



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE**

PART 3 OF 25

FILE NUMBER : 100-11392

SUBJECT; AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

FILE #: 100-11392

SECTION: 3

77 pages

- TRI. 9532/43.

Mr. CLARK

Mr. Cunningham

Mr. Fitch

10th September '43/

Labour ...

TRT. 3099/43

Mr. L: 20

Mr. Mumford

Mr. Pennington _____

Mr. Strickland—English

Mr. Tison

Pr1.

3A
Mr. Welch _____ 5630

Mr. Weiss

LONDON.

D.R.

S.C.N.Y.

EXCERPTA.

MIAMI.

SAN JUAN.

S.C.O. TRIM

100

Released.

Not previously censored.

H.E.B.

24th September '43. 27th Sept '43.

T. 7.

MEMBERS OF MATERIAN BROTHERHOOD PARAGUAY, UNABLE TO OBTAIN VISA
FOR THE U.S.A.

Extract:- " We were grateful to you for your cable received a few weeks ago,* but very sorry to observe that difficulties have prevented the granting of visas for the proposed journey of our brothers to North America at the present time, also that you find it necessary to advise that the journey be postponed until another year. It has been a matter which has lain very much on our hearts that this journey should take place, so that we might be able to talk over many matters of great importance with our brothers in North America, so that it is naturally bad news for us that you should find it necessary to give this advice. If you have not already sent us a letter explaining the reasons for this, will you please write to us by air mail ?"

Previous Records.

Tri. 3059/43. Hutterian Brethren, Paraguay. 25th Feb, 1943. to Clarence E. Pickett, U.S.A.

Writer asked addressee to support an application for visas for three of the brethren from Paraguay to visit the U.S.A. They are:-

Herbert Bruce, ~~Sumner~~.
 Peter Andreas, ~~Wathis~~
 George Barth

Born England
" Switzerland
" Germany

British Passport
9-1-50
British Head Office
Certificate of Identity

100 - 11392-82

C.C./A.C.
26th September/42.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority

BY 125757 HAES, Date

February 23, 1944

Dear

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your communication of recent date.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is interested in receiving any information indicating subversive tendencies or activities on the part of any individual or organization. In this regard, I can assure you that this Bureau is continuing to discharge its responsibility with reference to matters coming within our investigative jurisdiction. Any information, of course, indicating a violation over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction is referred to the Department of Justice for its consideration as to whether or not prosecution will be authorized.

If you are in possession of any information indicating a violation over which this Bureau has investigative jurisdiction, I urge you to communicate with the Special Agent in Charge of our Philadelphia Field Division which is located at 500 Widener Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11292-8

February 11, 1945.

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

Dear Sir,

I want to inform you that this is not a letter from a crack, nor is it a letter from a person out to trouble, either for his self or for any underserving cause. It is simply a letter from an American who would like to have the Federal Bureau of Investigation answer for his single question.

Why is it, that during a time when America is fighting a war to achieve a purpose considered important enough to the world American lives, certain individuals and organizations are allowed to carry on as though the country were enjoying a period of peace and prosperity? In general I refer to groups such as ~~the American Friends Service Committee~~; In particular I refer to the American Friends Service Committee.

During the past summer, this group conducted a series of lectures at Pendle Hill: A suburb of Philadelphia. Just to see what kind of organization this was, I tried to join at the headquarters on South twelfth Street. I passed myself off as a person who was disgusted with the National Selective Service Law, but either my acting failed me, or I was being carried along, for nothing definite happened. In fact I received no further communication from the organization until the enclosed circular arrived in the mail.

I would appreciate it if you would tell me why the Government allows an organization of this type to flourish in times of National Emergency. Also, is it considered the "American" thing, to refer to our Army as "Roosevelt's Army"?

In my estimation, it is foolish to speak of a "United America" when an organization such as this is allowed to spread its evil (to the winning of the War) propaganda. Certainly there is a line between free speech and out and out cheating in behalf of our enemies.

Sincerely Yours,



Peace Epistle

"PUT GOOD WILL INTO ACTION"

January 1944

Published by:
Marjorie Hoyer
Youth Secretary
Middle Atlantic Area

REUNION

Over a hundred former Summer Volunteer Project workers with the American Friends Service Committee came together for two days of fellowship and study at Funder Hill on New Year's weekend. Theme of the reunion-conference was "Non-Violent Techniques and the Race Question." It was not just a theoretical discussion - it was a discussion by people who had experienced, and out of their experience they had studied and read and thought and they knew where they spoke. It was a meeting of a hundred like minds and a hundred dedicated spirits, and out of it came renewed strength from each other's dedication. This fellowship is no closed corporation. It evangelizes, it proselytes, it eternally seeks to expand. The only requirement for membership is participation in a work camp, a peace caravan, a seminar. How about it? What are YOU doing this summer?

DO YOU KEEP BOOKS

The word most often used to describe the feeling in war and prison camps is "desolation." To combat this feeling the World Student Service Fund is organizing a campaign to collect books for these men; "good" books, and the more difficult the better. There is plenty of time in a prison camp to spend a day on one page. On your campus there are probably hundreds of books not in use (besides the ones you have courses in) that might save minds from disintegration. Write to World Student Service Fund, 8 West 40th Street, New York City, for details.

MILK TO INDIA

Out of Bengal comes the news of 100,000 deaths by starvation per week. From the United States State Department comes the news that the American Friends Service Committee has been given permission to ship \$100,000 worth of evaporated milk to India, to be distributed by the Friends Ambulance Unit there. Inflation, dislocation of transport system, loss of over a million tons of rice yearly from Burma, destructive floods during the summer growing season - all combined with the oppressive attitude of British imperialists have contributed to this catastrophe. However, India is a member of the United Nations, and should certainly be qualified to receive relief under the UNRRA set-up. Why have the big four of the UNRRA Council not moved in this direction?

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

The Amendment which would have lifted the restriction against conscientious objectors from Civilian Public Service Camps doing relief work abroad and would permit the already organized "China Unit" to give much needed service in China, was rejected by the House-Senate conference committee in December.

Also during the month of December, the counties in Oklahoma (not the Broadway version) passed "legislation" forbidding conscientious objectors to reside in them after the war.

On the other hand, Atlantic magazine reports a letter addressed to A.J. Muste, whose pacifist convictions are as firm as the iron shield Gibraltar and almost as well known, shortly after one of A.J.'s attacks on pacifist activity in relation to a huge voter law campaign. It read: "Here's to pacifism! Good on you, and all the other fellows and gals who have I (signed) a conscientious objector's army."

And included in this pile of slow dresses and sticky letters in a recent copy of Atlantic magazine was a story of recent Grigsholm prisoner - Capt. Arthur Helling. When the former resident of a Japanese internment camp in North China (and wasn't a missionary either) was asked what his expectation to pay in thirty seconds something he would like every American to own, he replied, "A gun to use against the Japs."

-----So there you are, over the moral to tell your life.

