



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE**

PART 4 OF 25

FILE NUMBER : 100-11392

SUBJECT; AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

FILE #: 100-11392

SECTION: 4

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

SEATTLE, WASH.

SE

FILE NO.

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| REPORT MADE AT SEATTLE, WASH. | DATE WHEN MADE 8-11-49 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 7/5, 15, 18, 19, 26/49 | REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] |
| TITLE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE | | | CHARACTER OF CASE [REDACTED] |

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Confidential Informant (T-1) advised that Institute of International Relations held 6/19-26/49 at Wesley House, 4205 15th Avenue, NE, Seattle, sponsored by American Friends Service Committee. Remarks by [REDACTED] against conscription. Literature available reflected purposes of organization to affect repeal and/or avoidance of draft through religious belief.

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DETAILS:

This investigation is predicated upon information furnished by Confidential Informant (T-1, an individual of unknown reliability, concerning the Institute of International Relations held June 19-26, 1949 at Wesley House, Seattle, Washington.

Confidential Informant (T-1) advised that she had attended the Institute of International Relations held in Seattle June 19-26, 1949 in Wesley House, 4205 15th Avenue, NE. (She) advised that this meeting was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. Members of the Seattle school system who attended the institute were awarded four credits by the Seattle School Board.

This informant advised that the general subject of discussion at the Institute concerned "What are we going to do to bring about world peace?" She stated that there were approximately 250-300 people in attendance at the Institute of which 75 to 100 were from the Seattle School System seeking the four credits being granted by the Board.

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| APPROVED AND FORWARDED: | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES | |
| <div style="text-align: center;">177</div> | <div style="text-align: center;">(Info)</div> | | |

SE- [REDACTED]

During the course of the Institute, those in attendance would gather during the morning to hear discussions by the Institute speakers. Following this the group would break up into "minicons", 16 small groups, for discussion purposes which took place during the rest of the morning.

In the afternoon the Institute speakers conducted panel discussions speaking to the entire group.

During the evening the program consisted of the Institute speakers talking to the entire group.

The "minicons" described above met each day and findings were made concerning the resulting agreements in the group meetings; however, the informant stated that the findings printed by the Institute and made available to those in attendance did not conform with the discussions and agreements in the "minicons".

This informant stated that the Institute speakers in general used as their basic approach the thought that they were fighting conscription and through that medium were promoting peace. The most forceful speaker at the Institute was one [REDACTED] of New York City who discussed in brief "What Have We to Fear from Russia?" He proceeded to state that the situation must be analyzed carefully and that perhaps "we" are violators ourselves. He stated that "we" have no reason to fear Russia that such fear is merely our imagination. [REDACTED] stated that when Roosevelt "had us bombed at Pearl Harbor we had to fight" but that he ([REDACTED]) did not intend to fight any more.

It is to be noted that on February 12, 1947 [REDACTED] participated in a demonstration held in New York City regarding military conscription. A meeting followed this demonstration which meeting was under the chairmanship of [REDACTED] and was sponsored by the Break With Conscription Committee and was held in the Labor Temple in New York City. At this meeting 42 draft cards were collected, torn, and placed in a metal kettle to be burned. [REDACTED] had made the announcement that those desirous of burning their cards should form a line and announce their names. [REDACTED] participation was observed by Special Agents of the New York Office as follows:

The various speakers at this Institute were listed on an announcement put out through the services of the American Friends Service Committee and included [REDACTED], New York City; [REDACTED] Portland

SE ~~REDACTED~~

Madras, India;
Philadelphia;
New York City;
Pullman, Wash;
Missoula, Montana.

China;
New York City;
Birmingham, England;
New York City;

Seattle;

In addition to those listed above, ~~REDACTED~~ of Seattle spoke as an unlisted speaker. ~~REDACTED~~ stated at the outset that he didn't quite feel the same way about a lot of things as did the other speakers. However, his remarks concerning the statistics dealt with U. S. production and did not concern themselves with the problems of conscription.

Available at the meeting on tables in the Wesley House was a large amount of literature. The informant has made available individual copies of this literature which have been attached as exhibits to this report.

A small pamphlet entitled "Freedom of Religion and the Present Draft Law" stated in part:

"We have had presented to us the subject of the Selective Service Act of 1948 and the way in which our Federal Government authorities are dealing with conscientious objectors under its provisions. There have been prosecutions and convictions of a considerable number of young men who have not registered under the law, most of them on religious grounds. Others are under arrest. The heavy prison sentences imposed represent harsher treatment than is accorded to many guilty of crimes of moral turpitude. There have been prosecutions, too, for encouraging or supporting such religious objectors in following their consciences. Many of those undergoing these experiences are members of our Religious Society; some of them members of our own Philadelphia Yearly Meetings.

"We are disturbed by these events because we are profoundly concerned that the supremacy of religion shall not be denied and that religious liberty shall not be curtailed.

"Regarding this all-important subject, we ask our officials and our fellow citizens to think deeply. We feel compelled to state what we believe.

"We believe in government and in the capacity of the state to be an instrument of the Kingdom of God; we believe in loyalty to it and in obedience to its laws, so long as it is such an instrument.

"But we believe that the loyal citizen, acting by the light which God gives him in his conscience, must judge whether his government is serving as the instrument of God's Kingdom.

"We believe that now, in our time, in our country, the great issue is being drawn between the way of Divine love revealed by Jesus Christ, and the way of the military system.

"We believe the Draft Law is one chief point at which these two ways of life are in conflict.

"We believe in religious liberty, in the freedom and responsibility of every citizen to determine this issue for himself, prayerfully, as in God's sight."

A small four page pamphlet entitled "Advises on Conscription and War" published by the Religious Society of Friends in the United States", listed eight points as follows:

"1. To support Young Friends and others who express their opposition to conscription either by non-registration, or by registration as conscientious objectors. We warmly approve civil disobedience under Divine compulsion as an honorable testimony fully in keeping with the history and practices of Friends.

"2. To recognize that the military system is not consistent with Christ's example of redemptive love, and that participation, even in a non-combatant capacity, weakens the testimony of our whole Society. Nevertheless, we hold in respect and sympathetic understanding all those men who in good conscience choose to enter the armed forces.

"3. To extend our religious concern and assistance to all conscientious objectors who may fall outside the narrow definition of the Selective Service Act of 1948.

"4. To avoid engaging in any trade, business, or profession directly contributing to the military system; and the purchase of government war bonds or stock certificates in war industries.

"5. To consider carefully the implication of paying these taxes, a major portion of which goes for military purposes.

SE [REDACTED]

"6. To ask our Quaker schools and colleges to refuse to accept military training units or contracts, or military subsidies for scientific research, and to advise Young Friends not to accept military training in other institutions.

"7. To create a home and family atmosphere in which the ways of love and reconciliation are so central that the resort to violence in any relationship is impossible.

"8. To help develop the institutions, methods, and attitudes necessary to a harmonious and peaceful world; to replace political anarchy, national sovereignty and war by law and government; to press for world disarmament beginning unilaterally with the United States, if necessary, instead of the present armament race; to work for the immediate repeal of draft legislation; and to share willingly and sacrificially our resources for the rebuilding of the world.

An eight-page pamphlet entitled ^X"25 Years of 'No' To War", published by WRL (War Resisters League) listed an itemization of the history of the WRL beginning in 1923. On page four of this pamphlet it is stated:

"Calling All War Resisters - Again, war has brought no peace, no security anywhere. With millions dead, other millions dying in Slave-labor camps or perishing in so-called 'freedom' throughout a ruined Europe, with Communism rife, and Fascism by no means dead, the skies are dark indeed. But for War Resisters there must be no retreat.

"Now that the Selective Service Act of 1948 has passed into law despite the long and valiant efforts of the peace forces to defeat it, the League must take stock of fresh responsibilities. Since this Act, like its predecessor, provides no absolute exemption for those whose consciences forbid any submission whatever to Conscription, the League will work to gain absolute freedom for such men from conscripted service, whether in prison or out of it. On the other hand it will also lend its aid to those able to accept alternative service. Opposing Conscription on principle, it will cooperate vigorously with all working for the repeal of the Act and will urge our government to propose to its delegates to the United Nations the universal abolition of Conscription.

"Equally the League will combat today's mounting militarism in all its forms. It will strive for the disarmament of this nation and of the world. Using peaceful techniques, we League members will strive again and again to convince our fellow Americans not only that an atomic war may well dig the grave of civilization, but that point-blank renunciation of war by the individual, by groups and by nations is necessary to avert this

SE [REDACTED]

"catastrophe. On the organizational level we must likewise convince them that peace and democracy demand for their survival a universal federal World government with law-enforcement upon the individual offender, not military coercion upon the nation-states, --- which is war."

"THEREFORE WE INTEND:

- "1. To unite and support all war resisters in their opposition to military conscription, both in peace and in war.
2. To educate the greatest possible number of men and women in the principles and methods of war resistance.
3. To promote immediate disarmament on a world-wide scale and especially in our own nation.
4. To promote the sharing among all people of the world's natural wealth and the international control of immigration.
5. To strive to end all exploitation of colonial peoples and foreign territories by our own country and others, whether this exploitation be open imperialism or subtly disguised economic power politics.
6. To promote the abolition of national sovereignty in favor of one world community.
7. To strive to end all exploitation and discrimination based on race, color or religion.

TO CARRY OUT THESE GENERAL AIMS THE LEAGUE PROPOSES:

1. To knit actively together those who agree with these aims.
2. To urge each individual member to strive to form in his own community a vital, articulate organization which should undertake education and action toward the realization of these aims.
3. To train its members in the effective use of educational and other techniques for calling public attention to our views about important public issues.

4. To seek the establishment of regional groups and offices in every important center or large city in the country.
5. To encourage its members to participate actively in labor unions; trade associations; civic, youth and social organizations; political parties and other groups whose aims are compatible with war resistance, and thus make our viewpoint felt as widely as possible.
6. To cooperate with the War Resisters' International in organizing the Americas and other countries.
7. To ask each member to contribute regularly each week or month toward the fulfillment of this program in accordance with his means.

PURPOSE AND PROGRAM

"Our Object is to unite men and women who have determined to give no support to any war, irrespective of the reasons - political, religious or humanitarian - which have led them to take the stand.

"War is the final negation of the principles of democracy that permit free human development. We therefore refuse to support war in any form, and we are committed to work for its total abolition.

"Where government rests on sheer force the result is either tyranny or chaos. In the last analysis the elimination of war rests in the conscience and moral standards of mankind.

"Our task is to promote within the government and its representatives the belief that common honesty and decency such as we expect from individuals must be applied to all public matters. The more fully a nation and its institutions act in the way we expect an honorable, just and respectable individual to act, the healthier and better that nation will be.

"Military conscription is an integral part of war. Conscription is a denial of the basic democratic theory that human personality has a primary value and that this value can only be realized through freedom of self-direction. Therefore, we are unalterably opposed to military conscription.

SE- [REDACTED]

"We believe in the desirability of such political and economic changes as will achieve a cooperative world based on justice and equal opportunity for all. We recognize that great change is already taking place but we believe that war is directing that change toward the destruction of freedom. Without freedom, society must deteriorate.

"Believing that conscience is not confined to any particular race, religion, political or economic creed, the War Resisters League welcomes to membership all persons committed to the abolition of war and to the refusal to give war their support.

"The League will devote itself to a program of action and education based on these principles. It expects its members to participate through continued study and by individual example."

The pamphlet entitled "The Position of the Society of Friends in Regard to War", and published by the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., dated November 1939, outlined the history of the Society of Friends regarding war, dating from 1650 to 1939 and gave short quotations regarding this item.

Also available was a large two-page pamphlet published by The Committee for Conscientious Objectors, entitled "The Harry Sara Case", which pamphlet discussed the conviction of HARRY SARA which was allegedly based upon a violation of his religious freedom. This pamphlet stated that thousands have done what Sara did, and to single him out for prosecution is a gross inequality in the administration of justice. But much more important is this interpretation of law which makes such a minority to others a crime, which makes a man a felon for supporting another's obedience to conscience.

A pamphlet entitled "This Young Man is Now Federal Convict 7002" was published by the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, and stated the brief stories of four men who had been arrested and imprisoned for their conscientious opposition to a law of our time.

These pamphlets have been identified by the informant.

The informant stated that it would be difficult for her to furnish any summary as to what had taken place at the Institute other than the information related above and she stated in conclusion that the purpose of the Institute was apparently to discuss and bring before the group the problem of what might be done to bring about world peace.

Office Memorandum

m • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11-7-49

FROM : SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[REDACTED]

Enclosed herewith are two mimeographed sheets of paper, setting forth a summary of the program of the above captioned organization in China. The Program is headed October, 1949, and is sent for the information of the Bureau.

This Program was received by the Boston Office from [REDACTED], an employee of the City of Boston, who resides at [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] states that the Communists have been infiltrating the "American Friends Service Committee."

No further inquiries are being made in connection with this Organization, in the absence of specific Bureau instructions.

100 - 11392 - 116

October, 1949

American Friends Service Committee Program in

CHINA

Periodic Summary No. 10

This new Periodic Summary has been delayed because of the lack of detailed information about the program of the Friends' Service Unit's activities. But, from occasional telephone calls and much-delayed mail, we are now able to pass on some news.

The Unit now consists of 50 members, of whom 18 are Chinese, 17 Americans, 10 British, 2 each from New Zealand and Canada, and 1 from Germany. Projects are in Honan, Szechwan, Shantung and Kansu Provinces, and in Hong Kong. Headquarters are at Shanghai. Among the members are six doctors, six nurses, two medical technicians, and assorted mechanics, lay medical workers and administrative people. Thirty-eight of the members work in Communist territory, seven in Nationalist, as of mid-September, and seven in Hong Kong.

Travel restrictions have caused enormous difficulties for the FSU during the past few months. The new government has not established any system of entry permits for foreigners, and the home committees in Philadelphia and London have not been able to get anyone into Communist China since spring. The most recent appointees have been sent to Hong Kong where they will work among the refugee population pending permission for them to enter China. Meanwhile, Unit members already in Communist China have not been allowed to travel freely, though permission has been granted in a few cases where Unit members have needed to travel on business.

Chungmou Village Project

A few weeks after the end of World War II, an advance team of Friends' relief workers entered Honan, the most heavily devastated province in the country. Remnants of the defeated Japanese armies were still around. The major task of the Friends Unit was to rehabilitate and staff three mission hospitals which had become derelict during the war. This task was accomplished and the hospitals handed back to the respective missions by mid-1947. Meanwhile, the Unit became interested in the town of Chungmou, 95 percent demolished by years of flood and bombardment. A comprehensive scheme of village rehabilitation was planned, including medical, educational and health services, the fostering of industrial co-operatives, agricultural demonstration and other services. The first Unit workers entered Chungmou in May of 1948, and during the succeeding three years a great variety of services and experiments took place, some highly successful, others moderately so, and still others failures. Mostly through the hard work of the citizens of Chungmou, the town has been largely restored to normal. Civil war swept the area in 1948, but now all is peaceful. Days of emergency relief and outside aid for Chungmou are over, and 1949 has seen a steady shrinkage of Unit activities there. The only Unit project now still operating is the hospital.

The Friends' Hospital, conceived, built and staffed by the Unit, remains a Unit responsibility and a permanent contribution to the people of the area. A recent available report of the hospital was made in August, and reads in part as follows: "...the Hospital has been overworked and understaffed...the Hospital is by far the most successful part of the work in Chungmou and while minor disturbances have arisen, the work of the hospital has been appreciated by the local people and the

local government. The voluntary payment plan which has been in operation during this period has reduced the income of the hospital somewhat, but on the whole...it has been a good thing.

The number of in-patients has arisen until the "25" bed hospital has 40 patients much of the time, with the OPD following suit. The hospital has continued to build, completing the original building by flooring the attic, and is still enlarging the plant by the addition of out-buildings.

Many of the other services initiated by the Unit continue to operate under governmental or private auspices, viz: power-driven well-drilling rig, the brick kilns, the textile equipment, the foundry, the machine shop and the primary school. The school was started in 1946 as the only one for many miles around. At that time, the local government was unable to provide any educational facilities. The Unit school was always very popular in the community, and its capacity was never enough to accommodate more than a fraction of the children seeking admittance.

Kala-azar (Medical Team 22)

For over three years, FSU teams have been traveling from village to village in north-central China, combatting the deadly disease of kala-azar. About 75 percent of the victims of the disease (spread by a minute sandfly) are children under 12 years, who die a painful death after months or years of illness. When untreated, the disease is fatal in 95 percent of the cases, but 95 percent recover if treated by a simple series of injections.

Beginning last autumn, the Unit arranged a joint kala-azar campaign in the Yellow River Valley with the local government, whereby Unit and official resources would be pooled, thus increasing the effectiveness of each. A report of the new campaign from 1 November, 1948 to 31 March, 1949, has recently been received and reads in part as follows:

"...The area chosen for the campaign is the Chi-Lu-Yu, a border region which forms a rough triangle, bordered in the northwest by the Wei Ri River, in the northeast by the Grand Canal, and in the south by the Lung-hai Railroad between Hsichow and Lameng. It is estimated that there are about 20,000 cases [in this area].

The campaign began in November, 1948, with the training by the FSU Kala-azar Team of three further diagnostic-treatment teams, personnel being supplied by the Public Health Department, and drugs and some equipment by FSU. These teams began work in the field in the middle of December. Up to Chinese New Year (Feb. 1st), the total number of cases treated was 670. This small number once again demonstrated [that] during the cold weather patients are unwilling to leave their homes to receive treatment.

After New Year only three teams were in the field because the personnel of team C were engaged in the government's mass vaccination campaign. (Other personnel were not available.) The setting up of further teams is prevented by lack of Government personnel, and in order to increase the intensity of the campaign, drugs have been distributed to all hospitals with facilities for the treatment of kala-azar. The doctors at these hospitals have been given lectures, and treatment throughout the area is standardized. Follow-up of all cases will be attempted in co-operation with the various hsien governments."

A later report states that from 1 November, 1948, to 15 April, 1949, a total of 1,000 kala-azar patients were treated.

Hankin: Medical Team (M.T. 24)

This team working among refugees in Hankin wound up operations at the end of

Emergency Medical Team at Yungcheng (M.T. 24)

In response to an urgent request from the government authorities, the Unit dispatched a medical team in February to Yungcheng, in eastern Honan province, a 18-hour railway journey northwest of Hanking. This town, now in Communist territory, is on the edge of the great battlefield of Hanchow, where thousands of Nationalist soldiers were surrounded and wiped out. Through fighting and aerial bombardment, whole villages were effaced, and some 50,000 civilians and soldiers, many desperately wounded were without any real medical aid. During the early weeks, the team with the help of locally-mobilized workers provided emergency treatment for bullet and shrapnel wounds, did general medical work, traveled from village to village giving injections against typhoid, cholera and smallpox, and established a kala-azar clinic. Later, it set up a small "hospital". During the period of 16 May through 28 July, 14,346 patients were seen exclusive of 203 surgical cases.

Dr. Shirley Gage, team leader, reported in August:

"...As the end of our six months emergency period came to an end, the government and the people of the area asked us to stay on at least for an additional three months, and because of the good, if pretty rough, setup, and the very pleasant and cooperative relations with the people and the local government, we were glad to be able to stay on. Nevertheless, with the coming of cold weather it will no longer be possible to undertake surgery and adequate care for in-patients, and I feel that the team should definitely move into winter quarters.

Altogether the team feels that the work has definitely been worthwhile, and a good example of how a small team with limited personnel and facilities can still take care of a fairly large number of patients."

West China Transport

West China is now a separate world. Still nominally in Nationalist control, its communication with the rest of China has been almost completely severed. The Unit's West China Transport project communicates with Shanghai headquarters via Philadelphia. A Unit-operated fleet of trucks is still carrying medical supplies donated by the International Relief Committee to widely scattered hospitals throughout the west. Only a few tons of supplies are left to distribute, and meanwhile, the increase of bandit and guerrilla activities along the highways have added to the difficulties of the Unit convoy leaders. Trucks have been delayed for weeks on end by contending armies.

Chinese Industrial Cooperatives Training School in Kansu

Two PSU members are on indefinite loan to the CIC's famous "Baile School" in the small and remote town of Fantan, Kansu province. Here, boys and girls are receiving practical training in small-scale industries, and cooperative principles. Anthony Curwen and Courtney Archer assist in English and accounting instruction, and in the administration of the school.

