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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

400

TO : Director, FBI
Attention: Central Research Section

DATE: 11-4-64

FROM : SAC, Charlotte

SUBJECT: PEACE AND DISARMAMENT LITERATURE
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[redacted]

Enclosed are following pamphlets which were left anonymously at the High Point, N C.

2 copies of "Labor's Stake in Peace"
1 copy of "Disarmament and the War on Poverty"
1 copy of "Questions on Disarmament and Your Job"
1 copy of "The Morals of Extermination"
1 copy of "Steps Toward Disarmament"

With the exception of the last pamphlet the literature is attributed to the National Peace Literature Service, American Friends Service Committee.

The pamphlets are being appropriately indexed in the Charlotte Division and are being furnished Central Research Section for information and any disposition desired.

LABOR'S STAKE IN PEACE

FULL TEXT OF ADDRESS BY

EMIL MAZEY

SEC. TREAS. INTERNATIONAL UNION, UAW

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES BY:

WILLIAM C. DAVIDON

NUCLEAR PHYSICIST

FENNER BROCKWAY

BRITISH LABOR PARTY M.P.

561 20¢

LABOR'S STAKE IN PEACE

Published as an educational service by

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

FOREWORD

The remarks in this pamphlet by William Davidon, Fenner Brockway, and Emil Mazey, were originally given as speeches at a labor rally in Chicago, February 20, 1960, held under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee. The meeting, attended by some 700 trade unionists who gave Mr. Mazey a tumultuous standing ovation upon completion of his speech, had as its theme the title of this pamphlet, "Labor's Stake in Peace."

Due to limitations of space, we are able to print only excerpts from Davidon's and Brockway's speeches. On the other hand, we are including the full text of Emil Mazey's speech because we feel it is one of the most significant speeches on this subject given by any high ranking American labor official to date.

Everyone in his right mind today wants peace. Everyone, including the President of the United States and spokesmen for both major political parties, speaks glowingly of peace. Yet, as a nation, we continue to prepare for war.

Development of more powerful nuclear missiles continues. Production for germ warfare continues. We spend over 40 billion dollars a year on armaments. There is little if any serious planning for disarmament and an economy which will insure full employment if and when disarmament begins.

Obviously, if there is actually to be peace there must be action taken to end the cold war, stop the runaway arms race, and plan an economy that can produce for peace.

In the past, the American labor movement has taken the lead on vital social issues. Today, along with all mankind, Labor faces the one crucial issue — the issue of nuclear war and mass annihilation. Will it have the vision and the courage to take an unequivocal stand for disarmament and production for peace? The rally in Chicago and Emil Mazey's speech suggest that it might.

Perhaps the first step in this direction, as Mr. Mazey suggests, is to initiate throughout the labor movement, open discussion of foreign policy and the vital issues that affect war or peace. To this end we have published this pamphlet and urge that it be carefully read and thoroughly discussed by trade unionists across the country.

Chicago, April 5, 1960

Jack Bollens, Director
Peace Education Program
Chicago Regional Office
American Friends Service Committee

NUCLEAR WEAPONS: NO DEFENSE

By WILLIAM DAVIDON,

Theoretical Physicist, Argonne National Laboratory; Chairman, Chicago Chapter, Federation of American Scientists; Member, Third Pugwash Conference of International Scientists in Vienna.

War has always been a chronic disease in human society, but it is no longer a chronic disease. It has suddenly become a very malignant cancer. It will either wipe us out, or we will take action which will enable us to get the power into our hands that will keep it from wiping us out. What now exists in the world is grossly different from anything in past human affairs.

Why has this big change suddenly occurred? What are the specific facts which have produced this most unusual change in human affairs? They are different from anything in our personal experience, different from anything in the history of our race. And so, it takes that uniquely human capability of being able to think objectively about events, of being able to respond to a situation distinct from any which we have been prepared for by our biochemistry.

One can point out that the biggest bomb exploded during World War II equaled the approximate size and weight of three automobiles. In contrast to this, the atom bomb which was exploded 1800 feet above Hiroshima, and which produced some 200,000 casualties, fissioned only about three tablespoons of uranium. This is an abrupt change in human affairs. The amount of material which one can hold in the palm of one's hand is capable of wiping out a large city, and human beings have never before had energy concentrations of this kind available to them. We will either respond to these facts in a rational fashion, or go out of existence.

This bomb which was exploded over Hiroshima produced by fire and heat alone the damage that would be produced by one thousand tons of high incendiaries carefully distributed over the city. This Hiroshima bomb was large in comparison with the past. However, in comparison to today's hydrogen bomb, the Hirsoshima bomb was small. Let's briefly describe some of the effects of one large thermonuclear weapon.

We can point out that within the space of a few cubic feet more energy is released when a thermonuclear explosion goes off than is generated by the largest hydroelectric station in a couple of years. Picture for example the northwest part

of our country, a good part of its power coming from Grand Coulee Dam. Picture the power used for industry, for transportation, for heat and light. Picture all these phenomena going on in this part of the country for two years, and then picture all of this energy being concentrated in the space of a few cubic feet, and being released within a millionth or two of a second. This is the phenomenon which takes place when a thermonuclear bomb goes off.

The reactions which take place during such an explosion are more intense than those which go on in the interiors of most stars, let alone on the surface of the earth. It would burn the eyes of an individual some 300 miles away from the point of the explosion. It would look about 100 times as bright as the sun at a distance of 100 miles from the point of the explosion. It would set fire to objects and char human skin over an area considerably larger than 1000 square miles. This is the effect of a single weapon which can be carried in a single missile or plane.

In addition to the blast, in addition to the fire and the heat released by such an explosion, large quantities of radioactivity are produced. We can point out that an H-bomb explosion in March, 1954, caused some 7,000 square miles to be covered by lethal quantities of radioactivity. The whole land surface of the earth, not just that now used by human beings for their living and growing of food, but all land above sea level over all the surface of the eath, could be covered by about 8,000 such explosions. Eight thousand weapons costing about one million dollars a piece — eight billion dollars, about one-fifth of our annual military budget. This is the cost in money of enough weapons to destroy the earth's population.

In the Holifield Committee hearing (about which you will be hearng more this evening from Emil Mazey), assumptions were made about the effects of a limited nuclear war. In the words of the committee, "The attack pattern and basic assumptions established by the subcommittee for consideration in these hearings reflected an attack against the United States on a limited scale." That is, the number and total megatonnage of the weapons employed were less than the potential that the enemy is capable of launching against us. In this limited, hypothetical attack only 263 nuclear weapons were used. Yet fifty million Americans were killed immediately, twenty million were seriously injured, half of the homes in the nation were made unuseable, and heavy doses of radioactivity covered vast areas of the country.

We are placing this kind of destructive capability at the finger tips, not only of leaders of national powers, but in the hands of small numbers of people sitting in submarines, small numbers of people flying bomber planes, small numbers of

people operating the whole range of apparatus available to modern miltary forces. This is an unstable situation, to say the least.

It is important to realize that the development of delivery systems has kept apace of development of the weapons themselves. For instance, the speed of a modern missile is many times that of a high speed rifle bullet. If a missile were to fly across the front of this auditorium, it would be going so fast that we would not be able to see it. It would be a block or two past us before the sound would reach our ears. It would not be coming in a straight line along the surface of the earth. or at a given height in the air. Rather, it might be coming anywhere in a large region several hundred miles high and thousands of miles in breadth.

In the midst of this vast region, each missile carries with it the destructive power to wipe out any city. If you knock down ten percent, or fifty percent, or even ninety percent of such missiles, the fact remains that each one which gets through will still produce vast quantities of destruction. In the light of these developments, the possibilities of defending ourselves in the usual ways just don't exist. Thus, an entirely new expedient has been adopted. Unable to defend our people and our cities by any tangible means, military and political leaders have substituted the untried and untested program of deterrence. That is, no longer able to stop the enemy physically, they hope to deter the enemy by threatening the indiscriminate slaughter of the whole population.

It is as though we were unable to put out fires any longer, and therefore the fire departments, having all this apparatus at their disposal, decide that since they cannot fight fires successfully, they will deter fires. And so they go around the city spreading gasoline, kerosene and high explosives through the streets and in everyone's basement. Then nobody will dare drop a match in a city all set to go up in flames. The fire engines would parade through the streets spreading their exposives and carrying banners saying, "These are our defense forces." And the people would cheer, "These are for our defense. They protect us because they deter anybody from dropping a match and starting a fire." I wonder how secure we would feel in such a city.

Again, it is as though we were trying to stop automobile accidents, and so went around tying children of all families to automobile bumpers. Nobody would dare have an automobile accident, if their kids were strapped to the front bumpers of automobiles. How happy we would be, busily manufacturing defense racks to be mounted on bumpers, and in which we would strap our neighbors' children to make sure that they would not smash their automobiles into ours.

Obviously, this would not provide us with defense. This would not provide security, and similarly in the the world situation, our reliance upon threats of indiscriminate slaughter does not provide us with any means of protecting ourselves.

In 1945 the United States and Russia had nuclear weapons. In 1952 the United States, Russia and Great Britain had nuclear weapons. In 1960 the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and France have nuclear weapons. Other countries now have nuclear weapons programs under way. It is not only that the major powers are spreading gasoline and kerosene around the areas of the world. More and more small groups of people are clamoring to get into the act.

We cannot constantly be putting more hands on the trigger that might set off disaster and expect to get away with it indefinitely. If we are going to survive, and if we are going to have a society that is moving ahead to fulfill the potentials for growth and advancement which our world society has today, something drastic has to take place. A basic change is needed.

Such a basic change cannot be outlined in a few words tonight. It is at least a starting point, however, to recognize clearly that we are in a new and untried situation — a situation which requires new and radical action if we are to cope with it. Rational men don't decide on a course of action simply by choosng the midpoint in the spectrum of other men's thoughts. They observe what is occuring in the world and then take action commensurate with the events and the task at hand.

We might ask ourselves, are we happy simply being tools for other men? A well oiled tool, one which is kept in fine condition, but nevertheless a tool whose handle rests in someone else's hands. Are you happy about seeing your labor unions converted into large tool boxes to conveniently keep this bunch of tools? Are you happy being used as a pawn in this fantastic game of military buildup and counter military buildup, nuclear threat and counter threat? Do we want to have some responsibility for running our lives and controlling our future, or are we satisfied with being the complicated objects at the disposal of other men? These are questions that we will have to answer soon.

I think we realize that we do have a power in our hands which is greater than that of the atom. We have the power to control the atom — the nucleus is at the disposal of human beings. How human beings spend their time and energy is at the disposal of themselves. This meeting tonight is in part an answer to the question, what are we going to do with this power? I am glad to see that we are turning to these problems after a long period when we tried to hide from them.

BRITISH LABOR AND AMERICAN LABOR

By FENNER BROCKWAY,

Outstanding British Labor Party Leader, Member of Parliament for Eton - Slough, recognized world authority on colonialism and international affairs.

I am speaking tonight to a gathering of trade unionists, so let me state clearly to you the view of our labor movement in Great Britain. Before our gathering tonight, I was present at a discussion between representatives of your trade unions in Chicago on this problem of war and peace, and it was recognized that there are two views within your labor movement. First, there is the view of most of your official leadership, which is difficult to distinguish from the views of other leaders who are skeptical about disarmament and who believe that America must arm and arm. Second, there are views which I hope to hear tonight from Mr. Mazey, in a speech which I believe may be quite historic for the labor movement in this country — views which urge that in this situation we must find a way of establishing peace and bringing about disarmament.

There are also two views in the British labor movement. The views that Brother Mazey holds represent the majority viewpoint in Britain today. Let me state them in specific terms.

First, the whole labor movement in Britain is opposed to the return of any testing of atomic or hydrogen bombs. The whole labor movement has declared that the construction of military bases in Britain, including the bases where there are American weapons, should be stopped at least until the disarmament conference has met and had an opportunity to develop a disarmament plan The whole labor movement desires that Britain shall lead the formation of a non-nuclear club among nations which will have no nuclear weapons whatsoever. For this policy, the whole of our trade union movement, the whole of our Labor Party, the whole of our cooperative movement is pledged.

Second, there is the view in our labor movement which goes further than this. It is a view which, I suppose, is already supported by one third of our labor movement, including our largest trade union, the Transport and General Workers Union with close to two million members, of which Mr. Frank Cousins is the distinguished secretary. This view is that Great Britain should take the unequivocal step of leadership in the world by

disbanding itself of nuclear weapons altogether. I share this view and urge it on both practical and moral grounds.

I have been in America five weeks, travelling from the West Coast to the East. I have gotten this impression of America. There is a great well of opinion here which desires disarmament and peace, just as deeply as any people on earth. I find it everywhere — but you must find some means of giving it practical political expression. Forgive me if I say this, but I am puzzled when I look at your two political parties. We have been taught to believe, and since I know some of its leaders I do believe, that your Democratic Party is the more liberal of the two. But I get deeply disturbed when I find some of your Democratic leaders even "outrightening" your Republican leaders in the advocacy of more armaments.

While I have found this great well of peace sentiment here — found it in the universities, found it in the factories, found it in the churches — I am disturbed by another element in American society. Whilst I was in California I visited the Rand Corporation. Now the Rand Corporation consists of scientists and technicians who advise your Air Force and who advise your government. I spent two hours in discussion with those scientists and technicians, and frankly I came away frightened. They did not seriously consider the possibility of disarmament. They believed that the only way to maintain peace in the world is for Russia and the United States to develop an equality of arms, each producing correspondingly more efficient and destructive weapons. I said to them that it is unlikely that we can build up these mighty mountains of destruction without some accident taking place, without some miscalculation, without some local conflict leading to a world conflict. While America and Russia are building their skyscrapers of arms in this way, other nations will no doubt take similar action. Britain already has its hydrogen bombs, France has now invaded the nuclear sphere. Who next — China, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Eastern European countries, Japan, Western Germany? At this moment there are twelve governments which are capable of producing the hydrogen bomb.

I say to this audience, if the nuclear arms race continues with other nations producing these bombs, manageable disarmament will become impossible. We should then be face to face with human suicide. No sane person can contemplate this. We must have disarmament or perish.

I went to your factories in San Diego, miles of them. Ninety percent of the labor there is making weapons of war — bombing planes, rockets, missiles. Here, when one thinks of disarmament, he must think of unemployment too. Disarmament — unemployment. What is the answer? The answer is new employment. The answer is a better life for all. Whenever in the

British House of Commons we ask for more to be spent on education, more on housing, more on health, more on meeting the problems of poverty, the answer is, "We can't afford it — expenditure upon defense." I have said to them, and I say to you, reduce your expenditure on defense. Finally end your expenditure upon defense, and turn those vast sums in every country of the world to lifting the lives of people.

Unemployment need not be. If we decided through the United Nations to pool there the expenditures we have been making on arms, to lift the standards of life in the underdeveloped countries, the immediate demand would be on the industries which are now making arms. There would be a great demand for power stations, for dams on rivers, for electrification, for irrigation, for locomotives and tractors, for pumping stations to lift the water under the deserts to the surface so there would be fertile soil. Such a policy would make an immediate and overwhelming demand on our industries, and the work of our men, instead of being devoted to death and destruction, would be devoted to construction for life.

I conclude by saying to you, this struggle against war is not only a negative struggle to prevent disaster to mankind. It is that. But it is also the great constructive struggle to lift man to higher planes than man has ever reached before. This is a crucial year, and I ask you, brothers and sisters, to take every possible step and measure during this year to let your leaders and representatives know that the will of the people is to disarm and live in peace.

FOREIGN POLICY

By EMIL MAZEY.
Secretary-Treasurer, International Union, UAW

I welcome the opportunity to discuss the Foreign Policy of the United States because workers of our country have the most to lose if our Foreign Policy should lead to World War III. As in all Wars, workers are the first and most numerous casualties.

Therefore, we in organized labor have a special interest and a special concern for the maintenance of peace.

Labor leaders, the same as leaders of other elements of public life, have been reluctant to speak out on Foreign Policy issues because of the fear of being misunderstood and because of the fear of being labeled soft on Communism. To emphasize this timidity on the part of the labor movement, I wish to point out that in February of 1955, during the Matsu and Quemoy Island disputes, I raised the subject matter at a closed meeting of the CIO Executive Board, and expressed my deep concern for policies that I thought were improper on the part of our government and that would lead to World War III. I did not ask the CIO on this occasion to take a position, but urged them to re-evaluate our attitude towards the entire China crisis. I was shocked when a motion was made to expunge my remarks from the record and was even more shocked when a majority of the Board Members supported this action.

I am sure that what I have to say today will be unpopular with some labor leaders and among some of the politicians of the country, but I am going to express my views whether anybody likes what I have to say or not.

I am deeply concered with the real possibility of an atomic-missile war that could destroy a good part of the world.

The movie and the book, "On the Beach," only slightly exaggerates the consequences of an atomic attack on the peoples of our world.

The Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy recently issued a report based on findings and testimony of specialists from U. S. Goverment Agencies on the effect of a mass nuclear attack on the United States if the attack took place in mid-October.

TARGETS HIT WOULD BE: 71 big urban areas, 21 atomic installations, 132 military installations.

WEAPONS USED: 263 nuclear missiles and bombs, with power ranging from 1 million to 10 million tons of TNT.

HERE'S WHAT WOULD HAPPEN—

FALL-OUT: Shown here as it would be 7 hours after the attack, the fall-out pattern would cover much of the U. S., with radioactive debris blown by winds typical of mid-October.

DAMAGE INFLICTED: Most big cities wrecked, a fourth of all dwellings destroyed, another fourth made unuseable, food supplies contaminated.

CASUALTIES: 50 million American dead, 20 million seriously injured.

I am not secure in the assurances given us by some of our public officials and military leaders that we have deterrent power, that is the power to retaliate, and, therefore, we need not be too concerned about the possibilities of war as long as as we maintain an adequate arsenal of atomic and nuclear weapons.

I find it difficult to know what the truth is concerning our defenses against possible nuclear warfare because of the conflicting views and opinions of men in public office and of our military leaders.

It becomes even more difficult for a layman to properly evaluate the seriousness of our defense posture because so many former generals and admirals now occupy key positions at scandalous salaries for companies engaged in defense production that it is hard to know whether our military leaders are expressing honest, patriotic views or are merely making a pitch for a post-service job for a company engaged in military production.

An additional difficulty in objectively discussing the elements for peace is the vested interest that many corporations have in the continuation of the cold war. Over 90% of all the aircraft production in our country is for military purpses and the only customer is Uncle Sam. Therefore, the aircraft industry, which has been built as a result of large subsidies from the U. S. Treasury, has a special interest to keep the cold war going. The end of the cold war could mean the end of their business.

Workers engaged in military production also have a vested right in the continuation of the cold war because our government has no plans on how to use the defense plants for peacetime production and how to adequately guarantee full employment and purchasing power to workers engaged in military production.

During World War II, any worker who was warm was able to get a job, despite his age, sex or color of his skin Many of them were heard to remark, "I hope the war lasts forever." This comment is understandable, especially after a worker has been plagued with unemployment, insecurity and want, many of them from the dark days of the 1930 depression.

In view of the conflicting political and military opinions, and because of the obvious vested rights that employers and some workers have in the continuation of the cold war, it becomes increasingly difficult to get intelligent public discussion of what steps our nation can take to achieve lasting peace and to bring about universal disarmament and the end to wasteful expenditures of our resources, which now amount to more than $41 billion yearly. One hundred seventy-five billion dollars is spent yearly by all of the countries of the world for military purposes.

In preparing my remarks for this meeting tonight, I have done more reading and more studying of the defense needs of of our nation than in any other period of my life. I have read remarks and some statements of military leaders wherein it is maintained that because of the development of the atom and H bomb and other nuclear and atomic weapons, and the development of the missile, there is no possibility of an attack being made on our country because of our ability of immediate reprisal that would destroy or seriously cripple a potential attacker.

I have read statements by some of our leaders who try to reassure the people of our country that not everybody would be destroyed in a nuclear war — that only a portion of the population would be destroyed.

I have read with alarm proposals by one military leader who believes that we ought to keep our planes in the air on a 24-hour continuous alert basis, fully armed with atomic weapons.

I have read proposals that we ought to increase our atomic submarine fleet and that we ought to have some of them stationed off the coast of Russia, submerged under water for as much as 4 or 5 months, ready to retaliate immediately in the event our country is attacked.

After reading and studying these numerous proposals, I am more alarmed than ever that World War III might start as a result of an accident, a crash of a plane loaded with atomic weapons, or by some trigger-happy Colonel who would push a

button because he misread signs that appeared to be an attack against us.

I HAVE, THEREFORE, REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO PEACE.

The people of our nation have been spared the horrible experiences of destruction of our homes and our families through bombing of our cities. Although almost every American family had some members in the armed forces during World War II, and although all of us have been touched in one degree or another by loss of life of a relative or friend in World War II, I am afraid that our citizens do not as yet fully comprehend the significance of war with modern weapons. The people in England, Germany, France, Hiroshima and other cities and countries, that felt and experienced destructive power of military machines in World War II, have a stronger yearning for peace because of these experiences. We have been protected from warfare in our country by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans in World War I and World War II. We no longer have that protection.

The development of jet planes and bombers and the development of missiles capable of firing a hydrogen bomb warhead completely destroys the protection that we had in the last two bloody World Wars.

Recently United States Admiral Arleigh Burke, testifying before a Congressional Committee, was asked the following question:

"Senator Stennis: We have a memorandum here that last year the Secretary of Defense made the statement that one polaris submarine carries as much destructive power as all the bombs dropped by both sides during World War II."

"Admiral Burke: Yes, sir, this missile — warhead — will be many times the size of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. It is not a small one."

Because of these facts, I believe that it is incumbent upon us to publicly discuss the question of peace and war in a rational and objective manner so that we can develop policies and programs that can minimize the tensions that could erupt into World War III, and endeavor to create a public climate that could make universal disarmament a reality.

I am alarmed at the increase of the Nuclear Club which now contains as members the United States, Russia, Great Britain and France. I am particularly worried about France having the atom bomb because of its internal problems in Algeria and the internal dissension that exisits in France. I am afraid to trust atomic and nuclear weapons in the hands of people like General Massu of the French Army.

I believe that the following steps must be taken to reduce world tension and to establish a basis for maintenance of world peace:

We must step up our discussion with the Russians, Great Britain and France for the ending of the testing of atomic and nuclear weapons. We must seek ways and means of fool-proof inspection and detection of testing of weapons. In the meantime, the United States should not engage in any testing of nuclear weapons and should urge the other countries to join them in banning the tests.

I believe that serious consideration should be given to the proposal of Thomas E. Murray, former member of the Atomic Energy Commission, who believes we ought to set up a UN Commission with the power of destroying the stockpile of nuclear weapons on a matching basis with the Russians and other countries, who have these weapons.

I beleieve that we must work towards universal disarmament and be more flexible in our discussions with the Russians on this subject.

Our government must also immediately establish a National Planning Board for the peaceful use of our military plant so that we can guarantee full employment to the workers now engaged in military production.

This proposal is not new. Walter Reuther, President of the UAW, proposed after World War II, the use of our aircraft plants to produce housing on a mass production basis.

If only one per cent of the one hundred seventy-five billion dollars that is annually spent for military purposes was used to wipe out hunger and raise the living standards of the backward countries of the world, we would have one billion seven hundred fifty million dollars available for these purposes. If all of the countries reduced their military expenditures across the board on a ten per cent basis, this would mean seventeen and one-half billion dollars available in the war against hunger and disease.

I believe that no meaningful decision towards universal disarmament can be achieved with our present policy towards Red China. I urge a complete re-evaluation of our Foreign Policy towards China on a realistic and objective basis.

I believe that it is foolish to pretend that Red China with 600 million people, over half of Asia, doesn't exist.

I believe that tensions with China and with other sections of the world are unnecessarily prolonged by the belief that Chiang Kai-shek and his discredited, corrupt military dictatorship is the

true spokesman for China and that it is the policy of the United States to return Chiang Kai-shek to the Chinese Mainland.

President Eisenhower must take the major blame for our completely unrealistic attitude towards Red China.

You recall that in his first State of the Union message on February 2, 1953, President Eisenhower told the world that he "had unleashed Chiang Kai-shek." He also charged former President Truman with "using the United States Navy as a defensive arm for Communist China." These are the exact words of the President:

> "There is no longer any logic or sense in a condition that required the United States Navy to assume defensive responsibilities on behalf of the Chinese Communists. This permitted those Communists, with greater impunity, to kill our soldiers, and those of our United Nations allies, in Korea.
>
> "I am, therefore, issuing instructions that the 7th Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China."

I believe that our government should give immediate and serious consideration to proposals by the "CONLON COMMISSION" that made studies on the United States Foreign Policy for the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate.

This Commission concluded, " A government having effective control over only 10 million people cannot indefinitely hold a 'major power' position in the name of 600 million Chinese."

They further said that, "Isolation in relation to our policy with China always serves totalitarianism."

One of the alternatives they proposed to the Chinese question was to take steps to establish normal relations with China that would include:

1) The recognition of Communist China by the United States, 2) support for its seating in the United Nations, and 3) general treatment equal to that which the United States accords to the Soviet Union. The Commission supports this policy on the following grounds.

"a) In accordance with established international practices to which U. S. policy has usually adhered, the recognition of Communist China would not signify approval of the regime, but rather its existence as a de facto government, having control over some 660 million people. To accept these facts of life is in the national interests of the United States because it is essential that we establish a realistic policy toward Asia as the first step in a long range economic and politcal competition with Communism. Nonrecognition has not prevented the rise of Communist China. It has isolated us as much as the Communists, giving our policy

an essentially unilateral character, making it defensive, and negative.

b) Normalization of relations, if successful, would give us greater access to the Chinese people, from whom we are now almost completely cut off. It would thus make possible some kind of informational and cultural relations program which might provide certain pressures upon the Communist leaders to demphasize hate and fear of the United States. Moreover, it would provide us wth direct communications in terms of official channels, thereby reducing the threat of miscalculation on both sides.

c) The primary function of the United Nations today is an international forum whereby issues can be debated and nations called to account before the world; as an instrumentality for the mediation of disputes through its technical staff; and as a valuable organization for a multitude of nonpolitical purposes of a social, educational, or research nature. As long as the government controlling one-half of the people of Asia is outside the United Nations, that organization will be seriously handicapped in terms of the above functions."

And Communist China outside the United Nations may be more of a disruption than Communist China in the United Nations in a variety of ways. There are advantages in being an international outlaw, not being legally bound to international agreements, having to take only such stands as one wishes, and thereby being able to compartmentalize one's policies. Moreover, the U. S. policy of suporting the Government of Taiwan as the only legitimate government of China in the UN is in serious danger of losing by attrition. Despite our pressure, this position is becomng more difficult to sustain in the international scene, and is being sliced away, a sliver at a time.

The problems of peace and the problems of war must become the concern of all the people and not just military and political leaders.

I call upon all of our citizens to take greater interest in our Foreign Policy — to stimulate objective discussion without fear of the slurs and the slanders of those within our government who use the fear of Soviet Russia and Communism as a convenient way to stifle democratic discussion of this most important problem.

I am confident that we can find a way to reduce the world tensions and to work towards world disarmament.

I am sure that if we can use our good common sense we can, during our lifetime, develop an America and help build a world in which we have abundance, in which we have security, in which we have freedom and justice and in which we have peace not only for our time, but for all time.

SUGGESTED READINGS
available from the AFSC

BOOKS

The Causes of World War Three, by C. Wright Mills. N.Y., Simon and Schuster, 1958, 172pp., paper cover, $1.50.

Defense in the Nuclear Age, by Commander Stephen King-Hall, with introduction by Edward R. Murrow. 1959, 234pp., hard cover, $2.75.

The Arms Race. A Program for World Disarament, by Philip Noel-Baker. N.Y., Oceana Publications, 1958, 563pp., paper cover, $2.00.

No More War! by Linus Pauling. Dodd, Mead & Company, 1958, 237pp., paper cover, $1.85.

PAMPHLETS

Labor and the Cold War, by Stewart Meacham, 31pp., 35¢

The Morals of Extermination, by Lewis Mumford, 14pp., 10¢

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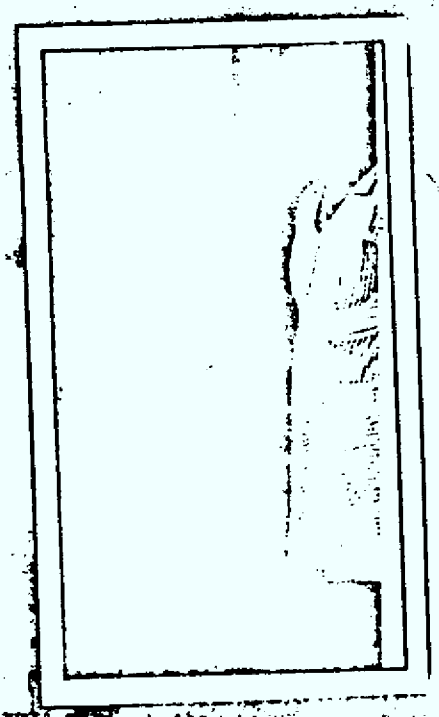
Disarmament and the War on Poverty



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THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, *since its founding in 1917, has tried to promote the economic, social, moral, and spiritual unity of all mankind. In international relations it has attempted to bring about understanding where there has been hostility and contact where there has been separation. In civil rights it has tried to show that nonviolence can be effectively transformed into a power which can win out in the face of discrimination and repression.*

This pamphlet recognizes the growing awareness that war can no longer be an instrument of foreign policy. What does this imply? Are there not other forms of power aside from weapons which can be the basis of settling disputes? Can we not move towards a more human society at home and abroad by seeking nonviolent paths to the settlement of conflict? What is the relationship between disarmament, civil rights, and full employment? The author believes that these questions should logically grow out of any discussion of the economics of arms and disarmament. AFSC works for a society that is nonviolently ordered and in which men are neither debased nor exploited for any reason or for any purpose. This pamphlet, by raising important issues which face our country today, helps in that work.

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Disarmament and the War on Poverty

by MARTIN OPPENHEIMER

In Southern California there is a small ghost town of half-built homes, empty streets, and unused schools. It is a brand new town, but no one lives there. It was built for the families of technicians, engineers, and Air Force personnel to be stationed at a nearby air base. But plans changed, and the base was never built. The ghost town spotlights a problem: We produce what we do not use; we have needs that are not met.

In this country one home in six is below standard. Our infant mortality rate is higher than that of ten other countries. Seventy million of us suffer from one or more chronic diseases. Every time we build a bomber we use money that could build hundreds of classrooms; each time we launch a ship dozens of playgrounds could be constructed; and each time we bury a missile in a silo we bury the equivalent of thousands of family homes.