RECOMMENDED
READING

A "liberal magazine" editor made the commentary on the Tehran and Cairo conferences to the effect that three old men signed the death warrants for another generation of young men. Truly we are inclined to agree. America's Role in Asia, by Harry Paxton Howard, a newspaperman of some twenty years experience in Asia is one of the best jobs in setting forth a comprehensive history of relations of Western powers with the East. Equally important are the conclusions he draws. Concerning the peace he says, "If the conference at the end of this war is to prepare for a world without war..... it must be on a different basis than in 1919. It must create a real League of Nations - not a League dominated by victorious Empires It must be based specifically and clearly on the principle of racial equality. The American Government can set the example itself by official treatment of Asiatic peoples on this basis." Concerning Japan, "Japan must be demilitarized. It is the greatest boon we can convey on the Japanese people - if American armies and an American military dictator do not replace the Japanese Army at Tokyo." China, he says, must be strong and united. India must be free. Howard presents, it seems, the ideal for a just peace with the Far East. American people will help decide how much of the ideal will go into practice. \$3.00.

Three pamphlets on race, not all new, commend themselves to be mentioned. For a discussion of the scientific basis of race, a Public Affairs pamphlet, The Races of Man, by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. It packs a lot of facts into a short space, with clever and effective illustrations. 10 cents. For techniques of what to do about it - Interracial Primer, by Bayard Rustin, and There Are Things to Do, by Lillian Smith. Interracial Primer is packed full of suggestions of all degrees of intensity or action with particular helpfulness in Northern communities. Ditto for the other in Southern communities, especially; but both with mutual helpfulness to the other and a must for anyone really interested in interracial work. Interracial Primer, 15 cents. There Are Things to Do, 5 cents.

COMING
UP

A weekend institute, "America's Role in World Affairs", Syracuse, New York, February 11-13. ~~Speakers:~~ Speakers: Sidney Hertzberg, Robert Bendishner, A. Philip Randolph, and ~~James A. Bevel~~ (Special housing arrangements made for students.)

A weekend institute, "America's Role in World Affairs", Pittsburgh, Pa., February 26-28. Speakers: Eleanor Roosevelt, Mordecai Johnson, Edmund Stinnes, Maynard Krueger, Howard Kershner, and Oswald Garrison Villard.

I read once
In a book
That a man
Called Christ
Went about
Doing good.
It distressed me
That I am
So awfully satisfied
With just
Goin' about. Toyohiko Kagawa

American Friends Service Committee
1030 15th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Sec. 562 P. L. & E.

TO: ROY N. GIANNETTI
SOCIETY OF BUS. LIONS
MANTOLAN, LOMBARD
MEXICO

FILE 35168

Board

**DISPOSAL OF
ORIGINAL COMMUNICATION**

H
E
C
RS
Sent with comment to-

To whom photograph is to be sent

53

Tynd
2/18

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE REPORT SUBMITTED FROM CAMP IN
MEXICO MAY BE RECALLED TO U.S.

Writer states that they had a meeting of a small committee which carefully considered the matter of Nelson King. Writer states that they almost came to bring him home "for his own good and for the good of our work." However Betty Mansfield (See Note, Para. 1) and the Michaels (See Note, Para. 2) felt that he should be given another chance. Writer states that they are still do this if addresses, as camp director, approves; if not, King will be returned. Writer stated that if King stays, he is to agree to cooperate in and "enthusiastically in all aspects of the program, including going to be getting up in the morning, and doing his share of the work both in the office in the field. Writer's opinion is that King is young and needs discipline. He stated that King has never had a job "that he worked at", and if he other addresses should see that King does not deteriorate mentally and physically.

Writer feels that the Richards did right in suspending Wang from camp. He will allow him to remain in if advised as after talking to him, believes it is able. However, if not, writer will nobly hang, and short his first record allowing him to remain so long, but report that "the time has come for him to die."

Concerning writer's projected visit to Mexico, writer believes it better
 come at the end of the summer project which may take place in Toronto, then
 go to Mexico City if the seminar is offered, and then visit two camps.

EXAMINER'S NOTE: 1. Betty Manofield is director of the women's unit of the AFSC camp at Tecuala, Sonora, Mexico where they are doing public health work. (66-157-4012).

2. U.D. Michael with his wife has recently been replaced by address as of the Winstonian group. (SA-195521, SA-185036)

3. Nelson Pang is known to have been in Mexico since June, 1962 (P2-2163)

4. In Nov., 1961, [redacted] reported that on the PS of 110 North 7th Street he was going to establish his firm, and that he was representing a certain person known as "H-," classified by [redacted] - (S) (C).

5. In Dec. of the same year, the SAC in Philadelphia forwarded a copy of Bureau memo to Mr. [redacted], class 11-A, to leave the country. This was from local Bureau No. 69 at Philadelphia, 235 Third & Arch, Philadelphia, Pa. (100-1-1000) [redacted] [redacted]

SPECIAL NOTICE - The enclosed job posting is an informal reference source in a field study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

in preparation of the W-2. In no case should it be left
unattended for more than 15 minutes.

CLASSIFIED

Authority: John F. Kennedy 1/20/72
 Date: 1/20/72

JAN 4 1972

1972
ORIGINAL-REMAN
2 2

100-11392-45

DECLASSIFIED

Authority *Klecan FPA 1/28/72*
BY *DLT* NARS, Date *1/28/72*

35166

E.S.A. 14.2.44

TERMINAL MAIL AIR

101/53
555/74

1-1C
2-SD
3-033
4-E

U.S.A.
COMMITTEE

20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia Pa.
U.S.A.

4 Gordon Square
London,
W.C.2.

26/12/43

English

2-0W1

Released

Comment to P/O
D.F.
P.P.C.
FOR
ISA

Current CAN
D.H.V.
S.E.

London S.S.A

2689

12/2/44

SUBJECT

POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN CHINA - PROSPECTS AND ATTITUDE
FOR THE F.A.U.

In a "personal and confidential" letter to Head of the F.A.U. London Headquarters, Peter Tennant (one of the organizers of the F.A.U. in China, at present visiting the U.S.) gives a view of post-war prospects of the work there.

EXTRACT :

"To switch to another aspect of post-war life, I might record that one of the unusual aspects on which I have had to speak was the situation in China with regard to Christianity prospects for the future and how Friends come into the picture. This was at a Conference on the Orient at Pundic Hill last weekend and you may be interested to know that several people there expressed the hope that by the end of the war the FAU will have got into a position of influence and prestige due to its work that it will be able to play a big part in reconstruction, Friends work in general and relief work in general. In one or two cases this was expressed more as a confident prophecy than as a pious hope. The Conference was organized by the American Section of the Friends World Consultative Committee so it will be followed up and you may be hearing more about what the Unit can do. In my talk I laid stress on the particular suitability in China at this juncture in her history of the traditional Friends' approach of humble service and on the opportunity which Friends

JAN 4 1972

RECEIVED
F 232

35167

-2- LON/SE 5654/44

Centres provide of combining this with an emphasis of the things of the spirit (without any evangelising). Ted Hertz, recently returned from Shanghai where his Chinese wife is still running the centre, followed me and took much the same line though he approached the subject from the viewpoint of one who had been working in close co-operation with Chinese Church leaders. He emphasised the necessity to live and demonstrate the things of the spirit rather than try to make more Christians. So I imagine that Friends' activity after the war may easily be grouped round or based on a number of Centers and I think this would be well."

