73 in Oakland, California. He also
advised that Dellums was Vice President of the Sleeping Car Porters and a
member of the Democratic Party Central Committee. Reference is made to
report of Special Agent [redacted] April 2, 1941, made at Los Angeles,
in instant case, San Francisco File 100-756, Los Angeles File 100-4142,
wherein it is shown that [redacted]
from Los Angeles, who was formerly a Socialist Party registered voter and
was associated with various Communist front organizations. [redacted] further
advised that Subject is a registered Democrat of Alameda County for the
1940 election year; also that Subject is proprietor of a pool hall at
1718 Seventh Street, West Oakland, California. [redacted] of the
[redacted] of Oakland, advised that Subject is generally
known in Oakland as the leader of the Negro Communists, with headquarters

Note: This memo
is dated after FBI
Report of MOW
(supposedly sponsored by
NWC) was received.
Other NWC, RICK 124
targeted for detention?

as above.

ifornia.

itizen FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
information is unverified.

4 JUN 9 1941

ed on July 3, 1940, that he
as an official of the [redacted]
obtained a salary from that
ive in his own mind that [redacted]
to give substantiating
was an official of the
District, and that Subject
Congress, which is
League is a Communist front

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CUSTODIAL DETENTION MEMORANDUM

COTTRELL L. DELLUMS, with aliases:
Carroll Dellums, C. L. Dellums.
829 Brockhurst Street,
Oakland, California.

COMMUNIST

San Francisco
File 100-756

The name of the above individual is submitted to the Bureau for consideration for custodial detention in the event of a national emergency. The following is summarized from the San Francisco File.

1. COTTRELL L. DELLUMS, with aliases: as above.
2. 829 Brockhurst Street, Oakland, California.
3. Communist.

INDEXED
RECORDED

100-2093-4
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 JUN 9 1941

4. Subject reported born in Texas, citizen. His birthdate is given as January 3, 1900. This information is unverified.

5. Confidential Informant [redacted] advised on July 3, 1940, that he had been advised by an informant that Subject was an official of the union, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and obtained a salary from that position. [redacted] informant advised he was positive in his own mind that Subject was a Communist, although he was unable to give substantiating evidence to that effect. He stated that Dellums was an official of the Labors Non Partisan League for the 17th Assembly District, and that Subject held an executive position in the National Negro Congress, which is Communistically controlled. Labors Non Partisan League is a Communist front organization. This informant advised that some of Subject's associates are:

[redacted] This last individual is subject of an internal security case in the San Francisco Field Office. [redacted]

[redacted] that if Christ were on the earth, he would "sure be a Communist".

SF-12 advised on October 28, 1940 that [redacted] Los Angeles, got Dellums on Draft Board 73 in Oakland, California. He also advised that Dellums was Vice President of the Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the Democratic Party Central Committee. Reference is made to report of Special Agent [redacted] April 2, 1941, made at Los Angeles, in instant case, San Francisco File 100-756, Los Angeles File 100-4142, wherein it is shown that [redacted]

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/13/94 BY SP9 AG/dmj
#38447-1

potential
Detention

at the pool hall, address stated above. He still is associated in his Communist activities with [redacted] until recently the [redacted] in West Oakland. He stated that [redacted] was relieved of his position in July 1940, [redacted]

[redacted] Not long ago [redacted] was taken from the sponsorship of [redacted] because they were receiving Communist literature [redacted] advised on January 9, 1940, that Subject is named by a report of the Political Purification League of California, as a Communist leader who is one of a group which meets frequently with [redacted]

Under date of July 17, 1940, there appeared in the Peoples World newspaper information to the effect that Subject was named as Chairman of Labors Non Partisan League of Alameda County.

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Under date of January 10, 1941, Subject's name appears on the letterhead of the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as sponsor of the Committee.

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Under date of February 24, 1941, Subject's name appears on the letterhead of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee, as a member of the California Sponsoring Committee, Northern Division.

[redacted] Oakland, California,

[redacted] and that he believed Subject is intentionally placing undesirable persons in the armed forces of the United States through his position on the draft board, and that he is operating without regard to instructions and regulations.

JCH:sh
100-20803-4

CORDT

September 19, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
MR. MATTHEW F. McGUIRE

Re: COTTRELL L. DELLUMS;
SELECTIVE SERVICE

The above-captioned individual has been the subject of an Internal Security investigation by the San Francisco Field Division, during which it was ascertained that he is a member of Local Selective Service Board Number 73, Oakland, California.

A confidential informant has advised that Dellums is an official of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a CIO affiliate union, and the informant expressed the opinion that he is positive Dellums is a Communist. He is reported to be an official of the Labor Non Partisan League for the 17th Assembly District, Oakland, California, and also to hold an executive position in the National Negro Congress.

This individual is reported to have been placed on Local Board Number 73 through the office of [redacted] who reportedly has been associated with various alleged Communist front organizations.

Reports from the San Francisco office indicate that Dellums is proprietor of a pool hall at 1718 Seventh Street, West Oakland, California, and that he has the reputation in Oakland of being the leader of local negro communists. It was further reported that he was actively associated with one [redacted] Oakland, California, [redacted]

[redacted] and Dellums had been holding communist

Mr Tolson meetings [redacted]

Mr E A Tamm

Mr Clegg

Mr Foxworth

Mr Glavin

Mr Ladd

Mr Nichols

Mr Rosen

Mr Carson

Mr Drayton

Mr Quinn Tamm

Mr Hendon

Mr Tracy

Miss Gandy

Under date of July 17, 1940, there appeared in the Peoples World Newspaper information to the effect that Dellums was named as Chairman of Labors Non Partisan League of Alameda County, and the subject's name appeared January 20, 1941, on the letterhead of the Northern California Committee for Protection of Normal Born. His name also appeared under date of February 24, 1941, on the letterhead of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee as a member of the California Laboring Committee, Northern Division.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 AG/dmg

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By [redacted]
Hacking?

26
FBI
SEP 20 1941

4?
J. [redacted]

Memorandum for Mr. McGuire

Page 2.

[redacted] Oakland, California, [redacted]

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[redacted] account of the activities of Dellums and [redacted]
of that board. He informed that he believed Dellums intentionally placed
undesirable persons in the armed forces of the United States through his
position on the draft board, and that he is operating without regard to
instructions and regulations.

✓ Inasmuch as this individual is a local board member of the
Selective Service System, this information is being furnished for whatever
attention you may deem appropriate.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover ✓
Director

Hoover

Department of Justice
Office of the Assistant to the Attorney General
Washington

October 16, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

This will acknowledge your memorandum of September 19, 1941, with reference to Cottrell L. Dellums, a member of Local Selective Service Board No. 73, Oakland, California.

It would be appreciated if you would cause the Bureau to undertake the usual investigation in this matter and furnish this office with two copies of any reports rendered therein.

Linton M. Collins
Acting Assistant to the Attorney General

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 AG/dmj
#384417-1

100-20803-5
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 OCT 18 1941
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FIVE

EX-2

JCH:sh

October 29, 1941

100-20803 -5

Special Agent in Charge
San Francisco, California

Re: COTTRELL L. DELLUMS
INTERNAL SECURITY
SELECTIVE SERVICE

Dear Sir:

The information contained in the Custodial Detention Memorandum submitted by your office in the above-entitled case with reference to the alleged Selective Service irregularities on the part of Cottrell L. Dellums has now been furnished to the Department.

By memorandum dated October 16, 1941, the Department requested that an investigation be conducted to determine whether this individual has violated any of the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.

You are accordingly instructed to place this matter in line for immediate investigation to determine possible irregularities on the part of Dellums in his capacity as a member of Local Selective Service Board No. 73, Oakland, California. In this connection, [redacted] Oakland, California, [redacted] and the [redacted] of this local board, should be thoroughly interviewed for all information in their possession as a preliminary step in this investigation.

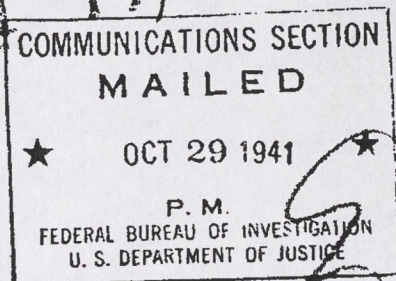
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 AG/dmg
#384,417-1

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

A report in this matter should be submitted to the Bureau within thirty days.

Very truly yours,



John Edgar Hoover
Director

Letter to [redacted]
11/4/42

WMS (GCH)

JWS

JCH:SB

January 14, 1942

100-20803 -1

Special Agent in Charge
San Francisco, California

Re: COTTRELL L. DELLUMS
INTERNAL SECURITY
SELECTIVE SERVICE

Dear Sir:

With further reference to Bureau letter dated October 29, 1941, it is requested that the investigation relative to the above entitled subject be conducted at once along the lines suggested in the aforementioned Bureau letter.

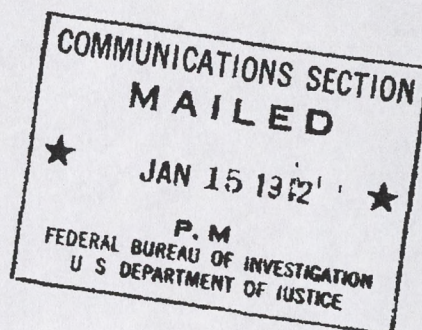
This matter should be completed and a report submitted to the Bureau within the next thirty days.

In this connection, I wish to advise that all cases involving members of local boards or other Selective Service System officials should be given preferred attention and handled, wherever possible, within a thirty-day period inasmuch as these matters are closely followed by national headquarters of the Selective Service System.