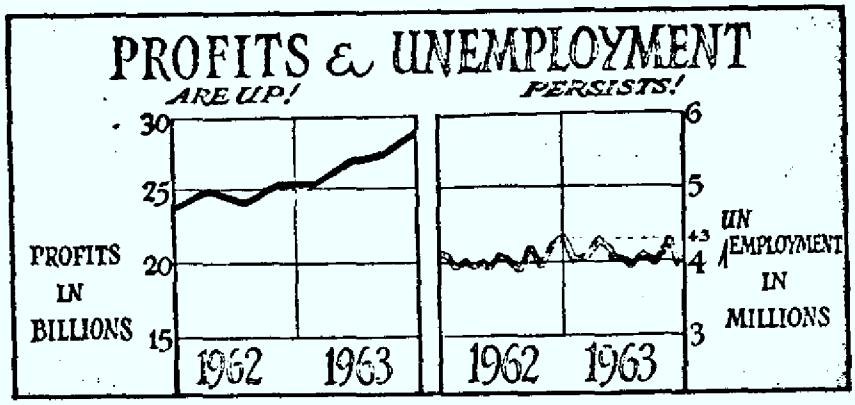
> *"As the richest country in the world, we should not need to offer 'half a loaf of health' when we have a unique opportunity to make this a nation of healthy people . . . Millions . . . suffer untold agonies and lead frustrating and unproductive lives—and thousands die—not because we do not know how to help them, but because they cannot obtain the quantity and quality of medical care that we are capable of and more morally obligated to provide."*
>
> — Policy Resolutions, *AFL-CIO, Adopted November 1963*

We have the ability and resources to meet the needs of all of our people, and many of those overseas. We are not meeting those needs. Yet we spend billions on bombs, planes and missiles which we hope will never be used. As J. William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, recently said,

> *"There is indeed a most striking paradox in the fact that military budgets of over $50 billion are adopted by the Congress after only perfunctory debate while domestic education and welfare programs involving sums which are mere fractions of the military budget are painstakingly examined and then either considerably reduced or rejected outright . . ."*

What are our public needs? One out of five families in this country has less than $3000 income per year. Another one out of five families is deprived of a good diet, decent housing, or basic medical attention. This means that 40 per cent of the nation's population lives either in deprivation or in outright poverty. Some of our needs, spelled out in dollars, look like this:

- Our housing includes about 3 million dilapidated units. If everyone in our growing population is to have a decent home by 1970 we must build about two million units at a cost of $25 billion every year. This means an increase of about 50 per cent over what we are spending now. At least some of this could be built by private developers but, since much new housing should go to low-income people, government will have to play a major role.
- Just to keep our educational system going at its present inadequate level will require spending 50 per cent more by the year 1970 than at present because of our population growth. This means we must aim at spending about $30 billion each year at minimum, rather than our present $20 billion.
- One of the most serious needs in our society is adequate medical care for all. Just to keep up with the population, much less improve medical care, we should spend, by 1970, $1 billion to train physicians and $9 billion to build hospitals. We should spend $4.5 billion by 1970 to provide minimum state and local public health services. Adequate income for all wage earners while they are ill will take $22.2 billion by 1970. And this is not even Medicare—it is only extended insurance coverage.
- To bring the buying power of all American families (so important in maintaining demand for goods) up to a minimum of $4000 per year, not a grandiose sum, and of persons living alone up to $1500, will take $30 billion a year. This $30 billion could be added to the economy if we had full employment, if plants were producing at full capacity, and if our graduated income tax were fairly applied.
- Many of the poor are aged. The average benefit under social security



for a retired worker today is $76 per month, or about $900 per year; for a couple it is $127 per month, or $1525 per year. If these benefits were raised so the average worker got even 50 per cent of his pre-retirement income, and a couple got 75 per cent, it would cost about $9 billion per year.

Every American has an interest in seeing these and many other needs met, regardless of his race, creed, or national background. But our Negro citizens have an even greater need, because, as the result of slavery plus one hundred years of discrimination, a much higher percentage of them are poor. They tend to be found in the less-skilled jobs because they do not have the seniority or training of other workers. They are frequently the victims of layoffs—the first fired, the last hired. While 26 per cent of white families had incomes of under $4000 in 1962, a heavy enough indictment of our "wealthy" society by itself, *60 per cent* of Negro families had incomes of less than $4000! In part, this difference is because Negroes have twice the unemployment rate of whites—at present about 11 per cent as compared to the white rate of about 5 per cent.

Unemployment rates for Negroes are even worse when it comes to young people and long-term unemployment. About one in four Negroes aged 16 through 24 cannot find work. Nearly one in three of America's long-term unemployed is a Negro.

This is why the August 1963 civil rights March on Washington linked Jobs to the demand for Freedom. As the *U.S. News and World Report* said last June, "the key to success in dealing with the race problem of this country more and more is found to center in one thing —jobs." As the civil rights movement begins to deal with the problems confronting the Negro community (jobs, housing, schools), it will become part and parcel of the "war on poverty." Indeed, it may soon take the leadership in arousing the nation to act on this problem. In the next few years, therefore, white Americans who participate in efforts

to secure justice for the Negro will also find themselves fighting to secure a better way of life for *all;* and, in turn, those who desire to improve the lot of all will find the civil rights organizations key allies.

Increasingly the civil rights and anti-poverty drives lead us to consider the fact that the bulk of our federal funds are now spent not on human needs, but on arms. President Johnson, in his State of the Union Message of January 1964, linked his cut in the defense budget to the need for solving problems of education, health, manpower retraining, and poverty in the Appalachians. If these problems are *really* to be solved, civil rights and anti-poverty forces will have to demand further cutbacks in military spending.

While it is *technically* possible to spend both for military and public welfare purposes, this has so far not been *politically* possible. The very forces which are most strongly for military spending tend to be most opposed to government action on either social welfare or civil rights. As Senator George McGovern has rightly pointed out, "When a major percentage of the public resources of our society is devoted to the accumulation of devastating weapons of war, the spirit of democracy suffers." The arms race has created an anti-human political climate in which real concern for human needs has not developed.

Obviously, many individuals feel that if it comes to a choice between military power and improving our standard of living, then we must "tighten our belts" and choose guns and missiles. The price of security, they say, is a bigger and bigger military force, for only strength acts as a deterrent to Soviet expansion. They forget that nuclear weapons cannot provide security. Deterrence depends upon being willing to use the weapons. If we are willing to use them, the likelihood is that they will eventually be used. As President Kennedy pointed out, even victory in a nuclear war would be ashes in our mouths.

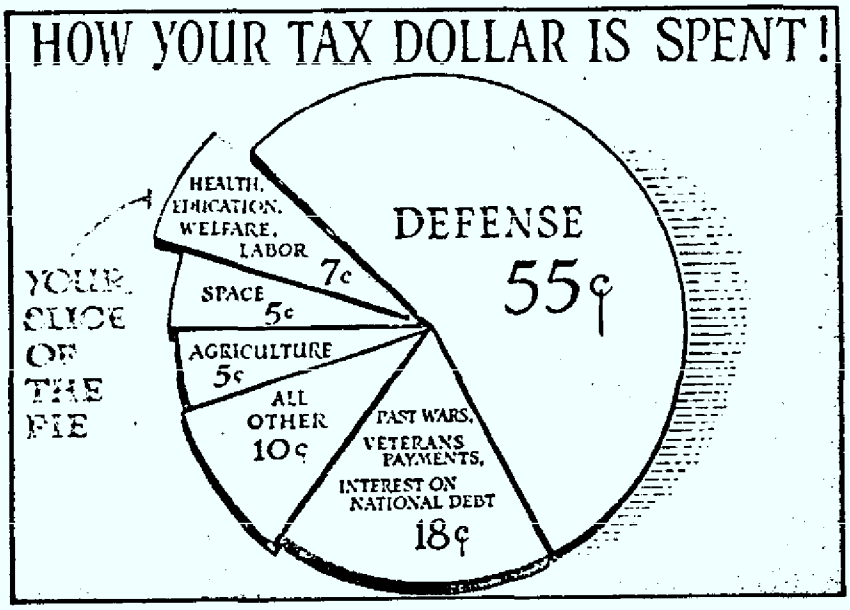
We now have enough weapons to destroy the U.S.S.R. many times over. Professor Seymour Melman recently suggested that in view of our present fantastic surplus of destructive power we can maintain whatever military "security" these weapons provide, *and* cut back on the military budget. We can use the savings to meet domestic needs. Senator McGovern, in the light of this evidence, has raised these questions:

> *"I ask what possible advantage there can be to the United States in appropriating additional billions of dollars to build more missiles when we already have excess capacity to destroy the potential enemy? How many times is it necessary to kill a man or kill a nation? . . . one quick nuclear exchange would now leave 100 million Americans dead, an equal number of Russians, and nearly as many West Europeans, is that not enough to deter anyone other than a madman from setting off such a catastrophe? And if either side yields to madness or miscalculation, can any number of arms save us?"*

This means that we must stop aiding military and feudal governments just because they claim to be our friends. If military aid to such governments were cut, more could be spent on the kind of aid which meets people's needs.

Just as reducing military spending at home would release funds to help solve the poverty problem, so reductions of military aid abroad could help to create a real social deterrent—we could line up with forces in the developing nations who are trying to bring a better way of life to their people. Only when we commit ourselves fully to helping the forces of reform throughout the world will people begin to consider democratic alternatives.

Military strength does not give us security at home, and it does not act as an effective deterrent to totalitarianism abroad. A sound domestic policy is one which solves the problems of inequality and poverty—and so is a sound foreign policy.



A re-examination of our military budget has been taking place. Some cutbacks have been made, and a few more may come. But these cutbacks (about $1 billion this year) have already created a real unemployment problem in some parts of the country. Even without cutbacks, unemployment has been increasing and is now about five to eight per cent of the labor force (depending on whether you include those who are only employed part time and those who have given up looking for jobs). Unless there is serious planning for conversion to a peacetime world, economists have said we may have anywhere from

8 million to 29 million unemployed at a single time. These estimates vary according to the speed and amount of arms cuts.

In certain parts of the country the problem is worse because some areas depend more heavily on these contracts than others. When the Skybolt project in Southern California was cancelled in January 1963, over 5,000 men, many of them technicians and engineers, were laid off within two months. In Los Angeles about 44 per cent and in Seattle about 43 per cent of the jobs depend one way or another on defense contracts. In Colorado the military budget provides one dollar out of every four of all personal spending. In New York State, Governor Rockefeller announced early in 1962 that Long Island was in danger of becoming a "distressed area." The scheduled closing of a Republic Aircraft plant there meant a possible loss, including subcontractors, of 80,000 to 90,000 jobs. Region after region has either already been affected or may soon be affected by arms cutbacks. One economist has privately made the dire prediction that within a short time "Southern California will be West Virginia, with beaches."

The Federal Government and industry have learned a great deal about economic planning for military production. Now we must learn to plan to meet human needs and we must begin to convert our arms-centered economy into a peacetime economy. Military contractors are told to think about "reconverting," but many do not know how; they were never in the civilian market to begin with. Many have never had to deal with civilian problems of cutting costs, finding new markets, and planning new products to meet public needs. Many don't know how to compete and are reluctant to learn. They have produced too long for a single consumer who guarantees profits out of an inexhaustible public purse. Some simply can't understand that the end of the defense profit line may be approaching. Instead of finding ways to produce for civilian needs, they keep trying to get a bigger slice of the smaller and smaller defense pie.

Within the government, while recently there has been an increase of hopeful talk, little actually has been done. In the Department of Defense, the Office of Economic Adjustment, which is supposed to keep watch over problems of shifts in military spending, as recently as November 1963 consisted of three staff people and two secretaries—less than an army squad in size to care for a nationwide problem. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency announced $3,800,000 worth of research contracts and grants in June 1963. Not a penny of that was for research on the domestic economic impact of disarmament. The Council of Economic Advisers, as late as May 1964, had limited its advice to tax reduction, improved labor market information services, and similar measures. Federal agencies have failed to speak up clearly and urgently for measures such as Senator McGovern's 1964 Bill; it would require firms with 25 per cent or more workers employed on military

contracts to set up their own industrial conversion committees. Given the fact that a business needs anywhere from one to perhaps three or four years "lead time" to prepare for new products, it is already too late as far as many communities are concerned. The contract cutbacks will hit them before they have planned for the change.

Faced with a great opportunity to solve the problems of poverty and inequality at home and abroad, we are missing the boat. The civil rights movement, those involved with the war on poverty, trade unionists who have had a traditional interest in solving a long series of social problems, the peace groups, and many other concerned Americans must help change this situation. The civil rights struggle is already forcing Americans to grapple with the broader problems of jobs, housing, and schools. If the effort to end poverty is to succeed, we must decide how vast federal funds are to be spent: Shall it be for the war *on* mankind, or for the struggle to end poverty and injustice? We cannot do both.

Non-military solutions to the cold war can release the funds, manpower, and talent needed to solve civilian problems. Decent schools, housing, and medical care for all can be achieved. Minimum incomes which condemn tens of millions to poverty can be raised. If we demand that these problems be solved, then we shall have to re-consider how we now spend our money. To solve our domestic problems requires a non-military foreign policy. In this way *peace and the achievement of a better life become a single issue.*

How do we go about making the most of the opportunity ahead, instead of wasting this chance to build a better world?

The first step is to build a political force in this country for that purpose. We do not hold to a conspiracy theory of government, but there are interests which continually try to block every move in the direction of reform, the achievement of equal rights and the re-appraisal of our foreign policy. Those interests will have to be overcome. In

Congress, particularly, the same spokesmen who oppose social welfare legislation generally oppose equal rights for minorities, and insist on ever greater expenditures for military hardware. Those who seek to overcome this resistance must recognize that the peace, civil rights, and poverty issues are one.

The time for the creation of a new force for social progress is now. The civil rights movement has provided this nation with a moment of truth: The demand for human justice and dignity cannot be fulfilled until jobs, adequate housing, and decent schools have been achieved for *all* Americans.

The trade union movement faces its own moment of truth—also the job crisis. As champions of the underdog, unions cannot afford to stagnate. They will not be content to see their memberships dwindling as automation eliminates 200,000 production jobs every year. Unions realize that their goals of job security in the context of equal rights can only be achieved if there are *enough* jobs or other sources of sufficient income. An alliance between Negro and white wage earners in unions committed to civil rights, and between those unions and the civil rights movement, is an essential step to the creation of a better America.

The poor, not yet active in their own behalf, must be helped to organize themselves. Trade unions, civil rights groups, and social welfare organizations must help in this effort. In this way the poor themselves can be brought into American democracy as full participants, helping to decide their own futures. The poor belong in the alliance to shape a better society.

The peace organizations of this nation have pioneered for many years in attempting to bring a just and disarmed world closer. They, too, must realize that disarmament, civil rights, and full employment are allied. It is their job to show how a better way of life is linked to the need for world peace, and the solution of conflicts between nations. It is linked not only in terms of living standards but also in terms of the moral goals of human brotherhood. This cannot be demonstrated from a distance. Peace workers must become full and active participants in the everyday efforts of Americans to create a better life.

These groups constitute a real "alliance for progress." By working to begin the war on poverty, they can help to end the war on mankind. Sooner or later this alliance will also have to work directly to bring about world-wide disarmament. Only then can the resources for a real war on poverty, for a better way of life at home and abroad, be found.

Martin Oppenheimer is a sociologist who has been active for some years in peace and civil rights organizations, including one year as assistant director of the Studies Program in the Peace Education Division of the American Friends Service Committee.

> *"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed . . . Is there no other way the world can live?"*
>
> — DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

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The Other America (paperback)

ON CIVIL RIGHTS — Martin Luther King, Jr.
Letter from Birmingham City Jail (pamphlet)
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Labor and the Cold War (pamphlet)

ON DISARMAMENT — Arthur Waskow
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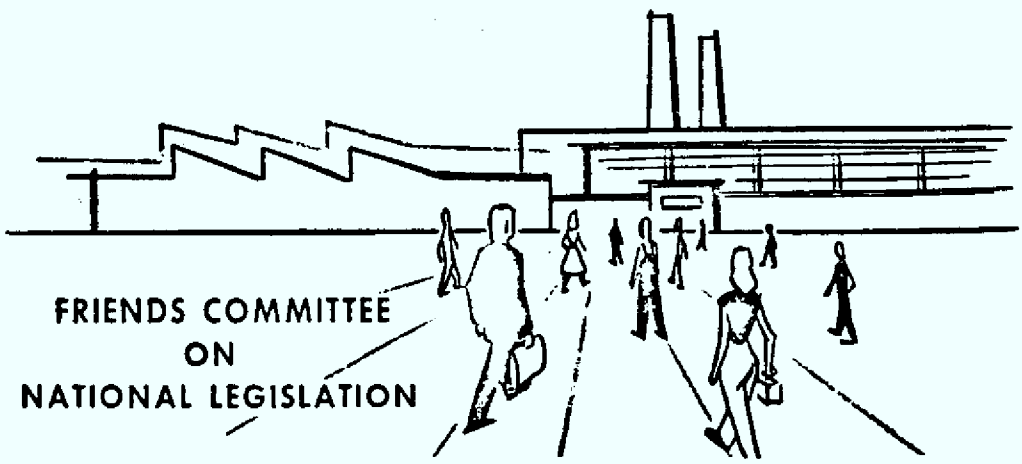
QUESTIONS ON DISARMAMENT AND YOUR JOB



FRIENDS COMMITTEE
ON
NATIONAL LEGISLATION

- **Does American Prosperity Depend on Arms Production?**
- **What Will We Make in Place of Weapons?**
- **How Can Military Suppliers Change to Civilian Work?**
- **How Will Working Men and Women Meet the Change?**
- **What Public Measures Would Help Smooth the Way?**
- **What Can WE Do to Prepare for Disarmament?**

WE who are concerned citizens, whether industrial workers or social workers, business men or members of government, teachers or students, are faced with the primary challenge of today's world—how to keep a world that we can live in and hand on to the generations of tomorrow. This calls for world disarmament and a world organized for peace.

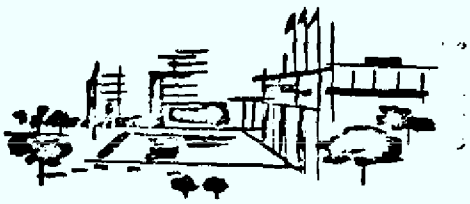
It is clear that there are many *political* roadblocks to be removed on the way to that disarmament which nearly everyone agrees we should have. Yet if we think only of these we may overlook the *economic* roadblocks—as well as the shining economic promise which disarmament holds.

Economists tell us that the economic path to peace will be smoother if we plan and prepare the way for it. Some machinery for making such plans is in being now. Can we make up our minds to use it, to adapt or extend it, or to set up new machinery as needed?

The change to a non-military economy will require not only planning but determination, and a readiness to accept work and sacrifice along the way. The political problems are enormous. The economic transition will call for mobilizing the full resources of the entire government in a prolonged attack on this question. It calls for the full cooperation of labor and management with government all the way from the local to the Federal level. A tough job—*but it can be done.*

Here we shall take a look at some of the questions that are most often asked about problems the country will face in changing over to strictly peaceful production. Answers suggested do not pretend to be a final word. They are put forward as a basis for discussion, for further questions, and for "grassroots" decisions that can lead to ACTION.

It is our hope that this brief and general pamphlet will lead to more comprehensive studies of the total problem and to much more detailed analysis of the shifts necessary in special areas such as Los Angeles, Seattle, Wichita, and Philadelphia.



1. Does American Prosperity Depend on Arms Production?

There are surface signs which help to spread this impression. Critics in the Communist world proclaim it as fact. What is the truth about this?

America enjoys a relatively high standard of living while devoting a sizeable slice of national resources and energies to making weapons of war. Certainly many jobs have been created by military production. This is not surprising, for it is just here that the government spends a lion's share of the Federal budget. However, to believe that prosperity can be created through arms production, or that this pattern of spending is sacred and unchangeable, is to follow an illusion.

Standards of living are measured by *consumable* goods and services. It testifies to the country's amazing productive power that we do reach such a high standard. If *all* of that power were turned into the production of consumable goods and service, or of creative leisure—and *none* into armaments—our standard of living could be markedly higher!

American prosperity stems from our *productiveness*. To *maintain* general prosperity is to keep a steady flow of the total volume of things we turn out, so that we as consumers receive a steady supply of the things we need. It does not depend on how much is invested in one special field, such as weapons. In times of transition, when the make-up of some parts is shifting, it is of utmost importance to keep the *total* national spending—by *consumers, business* and *government combined*—at an even level. This can be done in different ways, and naturally some ways are better than others. But we can be certain of this: If we stop channeling a great part of our resources into the means of destroying human life and turn the same current into things which people need and can use, *real* prosperity *should* increase.

Is it true, as many believe, that a cut in defense spending will cause a depression, at least temporarily? It is not true if sensible policies are followed. Past experience does not show that defense cuts inevitably create recessions. Actually, the biggest cut in military spending we ever had was in 1946 and 1947, when business and employment remained good. That was partly, of course, because of a large backlog of wartime saving.

By contrast, in 1957 defense spending *increased*—more than $3 billion over the total for 1956—and yet industrial production declined the whole year and unemployment mounted, leading into a quite definite recession. As it happened, changes in the *tempo* of defense spending helped to deepen this recession; but, as before, the arms outlay was only one part of the picture. What counts most is the *whole* picture.

Three to five billion dollars is a large sum compared with the family budget. Even so, it is only about one per cent of our total national production each year. An annual cut of this size in military spending should not pose a very difficult economic problem—if the transition is well planned.

In fact, there was such a cut in 1955, and this was one of the most prosperous years we have ever had. In 1954, by contrast, defense spending was cut and we did have a recession. The one fact was not the *cause* of the other—although again it was part of the picture. The trouble in 1954 was that the government cut *non*-defense spending at the same time, when logic would have suggested an offsetting increase in this area.

Economists generally agree that when there is a reduction *in one part* of our total national spending, both public and private, it needs to be balanced by increased spending *in other parts*, so that the total outlay will remain steady, or gradually increase with the country's growth.

Under favorable conditions, it is often possible for an equilibrium to be maintained largely by increased *private* spending, as in 1946-47. Tax reductions, if large enough and properly distributed, can encourage such added spending. There is a pressing need for expansion of essential public programs such as education and public health, which are now held back largely because of the size of defense outlays. With a growing economy, there should be opportunity both for tax reduction and for a continuing expansion of public services.

Clearly the nation's economy is geared at this time to large military outlays. Not many people would argue that *therefore* we must go on making weapons indefinitely—that nothing else can keep up the level of jobs and business. The question which does arise is how a changeover to other lines of work can best be made, especially in the plants and communities where defense industry is heavily concentrated.

These problems must be faced. (See Questions 3, 4 and 6). Luckily, a good deal has been learned in recent years about how our economy works. We can be certain that prosperity does NOT have to depend on making any article that can't be used. Weapons of war in our time have become far too dangerous to be kept on as "busy work".

2. What Will We Make in Place of Weapons?

We have only to ask this question to bring to mind many ways in which we as a nation fall short of our own standards. One compelling reason why we fall short is that we spend so much on armies, missiles, nuclear bombs and all of the other paraphernalia of war. In spite of relative prosperity, we are far short of meeting basic human needs.

If peace were to "break out" suddenly, would it find us unprepared—afraid to accept its bounty because we haven't found out how to use it? The

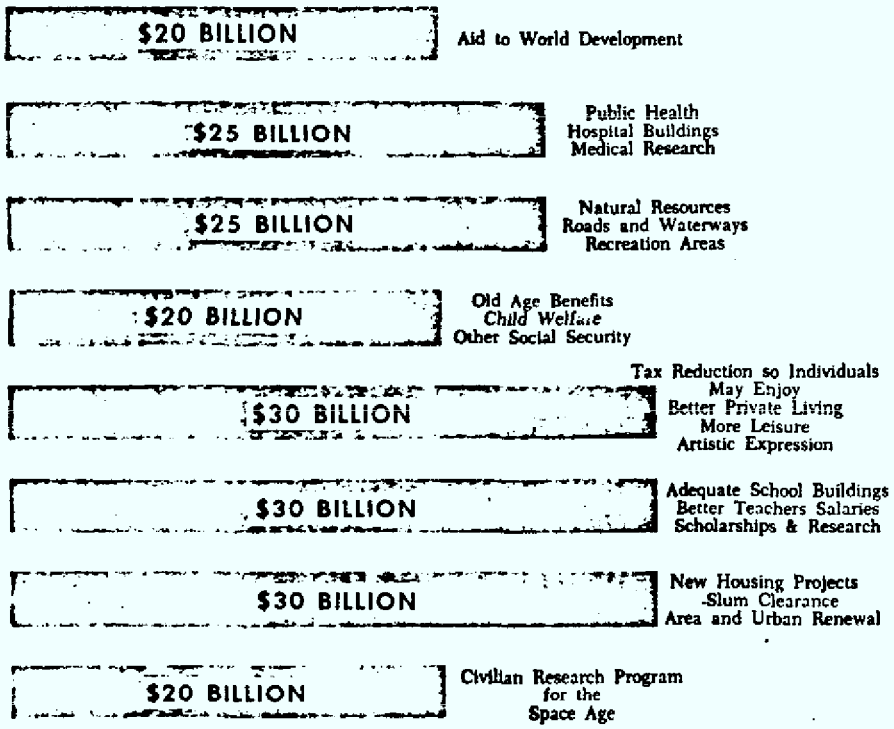
fabled Sorcerer's Apprentice had learned how to put some forces to work but not how to stop them. Our challenge is to find ways to bend our gigantic productive forces to our own will, to meet our real needs.

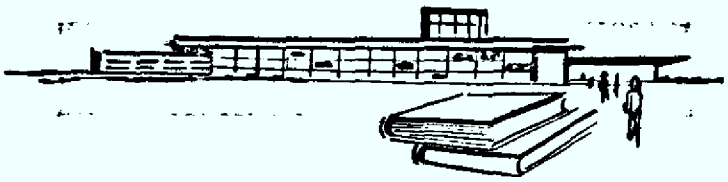
Right now the U. S. is spending some $45 billion yearly on war preparation; and concurrently, around seven and a half million of our people are employed in war-related work—including the armed forces.

Now picture a ten-year period in which armaments would be reduced by regular stages, down to a figure sufficient to cover internal security and our share of a world-wide United Nations inspection and police system—say $5 billion a year. Reduction on this scale would release some $200 billion otherwise going into armaments—as shown below.

When we study the saving from this kind of ten-year disarmament plan alongside some of the nation's needs, many attractive uses can be seen. A sample reapportionment of the money saved is shown below. How would YOU recommend that the savings from disarmament be used?

HOW SAVINGS FROM 10 YEARS OF DISARMAMENT COULD BE USED

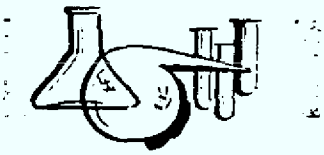




In Education, for example, although Americans have been proud of their public school system, these facts stare us in the face:

1. Over 130,000 new classrooms urgently needed *now*
2. Even these would not eliminate overcrowding and double sessions
3. National shortage of teachers estimated at 220,000
4. More teachers leaving the profession than entering it
5. National average teaching salary $4650; many states less
6. Number of teachers receiving less than $2500—46,000
7. Average income in many other professions 100 to 300 per cent higher

Helping to meet the needs for classrooms, equipment, more teachers and better salaries over the next ten years could easily absorb $15 - $20 billion of the armaments savings. After all, it is less than half of our present *annual* expenditure for armament. An additional $10 billion could be invested in higher education and research facilities. Once we get rid of the arms race burden we may be able to afford all of this—AT LAST!



For Public Health, consider these two facts:

1. Some 325,000 lives are lost each year through inadequate medical care.
2. Over 1,200,000 more hospital beds are needed for adequate standards.

A large part of the need for additional beds is in mental and chronic disease hospitals and nursing homes. However, it was officially reported in May, 1958 that "there are still 2.5 million people residing in areas with no acceptable general hospital beds, and another 25 million people in areas with less than 2 acceptable beds per 1,000 population."

Here as in education the Federal Government can appropriately act to equalize opportunity. An adequate building program alone could absorb $15 billion. Beyond that, we need more public health clinics and more medical schools—more people in medical research, to wipe out such human enemies as heart diseases, mental illness and cancer.

That **Housing** rates a high place needs no argument. But more than slum clearance and new housing is needed. For the America of the future, an area and urban development program of great size is a "must." Rebuilding the centers of cities to remove transportation blocks and to further a good life for city and country will require huge amounts. Men who can probe the reaches of outer space will not be content with slums on earth.

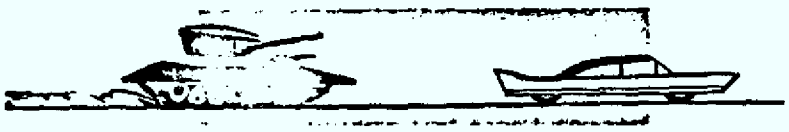
With an expanding economy go needs for better *roads and communication, flood control* and *conservation*. The vast lands now held by military departments—over 27 million acres in the Continental United States—can provide new *public recreation areas*, and help to conserve vital *national resources* in water power, minerals, forests and wildlife.

Government-supported *research*, now largely military, can be reoriented to peacetime, space-age living. With this should go a genuine program of *world development*, since we are members of a human family inhabiting a shrinking planet, where our security rests in a large measure upon the stability and welfare of other people.

Clearly there is no lack of worthwhile things in which to invest. But will these supply *employment* to replace various kinds of defense work? For each $5 billion dollars reduction in military spending, it is likely that somewhere around 800,000 workers might need either new jobs or new markets for their same output. However, technological changes requiring new machinery and new equipment are taking place all the time. Totally new products will no doubt create many new jobs, as have electronics, television and plastics in the last fifteen years.

The field of trade and development holds out a prospect of expanded employment in many trades, as does the building of more schools, houses, hospitals, parks and roads. New buildings mean new equipment. Higher pay for teachers will supply new purchasing power for meeting a backlog of unfilled wants. Tax reductions will facilitate more private buying.

The flowering of life, even national life, is in individual, family and community living, and this expresses itself finally in artistic and spiritual life. How would this be furthered by disarmament? In very practical ways: improvement of the necessary material basis of life for those who lack it (through lower taxes, greater productive power, better health and education); the possibility of shorter working hours and thus more leisure time; an atmosphere of faith and hope in a world at peace.



3. How Can Military Suppliers Change to Civilian Work?

To look at the large-scale picture first—what about such industries as aircraft and electronics, which are largely built on military orders? And what of the communities in which armament activity is concentrated? Some large plants are now occupied 100 per cent with military contracts, especially in such states as California, Washington, Kansas and Texas. In a number of communities across the nation more than a third of local payrolls are tied to military spending.

Let us suppose that all these people have been planning—we know that *some* of them have—on the possibility of successful world disarmament. *Planning*, in a transition of such great importance, is a key with which to unlock the future. And as a sound beginning, managers, workers and government must soberly face this fact: With disarmament, some industries will either become unnecessary or will have a smaller market for their products. They must find new *products*, new *markets*, or new *fields*.

Most business men recognize the fact of constant change and they expect some risks. Many communities enjoy a wide range of industries and so find it easy to meet change. Such flexibility is the ideal, but increasing mechanization and specialization have made it very difficult for some industries and some communities to remain flexible. Government pressures on industry to tool up for military production make the dilemma serious. Changes in the market are taking place all the time—whether we disarm or not—because of changes in technology and in public tastes and needs.

For instance, while the total military budget has been increasing, some kinds of military orders have been sharply curtailed due to new weapons and new ideas of strategy. The Defense Department has cancelled or modified contracts without warning, presumably because of the need felt for secrecy in military matters. Disarmament, by contrast, would be a public matter, arranged by international agreement, publicly debated. Cutbacks planned for and announced in advance can make the transition easier.

Planning by industries and by organized labor calls for full and clear information on which to base practical plans. Much vital information must be *collected locally* and regionally, then *sifted and put together* in the national or even international perspective, to provide a dependable guide for the local people who must make decisions for their own businesses and families. Then various types of government aid or backing can come into play.

Most materials used in making arms have corresponding peacetime uses. Steel can go into bombers or buildings. Civilian use of aircraft may be expected to expand, though not fast enough to take up all the productive capacity now used for fighting planes. Peacetime uses for electronics will doubtless increase for a long time. Nuclear energy offers itself for many constructive uses, more than we can yet grasp. In the field of missiles, the breathtaking vista of space exploration opens before us IF we can rid ourselves of the threat of nuclear annihilation.