FROM:

TO:

LIST:

LIST:

35165

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|--|------------------|
| Date of communication | Date of postmark | Kind of mail | Mail No. | Register No. | Serial No. |
| Language | Previously censored by | Station distribution | | DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL COMMUNI- CATION H R C RE Sent with comment to— | |
| Previous relevant records | For interoffice use | | | | |
| | To be photographed | Photo No. | To whom photograph is to be sent | | |
| Division (or section) | Table | Examiner | D. A. C. | Reviewer | Examination date |
| | | | | | Typing date |

DE
use only

COMMENT

Mrs. Villalba suggests that ABCS representatives obtain information from the son, Antonio, in Mexico regarding their parents' assets as in Mexico since Mrs. Villalba is not sure which have moved or died.

Mrs. Villalba states she and her husband are registered in the Mexican General Consulate in Barcelona but since Mexico has no representation in Spain since the Civil War, the couple obtained their Mexican passports from the Mexican Consulate in Lisbon which gives them Mexican nationality.

Mrs. Villalba states they have been away from Mexico 17 years, not being able to return because of the Civil War and later because of her husband's detention.

The couple hope to return to their native country as soon as Mr. Villalba is at liberty which they hope will be obtained by Blakenhoff and his organizations.

PARTIALS WITH:

1. Address is representative of triner organization (SA-FIN-6308)

ENCLOSURES: 4

4 separate letters from writer to addressees

OFFICE OF CENSOR
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

POSTAL CENSORSHIP

Receipt No. A-PIN 7031

Page 1 of 2 pages

FROM: AMERICAN REFUGEE SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 SOUTH WILKIN STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
SIGNATURE: MARGARET H. HARRIS
ASSOCIATE SECRETARY

TO: MAITRE D'AZ
1145 WILKINS BLVD.
LOMAS DE CHAPULTEPEC
MEXICO CITY, D. F.

Mr. A. G. ...
Mr. Carson ...
Mr. Cunningham ...
Mr. Fitch ...
Mr. Little ...
Mr. E. Wickland ...
Mr. Tamm ...
Mr. Welch ...

LIST: G 7030, 5745 (COMMUNICATION)

35163

| | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|-------------------|------------|
| Date of communication 10-22-1944 | Date of postmark 10-22-1944 | Kind of mail LET | Mail No. | Register No. 7 | Serial No. |
| Language ENGLISH | Previously censored by | Station distribution DR PIN-CFC | DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL COMMUNICATION | | |
| Previous relevant records SA-PIN 6755 R | For interoffice use | To whom photograph is to be sent | B R C RS Sent with comment to— | | |
| | To be photographed NO | Photo No. | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|----------|----------|----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Division (or section) DR | Table | Examiner | D. A. C. | Reviewer | Examination date 10-22-1944 | Typing date 10-22-1944 |
|-----------------------------|-------|----------|----------|----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|

COMMENT

Letter is needed: "Re: Louis Gontoulliat, c/o American Consulate, Barcelona, Spain."

Letter acknowledges receipt of \$100 (cy. not stated) via Western Union from addressee. Letter states that she assumed this was in answer to their letter to addressee. Letter states that the entire sum was promptly transferred to addressee's brother, Louis Gontoulliat.

Letter states that ten days later addressee's telephone with instructions reached writer organization, which accordingly called the addressee's brother that addressee is waiting for his brother to get to come to Mexico and that addressee is guaranteeing the money for his brother's trip.

Letter states that addressee has taken this up with the Mexican authorities and will arrange through them to secure the Mexican Consulate in Lisbon as soon as possible and a visa is available for Gontoulliat.

Letter confirms addressee's statement that there is no Mexican Consulate Service in Spain at this time and that all such regulations must be taken up with the Consulate in Lisbon.

Letter suggests that it might be better for addressee's brother to travel to North Africa, where many persons are now awaiting completion of plans to travel to Mexico.

ENCLOSURES: 1. A letter dated Feb. 22, 1944, from writer organization, 20 South Wilkin St., Philadelphia, Pa., to addressee reveals that writer organization received a message from writer organization's Madrid office to addressee, concerning Louis Gontoulliat and his request for assistance and request to let them know addressee's plans for assisting him (Gontoulliat, 6556).

Enclosures: None

RECLASSIFIED
Authority: *Velcan FPA 1/28/72*
BY: *Deu* DATE: *1/28/72*

100-11392-89

261 4 1972
RECEIVED DIRECTOR-GENERAL
F 232

New York, N.Y.

Seattle 1, Washington
June 24, 1944.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

The National Maritime Union of America, CIO, represents the majority of merchant seamen, the men who deliver the goods to the fighting fronts of the world. We have pledged our full support to the people of the United Nations, President Roosevelt, and General Eisenhower that we will "Keep 'em sailing". We are backing up our government in its demands for the unconditional surrender of the Axis.

The Institute of International Relations under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee is holding a series of speeches and classes in the city of Seattle.

Waynard Krueger, one of its speakers, attacked the unconditional surrender policy of the United Nations as a "dodge" which is Hitler's dying gasp for a negotiated peace.

Bertram Wolfe, another one of their speakers, attacked the "Four Freedoms" as "Four Fantasies". That is the same kind of propaganda as radio Berlin and Tokyo give out.

We are not going to allow anyone to spread fascist propaganda under the cloak of "Free Speech", in their efforts to destroy free speech, and all freedoms.

At the fourth national convention of the National Maritime Union held in New York, July 1943, we took this solemn oath to our dead shipmates that :

"We will continue your struggle. We will never rest until the cause for which you died has triumphed. We will keep 'em sailing in your hallowed shiprit - the spirit of free men who never have and never will bend the knee to fascist slavery."

And this oath is exactly what we mean.

Very truly yours,

100-113929

OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

POSTAL CENSORSHIP

Recons No. FIN 39343Page 1 of 1 pages

FROM:

~~AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE~~
R. de D. Pedro, 7, 13
Lisboa, Portugal - AEC-8

TO:

~~MANUEL P. STADLER~~
20 South Front St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

35162

LIST:

1-7000, 5545

LIST:

| | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Date of communication Oct. 22, 1944 | Date of postmark Oct. 31, 1944 | Kind of mail Air | Mail No. | Register No. 41297 | Serial No. |
| Language English | Previously censored by None | Station distribution Fin. Sect. -- CPC November 13, 1944 D.R. T.O.D. | | DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL COMMUNI- CATION H R R. C RS Sent with comment to— | |
| Previous relevant records CH 2195 | For interoffice use | To be photographed No | Photo No. | To whom photograph is to be sent | |
| Division (or action) Reg. | Table F | Examiner 6518 | D. A. C. 5406 J. D. A. C. | Reviewer 5606 | Examination date Nov. 10-11, 1944 |
| Topic date Nov. 13, 1944 | Topic date Nov. 13, 1944 | | | | |

DR was only

SI 5452

S.D. 6717

2-85
1-480
1-SRB
3-22

⑦

SECURITY DIVISION
ROUTIN

V.C. 4852 FC 5365

COMMENT

FOUNDER U.S. REPRESENTATIVE OF GERMAN TRAVEL BUREAU, REPAIRED IN 1942, BUT NOT IN PORTUGAL, PLANS RETURN TO WESTERN EUROPE SOON.