Very truly yours,

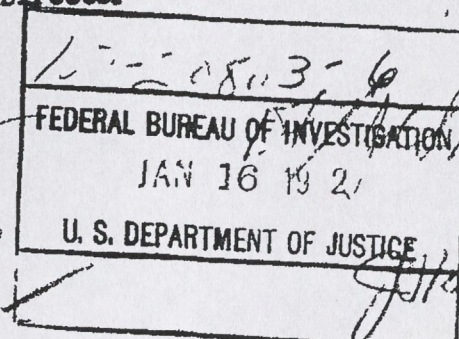
John Edgar Hoover
Director

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



RECORDED

51



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 A/G/Hmj
#384,477

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA**

FILE NO **25-4615**

REPORT MADE AT San Francisco, Calif.	DATE WHEN MADE 3/7/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 11/27,29;12/23/41;1/8;2/16,19/42	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> mfd
TITLE COTTRELL L. DELLUMS		CHARACTER OF CASE SELECTIVE SERVICE.	
<p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 AG/dmj #28447-1</p>			
<p>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>Cal</i></p> <p><i>K. H. H.</i></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content;"> <p>CC TO: <i>Adm.</i> REQ. REC'D <i>3-5-65</i> FEB 10 1965 ANS. BY: <i>Adm.</i></p> </div> </div> <div style="width: 65%;"> <p><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 250px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> Oakland, Calif. advised subject, a negro, member of Board #73, was intentionally placing undesirable persons in armed forces of U.S.; that he was operating without regard to instructions and had attempted to get a colored man into the Army in spite of his conviction of a felony; two <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 50px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 50px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> advise subject is intelligent, conscientious worker who has rendered excellent service; that they have no knowledge of any irregularities on his part; investigation failed to indicate subject had violated Selective Service Act and disclosed <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div></p> </div> </div>			
- C -			
<p>REFERENCE: Bureau letters dated 10/29/41 and 1/14/42, Bureau file 100-20803.</p>			
<p>DETAILS: <u>AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA:</u></p> <p>In accordance with instructions contained in reference Bureau letter dated October 29, 1941 <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 250px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 250px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> Oakland, California, <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 250px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 250px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> Oakland, was interviewed. He advised that he <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 250px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div></p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>[Signature]</i>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <i>[Signature]</i>	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
<p>3 Bureau <i>1/2 cc to Rowe</i></p> <p>3 San Francisco</p>		<p>MAN 100-20803-7</p> <p>MAILED 100-20803-7</p> <p>RECEIVED 100-20803-7</p> <p>RECEIVED 100-20803-7</p> <p>RECEIVED 100-20803-7</p>	

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[redacted] advised that at that time the Board consisted of [redacted] and C. L. DELLUMS, a negro and subject of instant case.

[redacted] stated that [redacted]

[redacted] that Mr. DELLUMS is an official of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Union but he is also connected with the Laborers Non-Partisan League and the Negro Congress. He stated as a matter of background that Local Board #73 had been located at 18th and West Streets, Oakland, but that recently it had been moved to new headquarters in the Syndicate Building in Oakland, California; [redacted]

[redacted] that some individuals connected with the Board were operating without regard to instructions being received from Selective Service headquarters.

[redacted] because of the activities of board member DELLUMS.

[redacted] said that [redacted]

[redacted] wrote a letter to Mr. R. E. MITTELSTAEDT, Director of Selective Service, Sacramento, California calling to his attention the condition existing at Local Board #73, Oakland, California. A copy of such letter has been furnished to this office but because of its length it is not being set out in this report. Further, this letter consists of practically seven typewritten pages of [redacted] not of interest to this investigation.

[redacted] advised that on several occasions he had been in [redacted]

[redacted] didn't pay too much attention to what was going on. [redacted] admitted, however, that he had never heard any conversation relative [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] advised that DELLUMS informed that nevertheless he should take them [redacted]

[redacted] informed that subject further stated that nobody would know about this and therefore it wouldn't make any difference. [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] believed was a deliberate attempt on DELLUMS' part to force an undesirable man into the armed forces. [redacted]

[redacted] a colored registrant whom DELLUMS tried to get into the Army in spite of the fact that he had been convicted of a felony; [redacted]

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[redacted]
[redacted] convicted of a felony in the Superior Court of Alameda County. In reply DELLUMS explained that the authorities "hung that on him."

[redacted]
[redacted] been placed in Class 3-A because he had a wife, but that subject replied that his wife would not cause any trouble. [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] was then sent to the induction station at 14th and Mission Streets, San Francisco, and was rejected there because he had been convicted of a felony. [redacted]

[redacted] had been rejected on this account, he commented "Those brass-hatted, stiff-shirted Army officers will find out that they are not running this." [redacted]
[redacted]

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[redacted]
[redacted] a notice of rejection
was received by the board from induction headquarters: that

[redacted]
[redacted] into the Army in spite of his felony conviction; and

[redacted]
[redacted] that the volunteers were to be inducted
first and take precedence over the draftees; that inasmuch as

[redacted]
[redacted] knew of no other incidents
which would indicate any irregularities on DELLUM'S part.

[redacted]
[redacted] of Local
Board #73 and could possibly furnish further information about the
condition of the Board and the activities of the subject.

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[redacted] stated that he did not believe that [redacted] and [redacted] members of Board #73, nor [redacted] would talk freely about the activities of DELLUMS; that he did not believe they would purposely shield DELLUMS but he felt that if they admitted any irregularities, it might be a reflection upon them and therefore they would be reluctant to do so.

It should be noted at this time that [redacted] It was very difficult to obtain any definite facts from him. He had a tendency to give [redacted] difficulties and irregularities and his criticism was general in nature and [redacted]

The remaining investigation for the purposes of reporting may be divided into two classifications; first, a general investigation conducted in an effort to develop specific information about the irregularities of subject DELLUMS, and, secondly, investigation conducted relative to [redacted] allegations about DELLUMS [redacted] The general investigation conducted will be reported first.

[redacted] Oakland, California, [redacted] informed that he had no specific information of any kind indicating that DELLUMS had in any way violated the Selective Service Act. [redacted] said that he had no definite information that DELLUMS is a radical nor had he ever heard of any cases where DELLUMS was favoring the negro race in classifying registrants. [redacted] did advise that he believes that DELLUMS is the actual leader of the Board and the brains of it.

Relative to [redacted] advised that he is very anti-Communist and believed he would be absolutely reliable to talk with relative to the activities of DELLUMS.

The writer contacted [redacted] National Guard Armory, San Francisco, who advised that he is the [redacted] Oakland; that as such he has had occasions to go into the office of Board #73 [redacted] estimated that he had been to local Board #73 between [redacted]

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Findings

[redacted]

[redacted] but found no foundation in the rumor whatsoever.

Apparently he could not get along with the members and employees of the Board [redacted] complaints of the conditions at Board #73. [redacted] dis-regarded complaints [redacted]

[redacted] explained that [redacted] he had never found anything indicating that any of the registrants had been fraudulently classified; that he had found numerous instances of inefficiencies of the clerical staff but there was never any indication of any irregularities on the part of DELLUMS.

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[redacted]

[redacted]

1/9/41	7
2/13/41	47
4/17/41	14
5/8/41	11
8/29/41	16
10/21/41	4
12/2/41	56

[redacted]

[redacted]

reflected the usual errors as committed by all Boards which could be attributed to negligence or ignorance, but outside of that there was nothing to indicate irregularities on the part of DELLUMS or any other Board member.

On December 2, 1941 the writer, in company with [redacted] made a spot check of the files of Local Board #73, Oakland. The following summary spot check is set forth as follows:

CLASSIFICATION

NUMBER CHECKED

4-F's	7
2-A's	10
2-B's	3
3-A's	10.

All of the above files were those of the colored race and particular attention was paid in an effort to determine whether subject DELLUMS had shown any favoritism to the members of his own race. A check of the above files, however, failed to indicate any irregularities.

[redacted] who [redacted] Oakland, California, advised that he [redacted] that he is a good conscientious citizen but that he is in poor health and as a result unduly critical. [redacted] stated that [redacted] is a fanatic on the subject of Communism and he is also prejudiced against the negro race. He explained that [redacted] with not only the Board employees but also the Board members; that any criticism of DELLUMS is absolutely unfair; that the latter has been and continues to render valuable service to the Board; that he is extremely conscientious and intelligent and is doing excellent work; that on no occasions has DELLUMS ever tried to obtain any favors for members of the negro race. He explained that he believes that DELLUMS is radically inclined but that his radical tendencies seem to be prompted by the suppression of the colored race; that he has been absolutely fair in classifying all registrants and that it would be grossly unfair and unjust to remove him from the Board. [redacted] advised that he has heard it rumored that DELLUMS is a member of the Communist Party but he has no definite knowledge himself pertaining to any such membership.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] a short time and that a lot of mistakes were made both by the employees and the board members inasmuch as the Selective Service setup was new to everyone. He explained, however, that the mistakes were corrected but [redacted] of making trouble for everyone connected with the Board.

[redacted] because of the fact that he could not give sufficient time to the work and, further, because of the wrangling going on amongst the board members and the employees. [redacted]

Board member

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[redacted]
[redacted] prominent attorney in
Oakland, California, requesting that he, [redacted]

[redacted] informed that he himself would be the first person in the world to report any irregularities on the part of DELLUMS if he became aware of the fact that DELLUMS was favoring members of the negro race or if he was allowing any of his radical tendencies to influence him in classifying or deferring registrants. [redacted] explained that [redacted] would be absolutely reliable to talk with relative to the activities of DELLUMS.

Board member

[redacted] Oakland, California, [redacted] advised that he has been acquainted with [redacted] for a number of years and he knows that when the Selective Service Act was passed, [redacted] wrote letters to Governor OLSON of California and Judge WAGLER trying to get an appointment as a member of the local board. [redacted] stated that when [redacted]

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[redacted] inasmuch as he himself was very busy at the time, he agreed to allow [redacted] few days with his duties [redacted] after this [redacted] was hired [redacted] explained that [redacted] is in poor health, [redacted] was always complaining and [redacted] have a hard time getting along with him. [redacted] explained that at first the Selective Service instructions were new to everyone and that when mistakes were made [redacted] became upset and disconcerted. [redacted] stated that often the mistakes were [redacted]

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[redacted] inasmuch as his health was generally bad [redacted] stated that knowing [redacted] as he does he would not take his word to mean very much as far as complaining about other people was concerned. [redacted] said that [redacted] has a prejudice against the colored race and had trouble with DELLUMS [redacted]

[redacted] said, with reference to DELLUMS, that he has never noticed that the latter has attempted to favor the members of his

own race or individuals with the same union affiliations. [redacted]
said [redacted]

[redacted] has never found anything to indicate any irregularities on DELLUMS' part. He advised that he himself would be the first to notice it and also the first to report it; that he knew nothing about any radical connections which DELLUMS reportedly had; that he does believe that DELLUMS is radical but not against the United States Government. He believes DELLUMS is merely sincere in forwarding the negro race. He further stated that subject is an extremely intelligent individual who realizes that the negroes are being discriminated against and resents it a great deal. [redacted] said that subject is well educated and that he is very active in the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race; that he has done his work at the Board capably and thoroughly without any apparent prejudice. [redacted] said that he was unable to furnish any information indicating that DELLUMS was abusing his position as a member of the Board.