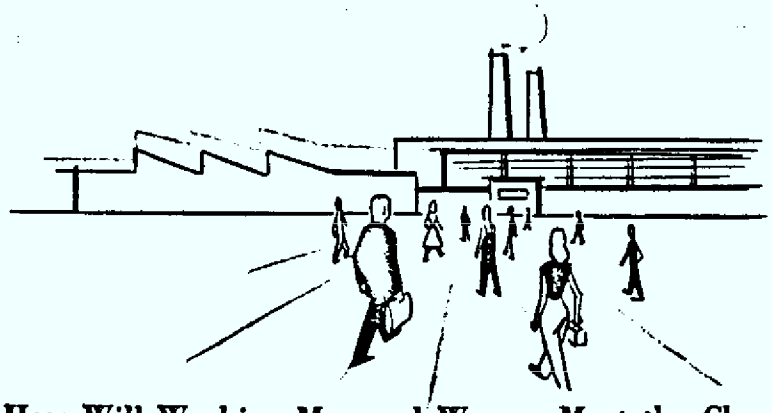
Substantial parts of military spending go not into bombs, bayonets, or ballistic missiles, but into buildings, food and clothing, medical care, paper and typewriters—the many things which parallel civilian life and will be met in some way for the same people in the peacetime world. Also, if large-scale economic aid is made available to developing countries, they will purchase needed equipment here and so extend the market for many lines. This will also make for steadier *world* economic conditions.

In one large industrial city inquiries were made of five military suppliers, varying in scale from a working force of 250 to one of 18,000, about their plans for meeting "Disarmament Day." One of the largest, a steel company, replied that military work is such a small part of its business that cutbacks would not seriously affect it. Another large firm reported that its business is *entirely* on government contracts and it has *no plans* for a changeover; that its work is with extremely high precision instruments and not suitable to mass production for private use.

However, this firm's products are potentially of great usefulness for the control of cancer and other little-understood diseases, for weather control and for the exploration of outer space—all of which would help to qualify it for continued public support. One company of medium size works preponderantly on military contracts but has three smaller departments which work on civilian products, *with a definite plan in reserve* by which these could be expanded to retain all employees, in a changeover to peacetime economy. The two smallest firms reported no plans but agreed that dependence on military contracts is unhealthy. Later one of them called the investigator to report the start of some civilian contracts.

In any planned disarmament the transition is bound to be gradual—for economic and practical reasons as well as political ones. A nation can't in a day switch production of $45 billion worth of military goods to other things. But the time needed can be reduced by wise advance arrangements.

The real problem is not strictly one of disarmament. It is the complex and continuing problem of maintaining full production and full employment in our high-powered 20th-century economy. Large-scale military production has only helped to *conceal* the problem and to postpone facing it. Soon we must come to grips with it in any case, or continue to court catastrophe. The task is big enough to challenge the combined efforts of industry, labor and government.



4. How Will Working Men and Women Meet the Change?

There is no doubt that defense workers, like other people, desire peace. It is natural, however, that they should have questions about their job prospects in the event of disarmament. A job is a necessary and absorbing daily concern. Right now, *without* disarmament, the change from one line of military production to another is creating its own problems, possibly more far-reaching than the shift from buggies to automobiles at the beginning of the century. This shift causes cutbacks in certain kinds of armaments and may be confused with real disarmament.

The worker employed in a specialized industry has fewer resources to tide him over a readjustment period than do most businesses. His assets consist in personal skills rather than in capital. Personal savings and investments should not be required sacrifices for having worked in some industry once considered vital to the national welfare but now reduced in importance. The increased prosperity of peacetime must apply to all, and the hazards of the transition period must be shared by all.

What is the size of our problem? Currently more than one dollar in ten of the national income is going for military purposes. A comparable proportion of the national labor force is employed on military orders, including people who make parts and supplies on a subcontract basis and members of the armed forces. As armament production disappears, workers need to know what new jobs will be opening for them in replacement, and how the changes will affect their daily lives.

Some jobs undoubtedly will be discontinued in the process of gradual disarmament, while others will change in nature, either in the present plants or in transfers. Both new and remodeled industries will be needed to keep up employment through filling new needs, although some industrial workers will find their new opportunities in small business, office work, service trades or professions. A national will to maintain full production and full employment will be the workers' best insurance; but there are some special knots to be untied. The "untying" implements should include the following:

1. Extended and enlarged unemployment compensation
2. Mortgage payment insurance
3. Retraining programs
4. Expanded employment and placement services
5. Relocation and moving assistance

Americans do a good bit of moving from job to job and from one locality to another in pursuit of personal advancement. When such moves are made necessary by a change in public policy, however, the nation has a responsibility to help.

Workers, too, have their responsibility, both as participants in the economic process and as citizens. Anyone working on military orders, a field subject to sudden strategic changes as well as the change that would accompany world disarmament, would be well advised to keep an eye on job alternatives, to make personal plans to retrain, and to press actively for whatever public measures he feels are needed.

Keeping a constant flow of accurate, up-to-date job information, with special reference to coming changes, would do much to ease individual adjustments. This is a *permanent need, along* with unemployment benefits and insurance on a *realistic scale*—for sufficient time periods to cover job changes. These steps call for cooperation among many agencies and all sections of the country. Definite plans have to be made and carried out, but this is not likely to happen unless the people most directly concerned—organized labor and management associations—really go to work on it. All of the steps suggested are quite practical in the framework of a national policy for the fullest use of national resources.

More than once people in local communities have put pressure on their representatives in Washington to defeat cutbacks that would affect local industries, taking this way to try to protect their family and community interests. *If the Government had a program*, known to all, for helping people in key industries and communities to make necessary adjustments, they would not feel the same urge to fight military cutbacks, when these could be seen as actual steps to security and peace.

What about the people released from the armed forces? Will they be able to find jobs? Large numbers were released at the end of the Second World War and they were quite readily absorbed into civilian life. *Under similar conditions*, the smaller number now in the forces should present no problem. After the war there existed a backlog of unfilled jobs just as there was a backlog of unfilled consumer wants. Here again, the best guarantee lies in brisk economic activity, with plenty of forward-looking projects, both public and private.

The Government must not push its military personnel out into civilian life without due provision for their readjustment. Severance pay plus opportunities for education and vocational training are essential. Many of the older veterans should be made immediately eligible for pensions. The valuable civil projects now carried on by the Corps of Army Engineers—reclamation, flood control and the like—could be expanded during the transition, with openings for army veterans who have worked in these areas. Today's forces are increasingly made up of technically trained people who can find opportunities in civilian air transport, electronics, machine repair, computer and automation work.

It is well to remember that numbers in the armed forces are being reduced *whether we have disarmament or not,* because of the development of higher-powered weapons and military machinery, requiring relatively less manpower. After every war, plans have had to be made for veterans. There have been pensions and bonuses, loans for housing and business, and various kinds of educational aid. If such costs can be met *now* as part of the price of abolishing war, a real social saving will result. Indeed it would be far less costly to pension each present soldier than to continue the present military establishment throughout his lifetime. A needless extreme, perhaps—but not so extreme as the "World War III" which stares us in the face every day!

5. What Public Measures Would Help Smooth the Way?

The Employment Act of 1946 proclaimed a national policy of promoting maximum production and employment. It also set up machinery to help realize this aim, including (1) the Congressional *Joint Committee on the Economic Report* and (2) the President's *Council of Economic Advisers.* The Act calls for an Annual Economic Report from the President and frequent recommendations from the Joint Committee. There is doubt as to whether the government's obligations under this law are being met. Amendments are needed, with authority to carry out its good purposes.

The *Area Redevelopment Bill* passed by Congress in 1958, but vetoed by the President, would have provided special aid to regions facing special problems. Such special aids could well be applied in areas affected by defense cutbacks, to assist communities in their plans for disarmament.

The *Trade Adjustments Bill* which was introduced but not acted upon by Congress provided for a five-member Trade Adjustments Board which would hold hearings, secure information from public agencies, and certify for aid those communities, industries and employees adversely affected by changes in *trade policy.* Changes in *defense policy* could justify similar measures.

U. S. Government agencies such as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, various veterans' programs and the work of the Office of Defense Mobilization should provide helpful clues

on how to *de*-mobilize, or *re*-mobilize for peace. Some overall supervisory agency is indicated, which can pull together information from public and private sources and coordinate national, state and local efforts.

The *Small Business Administration* is one resource for smaller firms in need of financial backing to convert their plants to peacetime pursuits. Other government measures that might be studied are selective tax benefits during a specified period of change. Tax credits could be allowed for losses during a period of reconversion, and tax carry-forward provisions liberalized to encourage plants to hold onto their workers even if output were small for a time. Careful study is needed of possible graduated tax reduction as an aid to private buying and investment.

The California Legislature in April 1958 adopted and sent to Congress a Joint Resolution requesting a complete study of the economic problems of disarmament. This, it said, should cover "ways of providing Federal aid to areas depressed by a reduction in defense expenditures," and also the "strengthening of government employment services and compensation systems, and the possible methods for retraining and relocating workers facing major readjustments."

The resolution quoted research findings that a 50 per cent cut in our defense spending could result in layoffs of 120,000 people in Southern California alone. It emphasized that all the facts should be brought together as to the numbers of people employed in various defense industries, where those industries are, and how they could be helped to change their plants and resources over to non-defense industry—all of this with the cooperation of Federal, State and local agencies.

The sample disarmament timetable which we suggested earlier would take over five years to bring about a reduction of 50 per cent below 1958 levels. Meanwhile, some economists point out that present losses in productivity and employment, simply from letting the economic machinery run far below capacity, would equal a 100 per cent cut in armaments. They insist that by bringing production up to its full potential the country could have *bombs AND butter* if it wished—"butter" meaning all the desirable civilian programs, including foreign aid, which are denied or cut back.

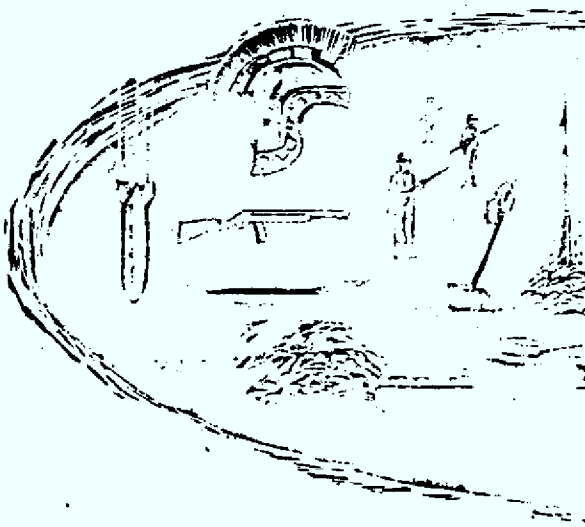
On this point official opinion is not convinced. Congress, while voting more money for arms than is asked for by the military departments, uses the economy plea to pare civilian programs and appropriations for foreign economic aid and technical assistance; and our Government states that we cannot afford to take part in a world plan such as SUNFED (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development) *until we get disarmament.*

The overall problem of financing the transition will not be serious if any savings from disarmament are immediately used to finance other needed government programs or tax cuts. The danger of a depression will be minimized if we avoid trying to reduce defense expenditure and the national debt at the same time.

6. What Can WE Do to Prepare for Disarmament?

First of all—**We can start.** Get discussion going—in labor unions and Chambers of Commerce, in churches and civic organizations, with the neighbors. Help make plans in your community for other employment for defense workers, to prevent hardship for individuals. Make it a matter of pride that the American people can plan intelligently for peace.

We can keep informed. Try to gather an interested group—even if only two or three—to collect and share information, divide up work and consider local plans. Such a group can carry on friendly interviews with local industries managers, employees and agencies, and assemble for the local area the kind of specific knowledge which is needed but not now available. Official papers, such as the *Annual Economic Report* of the President, can be found in many libraries or ordered from the Government Printing Office in Washington. The Friends Committee on National Legislation will recommend other materials to interested groups.



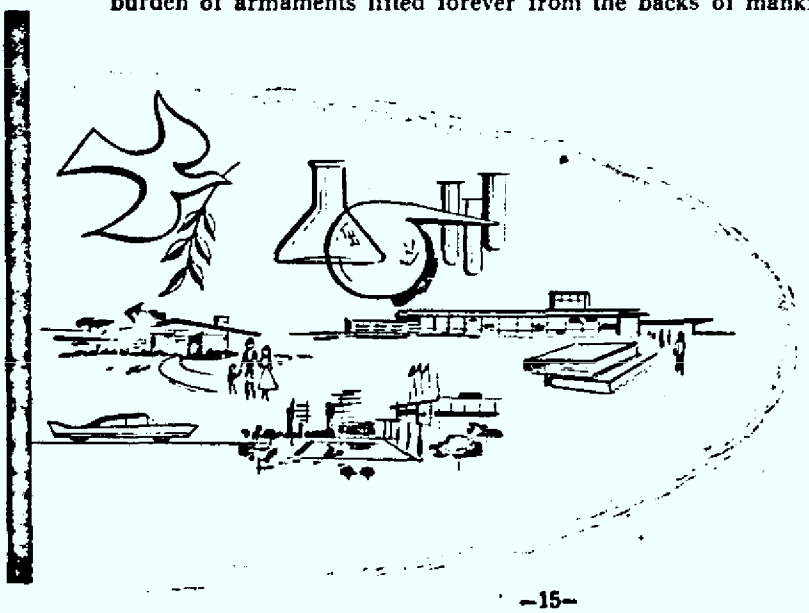
We can see to it that the economic machinery we have is well used. How does your local employment office function? Does your community have extensive contacts with the Small Business Administration? With the FHA? Do local firms make use of government research? What is your central labor union doing to help build a stable economy in your region? Local business or management groups? Your state government?

We can work for improved legislation. Become familiar with votes and views of your local representatives in the State Legislature and in the Congress. Tell them *your* views, in personal interviews where possible, and in clear, to-the-point letters on issues calling for legislation. And of course, search out and support good candidates for office.

The Employment Act of 1946 should be strengthened. Some such legislation as the Area Redevelopment Bill needs to be passed. Unemployment compensation systems need overhauling; they need appropriations and more liberal regulations providing for realistic time periods in which satisfactory job changes can be made.

We can encourage the mobilization and coordination of all government agencies, national and regional—to plan for and assist in carrying out the retraining and relocation of workers affected; to encourage research for the development of new products which can create new employment; and for the transfer to programs for the common welfare of productive capacity and labor now going into the arms race.

We can urge our government to give first priority to the search for political agreements and the basis for international disarmament under law so that the world may be rescued from the fear of war and the burden of armaments lifted forever from the backs of mankind.



IF WORLD DISARMAMENT WERE ACHIEVED, WHAT IS THE SIZE OF THE TASK OF TRANSITION IN THE UNITED STATES?

Appropriations for military defense, Atomic Energy Commission, military aid and defense support abroad voted by Congress in 1960 were more than	$47,000,000,000
Personnel in the Armed Forces, June 30, 1960, not including Reserves	2,489,000
The value of lands, buildings, and movable property now held by the Department of Defense	$169,939,000,000
In continental United States, the Department of Defense owns or controls *(This is a greater area than that of any one of the following states: Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia)*	28,784,259 acres

For Further Information, see: *The Big Hand in Your Pocket*, a booklet of current facts on the extent of the military establishment in the United States, available from the offices listed below, 25¢ each.

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THE MORALS

OF

EXTERMINATION

BY

LEWIS MUMFORD

SINCE 1945, the American government has devoted the better part of our national energies to preparations for wholesale human extermination. This curious enterprise has been disguised as a scientifically sound method of ensuring world peace and national security, but it has obviously failed at every point on both counts. Our reckless experimental explosion of nuclear weapons is only a persuasive salesman's sample of what a nuclear war would produce, but even this has already done significant damage to the human race. With poetic justice, the earliest victims of our experiments toward genocide — sharing honors with the South Pacific islanders and the Japanese fishermen — have been our own children, and even more, our children's prospective children.

Almost from the beginning, our investment in nuclear weapons has been openly directed against a single country, Soviet Russia. In our government's concern with the self-imposed problem of containing Russia and restricting by force alone the area of Communist penetration, we have turned our back on more vital human objectives. Today the political and military strategy our leaders framed on the supposition that our country had a permanent superiority in nuclear power is bankrupt, so completely that the business probably cannot be liquidated without serious losses.

As things stand now, we are not able to conduct even a justifiable police action, as a representative

of the United Nations, with the backing of a majority of the nations, without the permission of Russia and China. When they refuse permission, as they did in Korea, the limited war our strategists fancy is still open to us turns into an unlimited humiliation, as the painful truce that continues in Korea should remind us, for every original issue remains unsettled. But if we challenge that veto, our only recourse is to our absolute weapons, now as fatal to ourselves and the rest of mankind as they would be to Russia and China. The distinguished army combat generals who have publicly recognized this state of impotence have been forced out of the armed services.

This situation should give us pause. While every scientific advance in nuclear weapons and intercontinental missiles only widens to planetary dimensions the catastrophe we have been preparing, our leaders still concentrate the nation's efforts on hastening these advances. Why, then, do we still listen to those mistaken counsels that committed us to the Cold War, though our own military plans have wiped out the possibility of war itself and replaced it by total annihilation as the only foreseeable terminus of the tensions we have done our full share to produce? By what standard of prudence do we trust our lives to political, military, and scientific advisers who have staked our national existence on a single set of weapons and have already lost that shortsighted gamble, even if they become desperate enough to use these weapons or remain blind enough to believe that they can conceal that loss by not using them?

What was it that set in motion the chain reaction of errors, miscalculations, delusions, and compulsions that have pushed us into the impossible situation we now occupy? Every day that we delay in facing our national mistakes adds to both the cumulative dangers that threaten us and the difficulty of undoing them.

The first step toward framing a new policy is to trace our path back to the point where we adopted our fatal commitment to weapons of mass extermination. This moral debacle, it is important to remember, was not a response to any threat by Russia or by Communism; still less was it imposed by Russia's possession of similar weapons. Actually, the acceptance of extermina-

tion antedated the invention of the atom bomb.

The principles upon which the strategy of extermination was based were first enunciated by fascist military theorists, notably General Douhet, who believed, like our own Major Seversky, that a small air force could take the place of a large army by confining its efforts to mass attacks on civilians and undermining the national will to resist. This reversion to the vicious Bronze Age practice of total war was a natural extension of fascism's readiness to reintroduce terrorism and torture as instruments of government. When these methods were first carried into action, by Mussolini in Abyssinia, by Hitler in Warsaw and Rotterdam, they awakened horror in our still morally sensitive breasts. The creed that could justify such actions was, we thought correctly, not merely antidemocratic but antihuman.

In the midst of World War II a moral reversal took place among the English-speaking Allies, such a transposition as happened by accident in the final duel in *Hamlet*, when Hamlet picks up the weapon Laertes had poisoned in advance in order to make sure of his enemy's death. The fascist powers became the victims of their own strategy, for both the United States and Britain adopted what was politely called "obliteration bombing," which had as its object the total destruction of great cities and the terrorization and massacre of their inhabitants.

By taking over this method as a cheap substitute for conventional warfare — cheap in soldiers' lives, costly in its expenditure of other human lives and in the irreplaceable historic accumulations of countless lifetimes — these democratic governments sanctioned the dehumanized techniques of fascism. This was Nazidom's firmest victory and democracy's most servile surrender. That moral reversal undermined the eventual military triumph of the democracies, and it has poisoned our political and military policies ever since.

Civilized warfare has always been an atrocity per se, even when practiced by gallant men fighting in a just cause. But in the course of five thousand years certain inhibitions and moral safeguards had been set up. Thus, poisoning the water supply and slaying the unarmed inhabitants of a city were no longer within the modern soldier's code, however gratifying they might once have been to an Ashurbanipal or a Genghis Khan, moral monsters whose names have become in-

famous in history. Overnight, as it were, our own countrymen became such moral monsters. In principle, the extermination camps where the Nazis incinerated over six million helpless Jews were no different from the urban crematoriums our air force improvised in its attacks by napalm bombs on Tokyo. By these means, in a single night, we roasted alive more people than were killed by atom bombs in either Hiroshima or Nagasaki. Our aims were different, but our methods were those of mankind's worst enemy.

Up to this point, war had been an operation conducted by military forces against military targets. By long-established convention, a token part, the army, stood for the greater whole, the nation. Even when an army was totally defeated and wiped out, the nation it represented lived to tell the tale; neither unarmed prisoners nor civilians were killed to seal a defeat or celebrate a victory. Even our air force, the chief shaper of our present policy, once prided itself on its pin-point bombing, done in daylight to ensure that only military targets would be hit.

As late as the spring of 1942, as I know by personal observation, a memorandum was circulated among military advisers in Washington propounding this dilemma: If by fighting the war against Japan by orthodox methods it might require five or ten years to conquer the enemy, while with incendiary air attacks on Japanese cities Japan's resistance might be broken in a year or two, would it be morally justifiable to use the second means? Now it is hard to say which is more astonishing, that the morality of total extermination was then seriously debated in military circles or that today its morality is taken for granted, as outside debate, even among a large part of the clergy.

More than any other event that has taken place in modern times this sudden radical change-over from war to collective extermination reversed the whole course of human history.

Plainly, the acceptance of mass extermination as a normal outcome of war undermined all the moral inhibitions that have kept man's murderous fantasies from active expression. War, however brutal and devastating, had a formal beginning and could come to an end by some formal process of compromise or surrender. But no one has the faintest notion how nuclear extermination, once begun, could be brought to an end. Still less

can anyone guess what purpose would be accomplished by it, except a release by death from intolerable anxiety and fear. But this is to anticipate. What is important to bear in mind is that atomic weapons did not bring about this first decisive change; they merely gave our already de-moralized strategy a more effective means of expression.

Once extermination became acceptable, the confined tumor of war, itself an atavistic pseudo-organ, turned into a cancer that would invade the blood stream of civilization. Now the smallest sore of conflict or hostility might fatally spread through the whole organism, immune to all those protective moral and political restraints that a healthy body can mobilize for such occasions.

By the time the atom bomb was invented our authorities needed no special justification for using it. The humane pleas for withholding the weapon, made by the atomic scientists, suddenly awakened to a moral crisis they had not foreseen while working on the bomb, were automatically disposed of by well-established precedent, already three years in operation. Still, the dramatic nature of the explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki threw a white light of horror and doubt over the whole process; for a moment a sense of moral guilt counteracted our exorbitant pride. This reaction proved as short-lived as it was belated. Yet it prompted Henry L. Stimson, a public servant whose admirable personal conduct had never been open to question, to publish a magazine article defending the official decision to use the atom bomb.

The argument Mr. Stimson advanced in favor of atomic genocide — a name invented later but studiously reserved for the acts of our enemies — was that it shortened the war and saved perhaps more than a million precious American lives. There is no need here to debate that highly debatable point. But on those same practical, "humanitarian" grounds, systematic torture might be employed by an advancing army to deter guerrilla fighters and to blackmail the remaining population into accepting promptly the torturer's terms.

That only a handful of people ventured to make this criticism indicates the depth of moral apathy to which our countrymen had sunk in less than a dozen years. Those who used this illustration, however, were not surprised to find that the French, themselves the victims of Hitler's carefully devised plans of torture and mass extermination, would authorize the use of military torture in

Algeria a decade later. Our own country had forecast that depravity by our national conduct. This conduct still remains without public examination or repentance, but, unfortunately, retribution may not lie far away. Should it come, Civil Defense estimates have established that it will at once wipe out forty million American lives for the one million we once supposedly saved.

Let us be clear about cause and effect. It was not our nuclear weapons that committed us to the strategy of extermination; it was rather our decision to concentrate on the methods of extermination that led to our one-sided, obsessive preoccupation with nuclear weapons. Even before Russia had achieved a single nuclear weapon, we had so dismantled our military establishment that we lacked sufficient equipment and munitions to fight successfully such a minor action as that in Korea.

THE total nature of our moral breakdown, accurately predicted a half century ago — along with the atom bomb — by Henry Adams, can be gauged by a single fact: most Americans do not realize that this change has taken place or, worse, that it makes any difference. They have no consciousness of either the magnitude of their collective sin or the fact that, by their silence, they have individually condoned it. It is precisely as if the Secretary of Agriculture had licensed the sale of human flesh as a wartime emergency measure and people had taken to cannibalism when the war was over as a clever dodge for lowering the cost of living — a mere extension of everyday butchery. Many of our professed religious and moral leaders have steadily shrunk from touching this subject; or, if they have done so, they have naïvely equated mass extermination with war and have too often given their blessing to it, for reasons just as specious as those our government has used.

It is in relation to this gigantic moral collapse that our present devotion to nuclear weapons and their equally dehumanized bacterial and chemical counterparts must be gauged.

When we abandoned the basic moral restraints against random killing and mass extermination we enlarged the destructive capacities of our nuclear weapons. What was almost as bad, our pride in this achievement expressed itself in an

inverted fashion by our identifying our safety and welfare with the one-sided expansion of our weapons system. Thus we surrendered the initiative to our instruments, confusing physical power with rational human purpose, forgetting that machines and weapons have no values and no goals, above all, no limits and no restraints except those that human beings superimpose on them.

The one thing that might have rectified our government's premature exploitation of atomic power would have been a public assize of its manifold dangers, even for wider industrial and medical use. As early as the winter of 1945-1946 the Senate Atomic Energy Committee made the first full inquiry into these matters, and the physicists who appeared before this committee gave forecasts whose accuracy was fully confirmed in the tardy hearings that have just taken place before a joint congressional committee. Almost with one voice, these scientists predicted that Soviet Russia would be able to produce a nuclear bomb within five years, possibly within three. On that basis, the nations of the world had three "safe" years to create through the United Nations the necessary political and moral safeguards against the misuse of this new power.

There was no salvation, the more alert leaders of science wisely pointed out, on purely national terms. Naturally, Russia's totalitarian isolationism and suspicion made it difficult to arrive at a basis for rational agreement, but our own sense of holding all the trump cards did not lessen this difficulty. All too quickly, after the Russian rejection of our generous but politically unsound Baruch proposal, our country used Russian hostility as an excuse for abandoning all further effort. Even before we had openly committed ourselves to the Cold War itself — a now obsolete preatomic military concept — our leaders preferred to build a threatening ring of air bases around Russia rather than to pursue with patient circumspection a course directed toward securing eventual understanding and cooperation. So the difficult became the impossible.

As late as 1947 this situation, though grave, was not disastrous. Our very mistakes in turning to mass extermination were capable, if openly and honestly faced, of leading both ourselves and the world back to the right path. Up to then, our totalitarian weapons system had not yet consolidated its position or threatened our free in-

stitutions; the organs of democratic society, invigorated rather than depressed by the war, had not yet been enfeebled by official secrecy, repression, suspicion, craven conformism, or the corruptions of absolute power, shielded from public criticism. Meanwhile, unfortunately, the strategy of mass extermination, which did not bear public discussion or open assessment, was rapidly taking shape.

For a brief moment, nevertheless, our leaders seized the political initiative, though they were handicapped by ambivalent intentions and contradictory goals. Our contribution to organizing the United Nations, though it had been originally proposed by the United States, was as cagey and inept as Russia's, for the frustrating Council veto was an American conception. Under a more imaginative leadership two other, admirable American proposals came forward, UNRRA and the Marshall Plan. Both these agencies had great potentialities, for at first we had the intelligence to offer their benefits even to Communist countries.

Had we followed these efforts through, they might have permanently increased the whole range of international cooperation. In wiser executive hands, these initiatives would not have been prematurely terminated. Rather, they would have been employed to reduce world tensions and to win general assent to a program for giving all nations the prefatory exercises in magnanimity and understanding essential to the re-establishment of moral order and the control of our demoralizing weapons. But even in their brief, limited application these agencies did far more to fortify the assisted nations against oppressive Communist dictatorship than all the billions we poured into NATO and SEATO to build up futile armaments for wars neither we nor our allies were capable of fighting. Witness our long series of backdowns and letdowns: Czechoslovakia, Korea, Vietnam, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Egypt.

In our commitment to the strategy of extermination, under a decision made when General Eisenhower was Chief of Staff, the United States rejected the timely warnings of the world's leading scientists and the common counsels of human-

ity. Instead of holding a series of world conferences in which the dangers of nuclear energy could be fully canvased, not alone by physicists but by thinkers in every threatened field, our official agencies deliberately played down these dangers and used every available mode of censorship to restrict the circulation of the knowledge needed for such an appraisal. In this obstinate desire to exploit nuclear power solely for our national advantage, our government relied upon insistent publicity and indoctrination to build up a false sense of security. Instead of regaining our moral position by ceasing the reckless experiments whose mounting pollution justified a world-wide apprehension, we flatly denied the need for any such cessation and allowed Russia, after it had come abreast of us, to take the moral lead here. Even at a recent United Nations conference, which clearly demonstrated the dangers, our own representatives helped vote down the Russian preamble to the conclusions of the conference, which called for a cessation of all further nuclear testing.

To explain this obstinate commitment to the infamous policy of mass extermination one must understand that its side reactions have proved as demoralizing as its central purpose. Within a bare decade, the United States has built up a huge vested interest in mass extermination — in the weapons themselves and in the highly profitable manufacture of electronic equipment, planes, and missiles designed to carry them to their destination. There are tens of thousands of individual scientists and technicians engaged in nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical research to increase the range and effectiveness of these lethal agents, though we boast we already have a stockpile of nuclear weapons capable of wiping out the entire planet. There are also corporate bodies — the air force, the Atomic Energy Commission, great industrial corporations, and extravagantly endowed centers of research — whose powers and presumptions have been constantly widened along with their profit and prestige. While the show lasts, their careers depend on our accepting the fallacious assumptions to which they have committed us.

All these agents now operate in secret totalitarian enclaves, perfecting their secret totalitarian weapons, functioning outside the processes of democratic government, immune to public chal-

lenge and criticism or to public correction. Whatever the scientific or technical competence of the men working in this field, their sedulous restriction of interest and the limited conditions under which they work and have contact with other human beings do not foster wisdom in the conduct of life. By vocational commitment they live in an underdimensioned and distorted world. The sum of their combined judgments is still an unbalanced judgment, for moral criteria have, from the start, been left out of their general directives.

Is it any wonder that even in the narrow segments of science where they claim mastery our nuclear officials have made error after error? They have again and again been forced to reduce their estimate of the "permissible" limit of exposure to radiation, and on the basis of knowledge already available they will have to reduce these estimates still further. Thus, too, they made an error that startled themselves, in their undercalculating the range and the lethal fall-out of the hydrogen bomb, and they sought to cover that error by concealment and calumny, at first denying the plight of the Japanese fishermen they had injured. Some have even used their authority as scientists to give pseudo-scientific assurances about biological changes that no one will be able to verify until half a century has passed. Furthermore, in matters falling within their province of exact knowledge, the judgment of these authorities has repeatedly proved erroneous and mischievous.

All this should not surprise us: neither science nor nuclear energy endows its users with superhuman powers. But what should surprise us is the fact that the American nation has entrusted its welfare, safety, and future existence to these imprudent, fallible men and to those who have sanctioned their de-moralized plans. Under the guise of a calculated risk, our nuclear strategists have prepared to bring on a calculated catastrophe. At some unpredictable moment their sick fantasies may become unspeakable realities.

Does anyone really think that, unless a miracle supervenes, there can be a more favorable outcome to the overall policy we have been pursuing? If this policy had a color of excuse before Russia had achieved her first nuclear weapon in 1949, it became thoroughly discredited in Korea in 1950 and became suicidal as soon as Russia's superiority in rocket missiles was established.