Refugee Work in Hong Kong

At the request of the Department of Welfare of the Hong Kong Government the PSU has agreed to supply a team providing medical and welfare services at a government refugee camp. The team is now being assembled and will include a doctor, a laboratory technician, a mechanical engineer and two or three lay members. The team will live at the refugee camp at North Point, Hong Kong. The project is still in the planning stage. David White, the Unit's agent in Hong Kong, writes the following

"...The physical plant seems very good. There are about 12 long shed-like buildings, each about 75 ft. long and 20 ft. wide. Some of these are divided into separate living quarters and others are one large dormitory. They have concrete floors, plenty of windows and ventilation and are well lit. A central one-story brick structure provides the necessary plumbing facilities. Within the barbed wire enclosed area of about 1 acre live 457 persons. Nearly 200 of these are orphans. Another 50 to 75 are cripples and the remainder are married couples, some with children and perhaps a few without. They represent many nationalities, and although there was some friction at the start they all get along well now. These people are here for various reasons, that for the orphans and cripples is quite evident. Others were uprooted by the Japanese occupation, some apparently lack a trade or skill whereby they can earn a living...In addition to these people, the Government has placed in these same camps orphans which other orphanages consider too tough to handle. Their association with the adults in the camp isn't doing them any good, but the Government has no other place for them other than the reformatory. Only a selected few go outside to school, the rest attend classes in the camp. These are taught by two untrained teachers only the basic minimum in reading and writing. To the best of my knowledge the camp staff consists of 3 people; director, his secretary and assistant and a man who seems to be a general overseer and director of work. The camp provides shops for sewing, basket making, carpentry, and mechanics but no personnel to direct these enterprises or give instruction. The big jobs awaiting the Unit are along the lines of rehabilitation and medicine...Many of these people need a push in the right direction so they can pick up some crut and go out and get work...The director of the camp is at the moment awaiting the arrival of 50 or so refugees from Shanghai and no doubt there will be many from around Canton as the fighting approaches that area. From all indications the work at this camp will increase greatly before it tapers off."

* * *

During recent months, four Unit members have been involved in serious mishaps. Anthony Curvan (English) fell off a motorcycle and suffered a fractured skull and serious concussion. Dr. Manuel Tuckman, who was in charge of the kala-azar program, developed a serious kidney ailment and had to be flown to England for treatment. Robert Waidie (Canadian) was rushed to the hospital in Chungking and operated on immediately for acute appendicitis. Jack Jones (English) was taken to the hospital in Chungking on 21 September with a "very bad" case of scrub typhus. All are making satisfactory recoveries according to the most recent word.

Office N.

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UNITED

GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 4-12-50

FROM : SAC, New Haven

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE -

INFORMATION CONCERNING: RESEARCH

There is being forwarded to the Bureau, one copy of a pamphlet entitled, "THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION". This pamphlet was distributed at a meeting of the American Friends Service Committee, which was held on 3-23-50 at Trinity Parish House, New Haven, Conn. [redacted] who was present at this meeting, advised that there were about twelve members of the Communist Party of New Haven present at this meeting, and he also stated that the CP is urging its members to give support to this organization. According to [redacted] the principal item of discussion at this meeting was the outlawing of the Atom bomb.

100-11392-118

DIRECTOR, FBI

August 11, 1950

SAC, CLEVELAND

[REDACTED], Akron, Ohio (who is also a [REDACTED]) has advised that he was recently contacted by the subject, who is a relation by marriage to [REDACTED]. He stated that [REDACTED] is the [REDACTED], Utica, New York. According to [REDACTED], [REDACTED] was attempting to enlist his help in arranging air transportation for [REDACTED] daughter and her girlfriend (names unknown) to Mexico City, Mexico.

[REDACTED] stated that both girls are employees of UNESCO and both are also members of the American Friends Service Committee and that they are supposed to be going to Mexico on a social service mission for the UN. They are reportedly to be in Mexico City no later than noon on September 10, 1950, for a ten-day orientation course and their ultimate destination is Myarit, Mexico. All expenses for their travel, subsistence, etc., are to be borne by the girls themselves.

[REDACTED] stated that he is of the opinion the American Friends Service Committee is a subversive or fascist organization, and that the real purpose of the trip to Mexico is for the two girls to be thoroughly indoctrinated with Communism and that there is a colony of Communists there for that purpose. The two girls are supposed to be replacing two other girls who will complete their nine months' service there.

No other information is available at this time.

100-11392-118+

Memorandum • UNITEL TO THE GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

DATE: 10/19/50

Several complaints have reached this office that the titled organization, which has its headquarters in Philadelphia, has aided the cause of Communism through its pacifistic teachings and peace appeals. An analysis of our files indicates that this group, an action committee of the Quaker faith, has opposed military conflict, preparedness, and drafting of men since its foundation in 1917. It is very active in relief, both local and foreign. During the Second World War it counseled conscientious objectors and, in cooperation with the United States Government, aided in the relocation of Japanese from the West Coast.

The group has published numerous pamphlets opposing the peacetime draft and military service. They favor, as quoted in the "New York Times" late city edition of 7/16/49, "a neutral Germany, free flow of East-West trade, and sealing of atomic bombs under United Nations supervision." These proposals are set out in the booklet entitled "Some Quaker Proposals for Peace," published by the Yale University Press, which met with such public response that three printings were required within a week of its issue on 7/16/49.

Excerpts and quotations from this booklet have been used from time to time in COMMUNIST PARTY propaganda; however, our files reveal no evidence that the publication was Communist inspired or influenced. The publication lists the following as "members of the working party on American-Soviet relations from March to September 1949," who compiled the book, and although our files contain references to a number of these individuals, nothing derogatory was found concerning them:

100-11392-120

Director, FBI

10/19/50

GILBERT F. WHITE, Chairman
EMORE JACKSON, Secretary
FRANK ANDELOTTE
STEPHEN G. CARY
WILLIAM EDGENTON
THOMAS B. HARVEY
PHILIP JACOB
D. ROBERT IARNALL

CORNELIUS KWSE
GRIFFITH G. LEVERING
RAY MINTON
THEODORE PAULLIN
JAMES H. READ
FREDERICK B. TOLLES
RICHARD R. WOOD

~~REDACTED~~ served as a member of the working party until 5/1/49.

In attempting to analyze the sincerity of motives of this group and the possibility of Communist infiltration, only one known Communist who is a member of the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE has been found. He is ~~REDACTED~~, ~~REDACTED~~, who was recently expelled from the COMMUNIST PARTY. He attended the Freedom Crusade Movement on Washington in August of this year as a representative of the FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE.

~~REDACTED~~ is listed on the letterhead of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE as one of its sponsors and also a member of the CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS. However, the only apparent connection between ~~REDACTED~~ and the titled group is the fact that in his membership application with the CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS, he stated he was a member of the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE.

Our files contain references to a great many persons who have spoken before Friends gatherings on many domestic and foreign issues. Among these speakers we find the names of only two known Communists: ~~REDACTED~~, and ~~REDACTED~~. However, they are believed to have spoken on only one occasion and their topic is not known. ~~REDACTED~~ was scheduled to speak on 5/17/50 and ~~REDACTED~~ on 8/24/50.

The present Executive Secretary of the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE is GEORGE C. HARDIN, for three years after the war an employee of the War Assets Administration and during 1948-1949 and up until 5/11/50 an Executive Director of the Philadelphia Chapter of the UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS. JOSEPH R. KARSNER, of Moylan, Pennsylvania, is Director of the Speakers Bureau, and Miss LOUISE K. CLEMENT is Office Secretary. HOWARD and CATHERINE BRINTON are Directors of Pendle Hill.

While it is true that the teachings of this group do parallel in some instances the COMMUNIST PARTY propaganda line, particularly at this time in the "peace promotion field," it is noticeable that this group has not deviated in its teachings in the past thirty years, and it appears to be coincidence that there is a parallel.

Director, FBI

10/19/50

It will be noted that in 1947 this group was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts and that their teachings at this time are the same as they were then. Members of this organization have access to most Communist-dominated countries through their efforts in the field of foreign relief, and it is felt that they would be in a position to carry on espionage work if they were so inclined.

This letter is intended to bring this matter to the attention of the Bureau in case complaints regarding the organization are received at the Seat of Government. No investigation will be conducted by this office unless advised to the contrary.

Office Memorandum

72 • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 11-3-50

FROM : SAC, San Francisco

ATTENTION: TRAINING AND INSPECTION DIVISION

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

LECTURES ON "THE DYNAMICS OF PUNISHMENT"

The Assistant Secretary of the Northern California Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee has forwarded to me the enclosed brochures concerning an institute sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee concerning "The Dynamics of Punishment."

Since the lectures are concerned with criminal matters, the punishment of crime, juvenile delinquency, etc. and since the American Friends Service Committee, which is a Quaker organization, has from time to time received favorable publicity on the part of the Communist Party in advocating peace, I believed it advisable to bring this matter to the attention of the Bureau. It is believed that this might be of particular interest to the Training and Inspection Division since these topics are connected with police training.

I have acknowledged the letter of the Assistant Secretary of the organization, but, of course, no one from this office has participated in the program nor in the institute.

100-11392-121

12-14-50

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir:

A few weeks ago, while visiting in Crestline, California I found the enclosed literature and other papers. This was found in Camp Seely and, which is a large Camp with about 50 cabins and large study halls and in the mountain area.

The small paper "Advices on conscription and war" is not the proper way for any person or persons to be thinking and even though religious, they should not show or extend these views and outward force in the holding back of either manpower or other cooperation needed by every American, especially during these times.

If this is not in proper order, it should come to your attention. If it is proper, please disregard.

Yours truly

100-11392-123

December 21, 1950

Dear

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated December 14, 1950, with enclosures.

Your interest and thoughtfulness in making this material available to me is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

SAC, Mobile

February 7, 1951

Director, FBI

[REDACTED]

RE: [REDACTED] INQUIRY

The Bureau is in receipt of a communication from the captioned individual who presently is a student at the [REDACTED]. A copy of the letter from [REDACTED] is enclosed for your information. You will observe that she alleges a Bureau official was refused a position with the FBI on the basis that she had spent a summer working with the Friends Service Commission.

The Bureau desires that immediate arrangements be made for a future Special Agent to contact [REDACTED] and discuss this problem with her. In the assistance of your office there is also enclosed a photostatic copy of the Bureau's response at the last of Government concerning information on file as to the [REDACTED] Service Commission. [REDACTED] is your definitely informed that the FBI does not discriminate against applicants on the grounds of religious preferences and no effort should be made to obtain the name of the individual who she alleges was refused a position with the FBI. It is noted that she had worked with the Friends Service Commission. In other words, the Bureau desires to run out this alleged matter in its source, and the alleged individual. [REDACTED] of the same information referred [REDACTED] to the [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] within the FBI.

124-11392-124

January 22, 1951

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have the acquaintance of a young lady who claims that she was refused a job with the FBI on the basis that she had spent a summer working with the Friends Service Commission. The grounds were that the Friends Service Commission is listed as a communistic organization.

I am working with the inter-faith religious program on this college campus. In the past one of the student projects which such workers have encouraged is that of encouraging students to spend a summer or more with the Friends on a summer project designed for college students. If there is anything to the above rumor I surely want to cease this practice. Please advise me on this situation. Thank you.

Yours truly,

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: February 21, 1951

FROM : SAC, Phoenix

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

[REDACTED] furnished the following information on February 5, 1951 concerning a speech made by [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] gave a talk on the night of January 11, 1951 at the Methodist Church, 2d Avenue and Monroe, Phoenix, under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, 438 North Raymond Avenue, Pasadena, California. She received some local publicity and was described as a [REDACTED]. Her talk concerned "the revolution in Asia". She allegedly has been on a speaking tour and gave talks in both Tempe and Mesa, Arizona. Her talk lasted about an hour, after which time there was an open forum.

[REDACTED] made a number of notations of statements made by [REDACTED], some of which are as follows: She stated who should represent the four-hundred million Chinese people but MAO TSE TUNG's government and not CHANG KAI SHEK, whom the Chinese people throw out and criticize the American government for its actions in Korea and also criticized General MacARTHUR and the United States for rearming Japan and Korea. She said the United States is making the nations of this earth nations. She also said the United States bribes its way around with other nations and that Russia may push its satellites around, but the United States bribes its way by the use of its wealth. Since World War II, Russia has helped feed the people of Asia and now shown unwillingness with their problems. She said Russia has nothing, whatever to do with the Red Revolution in China and that it came solely from the Chinese people. She mentioned India as the speaker of the southeastern part of Asia and that it should represent them. She emphatically stated that we, the United States, must disarm first and then trust Russia. She continued stating Russia has never once violated any law of the nations, but the United States has done so repeatedly. She continued saying we will either have to lay down all our arms and trust Russia, or fight a war. By the United States setting off atomic bombs in Japan it has increased the tension on both sides. The reaction of Russia has also increased the tension with Russia. [REDACTED] stated that WINSTON CHURCHILL has said we should listen to Russian suggestions in handling the atomic bomb. The United States has not tried to do so but the other nations of the world have gone ahead with the development. She continued stating the United States must try to sell capitalism throughout the world but there were no buyers. The rest of the world

PL ~~SECRET~~

not want our system. The United States caused the war with China because we went north of the 38th parallel against Chinese warnings. The United States had no right to impose itself in the civil conflict of China. She stated that it has been a scheme of the United States to make China officially declared the aggressor so we could call on nations of the United Nations to contribute to the fight against China's mainland and to rearm Japan. Cards were passed out for the purpose of making a donation or contribution. On the cards was stated "I am interested in your work for peace and want to help make it possible".

The above is set out for the Bureau's information.

~~SECRET~~
~~SECRET~~

April 9, 1951

Dear :

Your letter dated April 2, 1951, with enclosures, has been received, and I am grateful for your courtesy in furnishing this information to me.

In the event you obtain additional information which you believe to be of interest to the FBI, you will desire to communicate immediately with ~~Special Agent~~ Special Agent in Charge of our Dallas Office, located at 1916 Mercantile Bank Building, Dallas, Texas.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

April 2, 1951.

Director Edgar J. Hoover
F. B. I.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: For a long time I have felt that I should write to your office but have delayed chiefly because your office needs factual information and not second or third hand information. But an incident occurred the [redacted] auditorium some two or three years ago -- which the College was an unwilling victim -- has constantly made me feel the condition or attitude behind it were dangerous. After a program under the auspices of the [redacted] -- who requested the auditorium and [redacted] gladly complied -- in a discussion it came to light the principal speaker [redacted] was entirely in sympathy with communistic way of life. [redacted] under whose sponsorship came, was more veiled in expression of such ideals. Former students [redacted] who are not of the gossip assured me that [redacted] had been [redacted] of the Communist Club similar title -- of the University of [redacted]. I fear that some of the representatives of the American Friends Service Committee are swallowing the bait and falling for their propaganda. This is a much more subtle attack, I judge, than ordinary physical or military infiltration and of course more "college professor" is not qualified to prescribe or suggest a cure. But many, many letters that I receive from Germany, Switzerland and France and Italy do give me a pretty vivid and terrifying picture of communistic threats in Europe.

All that I can do is to repeat the above, enclose one letter that escaped my waste paper basket, and say that I have anxiously been passing along the AFSC publications to the [redacted] since (which I sponsored for many years, or rather supervised and encouraged at) has pernicious influence enter. I feel justified in so stating.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

April 21, 1951

Dear

Your letter dated April 12, 1951, together with enclosures, has been received.

While I would like to be of assistance, a long-standing policy established for the FBI holds our files confidential and available for official use only. This Bureau is strictly an investigative agency and cannot comment along the lines suggested in your communication.

The thought occurs to me that you may wish to contact a credit reporting agency in your locality for such aid as can be offered. Your enclosures are being returned at this time.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

12 April, 1951

The Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I authorized the listing of my biography in Who's Who in the Midwest, published by The A. N. Marquis Company, Marquis Publications Building, Chicago 11, U.S.A. and will you please tell me whether or not the above publication is a commendable organization.

Furthermore the International Blue Book (Who's Who in the World) published by Chancery House, Publishers, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y., U.S.A. have requested me to submit a biography for listing and will you please tell me whether or not this is a commendable organization and what implications if any there might be if I should authorize my biography to be listed.

For quite sometime the American Friends Service Committee, Incorporated, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa., have been sending me all kinds of literature concerning legislative matters before the Congress of the United States, some of it by special delivery, one group of such material being herein enclosed. Will you please tell me whether or not the American Friends Service Committee is a dependable organization. I cannot figure out how I happen to be the recipient of a large volume of material from American Friends Service Committee.

I do not expect or want a lengthy investigation or report from you but I would appreciate very much any helpful suggestion you may be permitted to give.

-Yours very truly,

May 9, 1951

Dear .

Your letter dated May 5, 1951, together with enclosure, has been received, and I appreciate the interest which prompted you to bring your observations to my attention.

Whenever you come into possession of information which you believe to be of value to the FBI, please feel free to contact the representatives of our San Diego Office at 723 San Diego Trust and Savings Bank Building, San Diego 1, California.

Enclosed is some material which I thought you might like to read.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

Foe to Freedom
Unmasking the Communist Masquerader
How Communists Operate
Kefauver Committee

100-11392-128

May 5 1951

J Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington DC

Dear Sir

Inclosed is a copy of the Advertisement which appeared in our San Diego Evening Tribune on April 28, and in the San Diego Union on April 29.

It seems to be highly flavored with COMMUNISM.

There are rumors that the ⁶AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE is now a communistic front. If this rumor does have a background of truth, countless thousands might be swayed by the inclosed add and the literature follow-up.

For my own personal investigation, I would like to have a copy of said free pamphlets. However, it might be unwise to have one's name in any way connected with subversive activities, so I refrained getting a pamphlet.

It would be interesting to know also who provided the Special Funds to finance the add and follow-ups. It is very costly.

I have confidence in your Bureau to know far better than I if this group needs watching, and trust that you will be guided by your own opinion

Sincerely yours,

Dear Sirs:

This looked suspicious to me. As an American citizen, I
felt it my duty to send this to you.

Sincerely,

100-11392-129

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Board of Zoning Adjustment

Appeal #3007

July 13, 1951

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Notice is hereby given that the Board of Zoning Adjustment will hold a public hearing in Room 500, District Building, beginning at 9:30 a.m., on Wednesday, July 25, 1951, in reference to the appeal of William A. Hassellbush for permission to establish a philanthropic or eleemosynary institution, or in the alternative to establish professional offices for the American Friends Service Committee Inc. and the Friends Committee on National Legislation under the provisions of Part 2, Paragraph 22 of the Zoning Regulations at 104 C Street, N.E., lot 814, square 724, at which time all interested persons will be given an opportunity to express their views. This is appeal #3007 and will be the thirteenth case to be heard on the above date.

For additional information telephone or call at the Office of the Board of Zoning Adjustment, Room 2, District Building, National 6000, Branches 426 and 427.

Margaret M. Blickley
MARGARET M. BLICKLEY
Secretary

October 19, 1951

Your letter dated October 12, 1951, has been received and I sincerely appreciate the interest which prompted you to communicate with me.

I wish to thank you for making available the information contained in your communication. The thought occurred to me you might like to have the material which I am enclosing.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director,

Enclosure

Story

Unmasking the Communist Masquerader

U.S. News and World Report

Director's Statement to the House of Un-American Activities

Oct. 12, 1955

American Friends Service Committee

Dear Mr. Hoover: ~~Wm. T. Moore~~

About two weeks ago I received in the mail a booklet "Steps To Peace." I put it aside and it's only lately on reading parts of it I am shocked to find it so Red. Under the title on the front cover it says,

"Quaker View of U. S. Foreign Policy" and at the bottom

"A report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. I thought your office should know about it, if you don't already."

Sincerely yours,

April 7, 1952

My dear

Your letter dated March 24, 1952, and the enclosure have been received, and I fully appreciate your interest in communicating with me.

While I would like to be of assistance in connection with your inquiry, I must advise that in accordance with a Departmental regulation data contained in the files of this Bureau is maintained as confidential and available for official use only. I am sure you will understand the necessity for this regulation and no inference will be drawn because of my inability to be of assistance that we do or do not have in our files the information you have requested.