Board member

A specific inquiry was made to determine whether [redacted] remembered any of the circumstances surrounding the [redacted] case. [redacted] said that he was unable to remember any of the circumstances and above all he was unable to remember DELLUMS making any statement about the brass-hatted stiff-shirted Army officers which [redacted] No further general investigation was made inasmuch as interview with the above [redacted] failed to support [redacted] accusations that DELLUMS was intentionally placing undesirable persons in the armed forces of the United States and was operating without regard to instructions.

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The following investigation was conducted in an effort to determine whether DELLUMS had violated any of the provisions of the Selective Service Act and reportedly attempting to place [redacted] in the Army in spite of his felony conviction.

A check of the indexes of the San Francisco office failed to reflect any record for an individual by the name of [redacted]
[redacted]

*Selective Service person
P. 11*

The writer checked the Selective Service file of [redacted] at Local Board #73, which file contains an application for voluntary induction filed by [redacted] October 24, 1940. [redacted] completed his questionnaire October 25, 1940 giving his address as [redacted] Oakland, California, and his place of employment as the [redacted] Oakland. In his questionnaire [redacted] set forth that he married his present wife at [redacted] [redacted] but was not living with her; that she was residing at [redacted] Oakland. [redacted] set forth that

he had been convicted of negligent homicide November 23, 1938 in the Alameda Superior Court. [redacted] questionnaire reflects that on November 6, 1940 he was classified 1-A by a three to nothing vote and classification was signed by C. L. DELLUMS. [redacted] Selective Service file reflects that he passed the physical examination and an order to report for induction was sent to him November 18, 1940 requesting him to report at the induction station on November 22, 1940. This order to report for induction was signed by C. L. DELLUMS. Contained in [redacted] Selective Service file is a form from the induction station advising that subject had been rejected on November 23, 1940 because he had been convicted of a felony and was being returned to the board for reclassification.

Under the "Minutes of Other Action" on [redacted] questionnaire there appears the following notation "11-23-40 reclassified to 1-A. C.L.D." The above notation, however, has been changed and a "9" has been placed over the "3" in "23" and the "1-A" has been changed to a "4-F" indicating that on November 29, 1940 [redacted] was reclassified 4-F. It will be noted that [redacted]

[redacted] men were to be white men and not negroes. The writer examined a copy of Requisition Call #1 dated November 8, 1940 available in the files of Local Board #73 which reflected no mention as to whether the five selectees from the Board were to be white or colored. It appears, therefore, that this requisition call does not support [redacted] claim that negroes were to be excluded.

It will be further noted that [redacted] advised that [redacted]

[redacted] and therefore should not have been included among the first five selectees. The writer examined the volunteer list available at Board #73 and noted that the name of [redacted] appeared second on the list and he volunteered October 24, 1940. In order to forestall any chance of [redacted] name having been placed second on the list, the writer checked the date on the volunteer application of the individual immediately preceding [redacted] on the volunteer list and also the individual immediately following him. This check reflected that the applications of these individuals were also dated October 24, 1940. It again appears that the records failed to support [redacted] had been improperly placed among the first five selectees of Local Board #73.

[redacted] was interviewed to determine whether she remembered DELLUMS ever having made a statement [redacted] relative to the brass-hatted stiff-

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shirted Army officers. She advised that she remembered that [] had been sent to the induction station [] been convicted of a felony but she was unable to remember any details and specifically advised that she did not remember DELLUMS making any statement about Army officers []

[] Oakland, California, was contacted to determine whether there was in any way a collusion between himself and DELLUMS in attempting to get him into the Army. [] claimed that he is not acquainted with anyone by the name of DELLUMS. He explained that shortly after the Selective Service Act was passed he was interested in joining the Army and went to the Board office several times inquiring about whether he would be accepted. [] said that he discussed his case with a [] who told him that he didn't know for sure whether negroes were being accepted nor did he know whether a felony conviction would bar him from the Army. [] explained that [] told him to go ahead and try to get into the Army and see what happened. [] stated that he also talked to some lady at the Board office about his case but she didn't appear to know much about the regulations and was unable to advise him as to whether he would be accepted.

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[] denied even knowing there was a colored member on Board #73 and assured the writer that he had at no time contacted DELLUMS relative to his induction into the Army nor had DELLUMS at any time contacted him. [] explained that he was at a loss to give any reason why anyone should accuse DELLUMS of trying to get him into the Army. ✓

Inasmuch as the above investigation fails to indicate that the subject has in any way violated the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 and inasmuch as investigation did not support the allegations of [] the informant, and in further consideration of the [] of the informant, no further investigation is believed warranted and this case is being closed.

- C L O S E D -

RECORDED

EX-8
J

ECR:elc

100-20803-7

4/1/42

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JAMES BOWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Reference is made to the memorandum from Mr. Linton M. Collins, former Acting Assistant to the Attorney General, dated October 16, 1941,

In accordance with the Department's request, there are enclosed herewith two copies of the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated March 7, 1942, at San Francisco, California, in the case entitled "Cottrell L. Dellums, Selective Service."

b7C

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures

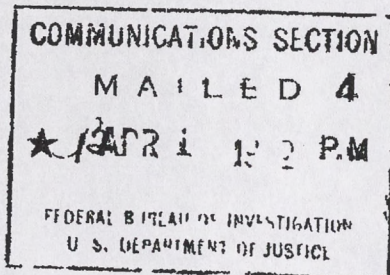
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 AG/dmj

#384417-1

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



2 APR 6 1942

183' SEP 11 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Honorable John D. Ehrlichman

C. L. Dellums

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This letter of transmittal may be declassified
when it is removed from the enclosure bearing a classification.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (12)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~


SUMMARY

СІК СОКА

C H R L L L.

§ 9: B. P. & L. 1st CALLING ALIST

2/11



20503-8
ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

CL probably said
"Worked with"

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

, 19__

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524
☐ Forward to File Review
☐ Attention _____
☐ Return to _____
 Supervisor _____ Room _____ Ext. _____

Type of References Requested

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐ Subversive References Only
☒ Nonsubversive References Only
☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

Subject Dellums, C.L.
 Birthdate & Place 11/25/1915, Aracaja, Tex.
 Address 829 S. Oak Street
Rockland, Calif.
 Localities Department of Shipping Co.
 Date 8-28 Searcher Initials 332
 Prod. _____

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
<u>ST</u>	<u>100-20803</u>	
<u>MP</u>	<u>157-6-46-83</u>	
<u>MP</u>	<u>100-178600-101</u>	
<u>1</u>	<u>100-432929-5</u>	
	<u>C L Mm</u>	
<u>SP</u>	<u>100-15252-39 ep. 408</u>	
	<u>Cottrell L. bu</u>	
<u>P I</u>	<u>100-2-978</u>	
	<u>Cottrell Lawrence (var)</u>	
<u>ST</u>	<u>61-3415-884</u>	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/94 BY SP9 AG/dmj
304417-1

185

MAILED

NOV 01 1974

October 31, 1974 NAME CHECK

Summary
C.L. DELLUMS *E.D. Dellums*
Calif.

Stj

Captioned individual, who you advised is President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, may be identical with one Cottrell L. Dellums, born January 3, 1900, Texas, who was the subject of a security-type investigation conducted by the FBI in 1941 and 1942. This inquiry was based on information that Dellums reportedly held an executive position in the National Negro Congress, was a sponsor of the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, and was a member of the California Sponsoring Committee, Northern Division, of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee. The House Committee on Internal Security described the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as a regional organization of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born and cited the Harry Bridges Defense Committee as a communist front. The National Negro Congress and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had both been cited organizations. *SP*

< FBI files do not disclose Dellums has ever been a member of the Communist Party; however, in 1944 he was quoted as saying that he had worked for the communists before and that he would work for them again.

(100-20803)

The central files of the FBI, including the files of the Identification Division, contain no additional pertinent information concerning captioned individual based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/18/94 BY SP9 AG/dmj

384,417-1

EX-117

DELIVERED BY LIAISON
ON 11/1/74

REC-73

100-20803-9

19 NOV 4 1974

Assoc Dir _____
Dep AD Adm _____
Dep AD Inv _____
Asst Dir _____
Admin *Stj* _____
Comp Sys _____
Ext Affairs _____
Files & Com _____
Gen Inv _____
Ident _____
Inspection _____
Intell _____
Laboratory _____
Plan & Eval _____
Spec Inv _____
Training _____
Legal Coun _____
Telephone Rm _____
Director Sec'y _____

PJL:ysc (3)

NOTE: Per request of _____

57 NOV 8 1974

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DTP

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enc

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section

39

566

, 19__

<input type="checkbox"/>	Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
<input type="checkbox"/>	Service Unit - Room 6524
<input type="checkbox"/>	Forward to File Review
<input type="checkbox"/>	Attention _____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Return to _____
	Supervisor Room Ext

Type of References Requested:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Regular Request (Analytical Search)
<input type="checkbox"/>	All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Subversive References Only
<input type="checkbox"/>	Nonsubversive References Only
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Main <u>Dummn</u> References Only

Type of Search Requested:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Restricted to Locality of _____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Buildup <input type="checkbox"/> Variations

Subject Duellum, C. L.
 Birthdate & Place _____
 Address 100 - 20803 - 8

Localities

R# 10 Date 9-30 Searcher Initials 711
 Prod. 6

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
-	100 - 20803	I
-	121 - 44669	- 8
-	121 - 42453	- 8
-	140 - 12762	- 9 EP*
-	<u>Cathode L (var)</u>	
-	100 - 20803	- 8 9.23-29
-	<u>Carroll (var)</u>	
-	100 - 432929	- 5

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/12/94 BY SP9 AG/dm
 #384417-1

1974

R603

Note: FBI appeared to
take plans for March
seriously and was
concerned about
Communist take over

Roosevelt would have
have taken it seriously, too
and been worried for
all kinds of reasons. ?
An executive order would
solve problem

The FBI's
RACON

**RACIAL CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES
DURING WORLD WAR II**

Compiled and
Edited by
Robert A. Hill

1995

Northeastern University Press
BOSTON

FBI report to Roosevelt

also concern alt 4th vote?