The fact that Russia now has equal or better weapons of extermination and has joined us in these same insane preparations doubles our danger but does not halve our original guilt. Neither does it nullify our willful stupidity in now clinging to an obsolete, discredited strategy, based on a negation of morality and a defiance of common sense.

The only possible justification of our continued reliance upon weapons of total extermination would be that they do no present harm and would never be used by either side under any extremity of provocation. Can any mature mind comfort itself with either hope? Even our experimental explosion of nuclear bombs, at a rate of more than two for Russia's one, has poisoned our babies' milk, upset the delicate ecological balance of nature, and, still worse, defiled our genetic heritage. As for the possibility that nuclear weapons will never be used, our children in school know better than this every time they are put through the sadistic mummery of an air-raid drill and learn to "play disaster." Such baths of fear and hostility are gratuitous assaults against the young, whose psychological damage is already incalculable; their only service is to bar more tightly the exits that would permit a real escape.

There are people who would defend these plans on the grounds that it is better to die nobly, defending democracy and freedom, than to survive under Communist oppression. Such apologists perhaps exaggerate the differences that now exist between our two systems, but they err even more seriously in applying to mass extermination a moral standard that was defensible only as long as this death was a symbolic one confined to a restricted number of people on a small portion of the earth. Such a disaster, as in the bitter-end resistance of the Southern Confederacy, was still relatively minor and retrievable; if the original resolve to die were in fact an erroneous one, in a few generations it could be corrected. Nuclear damage, in contrast, is cumulative and irretrievable; it admits no belated confession of error, no repentance and absolution.

Under what canon of sanity, then, can any government, or any generation, with its limited perspectives, its fallible judgment, its obvious proneness to self-deception, delusion, and error, make a decision for all future ages about the very existence of even a single country? Still more, how can any one nation treat as a purely private

right its decision on a matter that will affect the life and health and continued existence of the rest of mankind?

There are no words to describe the magnitude of such insolence in thought or the magnitude of criminality involved in carrying it out. Those who believe that any country has the right to make such a decision share the madness of Captain Ahab in *Moby Dick*. For them Russia is the White Whale that must be hunted down and grappled with. Like Ahab in that mad pursuit, they will listen to no reminders of love, home, family obligation; in order to kill the object of their fear and hate they are ready to throw away the sextant and compass that might give them back their moral direction, and in the end they will sink their own ship and drown their crew. To such unbalanced men, to such demoralized efforts, to such dehumanized purposes, our government has entrusted, in an easily conceivable extremity, our lives. Even an accident, these men have confessed, might produce the dire results they have planned, and more than once has almost done so. To accept their plans and ensuing decisions, we have deliberately anesthetized the normal feelings, emotions, anxieties, and hopes that could alone bring us to our senses.

No one can guess how a sufficiently wide recovery of moral responsibility and initiative might be brought about. Neither can one predict at what moment our nation will see that there is no permissible sacrifice of life, either in experimental preparation of these vile weapons or in a final conflict whose very method would nullify every rational end. Certainly it seems doubtful that popular pressure would bring about such a change in government policy, except under the emotion of a shattering crisis, when it might well be too late. But great leadership, exerted at the right moment, might clear the air and illuminate the territory ahead. Until we actually use our weapons of extermination, there is nothing that we have yet done that cannot be undone, except for the existing pollution of our food and our genetic heritage with strontium 90 and carbon 14. But we must make a moral about-face before we can command a political forward march.

Yet if once the American nation made such evaluation of the morality of extermination, new

policies and appropriate decisions would quickly suggest themselves. This would do more to effect an immediate improvement in the relations between the two powers now committed to preparing for mutual extermination than endless parleys between their heads of government.

A moral about-face does not demand, as those whose minds are congealed by the Cold War suppose, either a surrender to Russian Communism or a series of futile appeasements; neither does it mean any increase in the dangers under which we now live: just the contrary. Those who see no other alternatives are still living in the pre-nuclear world; they do not understand that our greatest enemy is not Russia but our treacherous weapons, and that our commitment to these weapons is what has prevented us from conceiving and proposing the necessary means for extending the area of effective freedom and, above all, for safeguarding mankind from meaningless mutilation and massacre.

No dangers we might face once we abandoned the very possibility of using mass extermination would be as great as those under which we now live; yet this is not to say that a bold change of policy would be immediately successful, or that before it had time to register its full effects in other countries it might not tempt Russia to risk measures to extend over other areas its own monolithic system of minority single-party government. But need I emphasize that these possible penalties could hardly be worse than those our government meekly accepted in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Korea, at a time when we still hugged the illusion of wielding absolute power through our monopoly of nuclear weapons? While sober judgment need not minimize these transitional difficulties and possible losses, one must not underestimate, either, the impact of a new policy, wholly concerned to re-establish the moral controls and political cooperations necessary to enable mankind to halt the threatening misuse of the extraordinary powers that it now commands.

Even in a purely military sense, this changed orientation might produce the greatest difficulties for those Communist governments who misunderstood its intention and sought to turn it to their private national advantage. Russia would no more be able to escape the impact of our humane plans and moralized proposals than it was able to avoid the impact and challenge of our nuclear

weapons. If we rallied the forces of mercy, humanheartedness, and morality with the vigor with which we have marshaled the dehumanized forces of destruction, what government could stand against us and face its own people, however strong its cynical suspicions and misgivings?

This is not the place or the moment to spell out a new policy which would start with the complete renunciation of weapons of mass extermination and go on to build constructive measures addressed to all those tasks which the Cold War has caused us to leave in abeyance. Fortunately, George Kennan, the only official or ex-official who has yet had the courage to admit our earlier miscalculations, has already sketched in, with some boldness, the outlines of a better policy, and his proposals might be amplified and enlarged in many directions once we had overcome our official obsession with Russia and our fixation on mass extermination as an ultimate resource.

But the key to all practical proposals lies in a return to human feelings and sensitivities, to moral values, and to life-regarding procedures as controlling factors in the operation of intelligence. The problems our nation has tried to solve by mechanical weapons alone, operated by a detached and de-moralized mechanical intelligence, have proved insoluble by those means. A great leader would know that the time has come to reinstate the missing human factor and bring forth generously imaginative proposals addressed to mankind's survival and working toward its further development.

STEPS TOWARD DISARMAMENT

by P.M.S. BLACKETT

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Steps toward Disarmament

A British physicist and World War II military operations analyst discusses the problems that underlie the present disarmament negotiations

by P. M. S. Blackett

The representatives of 17 nations—the two main nuclear powers, seven nations allied with one or the other of them, and eight uncommitted nations—have convened at Geneva for the third formal, full-dress attempt since the end of World War II to negotiate disarmament. It must be conceded that the circumstances are not entirely favorable to agreement. During 1961 the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. reversed the trend of nearly a decade and increased their military expenditures by something on the order of 25 per cent. The three-year moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons was terminated by the series of Soviet tests in the fall; on the eve of the Geneva meeting the U.S. announced its intention to move its present series of underground tests into the atmosphere if the U.S.S.R. did not immediately agree to a test ban.

On the other hand, both the Soviet and the Western bloc are committed by categorical public statements to the objective of complete and general disarmament under strict inspection and control. What is more, practical military considerations, arising from the nature of nuclear weapons, commend substantial reduction in armaments to the great powers as a measure that will increase their security in the first step toward disarmament.

In considering possible first steps that would lead to increased security for both sides, partisans of each side should try to understand how the present military situation must look to the other. A military commander, in planning a campaign or a battle, attempts to do this as a matter of course. He has first to find out all he can about the material facts of his opponent's military deployment and secondly to assess the probable intentions of his opponent for its use. This is the process that has been described as "guessing what is happening on the other side of the hill." A similar obligation rests on those who plan a disarmament negotiation. A military planner, it is true, can much more easily put himself mentally in the position of his military opponent than a statesman can think himself into the position of his opposite number, because a statesman must enter imaginatively into the political as well as the military thought processes of his opponent. This is hard to do at a time of acute ideological struggle. It is nonetheless essential that the military and political leaders of both sides do just this. No small part of the present crisis, concerning armaments in general and nuclear weapons in particular, has been due to a tendency in the West to attribute to ideological motives actions by the U.S.S.R. that seem to have been motivated mainly by military considerations. Conversely, much of the West's defense policy appears to have been influenced by political and economic factors.

It may be useful to start by describing the most important elements in the military capabilities of the Soviet bloc and the Western alliance. In recent months there have been significant disclosures about the nuclear weapons and their means of delivery possessed by both sides. On November 12 of last year Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense of the U.S., said that the U.S. nuclear-strike force consists of 1,700 intercontinental bombers, including 630 B-52's, 55 B-58's and 1,000 B-47's. He said that the U.S. possesses in addition several dozen operational intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's), some 80 Polaris missiles in nuclear-powered submarines, about the same number of Thor and Jupiter intermediate-range missiles, some 300 carrier-borne aircraft armed with megaton war heads and nearly 1,000 supersonic land-based fighters with nuclear war heads. According to his deputy, Roswell L. Gilpatric, "the total number of our nuclear delivery vehicles, tactical as well as strategic, is in the tens of thousands, and of course we have more than one war head for each vehicle.... We have a second-strike capability that is at least as extensive as what the Soviets can deliver by striking first, therefore we can be confident that the Soviets will not provoke a major conflict." The U.S. stockpile of nuclear weapons is most often estimated as around 30,000 megatons, that is, enough for some 30,000 one-megaton bombs.

Naturally no such precise figures for Soviet strength are available. I have seen no reliable estimates of the U.S.S.R.'s nuclear stockpile, nor of its possible nu-

clear-armed submarine strength, nor of its nuclear-armed fighter-bomber strength (the last, of course, would not have sufficient range to contribute to the Soviet strike power against the U.S.). But recent semiofficial estimates from Washington give the U.S.S.R. some 50 ICBM's, some 150 intercontinental bombers and some 400 medium-range missiles (the last able to cover Europe but not the U.S.). The same sources indicate that the U.S. may have a small lead over the U.S.S.R. in the number of ICBM's. That such estimates should issue from Washington may seem surprising in view of the role that an alleged "missile gap" played in the 1960 presidential election campaign. That the estimates are realistic, however, is indicated by the statement of Senator Stuart Symington that the U.S. intelligence estimate of the missile force available to the U.S.S.R. at the middle of 1961 was only 3.5 per cent of the number predicted a few years ago. The corresponding estimate of Soviet bomber strength, he revealed, was 19 per cent of the number predicted in 1956 [*see illustrations on page 10*]. Mr. Symington explained that the new figures are predicated on intelligence about Soviet "intentions" as well as "capability" and expressed his own disquiet at "the tentativeness at best of our intelligence estimates." It is one of the purposes of this article to attempt to elucidate some of these Soviet intentions.

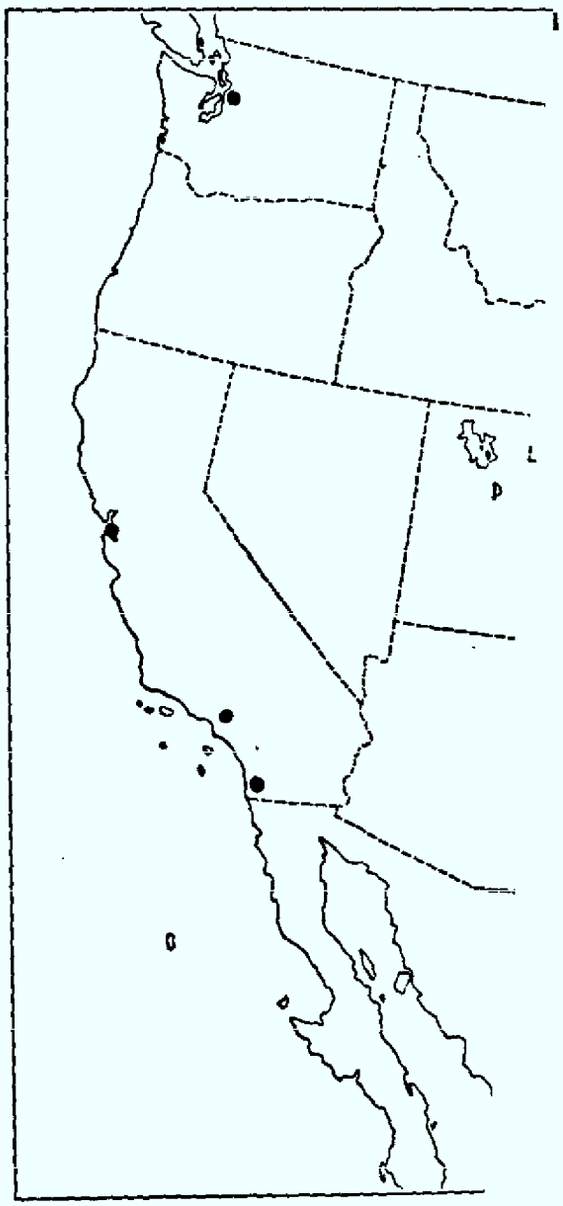
At first sight there appears to be a contradiction between Washington's claim of a marked over-all nuclear superiority and the recent statement by Marshal Rodion Y. Malinovsky, the Soviet Minister of Defense, that the U.S.S.R. has the power to destroy all the important industrial, administrative and political centers of the U.S. and "whole countries that have provided their territories for the siting of American war bases." The explanation may be as follows. To carry out such destruction would require not more than 1,000 megatons of nuclear destructive power, say five megatons for each of 100 key targets in the U.S. and another 500 megatons for Western Europe and U.S. bases overseas. At only 100,000 dead per megaton such an attack would kill 100 million people. The U.S. stockpile, estimated at 30,000 megatons, is 30 times greater than the U.S.S.R. would need to carry out the retaliatory blow described by Malinovsky.

There is, of course, the possibility that the new U.S. estimates of Soviet nuclear strength are too low. After all, firm information about Soviet military preparations is notoriously hard to come by. It seems certain, however, that the U.S. Department of Defense must believe the estimates to be roughly correct. It would be politically disastrous for the Administration to be found guilty of underestimating Soviet nuclear strength. But even assuming that the estimates of the relative strength of the two sides are only approximately correct, they show that the possibility of a rationally planned surprise nuclear attack by the U.S.S.R. on the nuclear delivery system of the West must be quite negligible. The question of why the U.S.S.R. has built such a small nuclear delivery system should perhaps be replaced by the question of why the U.S. has built such an enormous striking capacity.

In order to understand the possible motives behind Soviet defense policy, it is necessary to consider the history of the growth of nuclear-weapon power. During the period of U.S. atomic monopoly or overwhelming numerical superiority, say from 1947 to 1954, the role of the U.S. Strategic Air Command was to attack and destroy Soviet cities in case of war. This countercity policy, like most traditional military doctrines, had both an offensive and a defensive aspect. From the Western viewpoint, under the doctrine of "massive retaliation," this nuclear striking power was seen to be both a deterrent to the possibility of attack by Soviet land forces and, in the extreme "roll back," or "liberation," statement of the doctrine, an offensive weapon to obtain political concessions by threat of its use. By 1954 the threat was implemented by more than 1,000 intercontinental B-47 bombers, plus larger numbers of shorter range vehicles deployed around the U.S.S.R.

From the U.S.S.R.'s point of view, its land forces were the only available counter to the Western nuclear monopoly during this period. The answer to the threat of nuclear attack was the threat of taking over Europe on the ground. In retrospect the military reaction of the U.S.S.R. seems understandable. It started a crash program to produce its own nuclear weapons. It also embarked on a huge air defense program; by 1953 it was credited with an operational fighter strength of some 10,000 aircraft. As Western nuclear strength grew, the U.S.S.R. gradually built up its land forces so as to be able to invade Europe, even after a U.S. nuclear attack. At the political level the U.S.S.R. consolidated its forward military line by the political coup in 1948 in Czechoslovakia and integrated the other satellite countries more closely into the Soviet defense system. Since the main military threat then to the U.S.S.R. was from manned nuclear bombers, the greatest possible depth for air defense was vital. During World War II it was found that the efficacy of a fighter defense system increased steeply with the depth of the defense zone. Finally, the U.S.S.R. maintained strict geographical secrecy over its land area so as to deny target information to the U.S. Strategic Air Command.

The doctrine of massive retaliation became less and less plausible as the



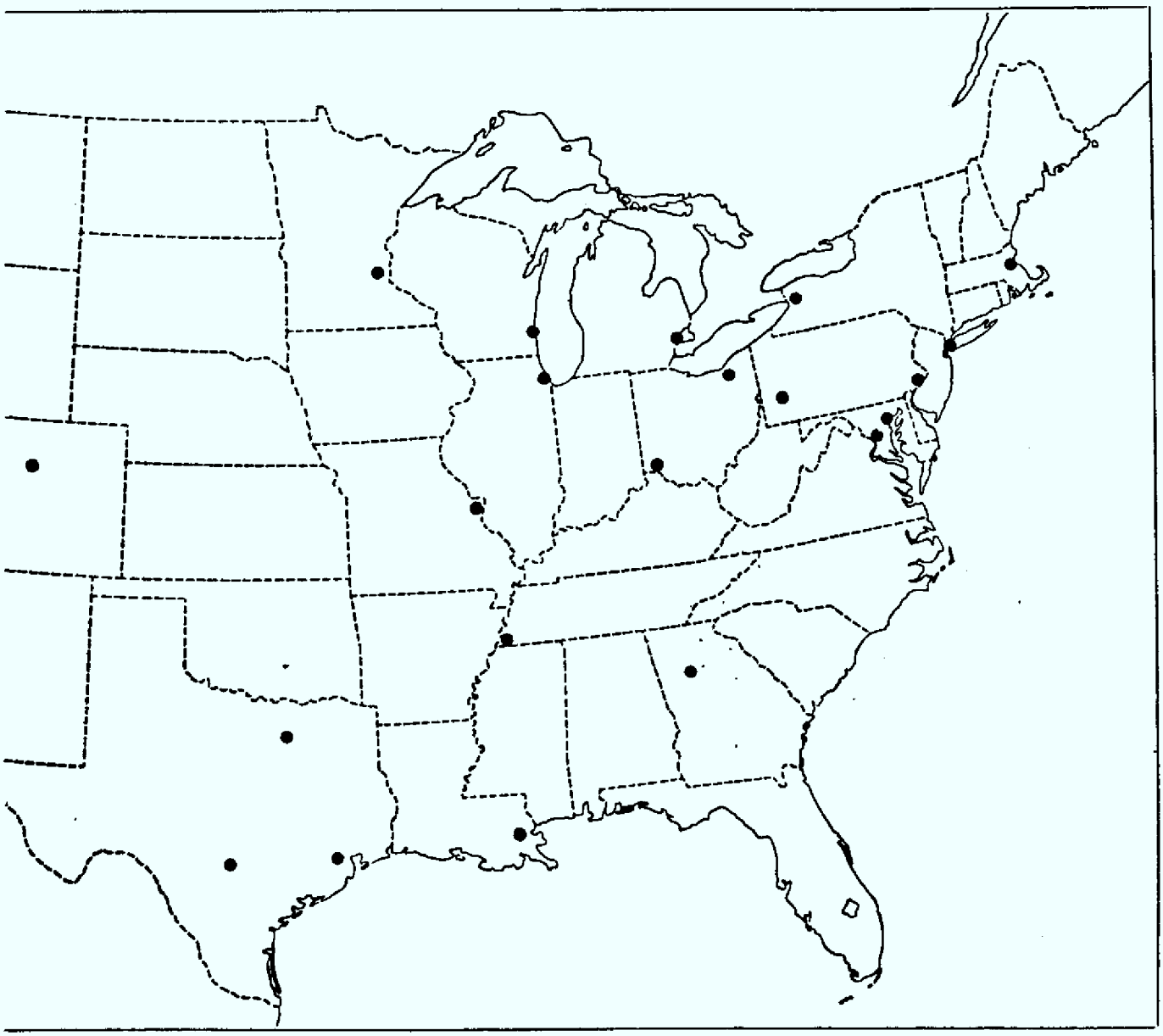
MINIMUM DETERRENT strategy of a nuclear opponent of the U.S. could logically

Soviet nuclear stockpile grew. It had to be abandoned after 1954, when hydrogen bombs became available to both East and West. When the U.S.S.R. proceeded to build up a fleet of long-range bombers to deliver its hydrogen bombs, the U.S. became vulnerable to nuclear counterattack. Some form of nuclear stalemate by balance of terror seemed to have arrived.

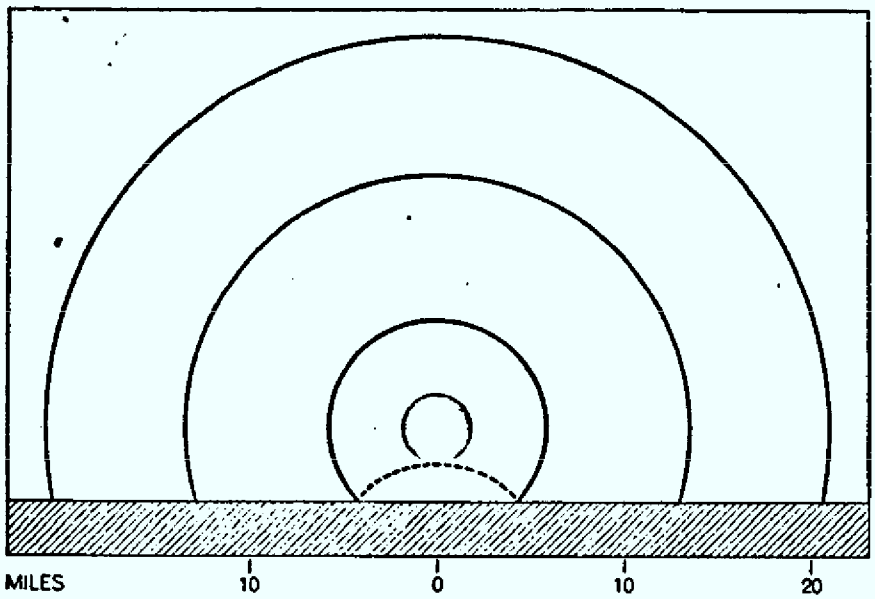
This balance seemed still further strengthened about 1957, when rapid progress in the technology of nuclear weapons and missiles made it possible to carry multimegaton hydrogen bombs in ICBM's. Because such missiles are most difficult, if not impossible, to destroy in flight, a nuclear aggressor would have to leave no enemy missiles undestroyed if it wanted to keep its own major cities from being wiped out by a retaliatory attack. The advent of long-range missiles therefore made the balance of terror more stable.

Two contrasting systems of military theory evolved in response to this new situation. The first led off from the premise that a rather stable kind of military balance had been reached, in which neither side could make use of its strategic nuclear power without ensuring its own destruction. In other words, the balance of terror was likely to be rather stable against rational action, even though the actual nuclear strengths of the two sides were markedly different, as indeed they were in the middle 1950's, when the U.S. was already vastly stronger in over-all deployed nuclear strength. This view rested on the assumption that neither side could hope to knock out the other's nuclear system entirely. Since some power to retaliate would survive attack, a rational government would be nearly as much, if not just as much, deterred from a first strike by the expectation that it would suffer, say, 10 million deatns as it would be if the expectation were 100 million.

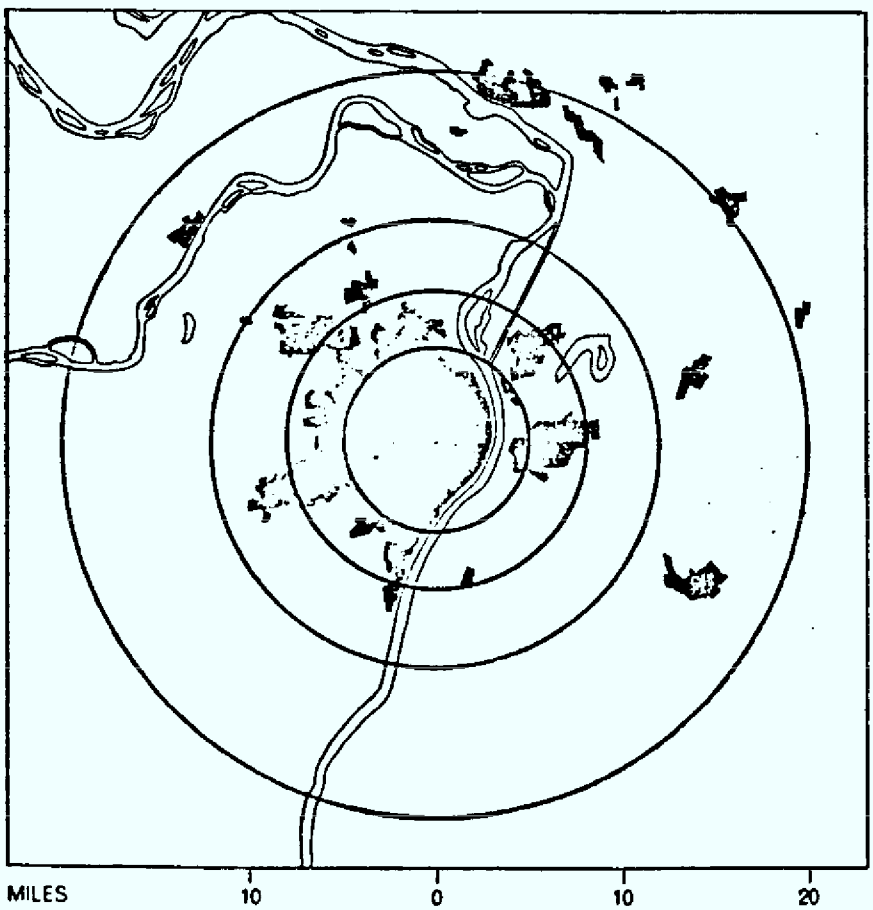
This view led to the practical conclu-



be based on an attack on the U.S. population rather than on U.S. airfields and missile bases. The colored dots on this map represent the 25 largest U.S. cities. In the 1960 census the combined population of the metropolitan areas of these cities was 60.8 million.



AIR BURST of a nuclear bomb would maximize its effects on a city, the most widespread of which would be due to heat. This drawing outlines the effects of a 10-megaton bomb set off at 20,000 feet. At 12 miles (*inner colored circle*) from "ground zero" the fireball, 3.4 miles in diameter, would deliver 30 calories per square centimeter at a rate sufficient to ignite virtually all flammable building materials. At 20 miles (*outer colored circle*) from ground zero the heat would be 12 calories per square centimeter, enough to cause third-degree burns and start many fires. Arc extending upward from ground below the burst is a reflected shock wave that would amplify blast effects of the explosion (*see drawing below*).



RADII OF EFFECTS of a 10-megaton air burst are superimposed on a map of St. Louis and the surrounding area. The two colored circles correspond to the colored circles in the drawing at the top of the page. The black circles concern effects due to blast. At a distance of five miles (*inner black circle*) from ground zero virtually all buildings would be destroyed. At eight miles (*outer black circle*) virtually all wooden buildings would be destroyed.

sion that "enough is enough." In today's jargon this is the policy of the minimum deterrent—that is, the possession of a nuclear force adequate only for a retaliatory attack on enemy cities but incapable of successful attack on the enemy's nuclear delivery system. It is clear that only a small nuclear delivery system is necessary for a minimum deterrent. One big hydrogen bomb dropped on a big city could kill several millions. The small delivery system must, however, be highly invulnerable. Otherwise the enemy might think it possible to bring off a successful "counterforce" first strike, aimed at the destruction of the system. Little operational intelligence is needed for such a minimum deterrent policy because this involves attack on cities, whose locations are known, and does not involve surprise attack on nuclear bases, whose locations therefore do not need to be known.

On the political plane, it was thought, the resulting period of relative stability would be favorable for a serious attempt to negotiate a substantial measure of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional. Far-reaching disarmament was seen to be highly desirable, if only because such a balance of terror is stable solely against rational acts of responsible governments. It is not stable against irresponsible actions of individuals or dissident groups or technical accidents. A few suitably placed individuals—a missile crew or the crew of a nuclear bomber on a routine flight—could kill a few million enemy city dwellers on their own initiative. The best way to reduce this danger is to reduce drastically the number of nuclear weapons on both sides.

The second and quite different doctrine was that the balance of terror was not even stable against rational acts of responsible governments. This was based on the view that a determined nuclear power might be able to launch a surprise counterforce attack on the enemy's nuclear delivery system of such strength that the enemy would not be able to retaliate. The aggressor, without suffering unacceptable casualties, would then have the enemy at its mercy. The practical consequence of this doctrine is to strive for maximum superiority in number of weapons, maximum invulnerability of one's own nuclear delivery system and maximum intelligence about the enemy's nuclear system.

Plainly a successful counterforce attack would require knowledge of the location of all the enemy's nuclear missile and air bases and the power to dispatch

several weapons against each, so as to ensure that at least one reached its target. A counterforce strategy thus implies the necessity for a many-fold nuclear superiority over the enemy. Moreover, to have the slightest chance of success such an attack must come as a complete surprise to the enemy: it must be a first strike. This policy has various pseudonyms: maximum deterrent posture, first-counterforce-strike capability, or, in plain English, preparation for nuclear aggression.

Since the possession of nuclear armament raises the possibility that either side could adopt either one of these strategies, both of them must have been discussed in military circles in Moscow and Washington during the years after the explosion of the first hydrogen bombs in 1954. Let us try to find out how the discussions went by studying what shape the nuclear-defense policies of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. took in the subsequent years.

If the Washington figures for Soviet nuclear strength are valid, it is clear that the U.S.S.R. has planned for a purely retaliatory nuclear role and has definitely not planned for a surprise attack on the U.S. delivery system. As long ago as 1956 the U.S.S.R. was believed to have the capability of making 25 long-range bombers a month. It appears today to have only some 150, compared with the 1,700 U.S. long-range bombers able to reach the U.S.S.R. Even though Soviet medium-range bombers could reach the U.S. on a one-way flight, this is much more than counterbalanced by the 1,500 or so Western fighter bombers, carrier-borne aircraft and medium-range missiles able to reach the U.S.S.R. It is also probable that the U.S.S.R. could have made many more than the 50 or so ICBM's with which it is now credited, since its space program indicates substantial industrial resources for making missiles. The evidence is that the U.S.S.R. has based its safety on the retaliatory power of a small number of missiles and aircraft operating from bases whose exact locations are kept as secret as possible. The deterrent value of its missiles is certainly enhanced by the prestige of its space program.

That the U.S.S.R. believed the danger of a major war, intentionally initiated, had been reduced by the advent of hydrogen bombs seems indicated by the fact that it reduced the total number of men in its armed forces from 5.8 million in 1955 to 3.6 million in 1959. In January, 1960, Premier Khrushchev announced the U.S.S.R.'s intention to reduce this to 2.4 million by the end of 1961. The U.S.S.R. needed fewer troops because it no longer had to rely on a retaliatory land blow in Europe to counter a Western nuclear attack. Its concern about the danger of accidental, irresponsible or escalated war is probably one of the reasons for its strong espousal in 1955 of a drastic measure of comprehensive and general disarmament.

Turning to the history of U.S. defense policy over this period, it is to be noted that the total service manpower fell slowly from 2.9 million in 1955 to 2.6 million in 1960. The development of improved nuclear weapons, missiles and aircraft continued, but not at a great rate, even after the Soviet launching of an artificial satellite in 1957 and much boasting by the U.S.S.R. of its missile prowess. Although subjected to considerable public pressure to engage in a crash program to close the alleged missile gap, President Eisenhower maintained that the existing program was adequate for the safety of the nation. In his last State of the Union Message in January, 1961, he declared: "The 'bomber gap' of several years ago was always a fiction and the 'missile gap' shows every sign of being the same."