In the event you obtain additional data which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, you may desire to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Minneapolis Office located at 419 North American Life and Casualty Building, Minneapolis 3, Minnesota.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-131

March 24, 1952

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

Dear Sir:

The Mayor of the City of [REDACTED] has been asked to form a committee to be known as the "American Friends Service Committee", and apparently, so far as we are able to understand, it is for the promotion of tolerance between races, with particular reference to Indians. In view of the fact that there will be some displacement of Indians, especially along the Missouri river where a dam is being constructed in this state, it may be entirely patriotic in its aims.

I enclose a copy of a letter addressed to the Mayor which would indicate that the American Friends have the recognition of the Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs. The American Friends Service Committee give their address as 814 Clark Street, Rapid City, South Dakota.

This letter is to inquire if you have any knowledge of this group and if they are entitled to recognition. I may say that no one from Aberdeen or Rapid City has been here as yet, their trip having been postponed.

Very truly yours, A

March 25, 1952

Dear

Your letter dated March 15, 1952, has been received.

While I would like to be of service, I wish to advise that information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. I would like to point out also that the FBI is strictly a fact-finding agency and it is not within the limits of its prescribed functions to draw conclusions or take evaluations as to the character or integrity of any organization or individual.

You might be interested to know, however, that the American Friends Service Committee is a committee of the Quaker faith. Literature prepared by this organization indicates that it has engaged in projects designed to promote peace, to afford young people the opportunity for constructive patriotic service, and to provide relief assistance in this country and abroad.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-132

October 24, 1952

Dear

Your letter dated October 14, 1952, together with enclosures, has been received, and I appreciate the interest prompting you to communicate with me.

Although I would like to be of service, I am unable to offer you the information and advice you request. I would like to point out that the FBI is strictly a fact-finding agency, that information in its files is confidential, and it is not within the province of its prescribed authority to make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any individual or organization.

I know that you will understand the reason for these rules and will not draw any inference that we do, or do not, have information relating to your problem.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-140

TRUE COPY .

~~_____~~
Oct. 14, 1952

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing a pamphlet that I received yesterday thru the mail. I am very anxious to know if this is Comunistic material. I have looked thru it and it seems rather un-american to me. The person who gave them my name is ~~_____~~. Can you tell me if she is a Communist; and if so, can anything be done to stop the passing out of this material, not long ago I received a book entitled "Bases & Empires," or something like that. I immediately returned it and ask for them to lay off sending me anymore material of that nature; but they seem to persist.

No one is a better American citizen than I; and it really burns me up to receive this material.

Please advise me what to do or am I wrong about this material. I am really anxious about this.

Sincerely

/s/ ~~_____~~
~~_____~~
~~_____~~

Oct. 14 . 1935

Dear Mr. Hoover:

F. (U) I am enclosing
a pamphlet that I
received yesterday
thru the mail. I am very
anxious to know if this is
Communist material. I have looked
thru it and it seems rather
un-american to me. The person
who gave them my name is
~~_____~~. Can you tell me
if she is a Communist; and if
so, can anything be done to
stop the passing out of this mat-
erial, not long ago I received a
book entitled "Basic Principles"
something like that. I ~~have~~

THIN
all
DI

immediately returned it and
ask for them to lay off send-
ing me anymore material of
that nature; but they seem to
persist.

No one is a better American
citizen than I; and it really
burns me up to receive this
material.

Please advise me what to
do or am I wrong about
this material. I am really
anxious about this.

Sincerely

January 28, 1953

Dear

Your letter dated January 23, 1953, together with enclosure, has been received.

While I would like to be of service, I wish to advise that information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. I would like to point out also that the FBI is strictly a fact-finding agency, and it is not within the limits of its prescribed functions to draw conclusions or make evaluations as to the character or integrity of any organization or individual.

I know you will understand the reason for these rules and will not infer either that we do or that we do not have the information you requested.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-141

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

DATE

13 March 1953

PREPARING OFFICE

Hq Sixth Army, OAC of S, G-2, Presidio of San Francisco, California

SUBJECT

MEETING OF AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC)

CODE FOR USE IN INDIVIDUAL PARAGRAPH EVALUATION

OF SOURCE:

COMPLETELY RELIABLE A
USUALLY RELIABLE B
FAIRLY RELIABLE C
NOT USUALLY RELIABLE D
UNRELIABLE E
RELIABILITY UNKNOWN F

OF INFORMATION:

CONFIRMED BY OTHER SOURCES . . . 1
PROBABLY TRUE 2
POSSIBLY TRUE 3
DOUBTFULLY TRUE 4
IMPROBABLE 5
TRUTH CANNOT BE JUDGED 6

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

On 3 March 1953, this office was informed that George Churchill, principal of a Pomona, California, city school, and formerly Post Commander of the 10th District of the American Legion (AL), attended SUBJECT meeting held in Pomona, California, approximately two (2) or three (3) months ago, at which ten percent of the audience and all of the men on the speaker's stand, remained seated while the salute to the flag was being given by Churchill. (C-3)

On 4 March 1953, this office was informed that a meeting sponsored by AFSC was held at Fremont Junior High School, Pomona, California, on 23 October 1952. Approximately fifteen (15) American Legion (AL) members attended the meeting, which had a total attendance of approximately 350 people. Principal speaker for the evening was Milton Thayer, who spoke against all forms of military training and urged the people to refuse to fight for their country and thereby make it impossible to have war. Other speakers at the meeting were Mr. Fay (Fay), teacher at Fremont Junior High School; Mr. Hahn (Hahn), from Claremont, California, who was the moderator of the meeting; and a professor from Claremont College (name unknown). Hahn was about to start the meeting when Mr. Fred Stevens, former post commander of Charles P. Rowe AL Post No. 30, suggested from the audience, that a salute to the flag be given. Hahn immediately stated that there would be a few moments of silent prayer. After the prayer, Stevens demanded that a salute be given. Source asked everyone to rise while he led them in the salute to the flag. None of the speakers rose and approximately 10 percent of the audience remained seated while the salute was given. Source advised that he had seen a telegram sent by a newspaper in Pennsylvania to a Mrs. Thayer, head of the Pro-American Group, 330 North College St., Claremont, California, which read that Thayer had given a speech in Pennsylvania and had stated in it, "tear down the American flag, stamp on it and spit on it. Damn the American flag." (C-3)

Information derived from sources other than Army sources is included in this Summary. The information will not be passed to any agency outside of the Army Establishment or the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 23 DEC 1976
BY CDR USAINTA FOIC
AUTH PARA 1-603 DOD5200

DISTRIBUTION

AG-13, G2, Tech, LS 2
File 2

WD-568

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-5106-1

CONFIDENTIAL

Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

MAR 16 1954

AMGHI-31-11

SUBJECT: Meeting of American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

TO: Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2,
Intelligence
Department of the Army
Washington 25, D. C.
ATTENTION: Chief, Collection and
Dissemination Division

1. Attention is invited to Summary of Information inclosure on subject organization and affiliates.

2. A Domestic Intelligence Report received from Headquarters, Third Army, dated 3 June 1951, links subject organization with the Institute of International Relations (IIR), and reflects that the AFSC is a Communist front sounding board for world government which has sponsored youth meetings designed to stress world community, inter-racial equality, and world peace. The IIR is reported to have had in the past, faculty members which include Louis F. LIFF, Communist agent; Dorothy GAYNOR, CP adherent, and Scott HARRIS, pro-Communist.

3. A check of the indices of this office reflects that Milton Mayer, principal mentioned in the attached summary, has in the past lectured for the Great Books Foundation and has been sponsored by the AFSC on other occasions. Mayer has also contributed to the "Progressive", a socialistic publication, and to "Common Sense", an anti-Semitic, pro-Fascist publication. He has lectured under the auspices of Fellowship of Reconciliation (CP front organization), Socialist Party (a subversive organization), War Resisters League (believed to be a CP front organization), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (a type of organization which frequently receives CP endorsement).

4. The Los Angeles Division of the FBI is cognizant of the content of this report.

FOR THE ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-2:

1 Incl
S/I, subd
as 11-10
dtd 15 Mar 53

C. A. L. HICKNEY
Colonel, GS
Chief, CI Division

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 23 DEC 1976
BY CDR USAINTA F-10
AUTH PARA 1-603 D0052



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-2, INTEL
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

G2-SPC

23 March 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR: DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ATTENTION: Mr. John F. Sullivan Received from G2

Date 3/25/53

SUBJECT: Meeting of American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Transmitted herewith for your information is copy of a letter
from Sixth Army dated 16 March 1953, Subject as above, with an in-
closed Summary of Information.

FOR THE ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-2:

G.I.R.-6

1 Incl
Cc ltr dtd 16 Mar 53
w/incl

for *W. A. PERRY*
Colonel, GS
Chief, Security Division

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS INFORMATION OF A
CONFIDENTIAL NATURE AND IS TO BE
HANDLED ACCORDING TO THE
SECURITY AND INFORMATION
REGULATIONS OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO THE
REVISIONS AND AMENDMENTS BY LAW.

INDEXED-14

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 23 DEC 1976
BY CDR USAINTA FOIC
AUTH PARA 1-603 DOD5200

(10)

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

DATE: March 23, 1953

FROM :

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE, INC.

A ~~representative~~ of ~~the American Friends Service Committee~~ office called me this morning regarding the American Friends Service, Inc. He stated that this organization had engaged a hall in Dallas, Texas, for a meeting to be held tonight. He stated that several wires have been received protesting this meeting in Dallas and that he was checking with us to see whether there was anything wrong with the organization. I advised ~~him~~ that Departmental regulations provided the files of the Bureau were confidential and that information could be given outside of the Executive Branch of the Government only through the Attorney General. ~~He~~ stated that he should have known this but that he had forgotten that the FBI was under the Attorney General. He immediately stated that he would make inquiry of the Department regarding the matter.

I suggested to ~~him~~ that he might desire to consult the pamphlet that was put out by the House Committee on Un-American Activities which listed all citations of subversive organizations. I further stated that if it were possible for us to be of any help to him I would communicate with him further.

100-11392-142

January 23, 1951

F.B.I.

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: — ^{Director's Executive Committee}
Committee

Since receiving the enclosed circular I have wondered about the organization. If you have any information on the subject will you kindly let me know? Thank

Sincerely,

April 7, 1953

Washington, D.C.

Dear [REDACTED]:

Since your record for exposing left wing groups is well known, I am sending you a wealth of information on [REDACTED] who has made a number of appearances in churches and colleges in this area during the month of March. And you will note there are other appearances this party will make during April and June.

Fortunately, a group of students in Taylor University obtained some valuable information concerning the activities of the AMERICAN FUTURE SERVICE ORGANIZATION, INC., a copy of which I am sending you herewith. These were distributed in large hall on the occasion of Luriah Lester's appearance in also an arena here. I am sending a copy of this letter to Senator McCleary, Walter Winchell and [REDACTED], together with copy of the report which you will find quite interesting, and I am sure you can use it to expose the work being sponsored by the dangerous and radical AMERICAN FUTURE SERVICE ORGANIZATION, INC.

Very truly yours, *Frederick J. [REDACTED]*

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Southwest Regional Office, 2116 Hueces Street, Austin 5, Texas

*** C O P Y ***

MURIEL LISTER will be the next AFSC speaker in community meetings. Save the date to hear this renowned London social worker, international traveler for world understanding (4 continents in past year) and exponent of prayer and practical mysticism.

March 17, CANYON, Wesley Foundation

March 18, BIG SPRING, First Methodist, 6 & 7:30

March 19, ABILENE, McMurry College, 9:30 and 7:30

March 22, WACO, Waco Hall (Wayles), 8 P.M.

March 24, PALESTINE, First Christian, 7:30

March 25, CLEMY, Methodist Church, 7:30

March 27, GARLAND, Christian Church, 10:00
Methodist Church, 7:30

March 29, DENTON, Wesley Foundation, Afternoon;
FORT WORTH, First Methodist, 7:30.

March 30, COLLEGE STATION, Church women, noon; Campus, night.

March 31, CIRCUS, First Methodist, 3:00 and 7:30

April 1, BRACKENRIDGE, First Methodist, 5:30 and 7:30

INSTITUTES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS -- "Challenging Dictators and War"

June 4-8, Dallas (NEW & FORT WORTH); June 8-12, SAN ANTONIO
June 12-14, DENTON.

EVERYTHING HERE -- A WILD ANIMALS CAMP -- Vacation event for families and individuals. August 23-29 -- Christian Youth Vacation Camp, Athens, Texas -- June, 11th, 1961.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

According to the Un-American Activities Files, Washington, D. C., THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE has never been cited as a Communist or Communist-front organization, but its National Chairman, Henry J. Cadbury is listed in Washington as a sponsor of the AMERICAN RUSSIAN RESCUE MISSION, which was administered by the United Spanish Aid Committee. Attorney General Tom Clark cited the United American Spanish Aid Committee as Communist (Press release dated April 25 and July 25, 1949). The Attorney General cited the American Rescue Ship Mission as Communist in a list furnished the Loyalty Review Board (Press release July 25, 1949).

A letter issued through the COMMITTEE ON ELECTION RIGHTS contained the signature of Henry J. Cadbury. (Daily Worker, September 24, 1940, page 1). The Committee on Election Rights was cited as a Communist-front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311. The Attorney General cited the organization as subversive on December 4, 1947, and September 24, 1948.

Henry J. Cadbury was listed in the Communist Daily Worker as one of the signers of a statement against the President's Arms program which was issued by the Conference of Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. This Conference was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as having been instigated by "Communists in the United States (who) did their part in the Moscow program." (Report 378, April 25, 1951, page 55).

Clarence Pickett, a member of the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE'S Board of Directors was, according to the Daily Worker, one of the speakers at a dinner given by the AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE at the Waldorf in New York City. Attorney General Clark listed the AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE as Communist. (Press release of April 27, 1949).

Clarence Pickett, according to the Daily People's World, (official Communist publication of the West Coast) was one of the signers of an advertisement in the San Francisco Chronicle which took issue with the Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of the eleven (11) Communist leaders.

A letter written by Clarence E. Pickett was reprinted in the Congressional Record, February 14, 1950, page A1104.

According to circulars distributed in Seattle, Washington, an institute of International Relations sponsored by the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, was held in June of 1951. Speakers were Horio Inakness, cited as a Communist-front member in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee in Washington. Also, Milton Mayer, former University of Chicago professor, now with the staff of the American Friends Service Committee, is cited in the Congressional Record of March 1951, as saying at a world government

Hordecai Johnson, head of Howard University, also spoke. Johnson is listed in Washington Government files as a member of Communist-fronts.

The literature distributed at the Friends Institutes of International Relations, are Socialist and Pro-Communist. Some booklets are SEGREGATION, by Margaret McCulloch. In advocating marriage between Negro and White people she says on page 13 of this booklet: "Race is not a barrier to sex attraction nor to sex intercourse nor to the conception and bearing of children." And on page 8: "Yes, segregation is Southern. And in the South it has behind it law and custom and the threat of lawless violence." On page 14: "White males therefore can do what they please. Many of them like a system which gives them freedom with females of both races, and keeps the females of their own to themselves only."

Another booklet sold is the RACES OF HUKKIND, by Gene Wiltfish and Ruth Benedict. This publication was so offensive and caused so much racial tension that it was banned by the War Department in its soldier orientation program.

The PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINE -- Socialist magazine which pushed the Moscow line. Publication of Communist are advertised within its pages. Atheists and Pro-Marxisms and Socialists vie for space in this magazine.

██████████, known trials, asked for and got permission to
 all in a matter of 10 days by the UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
 Confined in Germany. no checks in favor of world government.

The summer camp provides an excellent medium for the FRIENDS. A pamphlet dated June 21-23, 1952, for Teen-agers, THE SEVENTH ANNUAL HIGH SCHOOL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS at Camp Wrightwood, California, under the auspices of the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, advertised negro and white fellowship. The photograph pictures Bayard Rustin, (peace speaker and lecturer for the American Friends Service Committee, who spoke in Houston last year) lecturing to a group of white teen-agers at the camp.

According to the Los Angeles Mirror of January 23, 1953, Bayard Rustin was sentenced to 30 days in jail for lewd vagrancy shortly after he had addressed a group of women at the Pasadena Athletic Club. He was speaking under the auspices of the FRIENDS. Rustin was arrested in a parked car with two young white men. A delegation of three members of the FRIENDS appeared in court, but did not testify in Rustin's behalf.

This man is one of those who white children look to at the summer camps sponsored by the FRIENDS.

Other people who would speak at the teen-agers camp "to develop an understanding of world and community problems" were ~~Bayard Rustin~~, Communist-frontier, ~~Bayard Rustin~~, ~~Bayard Rustin~~ of the ~~Bayard Rustin~~ mentioned in this article; and ~~Bayard Rustin~~, of ~~Bayard Rustin~~.

The AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE WILL ATTEMPT TO have an inter-racial camp in Texas this year.

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION. MAY 8, 1953

URGENT

Transmit the following message to: SAC, DALLAS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INFO CONCERNING. BUREAU IN
RECEIPT OF FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM ATHENS, TEXAS, DATED MAY SEVEN
LAST FROM [REDACTED], [REDACTED]; HENDERSON COUNTY, TEXAS: QUOTE
CAN YOU TELL ME WHETHER OR NOT THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
COMMITTEE IS A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION. PLEASE ANSWER VIA WESTERN
UNION. UNQUOTE. CONTACT [REDACTED] TODAY ADVISING TACTFULLY
CONFIDENTIAL NATURE BUFILES, ASCERTAINING BASIS OF REQUEST AND
WHETHER HE POSSESSES DATA OF INTEREST TO BUREAU. SULET RESULTS.
FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY, AFSC IS QUAKER ORGANIZATION DEVOTED
TO CHARITY AND PACIFISM, FOUNDED NINETEENSEVENTEEN. ACCORDING
TO A GOVERNMENT AGENCY, THE AFSC AS OF NOVEMBER NINETEENFORTYEVEN
WAS INFILTRATED AND USED BY COMMUNIST PARTY, HAVING AGITATORS
AND LEFTISTS AMONG OPERATING PERSONNEL. ORGANIZATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NOT BEING INVESTIGATED BY BUREAU.

HOOVER

100-11392-145

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 7 1953

WESTERN UNION

BI WUF015 PD

ATHENS TEX 7 1151A

✓ EDGAR HOOVER, DIR FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CAN YOU TELL ME WHETHER OR NOT THE AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE IS A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION. PLEASE
ANSWER VIA WESTERN UNION

~~REDACTED~~ ~~REDACTED~~ HENDERSON COUNTY TEXAS

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: May 13, 1953

FROM : SAC, Dallas [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[REDACTED]

Rebutel dated May 8, 1953.

[REDACTED] was tactfully advised of the confidential nature of Bureau files in this connection, and he advises that his interest in this organization was aroused by an anonymous letter he had received recently which merely contained a pamphlet which purported to "expose" the American Friends Service Committee as being a group that was either a Communist Front organization or at least in sympathy with the Communist Party movement. The [REDACTED] advises that this pamphlet stated that the American Friends Service Committee was holding a meeting at the Christian Youth Foundation Camp near Athens, Texas, from August 23, through the 29, 1953, and the anonymous party that sent him the pamphlet had written on the pamphlet, "Are you going to let this Communist outfit come to your county?" The [REDACTED] advises that the Christian Youth Foundation Camp is owned by the several church groups in East Texas, and he presumes that The American Friends Committee has made arrangements to use the camp on the above-mentioned dates. He advises that the pamphlet, (which he could not immediately locate), rather strongly indicated that this Committee was a Communist Organization and if so he desired to know about it for his future guidance when these persons come to Athens. [REDACTED] advises that the pamphlet mentioned appeared to have been prepared by some anti-Communist group, and had for its purpose exposure of the committee for what it was. The [REDACTED] advises that he believes that the pamphlet was printed in Houston, Texas, but he does not recall by whom. [REDACTED] advises that he will locate this pamphlet and furnish it to Bureau Agents.

The [REDACTED] has adopted the attitude that even if the writers of the pamphlet are correct and that the American Friends Service Committee is of Communistic sympathy, there is little he can do to prevent their holding the meeting in Henderson County, Texas, other than to make the contents of the pamphlet available to the church groups that own and operate the Christian Youth Foundation property.

When the [REDACTED] furnishes this pamphlet to Bureau representatives, you will be advised of its contents and publishers.