Eleanor's views
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The FBI's
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**RACIAL CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES
DURING WORLD WAR II**

Compiled and
Edited by
Robert A. Hill

1995

Northeastern University Press
BOSTON

was widely acknowledged to be "radical," if not under communist influence, seemed not to attract any serious attention from Hoover and his colleagues. Of 2,974 pages of material released to me from the FBI's files on the National Negro Congress, 55 concern the period before 1941.¹⁰⁷

In the aftermath of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and the consequent threat that it posed to the FBI's continued monopoly of domestic intelligence, Hoover rushed to demonstrate that the FBI was competent to exercise its domestic intelligence responsibility. He attempted to do so partly by attributing the growth of wartime racial tensions in America to foreign inspiration. The opening statement of the FBI's *Survey of Racial Conditions in the United States*, presented to Hoover in August 1943, refers to "a period in excess of two years [during which] the Federal Bureau of Investigation has received reports and allegations of forces with foreign influence with anti-American ideology working among the Negro people of this country as well as exploiting them. . . . Upon receipt of such complaints and allegations, investigation and inquiries were promptly instituted."¹⁰⁸

The first document in the FBI file on Foreign-Inspired Agitation Among American Negroes is dated March 25, 1942. The documents in the file dated from March through June 1942 consist mainly of intelligence reports referred by other investigative agencies to the FBI. After reactivating the General Intelligence Division to investigate communist subversion at the request of Roosevelt following the signing of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact in August 1939, the FBI's surveillance machinery moved into high gear in 1940, during which began what Maurice Isserman has referred to as "the most ferocious and concerted anti-radical campaign since the Palmer raids of 1920." The creation of what Isserman calls the "Red Scare of 1940" was attributable not only to Roosevelt's authorization of the previous year, but also the work of Congress which, according to Isserman, "in an election year, needed little persuasion to solve the nation's security problems in a time of international menace at the expense of the traditional scapegoats, aliens and radicals." It was what accounted for the passage in June 1940 of the Alien Registration Act, better known as the Smith Act ("the first peacetime federal sedition law passed since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798"), followed in October 1940 by passage of the Registration of Certain Organizations Act ("Voorhis Act"), designed to combat internal threats to national security by prohibiting "subversive activities."¹⁰⁹

Following the fall of France in June 1940, the FBI had unleashed a nationwide propaganda campaign against "fifth columnists," with Hoover delivering numerous ominous public warnings against them, at the same time denouncing the communists for their "parrot-like followers in classrooms, in pulpits, in the press and in high places of government." He went so far as to declare, in a speech to the New York State Police Chiefs Association, in July 1940, that "fascism and Nazism did not come into being until the wickedly winding way was paved by communism."¹¹⁰ As part of the intensified investigation of "fifth column" suspects, Hoover also announced at a federal anti-"fifth-column" conference that all FBI field offices had been placed on a 24-hour schedule.¹¹¹ The president also sent a message to the two-day federal-state conference on law enforcement problems and national defense, in which he called upon Congress

and state legislatures to enact additional laws to deal with "subversive activities, seditious acts and those things which might slow up or break down our common defense program."¹¹²

Addressing an American Legion conference in September 1940, Hoover announced that a "fifth column of destruction" was on the march in America. He called upon the Legion to work with FBI investigators in combating "the scheming peddlers of foreign 'isms'" and asked for its members' aid in keeping the FBI informed of suspicious activities. He asserted that foreign powers had been sending agents to America to carry on a campaign to recruit as allies "the disloyal and malcontent."¹¹³

"It is a new kind of militancy."
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Survey of Racial Conditions in the United States
(August 1943)

The FBI's awareness of African Americans emerged as part of this wider campaign directed against communists and "fifth columnists." Like these other groups, blacks fell under official suspicion as a potential threat to the national defense buildup that was in progress throughout the country. The organizational takeover of the National Negro Congress by Communist adherents was confirmed in April 1940 by the resignation of A. Philip Randolph as president, after it voted at its third annual meeting for a resolution of non-intervention in the European war.¹¹⁴ At around the same time, the Committee on Participation of Negroes in the National Defense Program was organized under the aegis of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, to give African Americans a political voice in implementation of the national defense effort. Launched in May 1940 and headed by Dr. Rayford W. Logan of Howard University, the group represented the first national committee organized to press for equal participation of blacks in civilian and military aspects of the defense program.¹¹⁵

The turning of the FBI's attention to African Americans can be traced in the steady stream of almost daily intelligence reports that Hoover supplied to the Roosevelt White House, starting in November 1939 and continuing right up until Roosevelt's death in April 1945.¹¹⁶ The earliest report regarding racial unrest came in a brief memorandum dated May 31, 1941, followed by an expanded report on June 19, 1941, regarding the "Negro March on Washington."¹¹⁷ The initial report erroneously attributed authorship of the plans for the march to the moribund National Negro Congress (NNC), the body from which A. Philip Randolph had split in April 1940 because of his belief that it had been taken over by the Communist Party.¹¹⁸

The report was forwarded to the White House after a lapse of four months from the date of Randolph's meeting with former NNC members to discuss his proposal that 10,000 African Americans should march on Washington, D.C. (the slogan that Randolph put forward for the march was "We loyal Negro-American citizens demand the right to work and fight for our country"). The first report was issued, moreover, a month and a half after Randolph's announcement, on April 12, 1941, that "plans for an all-out march of ten thousand Negroes on Washington are in the making and a call

will be issued in the next few weeks to keep in their minds night and day the idea that all roads lead to Washington, D.C."¹¹⁹

On May 1, the March on Washington Committee finally issued its "Call to Negro America to March on Washington for Jobs and Equal Participation in National Defense on July 1, 1941" (Hoover's May 31 memorandum gave the date for the march as *June 1*). Immediately following the official announcement, mass support for the movement spread rapidly throughout the national African-American community, vastly exceeding the projected goal of the march organizers—in all, it was estimated that some 100,000 African Americans stood ready and were mobilized to march on Washington by the proposed date.¹²⁰

Hoover's second memorandum to the White House on the subject of Randolph and the proposed march on Washington dated *June 18, 1941*, was accompanied by a two-page report lacking in any substantive information on the movement, particularly the tremendous flurry of organizational activity and propaganda that issued from the movement's official call to march. It concentrated instead on the reaction of the Communist Party, which served the FBI at this point as its principal source of intelligence on African-American developments.

After noting that Randolph "in April 1940 [had] severed his connection with the National Negro Congress because of its alleged control and domination by the Communist Party," the report focused on the latter's reaction. "Of particular significance is the attitude of the Communist Party concerning the proposed March," the report declared, adding: "It appears that the Communist Party has not been invited to participate in this March. The Party, however, has expressed a very real interest in the proposed undertaking. James W. Ford, leading Negro member of the Communist Party and three times its candidate for Vice President of the United States, has issued numerous statements in support of the said March." The report provided extensive excerpts from Ford's statements, in which he tried to show the connection between black support for the march and "the trends of militancy to be observed at the present moment." The report advised that "there is some indication that the Communist Party will endeavor to convert the March into a Communist demonstration." The report concluded by quoting Ford's proposal to the effect that "The Negro people, together with their white friends and allies, should use the occasion of the March on Washington to make a tremendous demonstration against jim-crowism and the imperialist war."¹²¹

Whatever their limitations, these early FBI reports made up for their fumbling quality by the sheer amount of voluminous detail on the actual organizing of the March on Washington Movement contained in the synoptic *Survey of Racial Conditions in the United States* in 1943. The information presented in the report remains after 50 years still the most detailed chronicle that exists on not only the structure of the movement; most importantly, it also identifies and describes the roles of the various individuals and groups who participated in the movement's meetings and assisted in extending the outreach of the movement throughout all sections of the African-American community.