As 1954 was the year of the hydrogen bomb, so 1961 was for both sides in the cold war the year of the Great Rearmament. In the U.S.S.R. the decrease of total armed forces to 2.4 million projected for 1961 was deferred and the arms budget was markedly increased. In July the Soviet Government went on the diplomatic offensive to bring about changes in the status of Berlin and to get the division of Germany recognized. In August it began testing nuclear weapons again, in spite of a promise in January, 1960, by Premier Khrushchev that the U.S.S.R. would not be the first to do so. No doubt there were some political motives behind these drastic moves. Possibly heavy pressure was put on Khrushchev from China and from the opposition elements in the U.S.S.R. to admit that his policy of coexistence had not produced political gains commensurate with its possible military risks. But such drastic changes, with the inevitable adverse reaction of much of world opinion, would hardly have been made unless there were strong military reasons for them. To get at these reasons it is necessary to recall in more detail the circumstances in which the changes took place.

In the first place the flights of the U.S. reconnaissance U-2 aircraft must have had decisive importance in shaping the attitudes of Soviet military leaders. Although the over-all nuclear strength of the U.S. is now, and was then, much greater than that of the U.S.S.R., Soviet leaders could reckon that one vital factor would make a U.S. nuclear attack on the U.S.S.R. exceedingly risky: the secrecy as to the location of the Soviet nuclear bases. Obviously one of the main objectives of the U-2 flights was to locate those nuclear bases. The Soviet command knew that the U-2 flights had been going on for some years before the first aircraft was shot down in the spring of 1960; presumably they reacted by greater dispersal and camouflage. What must have disturbed the Soviet military staff was President Eisenhower's justification of the flights as essential for U.S. security. This implied that U.S. security could only be maintained if the U.S. had sufficient information as to the location of Soviet nuclear sites to make possible a successful surprise attack on the Soviet retaliatory force.

If these were the Soviet fears, the rejection by the U.S.S.R. early in 1961 of the British-American draft of a treaty to ban the testing of nuclear weapons finds explanation in the same jealous military concern to protect the country's geographical security. A detailed study of this document makes it clear that the elaborate international inspection system proposed for the prevention of underground tests could conceivably have served to reveal the location of at least some of the Soviet missile sites. It would be hard to convince a military staff officer of any nationality that this possibility was negligible. If the West had been content to monitor only the atmosphere against test violations, a much less comprehensive inspection system would have sufficed and a test-ban treaty might well have been signed. The Soviet fear of inspection may have been the more acute because there was so little in the U.S.S.R. to inspect.

The resumption of testing by the U.S.S.R. in September, 1961, would seem to fall into the same pattern of motivation. Although its timing may have been influenced by the Berlin crisis, which Khrushchev himself brought to a head, the testing of war heads with an explosive force of up to 60 megatons and the simultaneous well-publicized success of putting seven ICBM's on their target in the Pacific at a range of some 7,000 miles was an effective way of reestablishing the U.S.S.R.'s confidence in the few deployed ICBM's that formed its main retaliatory force. Soviet spokesmen

were at pains to promote the credibility of the U.S.S.R.'s deterrent by emphasizing to the U.S. the accuracy of its missiles and the possible power of the war heads demonstrated in these tests.

In the redirection of Soviet military policy considerable weight must also have been carried by the fear that if the NATO rearmament continued, the time could not be far distant when West Germany would get *de facto* control of its own nuclear weapons. In Soviet eyes the refusal of the West to take disarmament seriously at the "Committee of Ten" conference in 1960 was evidently decisive. As early as November, 1960, the Russians stated that if the West continued to temporize on disarmament, the U.S.S.R. would be forced into massive rearmament.

Sometime in the latter half of 1960 or early in 1961 it seems probable that the Soviet military staff began to have doubts as to the adequacy of the minimum deterrent posture in relation to the near-maximum deterrent posture of the U.S. It must have been later than January of 1960, for in that month Khrushchev announced a drastic cutback of both long-range bombers and conventional forces. Since the effectiveness of the Soviet minimum deterrent rested so heavily on geographical secrecy, the U.S.S.R. command may have feared that the U.S., by further air or satellite reconnaissance, or by espionage or defections, would ultimately acquire the intelligence necessary to make a successful nuclear attack on Soviet nuclear bases. Probably the main fear of the Soviet Government was that circumstances might arise in which the U.S. Government would be pushed by irresponsible or fanatical groups into reckless action. The Russians certainly noted the doctrine of some civilian analysts that it would be quite rational to make a "preemptive first strike" even at the cost of 10 million deaths to the attacking side, and the doctrine of others that the U.S. should prepare itself mentally and materially to suffer such casualties.

In the U.S. the program for the Great Rearmament was projected as early as 1959 by the Democratic National Committee. In preparation for the impending presidential election the party leadership published a detailed study of defense problems and recommended a $7 billion increase (16 per cent) in the $43 billion defense budget proposed by President Eisenhower. The funds were to go partly for increased conventional forces and partly to increase the strength and reduce the vulnerability of the U.S. nuclear striking power. In January, 1961, almost immediately after taking office, the Administration authorized an increase of $3 billion and later in the year another $4 billion, thus carrying out the program in full. The present plans include the provision of up to 800 ICBM's of the solid-fuel Minuteman type in underground "hardened" bases by 1965.

The Democratic Party's campaign for increased nuclear armaments was closely linked with the theoretical doctrine of the instability of the balance of terror, derived from the alleged overwhelming advantage accruing to the nuclear aggressor. This was ably argued by civilian analysts closely associated with the U.S. Air Force. The U.S.S.R. was said to have both the capability and the intention to launch a surprise nuclear attack on the U.S. In retrospect, it would seem that these "looking-glass strategists" endowed the U.S.S.R. with a capability that it did not have and that the U.S. had once had and had now lost.

That the Soviet military staff had reason to take this element in U.S. opinion seriously may be judged by the fact that President Kennedy himself found it necessary to launch in the fall of 1961 a vigorous campaign against all those in the U.S. who urge "total war and total victory over communism... who seek to find an American solution for all problems"—against those who were living in the long-past era of the U.S. nuclear monopoly. In this campaign President Kennedy has been vigorously supported by ex-President Eisenhower. Very possibly the U.S.S.R. may have overestimated the potential influence of the proponents of aggressive nuclear strategy and the ultra-right-wing groups that yearn "to get it over with." Nonetheless, the fact that both Kennedy and Eisenhower have felt it necessary to combat them must also imply that the Soviet military planners could not afford to ignore their existence.

The Kennedy Administration's recent vigorous emphasis on the overwhelming nuclear superiority of the U.S. over the U.S.S.R., and the assertion that the U.S. possesses a second strike that is as strong as the Soviet first strike might perhaps be held in the U.S.S.R. to suggest a move by the U.S. Administration toward a preventive war posture. Undoubtedly the exact reverse is the case. The Administration's statements are designed to bury officially the fear of a Soviet first strike, sedulously propagated by those who believe that the U.S.S.R. has plan[illegible] for, and in fact now has, a first-counterforce capability, and so at a time of crisis might use it. If this were in truth the situation, the argument that the U.S. must forestall the Soviet blow might seem strong. The Kennedy Administration evidently foresaw this danger arising and effectively removed it by denying that the U.S.S.R. has ever had an effective first-strike capacity; thus there would be no reason for a forestalling blow in a crisis. The President, by emphasizing U.S. nuclear superiority over the U.S.S.R., has forestalled the potential forestallers, or, in the current jargon, has pre-empted the potential pre-empters. At the same time he has refuted many of the arguments on which the Democratic Party based much of its election campaign, and indeed many of the arguments for his own present rearmament program.

It is, for instance, hard to see the military justification for the program of up to 800 Minuteman ICBM's in the next few years. If these are, as claimed, reasonably invulnerable, this number is at least 10 times larger than is necessary for an effective retaliatory force to attack Soviet cities.

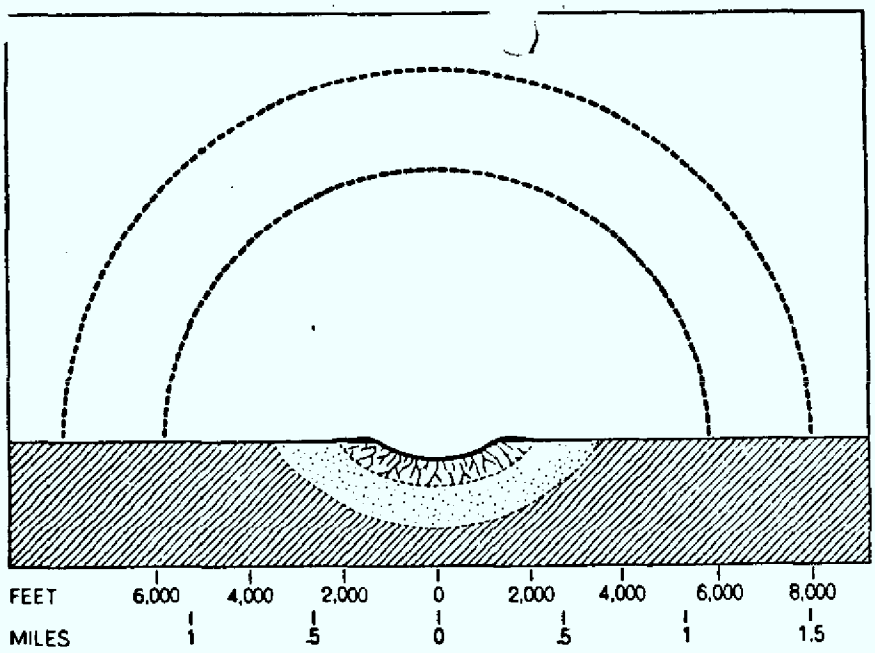
The only military circumstance that could justify such a continuous build-up of nuclear striking force would be that the other party could adequately protect its cities or succeed in perfecting an antimissile defense system. Recently Soviet generals have boasted that "the complex and important problems of destroying enemy rockets in flight have been solved." This must refer to the scientific and technical problems; these have also been solved in the U.S. A complete antimissile defense system that is of any operational significance certainly does not exist today and, in my view, will not exist in the foreseeable future. Suppose, however, that I am wrong and that a system can eventually be constructed capable of destroying, say, 50 per cent of a retaliatory missile attack by 50 ICBM's, so reducing the number reaching the target to 25. Even this reduced blow would kill tens of millions of people. Moreover, it would only be necessary to increase the strength of the retaliatory force from 50 to 100 missiles to cancel out the antimissile missile. This illustrates the general conclusion that since a purely retaliatory nuclear force can be quite small, any possible defense system, either active or passive, can be canceled out by a small number of additional missiles. The fact that a purely retaliatory posture is little affected by technological innovation, whereas a

counterforce posture is very much affected, may prove a vital factor in disarmament negotiations.

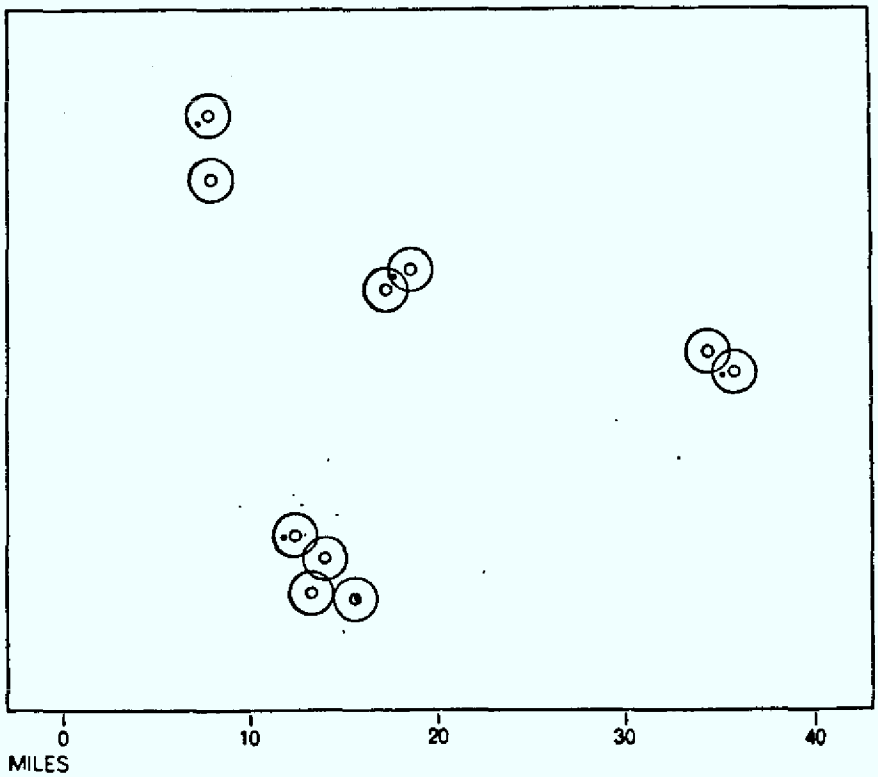
It cannot be seriously believed now that the U.S.S.R. has either the capability or the intention of making an all-out attack on U.S. missile sites and bomber bases. Much genuine alarm in the West might have been allayed if the U.S.S.R. had been more successful in making clearer its disbelief in the military possibility of a successful first-counterforce strike and its intention not to plan for such a possibility. After the brutality of Soviet action in Hungary in 1956 and the technological triumph of the artificial satellite the following year, there may have been legitimate grounds in the West for fearing that the U.S.S.R. might adopt the Western policy of massive retaliation, which, against a nuclear power, requires a counterforce capability. In January, 1960, however, Khrushchev explicitly declared the Soviet commitment to a purely retaliatory strategy. The Soviet second-strike force was strong enough, he said, "to wipe the country or countries which attack us off the face of the earth." To his own rhetorical question, "Will they not, possibly, show perfidy and attack us first . . . and thus have an advantage to achieve victory?" he replied: "No. Contemporary means of waging war do not give any country such advantages." In addition to freeing resources for capital development, the Soviet minimum-deterrent strategy has avoided the greatest military danger: that the U.S. might attack the U.S.S.R. because of a belief that the U.S.S.R. was about to attack the U.S.

If the analysis given here is approximately correct, what are the prospects of progress toward disarmament at the present meeting in Geneva? Both blocs are fully committed by official pronouncements to the goal of complete and general disarmament under strict control and inspection—notably by the British Commonwealth Prime Ministers' statement in the spring of 1961, by President Kennedy's speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations and by the Soviet-American Joint Statement of Principles, both in September of 1961. Moreover, both sides are committed to attempting to work out first steps of the disarmament process that do not impair the present strategic balance.

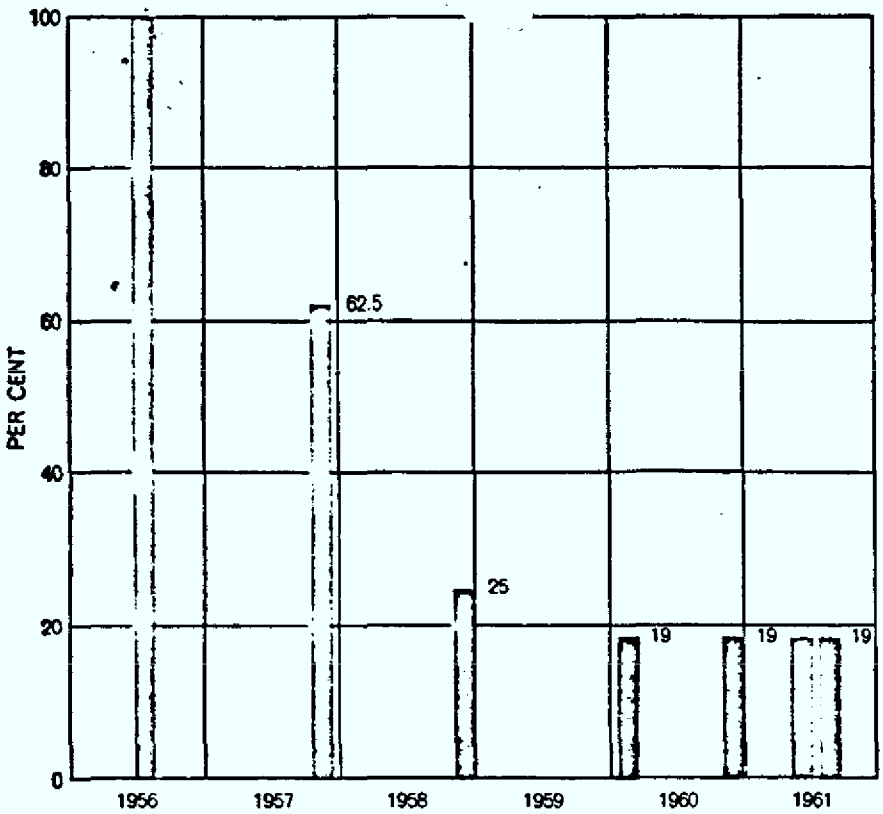
Clearly, conventional and nuclear disarmament must go in parallel. The fear of the West of Soviet superiority in trained and deployed land forces must be met by a drastic reduction during the



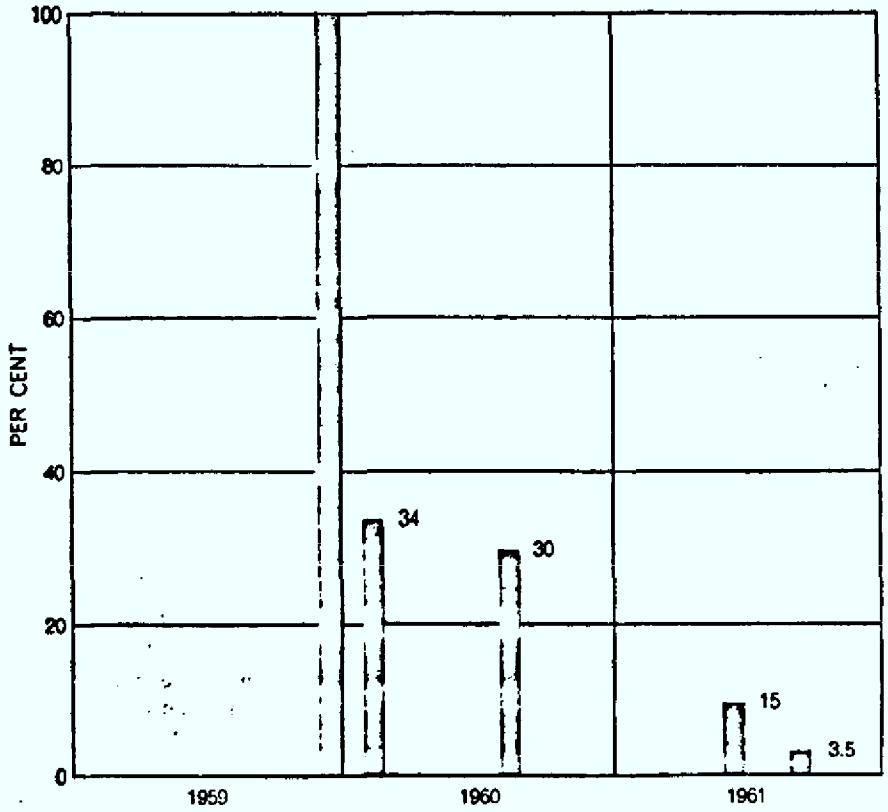
GROUND BURST of a nuclear bomb would be required to neutralize a "hardened" (i.e., buried) missile site. Diameter of the crater dug by a 10-megaton ground burst in dry soil would be 2,600 feet; the depth of the crater would be 250 feet. Radius of the underground "plastic zone" (*outer line below ground*) would be 3,250 feet; the radius of the "rupture zone" (*inner line below ground*) would be 2,000 feet. At a distance of 1.1 miles from ground zero the blast would exert an air pressure of some 300 pounds per square inch (*inner circle above ground*); at a distance of 1.5 miles (*outer circle above ground*), 100 pounds per square inch.



PATTERN OF GROUND BURSTS would be required to neutralize a dispersed group of hardened missile sites. In this schematic drawing a "circle of probable error" of one mile is assumed for each of the attacking missiles; this implies that at least two missiles would be directed at each of the sites. There are five sites, represented by dots. The smaller of each of the 10 pairs of concentric circles represents the 2,600-foot diameter of a 10-megaton bomb crater; the larger of the circles, the 1.1-mile radius at which the air pressure is 300 pounds per square inch. The total weight of the attack on the five bases is 100 megatons. The scale of the drawing is the same as that of the map of St. Louis at the bottom of page 6.



U.S. ESTIMATE OF SOVIET HEAVY-BOMBER STRENGTH by the middle of 1961, according to an article by Senator Stuart Symington in *The Reporter*, decreased by 81 per cent between August, 1956 (*bar at left*), and August, 1961 (*right*). Senator Symington's figures were given in percentages, rather than absolute numbers, for security reasons.



U.S. ESTIMATE OF SOVIET OPERATIONAL ICBM STRENGTH similarly decreased, according to Senator Symington, by 96.5 per cent between December, 1959, and September, 1961.

first sta[illegible] low levels such as those suggested by the Anglo-French memorandum of 1954: one million or at most 1.5 million men each for the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and China. When the correspondingly limited contributions to the land forces of NATO from Great Britain, France and West Germany are taken into account, the armies of the Soviet bloc would not have the capability of overrunning Europe in a surprise land attack.

The number of nuclear weapons in existence on both sides, their explosive power and the diversity of the delivery systems are so overwhelming that no small step in nuclear disarmament can have much significance. In a situation in which the U.S. has 10,000 delivery vehicles and a stockpile of 30,000 megatons of explosive (which is said to be increasing at the fastest rate in its history), a first disarmament step involving only a small percentage reduction is not worth negotiating. To justify the labor of negotiating any agreed reduction, and to offset the undoubted strains and disputes that will inevitably arise from the operation of any inspection and control system, the negotiated reduction must be a major one; in fact, of such magnitude as to change qualitatively the nature of the relative nuclear postures of the two giant powers.

The simplest big first step, and the one most consistent with realistic military considerations, is that both giant powers should reduce their nuclear forces to a very low and purely retaliatory role. That is, each should retain only enough invulnerable long-range vehicles to attack the other's cities if it is itself attacked, say less than 100 ICBM's with one-megaton war heads. This is still an enormous force, capable of killing tens of millions of people. A reduction to a level of 20 ICBM's or less would be much preferable. Such a reduction would at once prevent nuclear weapons from being used by sane governments as weapons of aggression or coercion. It would not, of course, prevent them from being used by irresponsible groups who do not calculate the cost. It is only at a later stage in disarmament, when nuclear weapons are completely destroyed, that this danger will be excluded. It has always been clear that the ever present danger of accidental or irresponsible war is a cogent reason for big and rapid steps in the disarmament process.

Detailed studies are needed of possible ways in which both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. could take such an impor-

tant first step without upsetting the present strategic balance. A major problem is how to phase the building up of a system of general inspection while at the same time making a drastic reduction in nuclear delivery systems by their actual destruction under international verification. Taking military considerations only into account, I believe that a procedure acceptable to both blocs could be devised.

The difference hitherto between the proposed Western and Soviet first steps in relation to nuclear weapons has been often simplified to the statement that the U.S.S.R. wants disarmament without control and the West wants control without disarmament. It would be more accurate to say that the clash is on the phasing of the stages of disarmament and the stages of control.

In its 1960 proposals the U.S.S.R. suggested that, in the first step, international teams should be dispatched to inspect the destruction of all rocket weapons, military aircraft and other carriers of nuclear weapons. It did not propose the inspection or control of those that remain waiting to be destroyed. Full inspection of a country was to be undertaken only when all weapons had been destroyed. It is clear that the U.S.S.R.'s first steps of disarmament are consistent with its presumed military policy of relying for its safety from nuclear attack on a relatively small force of purely retaliatory nuclear weapons in secret sites.

On the other hand, the U.S. proposals in 1960 envisaged widespread inspection in the first stages and no actual disarmament until the second stage. This proposal might make military sense if put by a weak nuclear power to a much stronger one. But when put by a strong power to a weaker one, rejection must have been expected. If the U.S.S.R. had accepted the proposal, the geographical secrecy of its nuclear sites would have been lost and it would have been vulnerable to nuclear attack from the much stronger West.

Any realistic first stage must start from the fact that the present nuclear balance, such as it is, has a highly asymmetric character: the West's much greater nuclear power is balanced by Soviet geographical secrecy. Since the military balance is asymmetric, so must be any mutually acceptable first step. Concessions must be made by both sides and these must be based on the realities of the military postures of the two blocs.

The U.S.S.R. should accept general inspection not, as in their proposals hitherto, when disarmament is complete but at some intermediate stage on the road to disarmament. Reciprocally, the West should not demand widespread inspection before any disarmament has taken place, as it has done hitherto, but only after substantial destruction of nuclear armaments has taken place under international verification.

In the first stage, therefore, all parties might supply to one another a list of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, together with research and production facilities. The exact location of sites would not be included at this stage. An agreed number of weapons would then be destroyed and their destruction would be verified by on-site inspection by the international control organization. When this destruction has been verified, a general inspection, using some sampling technique, would begin. The object would then be to verify the correctness of the original declared inventories by checking the numbers remaining after the agreed reductions had been verified, and to proceed to the elimination of the armament remaining.

A word must be said about the place of a test-ban agreement in the stages of a disarmament plan. If this agreement did not involve a type of inspection that might reveal the Soviet nuclear sites, it would be advantageous for it to be included in the first stage, or preferably agreed to at once. If, however, it involved widespread inspection that might reveal these sites, Soviet military planners would certainly advise its rejection. It would then have to wait for the second stage of disarmament, when general inspection starts after the destruction of agreed numbers of nuclear weapons in the first stage.

Some such compromise between Western and Soviet proposals would seem to meet many of the reciprocal criticisms made by the two parties of their respective 1960 proposals without compromising the military security of either. The problem becomes more difficult, however, when nonmilitary considerations are taken into account. Since nonmilitary considerations have played a major role in shaping the defense policies of the great powers, they must inevitably also affect their disarmament policies. For example, if it is difficult to find legitimate military reasons for the vast number of U.S. nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, it is clear that military arguments alone are not likely to be dominant in U.S. discussion of a possible drastic first step toward nuclear disarmament. This is widely admitted in the U.S., where the impediments to disarmament are being seen more and more as economic, political and emotional in origin rather than as based on operational military considerations. A vital aspect of the problem for the U.S. is the effect that drastic disarmament steps would have not only on the economy as a whole but also on those special sections of high-grade, science-based and highly localized industries that are now so overwhelmingly involved in defense work. A valuable step would be for both the U.S. and Soviet governments to produce and publish detailed and politically realistic economic plans for the transition to a purely retaliatory capacity.

It is fair to conclude that a realistic military basis for an agreed drastic first step in disarmament may not be impossible to find. The urgency of the situation was declared with eloquence by President Kennedy in his speech to the United Nations in September:

"Today, every inhabitant of this planet must contemplate the day when this planet may no longer be habitable. Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident or miscalculation or by madness.... The risks inherent in disarmament pale in comparison to the risks inherent in an unlimited arms race."

This great goal of disarmament will be achieved only if the real nature of the arguments against disarmament are clearly identified and frankly faced. The problems of disarmament must not be obscured, as they sometimes have been in the past, by ingenious but fallacious military doctrine applied to false intelligence estimates.

The growing power of China, and the evidence of an ideological rift between it and Russia, provide an added reason for urgency in the drive for disarmament. The U.S.S.R. and the U.S. will be wise to limit drastically their nuclear arms before China becomes a major nuclear power. It is to be observed that whatever influence China may now be exerting on the U.S.S.R. to adopt a harder policy with the West certainly arises in part from the failure of Premier Khrushchev's campaign for disarmament. This failure greatly weakens Khrushchev's argument for the feasibility of peaceful coexistence of the Soviet and the Western worlds. It would seem urgently necessary to attempt to bring China into the disarmament negotiations as soon as possible.

The Author

P. M. S. BLACKETT, professor of physics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology of the University of London since 1953, is distinguished both as a physicist and as an adviser to the British Government on military and scientific policy. A graduate of the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of the Royal Society, he won the Nobel prize in physics in 1948. He went into physics from the Royal Navy, a graduate of the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth and a veteran of the Battle of Jutland. From 1934 to the beginning of World War II Blackett served on the Aeronautical Research Committee headed by Sir Henry Tizard, which developed Britain's radar defense system; his work during the war was instrumental in defeating the German submarine campaign. Since the war he has played a leading role in public discussion of military questions; his writings include *Atomic Weapons and East-West Relations*, published by Cambridge University Press in 1956. Portions of the present article appeared in the *New Statesman* for March 2, 1962.

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4

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO : Director, FBI DATE: 11/10/64

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[redacted]

[redacted], [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished to SA [redacted] the Fall 1964 issue of "Quaker Service," a bulletin of the American Friends Service Committee. This issue has an article captioned, "Former Staff Serve In Government," which is being quoted herein for the information of the Bureau:

> "Many Persons who have served with the American Friends Service Committee have gone on to positions of service with other organizations both private and governmental.
>
> "It is significant to note the names of several of our former staff who are now or have in recent years served in important positions with agencies of the federal government.
>
> "WILLIAM E. SIMKIN, who directed AFSC rehabilitation work with West Virginia coal miners in the

"1930's, has for a number of years been director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

"HOWARD WRIGGINS, who served with AFSC programs of relief to Spanish Civil War refugees in the early 1940's, later represented the Service Committee at the United Nations and took part in the Arab refugee relief program in Palestine. He is now a member of the Policy Planning Council of the Department of State.

"JOHN YOSHINO, who directed our Chicago job opportunity program, 1954 through 1956, is now deputy field director of Field Services for the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, according to our latest information.

"JACQUES WILMORE, deputy director of the Peace Corps in Nigeria in 1963, formerly held positions with the Service Committee in the early 1950's. His responsibilities included director of the Job Opportunities Program and assistant secretary for Community Relations.

"WILLIAM DELANO, who served with the AFSC in Germany, 1948 through 1950, was general counsel for the Peace Corps before leaving to become secretary general of the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service.

"Co-director of our village development program in Turan, Israel, from 1953 through 1955, WILLIAM E. MINER is, according to our latest information, community development advisor for the Agency for International Development (AID) in Kenya.

"ELMORE JACKSON left the Service Committee in 1961 to accept the position of Special Assistant for United Nations Planning to the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizational Affairs.

"He had served with the Committee ar various intervals over a period of 25 years. His responsibilities included work camp secretary, personnel secretary, assistant executive secretary, director of Quaker House and AFSC representative to the United Nations, AFSC representative to the Arab Middle East, and associate executive secretary and director of the Quaker Program at the United Nations."

402

UNI') STATES DEPARTMENT OF JU ICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

November 12, 1964

WASHINGTON PEACE CENTER

About twelve members of the Washington Peace Center will be "vigiling" at the White House from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. on November 13, 1964. This demonstration will be conducted by the Washington Peace Center in sympathy with the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA). Those participating in this demonstration will be carrying signs which will indicate sympathy on the part of the Washington Peace Center for the CNVA.

The Washington Peace Center and the Committee for Non-Violent Action are pacifist type of organizations. The letterhead of the Washington Peace Center in a letter dated May 19, 1964, contained the following:

> "A local agency cooperating with the American Friends Service Committee - Quakers."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

December 16, 1964

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC)

A source on December 1, 1964, furnished the following report on the appearance of ARNOLD JOHNSON, Staff Member, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), at Philadelphia, Pa., on November 21, 1964, where he spoke at the "Saturday Opinion Forum" for high school students in the Philadelphia area, held at Friends Select School, 17th and Parkway, Philadelphia, Pa., at a cost of $1.50 per person:

I. Background

On November 21, 1964, ARNOLD JOHNSON spoke before a group of students on the topic of peaceful coexistence. The speech came as part of a program, "Communism - Principle and Practice," which was one of a number of Saturday Opinion Forums sponsored by the Friends Peace Committee and the American Friends Service Committee. Mr. JOHNSON was debating the question of "Resolved - that the United States of America cannot peacefully coexist with Communism" with Mr. THOMAS WOOD, JR. Mr. JOHNSON took the negative side in the debate. PA.