100-11392-146

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

FROM :

DATE:

May 15, 1953

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
COMMITTEE, INC., Philadelphia, Pa.

[REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] called me on 5/14 to inquire if the Bureau had any subversive information on the above-named organization.

After checking, I advised him that the files of the Bureau reflected that "this group, an active committee of the Quaker faith, has opposed military conflict, preparedness, and the training of men since its foundation in 1917, and, as a result, has been often criticized recently since its aims and purposes appear to be so nearly parallel to those of the Communist Party."

100-11392-147

May 26, 1953

Dear :

Your letter of May 16, 1953, has been received, and I appreciate the concern prompting your bringing the matter you mentioned to the attention of this Bureau.

In this connection, however, I thought you might like to know that the FBI does not make an investigation concerning an individual claiming deferment on grounds of conscientious objection unless such a claim is made while the person involved is in the process of being inducted into the Armed Forces and his claim has been referred to the Department of Justice by the Selective Service System. In such a case, we would conduct an investigation, the results of which would be furnished to the Department of Justice for its assistance in giving an advisory opinion to the Selective Service System.

I am taking the liberty of forwarding a copy of your letter to the Director, Selective Service System, National Headquarters, 1212 G Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., so that its contents may be of interest.

Sincerely yours, (

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100 - 11392 - 148

May 16th, 1953.

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.,
Department of Justice,
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have a son 20 years of age almost 21 that has through the American Friends Service Committee, 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. received literature from Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Also through them he joined a group of Pacifist known as the Fellowship of Reconciliation 21 Audubon Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

As a result of the influence of these he has decided to become a Conscientious Objector. He does not have a leg to stand on and he certainly was raised as an American. He is an Eagle Scout. Name ~~REDACTED~~.

These Committees are Pink to say the least and I would like proof of their leanings to prove to ~~REDACTED~~ that he is becoming involved with an ism. He is ripe for the communist and I would like to put the fire out before I push him further toward the ism.

I have the complete file on the setup to date and have talked to the Tyler office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation but have received nothing to date from them. This thing is Nation wide and affecting all of the Schools of the U. S. Please advise any thing that would be helpful in combating the stand of my son. I am also ready to sue, maim or kill any of these characters if they come into contact with me.

Yours very truly,

June 12, 1953

Dear :

Your letter dated June 3, 1953, has been received.

Your interest and courtesy in bringing this matter to my attention are appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-149

3 June 1953

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Gentlemen:

A student of this College received the following invitation -

"Between June 11 and June 20, the American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring an International Study Camp at Ithica College (near Spenser, N.Y.) * * * you might want to take advantage of this opportunity to study under such able leaders as the U.N. Representative from Yugoslavia, Kenya, and those from here at home. The U.S. foreign policy will be discussed. By the way, such schools as those located in Japan, Africa, Germany, the Ukraine, and the Philippines will also be there.

The cost is \$35.00 for those days.

If you are interested write to:

Mr. Ray Hartsough
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

I hope you will go."

This appears to warrant an investigation.

Yours truly,

March 15, 1952

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

My dear Mr. Hoover:

May I give myself a partial introduction by saying that I have been a professor at this College for twenty-four years and that my brother-in-law, ~~James H. H. H.~~, is employed in your Washington office.

I should greatly appreciate answer to this question over your signature. Is The Friends Service Committee a subversive organization? I ask you this question because, in the first week of June, I am scheduled to appear on a program jointly sponsored by the Friends Service Committee and the State College of Washington. Neither the College nor myself would wish to be associated with a subversive organization.

We had assumed that the Friends Service Committee was entirely in the clear and still believe that it is, but a newspaper editor has told one of my colleagues that it is practically communistic, in particular in relation to its interest in peace. Hence my question to you - Is it subversive?

You know much better than I do how much harmful talk is going the rounds. If the Friends Service Committee is in the clear, it would be very helpful if we could make this declaration and on good authority.

Very sincerely yours,

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
- - - - -

Re: COMMUNICATION SECTION.

APRIL 25, 1952

Transmit the following message to:

URGENT

IN REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM OF APRIL TWENTY-FOUR, NINETEEN FIFTY-TWO. I MUST ADVISE THAT FBI FILES ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND AVAILABLE FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY, AND AS A FACT-FINDING AGENCY WE ARE NOT AUTHORIZED TO DRAW CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE CHARACTER OR INTEGRITY OF ANY ORGANIZATION.

SINCERELY,

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 24 1962

WESTERN UNION

BI WUG102 DL PD

ZG NEWYORK NY APR 24 1156A

J. EDGAR HOOVER

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

IS AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE CONSIDERED SUBVERSIVE?

ONE OF OUR MEMBER STATIONS HAS BEEN ASKED FOR PUBLIC
SERVICE BROADCASTING TIME BY THIS GROUP. THANKS

AIR
PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED
(Security Classification)

DO NOT TYPE IN THIS SPACE

511.45h3/4-752

26

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : AMEMBASSY, LONDON

4842

DESP. NO.

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.
(for Fulbright Programs Branch)

April 17th, 1952

DATE

REF : Department's Airgram 1159, January 30th and Amembdespatch 3469, February 6th

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|--------------------|---|
| For Dept. Use Only | ACTION | DEPT. | received from the State Department through liaison channels Date 11-22-52 |
| | LES* | 1 N DCR OLI IFI SY | |
| | REC'D | 0 OTHER | |
| | APR 21 | | |

SUBJECT: USEC/UK: Fulbright Program

USEC/UK has now received an application from Mr. R. K. Gardiner of the University College, Ibadan, West Africa, for a Fulbright travel grant. His application is strongly supported by the Colonial Office and the University College, Ibadan. Mr. Gardiner is one of the really great men of West Africa, and exerts considerable influence in the territory. The work of the Extra-Mural Department of the University is important and anything which can be done to strengthen its quality will be valuable.

There is no doubt that Mr. Gardiner's participation in the four conferences of the Friends Service Committee enumerated in its letter of February 28th to Mr. Gardiner, which is attached to his application, will be valuable from the point of view of international understanding and the Colonial Office and the Commission would like to help him to attend these. It is, however, on the importance and lasting value of his work in the Extra-Mural Department of the University College at Ibadan that the Commission bases a request to the Department, with the assistance of the Conference Board, should make every effort to arrange a suitable program for Mr. Gardiner to study adult education with special reference to the use of visual aids.

It will be noted that the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York, is prepared to make a dollar contribution towards Mr. Gardiner's expenses but the actual amount is not given. This could, however, be ascertained from the President, Mr. Emory Ross. There, however, will be need for further dollar assistance if Mr. Gardiner stays three months. Is there any possibility that a Smith-Mundt grant could be made to him? The Commission understands that the Embassy would be required to add him to its recommended list of British candidates in the advanced category in case unforeseen withdrawals allow a few more candidates to be considered.

USEC/UK recommends him strongly for a travel award if the necessary affiliation can be made and dollar assistance found. Indeed it considers him one of the strongest of all the colonial applicants this year.

It is regretted that his application is not complete in all its detail, but as this is so short it was considered more important to send it forward than to chase up photographs etc. Mr. Gardiner has not submitted his references.

INDEXED-110

100-11392-134

UNCLASSIFIED

NOT RECORDED

APR 30 1952

14 MAY 1952

INFORMATION COPY

Prescribed by GPO and the Library of Congress in accordance with security regulations.

2 of
No. 4842
Amembassy

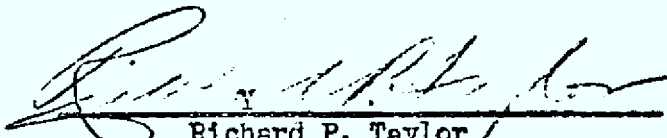
UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

2 of
Encl. No.
Desp. No. 4842
From Amembassy

but USEC/UK considers these unnecessary since he is well known to several members of the Colonial Sub-Committee who are prepared to vouch for him in every respect.

It would be very much appreciated if this case could be given urgent consideration because if Mr. Gardiner is to attend the American Friends Service Committee conferences in early July, he needs to make his travel arrangements at once.


Richard P. Taylor
Cultural Officer

UNCLASSIFIED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 8 1952

TELETYPE

WASHINGTON 13 FROM PHILA 5-8-52 1-13 AM

DIRECTOR DEFERRED

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, [REDACTED] AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
COMMITTEE SPONSORING INSTITUTE OF INTERNAT-L RELATIONS, HERSHEY, PA.,
MAY SIXTEEN THRU EIGHTEEN. FACULTY CONSISTS OF [REDACTED], TEACHER
LECTURER AND AUTHOR- [REDACTED], WHO HAS TAUGHT AT [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] COLLEGE. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], OF KNOWN RELIABILITY, HAS PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED AMERICAN
FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE AS SENIOR PACIFIST ORGANIZATION.

100-11392-136

June 25, 1952

Dear

Your letter dated June 12, 1952, has been received, and I fully appreciate the interest which prompted you to communicate with me.

In the event you obtain additional data which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, you may desire to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Newark Office located at 1836 Raymond - Commerce Building, Newark 2, New Jersey.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-137

3/

June 12, 1951

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Last Oct. 12 (1951),
I notified you of a booklet
I had received through the
mail called "Steps To Peace".
The man who sent it out
was ~~_____~~ of R.D.
~~_____~~. ~~_____~~ is
lecturer at the ~~_____~~
~~_____~~ in ~~_____~~ township
(which is the township
both live in) and I had
planned to have a ~~_____~~
there to-morrow night by
the name of ~~_____~~

June 14,

Last night I attended
the ~~meeting~~ meeting and
heard the speaker. He
was very definitely Red.
Blamed America for the
next war which he said
we can all see is coming
and said the Russians have
taken away territory and are
a great country who just
want to develop their
resources, they are in a pioneer
state now, similar to our
own pioneer days, said the
people of Germany & France
hate & fear us as all the

see is American guns, tanks,
planes, general money. He
was one of these "World Citizens"
to go to Europe, said a group
of 4 went to in Baden in
Eastern Austria is where they
were behind the Iron Curtain
without visas, giving out food
to the Russian soldiers. So
64 soldiers + 3 civilians. This
we have an exaggerated opinion
of how bad it is behind the
Iron Curtain & here was the
people who hate us less.
He said it was American relief
workers and some Quakers in
Vienna who helped them to
push behind the Iron Curtain.

I took notes if you'd like a
copy of the full notes I can mail them.

of ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ but
this one is a member of
some group of people who
call themselves "World Citizens".
He is billed as a "well known
pacifist recently returned
from Europe."

Some time ago a
local newspaper "The Washington
Star" did an article on
the group and my impression
was that it was
communistic.

Very sincerely yours,

TRUE COPY

June 12, 1952.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Last Oct. 12 (1951) I notified you of a booklet I had received through the mail called "Steps to Peace." The man who sent it out was [redacted] of [redacted]. Now he is lecturer at the [redacted] in [redacted] township (which is the township we both live in) and has planned to have a speaker there to-morrow night by the name of [redacted] June 14;

Last night I attended the [redacted] meeting and heard the speaker. He was very definitely Red. Blamed America for the next war which he said we can all see is coming and said the Russians haven't taken any territory and are a great country who just want to develop their resources, they are in a pioneering state now similar to our own pioneer days, said the people of Germany & France hate & fear us as all they of [redacted] but this one is a member of some group of people who call themselves "World Citizens." He is billed as a "well known pacifist recently returned from Europe."

Some time ago a local newspaper "The Washington Star" did an article on the group and my impression was that it was communistic.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ [redacted]

*See original letter for
omitted information. Lick
10/14/66*

DIRECTOR, FBI

8/1/52

SAC, PHILADELPHIA

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

20 SOUTH 12TH STREET,

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

For the information of the Bureau, the following will be used as a thumbnail sketch by this office in the captioned matter:

On 7/21/52, [redacted] of known reliability, orally advised [redacted] that for years he has attended the affairs sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and has found it to be a sincere pacifist organization. Since its foundation in 1917, this group, an action committee of the Quaker faith, has opposed military conflict, preparedness, and the drafting of men.

While it is true that the teachings of this group do parallel the Communist Party propaganda in the "peace promotion field," it is noticeable that this group has not deviated from its teachings in the past 35 years, and it appears to be a coincidence that there is a parallel.

It is to be noted that the group was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947 for its sincere pacifist efforts, and that its teachings are the same now as they were then.

100-11392-137 ✓

SAC, Philadelphia [REDACTED]

August 13, 1952

Director, FBI [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 SOUTH 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
[REDACTED]

Reurlet August 1, 1952.

It will be sufficient to use the following as a thumbnail sketch of the American Friends Service Committee:

On 7-21-52, [REDACTED], of known reliability, orally advised [REDACTED] that for years he has attended the affairs sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and has found it to be a sincere pacifist organization. Since its foundation in 1917, this group, an action committee of the Quaker faith, has opposed military conflict, preparedness, and the drafting of men.

100-11392-137 ✓

Speaks on Peace

DR. BENJAMIN S. SEABURY

Dr. Seabury, education secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, will speak at Cook School Auditorium at 8 p. m. Monday at a peace meeting, sponsored by many local groups and individuals. The meeting is open to the public and admission is free. Contributions will be accepted to the work of the American Friends Service Committee. Dr. Seabury will discuss "The Peace Expedition."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : [REDACTED]
 FROM : [REDACTED]
 SUBJECT: MOTION PICTURE ENTITLED,
 "TIME FOR GREATNESS"
 [REDACTED]

DATE: September 2, 1952

While [REDACTED] was discussing other matters with [REDACTED] on August 28, 1952, he advised that he desired to call to the Bureau's attention a film recently released by the Quaker association, The American Friends Service Committee. This film, which is designed for commercial and private showing, is entitled, "Time for Greatness" and although it shows the customary Quaker isolationist viewpoint, it is nevertheless packed with Communist propaganda. He stated that the film could not have been made better, from a propaganda viewpoint, had it been made by the Communist Party or by the U.S.S.R. He stated that it continually places the United States and the U. S. foreign policy in a very degrading state and it is the type of film that can do irreparable harm to the United States, particularly when shown abroad. He stated this particular film was directed and produced by [REDACTED] of [REDACTED], New York City.

[REDACTED] stated that a review of the film showed that undoubtedly it was carefully censored by the Quaker organization and that undoubtedly some persons in that organization are either Communists, or are totally naive of what Communism is. [REDACTED] advised that he felt this should be called to the Bureau's attention as it was something that could certainly be classified as a threat to internal security, particularly in view of the fact that this film is being sent by the American Friends Service Committee throughout the world for showing.

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

DES MOINES REGIONAL OFFICE

1116 East University Avenue

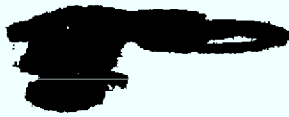
Des Moines



16, Iowa

Telephone 6-5514

October 10, 1952



Dear friends:


Recently we received a check from a person who requested that our pamphlet "Security Through Disarmament" be sent to a few friends which were listed in the letter.

We hope you will find it interesting.

Cordially yours,

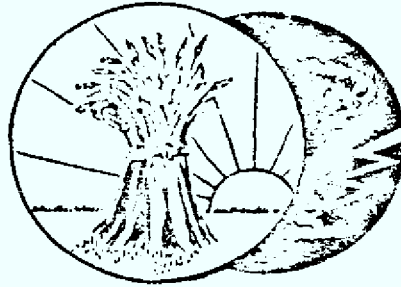
Virginia Ann Lee

Virginia Ann Lee
Literature Department



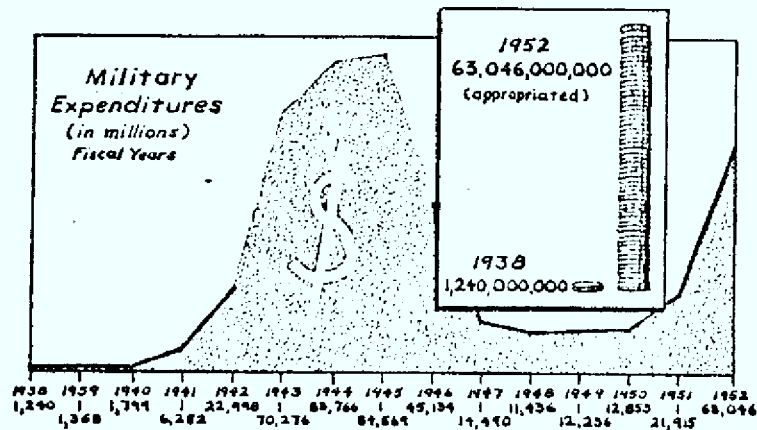
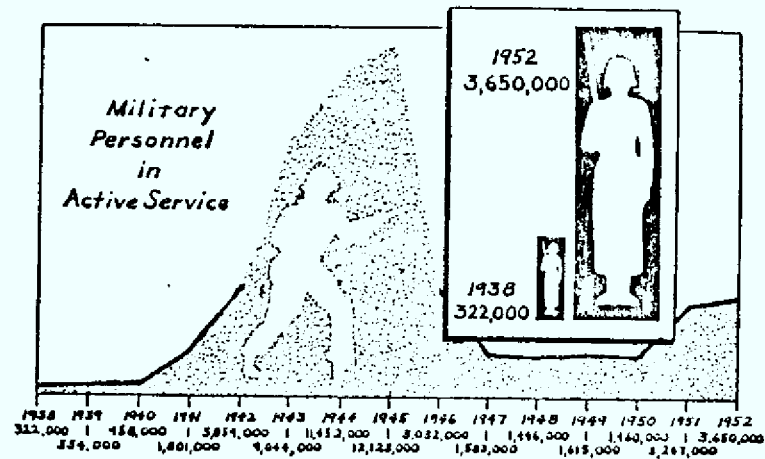
**TOWARD
SECURITY
THROUGH**

disarmament



A report prepared for the
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

100-115827-100



SOURCES: U. S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1951 (Washington: U. S. Department of Commerce, 1951); *Semi-Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense*, January 1 to June 30, 1951 (Washington 1951); *Digest of Appropriations 1952* (U. S. Treasury Department 1952).

NOTE: Expenditure figures from 1947 on include expenditures for the development and control of atomic energy. The expenditure figure for 1952 represents the amount appropriated for that year.

TOWARD SECURITY THROUGH DISARMAMENT

• A report prepared for the
American Friends Service Committee

PHILADELPHIA
1952

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| Preface | 3 |
| I. THE ARMS RACE | 7 |
| II. AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT | 11 |
| Aspirations and Stalemate | 11 |
| Breaking the Stalemate | 12 |
| Merging the Commissions | 13 |
| Banning the Bomb | 14 |
| Regulating Conventional Arms | 15 |
| Establishing the Control Organ | 16 |
| Ownership and Management of Atomic Facilities | 17 |
| Inspection of Armaments | 20 |
| Establishing a Schedule for Arms Reduction | 22 |
| The Veto and Enforcement | 24 |
| III. PRINCIPLES AND PROPOSALS | 26 |
| Principles and Assumptions | 26 |
| Next Steps | 29 |
| The Control Organ | 29 |
| Banning the Bomb | 29 |
| Ownership and Management of Atomic Facilities | 30 |
| Existing Stockpiles of Fissionable Materials | 31 |
| Inspection | 32 |
| Violations and the Veto | 33 |
| Schedule of Arms Reduction | 34 |
| Criteria for Arms Reduction | 35 |
| The Proposals Summarized | 37 |
| IV. CONCURRENT STEPS TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT | 38 |
| Recognizing Facts | 38 |
| Re-examining the Principles of Negotiation | 40 |
| Strengthening International Peacemaking Functions | 42 |
| Positive Programs of Mutual Aid | 46 |
| Settlement of Political Issues | 47 |

PREFACE

For some time the American Friends Service Committee, engaged as it is in a wide variety of activities in many parts of the world, has felt a responsibility to provide reports to the American public which may help develop a constructive, peaceful approach to the tensions and conflicts that paralyze our world. To this end the Service Committee in 1949 issued a report on *The United States and the Soviet Union* and in 1951 another report on *Steps to Peace*. Each of these endeavored to point out some practical applications of the Way of Peace to a world in conflict. Each pamphlet stressed the need for a drastic reduction of arms the world over as one of a number of "steps to peace."