In an inter-office communication signed by Russell T. Fitchie, writer requests the aid of authorities in the case of Carl J. Dancker, reported enemy alien. He had been on a repatriation list some time ago, but was not picked up for deportation until October of this year, at which time he was given the choice of either returning to Germany or remaining in a U.S. concentration camp. He chose to go, then changed his mind. He left, however, in May 1942 and his wife Carl's last location, a Chilean, went with him.

Once in Portugal, to avoid going to Germany, he sought the aid of the "British Consulate General" who advised him to go on into Canada, then came out of his own volition. He succeeded in doing this and was released by the British to go to Chile with his wife, but the American authorities refused to let him come with her to the U. S. because of his being a suspected enemy alien.

Writer suggests that the British as well as the American authorities in Portugal, are convinced that Dancker is not suspect, that these impressions have been communicated to Washington, and wonders whether these facts justify the reopening of the case. Writer states:

"We have had only conversations with the H.P.C.O. or the American Embassy, but the British would be willing to give us a statement if you think it would help."

About the subject, writer states:

"Carl J. Dancker was born in Cassel, Germany, Oct. 9, 1887. He is a Protestant and was operative (P.O. was note) -- Dancker is a travel agent by profession and lived in London and France as representative of German companies in Germany. In 1937 he went to the U.S. as representative of the German-Austrian Republics."

(Note: -- (without identity) a possible person, one who does not have a passport or other proper identification papers.)

Mr. Fitchie, on 11/10/44, in a communication dated April 1, 1944, from Carl J. Dancker, 1000-31st Street, New York, N.Y., George G. Morris, Vice G. (M.D.), to the writer, and in 1944, writer, in London, allowed a statement at that office, previous information. He expressed belief that should this person be known, American authorities in Germany might have it as a possible person.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: Reliant FPA 1/28/77
BY: Self DATE: 1/28/77

JAN 4 1972

157
100-11392-924

FROM: AMERICAN AIRMAIL SERVICE COMPANY
SEATTLE OFFICE
3959 FIFTH AVENUE, S.W.
SEATTLE 5, WASHINGTON
SIGNED: JIMMY C. HARRIS
G 7033, 5542 (AIR MAIL SERVICE CO.)

TO: LEGATION MEXICAN CONSUL
BOULEVARD DE LOS ANGELES
MEXICO CITY, MEXICO

| | | | | |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| Date of communication Oct. 21, 1944 | Date of postmark | Kind of mail | Mail No. | Register No. |
| Language | Previously censored by | Station distribution 35181 | | DISPOS ORIGINAL CAT |
| Previous relevant records | For interoffice use | | | H K C RS Sent with contents |
| Sender (Name and address) AMERICAN AIRMAIL SERVICE CO. SEATTLE 5, WASH. | To be photographed | Photo No. | To whom photograph is to be sent | |
| Division (See Form No. 1) | Table | Classification | P. A. C. | Reviewer |
| Examination date | | | | |

DR
use only

COMMENT

100-11392-92X1

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: *[Signature]* FPA 1/28/54

BY: *[Signature]* NARS, Date: 1/28/54

File

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: December 4, 1944

FROM : SAC, Providence

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

I am transmitting herewith three pamphlets for the attention of the Bureau, and for whatever action is deemed advisable by the Bureau. This material was furnished to this office by [redacted] of the [redacted] who received it from one [redacted] a registered [redacted] at the [redacted]

100-11392-92x2

Peace Time Conscription

... A PROBLEM
FOR
AMERICANS

1. WHAT WAS THE ORIGIN OF MODERN MILITARY CONSCRIPTION AND WHAT WERE SOME OF THE EFFECTS?

The first military conscription law in the modern sense was passed in France in 1793. It prescribed the liability of young men to serve if required from the twentieth to twenty-fifth year of age.

Col. Frederick Natusch, C.B., wrote in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1910):

There is perhaps no law on the statute-books of any nation which has exercised a more far-reaching influence on the future of humanity than this little-known French act of 1793, introduced by General Jourdan to the Council of the 500, for it was the power thus conferred upon the French government which alone rendered the Napoleonic policy of conquest possible.

"I can afford to expend thirty thousand men a month!" this boast of Napoleon's, made to Metternich at Schonbraun in 1805, has determined the trend of events from that day forward, not only on the battlefield but also in the workshops, and forms even at the present day *the chief guarantee for peace, stability and economic development* upon the continent of Europe. (Italics supplied.)

What had become of this guarantee of peace in 1914? by 1939?

To continue from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*:

The essential importance of the event lies in this, that at a critical moment this law, passed by an obscure body of men—absolutely in defiance of the opinion of the greatest reformer that France at that moment had discovered, Carust, and of the feelings of a very large proportion of the whole community—became permanent by the action of causes set in motion by Napoleon, which ultimately compelled all Europe to adopt similar legislation.

Prussia pursued this Napoleonic idea of conscription to its logical conclusion, and in 1806 "definitely affirmed the principle of universal service without distinction of class or right of exemption by purchase." Can any doubt the disastrous results for the world of 125 years

of German military conscription? Japan introduced conscription in 1873. Y. Takata in his *Conscription System in Japan*, after mentioning the adoption of conscription in France and then in Prussia, said:

It was natural that the Japanese authorities, who were in pressing need of a new military system, should follow the European example. The adoption of the system was, however, not an easy matter. Strong objections were raised against this new system, for it was not compatible with the feudal spirit, with which the whole people were saturated.

In 1926, prominent citizens of fourteen countries signed a manifesto to give substance to President Wilson's earlier proposal to make conscription illegal in all countries affiliated in the League of Nations. This plea read:

We call for some definite steps toward complete disarmament and the demilitarizing of the mind of civilized nations. The most effective measure toward this would be the universal abolition of conscription. We therefore, ask the League of Nations to propose the abolition of compulsory military service in all countries as a first step toward true disarmament. It is our belief that conscript armies, with their large corps of professional officers, are the grave menace to peace. Conscription involves the degradation of human personality and the destruction of liberty.

2. WHAT PROPOSALS ARE BEING MADE FOR PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES?

The May Bill, H.R. 3947, introduced January 11, 1944, by Chairman Andrew J. May of the House Military Affairs Committee, would provide that every young man upon attaining the age of 17 or upon the completion of high school, whichever first occurs, shall be inducted into the army or navy for a period of one year for military training. For eight years he would be enrolled in the reserves and subject to refresher training. This bill would become effective when the present Selective Training and Service Act expires.