The appendix in section 2 of the survey covers in considerable detail the movement's origin, organization, official leadership, membership, planning meetings, conferences, propaganda, and the reception that the movement received from different

organizations within the black community. Particularly valuable from an historical perspective is the section dealing with the movement's commitment to "Non-Violent Good Will Direct Action." It reveals far more about the formulation of the strategy within the March on Washington Movement in 1942–43 than any other published source to date. It also discloses extremely valuable information regarding the critically important role that was played in the articulation of its philosophy by leaders of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation and the nascent Committee of Racial Equality (later renamed Congress of Racial Equality [CORE]). The survey demonstrates in concrete detail the remarkable significance of the March on Washington Movement and the significance of its pioneering role in shaping the direction of the post-war civil rights struggle and its strategy of nonviolent direct action.¹²²

The initial FBI report on the March on Washington Movement was submitted to the White House only four days before Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, whereupon the position of the Communist Party changed drastically from attacking the war as an "imperialist war" to calling for all-out support for Roosevelt's war program, support for which Ford had only just criticized Randolph, declaring that Randolph's aim was "without a doubt to head off any real struggle of the Negro people against this war program."¹²³ The Communist Party's radical switch from its previous position that "This is not the Negro's war" to that of "All Out for the War of National Liberation" had profound repercussions on its attitude toward the struggle of African Americans against discrimination. "By the fall of 1941," notes Maurice Isserman, "the Communists were arguing that a too militant defense of black rights at home would interfere with the war effort."¹²⁴

With this change of position, the Communist Party witnessed a steep decline in support among African Americans. During the six months between the reversal of the Communist Party's position on the war and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, there was also a marked decrease in FBI surveillance of African Americans. Whether this was due to the Communist Party's fundamental change of attitude toward President Roosevelt and the war program still remains to be investigated. In any event, after June 18–19, 1941, Hoover's intelligence reports to the White House bearing on racial tensions remained in abeyance until after the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor.¹²⁵ By March 1942, the FBI was so intent on pursuing every potential piece of evidence that would support its theory of Communist subversion that it called for "technical surveillance" (the term used to describe electronic surveillance) to be instituted against the moribund National Negro Congress.¹²⁶ The following month Hoover informed the White House that the Communist Party was planning to intensify its organizational drive among blacks by telling them that the party's program was their only hope of equality, at the same time as it claimed credit for "eliminating discrimination against Negroes in defense plants and for racial equality in the U.S. navy."¹²⁷ Hoover had been informed by the Office of Naval Intelligence in January 1942 that whereas "no indication of Japanese penetration or infiltration" of mainstream black organizations had been reported, "many instances of Communist Party penetration and infiltration of these groups have been reported."¹²⁸

Sparked by racism in the national defense buildup and by the aggressive racism they encountered in the military, African Americans were inspired to press their own

demands in giant protest meetings during World War II. The example of the successful organizing efforts of militant industrial unions beginning in the mid-1930s was an important source of inspiration for these protests. The success achieved by the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) in November 1935, inaugurating nationwide mass organizing to establish industrial unionism, set the stage for the new era of African-American militancy symbolized by the widespread support that greeted A. Philip Randolph's proposal for a March on Washington in July 1941 and the broad appeal of the *Pittsburgh Courier's* Double V campaign in February 1942, calling for victory abroad over fascism and victory at home over racial discrimination.¹²⁹

Another important stimulus was the African-American sense of solidarity with other non-white people. "The growing identification of the American Negro with non-white people all over the world is no figment of Nazi propaganda," declared Horace Cayton, adding: "Whereas for years Negroes have felt that their position was isolated and unalterable, some of them are now beginning to feel that dark people throughout the world will soon be on the march."¹³⁰ The achievement of non-white solidarity was a constant theme affirmed by African-American leaders during World War II. "The American Negro has such an outlook," allowed Paul Robeson. "It dates from the Fascist invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. Since then, the parallel between his own interests and those of oppressed peoples abroad has been impressed upon him daily as he struggles against the forces which bar him from full citizenship, from full participation in American life."¹³¹ Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., the militant New York black leader, went even further. "We must be sure", Powell declared, "that out of this war must come freedom for all countries with colored peoples in them."¹³²

Randolph's proposal itself, the shock of the broad response to his summons to march, and the breadth of the Double V campaign caught the government totally by surprise. President Roosevelt was obliged to offer, in return for Randolph's agreeing to "cancel" the march, his now famous Executive Order 8802 prohibiting racial discrimination in defense industries and establishing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC). The success of the Double V campaign, coming after the debacle of Pearl Harbor, was the occasion for Hoover to unleash the full force of the FBI against the black community.

It was in many ways a replay of the situation that America had witnessed during and immediately following World War I in the case of the "New Negro" radical movement. In 1941-42, however, the stakes were much higher. The militancy and rebellious spirit of African Americans were far more encompassing than in 1917-21. As architect of the Bureau's GID in 1917-21, moreover, Hoover was already familiar with some of the antecedent elements that bridged the two eras and that went into the making of the new wartime black movement. Nevertheless, he, too, had been caught unaware by the intensity of black militancy both before and after the United States entered World War II.

Hoover took a strong interest in the findings of the FBI's nationwide investigation into "Foreign-Inspired Agitation Among American Negroes." How much of this was simply the political reflex of his deep-seated Negrophobia¹³³ and how much was his scrambling to stay abreast of the nation's mounting racial crisis is difficult to determine. As the investigation developed, however, Hoover concentrated the Bureau's efforts on

a number of key cities. When the results were not received as fast as he wished, special agents in charge [SAC] of FBI field offices were threatened. "I pointed out to SAC Donegan [in New York]," FBI supervisor J. K. Mumford informed the head of the Bureau's internal security division, D. M. Ladd, who was charged by Hoover with overall responsibility for the investigation, "that this is a special project which has been assigned to some five or six key offices, that it must be handled as a special assignment with necessary priority over other matters, that it cannot wait, and must be given immediate attention."¹³⁴ The following month Hoover increased the pressure still further, sending out a bulletin to all special agents in charge of FBI field offices. After reviewing the state of the investigation, and complaining that it was not aggressive enough in coming up with criminal prosecutions, Hoover warned:

"The important nature of the survey being made by the Field concerning the captioned matter [Foreign-Inspired Agitation Among the American Negroes; Internal Security] cannot be over-emphasized and I am holding you strictly responsible for handling it in a logical, careful and exhaustive manner."¹³⁵

The resulting survey was completed in just a little over a year. On September 10, 1943, FBI internal security head D. M. Ladd presented Hoover with a draft copy of *Survey of Racial Conditions in the United States*—all 730 pages of it. The investigation on which it was based had been in operation for 14 months, but the investigation would continue over the next 18 years. It forms the basis of all that the FBI would later embark upon in its epic struggle against the black and radical movements that were to re-emerge in the 1950s and 1960s. While it evokes all the feeling and flavor of American wartime racism toward African Americans, it shows, more importantly, how the movement to fight discrimination was forged during World War II and how the resolute stance of African Americans in facing the entrenched power of Jim Crow helped to advance the cause of black freedom and pave the way for the civil rights and other social movements of the postwar years.

Viewed from this perspective, the FBI study of the World War II black movement achieves a level of historical significance, 50 years after it was produced, that few if any original documents from this period still possess.

"Now, in the year 1942, is the time; here, in the United States of America, is the place for 13,000,000 Negro Americans to make their fight for freedom, in the land in which they were born and where they will die."

—Chester B. Himes, "Now Is the Time! Here Is the Place!" (September 1942)

White Americans found the mood of African Americans during World War II to be menacing. "Segregation, the word and all it stands for, has become anathema to the Negro, so far as he is represented by his more vocal leaders of today," reported a *New York Times* journalist in August 1943, writing the week after New York was shaken

tain mimeographed reports on the racial situation within regional units throughout the U.S. The Records of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Record Group 38, at the National Archives, Washington, D.C., contain the investigative files of the Office of Naval Intelligence.

Powers, *Secrecy and Power*, 127–28.

O'Reilly, "Racial Matters," 47.

J. M. Moore, Special Report on "Pacific Movement (Jap-Negro)," secret, October 25, 1933, Records of the War Department, General and Special Staffs, Office of the Chief of Staff, Military Intelligence Division, Record Group 165, 10218–261/85, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Nancy J. Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), 36. According to O'Reilly, "By 1938 the FBI had a special 'Negroes' category as part of its domestic communist and native fascist infiltration investigations" ("The Roosevelt Administration and Black America," 20), but he does not specify the intelligence data on African Americans that was gathered or developed as a result of these investigations (cf. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition*, 29, 33–34, 39–40).

Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln*, 36 n. 4.

Survey of Racial Conditions in the United States, 75. The file number of the investigation—100–135—represents an unusually low number (Linda Kloss, Freedom of Information-Privacy Acts Section, Information Resources Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., telephone communication, with author, July 12, 1994). For sake of comparison, it should be pointed out that the file number of the Bureau's investigation of the "Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security-C" was 100–3. The main file numbers of the Bureau's investigations of Allah Temple of Islam, A. Philip Randolph, and the March on Washington Movement were, respectively, 100-6582, 100-55616, and 100-95014. A list of pertinent FBI files and their respective file numbers is contained in the bibliography accompanying the present volume.

Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party during the Second World War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982, 1993), 67–68.

The New York Times, July 24, 1940, 13; see also Hoover's statement, *ibid.*, July 7, 1940, 7.

Ibid., August 6, 1940, 1; August 7, 1940, 2.

Ibid., August 6, 1940, 1.

Ibid., September 24, 1940, 1; see also report of Hoover's speech on the anti-"fifth column" drive to the National Police Academy, October 1, 1940, 14.

Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973, 1986), 234, 237.

Office of the Director, Intelligence Division, Army Service Forces, Headquarters First Service Command, War Department, "Recent Trends in Negro Leadership," April 23, 1943, 1, enclosure in FBI File 100–135–125; cf. Kenneth Robert Janken, *Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993).

FDRL, OF 10-B, Numbered FBI Reports, box 20, Calendar and Index of Numbered FBI Reports. Of the total of 2,991 FBI intelligence reports submitted by Hoover to the

White House, 40 deal specifically with various aspects of racial unrest (nos. 835, 1147, 1157, 1160, 2007a, 2083, 2093, 2182, 2297, 2303b, 2304a, 2322b, 2351, 2353, 2354a, 2355a, 2355b, 2355c, 2356a, 2356b, 2357a, 2373, 2375, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2403a, 2412, 2416a, 2420, 2431a, 2437a, 2443, 2461b, 2493, 2495a, 2505, 2524, 2525, 2527).

117. FDRL, OF 10-B, Numbered FBI Reports, box 13, no. 794, J. E. Hoover to Major General Edwin M. Watson, Secretary to the President, The White House, Washington, D.C., May 31, 1941; box 14, no. 835, Hoover to Watson, June 19, 1941.

118. Anderson, A. *Philip Randolph*, 234–40; Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party*, 195–98.

119. Quoted in Garfinkel, *When Negroes March*, 56; cf. Anderson, A. *Philip Randolph*; Paula F. Pfeffer, A. *Philip Randolph: Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990); Daryl Pinckney, "Keeping the Faith," *New York Review of Books*, November 22, 1990, 29–34.