These reports elicited considerable public discussion. Many of the comments received, both from members of the United Nations and from private individuals, urged that this constructive approach be applied to some of the complicated problems of arms reduction. Little genuine progress on international disarmament planning has been made. Nevertheless, we are convinced that thoughtful people the world over feel more and more acutely the need for constructive suggestions to bring the arms race, with its staggering psychological and economic burdens, to an end.

It is not the intention of these reports to challenge the good faith of either the United States or the Soviet Union in their interpretations of each other's actions. Whenever any nation looks at another in fear and distrust, it is likely to misrepresent or fail to understand the gestures of the other. In this report, as in the two previous ones, we are not endeavoring to judge the rightness of claims and counterclaims, but rather to suggest constructive measures for the good of all.

The historic position of the Society of Friends in such matters has been that of a creative neutrality, endeavoring thereby to build bridges of understanding between nations as a means of settling disputes in mutual good faith. It is in that spirit this report is written. Naturally, however, there is a

wide range of conviction among Quakers as to the best methods of implementing these deeply-felt concerns for the welfare of human society. The working party responsible for the preparation of this report, recognizing this, endeavored to arrive at what Quakers call "the sense of the meeting" on all points, even though individuals on it represented diverse opinions on specific measures and details.

The two previous pamphlets emerged out of the collective experience of Quakers working in the troubled areas of the world. Disarmament and arms control, however, are more technical fields requiring professionally specialized advice and guidance. To face this task, a working party, called together over a year ago, was composed of both Quakers and non-Quakers, some of whom have specialized in problems relating to disarmament and the control of atomic energy. Harrop A. Freeman and John H. Ferguson, respectively chairman and secretary of the working party, have interviewed many officials from various countries in all parts of the world in the process of this study. The latter, with Elmore Jackson and Clarence E. Pickett, personally followed discussions at the Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations held in Paris during the fall and winter of 1951-52. Before the specific proposals embodied in this pamphlet were drawn up, Elmore Jackson severed his connection with the working party when he joined the staff of the United Nations on a special assignment.

David F. Cavers and Robert W. Frase, two additional members of the working party, have both made contributions to the report on the basis of extensive independent studies, especially concerning international control of atomic energy. Other participants included Stephen G. Cary, Lewis M. Hoskins, Philip E. Jacob, William L. Neumann, William Merton Scott, and Gilbert F. White. While no one of the participants claims expertness in all phases of this field, the writers have honestly tried to marshal the wisest advice to guide the Executive Board of the American Friends Service Committee in its recommendations as presented in this pamphlet.

Both the brevity of a pamphlet and the world's relative inexperience with technical aspects of the subject impose definite limits on a discussion of so complex a problem as the reduction of the world's arsenal. Closely connected with the

problems of disarmament is the relationship armaments bear to the economies of modern nations. For some years now the economic systems of the major powers have been geared primarily to the machinery of war. Any effective dismantling of that machinery will inevitably require extensive changes in the economies of the world, and disarmament planning must eventually take this factor into full consideration.

Another ancillary question involved in disarmament is: what shape will political settlements and world institutions have to assume in order to guarantee a more effectual international security? This question entails consideration of a wide variety of subjects, including the location of sovereignty, the character of world institutions, sanctions and their enforcement.

Modern society cannot escape the responsibility to face these questions forthrightly. Complicated as they are by the transitional nature of our world and our concepts of world society, they nevertheless deserve immediate specialized study. However, detailed discussion of these ancillary questions could not be included in the present study. Moreover, we believe that a solution to these complex problems can be found more readily, once the basic agreements to limit and reduce the tools of war have been signed and sealed.

The American Friends Service Committee advances the suggestions embodied in this pamphlet out of an abiding conviction that God would have us find a way to remove war and the tools of war from the face of the earth.

THE ARMS RACE

OUT OF A DEEP human desire for security both the East and the West are building their arms establishments to unprecedented heights. Military budgets, and taxes to support them, have reached staggering proportions. Figures showing the trend in the United States and among her European allies are given in the graphs printed on the inside front and back covers.

Impressive as these figures may be, the graphs fail to tell the full story. On the manpower side, the figures do not show the greatly expanded use of civilian manpower in preparedness programs and defense industries. On the expenditure side, they do not reveal the cost of foreign economic aid, of war-related programs like aid to veterans, of the cost of stimuli to production, nor of the cost of price control. Nor do they show the cost of inflation, the added cost of carrying an increasingly heavy national debt, and the economic waste inherent in rearmament. The full permanent consequences in terms of high taxes, national debt, depletion of resources, neglected welfare programs, and corrosion of human and spiritual values are immeasurable.

If military might alone can give us a sense of security, certainly in 1952 the United States should feel secure. We have the most favored, most easily protected geographical position of any nation in the world. We have the most highly developed industrial strength, the largest navy, the greatest stockpile of atomic weapons. Yet, the feeling of insecurity is more epidemic among us since the end of World War II than at any time within memory.

Can it be that we are victims of our own policy? Can it be that rearmament, adopted in the interest of security, is itself contributing to our insecurity and to the insecurity of the world? One thing is clear: rearmament seems only to lead to the rearmament of those we most fear. Each new measure

...measure adopted in the name of defense has the effect of intensifying insecurity.

That this process is madness everyone knows. And yet, when negotiation of differences is so desperately needed, spokesmen for East and West keep on blaming one another while each bloc girds for war, hoping to "buy time," "negotiate from strength," or if worse comes to worst, win "the war nobody wants."

Both American and Soviet spokesmen claim success, or at least partial success, for their policies of rearmament. American spokesmen claim that the threat of the atom bomb has deterred Soviet aggression in western Europe; that United States military strength, coupled with economic and military aid, has prevented Communists from coming to power in Italy, France, Greece, the Middle East and elsewhere; that prompt military action in Korea has discouraged similar aggression in other parts of the globe; and that a firm policy in Germany and Austria has kept these countries from falling into the Soviet orbit. In time and under the pressures of a show of force on all sides, western spokesmen contend, the Soviet Union will be forced by events into a more conciliatory attitude.

Spokesmen for the East make similar claims. According to them, their firm attitude has kept western powers from reuniting and rearming Germany and Austria. They claim to have neutralized American military and economic aid in western Europe, the Middle East and elsewhere. Soviet policies are given credit for preventing the conquest of Korea and unification under auspices hostile to the Soviet Union and China. Soviet policy is also credited with diminishing and defeating western imperialist influences in China, Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia, the Middle East and elsewhere. It will force western powers, so the Soviets claim, to the point of bankruptcy and constant instability. Firm resistance has made the United Nations, to Soviet eyes, less of a western tool than it would otherwise have been. Finally, it is claimed that Communist leadership has inspired common people everywhere to demand a better life, national independence, and peace.

Where the whole truth lies it is obviously impossible to tell. In an era dominated by nation-states, with most educational and propaganda media directed or deeply influenced by

government or national patriots, citizens everywhere are taught to "take sides." Under these stresses, whatever the frame of government, most citizens become highly partisan and limit their views more and more to the bounds prescribed by official or majority opinion. The issues are too complex, too colored by conflicting propaganda, for dogmatic conclusions. In the final analysis, the claims and counterclaims of the opposing powers are not as important to the course of history as the tensions, promoted by competitive armaments, that seem to lead us further down the path to war and the decline of civilization.

But, it is asked, did not the United States unilaterally disarm after World War II? While it is true that we demobilized our army to a much larger extent than the Russians, yet the military strength of the United States has never been measured exclusively by the size of its standing army. For geographic reasons we rely primarily on sea and air power, while the Soviet Union is primarily a land power. If all categories of weapons are included, as they must be in any fair analysis of military strength, the theory of America's unilateral disarmament collapses. Since the war our production of atomic weapons has proceeded without pause and at an increased tempo, a far-flung network of air bases has been developed, and we have maintained a large complement of heavy aircraft usable for atomic bombing. Our wartime navy, by far the largest in the world, has been maintained on a stand-by basis. In no postwar year has our military budget fallen below 11 billion dollars. This is hardly unilateral disarmament.

But, it is also asked, can the United States disarm in the present world? With tensions what they are, caused partly by the failure of nations to disarm after the war, it does not seem reasonable to expect any nation to disarm unless others do also. Nor has this been proposed in the United Nations. Rather, what is sought is an international agreement to ban certain weapons, limit and reduce armaments, and establish an effective system of international control.

Indeed, those who have thought about the subject have long realized that world peace and order depend on disarmament, not armaments. The first objective of the Hague Peace Conference of 1899 was to lighten the staggering burden of

storage facilities, and (4) license or lease of fissionable materials for peaceful use.

When Mr. Bernard Baruch, the American representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, presented the American plan in June 1946, he added provisions for (a) swift punishment for illegal production and (b) elimination of the veto in the Security Council when considering counter-measures against nations engaging in illegal production.

The Soviet counter-proposal, elaborated gradually over the course of a year, asked for the outlawing and destruction of the bombs first, prescribed limits on inspection, permitted day-to-day inspection without the veto, but kept the veto intact for Security Council action against violators. By September 1946 the Scientific and Technical subcommittee concluded that (a) effective control of production of atomic energy is technologically feasible, (b) processes leading to both peaceful and warlike use of atomic energy are so similar that both require control, and (c) production of U-235, plutonium and U-233 must be strictly controlled. This report was adopted unanimously (including the Soviet Union).

A second subcommittee was set up to consider safeguards. Its preliminary report approved inspection of mining and refining stages but preferred placing actual management of plants producing nuclear fuels in the hands of the international control agency. The Soviet Union raised some objection, but it will never be known whether she would have agreed to the report, for the work of the Commission was shifted to the job of preparing a general report which was finally forced through substantially in the American form.

The promise of these earlier developments has unfortunately been overshadowed by the stalemate in both the atomic and the conventional disarmament commissions. However, in the debates before the commissions some cautious modifications of positions previously taken were ventured.

Breaking the Stalemate After years of deadlock between the great powers, disarmament negotiations took on new life at the Sixth General Assembly meeting of the United Nations in Paris during the fall and winter of 1951-1952. A Committee of Twelve, appointed by the pre-

vious General Assembly, completed a report recommending merger of the two commissions, which for several years had worked separately on atomic and conventional arms control and reduction. Anticipating this report, the American, British and French governments introduced a new set of proposals shortly after the Sixth General Assembly convened on November 8, 1951.

Unfortunately the new proposals were at first stated and discussed in an atmosphere inflamed by bitterness, causing widespread anxiety lest the entire session come to naught. However, spokesmen for both contesting blocs subsequently moderated words and temperatures sufficiently to permit more reasoned consideration of the issues involved. In the days and weeks that followed, Russian delegates countered with proposals of their own, and both American and Soviet blocs made what appeared to be significant clarifications and concessions.

Some promise of more reasoned negotiation thus appeared. When the General Assembly adjourned in February 1952, the long-standing stalemate began to give way to a more fluid situation which permitted some hope for further progress.

The bare outline of these events illustrates that, even in spite of tensions and bitterness, negotiation of sharp differences can still be carried on. Indeed, readers may be surprised to note below that the areas of agreement are as great as they are.

Merging the Commissions The First General Assembly (on January 24, 1946) voted to establish the Atomic Energy Commission. A year later (on February 13, 1947) the Security Council, on the basis of an Assembly resolution, established the Commission for Conventional Armaments. Both commissions, especially the former, did valuable exploratory work. But for about three years prior to the meeting of the Sixth General Assembly in Paris, the commissions had been hopelessly deadlocked.

One of the controversies was whether discussions of atomic and conventional armaments should be kept separate. From the beginning American spokesmen, though admitting that both types of weapons should be brought under control, insisted on separating the discussions. Atomic weapons, they maintained, presented new and peculiar technical problems

which could not adequately be considered in discussions that included conventional armaments.

Soviet spokesmen, on the other hand, wanted to discuss the atomic bomb in relation to other armaments in the Conventional Armaments Commission when that commission was established. They discounted the peculiar problems presented by atomic weapons, and accused the Americans of delaying discussions of conventional arms until agreement was reached on atomic weapons. They stressed the unreality of keeping the discussions separate when national security involved both types of armament.

Happily, this aspect of the controversy has now been terminated. The tide turned in October 1950 when President Truman suggested that the two commissions be consolidated. More than a year later, speaking to the General Assembly in Paris, Secretary of State Dean Acheson announced: "... We favor the merger of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Conventional Arms Commission. This I say quite frankly is a change in the position of the United States." With the ice broken, all parties admitted the desirability of the merger which was consummated by the General Assembly on January 11, 1952.

The new Disarmament Commission is set up "under the Security Council." Like each of its two predecessors it normally has a membership of 12—one for each member of the Security Council plus Canada. It was instructed to become operative within 30 days. The chairmanship is to rotate each month among its members. Instructed to submit its first report not later than June 1, 1952, the Commission is required to make detailed studies and to prepare plans and treaties. Moreover, when the Commission's work progresses to a point where any part of its program is ready to be submitted, the Secretary General is requested to convene a disarmament conference. The eyes of an armament-burdened world will be hopefully focussed on the new Commission as it attempts to set the stage for further agreement.

Banning the Bomb All nations favor the banning of atomic weapons and other means of mass destruction of civil life. All nations also approve the necessary corollary of the proposed ban—an international system of

control designed to ensure faithful compliance with it. Apparently, all parties agree that sooner or later the ban should prohibit national states and private parties from *using, possessing and manufacturing* atomic and other weapons of mass destruction.

However, differences exist over the type of controls required and over "timing" of the program. Nevertheless, the fact remains that there appears to be agreement on the desirability of banning atomic weapons.

Regulating Conventional Arms Another general area of agreement between the nations is that conventional armaments and armed forces should be regulated, limited and reduced. At one time controversy arose as to what "conventional arms and armed forces" should include. There is now substantial agreement that these categories should include (a) all armaments not classified as weapons of mass destruction, (b) military, naval and air bases, and (c) armed forces of all types including para-military, security and police forces.

However, two principal obstacles to further agreement have been encountered. One is the dispute over whether a census of armaments should include atomic weapons. The other is the continuing disagreement as to whether the reduction in conventional arms should be "progressive and balanced" or by a flat percentage.

Concerning the first, the United States, with a monopoly of atomic weapons, wanted no census until a "foolproof" plan of control had been agreed upon and put into operation. The Soviets, on the other hand, without atomic weapons at the time the dispute arose, demanded that the Commission for Conventional Armaments conduct a census that would include both types of armament. The American view prevailed, and the stalemate already mentioned continued. The United States, in proposing the merger of the two old commissions, has agreed to a census of atomic weapons, provided less secret weapons have first been disclosed and verified. It is now agreed, therefore, that the census should include weapons of all types, provided the "stages" problem can be resolved.

As to the second obstacle, Soviet spokesmen have insisted

upon a flat reduction, within one year, of a suggested one-third of all conventional arms and armed forces. To a war-weary, armament-burdened world this is a highly attractive proposal. If both blocs were equally strong in all weapons and armed forces, a one-third reduction would not change the ratio. However, western spokesmen claim that the Soviet Union possesses a superiority in conventional arms and armed forces and that, if both sides now disarmed by one-third and if the atom bomb were banished entirely, the West would be seriously weakened and the unbalance would invite aggression. Soviet spokesmen deny this alleged superiority in conventional arms and assert, therefore, that a one-third reduction would affect all parties equally.

As a counter-proposal western spokesmen urge progressive and balanced reduction of conventional arms and armed forces, in such a way as to keep power in equilibrium at a reduced level of armament. Soviet spokesmen claim this would only delay disarmament, prolong tension and threat of war, invite endless haggling over criteria and quotas, and in fact lead to an increase of armament in some nations. At the moment, no sign of agreement on this thorny problem has appeared. We have indicated on pages 35-36 a possible basis for compromise.

Establishing the Control Orgdn All parties agree that the proposed disarmament treaties should establish one or more international control organs "within the framework of the Security Council." The organization and powers of the control organ and its relationship to United Nations agencies would be prescribed and defined in the prospective treaties. Staff personnel would be international and responsible directly to the control organization. The control organ would establish its own rules and decide day-to-day questions by majority vote. Moreover, all parties agree that the control organ should be permitted to carry on atomic research, though there is lack of agreement on the kind and scope of such research. (Soviet spokesmen desire that national laboratories be permitted to carry on atomic research concurrently with the laboratories under the international control organ. American spokesmen prefer that national

research be licensed by the control organ which would have exclusive power to engage in research involving "dangerous" facilities or matters relating to military application.) All agree that the control organ should maintain strict international control, but a difference of opinion exists as to the best methods of doing so.

Ownership and Management of Atomic Facilities Even when atomic weapons are banned, uranium mines, atomic plants and laboratories, reactors, stockpiles of fissionable materials and like resources would remain in existence, and provision must be made to deal with them. It is agreed that permissible facilities of this nature would be used only for peaceful purposes, but measures must be taken to prevent their diversion to forbidden uses.

As already pointed out, the American plan would establish an international atomic development authority with power to hold, manage, license and otherwise control the world's "dangerous" atomic facilities, materials and stockpiles. What is "dangerous" and "non-dangerous" has been fairly well defined. The former includes stockpiles of uranium, reactors, and facilities for the production of U-233, U-235 and plutonium. Items like the following would probably be classified as non-dangerous—ore mines, refineries, radioactive materials for use in scientific, medical and technological studies, and small quantities of fissionable material for experimental uses. As a principle rather than a concrete part of any formally proposed and elaborated plan, the United States recommended the dispersal of facilities and stockpiles around the world in a "strategic balance," so that if any were seized by one national government, other national governments would have more facilities for atomic production than the treaty violator. The proposed authority would also establish production quotas, operate laboratories, discover and verify relevant data, and conduct inspections continuously.

For this "plan" (which is far from complete in several crucial details) much has been claimed. As manager of atomic facilities, the international authority would be more likely to keep abreast of technological developments. As proprietor of the facilities, the authority could operate with less friction and dan-

ger of molestation, and a technically more able personnel could be hired. Anything less than this, proponents of the plan have claimed, would be unsafe and lack the necessary "foolproof" guarantees against illegal diversion of fissionable materials.

Underlying the plan when it was formulated was the assumption that atomic energy would soon be used on a large scale for the production of electric power. If this development did not take place, and the ban on atomic weapons went into effect, the proposed international authority would actually have little to manage. Six years have passed and this large scale atomic power industry is not yet in sight. To this extent, at least, the plan is rather hypothetical and perhaps unrealistic.

The Atomic Energy Commission's Subcommittee 2 first stated in 1946 that all other stages could be controlled by inspection but atomic plants should be actually managed by the control agency. Later, spokesmen for the Soviet Union became inflexibly opposed to the ownership and management feature. To their view the international authority would be dominated by the "Anglo-American bloc." They maintain that it would restrict the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and would invade national sovereignty contrary to the United Nations Charter. Finally, they insisted that it was unnecessary to go this far to achieve effective control. In view of these objections, Soviet spokesmen proposed a plan of their own, calling for national ownership and management of permissible atomic facilities subject to "strict" international control.

A majority of the United Nations approved what were essentially the American proposals at the 1948 Assembly, and henceforth they became known as the Majority Plan. Neither side would budge from its position on atomic energy control. However, at Paris a western tri-partite resolution sidestepped a head-on discussion of the impasse. That resolution (adopted January 11, 1952) instructed the new Disarmament Commission to be ready to consider any proposals for control of either conventional or atomic armaments; however, it also stated that unless a better or no less effective system is devised, the Majority Plan should continue to serve as the basis for discussion. The vote in favor of this provision was 32-5 with nine abstentions; the draft resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 42-5 with seven abstentions.

Soviet spokesmen are not the only ones who have doubted the necessity for international ownership. In 1946 the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace committee of representatives from scientific, political and other fields issued a report, after detailed study before the Baruch plan was known, accepting the principle of national rather than international ownership. In 1950 the British United Nations Association published a pamphlet expressing a preference for international ownership but stating that a settlement for national ownership under strict control was better than a continuation of the impasse. A number of books and articles, written by competent students and observers, have called for reconsideration of the Majority Plan. On December 1, 1951, the London Times expressed itself editorially on the Majority Plan: "This utopian proposal would in practice be as difficult for the United States to accept as for the Soviet Union."