S. 701 and H.R. 1806 were introduced February 11,

1943, by Senator Chan Gurney, of South Dakota and Representative James W. Wadsworth, of New York. It provides that every male citizen and every male alien shall, upon attaining the age of 18 years or within 180 days thereafter, be subject to military training and be inducted into the army or navy for a period of one year. Then he shall be enrolled as a reserve in the army or naval forces for four years, and subject to additional refresher training. This would become effective 18 months after the war is ended. There have been no hearings on either the May Bill or the Gurney-Wadsworth Bill.

According to the *New York Times* of April 27, 1944, a proposal for a universal military training system was submitted to the House Committee on Post War Military Policy by Brigadier General Palmer. The *Washington Post*, in a front page article on May 11, 1944, says: "The Army and Navy have agreed upon the basic outline of a program for universal military service after the war but the Budget Bureau is keeping the plan under review. The Army-Navy plan seems to contemplate the passage of some sort of national service legislation since it includes training for those physically disqualified for combat duty 'who will be destined for war industries.' A year's military training for every male citizen of military age is proposed."

Universal military training has been advocated by late Secretary of Navy Knox, Major General H. H. Arnold, head of Selective Service, J. Edgar Hoover, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and others in the government.

3. WHAT WERE THE CHIEF REASONS FOR THE REJECTION OF PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION IN 1920?

Some of the reasons advanced in Congress against the adoption of peacetime conscription in 1920 were the following:

- a. The excessive cost and burden of military taxation
- b. The resultant reduction of the nation's population

tivity and standard of living could amount to perhaps one billion dollars annually, in addition to the cost of the program itself;

- c. The fact that the United States would be committed to a policy of militarism similar to that which had developed in Germany under the Kaiser;
- d. The fact that the United States' effort in World War I had not been delayed by lack of trained soldiers despite the popular assumption to the contrary. (It was alleged that the delay was actually in the obtaining of equipment.);
- e. The training, like battleships and other material preparations, becomes obsolete rapidly and consequently "unlearning and relearning" processes would be necessary if and when war returned;
- f. The manpower loss might be keenly felt on the farms, even more than in the factories; and
- g. An efficient and voluntary system of physical education carried out locally would produce a much stronger population with a more resourceful spirit if defense were needed in the future.

4. WOULDN'T IT BE A GOOD THING TO ADOPT MILITARY TRAINING FOR ITS PHYSICAL BENEFITS TO EVERY YOUNG MAN?

Some men do benefit physically from life in the Army or Navy, with much better food, often, than they had at home, vigorous exercise, regular hours and outdoor activity. Moreover, it is true that the percentage of rejection of men called for military service reveals a shocking lack of physical fitness in the United States. Major General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, said on February 25, 1944, that more than half of the registrants were failing to pass physical and mental tests, with 3,500,000 already classified 4-F. However, even after rejecting this large percentage before induc-

tion, the present high rate of discharge for physical and mental deficiencies (tens of thousands every month from battle casualties) indicates that the Army provides no over-all solution.

What is needed instead is very complex—(1) better food and nutrition for children, (2) more adequate medical care and hospitalization for those who need it through the development both of private and public facilities, (3) an enlarged Public Health Service to combat venereal diseases and venereal disease; (4) a much better physical education program in our schools with periodic medical and dental examinations; (5) stress on games and sports and exercises that can be continued with enthusiasm in later life. A year of military training will not overcome a lifetime of bad environment.

5. WHAT HAVE EDUCATIONAL BODIES SAY ABOUT THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF MILITARY DRILL?

With the exception of those bodies whose members receive federal or private money for military training (The Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, The Association of State Universities, and The Association of Military Schools and Colleges) no educational association has gone on record, to our knowledge, favoring military drill in the schools as good education. The American Physical Education Association, the World Federation of Education Associations, the Department of Superintendents of the National Education Association Commissions appointed to study the question by New Jersey, Massachusetts, Virginia and New York, all have gone on record opposing military training as the type of training for young people.

The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association said:

We must teach our pupils to make the passage from love of country to love of mankind, love of humanity, a transition which civilization teaches us to make, but which the spirit of military drill cannot make, but rather tends to prevent.

The New York State Commission said:

The kind of obedience that is fostered in military training is not the kind that lasts. It is a temporary subjection of the will, which often leads to greater disobedience when military pressure is removed.

The New Jersey State Commission on Military Training in High Schools reported:

It is a psychological fallacy to suppose that obedience to military authority, indeed, obedience exacted under any peculiar circumstances, may automatically be translated into the general habit of obedience. The same may be said of such qualities as alertness, industry, truthfulness, etc. It is by no means capable of demonstration that those who have had military training, or have been subject to military discipline, are superior to other citizens in the possession of these qualities.

6. WHAT ARE PROMINENT EDUCATIONAL BODIES SAYING NOW ABOUT ADOPTING POST-WAR CONSCRIPTION?

"Does America Want Conscription as a Peacetime Policy?" asks the *Journal of the National Education Association*. Then it quotes, "one of the most important pronouncements ever made by leaders of the teaching profession," the statement adopted March 13, 1944, by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators and the Problems and Plans Committee of the American Council on Education. These bodies said in part:

In our judgment it is unwise to commit the nation at this time to a year of universal military service for the following reasons . . . No basic change is necessary to provide required military personnel, not only for the period of the war, but also for the period immediately following the defeat of our enemies . . . A question which must be appraised in long-range terms. In these terms it is clearly impossible to debate fairly and intelligently the question of whether compulsory military service is a national military necessity . . .

Until the post-war national situation is clarified, it seems to us extremely unwise and even dangerous to commit the nation to such a revolutionary change in funda-

mental national policy . . . Our American tradition is strongly set against a large standing army . . . Men now in military service should have a voice in determining the desirability and soundness of compulsory military service . . .

The American people are fighting this war with the high hope that it will eventuate in an enduring peace. We all look for measures of international cooperation which will reduce the necessity for large scale post-war military establishment. If, against the background of these great expectations, a year of compulsory military training is urged, many Americans will interpret such action as a signal for the return of the cynicism of the 1920's or as an admission that we shall all continue to live in an armed camp and that the hopes of a more peaceful world are not to be realized.

7. ISN'T A SYSTEM OF CONSCRIPTION REALLY DEMOCRATIC?

There are two major aspects of democracy—equality and liberty. There is often a fraternal benefit from the associations in the ranks of the military. But does anyone seriously contend that the armed services have given equal opportunity, rank, or recognition to, for example, the Negro?

Conscription particularly violates the second element of democracy—liberty. Many of our most stalwart citizens are descended from men and women who came to America to escape the systems of conscription in their countries. Conscription tends to limit academic freedom, the right of the press to criticize government policies and political and military leaders, and tends to discourage peaceful means of international cooperation.