120. *New York Amsterdam News*, May 31, 1941; War Department, Military Intelligence Service, Washington, D.C., to J. Edgar Hoover, FBI, May 7, 1943, enclosing Army Service Forces, Headquarters First Service Command, Boston, Mass., "Fellowship of Reconciliation," April 23, 1943, Bureau File 100-135-125.

121. FDRL, OF 10-B, Numbered FBI Reports, box 14, no. 835, "Memorandum Re: March on Washington Movement," enclosure to J. E. Hoover to Major General Edwin M. Watson, Secretary to the President, The White House, Washington, D.C., June 19, 1941.

122. Cf. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement 1942–1968* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 11, 14–15, 21. The total number of entries for A. Philip Randolph and the March on Washington in the FBI survey represents the largest of any individual and/or group.

123. "Memorandum Re: March on Washington Movement," 2.

124. Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party*, 184ff.; Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?*, 119.

125. Hoover's second report on the March on Washington Movement was dated June 12, 1942. Even at this late date, Hoover felt constrained to point out that "the information contained in this memorandum was received by the Federal Bureau of Investigation from outside confidential sources" (FDRL, OF 10-B, box 14, no. 835, J. E. Hoover to Major General Edwin M. Watson, Secretary to the President, The White House, Washington, D.C., June 19, 1941). Coincidentally, the report was forwarded on the same day that the FBI's internal security division presented for approval "the form letter to all Special Agents in Charge, requesting that a survey be made to ascertain the extent of agitation among the American negroes in the United States" (memo, J. K. Mumford to D. M. Ladd, FBI, 6/12/42, Re: FOREIGN-INSPIRED AGITATION AMONG THE AMERICAN NEGROES; Internal Security, Bureau File 100-135-24[?]).

126. Memo, E. G. Fitch, FBI, to D. M. Ladd, Re: National Negro Congress, Chicago, Illinois, 3/11/42, Bureau File 61–6728–220. The classification number 61 refers to the investigation of "treason".

127. FDRL, OF 10-B, Numbered FBI Reports, no. 2093, J. E. Hoover to The White House, Washington, D.C., April 17, 1942.

Atlanta, Georgia
 Baltimore, Maryland
 Boston, Massachusetts
 Brooklyn, New York
 Buffalo, New York
 Canton, Ohio
 Chicago, Illinois
 Cleveland, Ohio
 Columbus, Ohio
 Detroit, Michigan
 Englewood, New Jersey
 Fort Wayne, Indiana
 Greenville, South Carolina
 Kansas City, Missouri
 Lincoln, Nebraska
 Little Rock, Arkansas
 Los Angeles, California
 Louisville, Kentucky
 Massillon, Ohio
 Memphis, Tennessee
 Milwaukee, Wisconsin
 Minneapolis, Minnesota
 New Orleans, Louisiana
 New York, New York
 Newark, New Jersey
 Omaha, Nebraska
 Omaha, Nebraska
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
 Providence, Rhode Island
 Richmond, Virginia
 St. Louis, Missouri
 St. Paul, Minnesota
 Seattle, Washington
 Springfield, Illinois
 Springfield, Massachusetts

Tampa, Florida
 Toledo, Ohio
 Warren, Ohio
 Washington, D.C.
 Waterbury, Connecticut
 White Plains, New York

With regard to two of the branches of the National Urban League, it has been reported that allegations have been made that persons affiliated with the Atlanta and Chicago Urban Leagues have Communist sympathies or affiliations.

In the Atlanta Urban League it has been alleged that certain officers of the branch are either members of the Communist Party or sympathetic with its principles. In the Chicago branch it has been alleged that certain persons who were alleged to be sympathetic with Communist philosophy had penetrated in an effort to utilize it as a medium for the promotion of their doctrines among the Negro people. It was also alleged that unidentified officers of the Chicago branch had records of cooperation and association with Communism.

The organization is reportedly looked upon in most sections of the country as a conservative organization with the purpose of assisting Negroes in a particular area to obtain employment or better employment conditions as well as other economic or social improvements. In at least two areas, namely St. Paul and Milwaukee, the organization has been likened to a "Negro Chamber of Commerce."

Re: March on Washington Movement

Origin

The present March on Washington Movement has as its origin a reportedly anti-Communist group of Negroes who separated themselves from the National Negro Congress, a reported Communist front organization, in April, 1940. During the latter part of 1940 it has been reported this group of Negroes met with A. Philip Randolph, the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and decided to plan an organization for an actual march on the City of Washington, D.C. The march, it is reported, was contemplated to be carried out during the spring of 1941.

The original purposes of the organization are reportedly as follows:

1. Presentation in the American way the grievances of the Negro people to the President of the United States and Congress.
2. Inclusion of the Negro in the eight-point Atlantic Charter.
3. Stop the exploitation of the grievances of the Negro by Communists and other subversive element[s].

It has been confidentially reported that at its inception the Communist Party was very critical of the March on Washington Movement; however, it is stated that it later changed its policy from negative criticism to one of boring from within in an attempt to control and direct the policy of the organization through a Party faction.

The actual March on Washington, as originally planned by the organization, was abandoned by A. Philip Randolph upon receipt by him of a letter from the President requesting delay of such action until the matter could be studied and recommendations made. When the march was called off, it is alleged that Communists who had "wormed" their way into the organization were "furious." It has been reported that an attempt was made by Communist Party members in the organization to enlist support to oust Randolph and proceed with the march. The move, however, was unsuccessful. Information received reflects that thousands of Negroes agreed with A. Philip Randolph and denounced members of the Communist Party, branding them as insincere.

Subsequent to the acceptance of the President's request for a delay of any action, an executive order was issued to end discrimination in employment in defense industries. During the interim between the President's request and the issuance of the executive order, the officers and executive members of the organization are reported to have "purged" the movements of Communists and Communist sympathizers within the organization.

Aims and Purposes

The following accusations and demands constitute important factors in the program of this organization. These have been elaborated on by alleged examples in a press release issued by the organization for use after the holding of the National Conference of this organization in Chicago, June 30 through July 4, 1943.

The following accusations and allegations are made:

1. "NEGROES ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN THE VERY ARMED FORCES WHICH SUMMON THEM TO SHED THEIR BLOOD FOR THEIR COUNTRY.
2. NEGROES ARE DENIED EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT.
3. NEGROES ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN MOST OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.
4. NEGROES ARE DENIED EQUAL EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY.
5. NEGROES ARE CARICATURED AND SLANDERED IN THE PRESS AND ON THE STAGE, SCREEN AND RADIO.
6. NEGROES ARE DENIED PARTICIPATION IN THE POLICY FORMING ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

7. NEGROES ARE FORCED TO LIVE IN RESTRICTED RESIDENTIAL AREAS AND SEGREGATED HOUSING PROJECTS.
8. NEGROES ARE JIM-CROWED IN TRAINS, BUSES, THEATRES, HOTELS, RESTAURANTS AND OTHER PUBLIC PLACES: AND THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH FORCED INTO JIM-CROW SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES, HOSPITALS AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS SUPPORTED BY TAXES PAID BY ALL OF THE PEOPLE.
9. NEGROES ARE LYNCHED AND MURDERED BY MOBS AND COWARDLY NIGHT-RAIDER BANDS."

The following demands were made by the organization:

- I. "WE DEMAND A DEMOCRATIC ARMY. We call upon the President to enforce Section 4 A of the 1940 Draft Act which reads:

'In the selection and training of men under this act and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color.'
- II. WE DEMAND EQUAL ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES. This means a Fair Employment Practice[s] Committee which has power to enforce decisions based on its findings and no discrimination in training opportunities, placement, wages, promotions and membership in trade unions.
- III. WE DEMAND AN END TO DISFRANCHISEMENT IN THE SOUTH. The enactment of a federal anti-poll tax law, abolition of the white primaries and other registration device that limits a free suffrage and enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution will guarantee the right to vote to all men.
- IV. WE DEMAND EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES. This means equal facilities for the Negro child, equal pay for the Negro teacher and equal access to public, tax-supported institutions of learning for the Negro student.
- V. WE DEMAND AN END TO CARICATURE AND SLANDER IN THE NEWSPAPERS, ON THE SCREEN, STAGE AND RADIO. The suppression of the story of the contributions of the Negro to America and the world must cease.
- VI. WE DEMAND NEGRO AND MINORITY GROUP REPRESENTATION ON ALL ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES SO THAT THESE GROUPS MAY BE ABLE TO DETERMINE POLICIES FOR ALL OF THE PEOPLE.
- VII. WE DEMAND AN END TO RESIDENTIAL GHETTOS AND 'RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS.'
- VIII. WE DEMAND ABROGATION OF EVERY LAW WHICH

MAKES A DISTINCTION IN TREATMENT BETWEEN CITIZENS BASED ON RELIGION, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.

- IX. WE DEMAND A FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCH LAW AND THE PROTECTION OF THE LIVES AND PROPERTY OF ALL CITIZENS."

Organization

The headquarters of the March on Washington Movement are located in the Hotel Theresa, 2084-7th Avenue, New York City. There are branches of the organization active in varying degrees located in the following cities:

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
 Chattanooga, Tennessee
 Flint, Michigan
 Meridian, Mississippi
 Tampa, Florida
 Jacksonville, Florida
 Richmond, Virginia
 New York, New York
 Cleveland, Ohio
 Cincinnati, Ohio
 Denver, Colorado
 Detroit, Michigan
 New Orleans, Louisiana
 Knoxville, Tennessee
 Atlanta, Georgia
 Washington, D.C.
 Birmingham, Alabama
 Mobile, Alabama
 Nashville, Tennessee
 Salt Lake City, Utah
 Newark, New Jersey
 Buffalo, New York
 West Medford, Massachusetts
 Chicago, Illinois

Los Angeles, California
 Saint Louis, Missouri
 Memphis, Tennessee
 Miami, Florida
 Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

With regard to the formation of these branches, information has been received that the organizational work is done by Benjamin McLaurin and A. Philip Randolph, both executives in the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A.F. of L. The organizational work is performed while these individuals tour the country in their work for the union, Randolph being the President and McLaurin the National Field Organizer. It is said that the transportation and expenses of their travel are provided for by the union.