II. The Speech Itself

Mr. JOHNSON opened the speech with the expressed desire to "clear up some basic misconceptions" about the American Communist Party:

403

ENCLOSURE

(a) The American Communist Party does not now represent and has never represented any other political party or any other country;

(b) The Party does not now advocate and has never advocated the violent overthrow of the United States Government;

(c) Capitalism cannot be equated with democracy, nor is Capitalism in the interests of the United States. Mr. JOHNSON said that, for those reasons, he is a Socialist.

According to Mr. JOHNSON, the United States can and must coexist with the Communist nations. He said that peaceful coexistence represents for the first time in modern history the prospect of world-wide peace. Before 1917 (the date of the Russian Revolution), Mr. JOHNSON explained, war was the policy of the Capitalist governments when they could not achieve their aims by any other means. Their reasoning, he said, was of this order: "War is not only inevitable, but necessary." Communists, however, he stated, do not believe this. Since the Russian Revolution of 1917, the system of Socialism has existed in the world and has presented the peoples of the world with an alternative to Capitalism and, thus, an alternative to war, according to Mr. JOHNSON. From the Socialist conception of ownership of the workers, etc., and, therefore, no desire to expand markets, engage in international competition, etc., there arises the concept of peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence, according to Mr. JOHNSON, means the absence of wars of competition, which are the inevitable outgrowth of Capitalism and the Capitalist State.

Diametrically opposed to the wars of Capitalist competition, however, said Mr. JOHNSON, are wars of defense and liberation (the latter may be termed "People's Wars"). The position of the Socialist nations toward such wars is twofold, according to JOHNSON:

(a) Such wars are generally supported because they are in the interests of the people;

(b) However, the advent of thermonuclear weapons introduces a new element into the world picture - peaceful coexistence becomes the policy not only for the Socialist countries but for the whole world. In Mr. JOHNSON's words, "It is a question of coexistence or no existence."

Mr. JOHNSON said that the Socialist countries feel that it is necessary to be scientifically honest about problems. This implies taking into account all factors having an influence on the problem in question. Thus, since 650 A.D., there have been 1,657 arms races and balances of power (Mr. JOHNSON's figures). Of these, 1,649, or fully 99 per cent, have resulted in war. According to Mr. JOHNSON, the conclusion reached by the Socialist nations from such figures is that arms races and balances of power inevitably "flirt with war."

Thermonuclear war, Mr. JOHNSON said, "is not a war between soldiers," but rather "a war which spreads to the peoples of the nations involved, a war with you and me." There is continually the possibility of extinction, he said, of the whole human race.

Mr. JOHNSON said that there are many things possible within peaceful coexistence. He said that among these were peaceful negotiations between nations and the ultimate ideal and goal of all peace-loving nations, general and complete disarmament. He said that peaceful coexistence is not up to the governments alone, but that the peoples of the nations of the world must show their willingness to achieve such a goal. Peaceful coexistence, he said, does not eliminate struggle. Rather, it opens new areas for struggle and encourages such struggles as those for social advance, liberation, and peaceful competition among the peoples of the world. There is always a struggle for ideas, even within an ideological system, JOHNSON said.

He said that Socialism will win in the struggle with democracy. Indeed, he said, Socialism is more in the interests of the United States than is democracy. "Let's examine it thoroughly and determine what is in the interests of our country," JOHNSON said. His conclusion was that peaceful coexistence is most assuredly in the interests of the United States in this age of thermonuclear weapons.

III. Rebuttal

Following Mr. WOOD's remarks, Mr. JOHNSON said that Mr. WOOD had misrepresented Communism, but that even those who believe the "slanders and misrepresentations" must believe in peaceful coexistence. He said that peaceful coexistence does not require the belief that Communism will win out, as Mr. WOOD had stated.

In response to Mr. WOOD's statement that only a minority of Russia's population belongs to the Communist Party, Mr. JOHNSON said that more than 70 per cent of the United States is opposed to the current government. "Clean up America first," was his comment.

In a continuation of his earlier statement in the rebuttal, Mr. JOHNSON refuted Mr. WOOD's remark that the Communist concept of peaceful coexistence really meant "Surrender - or be destroyed!" Mr. JOHNSON said, "All I said was, 'Coexistence or no existence.'" He said that the current buildup for war is a buildup for disaster.

Mr. JOHNSON amplified his earlier remarks on the scientific approach to world problems. He said that there is continual struggle within nature and, "in nature, so in life." He said, "All things in nature are related to all things in society."

He said that peaceful coexistence can be real, because for the first time there are Capitalist countries, Socialist countries, and "so-called neutral countries." Peaceful coexistence in in the interests not only of the

Socialist countries, but of the Capitalist countries as well.

According to Mr. JOHNSON, this country must remain at peace and advocate a policy of peace. We must engage in peaceful competition with the Socialist countries.

IV. Questions and Answers

Mr. JOHNSON was asked about the position of the Communist Party toward religion. His reply was that the Party felt that a man's religion "was his own business." He then went on to say that Communists have as high a view, if not higher, than anyone else. He quoted the remark, for which he gave no source, that "Communists are stronger Christians than Christians."

He was asked how he reconciled his Bachelor of Divinity Degree from Union Theological Seminary with his statement that he was a materialistic atheist. He said that after he took the Degree, he went into unemployment relief work during the depression and was forced to re-examine those views.

He was asked how it was possible to peacefully coexist with a nation, one of whose leaders had said, "We will bury you," and with China, the most aggressive nation in the world today. He stated in reply that the expression on Mr. KHRUSHCHEV's part was of the same order as the baseball fan's "Kill the ump!" As to China, he said that she has an entirely different concept of peaceful coexistence.

The question was asked, "Mary Healy...has said that one of the aims of Communism is to see that the worker receives most of the profit. How can you reconcile this with the Soviet Union, whose standard of living is so much lower than our own?" According to Mr. JOHNSON, Miss HEALY's statement is an unusual way of stating the basic Communist concept of the ownership of the means of production and distribution. As to the second part

of the question, he said that while it is true that the United States has a higher standard of living, there are more poor people here. Two-fifths of the population of the United States - 77,000,000 people - live in substandard conditions, he said, adding, "These are not my figures." He ascribed the poverty to Capitalism, stating that under Socialism, with peaceful competition among the workers, the Soviet Union has advanced amazingly since 1917. "This country has grown fat on war," he declared. We should grant peaceful coexistence and let the countries of the world compete peaceably, he said.

To the question of why there is anti-Semitism in the USSR, Mr. JOHNSON replied that anti-Semitism is against the law. He said that the old society cannot be completely uprooted by a "People's Revolution," and that some vestiges of it still remain; thus, some Soviet people are still anti-Semitic. He commented parenthetically that those of us who are white have not done nearly enough to erase racism in this country.

In response to another question, Mr. JOHNSON said that no country today has true Communism. Socialism, yes, he said, but not Communism. Communism implies a social attitude and discipline on the part of the people. This must come from within the nation, he said. He added that peaceful coexistence would lay the groundwork for this attitude.

When asked if it was necessary for the Communist nations to take over the world in order to achieve true Communism, Mr. JOHNSON replied that it was not necessary.

He was asked about the treatment of the Tibetans by the Chinese, and replied that it was not necessarily genocide, as it had been termed, but rather the logical result of the age-long will of the Tibetan people to be a part of China.

He was asked about the difference between the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R.

His reply was that there has been on international tie since the dissolution of the Third International, but that the CPUSA would like to see such ties reinstated. There has been a great deal of debate on this matter and still is, he said.

When asked about the limitations placed upon artists in the Soviet Union, he replied that the freedom of the artist is relative. The artist is a Socialist country has a certain social responsibility; his talent must be used for a social purpose. This is not the case in the United States, he said, because if "society cannot convince, it cannot impose." He said that the freedom of the artist is gaining in the USSR, losing over here, although the barriers to truly free art are gradually dropping over here.

A second source advised on January 13, 1964, that ARNOLD JOHNSON was National Legislative Director, CPUSA.

The first source also stated that THOMAS WOOD, JR., a member of the Board of Directors of the Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System and a lecturer on the challenge of Communism to democracy, debated with JOHNSON and was effective in discrediting JOHNSON to a great extent.

The first source furnished on December 1, 1964, a mimeographed sheet headed "Saturday Opinion Forums, Planned and Sponsored by The American Friends Service Committee, Inc., and The Friends Peace Committee; COMMUNISM: PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE, Saturday, November 21, 1964," which stated in part as follows:

Is coexistence possible with Communism? What are the conflicts between "our way" and "their way"? Can they be reconciled if they exist? Peacefully? Or must change come first - in ideology, in foreign policy politics, in economic development, or in all of these?

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Communism is a topic we all have strong feelings and opinions about, but more often than not we find our convictions lodged in emotion rather than knowledge. Fear of Communism we see expressed daily in the papers on United States internal and external affairs. What is the "real" nature of Communism we wonder, and how best do we deal with it? These are only a few questions, a few problems that the "spectre" of Communism stimulates. You have others, as do our foreign policy experts, our teachers. Bring them with you to our Forum where you will have a chance to listen to and discuss with specialists and peers with conflicting ideas.

We are sending you the enclosed study material so everyone attending will have some common base for discussions. Some have been recommended by the resource leaders. It includes conflicting views and interpretations of certain facts, so read it critically.

Dr. Charels Malik, "Is it too late to win against Communism?"
A reprint of a 1960 speech by a former President of the UN General Assembly from Lebanon arguing the West is losing in the struggle against Communism, that we must change our approach and attitudes toward the nature of the conflict.

Fred Warner Neal, "Soviet Ideology."
Views the Soviet claim that the United States "will fall" not as a result of Soviet aggression but from inevitable capitalistic internal decay, and that Soviet foreign policy and Soviet relations must be understood in this light.

The Worker.
The official organ of the Communist Party, USA. This pre-election issue furnishes much information about the Party's political interests.

Dorothy Healey, "A Communist Talks to Students."
This pamphlet gives a brief summary of a Communist view. Being brief it is necessarily superficial. Try to formulate questions about things it says which you think are wrong or over-simplified or brush over important facts.

[redacted]

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

William Ebenstein, "What is Marxism?"
An attempt to state, in objective terms, the political and economic thought of KARL MARX; this has been done largely because the amount of such material is almost non-existent.

Zbigniew Brezezinski, "Victory of the Clerks."
A thoughtful and penetrating analysis of the causes of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV's ouster and what it will mean for the future of Communism.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist publication.

This item also set forth a schedule for the forum on November 21, 1964, which noted that in addition to the debate between ARNOLD JOHNSON and THOMAS WOOD, JR., in the morning, MARTIN OPPENHEIMER was to give a presentation and lead a discussion in "The Differences Between Capitalism and Communism in Theory and Practice" in the afternoon. The source did not attend this session.

Characterizations of the YSL and the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL are attached to this memorandum.

A fifth source advised that the Friends Peace Committee is an adjunct of the Philadelphia yearly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends ("Quakers") and seeks peaceful and nonviolent solutions to racial and world tensions. [redacted] the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

APPENDIX

CHARACTERIZATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONS

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH, YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

On October 26, 1956, a confidential source advised that the Young Socialist League (YSL) had recently formed a branch of the National YSL in Philadelphia, which branch held its first meeting in Philadelphia on October 7, 1956. On June 25, 1958, this source advised that the YSL still maintains a branch in Philadelphia.

This source on October 8, 1958, advised that the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL in September 1958 had disbanded and merged with the Philadelphia Branch of the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL). The YPSL is publicly known as the Youth Affiliate of the Socialist Party, Socialist Democratic Federation.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOCIALIST PARTY - SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION (SP-SDF) and its affiliated youth group, Young People's Socialist League (YPSL)

The Independent Socialist League (ISL), formerly designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450, and the Young Socialist League (YSL), dissolved and disbanded in 1958.

The Philadelphia Branch of the ISL and the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL also disbanded in December 1958.

Many persons who formerly had been members of the ISL and the YSL joined the SP-SDF and its affiliated youth group, the YPSL.

The SP-SDF and the YPSL have not been designated by the Attorney General of the United States and are not known to be controlled or dominated by any subversive organization.

The ISL and YSL are characterized separately.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)

The March 1, 1954, issue of the "Young Socialist Challenge," published as page three of "Labor Action," an official publication of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), contained an article concerning the creation of the YSL, which pointed out that at a unity conference occurring February 12-14, 1954, at Labor Action Hall, New York, N. Y., a merger occurred between the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) and the Socialist Youth League (SYL). The new organization was named the YSL.

On April 9, 1956, another confidential informant advised as follows:

The YSL has frequently worked in close sympathetic cooperation with the ISL toward similar objectives, although each major issue given mutual consideration is decided upon by these organizations individually. The YSL serves as an apprenticeship for the ISL, but ISL selection of members from YSL ranks is made on an individual and personal basis. In many instances YSL members are also members of the ISL.

The YSL and ISL utilize the same printing house in New York City and the YSL publication is printed as an insert in "Labor Action." Frequently, lecturers before the YSL are ISL members.

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

YSL continued:

The September 22, 1958, issue of "Young Socialist Challenge," which appeared as page five of "Labor Action," contained an undated statement from the National Action Committee of the YSL which indicated that the YSL had been dissolved. The statement appeared under the caption "join the Young Peoples Socialist League."

The YPSL is publicly known as the youth affiliate of the Socialist Party - Socialist Democratic Federation.

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UNITED(TA.ES DEPARTMENT OF JUS C.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

(S) 404

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

December 16, 1964

PLANNED DEMONSTRATION
DECEMBER 19, 1964, TO
END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

A source furnished on December 11, 1964, a leaflet stating that a number of Philadelphia area peace organizations are cooperating in a Philadelphia vigil on Saturday, December 19, 1964, in an appeal to the conscience of America to end the war in Vietnam. The Philadelphia demonstration will be from 1 to 3 p.m. around City Hall in Philadelphia, Pa. Listed as the official sponsors of the demonstration in Philadelphia are the American Friends Service Committee, Middle Atlantic Region, 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa., the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa., and Women Strike for Peace, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Attached also was a flier headed, "Saturday, December 19, Join in an appeal to the conscience of America to end the war in Vietnam." It states as follows:

> "As Americans we are profoundly ashamed of the role our government has played and the actions it has initiated or condoned in South Vietnam. We call upon President Johnson to declare an immediate cease fire on the part of American forces in South Vietnam, followed by their earliest possible withdrawal.
>
> "We urge the immediate convening of a conference of those nations concerned with the situation in South Vietnam, including both mainland China and the United States, and that such a conference seek:

[redacted]

PLANNED DEMONSTRATION DECEMBER 19, 1964,
TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

"(1) To secure cooperative action in a program of relief and rehabilitation, carried on through neutral auspices, and directed toward bringing swift and compassionate economic and medical aid to the terribly ravaged people of South Vietnam.

"(2) To secure an independent and neutral government in South Vietnam through free elections in which democratic, trade union, and religious forces can all have an effective voice.

"(3) To insure that the associated states of what was formerly French Indochina (Laos, Cambodia, and North and South Vietnam) will be freed from military intervention from the United States, China, the Soviet Union, or any other nation."

The following national organizations were listed as sponsors which indicates that the above demonstration may be a national effort:

American Friends Service Committee, Peace Literature Service, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Catholic Worker, 175 Chrystie Street, New York 2, N. Y.

Committee for Nonviolent Action, 325 Lafayette Street, New York, N. Y., 10012.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Socialist Party, 1182 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 10001.

Student Peace Union, 5 Beekman Street, New York, N. Y., 10038.

Students for a Democratic Society, 119 5th Avenue, Room 302, New York, N.Y., 10003.

[redacted]

[redacted]

PLANNED DEMONSTRATION DECEMBER 19, 1964,
TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Street, Room 1025, New York, N. Y., 10038.

Women Strike for Peace, 2016 "P" Street, N.W., Washington 36, D. C.

A second source advised on December 11, 1964, that the York Action for Peace plans a picket line in York, Pa., to advocate the end of war in Vietnam on December 19, 1964. This source heard that the local activity will be a national effort on the part of peace groups in various cities.

A third source furnished on December 8, 1964, a memorandum of the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa., dated November 20, 1964, which states in part as follows:

"To: Persons concerned about world peace

"From: Friends Peace Committee

"Re: VIETNAM

"Recently we learned that a high official in the State Department called the National Council of Churches and asked how the churches feel about the U. S. involvement in Vietnam. The State Department man said that a major re-evaluation was occurring in Washington, and they wanted to know what the grassroots feeling is.

"This is just another indication that this is a key time for you to write a letter on the Vietnam issue. Friends Peace Committee is busy rounding up signatures of public figures for a statement, and has written and issued to Washington a statement of its own. But there is no substitute for your letter, in your own words. Address it to the President, with carbon copies to Dean Rusk and

[redacted]

[redacted]

PLANNED DEMONSTRATION DECEMBER 19, 1964,
TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

"your Senators. If you have time, write fresh copies to your Senators.

"A quote from the Friends Peace Committee statement:

"We urge (1) that a conference of nations be convened, including mainland China, by the Geneva Conference group or the United Nations, to guarantee the neutrality of South Vietnam and begin steps toward reunification of the two Vietnams on a basis of neutrality; and (2) that the United States end its military aid and presence in South Vietnam.

"...The alternatives to the course we suggest are 'more of the same' and 'escalation.' Escalation would be tragically short-sighted and self-defeating, for it would very probably lead us to large scale conventional war with the Chinese at a minimum, and nuclear war at a maximum....The alternative of 'more of the same' is futile and will only lead to defeat of the U. S. both militarily and psychologically and lead to the defeat of the democratic forces within South Vietnam itself."

"This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency."

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

40:404

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

February 15, 1965

COMMITTEE FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION;
FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE DEMONSTRATION,
FEBRUARY 19 AND 20, 1965,
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

A source furnished on February 15, 1965, the following two leaflets, attached hereto, which were obtained by mail from the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

ENCLOSURE

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(Nationwide Action Vietnam

How does a government admit a mistake, if it represents a vast bureaucracy and an investment of billions of dollars? 80% of the American people, according to a recent Gallop poll, want an end to the war in Vietnam, but that does not mean it will end--unless the attitudes are made visable and dramatic. Here are actions which will take place in Philadelphia:

Friday noon, Feb. 19: Declaration of Conscience public signing (see enclosed sheet)

Friday at 4:00 and 5:00: Motorcade for Peace in Vietnam Sponsored by Friends Peace Committee

Bring your car to Friends Select School 130 N. 16th, at either 4:00 or 5:00 to have signs mounted and to get the route of the caravan. The message will insist on unilateral withdrawal; the emphasis will be on "End the War in Vietna Bring a "navigator" with you to read the route, if possible.

Saturday, Feb. 20, from 12:00 to 5:00: Witness to Armed Forces volunteers Sponsored by Committee for Nonviolent Action-Philadelphia (3711 Spring Garden St.)

This direct action project involves placing our bodies on the steps of the Armed Forces recruiting station at 15th and Market Sts., saying, in effect, "We hope your facing having to step on us will make you think again about what the training will prepare you to do, especially in Vietnam. If you hesitate to step on us, you should hesitate even more to learn to kill others.

There will be a training session from 12 to 1 on Saturday, before proceeding to the station. You are required to come to the training in order to particip in the project. The discipline will be nonviolent, but will not involve "going limp" in case of arrest. The message will be for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and military aid from Vietnam.

Saturday, Feb. 20, from 1:00 to 5:00: Supporting demonstration for the witness

This silent demonstration will continue even if the participants in the Witness are arrested. It will explain the point of the witness, and urge immediate withdrawal of American troops and military aid from Vietnam. Its leaflets will condemn all outside interference in the affairs of the South Vietnamese, including interference from North Vietnam.

Send to: Friends Peace Committee, [illegible] Phila., Pa. 19102

_____ I will take part in the motorcade at _____ p.m. on Feb. 19
_____ I will take part in the Witness to Armed Forces volunteers on Feb. 20
_____ I will be in the supporting demonstration for the Witness
_____ Enclosed is my contribution (for Friends Peace Committee) (for CNVA) Place Indicat

[redacted]

ill you sign this?

DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

ecause the use of the military resources of the United States in Vietnam and lsewhere suppresses the aspirations of the people for political independence nd economic freedom;

ecause inhuman torture and senseless killing are being carried out by forces rmed, uniformed, trained and financed by the United States;

Because we believe that all peoples of the earth, including both Americans and on-Americans, have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the peaceful pursuit of happiness in their own way; and

Because we think that positive steps must be taken to put an end to the threat of nuclear catastrophe and death by chemical or biological warfare, whether these result from accident or escalation--

We hereby declare our conscientious refusal to cooperate with the United States government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam.

We encourage those who can conscientiously do so to refuse to serve in the armed forces and to ask for discharge if they are already in.

Those of us who are subject to the Draft ourselves declare our own intention to refuse to serve.

We urge others to refuse and refuse ourselves to take part in the manufacture or transportation of military equipment, or to work in the fields of military research and weapons development.

We shall encourage the development of other nonviolent acts, including acts which involve civil disobedience, in order to stop the flow of American soldiers and munitions to Vietnam.

Note: Signing or distributing this Declaration of Conscience might be construed as a violation of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which prohibits advising persons facing the draft to refuse service. Penalties of up to 5 years imprisonment, and/or a fine of $5,000 are provided. While prosecutions under this provision of the law almost never occur, persons signing or distributing this declaration should face the possibility of serious consequences.

[redacted]

[redacted]

of those who have signed are:

. Dan Berrigan, S.J.
. Philip Berrigan, S.S.J.
ɜs Bristol
liam C. Davidon
othy Day
id Dellinger
. Ferry
bi Everett E. Gendler

George R. Lakey
Irving Laucks
Sidney Lens
Stewart Meacham
Morris R. Mitchell
A.J. Muste
Otto Nathan
A. Philip Randolph

ERE WILL BE A PUBLIC SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION ON NOON, FRIDAY FEBRUARY 19,

INTERNATIONAL HOUSE, 140 North 15th St., Phila., COMBINED WITH A PRESS CONFERENCE.
you can come and sign the Declaration at that time, please send the coupon
low, or phone LO4-6063. If you cannot come in person, you may sign in advance
d be included in the list handed to the press.

: Stewart Meacham, 556 N. Judson St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19130

_____ I will sign the Declaration of Conscience at noon Friday, Feb. 19 at International House.

_____ I cannot come in person, but have read the Declaration of Conscience and hereby sign it.

_____
(signature)

_____
(address)

[redacted]

COMMITTEE FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION
FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE DEMONSTRATION,
FEBRUARY 19 AND 20, 1965,
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

The first source advised on February 11, 1965, that [redacted] the Friends Peace Committee (FPC), Philadelphia, Pa., as of February 1965, and that the FPC is an adjunct of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and seeks peaceful and non-violent solutions to racial and world tensions.

[redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

405

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

MAR 3 1965

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED STATES INTERVENTION IN VIET NAM

A source furnished the following information on February 24, 1965:

On February 24, 1965, at Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa., a 24-hour demonstration commenced against current United States policy in Viet Nam. This demonstration took the form of "Fast for Peace" and its purpose was to demonstrate their support of a negotiated settlement in Viet Nam. A pamphlet describing their purpose is attached, which sets out the sponsors of the demonstration as follows:

"SENSE, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, MSM Social Concerns, Friends Peace Comm."

The demonstration was located in the Lion's Den of the Hetzel Union Building (HUB), located on the campus of Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa. Approximately 30 students were seated in one section of the Lion's Den around a poster "Fast For Peace." It was believed that the principal organization in back of the movement was SENSE, Students for Peace, an organization

The demonstration has given no cause to violence at present and there is no indication of any at present time. There appears to be little interest shown by vast majority of other students of the University in this demonstration. Those who participate in the demonstration are expected to fast 24 hours.

ENCLOSURE

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING
UNITED STATES INTERVENTION
IN VIET NAM

The source made available a "Statement on Viet Nam," issued by SENSE, Students for Peace, a copy of which is attached. This statement was handed out on the campus of the University on or about January 20, 1965.

On February 15, 1965, approximately 30 students marched across campus to appear for peace in Viet Nam. The "Walk for Peace" was staged by SENSE, Students for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Commission of Social Concerns of the Methodist Student Movement. There were no incidents involved in this demonstration.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FAST FOR PEACE

To Demonstrate Our Support Of A Negotiated Settlement In Viet Nam

There will be three separate, consecutive 24-hour periods of fasting. These periods will begin at 9:30 a.m. on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday mornings. The fast will be held in the HUB Lion's Den during the hours it is open. When the Lion's Den is closed, the fast will be carried out in the HUB Ball Room.

We invite all students and faculty members to join us during any period of the fast. We also welcome those who merely wish to discuss the issue with us while we fast in the HUB.

Sponsors: SENSE, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, MSM Social [illegible] Friends Peace Comm

SENSE, STUDENTS FOR PEACE: STATEMENT ON VIET NAM

For the past nine years the United States has been actively engaged in supporting a series of dictatorial regimes in South Viet Nam in their futile battle of survival against the National Liberation Front, or Viet Cong, which has the support of most of the people. This involvement in the internal affairs of this southeast Asian country has cost the United States over 800 battle casualties; in terms of dollars and cents something like 2 million dollars per day is being spent to maintain inept and obviously unpopular regimes. Such behavior not only has earned the U. S. the scorn and contempt of other nations, but threatens to heat to the boiling point a situation which could result in full scale war, with disastrous results for mankind.

U. S. officials claim that this crusade is born of noble intentions and is necessary to protect the people of South Viet Nam from aggression by the Viet Cong. Before such a charge is leveled against the Viet Cong, perhaps an investigation of U. S. activities in this area is in order.

In 1954 the U. S. entered the war at first as a non combatant furnishing millions of dollars in aid to the French in order for them to maintain their 400,000 man army, whose mission it was to preserve French rule over a dissatisfied and unhappy people. When the French army was defeated, decisively in fact, at Dienbienphu by the forces of the Viet Minh, (the Vietnamese army of liberation) to all intents and purposes the war in Viet Nam was over. The U. S. haunted by the spectre of Communism, was intent on continuing the war at all costs. Such acts of desperation which have marked our policies with respect to Viet Nam are best exemplified by the following:[1, 2]

A. The U. S., though it had not taken part in the fighting directly prevailed upon France to accept a settlement, whereby Viet Nam would be partitioned into two sections- at the 17th parallel - thus allowing the French to regroup their forces in the southern sector and continue the war there, rather than surrender to the Viet Minh.

B. In areas controlled by the Viet Minh prior to 1954, extensive land reforms had been enacted to rid the country of the feudalistic peasant-landlord social order which had thrived under French colonial rule. Under the terms of the reforms, the peasants, who had previously farmed the land for the landowner, were given their own plot to farm. Of necessity, many of these plots were carved from the

large plantations held by the landlords who were sympathetic to the French. With the coming of U. S. troops, the landlords trotted back to reclaim their vast estates with the backing of U. S. military forces. In short, the land reforms of the Viet Minh, which had brought a brief measure of happiness to 85% of the population, were eradicated, with the wholehearted support of the U. S. government.

C. The U. S. shamelessly violated the Geneva Agreement of 1954 which dealt with the ultimate question of Viet Nam, an agreement which we had pledged to uphold, in the following ways:[1, 2]

1. The provisional governments of the two sections created by the partition, the north under Ho Chi Minh, and the south under Bao Dai, had to give way, after two years, to an all-new Vietnamese government, freely chosen in a nationwide election, supervised by the International Control Commission. The U. S., fearing that free elections might result in the selection of a pro-Vietnamese rather than a pro-U.S. government, sabotaged this provision by recognizing the pro-western, puppet government of Bao Dai as the government of the whole of Viet Nam. This move of forcing upon the people a situation not of their own choosing, precipitated the civil war in that area, a war which we so sanctimoniously claim was instigated by aggression on the part of the Viet Cong.

2. The U. S. has committed more than 18,000 American nationals to Vietnamese soil in defense of the puppet regime (s) of South Viet Nam. According to the Geneva agreement, all foreign troops were to be withdrawn within two years after the agreement was signed. And some 8 years after this provision was to have gone into effect, the U. S. talks of sending in more troops and expanding the war into North Viet Nam and Laos.

3. The U. S. forces have sanctioned the use of torture of war prisoners in an effort to gain information about their elusive adversary.

4. American-led South Vietnamese commando units have repeatedly invaded the territory of North Viet Nam and Cambodia in raids which have resulted in the murdering of innocent civilians.[3]

5. U. S. ships have continually participated in commando raids on North Viet Nam's seaports.[4]

6. U. S. troops have committed all manner of atrocities such as the burning of villages with napalm bombs, destruction of crops and foodstores through the use of herbicides dropped from the air, and the murder of women and children in so called "mop up

operations."[5]

Such behavior on the part of the U. S. cannot be tolerated. As students for peace, we suggest that the following steps be taken to secure a lessening of tension in the area.

1. An immediate cease-fire, with withdrawal of U. S. troops and military aid from the area over a specified period.

2. Within a two month period after withdrawal of U. S. troops and so called military advisers from the territory, nationwide elections must be held to determine a new all-Vietnamese government. The election itself, could be supervised by the International Control Commission, manned exclusively by neutral nations.

Recent incursions on the part of our air force into the territory of North Viet Nam, coupled with the bellicose demand by Ambassador Maxwell Taylor and McGeorge Bundy that the U. S. attack North Viet Nam and Laos have increased the urgency that a peaceful settlement be found. For those who would seek an alternate solution in the name of national honor, we can only proclaim that such a consideration becomes infinitesmal in consequence when the issue of life or death for the entire world is involved.

REFERENCES

1. "Vietnam: Sympton of a world Malaise" Fellowship May 1964
2. "Memo on Viet Nam" McReynolds and Muste W.R.L.
3. New York Times 12-3-64
4. New York Times 8-10-64
5. Saigon Post 1-10-64

UNITED STA(S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTIC)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

n Reply, Please Refer to
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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

FEB 16 1965

CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964

On October 17, 1964, [redacted] furnished to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C., copies of a report from [redacted] regarding [redacted] experience at the World Affairs Camp at Painted Post, New York, August 22 - 29, 1964, which information is being set forth in part as follows:

"The World Affairs Camp held at Painted Post, New York, August 22-29, for high school students was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, Inc., (AFSC), 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania. An invitation to send a representative was extended [redacted] by NANCY O'NEILL, Director of the AFSC high school program in the Middle Atlantic States. All subsequent arrangements were made through her.

[redacted]

ENCLOSURE

100-11392-905

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"The Conference was depicted as 'part of a worldwide program designed to educate for responsible world citizenship,' and as one in which the participants would 'seek to explore the implications of non-violent approaches to our common problems.' I understand a series of such 'peace' camps had been held during the summer in a variety of locations; invitations had been sent to high schools in the Middle Atlantic States to participate.

"This particular camp at Painted Post was owned by the Methodist Church and lent to the American Friends Service Committee. It consisted of a main lodge, several cabins and cottages, a swimming pool, and basketball and volley ball courts. Tables in the lounge were piled high with literature on the peace movement and on civil rights, as well as with civil rights buttons, bumper strips, slogans, etc., all for sale.