There is a great deal to be said in favor of a sense of obligation to serve the community. It is not clear, however, that that sense of obligation can be developed best by compulsion. There is a great difference between service rendered to the community from a sense of duty and service rendered to the nation under compulsion. The assumption has been that one makes his best contribution to the national life of America by doing as well as he can the work which he has selected for himself.

Compulsory national service, even including other than military service, might have the effect of aggrandizing the state and aggravating the difficulties of voluntary local services. Conscribed men could hardly be assigned to a private or voluntary welfare institution. Might not the result be to increase still more the degree to which people lean on the state and permit the state to manage their lives? Are we ready for such a departure from traditions which have made ours a great country?

8. DON'T WE NEED CONSCRIPTION IF AN INDIVIDUAL IS TO HAVE A FAIR CHANCE TO SURVIVE IN BATTLE?

It is often argued that adequate training saves lives in battle, that to send men into battle, untrained, is murder, that conscription would assure each soldier the necessary training to prevent that particular form of murder.

This argument is sound to the extent that men in battle have a better chance for survival if they know how to do what must be done with the least exposure of themselves. But warfare is not less fatal when fought between highly trained armies. One purpose of military training is to teach men how to kill the enemy. The true saving of lives is effected by preventing war, not by teaching men how to kill each other.

Furthermore, there is little evidence that conscription actually maintains efficient standards, even in killing. During years of peace the training tends to become perfunctory and every war finds new methods which have to be learned by experience. There is a good deal to be said for the idea that alertness and independence of mind are better life preservers in war than a well-trained military procedure that is a little out of date.

9. WOULD NOT CONSCRIPTION PREVENT SUDDEN ATTACKS LIKE PEARL HARBOR?

Poland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Greece, Russia, Yugoslavia all had conscription and all

were attacked without warning. With the *Blitzkrieg* methods, the only way to prevent that sort of attack is to prevent war. Strong military preparations are an incitement to sudden attack rather than a safeguard against it, because sudden surprise attack offers the only hope of success in such a case.

10. IS NOT CONSCRIPTION NECESSARY TO MAN THE BASES AND MAINTAIN THE FLEETS TO KEEP US SAFE AFTER THE WAR?

A program which makes our safety depend on bases all over the world and on fleets and forces stronger than those of other countries is a policy leading to war. If we seek security that way, other nations may be expected to do likewise. We shall have no grounds for objection and our attempts to gain security and theirs will be sure to clash if we follow that line. Not security, but war is the result of such a policy.

11. BUT IS NOT CONSCRIPTION NEEDED TO PROTECT US FROM THE JEALOUSY OF IMPOVERISHED NEIGHBORS AFTER THE WAR?

The poverty of our neighbors will injure us more than their aggression could. Wealth requires the ability to produce and exchange goods; no device has been found to enable us to do that satisfactorily within our country except through the aid of trade with our neighbors. The best way to protect ourselves from impoverished neighbors is to share generously in the world program of reconstruction, so that they may be restored to prosperity and may help, by their trade, to maintain our prosperity.

12. ISN'T CONSCRIPTION NECESSARY FOR NATIONAL SECURITY?

The assumption that national security can be found in national armed force is totally false. National armed force gives not security, but a gambler's hope of victory. Security requires more; it requires the prevention of war. War cannot be prevented by armed force, because each step a nation takes to increase its own security thereby decreases the security of its neighbors. Security itself is the chief purpose of national policy; nations are more willing to fight for it than for any other single objective. So a system in which each step to increase one's security threatens that of his neighbor is a system which makes security impossible and war inevitable. Security cannot be attained through national military power; it can be attained only in world order.

Conscription as a permanent policy is hostile to world order. World order requires world organization with provision for peaceful settlement of disputes, provision for effective cooperation on common problems and for orderly change of conditions which have become unsatisfactory; it requires, as Secretary Cordell Hull put it (March 21, 1944) "adjustment of armaments in such a way that the rule of law cannot be successfully challenged."

Conscription may be so regulated, as in the case of a small country like Switzerland, that the country does not thereby become a threat to the rest of the world. But conscription as a general policy does not give security; its tendency is against security because it tends to emphasize reliance on armed power instead of emphasizing loyal participation in the adequate world organization which is the only means by which real security can be attained.

13. WOULD NOT CONSCRIPTION BE NEEDED IN A GENERAL WORLD ORGANIZATION TO MAN A WORLD POLICE?

One of the main tasks of such a world organization would be to reduce and limit national armaments. Unless

[12]

it succeeds in doing so, an international police would have little chance of being effective. No imaginable international police could restrain Russia now, or even the United States. With reduction and limitation of armaments, the number of men in armed forces would be reduced so much that there should be little difficulty obtaining sufficient volunteers if the world should decide to maintain for a time an international police composed of military units. In any case, there is a certain reluctance about conscripting men to serve outside their country under another authority than the government of their own country. It is important not to over-estimate the value of coercion in maintaining order in any community including the community of nations.

14. WOULDN'T CONSCRIPTION ENHANCE OUR SPIRITUAL STRENGTH AS A NATION?

Patriotism is a virtue; a sense of duty to serve one's community should be developed in every citizen. How can a young man get such an attitude better than in the experience of giving a year of service, with others of his own age from all kinds and conditions of men?

It sometimes happens that virtue practiced under compulsion ceases to be virtue. When an irate alumnus told Dr. Jowett, of Balliol College, that compulsory attendance at chapel must be continued because the choice lay between compulsory religion and no religion, Dr. Jowett replied, "The distinction, sir, is too subtle for your mind to apprehend." It may be asked whether compulsory patriotism is not in danger of breaking down into unpatriotism.

National unity as developed by conscription is likely to be illusory. A conscription system with continuing liability for reserve service gives government excessive power over individuals. Twice, for example, French governments disposed of railroad strikes by mobilizing strikers. A sense of suspicion is more likely to develop than a sense of national unity.

[13]

France in 1940, after a century and a half of conscription, was a sorry example of the alleged patriotism and unity developed by conscription. One may ask, after looking at France, whether or not the effect of conscription is not such as to tend to numb patriotism, encourage distrust within the nation, and stunt the growth of the self-discipline which is the basis of political integrity. National morale requires, not the discipline of the drill-sergeant, but the self-discipline of the man who follows his conscience and takes the consequences.

Conscription, long continued, tends to eliminate that sort of self-discipline because it exacts a heavy price for non-conformity. Was it just an accident that a free religious society such as the Society of Friends practically disappeared in Germany and France during a century of conscription? Is there an important relationship between spiritual freedom and freedom from military regimentation? What will America's answer and the world's answer to that question be?

*Additional copies may be obtained
for 5c each, or 50 for \$1.25 from the*

**PEACE SECTION
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 SOUTH 12th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.**

E63A 10-44 26M KP

WHAT'S WRONG with Peacetime Universal Military Training for the United States

1 It would stand in the way of a durable world peace.

If the Axis nations are to be completely disarmed after this war, why should the United States continue to maintain a gigantic military establishment backed by national conscription? That would be the starting signal for an international armament race, as surely as our passage of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act precipitated world-wide economic reprisals and warfare. And the consequences of international competition in conscription may well be disastrous.