The Federation of American Scientists has, for the last year or two, urged that a new Acheson-Lilienthal Committee be instructed to restudy the entire problem of atomic energy control. More recently, in January, 1952, more than 200 British scientists adopted a resolution declaring that there are no unsurmountable technical difficulties in the way of establishing an effective system of control and inspection of atomic establishments, which could be operated even in a period of international tension; and that international ownership was not essential for effective control and the proposal should be abandoned. Moreover, private conversations between the American Friends Service Committee's working party and a number of leading American Senators, Representatives, scientists and other students of the problem lead them to believe that few informed people are now convinced that it is either necessary or wise to insist on international ownership. An alternative plan is suggested on pages 30-32.

Significantly, on April 28, 1952 the United States Department of State established a five-man panel of consultants to advise in connection with the work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. The appointment of this group may indicate that U. S. atomic control proposals are being subjected

to critical review and evaluations in the light of scientific, military and political developments of the past five years.

Inspection of Armaments That inspection is an essential feature of any practicable plan for disarmament is admitted by all. Spokesmen for both American and Soviet blocs have agreed on this from the start. The problem is not whether there should be inspection, but rather what shall be its nature, frequency and scope.

The United Nations Majority Plan provided that an international authority should carry on inspection of atomic facilities concurrently with the exercise of its managerial functions. Under this plan, atomic armaments of the nations would be policed by the managerial staff of the international authority with the aid of a corps of stationary and roving inspectors. However, the exact relationship between the atomic inspection procedures of the international authority and inspection for control of conventional arms has never been discussed.

This plan of inspection was rejected by Soviet spokesmen as a part of the international management plan for the control of atomic facilities, because they thought that it invaded sovereignty and interfered unnecessarily with domestic affairs. Instead, they preferred national ownership of atomic facilities subject to inspections, both "periodic" (as frequently as the control agency decided) and "special" (whenever charges of violations were submitted). Because of the suspicions that exist and the closed character of the Soviet state, it has been questioned whether these types of inspection would provide adequate protection.

Before 1948 it was agreed that a majority decision by the control organ would be binding on all, with no right of "veto." Later, additional agreement was reached that the control organ should decide the times and places of inspection. Finally, at Paris during the winter of 1951-52, Mr. Andrei Vyshinski modified Soviet proposals to agree that inspection should be "permanent" and on "a continuing basis," providing it did not "interfere in the domestic affairs of states."

In clarifying these modifications, Mr. Vyshinski explained that he accepted "permanent inspection on a continuing basis" in the sense that once it began it would not end, but not in the

sense that it would proceed from international ownership or that inspectors might be stationed permanently at key points. He also declared once more that inspection of atomic energy establishments would include (1) auditing of accounts, (2) checking stockpiles of atomic raw materials and semi-finished products, (3) checking whether regulations governing technological control were respected, (4) requesting data on the production of atomic energy, (5) collecting information on atomic products, and (6) carrying out inspections, should the regulation on the prohibition of atomic weapons be broken. When asked what was meant when he said the control organ should not be entitled to interfere in the domestic affairs of states, Mr. Vyshinski explained that this meant exactly the same as Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter, which reads:

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

Spokesmen for the American bloc have not expressed themselves fully on Mr. Vyshinski's "clarifications." As long as they insist on international ownership, the Soviet plan will be unacceptable. However, if they should concede national ownership, Mr. Vyshinski's proposals might serve as a starting point for the elaboration of an adequate system based on inspection rather than international ownership and management of atomic facilities. It should be noted, however, that limits on the range of inspection perhaps are more important than its periodicity.

The solution of these basic differences appeared somewhat more hopeful in the discussions at the 1951 Paris Assembly of conventional arms and armed forces. Soviet spokesmen indicated willingness to accept "permanent inspection on a continuing basis" for conventional armaments and armed forces, as well as for atomic facilities. This concession leaves little substance to their insistence on restricting the scope of atomic

inspection to "declared" facilities. If this type of inspection were adequate for the discovery and inspection of all bases, forces, installations, productive facilities, materials and supplies relating to conventional arms and armed forces, it is difficult to imagine how clandestine atomic production could evade detection.

Establishing a Schedule for Arms Reduction Having at first a monopoly and later presumably a clear superiority in atomic weapons, the United States advanced plans intended to allow itself freedom to use, possess, and continue manufacturing atomic materials and weapons until a "foolproof" control system is in operation. This policy would involve a procedure beginning with a census of armaments and armed forces, disclosing first the least sensitive and gradually the more sensitive data, followed by careful verification by international inspectors. Finally, with atomic and other weapons disclosed and verified and a control organ successfully in operation, the ban on atomic weapons would go into effect.

Soviet spokesmen, replying to this "safe" approach, have variously accused the United States of "stalling," of playing a trick, of demanding the impossible, of wanting the Soviet Union to surrender the strategic advantages of the "iron curtain" without any guarantee that atomic secrets would ultimately be disclosed or atomic weapons banned, and of hiding a determination to control world events behind platitudes. The Soviet Union has vigorously demanded that atomic weapons be banned immediately and unconditionally. Then later or simultaneously it would have the United Nations establish the controls necessary to ensure compliance with the ban.

Spokesmen of the western powers have accused the Soviet Union of insisting on the ban first only because it would weaken the West, leave the Soviet Union relatively stronger, and facilitate Russian expansion. If prohibition were first proclaimed, it is claimed that western nations would be left without guarantees that the Soviet Union would ever agree to the types of control and cooperation required to insure compliance and confidence.

This controversy was somewhat clarified and modified during the recent session of the General Assembly. American

spokesmen—without yielding their basic demand for a slow, cautious and "safe" approach—indicated for the first time a willingness to disclose atomic armaments in a census and have them verified. Announcing this, Secretary of State Dean Acheson said:

I wish to stress and say as vigorously as I can that the proposals of the United States do include in stages disclosure and verification of atomic armaments. That again is a change in the position of the United States. Before, we had taken the position that there could be no disclosure until the whole system of control had been set up. We are now changing our position and we are changing it in the hope that that change may enable the United Nations . . . to make progress, successful progress, toward a reduction in armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the disclosure and verification of all armaments of all sorts.

The Secretary went on to emphasize that insistence upon proceeding by stages was not a "trick," as Soviet spokesmen had alleged, and that

. . . progression from one stage to another should be an administrative matter within the control of the commission controlling and administering the disarmament agreement. In other words, it should not be a political decision to be made by states with reserve power in the states to make that decision. But, the agreement should be contained in the document itself that when the commission is satisfied that a stage has been successfully completed, then as an administrative decision the commission should proceed to the next step. That, perhaps in part, would meet the difficulty which has been suggested.

The United States indicated an even more flexible position in Secretary Acheson's statement that there were two ways in which the new commission might proceed—(1) establish a system of disclosure and verification first, to be followed by limitation of armaments generally and prohibition of atomic weapons; or (2) "to do all of this at one time." It is signifi-

cant that the Secretary added that "either one of these ways would be wholly agreeable to the United States."

One should note, however, that Secretary Acheson did not thereby abandon the idea of proceeding with actual disarmament by slow stages. His remarks referred to commission procedure, and meant that the United States is willing to *discuss* simultaneously all aspects of the problem while maintaining that actual *implementation* of decisions should proceed cautiously by stages.

The Soviet Union also clarified its view on one aspect of the problem of stages, at the Sixth General Assembly. Whereas it initially demanded an immediate and unconditional ban on atomic weapons and reduction of conventional arms with controls applied *after* the ban, Mr. Vyshinski on January 12, 1952 stated that the atomic weapon should be prohibited and strict international control put into effect *simultaneously* and without delay. If the Assembly would proclaim at once the principle of prohibiting atomic arms and establishing controls, he claimed, international tensions would be reduced and the atmosphere cleansed of atomic war propaganda, even though the ban would have no legal effect until control machinery began to function. That the Soviet Union has affirmed its acceptance of simultaneity in principle is an indication that compromise may be possible. A possible solution to these differences is suggested on pages 34-35.

The Veto and Enforcement Throughout postwar disarmament discussions the question of safeguards has been central. There has been general agreement that the control system should be established and operated within the framework of the Security Council and that the control organ make day-to-day decisions by majority vote.

In addition, Mr. Bernard Baruch, acting upon his own initiative but with the assent of Secretary of State Byrnes, injected the notion that the veto should be waived in the Security Council when considering the application of sanctions (diplomatic, economic, financial, and military) against an offending nation.

From the start, spokesmen for the Soviet Union were hostile to Mr. Baruch's suggestion for waiving the veto with

respect to action in the Security Council. According to Soviet spokesmen this would shatter the foundation upon which the United Nations is built. With the Security Council dominated by the "Anglo-American bloc" the Soviet Union would be at the mercy of the western powers. Moreover, this alteration of the United Nations Charter would make it possible for the small powers represented on the Security Council, with the aid of one or more big powers, to commit the entire United Nations to what might in fact be a third world war.

Mr. Baruch and other spokesmen for the West pressed their case very hard and in the end won approval by a majority of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in 1946. Nevertheless, as time passed, there appeared a growing disposition to raise no great objection to the Soviet position as far as the veto in the Security Council is concerned. The United States has not only refrained from pressing the issue since 1946 but has delicately suggested that waiver of the veto is not essential. At Paris during the 1951-52 discussions the issue was not mentioned in official pronouncements.

III

PRINCIPLES AND PROPOSALS

SPOKESMEN for both East and West have acclaimed their respective proposals for disarmament so long and loudly as to create the impression that each has offered the only workable and desirable proposals. In consequence, the respective plans have become stereotypes for which gallant defenders stand ever ready to do forensic battle. This may gratify participants and perhaps serve certain limited propaganda objectives, but it has created an atmosphere uncongenial to reasonable negotiation and agreement.

Believing that social problems rarely lend themselves to one and only one solution, we would bear in mind that there are many possible alternatives in any given field of control. The following proposals are thus not intended as a one-and-only plan, but rather as suggestions that may help loosen the rigidity of conflicting stereotypes and move the nations a bit closer toward agreement.

PRINCIPLES AND ASSUMPTIONS

Discussion of details invariably is simplified if there is prior agreement on underlying principles. We are, of course, aware that some governments may hold for complete agreement on broad principles before being willing to talk about concrete details. But it must also be remembered that sometimes principles become clearer or can be more acceptably stated through discussions of specific factors. Nevertheless, we believe the following principles and assumptions provide a basis for discussing detailed plans.

1. *Armaments are both a symptom and a contributing cause of international tensions.* Their very existence is evidence of distrust and suspicion and a cause of additional anxiety. The great expansion of a suspicion-breeding secrecy on both sides of the Iron Curtain during and since World War II has

created additional uncertainty and insecurity. In a dilemma where suspicion breeds armaments and armaments augment suspicion, successful negotiation at any point may help break the vicious circle. In the world of 1952 an agreement in Korea or Germany would certainly help the disarmament discussions, but the reverse of this would also be true. This being the case, real progress toward peace requires new efforts to reduce armaments drastically without delay.

2. *Mutual concessions are required for any acceptable and workable plan for drastic arms reduction.* Any such plan must begin with a recognition of the rights, interests and prevailing attitudes of all parties. Agreement cannot be expected on terms that require substantially greater concessions from one power bloc than from another. Agreement will also require willingness to change from positions heretofore taken. In the present context this means reciprocal concessions by proponents of both the United States and the Soviet Union proposals.

3. *Further expansion of arms production should cease.* This step, important at all levels of the arms reduction program, is the basic preliminary for a drastic reduction of armaments and a mutual expression of good faith.

4. *Weapons of mass destruction should be banned.* If world-wide fear and insecurity are to be overcome, stockpiles of the basic ingredients of such weapons (atomic, bacteriological, and other types) should be limited, under strict and effective international control, to peaceful purposes only. Official statements indicate a general desire to ban certain to-be-defined mass death-dealing weapons. We would like to see the list made as inclusive as possible.

5. *Conventional arms should be reduced drastically.* The more drastic the cutback of arms and armed forces, the less difficult will it be to establish equivalents among the powers by which a balance can be maintained at all times. Mere "progressive limitation and gradual reduction" of arms will invite delaying and stalling tactics by governments and affected interest groups. But a general agreement to reduce the levels of armament drastically and as soon as equivalents can be established would make such delaying tactics considerably less likely.

by "drastic" we mean the reduction of arms and armed forces to levels required for domestic police purposes.

6. *All types of weapons, arms installations and armed forces should be subject to a single inclusive system of international inspection and control.* To us it appears futile to reduce navies without also cutting aircraft and land forces, or to ban weapons of mass destruction without also controlling conventional arms. The threat posed by armaments to the peace, security and economic well-being of the nations of the world lies not in particular classes of weapons, but in total fighting potential.

7. *Adequate safeguards against either evasions or open violations must be provided by the control plan.* This does not mean that the plan must necessarily be "foolproof" in the absolute meaning of that term. Some risks must undoubtedly be accepted, but under an adequate plan these would be minimal compared to present risks in the absence of any controls.

8. *All nations with substantial military potential should participate in the planning and establishment of an international arms reduction program.* Application of this principle will require some arrangement whereby Germany, Japan, Italy, the Chinese Peoples Republic and other nations—not now members of the United Nations—can be brought into the discussions and agreements.

9. *Disarmament agreements should be negotiated within the framework of the United Nations, and the necessary control organ should operate within the same framework.* This does not mean that two or more nations ought not to discuss armaments any time they choose, or that single nations should not pursue a policy of unilateral disarmament for economic relief and to clear the air of suspicion in its relations with other nations. But it does mean that the United Nations may properly take the initiative and keep insisting that the search for agreement be continued and that the system of control operate under its auspices.

10. *Disarmament can begin at once.* Drastic reduction and permanent international control of national arsenals will, we believe, make the world both safer and less tense than at

present. It is unnecessary, therefore, to await implementation of the collective measures provisions of the United Nations Charter, as some have suggested, before starting to disarm. Nor is it necessary to construct a world super-government with a monopoly of force, as others suggest, before beginning drastic reduction of armaments. With mass death-dealing weapons banned, with other weapons drastically reduced, and with a world-wide control organ in successful operation, the confidence generated and experience gained should contribute greatly toward the peaceful evolution of a stronger world government.

PROPOSALS

Next Steps The plan of procedure agreed upon at Paris during the winter of 1951-52 when the General Assembly established the new Disarmament Commission outlined the following steps: (1) The Disarmament Commission is to prepare plans and draft treaties designed to accomplish the objective of disarmament; (2) when the Disarmament Commission deems it advisable, a disarmament conference is to be called to discuss and conclude the proposed treaty or treaties; (3) the signed treaties would then be submitted for ratification to participating states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes; (4) ratification would in turn be followed by United Nations action toward putting the treaties into effect and actual operation.

The Control Organ To administer and execute the commitments made in the treaties, it will be necessary to establish, within the framework of the Security Council, an international control organ. Under this office an international inspectorate should be staffed with expert and impartial personnel drawn from many countries but accountable only to the control organ. The inspectorate should interchange its personnel as often as possible, and it should be given authority to inspect armaments, armed forces and all supporting facilities and installations. This proposal appears to be acceptable to all parties.

Banning the Bomb All parties agree in principle to an eventual ban on the use, possession and

production of the atom bomb and other weapons of mass destruction, and the use of fissionable materials for peaceful purposes only. The problem of timing is undecided; this is discussed below under "Schedule of Arms Reduction."

Ownership & Management of Atomic Facilities

Under the circumstances previously described, it would seem wise to abandon the idea of international ownership and management of the world's "dangerous" atomic facilities, except, perhaps, as the Carnegie Endowment committee has suggested, where nations may elect to place their atomic industries under international trust. Future production must be restricted to quotas defined in appropriate treaties, with the understanding that permissible production would be subject to the strictest possible accounting and inspection. Unlimited non-military research using minor quantities of nuclear fuel would be permitted in national and international laboratories with the understanding that international laboratory staffs will include representatives of interested countries, and that all national laboratories will be subject to continuing and thorough inspection.

Spokesmen for the West may object that adoption of these proposals would permit diversion of nuclear fuels and clandestine activity in sufficient amounts to give strategic advantage to an offending nation. That this is a conceivable danger must be admitted. Its prevention will depend upon the scale of production of fissionable material permitted, the competence of the control organ and its staff, the design of the facilities, the accounting system, and inspection. Given the will to do so, we believe sufficient technical and scientific know-how can be found to devise the type of administrative organization and controls required to insure competence, responsibility, reliability, and dependable indices of compliance. If the control organ is given adequate authority and its staff are competent and impartial, we fail to see how it matters whether they operate as officers of the control organ or as agents of a TVA-like supra-national authority.

International ownership might conceivably make the task of inspecting authorized atomic installations a bit easier. But an atomic colossus standing astride the world with authority

to hold, manage, license and inspect would have all the problems of a non-owning control organ plus countless more, many of which would contain seeds of discord.

The United States has been the chief proponent of international ownership of atomic facilities, and adoption of the above proposal would require her to yield this point. To do so promptly, we believe, would contribute more to reaching agreement on the total problem of disarmament than any other concession the United States may reasonably be expected to make.

Existing Stockpiles of Fissionable Materials

The existence of large stockpiles of fissionable materials presents a new problem of disarmament planning. Though potentially valuable at some future time for atomic power, these materials need only be placed in atomic bomb cases to render a "peaceful" stockpile a tremendous arsenal for war. Moreover, the bomb cases can easily be concealed, and their secret fabrication, though difficult, would be hard to detect. Huge facilities have been built to refine uranium ore and to convert it into fissionables. If each nation keeps control of the ambiguously peaceful output of these plants, the temptation to keep building up these stockpiles will remain.

Vesting the international control organ with legal title to these stockpiles and facilities does not solve this problem if the stockpiles stay where they can be seized and in such form as will permit rapid conversion to bombs. Nor does "strategic balance," the solution proposed in the United Nations Majority Plan, seem practicable any longer. This principle would have distributed atomic stockpiles and "dangerous" facilities among the nations so that, if one nation wrongfully seized the stockpiles and facilities inside its boundaries, the other nations could legally take over theirs and so promptly nullify any military gain to the wrong-doer. But the "balance" this plan requires would be meaningful today only if it were achieved between the West and the East. It could be reached only if the United States were to turn over a large part of its own atomic stockpile to Soviet bloc countries. To expect the United States to do this seems neither realistic nor reasonable.

Even though giving custody of national stockpiles to the

control organ until peaceful uses can be found for them would not make seizure impossible, it would at least make the illegality of seizure plain to all the world, a fact that would deter any nation not blatantly bent on war. Since the United States has much the largest stockpile and since so far Soviet spokesmen have shown no interest in safeguards against seizure, perhaps the United States should not stress this problem in its search for a "foolproof" plan.

If greater protection is desired, this could be gained at considerable expense by transmuting existing fissionables into non-explosive form, so that another long and costly operation would be required to re-transmute them to their present state. Conceivably the "denaturing" process would still permit some peaceful uses of the fissionables, but no recent scientific reports have encouraged hope for this. Another protective measure might allow control authorities to set up an international depository under multi-national guards in neutral territory, say, in Eastern Greenland. Under such a plan attempts at seizure could be countered by measures rendering the deposited material inaccessible except after very protracted recovery operations.

The problem of what to do with existing stockpiles is unquestionably a difficult one—but not as difficult as the problem of producing an atomic bomb.

Inspection Fortunately, the decision to unite both atomic and conventional weapons in a system of controls has considerably clarified and eased the problem of inspection. The nations should agree on permanent international inspection on a continuing basis of both atomic and conventional armaments, armed forces and all supporting facilities concurrently. This assumes there would be a permanent corps of trained impartial inspectors attached and responsible to the control organ for inspection service anywhere in the world. The inspectorate should be given freedom, within limits defined by the control organ, to inspect anything at any time and any place. The minute the control plan goes into effect, inspectors would proceed to prepared stations where some of them could remain continuously as observers (but without managerial authority), others could begin checking declared data, and still others could begin a systematic survey intended to disclose

and verify all important data bearing directly upon a nation's military potential. It seems unnecessary to grant to the inspectorate such powers as are not appropriate or essential to effective inspection. Problems such as whether aerial photography should be permitted (which caused Russia to balk in 1947) are not likely to prove difficult under a control plan which extends to all armaments, since military secrecy would no longer be maintainable.