"Of the approximately 60 students attending the camp about a third were Negroes. Most were in their Junior or Senior years in high school, a few ready for college.

"Schedule -- Each day from 9:30 to 10:00 a.m. the group met to hear a presentation made by one of the 'Resources Leaders' on a previously-assigned subject. ('Resources Leaders' comprised each guest speaker and members of the AFSC Staff). Then followed a breakup into six discussion groups of ten students each, one serving as leader. The presentation of the speaker of the day was reviewed and subjected to lively debate. Resources Leaders visited each group in turn, participating in the discussions and answering questions.

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"At 11:15 the groups reassembled. Questions formulated during the group discussions were put to the morning speaker, and this question-and-answer period lasted until 12 noon.

"After lunch, from 1:30 to 2:00, a Town Meeting was held. During this time, matters affecting camp regulations came up, for instance, such matters as NANCY's announcement that if the group hadn't understood before the camp rule on drinking, she was stating it again: No drinking was allowed and that included beer. Also, a Methodist minister, who was general supervisor of the grounds and buildings, appeared before a Town Meeting one day and said that the late hours the group was keeping (4 AM bedtimes) and the noise they were making was disturbing the sleep of the household staff, and that if a change was not forthcoming, he would be forced to step in and exercise his authority by turning off all lights at 11:00. The group had a hard time giving in, but both sides finally compromised on a 12:00 curfew with no record playing or freedom singing past 11:00. They adhered to this schedule from that time on.

"This last discussion, which took an hour, prompted the Soviet Attache to remark that if it took so long to arrive at a decision on bedtime hours, it was not surprising that we had so much trouble arriving at arms control agreements.

"Participants --

"NORMAN WHITNEY -- Introduced as being 'best known as the "bishop of the peace movement"; as a veteran peace

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"'worker and world affairs camper. Included in his long history of activities is teaching English Literature at Syracuse University and directing the peace program of the American Friends Service Committee.'

"He directed me to bring this message back to the Agency: 'We were very gratified and pleased when your Agency was established. But we have been very disappointed in you during the past year or so -- you aren't moving fast enough nor accomplishing enough. Tell your people that time is running out -- Look at these teenagers; they are the leaders of tomorrow. They don't want war - they want action. Now! They won't wait.'

"He and ED (HILLPERN) gave me copies of two American Friends' studies, entitled 'Unilateral Initiatives and Disarmament' and 'Does Deterrence Deter?' and asked that I study them carefully. NORMAN also made the following claim forcefully and said they could do so with great satisfaction - that the 'peace groups had defeated shelter program.'

"NORMAN, in the presentation he gave before the group, made the following points: Non-violence does not signify passivity, but on the contrary, is most active; one must be prepared to die while trying to overcome - with love - the forces of obstruction. The way to apply the power of love is through: 1) coercion (e.g., Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott), 2) conversion (changing nature of opponent), 3) persuasion (examples, Gandhi, Women's Suffragist Movement), and 4) identification (Quakers hanged by Puritans while praying for accusers). The last fifty years have demonstrated the way of war and violence and how they destroy the very freedom and democracy the United States fought to defend.

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"Fighting is the best way to lose everything. There is little room for justice in the arms race. The rational response to the challenge of nuclear war is individual conscience. Human nature can be changed. The measurement of success of a man's or woman's work is the extent to which truth and love are embodied. Freedom depends upon the realization of these two. The philosophy called pacifism is a way of life based on complete commitment to a way of love which rejects the power to destroy others.

"ED HILLPERN -- Introduced as a Quaker psychotherapist 'who has been actively involved in the developments of the peace movement since World War I days in Europe. A few years ago, he organized Social Scientists for Peace. In answer to some of my questions, I was told it was through him that MIROSLAV was invited; that he lives in New York; is an Austrian by birth; but is now an American citizen. He gave MIROSLAV the address of his daughter to look up in San Francisco.

"WALTON GEIGER -- Worcester, Pennsylvania. Listed as Research Scientist in Bio-Chemistry at Norristown, Pennsylvania, State Hospital. (His wife told me he maintained a small research laboratory). He was introduced as 'active with the Society for the Social Responsibility of Scientists and devotes his spare time to civil rights problems and learning Japanese and Korean.' Gave a lecture disputing any racial basis for non-equality of intelligence. He was accompanied by his wife, NICOLA, and two daughters, 9 and 11. NICOLA came to the United States twelve years ago from her native Germany, planning to go on to South America, but met WALTON and married him, instead. She said her family is a long-time friend of ALBERT

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"SCHWEITZER. She asked me if I could help her husband get to the Pugwash Conference. I explained the United States does not participate officially in the Conference. She then asked me if I could find out what procedures he should follow in order to attend. NOEL (BROWN) asked me if the United States refused to officially have anything to do with the Conference because of the disapproval of CYRUS EATON.

"DALE stuck an SNCC bumper strip to the GEIGER station wagon, and she said their neighbors would really run them out now but to leave it on. She said she had gone from door to door, urging something or other about peace, and they all were calling her a Communist.

"NANCY O'NEILL -- Office as stated above. She conducted all the Town Meetings; made all the announcements; did not take part in any of the discussions with the exception of those on Cuba. She was for welcoming CASTRO back into OAS, removal of the economic blockade; said it was our policy that had turned CASTRO into a Communist; believed people were happy there. CASTRO had built many new schools and hospitals; divided the wealth of the country equitably; was very appreciative of food and medicines Quakers had sent last year following the hurricane. When I remarked that I had yet to hear one constructive remark about the United States other than my own, she replied, 'Well, I believe you'll find there is slightly less criticism of the United States among these boys and girls than there is of the Soviet Union.'

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

MASS.
PA.
N.Y.

"ELEANORA PATTERSON -- 1963 Radcliffe graduate. Assistant in the Friends' Middle Atlantic high school program. Presently on leave to work with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Washington. Could not believe ACDA was not an agency of 'peace at any price.'

N.Y.

"GELY SKRITSKI -- At the camp I was told he was Second Secretary of the Soviet Embassy. He may have received a promotion since the May 1964 Diplomatic List carries him as Third Secretary. He told me he was an economist. The Russian made these points: Stressed free medical care in USSR - more doctors per capita than any other nation in the world; no unemployment - not ever; no taxation; open elections for participation in local, as well as national, affairs. Russians fewer in number than other nationalities, but all members of the Republics participate equally.. Workers' vacation resort - all free. Soviet economy, while not up to U.S., is rapidly overtaking it. Already far surpasses United States in steel production. Soviet Union still Socialist State. Went too fast following 1917 Revolution. Learned from that mistake. Now have goal of 1980 as attainment of goal of completely Communist State. Painted picture of what that would mean - all wants and needs of the people would be fully supplied by the State; there would be no need for money. Everyone now works, not selfishly for himself, but for the State, for the common good of all, so that all can partake of the good life. All citizens are free to travel anywhere they may wish to go. No racial discrimination.

"He told me he was very sorry not to have heard my presentation. I said I was sure MIROSLAV had told him all about it. He said in a very surprised tone,

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"'But MIROSLAV told me he had taken no part in the discussion.' (MIROSLAV not only gave a half-hour presentation but also took part in all the discussion groups).

"MIROSLAV SOUKUPI (or SOUKUP) -- Attache in Czech UN Mission. Interested in Social Scientists for Peace. Present with his wife and daughter, 5. His wife told me she had just completed the First Grade in English at the UN language school, but she had trouble with words and we found a common language in French. She asked if this group was typical of American youth and made a somewhat jesting remark about the ill-groomed appearance of the group. He spoke five languages; was a professor in Czechoslovakia; was not allowed the school of his preference. He painted the horrors of Lidice and the other atrocities suffered through war by his country as reasons why it is now so 'devoted to the quest for peace.'

MIROSLAV immediately followed me on Tuesday night in giving his presentation. He sketched the history of his country, of its 'betrayal' by the French and English at Munich, when he said the Soviet Union was prepared to honor its pact to come to the aid of Czechoslovakia but could not do it alone. He said the Czech Government supported Soviet proposals at the ENDC because it considered them sound and workable.

"Subsequently, he told me: 'Ah, Democracy! Only in such a system could you find the freedom to express differing opinions such as we find here at this camp. If only your country could adopt free

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"'medical care - and other welfare programs - it is here that your case is weakest when weighed against the Communists' Socialist States. It would be good for all Communists to come to this country. They would see what it is really like.'

"When I questioned GELY's statement about Soviet citizens' freedom of travel, MIROSLAV said I was right - GELY had not spoken the truth, he said, and told the discussion group to 'ask our Soviet friend if he did not mean freedom to travel only within the Warsaw Pact countries.' I also questioned GELY's picture of political participation by the people, and said I understood that all power was vested in the Central Committee, which, in turn, was ruled with an iron hand by KHRUSHCHEV. He agreed with this and suggested that the group ask 'our Soviet friend' this question.

"Following a question about pockets of poverty in Czechoslovakia and MIROSLAV's answer, I remarked that I wondered just how happy people were to be shifted about from place to place at the dictates of the State. I asked, 'MIROSLAV, just how happy are they?' He smiled and said, 'Not very. We have our problems.'

"During the discussion of the 'good life' in the Soviet Union, when ILSA and a Negro boy, who had been to the USSR with one of the Hiler Tours, were extolling the cultural advantages and the number of television sets the Russians enjoyed, MIROSLAV whispered to me, 'A slick Communist can hoodwink children like these - they are very naive.'

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"When I left, he was among those who had gathered to tell me goodbye, and he wished me 'good luck' in our work. Most of the Prince Edwards School contingent also were there. CARLOS gave me a very warm farewell, as did NANCY and the GEIGERs."

The Hiler Tours, above, probably refer to the tours or "travel seminars" of high school students, conducted or arranged by RICHARD HILER during 1962, 1963, and 1964 through Europe, including Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the USSR. RICHARD HILER was formerly Director.

A source advised, during 1963-1964, that RICHARD HILER was formerly Director of the High School Program of the American Friends Service Committee, and is now with the American Friends Service Committee in Pittsburgh, Pa.

HILER has had numerous contacts with diplomatic personnel of the Soviet and Czechoslovakian Embassies, Washington, D. C., in connection with arranging passports, etc., for travel to their countries.

"NOEL BROWN -- International civil servant in United Nations Secretariat (Jamaican by nationality): introduced as being 'very concerned that young people throughout the world have the opportunity to make positive contributions to peace and understanding.' Present with his wife - American, white,

[redacted]

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"and two daughters, 2 and 3. She told me that she had met her husband in Washington while he was attending Georgetown University and she was working. Said she tried to get a job as a labor mediator with the Labor Department, but was turned down. Remarked that she could not get a job with CIA because she and NOEL had been told by a woman friend of theirs working there - she said she believed the friend was taking a year's leave and was now in California - that NOEL's name was on the CIA list.

"When NOEL tried to find out why, the friend 'clammed up' and would not say anything more. Explained that 'CIA list' carried names of people suspected for one reason or another to be watched and suspected for some reason.

"NOEL took a most voluble part in all the discussion groups, and gave a speech on foreign policy, and explained the official methods of communication between Governments. He was very emphatic and rigid on the following points: The weapons cache discovered by the Venezuela Government during the Presidential Elections and identified as Cuban in origin was a fraud perpetrated by the United States. The subsequent OAS action against CASTRO was forced by United States' arm twisting. The Soviet Union's emplacement of missiles in Cuba was only because CASTRO honestly feared United States' invasion. Our attack on North Vietnam PT basis was unjustified because, after all, it was not North Vietnamese PT boats that attacked us in the Tonkin Gulf - how could we so identify them in the darkness of the night? - but were South Vietnamese, who took this action to put the blame on North Vietnam in a desperate effort to force the United States to enlarge

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"the war against North Vietnam. This, he insisted, was the general belief at the United Nations and was the true picture.

"NOEL also violently attacked the MLF. He mildly ridiculed 'Lady Bird' as a name for a First Lady.

"Students --

"DALE SMITH -- 917 Coalmont Street, North Haddock, Pennsylvania, Negro. Introduced as 'recent high school graduate, who has spent the past year as an SNCC worker in western Georgia. His jailbird record includes Albany and Gifton, Louisiana. He told me he had been arrested six or seven times for demonstrations; that most of the people he met in jail were innocent. He had wanted to go to Brandeis University this fall; but, instead, 'they' were sending him to Chicago to work for the SNCC, and he would attend the University of Chicago part time.

N.Y. ILL. D.C.

"He seemed obsessed with the desire to visit Cuba, returning to this possibility again and again. He said, 'I know just how you go about it - you go in through Mexico and come out at Prague. I surely want to see that place.'

"He remained silent when I asked why he wanted to go when he knew such a trip was against Government regulations, and he would thereby forfeit his passport.

"At one time, he asked me if I knew (I cannot remember the name) a White House economist. He said the economist's son had been sentenced to five years in prison by a Pennsylvania Federal Court in connection with the draft 'for being a pacifist.'

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"I said I thought that even in times of war we found non-combat duties for conscientious objectors, but he would not say more than, 'Well, he thought he would get off with a light sentence but the Court gave him the maximum.' He seemed to have quite a wide acquaintance among Government officials here in Washington. He named several at Justice and other Departments, and asked if I knew them. He also said he knew Senator HUMPHREY. DALE led all the Freedom Songs, and saw to it that every program ended with, 'We shall overcome.'

N.Y.

"ILSA PINKSON -- 10709 Keswick Street, Garrett Park, Maryland, 20766. Mother is member of Women Strike for Peace, and went with delegation to The Hague this summer to present petition opposing MLF. In discussion group argued strongly for good way of life in Soviet Union, quoting her mother and father, who had spent month of July there.

D.C.

"KATHY BOGIN -- 100 Pelham Road, New Rochelle, New York. Said she had gone with Women Strike for Peace Delegation to Capitol Hill to present petition against MLF. Said the United States was giving West Germany more and more nuclear know-how until they would soon have it all. (NOEL interjected here that this was the great fear of the Soviet Union and was why they opposed MLF).

"LARRY (last name unknown) -- light-skinned Negro from South Carolina. Alcof, very intense.

N.Y.
Ky.

"He had placed his name on the list of students going to Russia next summer with Hiler Tours, and was urging others to go, too. (I was told HILER is a Quaker teacher in Philadelphia, who organizes two tours each summer for students - one to the Soviet Union and one to parts of the United States (apparently poverty-stricken areas). One

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"or two of the Negro students present had been to the Soviet Union on this tour this past summer.

"He told a discussion group that he had taken the United States Hiler Tour this summer, during which he spent a month in a region of Kentucky, where all the people had to eat was flour and lard. They had to walk one-half mile to get water. There were no modern conveniences, and no work for the men. He asked MIROSLAV if there were such pockets of poverty in Czechoslovakia.

"(MIROSLAV said no - there was no unemployment, no shortages, because the state could plan ahead and forestall such conditions. If there were areas that needed more workers, labor was shifted there from other slower areas).

"LARRY discussed the book, 'Fail Safe,' saying that it showed how simple it would be for nuclear accidents, resulting in total destruction. When the talk shifted to self-defense, he said he could go along with the idea of not fighting to defend himself, but he wondered if he could sit idly by if one of his friends were attacked. He said the United States should disarm unilaterally, for we knew the Soviet Union would never risk world opprobrium by attacking an unarmed nation. It was he who asked GELY the question about the economic impact of disarmament, which was a direct misrepresentation of my reply regarding United States' views on the same issue.

"In a program the group presented, he read - after repeatedly emphasizing how much it meant to him - a poem, entitled 'I Am Waiting,' taken from the

[redacted]

"book, 'A Coney Island of the Mind,' by LAWRENCE FERLINGHETTI. He also contributed guitar and harmonica selections.

"Unlike most of the others, he was clean, neat, and well-groomed at all times. His shirt was fastened with 'equality' buttons.

"Of all the students there, he was the one who seemed to impress everyone most. NORMAN said, 'We'll hear from that boy lots in the future. We must keep in touch.'

"Comments -- The students were chiefly representative of minorities. Granted the informality of camp dress, nevertheless the general appearance of the group was one of slovenliness.

"The Negroes presented the best appearance; they were clean; their clothes were neat and clean; their hair was brushed. Certainly, the grooming of the rest was far below that of the high school student groups with which I am familiar; and I frankly could not get used to the girls' long, stringy hair hanging down in front of their faces. Neither did I see the need for NANCY and ELEANORA in their capacity as leaders to be equally ill-kempt.

"I had the impression that most, if not all, of the students had met at previous camps; but my questioning on this point was met, surprisingly enough, with evasion. The most direct answer came

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

"from ED, who said, 'It is possible they have attended the same Conferences in the past, and that they will meet again at similar Conferences this fall and winter.'

"The students were intelligent, very serious, and determined in their attitudes. Most of them gave the impression they would not change their positions on the issues discussed. They listened respectfully, and asked questions; but they were not open-minded. One remarked that, 'You had to be for unilateral disarmament to be accepted in this group.'

"There was no doubt of their complete dedication to the principle of non-violence, nor that they were prepared to go to great lengths to further their cause. It was evident that they went to the Conference already indoctrinated -- not to be indoctrinated."

[redacted] also furnished the "Name and Address List" of the American Friends Service Committee, World Affairs Camp, as follows:

THOMAS ACKERMAN
50 Davenport Avenue
New Rochelle, New York

BEVERLY ARMSTRONG
2993 Vincent Road
Silver Lake, Ohio 44224

[redacted]

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

WILLIAM BEADENKOPF
25 Oakwood Place
Delmar, New York 12054

LINDA BLACKER
1082 Inner Drive
Schenectady, New York

KATHY BOGIN
100 Pelham Road
New Rochelle, New York

SUSAN BROWN
211 Horton Highway
Mineola, New York

MALCOLM CAMPBELL
111 Valentine Place
Ithaca, New York

MARILALA CAMPBELL
111 Valentine Place
Ithaca, New York

DAVID C. CHAMBERLAIN
129½ South Church Street
Schenectady, New York

NANCY E. DOHERTY
14 Seaview Avenue
New Rochelle, New York 10801

PEGGY FRIED
77 Cherrytree Lane
Roslyn Heights, New York

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16

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1 6

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

FREDI GABERMAN
69 Highridge Road
New Rochelle, New York

ELLEN GREENBERG
225-27 Eighty-Eighth Avenue
Queens Village 27, New York

ANN HAYWOOD
G-9 Yates Village
Schenectady, New York

JOE HORTON
4433 Summerton Road
Trevose, Pennsylvania

CHARLES FREDERIC JOHN
66 Wellington Avenue
New Rochelle, New York

LAURA JONES
6224 Bells Mill Road
Bethesda, Maryland

RICHARD KANEGIS
2506 Woodley Road, N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

SHEILA KUPPERSMITH
164 Church Street
New Rochelle, New York 10805

MARION LAMPERT
5007 Concord Avenue
Great Neck, New York

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

DOROTHY M. LENTZ
421 Glassboro Avenue
Woodbury Heights, New Jersey

FAYE MENKEN
11 Stratford Road
New Rochelle, New York

CARLOS MORA
205 East 113th Street
New York, New York

CLAUDIA KAY ORIENT
7726 Middle Ridge Road
Madison, Ohio 44057

ILSA PINKSON
10709 Keswick Street
Garrett Park, Maryland 20766

LAURA SACHAROFF
1907 West Rogers Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21209

ELLEN SHAPIRO
50 Revere Road
Scarsdale, New York

SUSAN M. STRASSER
6711 Beacon Street
Pittsburgh 17, Pennsylvania

CATHERINE SVIBRUCK
44 Holbrooke Road
White Plains, New York

[redacted]

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

JON SVIBRUCK
44 Holbrooke Road
White Plains, New York

BRENDA WALKER
Box 92
Cheyney, Pennsylvania

JESSE J. WARR
5803 Reed Street
North Englewood,
Hyattsville, Maryland

MIKE ZARET
1463 Drayton Lane
Penn Wynne
Philadelphia 51, Pennsylvania

By memorandum of [redacted] dated November 30, 1964, [redacted] wrote the following concerning the American Friends Service Committee, World Affairs Camp, above:

"The attached story discloses that these DuBois Clubs take exactly the same line advocated at the Friends' Camp I attended in August, and about which I have reported to you. The areas of interest and the views are identical."

The article from the "Washington Post" edition of November 26, 1964, captioned "Leftist DuBois Clubs Spread Over U. S. From California," referred to by [redacted] is attached hereto.

A characterization of the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America is attached hereto.

[redacted]

405

Leftist DuBois Clubs Spread Over U.S. From California

By Gene Blake
The Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES — Spreading rapidly throughout the Nation from its California base is a new organization of the political left, admittedly Socialist and willing to accept Communists.

Aimed primarily at college youth, the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America have been branded by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as a Marxist group "spawned" by the Communist Party, U.S.A.

DuBois Club leaders treat Hoover's statement with a mixture of scorn and amusement. They deny any direction from or ties with the Communist Party.

But they do not hesitate to brand America's society today as "sick." Nor do they try to hide their goal — the "foundation of a Socialist order."

The first club was formed a few years ago in San Francisco by a dozen young persons committed to "Marxism, peace, civil rights and civil liberties."

Soon it changed to an action-oriented group with a broader base, opening membership to non-Marxists interested in studying Marxism as a possible alternative to the present economic system.

In June, nearly 500 delegates convened in San Francisco to form a national organization. Regional coordinators were named for the East, Midwest and West.

Phil Davis of San Francisco, a 25-year-old college student who was active in civil rights demonstrations in the South, was chosen national president.

About 35 clubs have been formed in other major cities, reports Davis.

The organization takes its name from the late American Negro scholar, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who was one of the founders of the NAACP in 1909.

He later repudiated the NAACP and in 1961, at the age of 93, he joined the Communist Party — apologizing for waiting so long.

Dr. DuBois, who had won the Soviet Union's Lenin Peace Prize in 1959, moved to Ghana and became a citizen of that country in 1963, shortly before his death there at the age of 95.

Last Friday night, the four Los Angeles area clubs sponsored a coffee hour at the Mariposa street headquarters with a speaker from the National Committee to Abolish HUAC (House Committee on Un-American Activities.)

In San Francisco, the club has taken credit for the militant civil rights demonstrations resulting in arrests of 250 persons at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel and along automobile row.

Tracy Sims, 18-year-old leader of the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination, which staged the demonstrations, is secretary of the San Francisco DuBois Club. A Negro, she quit San Francisco State College after one semester to devote her time to civil rights.

At Berkeley, the DuBois Club was one of many organizations participating in the free speech movement on the University of California campus. It manned one of the recruiting and fund-raising tables set up in defiance of a university ban.

A disordered rented office in the basement of an old apartment building at 1653½ McAlister st., San Francisco, serves as national headquarters. In a clutter of papers, a mimeograph machine runs full blast.

Davis says there are only two paid employes in the national organization. He is one and gets $46 a week. The other is a girl who is attempting — unsuccessfully, so far — to publish a club magazine.

Unpaid regional coordinators are, for the West, Terrence Hallinan of San Francisco, son of controversial left-wing attorney Vincent Hallinan; for the Midwest, Peggy Goldman of Detroit, and for the East, Janet Turner of Philadelphia.

Immediate national programs of the DuBois Clubs, according to Davis, are threefold:

1. To oppose renewal of the House Committee on Un-American Activities when Congress convenes in January.

2. To work in coalition with other groups on the initial stages of planning a protest to have the United States get out of South Vietnam.

The Washin
THURSDAY, NOVE

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
WORLD AFFAIRS CAMP, PAINTED POST,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 22 - 29, 1964:

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

The "Social Service Directory For Metropolitan Chicago," issue of 1958, published by the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, describes the American Friends Service Committee as having been established in 1917 and as representing the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in fields of social action.

[redacted]

(1)

[redacted]

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963 a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including National Functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963 for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964 at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternatives."

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals or if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

The second source has also advised that at the founding convention it was voted that the organization should be temporarily headquartered in San Francisco, California, although no specific physical location was decided upon. This same source advised on June 29, 1964 that the temporary headquarters of this organization is 1007 McAllister Street, San Francisco, which is the headquarters of the W. E. B. DuBois Club of San Francisco.

Both sources have advised that at the founding convention two officers were elected:

The "People's World" is a West Coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

[redacted]

"This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency."

[redacted]

THE VIETNAM TRAGE.

A Vigil of Concern

We stand in silent vigil to express our concern:

American soldiers are dying in a country thousands of miles away--
Where we are unwanted
Where we are objects of fear and hatred
We are there--we say--to protect freedom

Is the cause of freedom advanced by continuing the war in Vietnam?

In this civil war thousands of Vietnamese are being killed and tortured, their villages, fields and homes burned. They have lived under a series of repressive, corrupt governments which have never been elected and are maintained only by American power.

As the war goes on, the Viet Cong continues to grow while the government becomes weaker and less popular. Last year 33,000 government troops deserted, 30,000 of whom joined the Viet Cong.

In spite of all our arms, soldiers and money (we are spending 2 million dollars a day) there is no freedom in South Vietnam.

Is the cause of freedom advanced by expanding the war in Vietnam?

Escalating the war in Vietnam by bombing bases in the North will mean more people killed, more villages and homes destroyed, more Vietnamese who will hate the "White American Imperialists" as they call us.

It may mean intervention by the Soviet Union and China. It could mean World War III. It does not mean more freedom. Is this a chance worth taking?

Can the cause of freedom be advanced by stopping the war in Vietnam?

If we were to withdraw our support, the war would be over in weeks. We could bring the matter to the United Nations. We could call for a reconvening of the 14-nation Geneva Conference.

--It is possible that all of Vietnam could be neutralized--

--It is possible that elections could be held under a UN presence that would bring a representative government--

--It is possible that using even part of the funds we are now spending on the war we could assist in projects that would help eliminate poverty, disease and hunger in Vietnam and other countries of Southeast Asia--

This is the fabric of freedom--this is the chance worth taking!

If you share this concern, will you join us in our silent vigil. We especially urge our fellow Americans:

TO WRITE OR WIRE

President Johnson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Urge him to END THE WAR! to NEGOTIATE!

Ad Hoc Committee To End The War In Vietnam---431 S. Dearborn---HA 7-2533

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois

February 25, 1965

WOMEN FOR PEACE

[redacted]

Source advised that three women led by [redacted], [redacted], Chicago Area, on February 19, 1965, held a silent vigil from 10:00 AM to 1:00 PM in front of the new Federal Building, 219 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois. The purpose of the vigil was to protest United States involvement in Vietnam. The women carried a poster which called for an end to the war in Vietnam and distributed copies of a leaflet captioned "The Vietnam Tragedy" self-described as issued by the "Ad Hoc Committee to End the War in Vietnam---431 S. Dearborn---HA 7-2533.

The Chicago Telephone Directory reflects this number is listed to the American Friends Service Committee, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Attached is a copy of the leaflet distributed at the above mentioned vigil.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside your agency.

EXCLUDED

[redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

405

n Reply, Please Refer to
ile No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
March 8, 1965

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING
U.S. INTERVENTION IN
VIETNAM
(PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
FEBRUARY 19-20, 1965)

A source furnished on February 15, 1965, two leaflets which were obtained by mail from the Friends Peace Committee (FPC), 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. These leaflets, one captioned "Nationwide Action on Vietnam" describing action and demonstrations planned for February 19-20, 1965, at Philadelphia, Pa., and another captioned "Declaration of Conscience" are attached hereto.

ENCLOSURE

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[redacted]

Nationwide Action on Vietnam

How does a government admit a mistake if it represents a vast bureaucracy and an investment of billions of dollars?

80% of the American people, according to a recent Gallop poll, want an end to the war in Vietnam, but that does not mean it will end--unless the attitudes are made visable and dramatic. Here are actions which will take place in Philadelphia:

Friday noon, Feb. 19: Declaration of Conscience public signing (see enclosed sheet)

Friday at 4:00 and 5:00: Motorcade for Peace in Vietnam Sponsored by Friends Peace Committee

Bring your car to Friends Select School 130 N. 16th, at either 4:00 or 5:00 to have signs mounted and to get the route of the caravan. The message will insist on unilateral withdrawal; the enphasis will be on "End the War in Vietna Bring a "navigator" with you to read the route, if possible.

Saturday, Feb. 20, from 12:00 to 5:00: Witness to Armed Forces volunteers Sponsored by Committee for Nonviolent Action-Philadelphia (3711 Spring Garden St.)

This direct action project involves placing our bodies on the steps of the Armed Forces recruiting station at 15th and Market Sts., saying, in effect, "We hope your facing having to step on us will make you think again about what the training will prepare you to do, especially in Vietnam. If you hesitate to step on us, you should hesitate even more to learn to kill others."

There will be a training session from 12 to 1 on Saturday, before proceeding to the station. You are required to come to the training in order to particip in the project. The discipline will be nonviolent, but will not involve "going limp" in case of arrest. The message will be for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and military aid from Vietnam.

Saturday, Feb. 20, from 1:00 to 5:00: Supporting demonstration for the witness

This silent demonstration will continue even if the participants in the Witness are arrested. It will explain the point of the witness, and urge immediate withdrawal of American troops and military aid from Vietnam. Its leaflets will condemn all outside interference in the affairs of the South Vietnamese, including interference from North Vietnam.

Send to: Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race St., Phila., Pa. 19102

_____ I will take part in the Motorcade at _____ p.m. on Feb. 19
_____ I will take part in the Witness to Armed Forces volunteers on Feb. 20
_____ I will be in the supporting demonstration for the Witness
_____ Enclosed is my contribution (for Friends Peace Committee) (for CNVA) [illegible]

[redacted]

Will you sign this?

DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

Because the use of the military resources of the United States in Vietnam and elsewhere suppresses the aspirations of the people for political independence and economic freedom;

Because inhuman torture and senseless killing are being carried out by forces armed, uniformed, trained and financed by the United States;

Because we believe that all peoples of the earth, including both Americans and non-Americans, have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the peaceful pursuit of happiness in their own way; and

Because we think that positive steps must be taken to put an end to the threat of nuclear catastrophe and death by chemical or biological warfare, whether these result from accident or escalation--

We hereby declare our conscientious refusal to cooperate with the United States government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam.

We encourage those who can conscientiously do so to refuse to serve in the armed forces and to ask for discharge if they are already in.

Those of us who are subject to the Draft ourselves declare our own intention to refuse to serve.

We urge others to refuse and refuse ourselves to take part in the manufacture or transportation of military equipment, or to work in the fields of military research and weapons development.

We shall encourage the development of other nonviolent acts, including acts which involve civil disobedience, in order to stop the flow of American soldiers and munitions to Vietnam.

Note: Signing or distributing this Declaration of Conscience might be construed as a violation of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which prohibits advising persons facing the draft to refuse service. Penalties of up to 5 years imprisonment, and/or a fine of $5,000 are provided. While prosecutions under this provision of the law almost never occur, persons signing or distributing this declaration should face the possibility of serious consequences.

[redacted]

Some of those who have signed are:

Rev. Dan Berrigan, S.J.
Rev. Philip Berrigan, S.S.J.
James Bristol
William C. Davidon
Dorothy Day
David Dellinger
W.H. Ferry
Rabbi Everett E. Gendler
George R. Lakey
Irving Laucks
Sidney Lens
Stewart Meacham
Morris R. Mitchell
A.J. Muste
Otto Nathan
A. Philip Randolph

THERE WILL BE A PUBLIC SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION ON NOON, FRIDAY FEBRUARY 19,

AT INTERNATIONAL HOUSE, 140 North 15th St., Phila., COMBINED WITH A PRESS CONFERENCE. If you can come and sign the Declaration at that time, please send the coupon below, or phone LO4-6063. If you cannot come in person, you may sign in advance and be included in the list handed to the press.