National conscription does not fit into the picture of any genuine world police system. Since none of the victor nations intends to put its conscriptees under the supreme authority of a world government, they will be expendable primarily for national purposes. The very existence of such potentialities of destruction and aggression on all sides will cancel out all faith in the adequacy of a general international organization to preserve peace.

The elimination of mammoth national armaments is therefore a prerequisite for the effective functioning and authority of a supranational world agency. If no nation arms beyond what is necessary for the maintenance of domestic order, and if a sincere attempt is made to provide opportunities for peaceful change looking to international justice, then no armies under the guise of "police" will be necessary.

The peace system and the military system are irreconcilable. America's choice of post-war conscription at this juncture would be a vote against peaceful organization of the world community.

2 Universal peacetime conscription would plant in America's democratic soil Europe's cancer of military despotism.

Conscription was invented and introduced into Europe during the French Revolution with the object of defending liberty, equality, and fraternity against foreign domination. Yet Napoleon used it as a means of ac-

quiring dictatorial power and then plunging Europe into war. Prussia followed Napoleon's lead, since when conscription has been the tap root of international militarism, a deadly cancer spreading throughout Europe and threatening increasingly the entire structure of civilization.

But the United States has stood pre-eminent among the nations as a land where men are free from the military scourge. For more than a century, thousands of the staunchest men of Europe forsook home and country to brave an ocean crossing and the toils of pioneering in America to get away from the slavery and slaughter of Europe's militarism. And when they looked upon the Statue of Liberty they saw it as a positive guarantee of those deep desires.

3 Universal military training is not a democratic alternative to a big standing army.

Secretary Stimson and General Marshall have recently claimed that a period of compulsory military training for all able-bodied youth, and their subsequent incorporation into a reserve, would be a democratic substitute for the large standing army which they say we must otherwise maintain. That is an extraordinary claim!

Universal conscription for one year of training as proposed in the May Bill, for example, would involve a huge and expensive establishment. The conscripts cannot be trained without arms, tanks, planes, and a vast quantity of war material. Thousands of permanent officers, non-commissioned officers, and caretakers of government property will be needed. And there would be fat contracts for shoes, clothing, food, and other supplies. We would start with an annual complement of 1,200,000 boys who reach the age of 17 every year. Also, year after year well over a million would be graduated to swell the ranks of the reserves. On such a basis we would build up in no time a vast military interest and lobby more dangerous to peacetime liberty than any standing army that could be built without conscription.

The idea that conscription can be a democratic alternative to a big standing army is a gold brick.

Peacetime conscription, whether for military or labor purposes, is the Hitler way of solving unemployment.

Ominously enough, this was the road leading right into war by which we wiped out unemployment in the United States, after we had found no other way to do it. And now General Hershey, Director of Selective Service, in speaking about demobilization and unemployment, declares: "We can keep people in the army about as cheaply as we could create an agency for them when they are out."

If the United States cannot solve her unemployment problem by a better means than military dole, we cannot go after the root causes of unemployment and at once begin to make provision for voluntary employment in peaceful work of national and international service, then it will appear that our country has nothing better to offer mankind than a loadening and streamlining of Europe's conscript road to ruin.

Universal military training is the wrong education for peace, national health, the prevention of crime, the strengthening of democracy, and self-discipline.

Years ago H. G. Wells pointed out that the fate of civilization hung on a race between education and catastrophe. He did not mean military education. What is allied with catastrophe.

We do need better national health, a wiser use of leisure, more effective ways of coping with crime, more constructive ways of public discussion, more adult education and, undergirding all, a self-discipline of the individual citizen resulting in self-dedication to the good of our country and all mankind. But this tremendous task cannot be accomplished by compulsory training in the ways of violence. It could not be done in one year by any method; we must begin such a program long before our youths reach seven-

teen. Do we want to inject into our civil educational system, with its decentralized local self-determination, this military camel's nose of a regimented year of goosestepping education directed from Washington? Let us be careful lest we sell our democratic educational birthright for a mess of military pottage.

6 Compulsory training for war would grant the State the overlordship of personal conscience.

The present draft law as interpreted and administered by the national authorities has resulted in the imposition of prison sentences running from six months to five years for more than 4,000 conscientious objectors, according to figures given out by the Department of Justice covering the period from October 16, 1940 to July 1, 1944. That this has happened under a law which explicitly provided for non-combatant alternative service for any person "who by reason of religious training and belief is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form" shows how impossible it is to reconcile the demands of military systems with the varied and imperative urgings of conscience. In 1937 the Oxford Conference, which was more representative of Protestant Christendom than any conference since the Reformation, declared that the Church "should be opposed to an education which teaches men to subordinate themselves to any human force as the final authority—be it the will of the majority, or of a leader, or of an absolute State. That is to violate the sanctity of conscience, which must be kept responsible to God alone."

America should be the last country on earth to violate that principle. Conscription for military training is a test case.

Advocates of conscription acknowledge that unless it is adopted soon, it will be defeated. We should refuse to be stampeded by wartime emotions into accepting a policy of permanent peacetime conscription—a policy that cannot be justified by any process of cool reasoning.

Write to your Senators and Representatives now, urging them to oppose peacetime conscription

For further information, additional copies of this flyer, or suggestions for action, write

The FELLOWSHIP of RECONCILIATION

2929 Broadway 710 Rush Street 1802 Grand Ave. 1418 Grape St. 403 University Way 2151 Vine St. 1057 1/2, Berkeley
New York 22, N. Y. Chicago 11, Ill. Rochester 4, N. Y. Denver, Colo. Seattle, Wash. Berkeley 7, Calif. Los Angeles 29, Calif.

necessary to maintain peace and security after the war, and that until the post-war international situation is clarified, this country should not depart from its tradition which has always opposed conscription of youth in times of peace.

It therefore opposes action by Congress at the present time on bills providing for post-war compulsory military training.

The National Child Labor Committee also believes that, before action is taken by Congress on this issue which will affect every American home, there should be an opportunity for citizen groups throughout the country, including men now in military service, to debate the question. It urges that the public schools be used as meeting places where young people and adults may discuss this matter, from all angles, formulate their opinions, and express them to their elected representatives. (May, 1941).

The Post-War World Council:

The Post-War World Council records its opposition to pending legislation providing for compulsory, peacetime, military training and service on the following grounds:

(1) Post-war conscription will make war economy a permanency. It is one way of evading the responsibility of this country's taking the necessary long-term and constructive measures to harness our productive capacity for the destruction of poverty. Its acceptance means the substitution of a military and armament economy for one that is democratically controlled. Its maintenance means production of guns, tanks, military clothes, and equipment instead of houses, schools, hospitals, and food. It is a defeat for an expanding economy of abundance.

(2) Enactment of post-war conscription means we are admitting now, while we still fight, that we have failed to keep our promise of a brave new world. We serve notice on the world that our faith in the post-war period rests, not on international collaboration, but on our own military might. It means that we are preparing the blueprint for imperialist adventure and for the next war to protect that imperialism.