Inspection would be "permanent" and "continuous" in the sense that it would be in progress at all times with inspectors assigned at all times to some critical spots, such as the locations of atomic reactors and stockpiles. After the first inventory is completed, the number of inspectors could perhaps be reduced, but with a guarantee that enough would be on hand to observe critical spots continuously, to check indices of related financial, economic and military activities, to process data submitted by governmental agencies, and to make special investigations on suspicion or complaint. Normal diplomatic and consular establishments and national intelligence services could lodge complaints and, as a further precaution, the flow of imports and exports could be monitored.

The United States has insisted on "permanent" and "continuous" inspection, but as an addition to a plan for international ownership and management of atomic production facilities. The Soviet Union has not objected thus far to permanent and continuous inspection of conventional armament, armed forces and facilities. The two nations, therefore, may not be as far apart on this point as they have sometimes appeared, except for the ownership principle. Our proposal would urge the United States to continue emphasizing the need for inspection of anything the control organ decides, at any time and any place, but would require her to yield the point of international ownership and management. From the Soviet Union our proposal would require a willingness to permit the continuing observation of critical spots and freedom to inspect anything the control organ decides, at any time and any place.

Violations and the Veto In the light of the factors described at the end of Chapter II, it would seem necessary to abandon the proposal that the veto

Security Council when considering the application of sanctions, but to accept the suggestion, now agreeable both to the United States and the Soviet Union, that the control organ should make day-to-day decisions by majority vote. Thus the control organ would decide by majority vote when, what, and how to inspect, and whether or not violations occur. If serious violations are established and reported, the Security Council would deal with threats to or breaches of the peace as normally, that is, with the veto operating as anticipated by the Charter.

Retaining the veto in the Security Council might admittedly prevent that body from taking collective measures against a violator. However, this would not prevent the application of collective measures against a violator under an *ad hoc* coalition of powers. Moreover, realization of the awful consequences of the collapse of the control system would certainly not be without effect on would-be violators. Veto or no veto, the collapse of the control system would immediately result, if negotiation failed, in a renewal of the arms race and the threat of war.

As indicated earlier, there is sufficient evidence that the United States has dropped its insistence on waiver of the veto, hence agreement on this point appears possible.

Schedule of Arms Reduction We would suggest the following schedule: *Stage 1:* Immediately repudiating the use (but not yet the production and possession) of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction; and simultaneously establishing the control organ and inaugurating the disclosure and verification of armament data. The same agreement could stipulate that the ban on the use of atomic weapons will terminate any time the control organ reports that its operations are being improperly restricted. *Stage 2:* A standstill agreement, negotiated as quickly as possible, which would halt the arms race and permit armament production only for replacement. *Stage 3:* The determination of limits and quotas which will govern both the drastic reduction of conventional arms and armed forces and also the disposal of existing stockpiles and future production of fissionable materials, the object being to guarantee that in the process of

reducing arms no nation or bloc of nations would gain substantial strategic advantage. *Stage 4:* A complete ban on atomic and other weapons of mass destruction, including production and possession of them; disposal of existing stockpiles of fissionables and the imposition of production quotas; and rapid movement toward drastic reduction of conventional arms, armed forces and facilities. This final stage should be put into effect not later than two years after the first stage goes into effect.

These proposals would go part of the way toward meeting the Soviet Union's demands by granting a ban on the use of atomic weapons for an interim period with assurances that the ban would be extended to possession and production if the control organ functioned properly and without interference. This arrangement would provide a test of sincerity and reveal the data necessary to determine balanced and equivalent reductions. It would also fix target dates which would, in turn, discourage stalling, and it might get disarmament discussions off dead center.

As matters now stand, the Soviet Union has agreed to simultaneous banning of atomic weapons, instituting controls, and reducing conventional arms and armed forces by one-third. The United States insists on proceeding cautiously from disclosure and verification to the outlawry of atomic weapons and the balanced reduction of conventional arms and armed forces. Adoption of our proposal would require concessions by both blocs.

Criteria for Arms Reduction All factors considered, it appears necessary to reach agreement on a principle of progressive limitation and balanced reduction of conventional arms, facilities and armed forces, provided the reduction would be drastic. Substantial reduction in most categories should be made during the first year the agreement calling for reduction is in operation.

The United States has suggested that two criteria be used in calculating limits and quotas—population (for armed forces) and gross national product (for military budgets). Other factors could also be used. But care must be taken that no factor is made use of for the strategic advantage of any nation or bloc of nations. For example, if active and reserve

forces were limited to two per cent of each nation's 1950 population, and each nation's military budget were restricted to five per cent of the 1950 gross national product, the percentages would probably work to the advantage of the United States by fixing the size of its military force and budget near to what it wants and can support. Nations with larger populations but less national product might be deprived of their population advantage by inability to support a larger army on its percentage of national product. However, we believe that careful study can produce a formula which will assure genuine armament control rather than national advantage. It is important to bear in mind that there is a large variety of factors applicable to the problem of establishing fair criteria.

Establishing a system of equivalent and balanced reduction is admittedly difficult. Uniform statistical terms and processes would have to be developed and applied to all nations, base years would have to be agreed upon, squabbling over fair and just quotas might prove disruptive, and deciding what allowances should be made for colonies, allies and satellites would be highly complicated. On the other hand, any proposal less than immediate total disarmament or flat limitations and reductions—neither of which appears to be able to win general acceptance—will encounter similar difficulties. If the reductions are so gradual that major powers remain capable of waging large-scale war, the importance of equivalences in arms reduction will remain great. If, however, the cutbacks are drastic, the problem of equivalences tends to lose some of its significance and much of its difficulty.

The United States has urged progressive limitation and balanced reduction of armaments, and has suggested the criteria used in this discussion. However, by proposing, in the Disarmament Commission on June 28, 1952 specific troop quotas of 1,500,000 men for Russia, China, and the United States, 800,000 men for France, 700,000 men for Great Britain, and smaller forces for other nations, American representatives indicated a willingness to move toward drastic reduction of present levels without quibbling about detailed formulae. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has urged a flat reduction of one-third the first year, and, to our knowledge, has proposed no criteria or formula to be followed thereafter. Adoption of

our proposal would require greater concessions from the Soviet Union.

The Proposals Summarized The proposals outlined above are based on repudiation of the use of weapons of mass destruction, bringing the arms race to a standstill, establishing inclusive controls, and, as soon as possible, drastically reducing all military potential. It calls for the following: (1) preparing plans and draft treaties by the new Disarmament Commission; (2) calling one or more disarmament conferences; (3) concluding and ratifying one or more disarmament treaties; (4) establishing a control organ within the framework of the Security Council; (5) repudiating the use of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction, with the assurance that the ban will be extended to the possession and manufacture of such weapons, and guaranteeing that fissionable materials will be used for peaceful purposes only; (6) establishing strict international control of dangerous atomic facilities owned by individual nations, and abandoning the plan for international ownership and management; (7) adopting a plan for "denaturing" fissionable materials or placing them in an international depository so as to render seizure and use of them for war purposes extremely difficult and costly, and abandoning the concept of "strategic balance"; (8) establishing permanent and continuing inspection of all armaments, armed forces and military potential and facilities; (9) permitting the control organ to make decisions by majority vote, though abandoning the suggestion that the veto be waived in the Security Council's deliberations on applying sanctions; (10) establishing a specific schedule with target dates for each stage; (11) progressively limiting and reducing conventional armaments, facilities and armed forces, using criteria carefully selected so that in the process no nation or bloc of nations gains in strategic military advantage.

IV CONCURRENT STEPS TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

IT is generally recognized that disarmament alone cannot create and maintain friendly and peaceful relations among nations. Disarmament is merely one evidence and implementation of a commitment to live at peace, a component part of the whole establishment of a dynamic peace based on continuous negotiation, the reasonable settlement of political disputes, and mutual aid among nations. Some have indeed overemphasized the interdependence of these factors to the point of insisting that disarmament cannot be attempted until mutual confidence and a willingness to settle differences by reasonable negotiation have been established. We firmly believe, however, that progress must be made on each of these fronts concurrently (as the American Friends Service Committee has maintained in its two previous pamphlets bearing on current international relations). In a highly complicated and rapidly changing world the peace we all desire requires a progression of steps on various fronts at the same time.

Recognizing Facts In taking these Steps to Peace it seems to us necessary to keep in mind the following ultimate assumptions underlying a practical program for peace:

1. There is a widespread and deep desire for peace among the peoples of the world.
2. Communist and Western political patterns will each probably continue to control large parts of the world for many years to come. There are admittedly important differences between the economic and political aims and

methods of the Soviet Union and the United States, but there is enough room for accommodation to permit the two systems to continue to evolve peaceably without the surrender of basic values.

3. Both Russia and the United States fear domination or direct military attack by the other, while much of the rest of the world fears political or military domination by one or the other or involvement in war between the two.
4. Genuine and lasting security cannot be gained by military might. Competition in armaments is likely to be an important contributing factor in leading the world down the path to war. The military system tends by its very nature to weaken democracy and to strengthen authoritarianism.
5. The peoples of the world (and we must never forget that the majority are neither Russian nor American) seek to realize these basic values: (a) recognition of the worth of every human being, (b) economic, political and spiritual opportunity and cooperation, and (c) a world orderliness based on negotiation rather than conflict.

Both American and Russian spokesmen claim that their foreign policies are aimed at achieving these wider goals. But neither the essentially negative attitude calling for "containment of communism" nor the equally negative slogan "stop the capitalist warmongers" can, by mere positions of military might, permanently satisfy basic needs of the human species or win the hearts of mankind. The ups and downs of "cold war" may divert public attention and excite national loyalties, but in the process we forget the basic needs of mankind, the millions for whom the real enemy is hunger, lack of opportunity, and lack of meaningful achievement.

We sincerely believe that there is a more apt, more effective and more positive way toward the achievement of human goals. "For God gave us not a spirit of fearfulness but of power and love and discipline." This more practical, more positive and more enduring method of dealing among the nations of the modern world seems to us best expressed in four concurrent

directions: (1) persistent and able negotiation, (2) positive programs of mutual aid among nations, (3) strengthening and broadening the peacemaking functions of international organizations, and (4) persisting in the effort to settle political disputes in a peaceful manner.

Re-examining the Principles of Negotiation As the alternative to reaching a decision by force, negotiation and diplomacy are a permanent assignment of the civilian branch of government. By their very nature they involve a willingness to reach conclusions by reasonable compromise. In the frenzied atmosphere of today, however, some erroneously label negotiation as "appeasement." This word must be faced squarely. Negotiation and appeasement involve two entirely different attitudes. Negotiation assumes a genuine desire to arrive at agreement; it is the opposite from granting concessions as a result of fear or threats. It recognizes that compromises must be made in order that contending parties may come from two extremes to meet at a reasonable midway point, thus recognizing the partial validity of each position. Appeasement, on the other hand, is the granting of unjust concessions at somebody else's expense. It is often the tool of force, not of negotiation; a warlike technique, not a technique of peace. The constant use of the word "appeasement" indicates how deeply we are committed to a policy of "cold war" rather than genuine negotiation.

We suggest that American and Russian foreign policy has been unable to achieve peace in recent years partly owing to failure to understand the basic principles of negotiation. The essence of agreement is that it be a free meeting of minds, sufficiently advantageous to each so that each party will willingly execute the terms of agreement. In any other sense a contract or a treaty is a "mere scrap of paper."

Let us examine recent American foreign policy in this regard. America, often from the highest motives, after the war began to promote a whole series of policies and actions, including a new concept of international law at Nürnberg, a United Nations center located in the United States and largely supported by American money, economic assistance, the Marshall Plan, a North Atlantic pact, a Japanese peace treaty, a

"police" action in Korea. Some of these items were sufficiently near what other nations wanted, to appear as "agreements." As time went on, however, American action in some of these realms has met with increasing opposition. America has found it hard to understand these seeds of rebellion against her leadership. The situation indeed highlights the distinction between negotiated agreement and enforced action.

Quakers have recently completed a study of negotiation by some of the ranking negotiators in national and international circles. The following accepted principles of negotiation may show how lacking in the fundamentals of obtaining agreement recent international diplomacy has been:

1. *There is no controversy which cannot be negotiated.* Unwillingness to bring into play the basic principles of negotiation, rather than the nature of the issue, usually accounts for the inability to gain agreement.
2. *The test of successful negotiation is a workable agreement.* Not the individual nation's gain in advantage so much as its workability in practical application is the goal of negotiation.
3. *Negotiation requires a flexible attitude.* A cooperative, open-minded, imaginative, patient and flexible attitude will gain more ground, even under provocation and abuse. The true negotiator recognizes that he is faced with a problem to be solved and an agreement to be made, not a debate to be won. Stiff back and braced feet is not the stance for negotiating, for the attitude of one side is invariably reflected in the attitude of the other.
4. *Negotiation requires an open mind.* Phrases like "ultimatum," "final offer" or "unalterable demand" are not the language of negotiation. These invite a challenge of force or a humiliating surrender. Neither side can assume its position to be clothed in moral infallibility. If the position is sound, it will gain respect. The argument of "it's a matter of principle" too often masks an attitude of "I won't."
5. *Negotiation requires persistence.* To stop negotiating is to admit defeat. But there is a wide difference between

persistence in position and persistence in negotiation. To remain intransigent in position destroys the very nature of negotiation, and usually ends in terminating the negotiation which, in turn, encourages trial by strength.

6. *Negotiation requires recognizing that opposite interests may be genuinely and deeply felt*, even though particular controversies arising during the negotiating process may be exaggerated by the negotiators. Many who have listened to Russian and American spokesmen in the assemblies of the United Nations have often wished that the defamatory words of the speech-makers could be deleted so that only the issue itself would appear. Stinging charges of insincerity never helped to settle any argument nor to clarify the points at issue.
7. *Negotiation requires privacy*. It cannot be carried on in a goldfish bowl or in a theatre where the actors are tempted to overact their parts. Irresponsible publicity, tip-offs, and trying the case in the newspapers for "effect" invariably handicap negotiation.

There are those who will insist that negotiation between the Soviet Union and the United States is impossible. Surely, increasing suspicion and lack of confidence on both sides render negotiation increasingly difficult. Yet, agreements must be made, and it is far better for them to be made before a third world war than afterward.

Strengthening International Peacemaking Functions The role to be played by the United Nations and other international organizations in a world deeply divided by ideological differences and heavily armed is more and more phrased in terms of negotiation vs. power, peace vs. war. In terms of basic plan the United Nations Charter is a great step forward from the League of Nations Covenant. The League put the emphasis on measures to delay the outbreak of hostilities. The United Nations Charter emphasizes peaceful settlement of disputes and creates a means for common action against social and economic problems which can develop into political conflicts. It is worthwhile to repeat the *Preamble* of the Charter of the United Nations:

We the people of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

But the "collective measures" provision, which was intended as a minor function of the United Nations, has, by events, been altered out of all proportion to its original intent. It was expected at the founding of the United Nations that nations would disarm, that a police force could then be established, that the Great Powers would remain in substantial agreement, that collective action would never be used against any of the Great Powers (since that would be on a scale of "war") and this would be assured by the "veto." The police force in an unarmed world and under laws and restrictions would deter any other country from settling its disputes by military means. But over the last seven years a very different alternative has developed. The nations have not disarmed; the Great Powers have not remained in agreement but are engaged in an unprecedented power struggle; the *de facto* government of one of the Great Powers stipulated in the Charter (China) is unrecognized and banned from membership in the United Nations; the veto has been by-passed by referring collective measures

action to the Assembly rather than the Security Council; and collective measures have been attempted against a heavily armed major group and without approval of one or two of the Great Powers. The concept of police action in an unarmed world has been replaced by collective measures of one power group against another—and we have war (cold and hot) in a heavily armed world.

The most fateful decision which the United Nations has had to face since its foundation is this: shall the United Nations continue to utilize collective measures against states deemed recalcitrant by the majority in a highly inflamed and armed world; or shall the United Nations return to its original plan and develop its peacemaking functions of negotiating settlements, solving economic and social problems, creating a disarmed world so that collective action may then be possible or become unnecessary? Almost the whole history of the United Nations may be stated thus: it has been successful where it has carried out its peacemaking functions, as in Palestine and Indonesia; and it has been unsuccessful where it has departed from these, as in Korea.

It is our belief that the peacemaking functions of the United Nations should, at this point, be improved by steps like the following:

1. *Admit all applicant nations who are willing to accept the responsibilities of membership.* The United Nations was intended to be an inclusive world organization. It was never intended that membership applications should be decided on a basis of struggle for votes of two contending groups in the Council and Assembly.
2. *Cause action on an international level to move through the United Nations, and not by-pass it.* Neither NATO nor satellite arming, neither Marshall plan aid nor its Russian counterpart in China, neither Point IV programs nor other direct aid should be utilized to advance the special interests of the opposing power blocs. The constructive efforts are too important to be spoiled by less than international action; the destructive elements have no proper place.

3. *Attempt to settle conflicts like Korea by mediation.* All successful settlements of such conflicts point to the fact that a cessation of hostilities cannot be secured until the parties are assured that the issues over which they took up arms will receive careful consideration by some mediation commission. No "betrayal" is involved in offering to give full and objective consideration to Chinese views.
4. *Immediately improve the atmosphere in which the United Nations works* by restraining spokesmen from using inflammatory words, assuming the bad faith of the other party, extolling national virtues, proposing measures sharply divisive in effect, lining up support on a basis of power rather than principle, trying cases in the press. A start might be made by readopting the procedure of having the permanent members of the Security Council meet privately previous to the consideration of new items by the Council to see if they can adjust their different approaches.
5. *Support and strengthen the mediation and conciliation functions of the United Nations.* More use could be made of the Peace Observation Commission and the Panel of Inquiry and Conciliation already established by the General Assembly.
6. *Strengthen and expand United Nations economic and social functions.* In the specialized agencies under the Economic and Social Council there are unlimited possibilities of improving conditions area by area. Aid to underdeveloped areas, administration of trusteeships, utilization of resources can cease to be associated with "imperialism" (Eastern or Western variety) only if these become truly international.

It is time to put our emphasis on the peace-making functions of the United Nations as the only means for achieving its great goal—"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. . . ."

Positive Programs of Mutual Aid It is not amiss to say that the United Nations Charter embodied two steps forward in the concept of how to achieve a peaceful world. First, it recognized that social and economic conditions are the rootstock of conflict and war, and set up an Economic and Social Council which, with its associated agencies, was given the function of helping to create social and economic conditions consistent with a world committed to peace. Second, it no longer conceived of the world as a white man's or a westerner's world, but recognized the unity of the human race and the "dignity and worth of [every] human person."

It is natural that we have not immediately achieved success in this broader vision. Westerners have found it difficult to view Asian and African problems in Asian and African terms. We have tended to believe that western cultural standards and progress hold the answer for other peoples. We have talked bravely but voted narrowly and appropriated grudgingly, demanding that personal advantage should flow from our action. All our countries are so young compared with the historical life-span of China and India and the Middle East that we need to listen to the voices from those areas as reported by every sympathetic visitor who returns. And they are saying: this two-thirds of the human race welcomes the opportunity for unity; they welcome a *mutual* approach to economic and social problems; they recognize how much industrial countries like Russia and America have to contribute; but they also regard the West as hardened and grasping on occasion, and they fail to be impressed by an ideological world power struggle which neglects such essentials to them as land reform, increased food production and similar basic necessities. Most of the world looks to both the United States and the Soviet Union and asks, *not verbalization* of their high sounding principles and claims, *but proof* of the contribution that each can make to the world's struggle for security and peace.

There is no part of the world in which the people do not face the necessity of large-scale and profound changes in their use of resources if they are to maintain or improve their plane of living and preserve to future generations the productivity of the land. Each country and each region requires a separate combination of physical, technical and social measures. From

America, to Germany, to Russia, to China, to India, to West Africa the problem of soil erosion and agricultural productivity is a paramount problem. Its solution depends only in part on modern technology. In parts of the world this requires certain changes in the system of land ownership and education. The issue from country to country is whether inevitable change will be achieved by peaceful or by violent means.

The world has made a very minor exploration of the possibilities of aid programs: America with its Point IV program, the Commonwealth with its Colombo Plan, the Soviet and its satellites with mutual aid, and the limited but worthwhile United Nations Technical Assistance Program. Some private agencies have also sponsored small aid plans. But there is a growing awareness that efforts thus far can be viewed at best as "pilot projects," samples and explorations to determine the best patterns for a large-scale world-wide effort. It has become clear that this can best be undertaken on a truly international scale with support in terms of money somewhere nearly equivalent to what the nations are now spending for armaments. The mere stating of the problem in this way emphasizes the interrelation of all international efforts toward peace. If we do not disarm, where will the money come from with which to carry out the admittedly necessary mutual aid among nations? If we do disarm, the productivity and effort put into the aid program can take up the economic slack that might otherwise occur from stoppage of armament contracts and thus help to prevent economic unbalance and depression.