To: Stewart Meacham, 556 N. Judson St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19130

_____ I will sign the Declaration of Conscience at noon Friday, Feb. 19 at International House.

_____ I cannot come in person, but have read the Declaration of Conscience and hereby sign it.

34

_____ (signature) [redacted]

[redacted]

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING
U.S. INTERVENTION IN
VIETNAM
(PHILADELPHIA, PA., FEBRUARY 19-20, 1965)

The first source also furnished on February 23, 1965, the same leaflets above captioned "Nationwide Action on Vietnam" which was received by mail from the Philadelphia Council for a Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy (SANE), 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, postmarked February 16, 1965, which had added the notation "Although we are not sponsoring these actions we commend them to your attention."

Philadelphia SANE also issued a leaflet containing reprints from the New York Times, February 7, 8, and 11, 1965, which were articles critical of U.S. action in Vietnam and

[redacted]

[redacted]

urging recipients to write President JOHNSON with copies to other Senators and Representatives for a "SANE" policy.

ACTIVITY ON FEBRUARY 19, 1965

A second source advised on February 19, 1965, that a group of about 12 individuals, mostly women, attempted to hold a signing of a Declaration of Conscience at the International House, 140 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., but were denied access. This group then moved to the American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, where the signing of the Declaration of Conscience (DC) was completed without incident. This was done in the form of a press conference and press coverage was afforded and photos taken.

GEORGE LAKEY and WILLIAM WINGELL of the FPC were spokesmen for the group.

[redacted]

(Mount Clipping In Space Below)

)0 'Peace' Signers Assail S. Policy in Vietnam

By BILL FI ATI

a conscientious objector, or all war," said 26-year-William Wingell, one of / 200 persons in the area ave signed declarations of ence vowing not to co-e with the United States ment in the prosecution Vietnam conflict.

it 20 persons gathered yes- in a semi-secluded room American Friends Service ittee building and inked ames to the sharply word-ocuments, criticizing the policy.

ng and old, male and fe- they pledged not to serve armed forces and also sed to encourage others can conscientiously do so" ow suit.

Y AGREED to urge those ors already in the service for discharge.

they also have agreed to age "the development of on-violent means, including acts which involve civil disobedience, in order to stop the flow of American soldiers and munitions to Vietnam."

George Lakey, of 3711 Spring Garden st., executive director of the Friends Peace Committee and one of the originators of the nation-wide move, said the "signers are a little more heavily concentrated among intellectuals."

Four major reasons motivated the drawing up of the declaration.

ONE CITED by the group is that "inhuman torture and senseless killing are being carried out by forces armed, uniformed, trained and financed by the United States."

Lakey, 27, said all of the signers were aware of the fact they face possible prosecution if accused of violating the Universal Military Training Service Act.

Among those to sign yesterday was Robert Euler, 54, a Reading businessman.

"Faith and ethics must come in and fear go out," said Euler in calling for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. "This is the same kind of stuff as Hiroshima. Bombing. Trying to frighten people. Scare them. You don't make friends by bombing people. This one act has consolidated [illegible] called enemy."

MISS MARGARET LEVI, [illegible]-year-old Bryn Mawr student from Baltimore, declared a "protest action must be taken against the bombings."

Daughter of an Air Force veteran, she asked that positive, peaceful steps be taken to end the conflict.

Joel Malvern Benjamin, Jr., 44, of 37 Herman st., president of Bionic Instruments, manufacturers of medical research instruments, said he signed the declaration for both "moral and practical reasons." His "practical" reasoning is that the current action in Vietnam will never lead to a suitable solution.

Others who signed included two Episcopal priests, Rev. John P. Black, Jr., of the Church of the Advocate and Rev. Paul Hong of St. Clement's.

=11=

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p.8-"Daily News"
Philadelphia, Pa.

Date: 2/20/65
Edition: 4 star
Author: Bill Fidati
Editor: J.Ray Hunt
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Philadelphia
☐ Being Investigated

[redacted]

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING
U.S. INTERVENTION IN
VIETNAM
(PHILADELPHIA, PA., FEBRUARY 19-20, 1965)

The second source advised that a motorcade for peace in Vietnam sponsored by the FPC had taken place on February 19, 1965, from 4 to 5 p.m. beginning at the Friends Select School, 130 North 16th Street. There were no incidents in connection with this motorcade.

ACTIVITY FEBRUARY 20, 1965

On February 20, 1965, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed between 1 and 5 p.m. a demonstration in the vicinity of 15th and Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., About a dozen members of the Committee for Non-Violent Action of Philadelphia, Pa., sat on the steps and sidewalk of the Armed Forces Recruiting Station, 15th and Market Streets. The recruiting station was closed.

Across the street on the northwest corner of 15th and Market Streets the FPC conducted a supporting demonstration protesting U.S. action in Vietnam with 50 to 60 people participating. A counter demonstration by the Young Americans for Freedom was held in an adjacent area separated by heavy police guard and barricades. All demonstrations were orderly and there were no incidents.

[redacted], a writer for "The Worker" was observed watching the demonstrations.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

[redacted]

[redacted]

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING
U.S. INTERVENTION IN
VIETNAM
(PHILADELPHIA, PA., FEBRUARY 19-20, 1965)

Some of the picket signs read as follows:

"Refuse to Torture and Kill"

"Stop World War III Now"

"People of Vietnam need Peace"

"End the War in Vietnam"

"Already Too Many Have Died"

[redacted]

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING
U.S. INTERVENTION IN
VIETNAM
(PHILADELPHIA, PA., FEBRUARY 19-20, 1965)

The following leaflet captioned "An Appeal to the Conscience of America For Peace with Honor in Vietnam," issued by the Committee for Non-Violent Action, 3711 Spring Garden Street, and Peace Makers, 3810 Hamilton Street, was passed out by some of the pickets at the demonstration.

[redacted]

[redacted]

UPI Photo

'IT'
'O ARMED FORCES VOLUNTEERS

up of us are putting our bodies peace-
tween young men coming to volunteer,
recruiting desk. We do this to show
ply we are concerned about the horrible
which are being done in Vietnam in our
We hope that young men will ask them-
whether it is right to participate in the
and torturing and burning of homes.

nplore all people to protest the war in
a.

APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF AMERICA

FOR PEACE WITH HONOR IN VIETNAM

WE SUMMARIZE a few key facts from the daily pre
in case you missed any of these:

On Torture

"Terror is used for interrogation, as propaganda, as puni
ment and as revenge . . . Chances of surviving field int
rogation are often extremely poor. Death can come
prisoners under the tracks of armored vehicles, by deca
tation or by bleeding to death after both hands have b
chopped off or by a bullet through the head. It's all part
the war in South Vietnam." (Long Island *Newsday*, Oct.
1964)

On The Claim "We Are Defending A Free Peo

Walter Lippman declared last April: "The truth, which
being obscured from the American people, is that the Sai
government has the allegiance of probably no more than
per cent of the people."

On The Supply Of Arms From North Vietnam And China

[redacted]

EASY for Americans to believe that the mess in is as bad as it is.

ls of military coups and demonstrations by the people against the U. S.-backed government; of of 13-year-old boys and the spraying of poisons ir to destroy crops and livestock; of the napalm native villages and the herding of civilians into villages, which are essentially concentration e news is of military defeat and senseless deaths.

MERICANS are used to thinking that the United stands for freedom, democracy and peace — and United States gets involved in a foreign war it is of the people. It has taken Americans a long time hat this is not the case in Vietnam. Now that we cts, we have no honorable choice but to insist on te withdrawal of American troops and an end to aid to the Saigon government.

yne Morse (Oregon) has made the issues clear: no Chinese soldiers fighting in Vietnam; there tan soldiers. The only foreign troops are Amer- unilateral war being conducted by the United ietnam must be stopped; and the only force that is American public opinion."

WRITE OR WIRE PRESIDENT JOHNSON WITH YOUR VIEW.

TEE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION
ing Garden St., Phila. 4, Pa.

AKERS
milton St., Phila. 4, Pa.

me more information about the war in Vietnam
izations sponsoring this leaflet.
rk to end the war in Vietnam:
eep me informed about future action projects.

Richard Starnes wrote in the New York *World Telegra* January 4, 1965: "There is not one shred of credible dence that the bulk of munitions used by the Vietcong orig in the north. At the outset, the Vietcong used crude lo made weapons, but the bulk of their arms now are capt or otherwise acquired from the woefully inept defender South Vietnam."

On The Menace Of Communism

Norodhom Sihanouk, head of the government in neighbo Cambodia, has stated: "The more the Americans fight C munism in the way they are fighting it in South Vietnam, more they'll spread Communism over the region. It is not too late to stop the war and save South Vietnam fre complete Communization." (William Worthy, York, P *Gazette and Daily*, Dec. 31, 1964)

It may well be that some form of Communism will come Southeast Asia, whether the United States continues to inte vene or not. But in any case, the United States does not ha the right to tell the people of Southeast Asia what form government they must have, any more than the Russian Chinese do. Continuation of the war increases the dange domestic totalitarianism or additional foreign interventio

On Chinese Domination Of Vietnam

Both North and South Vietnam have always insisted on free dom from China. C. L. Sulzberger writes in the New Yo *Times* of December 5, 1964: "Ho [Ho Chi Minh, leader North Vietnam] worries about Washington's ultimate trum — the threat of wholesale escalation. Destructive air raid could upset Ho's wobbly economy and invite intervention b Peking's infantry. *The last thing Ho wants is Chinese occupation.* (Emphasis added.)

Every day that the United States continues to intervene increase the danger of intervention by the Chinese, since China and Vietnan are neighbors. The war in Vietnam could escalate into genera war with China and World War III.

WE MUST INSIST on immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troop from Vietnam, even though the situation may remain a tragic one. Many problems will remain, but withdrawal of U. S. troops will provide the only chance that the people of South Vietnam can become masters of their own destiny. Then the way will be oper for genuine negotiations about the problems of Southeast Asia, as distinct from manipulation by outside powers, and for friendly aid to the stricken peoples of the region, if they ask for it. This is the only peace with honor that is possible in Vietnam.

15a

[redacted]

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING
U.S. INTERVENTION IN
VIETNAM
(PHILADELPHIA, PA., FEBRUARY 19-20, 1965)

On March 3, 1965, [redacted], furnished by mail a copy of the above leaflet captioned "Appeal to the Conscience of America," and leaflet captioned "Nationwide Action on Vietnam," and a leaflet captioned Declaration of Conscience, previously described, which he said were passed out by the demonstrators on February 20, 1965, at 15th and Market Streets.

[redacted]

[redacted]

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon Morton Sobell,' the Rosenberg's codefendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then as the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'..."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In March, 1955, the current name, "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell," first appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company on April 20, 1964, lists the "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" (CSJMS) as being located at 940 Broadway, New York, New York.

[redacted]

(1)

[redacted]

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE (ICC)

A source advised the Independent Citizens Committee (ICC) was initiated and formed by the Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), in October, 1962, to build a left-center organization which would be able to initiate political activity. As of May 4, 1964, the policies of the ICC were dominated by the CPEPD through Communist Party members who were officers and members of the ICC.

[redacted]

(1) [redacted]

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, documents the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as follows:

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire, these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91)

A source advised December 21, 1957 and January 6, 1958 that LEONARD BOUDIN, constitutional lawyer and legal counsel for Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, made a speech December 20, 1957, accepting the Philadelphia Associates as a group to work with the national organization. This occurred at a Bill of Rights Day celebration sponsored by the Philadelphia Associates, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, at the Adelphia Hotel, Philadelphia.

A second source advised on May 23, 1962, that the Philadelphia Associates have not been active in the past two years, have no current active membership and do not maintain a headquarters in Philadelphia.

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[redacted]

[redacted]

407

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

MAR 19 1965

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC)

On February 27, 1965, a source furnished the following information concerning the Saturday Opinion Forum for high school students in the Philadelphia area held at Friends Select School, 17th and Parkway, Philadelphia, Pa., on February 20, 1965. This Forum was entitled "Latin America, Dynamite on Our Doorstep." The speakers were

[redacted] in his opening statements said that there was no blanket policy to fit Latin America as a unit because of the complete diversity - social, economic, political - which makes it extremely difficult to formulate a general policy for the area.

He next discussed an effective U. S. policy in Latin America. The United States is not omnipotent, he said, our power in Latin America is limited and we can, at best, "only help the Latin Americans to help themselves.

These are the good things about our policy in Latin America, as he sees them: First, the Alliance for Progress, which is the only substantial thing we are doing to combat a dangerous situation, or, indeed could do under the circumstances; second, LAFTA, the Latin American Free Trade Association, an organization similar to the European Common Market; third, the Central American Customs Union, smaller than LAFTA but more

[redacted]

ambitious; fourth, the OAS, which is worth saving, although it has serious shortcomings; fifth, our aid to the Latin American military dictatorships is discriminatory and tends to discourage those dictators whose policies are not parallel to ours.

The following are the bad points about our Latin American policy, according to [redacted] First, there is too wide a gap between our professional statesmen and what is practiced in Latin American policy. There is too much talk of what we are going to do, too much talk of democracy, of voting, of free enterprise; second, there is too much support of big business - it is unfortunate that our government has seen fit to identify with big business and private enterprise in Latin America. Third, there is too much reliance on the Alliance for Progress, some of our basic assumptions concerning which are false. He did not elaborate on the matter of the assumptions.

He said that there are a number of improvements that we can make in our Latin American policy which may well rectify the mistakes we have already made. First, we should recognize "Stateism" as he called it, and state socialism in Latin America, as we do in other parts of the world. We should cooperate with Latin American governments, no matter what their tenor; our refusal to do this stems from our desire to mold the governments of Latin America into our own image. These changes, he said, would result in the following: (1) relief of U. S. - Latin American tensions; (2) facilitation of development of Latin America; (3) encouragement of repatriation of Latin American capital that is urgently needed at home.

[redacted] opened his remarks with the statement that the reason we do not permit "Stateism" in Latin America is that we own Latin America. There are two types of domination over an area, he said, political domination and economic domination. During the period from 1920 to 1940, he said, we had political domination over Latin America; today, however, it is economic. Our policy on progress in Latin America is quite simple, according to [redacted]. We do not want development in Latin America.

He said that we have been forced to come to terms with Mexico, as representative of the countries which have undergone social revolutions.

[redacted]

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC)

[redacted] said that the United States, through its businessmen, goes in, buys up the main resource of a country, and then sits back and controls the purse-strings of that country. We have made Latin America our modern colonies, the source of our raw materials and a market for our finished products. The only responsible way to insure Latin America development is to allow the individual governments to assume control of the resources. But, since this would, in effect, force us to abandon our high standard of living, we discourage nationalization. Indeed, said [redacted], we need a sort of governmental intervention in our own economy.

There will be a revolution in Latin America, he said, because of our discriminatory policy toward the military in Latin America. This policy has been smart from our point of view, since we have aided only those who have agreed with us. "We the public have been hoodwinked to believe that nationalism is Communism," he said. The nationalists are the only kind of people who have the best interests of their countries at heart.

[redacted] commented on this - if the United States continues its current policy toward the Latin American states, there may well be an explosion.

[redacted] commented that we should have the same sort of relations with Cuba as we have with Mexico.

In the afternoon, [redacted], spoke on the Latin American situation from the standpoint of a Latin American. The nations of Latin America have a real sense of community, he said. There are a number of common denominators among the Latins, among them language - Spanish and Portuguese - and the backwardness of the people.

This backwardness of the people, together with the inadequacy of the governments to meet the demands of the people, have contributed, and are contributing, to the great social injustice in Latin America.

[redacted] went on to discuss the economic situation and that the United States was exploiting Latin America and that 40 percent of all U. S. profits earned by U. S. capital abroad came from Latin America. He discussed the oligarchy in Latin America. The oligarchy senses certain unrest and attempts to stop it but cannot.

[redacted]

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC)

[redacted] next said that there have been three revolutions of note in Latin America. He said that a revolution must come in the social and economic systems, because the current governments do not satisfy the human need for food; they do not satisfy the hunger for education on the part of the Latins; they cannot satisfy health needs. Revolution must come to Latin America, he said, and it will be an internal revolution, inspired from within rather than without. Will Latin American revolution come through bloodshed? he asked, or will Latin America be sensible enough to refrain from bloodshed? The three revolutions he referred to earlier were: (1) Mexico, 1910; (2) Bolivia, which did not go far enough; and (3) Cuba, 1959. He said that much can be learned from each one.

The United States is not fully responsible for the troubles of Latin America, he said. The search for a cause must be turned inward, to the Latins themselves, for changes must come from within. Changes are coming, [redacted] said, that will affect the present situation. The nations to the South will become responsible for their own natural resources; they will recover funds and resources now in foreign hands.

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC)

The first source also furnished the following items of literature which were obtained at the Saturday Opinion Forum, February 20, 1965:

1. A list of "Some Better Books" on Latin America selected by HEBERTO SEIN.

2. Petition captioned "An Appeal to the President of the United States," stating in part: "Therefore, we urge that the United States welcome the sitting of the Peoples Republic of China to the UN." This item was issued by the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, Philadelphia, Pa.

3. Ten pages of reprints captioned "What Does the Lord Require---?" containing various articles from newspapers and other publications generally critical of United States policy in Cuba.

4. A two-page paper captioned "Alliance of Progress--- An American Partnership," setting forth some information concerning the Alliance for Progress.

5. A four-page paper captioned "What Kind of Revolution?" by SIDNEY LENS excerpted from Fellowship Magazine of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and dated November 1, 1963.

[redacted]

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC)

6. Flyer captioned "China and the United Nations," issued by WILPF urging recipients to write to the President urging admission of Communist China to the UN.

7. Leaflet captioned "End the Draft" issued by the Peace Education Division of the AFSC.

8. Leaflet captioned "Let's End the Draft!" issued by the Student Peace Union, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

9. Leaflet captioned "What About the Draft?" published by the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia.

[redacted]

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC)

The third source advised on October 16, 1964, that the Friends Peace Committee is an adjunct of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends and seeks a peaceful nonviolent solution to racial and world tensions.

(1)

[redacted]

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE.

The April 6, 1960 edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening In Cuba", placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos-Buch identified himself and Robert Taber as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and Taber obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. This source added that during the past year there had been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that their influence as of May, 1963, was negligible.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 20, 1963 a second source advised that Vincent "Ted" Lee, FPCC National Office Director, was then formulating FPCC policy and had indicated that he had no intention of permitting FPCC policy to be determined by any other organization. This source stated that Lee believed that the FPCC should advocate resumption of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States and should support the right of Cubans to manage their revolution without interference from other nations. Lee did not advocate supporting the Cuban revolution per se.

The November 23, 1963 edition of "The New York Times" reported that Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut had called FPCC "the chief public relations instrument of the Castro network in the United States." It is to be noted that Senator Dodd was a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which twice conducted hearings on the FPCC.

[redacted]

(2)

[redacted]

The December 27, 1963 edition of "The New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper stated that the pro-Castro FPCC was seeking to go out of business and that its prime activity during its lifetime had been sponsorship of pro-Castro street rallies and mass picket lines, and the direction of an active propaganda mill highlighting illegal travel-to-Cuba campaigns. Its comparatively brief span of life was attributed to mounting anti-Castro American public opinion, the 1962 Congressional hearings which disclosed FPCC financing by Castro's United Nations Delegation, and ultimately, the bad publicity which the FPCC received from disclosure of activities on its behalf by suspected presidential assassin Lee H. Oswald.

On February 6, 1964 the previously mentioned second source advised that V. T. Lee had recently remarked that the FPCC was dead and that there were no plans to organize another similar organization.

On April 13, 1964 a third source advised that there had not been any FPCC activity in many months and that the FPCC had been dissolved.

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[redacted]

1 APPENDIX

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS (CHICAGO, ILLINOIS)

A source advised on May 13, 1963, that the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs (Chicago, Illinois) (ELFJWC) was formed in early 1951, following a National Convention of the Emma Lazarus Division of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, International Workers Order (JPFO) (IWO) in 1951.

A second source advised on May 12, 1964, that the National Headquarters of the ELF in New York City dictates the over-all policy and plan of the ELF in Chicago, while the local Chicago Council works out the details for its local affiliated clubs.

This source advised that the Chicago Branch of the ELF has no official headquarters; however, monthly council meetings are held at council members' homes. There are nine affiliated clubs in the Chicago ELF. The membership of the Chicago ELF consists of approximately 200 members. SYLVIA LEVINSON is Chairman.

A third source advised on September 9, 1961, that JACK KLING, a member of the State Board, Communist Party (CP) of Illinois, stated on September 7, 1961, that SYLVIA LEVINSON recently attended a meeting of Club Chairmen in the Albany Park Section of the CP of Illinois.

The JPFO and IWO have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

[redacted]

APPENDIX

1.

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF
JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS

"The Jewish Fraternalist" dated October, 1947, self identified as the official publication of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (JPFO) of the International Workers Order (IWO), on page 6, contained an article which reflected that the Emma Lazarus Division (ELD) of the JPFO was to hold its first national convention in New York City on November 15 and 16, 1947, after having been first established at a National Women's Conference called three years previously by the JPFO.

The "Morning Freiheit" on January 25, 1951, contained a report of the National Convention of the ELD of the JPFO which took place in New York City on January 20 and 21, 1951. At this convention it was noted that the ELD changed its name to Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs (ELF) and adopted a new constitution.

On May 14, 1964, a source advised that the ELF is one of several mass organizations comprising the Jewish cultural progressive movement. JUNE GORDON, ELF Executive Director, who is a member of the New York State Communist Party (CP) Board and Committee, is the leading force in the organization, whose leadership is largely made up of Communists.

The source stated that the ELF claims to be for peace and interested in protecting the rights of the foreign born. It is against the BEN GURION Government of Israel, bomb testing, anti-Semitism, Negro discrimination, and the rearmament of West Germany.

The source related that the ELF renders support to and receives support from the "Morning Freiheit" and other Jewish progressive organizations.

The source also stated that the ELF is recognized by the CP, USA, as an important progressive national organization of women.

The address of the national office of the ELF is 160 Fifth Avenue, Room 911, New York City.

[redacted]

[redacted]

2.

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF
JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS

The IWO and JPFO have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "Morning Freiheit:"

"1. A 'Communist Yiddish daily'. (Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686).

"2. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest organs of Communist propaganda in this country for almost a quarter of a century.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 75)."

APPENDIX

[redacted]

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APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 154 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternatives."

[redacted]

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals, or if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

The second source has also advised that at the founding convention it was voted that the organization should be temporarily headquartered in San Francisco, California, although no specific physical location was decided upon. This same source advised on June 29, 1964, that the temporary headquarters of this organization is 1007 McAllister Street, San Francisco, which is the headquarters of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club of San Francisco.

Both sources have advised that at the founding convention two officers were elected:

PHILIP CHAPIN DAVIS, President, and
CARL ELLENGER BLOICE, Publications Chairman.

A third source has advised that on October 26, 1962, PHILIP DAVIS attended a CP recruiting class held at 1579 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, California.

A fourth source has advised that CARL BLOICE, reporter for the "People's World" newspaper, was, on April 3, 1964, elected to the newly organized San Francisco County Committee of the CP.

The "People's World" is an West Coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

APPENDIX

[redacted]

1 APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On July 1, 1964, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who had attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the National DCA.

Elected as its officers were THEODORE PEARSON, President, and DON WEATHERALL, Vice President, both of whom are members of the Youth Club of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

The DCC does not have a headquarters in Chicago and is currently utilizing the address of its President, 1808 North Cleveland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, as a temporary headquarters.

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APPENDIX

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[redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

408

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

MAR 24 1965

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
(AFSC)

On February 8, 1965, a source furnished the following information:

A Saturday Opinion Forum for high school students was held on January 30, 1965, at the Friends Select School, 17th and the Parkway, Philadelphia, Pa. This forum was one of a series sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Friends Peace Committee. The topic of the Saturday Opinion Forum on January 30, 1965, was "Information Analysis: Propaganda, The Press and You." The speakers were

The source further reported in part as follows:

[redacted] and [redacted] began the forum with a debate on the topic, "Are there systematic distortions in the American news coverage, and if so, why?" [redacted] moderated.

[redacted] after a few introductory remarks, stated that there are systematic, or rather systemic, distortions of the American news; these are not an organized, concerted effort to distort the news, but rather the result of certain factors which are taken for granted. Among these

factors are the assumptions that the police are always in the right, that anyone who is on public assistance is a cheat, a chiseler, a bum, etc. In our coverage of foreign news, the basic assumption is that there are "strange and ominous happenings in the world"-- which is true. A secondary, but equally important assumption is that, whenever the government chooses to take measures with respect to these happenings, it is perfectly all right; the only reports on the government action are whether it has succeeded or not. In the areas in which the government has no interest, the press is made to assume that the public also has no interest, as witness the People's Republic of China.

[redacted] cited as support for his claim that there is distortion in the U. S. press of the Congo crisis of November 1964. At that time, he said, there arose a conflict between the Tshombe regime and the Congolese rebels. White settlers in the Congo, threatened by the rebels, necessitated military intervention on the part of the United States, Great Britain and Belgium. [redacted] contends that the "mercy mission" undertaken by the United States and Belgium was, in reality, an attempt to occupy Stanleyville and turn it over to the central regime at Leopoldville. In other words, it was not a mission of peace, but an act of war. Since that time, the United States and Belgium have been providing funds, arms, etc., to the Tshombe regime for the support of his white mercenaries.

At the same time that the Western nations were intervening in the Congo, [redacted] said, there were negotiations in progress in Kenya for the extradition of the whites, and, indeed, the whites were not the only ones in danger of being killed. The fact that the American people have not been told (a) of the Kenya negotiations or (b) of the millions of native Congolese in danger, is ample proof of news distortion.

[redacted] opened his remarks with the statement that distortion in a report, be it oral or written, is almost inevitable in human terms. The event is seen through the human eye which, like any lens, can distort even when the

reporter is doing his best to refrain from distortion. He defined distortion as "insertion of false material or suppression of the truth."

With reference to the Congo, [redacted] said that Tshombe is the best man in the Congo, but that he may be replaced in six months by a general election. The rebellion in the Congo is the same sort of thing as the American Civil War, and the rebels are in the wrong just as surely as the American South was in the wrong. The rebels are Red supported--supported by Red China.

[redacted] said that, working abroad, one must look at what one considers the most important facets of the news.

[redacted] continued his remarks on the Congo with a reference to the rebels. The rebels call themselves the People's Democratic Republic of the Congo, a title which, according to [redacted], is quite inaccurate: they do not represent the people of the Congo, nor are they democratic. They are rebels and cannot be called anything else. [redacted] concluded by refuting [redacted]s assertion that the mercy mission was in reality a military one; at Stanleyville, the rebels held five United States foreign service officers and several United Nations technical aides. We were not merely rescuing our own citizens, he said, but performing a service to the United Nations.

[redacted] next made his rebuttal: the American rebels of 1776 were just as illegitimate as the Congolese rebels of today. The Africans are merely catching up to where we were 180 years ago, and we are looking at them in the same light that the British looked at us. We are being provincial in our outlook. We want to live in a world which excludes certain systems and peoples, according to [redacted]. He then quoted the January 28 editorial from his newspaper, entitled "Congo Brainwash." The gist of this article was that the American people are not being given the whole truth in the Congo crisis. Another comment was one to the effect that Tshombe is an agent of the economic interests in the United States, Great Britain, and Belgium who wish to keep the uranium stocks of the Congo in their hands.

[redacted]

[redacted]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

[redacted] replied to this with the remark that an economic explanation was distortion in itself. To be sure, the Union Miniere is a Belgian concern. But consider this, he said: when Tshombe was premier of Katanga Province, he seceded from the Congolese central government. The then premier, Lumumba, appealed to the United Nations for aid and received it. Tshombe was driven out. The power went to Cyrille Adoula after Lumumba's assassination; Adoula, incidentally, was a weak character who could not keep power in the same way that Lumumba had. Tshombe was called in to fill the leadership gap; he now occupies the same position that Adoula once had, receives the same support; and why is this? According to [redacted], it is because Tshombe is the legitimate premier of the Congo. To be sure, he said, the rebels murdered many natives--they murdered anyone who could read and write, or who had a radio, as "American imperialists." He finished his remarks by saying that one should read many newspapers to find the proper viewpoint; one newspaper should be corrected by another.

Next was a question and answer session.

A final question was directed to [redacted] Have U. S. newsmen been allowed into North Viet Nam? He replied that they have not, and cited a similar case when 28 American reporters were to enter Red China from Hong Kong, but their entry was blocked by Red China. [redacted] commented that this was because the United States has refused to accept the Red Chinese terms of the reciprocal arrangement, whereby Red Chinese reporters could come to the United States.

In the afternoon, [redacted] discussed his concepts of what is propaganda.

The September 16, 1963 issue of the "New York Times" contained a story on page one relating to a rally of students on September 15, 1963, held at Town Hall, New York City. The rally was held by American students who had traveled to Cuba. Among the speakers was JAMES HIGGINS, assistant editor of the York "Gazette and Daily," who helped take a collection for the students' legal defense, future trips and the family of one traveler who died in Cuba.

[redacted]

1)

[redacted]

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA

"The Columbia Owl", weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York City, December 12, 1962 issue, page one, contained an article entitled, "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays." This article stated in part that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was formed October 14, 1962 by a group of students from New York City universities, the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin College and the University of North Carolina, who stated that as students they would like a chance to see and evaluate the situation in Cuba for themselves and had received an offer of transportation and two weeks stay in Cuba from the Federation of University Students in Havana, as guests of the Federation. The Committee accepted the offer and applied to the United States State Department for passport validation which was refused; however, over fifty students planned to defy the State Department ban and go to Cuba.

A source advised on December 6, 1962 that during December, 1962, it was learned that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba had recently been formed by the Progressive Labor Group.

A second source advised on September 13, 1963 that a group of 59 individuals who had assembled in New York City, departed New York City by air on June 25, 1963 and traveled to Paris, France; Prague, Czechoslovakia; and then to Havana, Cuba. The group remained in Cuba until August 24, 1963, at which time they departed by air for New York City via Madrid, Spain. The group arrived in New York City on August 29, 1963.

The same source advised that the leaders of the group were members of Progressive Labor and the trip was planned and organized by Progressive Labor members.

"The Columbia Owl", March 11, 1964 issue, page one, carried an article captioned, "Another Visit to Cuba Students Will Defy Student Travel Ban This Summer." This article sets forth in part that three members of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba spoke at an assembly sponsored by the Progressive Labor Club of Columbia University. At this assembly VICKI ORTIZ, Student Committee for Travel to Cuba campus representative, stated that the Federation of University Students in Havana had extended another invitation for 500 students to visit Cuba in 1964. Miss ORTIZ stated that the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was, therefore, planning another trip to Cuba in July, 1964.

[redacted]

(2)

[redacted]

A third source advised on February 6,1964 that he had received information that the name of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was changed to the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, in February, 1963. After the group arrived back in the United States from Cuba, in the latter part of August, 1963, the name of the organization was changed to the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

A fourth source advised on October 9, 1963 that the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was utilizing Post Office Box 2178, New York 1, New York, as its mailing address.

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[redacted]

409

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATE ANMENT

Memorandum

[redacted]

DATE: 3/26/65

M : [redacted]

ECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[redacted]

The Chicago Office has advised that the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization which is pacifist in nature, would sponsor a lobby to end the war in Viet Nam for two weeks beginning March 29, 1965.

This lobby is described as composed of a group of influential people, not further identified, who will travel to Washington, D. C., during the above period to speak to Congressmen and urge them to use their influence to end the war in Viet Nam.