(3) Acceptance of post-war conscription means retrogression of educational freedom. Our schools and colleges will have to be geared to creating an adaptability to blind obedience and rigid discipline rather than education for democracy.

(4) Post-war conscription means the forging of a powerful weapon against free labor. History has

other countries to break strikes by calling strikers to arms. There are powerful and articulate groups in the United States that would welcome so convenient a method of throttling trade union activity.

(5) Compulsory military training and service would more deeply imbed into the pattern of our society the racial discrimination so characteristic of the military caste system. The well-known Jim Crow pattern of the armed forces will influence every boy who lives under its conditions for a period during his formative years immediately after high school.

(6) This country's adoption of peacetime military conscription for the third time in its history will mean our falling back into the vices of the European military psychology which we have always deprecated and looked down upon. The United States has long prided itself upon the fact that we offered a refuge to those who fled the obligation of military conscript service in the benighted countries of Europe which labored under this handicap. (July 14, 1941)

The Fellowship of Reconciliation:

We are unalterably opposed to having the question of permanent conscription settled in war time. The proposal to effect such a revolutionary change in our American way of life, and to take so drastic a step toward total regimentation, should be passed upon only after the most careful democratic discussion, which is impossible in war time. We must therefore decline to participate in any discussion with Government officials as to provisions for CO's in any contemplated permanent conscription set-up, since this would in a measure encourage the idea that we were willing to contemplate and acquiesce in such measures. We most earnestly hope and pray that all pacifists and religious agencies will take the same position. (March 26, 1943)

Additional copies of this leaflet may be secured from:

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

METHODIST COMMISSION FOR WORLD PEACE
740 Rush St., Chicago 11, Ill.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR
1013 Eighteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

POST-WAR WORLD COUNCIL
112 E. 19th St., New York 3, N. Y.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 Beekman St., New York 5, N. Y.

Should the
United States
Adopt
Permanent
Military

Conscription



OFFICIAL STATEMENT

of twelve important
religious, educational,
and civic bodies

The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, and the Problems and Plans Committee of the American Council on Education:

(Joint statement adopted March 13, 1944.)

In our judgment it is unwise to commit the nation at this time to a year of universal military service for the following reasons:

(1) *Present military necessity*—Under the Selective Service Act, the present personnel needs of the Armed Forces are being met so far as the nation's resources of manpower permit. It therefore follows that the proposed year of compulsory military service should be conceived in terms of a post-war, not a current, undertaking. No basic change in the present Selective Service System is necessary to provide required military personnel, not only for the period of the war, but also for the period immediately following the defeat of our enemies.

(2) *Longtime military necessity*—Since the proposed year of compulsory military service is not a question of immediate military necessity, it must be appraised in long range terms. In these terms, it is clearly impossible at this time to debate fairly and intelligently the question of whether compulsory military service is a national military necessity. No one can foresee the international situation which will exist when Germany and Japan are defeated. Neither the international political nor the international military situation can be calculated while the war is still in progress. Prophecies on this subject and debate thereon at this time may prove detrimental to national policy and to the unity of the United Nations.

(3) *Policing the peace*—When this war is over, it may be necessary to maintain a large standing army to police the peace, and this may force us to adopt compulsory military training. No one is in a position now, however, to forecast fully the international responsibilities that relate to the occupation of foreign territories. Until the post-war national situation is clarified, it seems to us extremely unwise and even dangerous to commit the nation to such a revolutionary change in fundamental national policy as would the establishment of compulsory military service.

(4) *The American military tradition*—Our American democratic tradition is strongly set against a large standing army. We, along with the great body of Americans, will support a year of com-

the safety of the nation requires it. We are unservedly for adequate preparedness, but we see great dangers in any unnecessary break with our tested democratic tradition respecting compulsory military service in times of peace.

(5) *The opinion of the young men now fighting the war*—The year of proposed military service, if adopted will directly affect the children of men who are now fighting in the armed forces. These men should have a voice in determining the desirability and soundness of compulsory military service. Their opinions cannot, however, be determined until the war is over. This constitutes another strong reason for delaying decision until peace has come.

(6) *The nature of the peace*—The American people are fighting this war with the high hope that it will eventuate in an enduring peace. We all look for measures of international cooperation which will reduce the necessity for post-war large scale military establishments. If, against the background of these great expectations, a year of compulsory military training is urged, many Americans will interpret such action as a signal for the return of the cynicism of the 1920's or an admission that we shall all continue to live in an armed camp and that the hopes of a more peaceful world are not to be realized.

National Congress of Parents and Teachers:

We oppose: (1) Any bill providing for the drafting of 17-year old boys for military service until more effective use is made of man and woman power. (2) HR 1806, HR 3947, or any like measure committing the nation at this time to a program of post-war military training. (May 25, 1944)

The United States Student Assembly:

We oppose universal military conscription in peacetime. (June 7, 1944)

The Presbyterian General Assembly:

We would record our conviction that no decision should be made during the war which commits this nation to a post-war policy of peacetime military conscription. (May 30, 1944)

The United Council of Church Women:

Believing peacetime conscription to be opposed to principles both of the democratic way of life and the Christian belief in the worth and dignity of the individual, and believing that all young people should have an adequate opportunity to complete their education, we urge that Congress take no action looking toward the peacetime conscription of youth. (June 26, 1944)

The General Conference of the Methodist Church:

We request Congress to postpone action on legislation involving post-war conscription until after the war. (May 6, 1944)

The Northern Baptist Convention:

Whereas, our people are now engaged in a great war which has aroused their feelings and passions to such an extent as to render sober and impartial thought difficult; and

Whereas, it has been proposed that the nation adopt at this time a very marked departure from its long established tradition by approving legislation which would require compulsory peacetime military training;

Whereas, the adoption of such a proposal would possibly commit our nation to a military policy which would further complicate the peaceful and cooperative solution of post-war plans for preserving peace: Therefore be it

Resolved, that we urge that the consideration of this proposal be postponed until after the end of hostilities in order that the full implications may be coolly and dispassionately considered and until a national referendum may be held. (May 26, 1944)

The Annual Conference of the Church of the Brethren:

The great principles of equal opportunity, freedom of thought and expression and respect for the views and rights of minorities—principles originating in the spirit of Christ and expressed in modern democracy—are also in peril. While we rejoice in the degree to which our government continues to maintain them, we cannot be blind to the fact that they are violated occasionally by the government itself and more frequently by the citizenry. We regard with sorrow and alarm the increasing antagonism directed against Jews, Negroes, Mexicans, and American Japanese; and the current effort toward permanent regimentation and militarization of American life through such proposals as the May Conscription Bill. (June 11, 1944)

The Board of Trustees of the National Child Labor Committee:

The National Child Labor Committee believes that the adoption of compulsory military training for young men under the age of 19 would threaten profoundly the lives of our young people, and should not be entered into hastily. It believes that it is impossible to determine now, while we are in the midst of war, whether universal military training will be