In June, 1943, the temporary national offices were established in Chicago, Illinois for the purposes of the organizational activities connected with the National Conference held there in the period June 30 through July 4, 1943.

Officers

The following individuals and their respective capacities represent the officers and members of the National Committee of the organization:

A. Philip Randolph, Director
 E. Pauline Myers, Executive Secretary
 B. F. McLaurin, Secretary
 Aldrich Turner, Treasurer
 Dr. Lawrence Ervin, Eastern Regional Director
 Dr. Charles Wesley Burton, Mid-Western Regional Director
 Harold A. Stevens, Legal Counsel
 Dean William Stuart Nelson, Chairman, National Advisory Committee on Mass Action and Strategy
 Neil Scott, Public Relations

National Committee

J. A. Burns, Meridian, Mississippi
 Thurman T. Dodson, Washington
 Miss Layle Lane, New York City

Rev. M. C. Strachen, Tampa, Florida
 C. L. Dellums, Oakland, California
 Mrs. Senora Lawson, Richmond, Virginia
 T. D. McNeal, St. Louis, Missouri

Activities

National Conference at Detroit, Michigan, September 26-27, 1942

Some 66 delegates were present at the conference in Detroit, Michigan from the states of Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Florida, Louisiana and New York. An added purpose of the conference was to decide policy to be placed before the contemplated convention, nation-wide in character, of this organization to be held in Chicago, Illinois in May, 1943. Besides the adoption of a constitution, a Committee on Resolutions submitted for the National Policy Conference some 36 resolutions. The resolutions will be set out briefly as follows:

1. A resolution endorsing the fight of the United Nations to wipe out the Axis menace.
2. Endorsement of the policy of a mixed army on the grounds that it is a negation of democracy to segregate soldiers.
3. A resolution to call upon the President to in turn call upon Churchill to give independence and freedom to India and to release National leaders.
4. A resolution that President Roosevelt call upon Prime Minister Churchill to grant democratic status with broad suffrage rights to the peoples of the West Indian Islands.
5. Endorsement of the Trade Union Movement and a call upon the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. to abolish discrimination, segregation, Jim-Crow and the color bar in all forms in various affiliated unions.
6. A call for the representation of the Negro people of America on the committee appointed by the President to sit at the peace table at the end of the war.
7. Condemnation of the Sun Shipbuilding Project establishing a separate shipyard for the Negroes as a policy of freezing "the pattern of racial segregation in industry."
8. Endorsement of the Fair Employment Practice[s] Committee in a demand that it be restored to its original status of independence and be supplied with ample funds.
9. The adoption of a program to fight to abolish discrimination, segregation and Jim-Crow before the war ends and a condemnation of all "Negro Appeasers who count for closing ranks and forgetting our grievances."
10. Endorsement of the Pepper Anti-Poll Tax Bill.
11. A call to Congressmen, Senators and President Roosevelt to support "a Federal anti-lynching bill."

12. A demand for the revision of the Atlantic Charter to include the darker races and that the President of the United States take steps to see to it that the Negro people of America become a beneficiary of the Four Freedoms.
13. A resolution opposing any cooperation with the Communist Party or Communist front organization, at the same time stating that the same is not an expression of opposition to Russia in her fight against Hitler.
14. Condemnation of anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism as undemocratic, unsound and a dangerous form of religious bigotry.
15. A resolution that the March on Washington Movement be non-sectarian in character.
16. A resolution recommending that the National March on Washington Movement collaborate with sound democratic, liberal and labor groups which are not under Communist control.
17. The resolution that no member of the March on Washington Movement may commit the organization to any political party or candidate although members individually may engage in politics.
18. Condemnation of pro-Japanese, pro-German or pro-Italian activities among Negroes and a call upon Negroes everywhere to repudiate all such activities.
19. A condemnation of "the White Primary" and a call for its abolition.
20. A condemnation of the policy "of the President in refusing to meet with Negro leaders" and a call upon all Negroes together with white liberals to join in sending telegrams and letters to the President demanding that he meet with a committee of Negro leaders selected by the March on Washington Movement for the purpose of discussing the problems of the Negro people.
21. Endorsement of the staging of giant public protest meetings.
22. Endorsement of "mass action including marches on city halls, city councils, defense plants, public utility works, picketing" and the establishment of a pressure campaign.
23. A resolution to approve the holding of a national conference of the Negro people of America for the purpose of expressing the desires of the people and to take action on the question of when Negroes should march on Washington to win their rights from the Government.
24. Recommendation to the National Conference that it declare its approval of the March on Washington of Negroes from all over America for the purpose of "pressing home to the President, the American people, the Congress, that Negroes want their full democratic rights now, during the war."
25. A resolution opposing the acceptance by the March on Washington Movement of any donations from any people except Negroes.
26. A resolution that the organization go on record setting forth as its goal economic equality, political equality, social equality and racial equality for ultimate attainment; as an immediate goal the abolition of discrimination and segregation.

27. A demand that the Government prepare a booklet for white American and foreign soldiers showing the contributions of Negroes to America and pointing out that Negroes are not in America by sufferance, thus that more respect be shown to the Negroes.
28. A resolution that the organization go on record as approving the idea of organizing millions of Negro people for the purpose of exercising pressure upon the Government leaders in the interests of securing equality, freedom and justice.
29. Endorsement of a program to raise a million dollars to provide for monthly broadcasts by Negro leaders to America and the world setting forth the cause of Negroes for equality and freedom and democracy.
30. Endorsement of Negroes entering public places and places of amusement that are acceptable to any other citizen in States where civil rights and laws protect them; also a recommendation that this practice be continued so as to bring the question of Negro rights before the American people, thereby warning them of the fact that Negroes will not remain quiet so long as they are holding the status of second-class citizens.
31. The resolution to boycott "anti-Negro movies".
32. A condemnation of all the Amos and Andy radio scripts and a resolution urging that Negroes and others send telegrams and letters to the National Broadcasting Company expressing their condemnation of the act.
33. An endorsement of the "Bloc system" or city square type of organization for the March on Washington Movement.
34. A resolution to go on record as welcoming youth into the March on Washington Movement.
35. Resolution to give representation [to] women and youths on the executive board of the March on Washington Movement.
36. Resolution that the National Director of the March on Washington Movement, A. Philip Randolph, will be in power and will have the power to appoint officers provided for in the proposed national constitution of the March on Washington Movement to serve until the meeting of the national conference, at which time their successors will be elected by the national body.

All of the foregoing resolutions were adopted by the National Policy Conference.

Attention is directed to resolution No. 13 which placed the national organization on record as being opposed to Communism and the Communist Party. It is recalled that as early as 1940, A. Philip Randolph broke with the National Negro Congress because of the Communist control and influence in it. This resolution, however, should not be taken as all-inclusive, as it has been said by confidential informants, since it is reported that various local units of the organization have Communist influence in them. Although the Communist Party has attacked the March on Washington Movement at times, it is claimed by confidential sources that attempts have been and will be made to obtain control in local units. In this connection, the Chicago and Detroit local units are said to have members who are either sympathizers or members of the Party.

The cooperation between this organization and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People should not be overlooked. The latter organization is said to have extensive coverage and, of course, such will provide fertile organizational fields for the March on Washington Movement. Such will also add to the field of activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in that it appears that this organization has confined its activities to legal assistance, lobbying, and general lecture and propaganda tours by officials. It is a new type of militancy.

"Non-Violent Good Will Direct Action"

Late in 1942, the organization discussed undertaking a special type of activity as a means of accomplishing some of its aims. At first, these discussions centered around the technique of Mohandas Gandhi, Indian leader, that of civil disobedience, the purpose being to bring about a change of attitude and action toward the Negro population in this country by disobeying or disregarding "Jim Crow", segregation or restriction laws, measures or customs. In these discussions, as well as the consideration of this particular type of technique, it was reported that the Fellowship of Reconciliation, through various members of that organization, played an important part. It is to be noted that this organization is a militant pacifist group whose activities not only are devoted to strict and utter pacifism but to such matters as the promotion of conscientious objection to war, inter-racial matters, a negotiated peace and related subjects.

The technique of Gandhi was changed to some extent in the contemplated action which was given the form of "non-violent civil disobedience". Subsequently, the terminology given to this action was "non-violent good will direct action", and with regard to this, the organization in early 1943 issued a digest of its study, portions of which are incorporated hereinafter as an explanation of the technique. In the publication of the findings, the fundamental form of the March on Washington Movement was discussed, and it was pointed out that different parts of the country were ready for different kinds of action (with regard to the obtaining of equal rights for Negroes). Certain conditions were referred to as existing in such cities as Richmond, Virginia; Chicago, Illinois; and New York City. These conditions were pointed out as necessitating a change. It was noted in the manuscript that the program to bring about the change should first include conferences between people's representatives and civil authorities who are to be approached "in the spirit of good will". If the conference should fail then, it is pointed out, public opinion must necessarily be mobilized. The use of petitions, letters, mass meetings of protest and other means are suggested. If this form of action fails to bring about a change in the repugnant condition, then more drastic action is in line (here in the manuscript solutions such as boycotting public conveyances and walking; acquiring by purchase separate conveyances for Negroes, are condemned.) The more drastic action, or what is termed "the real solution" was set forth as "non-violent direct action".

The manuscript states "Americans are familiar with several forms of direct action, for example, picketing, the strike, the boycott, and mass migration but riots might result

- 3 Mar. 1941** The FBI Washington, D.C., field office opens a broadly based investigation of the NAACP, after receiving a request from the navy to investigate protests against racial discrimination by "fifteen colored mess attendants." Through the use of an informant, the FBI attempts to determine the NAACP's "connections with the communist party and other communist controlled organizations."
- 19 Mar. 1941** Assistant AG Berge informs JEH that the activities of Naka Nakane and the PMEW do not appear to constitute a violation of any federal criminal statutes and that the criminal division of the DOJ "does not desire any additional investigation of this matter at the present time."
- Mar. 1941** Activities of the "Moslem Cult" come to the attention of the FBI's Washington, D.C., field office. It learns that the group advocates "absolute non-participation in armed conflicts in defense of the U.S."
- Mar. 1941** Hans Habe, a German refugee, publishes an article, "The Nazi Plan for Negroes."
- 1 Apr. 1941** JEH declares that it is "highly important that the Federal Bureau of Investigation be unhampered in its authority to conduct investigations into situations involving potential danger to the Government of the U.S.," particularly as this pertains to "the obvious menace and danger to the internal security of this Nation presented by the present activities of foreign agents in labor union fields."
- 11 Apr. 1941** Sidney Hillman, co-director of the OPM, urges defense contractors to eliminate discriminatory hiring practices.
- 12 Apr. 1941** APR announces that "plans for an all-out march of ten thousand Negroes on Washington are in the making and a call will be issued in the next few weeks."
- 25 Apr. 1941** The OPM discloses that more than 3,000 telegrams and long-distance telephone calls protesting discrimination against African Americans in national defense activities were received during the first few weeks of a drive sponsored by the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority. A spokesman of the OPM describes the sorority's campaign as "one of the most dramatic and forceful demonstrations of mass unity encountered in recent years."
- Apr. 1941** The NNC, along with the Maryland Youth Congress, announces it is undertaking a drive to gain employment for 7,000 African Americans in the "Jim Crow" plants of the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Co. and the Bethlehem Steel Co.
- Apr. 1941** The NAACP issues a press release urging that the 17,000 black workers employed by the Ford Motor Co. in Detroit not permit themselves to be used as strikebreakers against the UAW strike to organize the company. Ford capitulates on 11 Apr., after only 11 days.
- 1 May 1941** The MOWM formally calls for blacks to prepare to march on Washington, D.C. Support for the movement spreads rapidly throughout the African-American community.
- 2 May 1941** The body of Private Felix Hall is found hanging from a tree at Fort Benning, Ga., arms and legs bound. The NAACP *Bulletin* charges that at Fort Benning "concentration camp tactics are allegedly being used against colored soldiers, and torture and killings take place at the pleasure of the military police."

- 2 May 1941** Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox declares that to introduce a change in the navy's policy by admitting African Americans, other than in the messmen's branch, would "provoke discord and demoralization" and would lower the efficiency of the navy.
- 15 May 1941** The FBI, MID, and ONI present a joint memorandum to the president, outlining their respective intelligence operations undertaken in conformity with the secret presidential directive of 26 June 1939.
- 16 May 1941** The army sends an MID officer to interview *Afro-American* publisher Carl Murphy regarding the newspaper's publication of the army's classification test. The officer takes the opportunity to question Murphy regarding his views on "certain political factions and alleged subversive organizations, which were reputed to have communistic leanings."
- 24 May 1941** Max Yergan, president of the NNC, issues a statement suggesting that campaigns to secure jobs for African Americans in the defense industries "would do serious harm to the Negro people."
- 31 May 1941** The FBI erroneously informs the White House that the NNC plans to lead a mass demonstration in Washington, D.C. against "alleged 'Jim Crow' practices" and that the demonstration is scheduled to take place on June 1.
- 5 June 1941** An MID officer at Camp Claiborne, La., complains that articles in the *Courier* by executive editor P. L. Prattis describing conditions for black soldiers at the camp are "radical" and inaccurate and likely to cause problems among black troops. He recommends that the FBI investigate Prattis.
- 10 June 1941** First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt writes to APR, chairman of the MOWM, telling him that he would be "making a very grave mistake at the present to allow this march [on Washington] to take place."
- 15 June 1941** The president orders the OPM to end the "nationwide discrimination against Negroes in defense industries, at a time when the nation is combating the increasing threat of totalitarianism."
- 18 June 1941** The president and cabinet officials meet at the White House with leaders of the MOWM. Mayor LaGuardia of New York is appointed by the president to head a committee charged with evolving an acceptable plan to facilitate the "full utilization of our productive manpower."
- 19 June 1941** The FBI furnishes the White House with a memorandum concerning APR, pointing out that "the Communist Party has expressed a very real interest in the proposed undertaking" of the MOWM and speculating that the Communist Party "will endeavor to convert the March into a Communist demonstration."
- 21-22 June 1941** Germany invades the Soviet Union across a broad, 2,000-mile frontier. The Communist Party immediately reverses its previous political direction, promulgating the "People's Program" that calls for full and unlimited collaboration of the Western Allies and the Soviet Union in a "people's war" against Germany. The party's reversal and embrace of a pro-war policy places it in direct conflict with the leaders of the MOWM.
- 24 June 1941** Mayor LaGuardia confers with members of the MOWM in New York regarding the text of a proposed presidential order.
- 25 June 1941** FDR issues executive order 8802 that states "there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed,

color, or national origin" and orders employers and labor organizations to "provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries." The order establishes the president's Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC).

28 June 1941 APR announces that he is "postponing" the march on Washington, following the president's issuance of executive order 8802. The Youth Division of the MOWM protests APR's decision.

June 1941 Leonard Robert Jordan (LRJ) and Thomas F. Cathcart visit the Japan Institute in New York with a letter of introduction from Kyuya Abiko, executive secretary of the Japanese Association.

June 1941 The Japanese government reportedly considers propagandizing African Americans as a method of disrupting internal security in the U.S. It requests that its representatives in the U.S. report on the feasibility of employing black agents.

June 1941 John K. Larremore is arrested by the San Diego Police Department. He had in his possession a 144-page manuscript, "Ebony in Bronze," which advocated an alliance between the Japanese and African Americans. He claims that he wrote the manuscript in 1932. He would later be prosecuted in federal court as a result of an FBI investigation.

June 1941 The War Department requests that the FBI undertake an investigation of the *Courier*. Initially, the special agent in charge of the Bureau's Pittsburgh field office ignores the request from FBI headquarters dated 24 July. JEH again writes to the agent on 4 Oct. to remind him that MID is "particularly interested in this case." The agent finally replies on 21 Oct.

3 July 1941 At a meeting of the EPM in New York, LRJ argues that because Jews are the enemies of blacks, all blacks must side with Hitler.

4 July 1941 The NNC, following Germany's invasion of the USSR, issues a statement urging blacks to pledge strong support for the war effort.

9 July 1941 Carlos Cooks, William Taylor, and William Ferman, EPM speakers in New York, urge that for every African American lynched in the south, a white should be lynched in the north, that every white man romantically interested in a black woman should be beaten, that every African American should hate every white man for injustices perpetrated on black people, and that no black man should fight in a white man's war.

11 July 1941 The MID furnishes JEH with a copy of a black agent's report that contains the assertion that "Japanese and Communist press agents are releasing news in all available negro publications and in some cases, Communists or Communist sympathizers are employed on the editorial staffs of these papers." In addition, the agent claims that he had been asked by a Japanese newspaper editor to write news releases for the black press. The report also labels five African-American journalists as communists or communist sympathizers or radicals. The agent characterizes the series of articles on army camp conditions published in the *Courier* in June as "sensational." He states that the articles "caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the colored soldiers and their families at home." The report concludes that "the source of this subversive activity [should] be investigated at the earliest possible moment."

11-13 July 1941 Ethelbert Anselm Broaster (EAB), the General Messenger of the New Orleans-based International Reassemble Church of the Freedom League (IRCFL), speaks before the PMEW in East St. Louis, Ill.

17 July 1941 FDR names two blacks as members of the FEPC, Alderman Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago and Milton P. Webster, vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

2 Aug. 1941 MG is arrested on a complaint filed before the federal grand jury in Chicago, charging that she counseled black registrants to evade the Selective Training and Service Act.

6 Aug. 1941 Sergeant E. L. Hargraves, a white military policeman, and Private Ned Turman, an African-American soldier stationed at Fort Bragg, N.C., are shot to death in a gun battle between white and black soldiers on a crowded bus going from Fayetteville, N.C., to the camp. Several black soldiers are wounded in the altercation.

7-8 Aug. 1941 At a meeting in New York of the EPM, it is reported that Carlos Cooks expressed his hatred for Jews, whites, and light-skinned blacks. Randolph Wilson reportedly spoke about his hatred for Jews and expressed his support for Hitler.

14 Aug. 1941 The Atlantic Charter, consisting of a joint declaration of American and British peace aims, is signed by President FDR and British Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill. Among other things, it calls for fair labor standards and freedom from fear and want for the peoples of the world.

14 Aug. 1941 Sergeant Owen Russell, tried for the shooting of Private Ned Turman on Aug. 6, is acquitted by a general army court-martial.

17 Aug. 1941 43 black soldiers from the 97th Engineer Battalion go AWOL and return to their former station in Michigan, following weeks of violent attacks by local whites in Prescott, Ark.

21-27 Aug. 1941 The case against MG is presented to a federal grand jury in Chicago. A "no bill" is returned, whereupon the U.S. commissioner dismisses the case against her after she gives the court her assurance that she would no longer instruct members of the PME not to comply with the Selective Training and Service Act.

26 Aug. 1941 After serving for more than a year and a half as solicitor general, Francis E. Biddle is named attorney general. JEH wonders if his liberal reputation will make him "soft" on Communists. Meanwhile, Biddle is supported by a number of blacks as "a friend of the colored people of America." Biddle serves as AG throughout the remainder of World War II.

Aug. 1941 The FBI requests that its Oklahoma City field office investigate "Communist Party domination" of the NAACP. The investigation also forms part of the FBI's development of "Nationalistic Tendency Charts."

6 Sept. 1941 At a meeting in New York of the EPM, Carlos Cooks, William Taylor, William Ferman, and an individual by the name of Ford speak. Ford reportedly makes anti-Semitic remarks and urges blacks to kill their enemies.

6 Sept. 1941 Biddle is confirmed by the senate and officially sworn in as attorney general.

13 Sept. 1941 The FBI's Washington, D.C., field office calls the attention of JEH to a report on the subject of Nazi propaganda entitled "Pro-Axis Propaganda in Harlem," published in the *Hour* magazine of 23 Aug. 1941. Described as a "confidential bulletin," the *Hour* is edited by Albert E. Kahn.