The mutual aid program is essential to shift emphasis from violent to peaceful change, to develop an area in which nations with different social and economic philosophies may cooperate, to promote the interchange of personnel and peoples without which we can never truly become "One World," to raise economic and social standards—in short, to build and maintain a world community.

Settlement of Political Issues At various points during the past seven years the major parties in the United Nations have insisted that political issues must be settled before other actions were taken. This occurred, for example, in discussing administrative procedures in atomic

control. But few political issues were in fact tackled. Sooner or later some very plain talking about political issues is going to have to be done. Non-agreement in this area cannot be allowed to remain the mask behind which contending parties hide when they do not want to move forward on other issues.

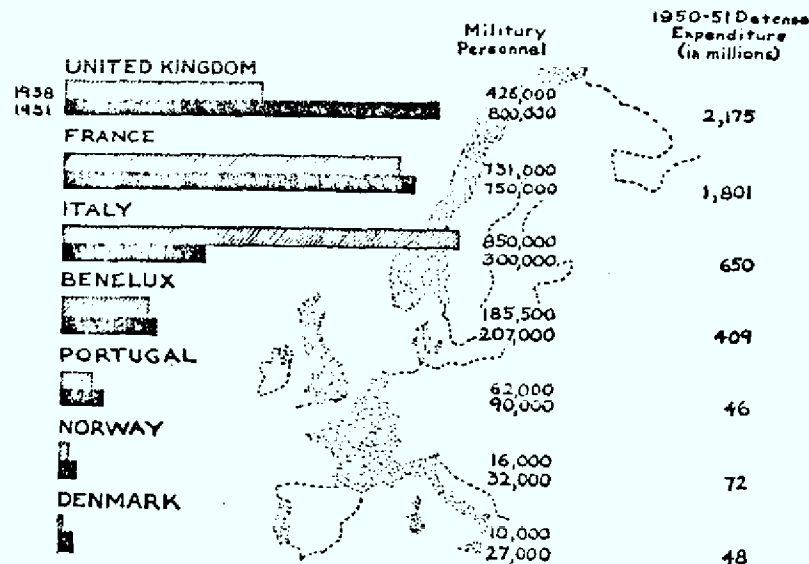
The problems of unification or division of Korea, with accompanying issues of self-determination, peaceful or violent change, reconstruction, rehabilitation and foreign intermeddling, cannot forever be treated as ghosts—non-existent if you refuse to admit their existence. The position of the Chinese Peoples Republic must also be faced, and until faced it will remain a persistent international issue. Shall one or both governments be accredited to the United Nations? Over what territory? Who shall sit on the Security Council, permanently or temporarily? What shall be the relation of Formosa? What reassurances will be demanded against outward aggression or inward overthrow? What of China's action in Korea? It cannot be too often emphasized that there is no one single solution of these controversies; there can only be continued negotiation with hundreds of potential alternatives; and out of sincere negotiation can emerge a solution which will gain general acceptance.

The same must be said for settlement of political issues as to Japan, Germany, Austria, Africa and the Middle East. And it is becoming more and more widely recognized that each of these problems is more aggravated as it becomes linked to military policy—to NATO, to strategic bases, to rearming Germany and Japan and the nations of Eastern Europe. The position of many, until recently, has been that these issues must be settled before disarmament and like action could be attempted. But at Paris in 1951-52 there began to develop a somewhat more realistic attitude—realistic in recognizing how armaments complicate the issues—that none of these settlements, with the possible exception of Korea, need or should precede coming to agreement on disarmament.

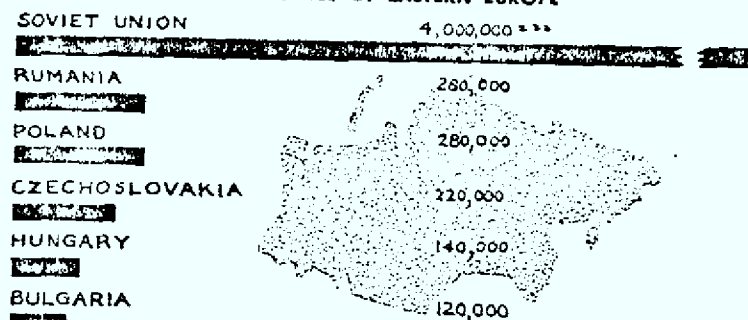
Whichever way we turn, we are aware that the major problems facing the United Nations are bound up with and rendered more insoluble by armaments. It is for this as well as for religious and moral reasons that we believe mankind's next step is to disarm, and that the time for disarmament to begin is NOW.

END

ARMED STRENGTH AND EXPENDITURES OF NATO COUNTRIES*



ARMED FORCES OF EASTERN EUROPE **



* From Mutual Security Act of 1951, Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services on H. R. 911, August 27, 1951.

** From "Soviet Strength and Weakness: The Satellite Contribution," in WORLD AFFAIRS (London) April 1951, p. 172.

*** From Basic Information on Implementation of the North Atlantic Treaty, Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate, February 15, 1953.

*Copies of this report may be obtained at 25 cents each
by addressing the American Friends Service Committee,
Incorporated, at any of the following offices:*

AUSTIN 12, Texas—University YMCA
CAMBRIDGE 38, Mass.—130 Brattle Street
CHICAGO 3, Illinois—19 South La Salle Street
COLUMBUS 9, Ohio—2268 E. Main Street
DES MOINES 16, Iowa—1116 E. University Avenue
GREENSBORO, N. Carolina—336 Church Street
NEW YORK 6, New York—53 Broadway
PASADENA 4, California—825 Herkimer Street
PHILADELPHIA 7, Pennsylvania—20 S. 12th Street
PORTLAND 14, Oregon—1108 S. E. Grand Avenue
RICHMOND, Indiana—Overview, Route 28
SAN FRANCISCO 15, California—1830 Sutter Street
SEATTLE 5, Washington—3959 15th Avenue, N. E.
WICHITA, Kansas—2023 University Avenue

July 17, 1953

Dear ,

Your letter of July 8, 1952, has been received, and I appreciate the interest which prompted you to write me.

While I would like to be of service, I wish to advise that information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. I would like to point out also that the FBI is strictly a fact-finding agency, and it is not within the limits of its prescribed functions to draw conclusions or make evaluations as to the character and integrity of any organization or individual.

I trust you will understand the reason for these rules and will not infer either that we do or that we do not have the information you requested.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-150

Mrs. J. Edgar Hoover,

F.B.I.

Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Through the D. C. R. and the Minute Women
of America, I have received a great deal
of literature concerning the "World Affairs
Camp" sponsored by the "American Friends
Service Committee" and its branch organization,
"Institute of International Relations."

From the information I have received
I am inclined to believe that it is a
communist front organization but I don't
want to act without proof. Can you
give me any information concerning these
groups?

Yours truly,

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: September 22, 1953

FROM : SAC, DALLAS [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[REDACTED]

Reference is made to Dallas letter dated 5/13/53 in above-captioned matter.

This is to advise that contact has been maintained with [REDACTED] of Athens, Texas, who advises that he has been unable to locate the pamphlet referred to in referenced letter, and he presumes that it was destroyed.

The [REDACTED] advises, however, that AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE held their meeting at the Christian Youth Foundation Camp near Athens, Texas, on August 23 through 29, as scheduled. He advises that he had several friends of his on the alert for unusual activities at this meeting, including one [REDACTED] from Athens, and that these persons advised him that the meeting was a quiet affair and that nothing "out of the ordinary" transpired at the meeting.

Since the pamphlet referred to by [REDACTED] is no longer available, no further action is being taken in this matter.

100-11392-151

26

50145

UNCLASSIFIED - Official Use Only
DEPARTMENT OF STATE \ Received

(Received from the State Department
through Wilson channels)

Date 1-2-50

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: December 23, 1953

~~Personnel: Possible Soviet participation in Carter Sponsored Seminar in Europe~~

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Clarence Rickart, American Friends Service Committee
EMS - Walter J. Stossel, Jr.

COPIES TO: EE - Mr. Barbour
P - Mr. Phillips
SI - (2 copies) ✓
FD
American Embassy, Moscow
EE/USUR Affairs (3 copies)

Mr. Pickett stopped in briefly at my office this afternoon to tell me that a Soviet representative named ~~Mr. Sidorov~~ had attended a meeting of a Quaker group interested in international affairs which was held December 21 in England. Discussions took place during this meeting regarding Quaker involvement in international affairs now being planned by the Quakers for the summer of 1954 in Vienna. When it was suggested that Soviet participation in this seminar would be welcome, the Soviet representative agreed and said one of the Quaker group should come to Moscow to discuss details of the proposed seminar.

Mr. Nichols said that, if it was decided to send someone to Moscow, it was possible that Mr. Gurnea, who is now in Europe, would be the one to go. Mr. Nichols said he would keep me advised of further developments in connection with this case.

Tolson, Mr. Boardman and the members of this group to send a letter to
 the National Association of Manufacturers, the main thing, and see to it that the
 Government is doing business during the Spring of 1942. The letter should
 be sent to the National Association of Manufacturers or make the trip. 100-112, 113

2000

to have both 2nd (2cc's) & 2cc's WFO

102-113A-135

INDEXED-07

DATA 194

2. 19

OFFICE MEMORANDUM-----UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
FROM : SAC, Philadelphia
SUBJECT:

DATE: Jan. 29, 1954

On 1/10/54, Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, furnished the following information regarding a meeting of the Race Street Forum sponsored by the Society of Friends and other organizations in Philadelphia. This meeting was held at the Friends Meeting House on Race Street, West of 15th Street, at 7:30 p.m., on 1/10/54, on the subject "Are Teachers Free to Teach?" A circular furnished by the informant advertised this meeting as follows:

"The facts behind the Philadelphia controversy discussed by:
WILLIAM H. LARRY, Phila. attorney, veteran of 10 years FBI service and sometime lecturer for the American Law Institute.

HERMAN W. SAWYER, III, Phila. attorney and recently Asst. General Counsel to the NATO Representative in Europe.

c. JAMES W. SCOTTON, graduate of Rutgers University Law School, student of jurisprudence, NATO staff member, and Professor, Educational Philosophy, Department of Secondary Education, Temple University.

th attorneys served as counsel to subpoenaed teachers on request of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. LARRY will describe the proceedings of the Vlade Committee and Mr. SAWYER the responsibilities and legal rights of Philadelphia teachers.
v. WILLIAM speaks as an impartial observer of the Philadelphia schools under fire."

The circular also listed the moderator for the meeting as G. [REDACTED], Executive Secretary, Associated Hospitals of Philadelphia.

100-11392-153

Director, FBI

According to the informant, this meeting was very well attended and the meeting house was filled to capacity with people in the gallery. There were altogether approximately 250 people present. The informant stated that these 300 at these meetings are usually attended by less than 100 persons. At this meeting the informant recognized [redacted] and [redacted] as three of the Philadelphia public school teachers who appeared on television as witnesses before the House un-American Activities Committee hearings held recently in Philadelphia under the Chairmanship of Representative HAROLD VELDE. A number of other teachers who also appeared as witnesses at this hearing were also recognized by the informant, however, he could not recall their names at this time. According to the informant, all of these teachers, whom he recognized, were suspended by the Philadelphia public school system as a result of their failure to answer questions regarding their Communist activity or membership before the House un-American Activities Committee. In addition to the teachers, the informant also recognized [redacted], whom he knew to be a member of the Communist Party for a number of years, and [redacted], whom he believed to be a member of the Communist Party. The informant also stated there were a number of other persons present whom he believed to be members or sympathizers of the Communist Party; however, he could not recall their names.

After an introduction by [redacted], [redacted] spoke for approximately twenty minutes (although he was supposed to have limited his speech to fifteen minutes) on the legal background of the Velde Committee. It was the informant's belief that in these remarks [redacted] slanted the truth adversely toward the Velde Committee. [redacted] then questioned whether the Velde Committee had not exceeded its authority. The informant stated [redacted] painted a gloomy picture of the American scene and questioned incidents of banning of books in libraries and pressure on teachers and students to conform to the general viewpoint, stating that it reminded him of the rise of Hitlerism and of the terrorism of Hitler and Mussolini. [redacted] mentioned the FBI and stated they were doing a good job of checking on Communist conspiracy but he could not say the same of the Velde Committee. He criticized the Velde Committee as departing from the traditional American methods and stated its function should be investigative but in reality was punitive because, as a result of their hearings, people were losing their jobs without due process of law. He stated people were staying away from controversial subjects for fear of losing their jobs. [redacted] traced the present "deplorable situation" to the 1947 Government Loyalty "edict" of President TRUMAN and characterized the methods being used against people

Director, II

accused of Communist affiliation as bellicose and vicious and as leading America down the road to Fascism. [redacted] conclusion was that the people should not take this treatment "lying down" but they should raise their voices in protest and "yell before it's too late."

[redacted] spoke following [redacted] and echoed many of his sentiments. [redacted] mentioned "the branding" of books in California and compared that with the burning and banning of books under Hitler in Germany. According to [redacted], the action against the Philadelphia teachers accused of Communist membership or activity is part of a drive to obtain complete conformity among the people by coercive means. [redacted] concluded that complete security is not possible but that complete security is always complete tyranny.

[redacted] gave a philosophic outline of education and indicated the importance of freedom of thinking and inquiry as a prerequisite of teaching.

In the question and discussion period following these speeches, a member of the audience quoted [redacted] by stating that Communists are not free to think and that they are obliged to conform to the Party line or be expelled from the Party. [redacted] was then asked, "Is a teacher who is not free to think competent to teach?" [redacted] stated, "No one with any fixed dogmas or unalterable opinions is competent to teach." Another Philadelphia public school teacher, [redacted], requested the other two speakers to comment on this question. [redacted] stated, "It was all clear until [redacted] injected educational philosophy" into the discussion but it was not so clear any more. [redacted] then stated that teachers who have been suspended are not the only ones who are not free to think but that no one is free to think due to the tremendous pressure being brought to bear through the press, radio and television to crush opposition.

[redacted] in answering this question, joined with [redacted] in emphasizing the effect of pressure groups. He also stated that real freedom does not exist. Other questions were asked of these speakers and they were answered indicating that American freedom was being adversely affected. One of these questions came from [redacted], who asked [redacted] why no informants or witnesses were produced at her hearing before the House Committee on un-American Activities and why she was charged with incompetence instead of disloyalty by the Philadelphia Board of Education. [redacted] stated that she was not on trial; that it

Director, F. I.

no crime to belong to the Communist Party. He said that if the FBI had been dealing with the case it would have been handled differently and that it would not make any difference whether she answered the questions or not; the findings would be on the basis of facts and not on the preconceptions of the Committee.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ asked ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ if he believed in absolute freedom to teach anything at all, even Communism, and that if in presenting Communism the professors should not, in ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ opinion, allow the Communist Party to present an authoritative statement on its position. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ at first hedged and did not answer but when asked again, finally nodded assent.

After the meeting had ended, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ asked ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ if he thought the firings of the Philadelphia teachers for refusal to answer questions of the HCUA were justified. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ was evasive. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ then asked another member of the audience what overt acts she had committed to be fired. An unidentified man stated that she had signed a Communist Party application blank.

According to the informant, at the entrance of the meeting house prior to the meeting, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~, known to the informant as a member of the Socialist Workers Party, was selling copies of "The Militant," which is the weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party. The informant stated ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ attended this meeting.

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : [REDACTED]

DATE:

March 12, 1954

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT:

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[REDACTED]

There is attached a copy of a bulletin prepared by the American Friends Service Committee, which is sponsoring the Thirteenth Annual Institute of International Relations to be held March 19, 20, and 21, 1954, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. This bulletin was supplied to me by [REDACTED], [REDACTED] believing that it may be of interest to us. It was [REDACTED] recollection that all of the persons identified by photograph and name are members of the Communist Party ([REDACTED] had no facts to back up this allegation).

100-11392-154

THIRTEENTI

STITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE FOR WOMEN — PITTSBURGH, PA.

(On Fifth Avenue about one mile east of the Cathedral of Learning)

FACULTY



SID LENS



LEONARD BERTSCH



MICHEL MOUSKHELY



A. J. MUSTE



CHANNING LIEM



JAMES T. C. LIU

SID LENS: Director United Service Employees Union, Local 329 AFL. Just returned from a ten-month trip spent in countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

LEONARD BERTSCH: Lawyer; business man. Spent 1945-48 in Korea as a political analyst and adviser to Gen. Hodges.

MICHEL MOUSKHELY: Professor of political science, University of Strasbourg. Visiting lecturer at Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Vanderbilt and Fisk Universities.

A. J. MUSTE: Secretary Emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Author of "Not by Might."

CHANNING LIEM: Professor of political science at Pennsylvania College for Women.

JAMES T. C. LIU: Assistant professor of history, University of Pittsburgh.

WILLIAM H. HINTON: Recently returned from several years' work in Communist China.

GENERAL THEME: CONFLICT OF INTERESTS IN ASIA

Moderator: RICHARD MCCOY

FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1954

7:00-7:45 P.M. Registration in the Lobby of the Chapel

8:00 P.M. Address and Forum — "The Declaration of Independence in Asia" — Sid Lens.

Brief comments by: Leonard Bertsch, Michel Mouskhely, A. J. Muste, Channing Liem, James T. C. Liu, William H. Hinton. (All main sessions will be held in the Chapel.)

SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1954

10:00 A.M. "Asia Looks Ahead" Symposium with Channing Liem, James T. C. Liu and William H. Hinton.

11:30 A.M. Seminars. Institute members will divide into small groups with faculty as resources.

1:00 P.M. Luncheon: "What American Policy in Asia Will Best Serve the People of the World?" — Leonard Bertsch.

3:00-4:00 P.M. Seminars as in the morning.

6:00 P.M. Dinner.

8:00 P.M. Address and Forum — "Necessary Conditions for Peace in Asia" — Michel Mouskhely, with comments of faculty.

SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 1954

10:00 A.M. "Information Please" session with faculty as panel of experts.

11:30 A.M. Meeting for worship with Pittsburgh Friends.

1:00 P.M. Dinner "Asia's Challenge — America's Opportunity" — A. J. Muste.

COSTS

Program and registration fee, including luncheon and dinner on Saturday, and dinner on Sunday, \$2.00. Transportation and rooming in Pittsburgh are \$1.00. Total cost of \$3.00. (Students with no money should contact the American Friends Service Committee for assistance.)

Requests for overnight hospitality without charge for college students should be sent not later than March 15, 1954, to: Mr. Robert Shugart, 5742 Darlington Road, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Reservations and meal reservations should be sent to: Mrs. Janet Shugart, 5742 Darlington Road, Pittsburgh, Pa. Phone: Jackson 4-7377.

Sec. 34.65 (1) P.L. 82
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Philadelphia, Pa.
Permit No. 359

Leslie Frost
Route 2
Silver Springs, Md. Mr

The following people have already registered and plan to be present. They invite you to attend and participate in this Institute:

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| Aiken, Mr. and Mrs. Fred | Jones, Alfred E., Jr., Uniontown | Moseley, Dr. L. B. |
| Benner, Frank and Sallie | Leeds, Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop | Offenhiser, Rev. and Mrs. P. O. |
| Bray, Mrs. George | Maier, Mr and Mrs. Henry | Owen, Margaret G. |
| Binns, Edwin | Mukerji, Pratulla and Rose | Prattis, P. L. |
| Clark, Robert A. | Phillis, Leo, Uniontown | Renshaw, Marguerite |
| Dalglish, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest | Ray, Myra and John | Slosser, Mrs. Gaius |
| Demmler, Oscar | Seneff, Jeanette | Johnson, Harold J. |
| Dice, Mrs. Helen F. | Shugart, Mrs. Janet | Bean, Mr. Ernest H. |
| Downey, Alvira, Steubenville | Shuster, Eugene | Penrose, Rev. Robert C. |
| Denman, Mr. and Mrs. David N. | Shute, Florence | Taber, William P., Jr. |
| Hahn, Mrs. Charles | Snively, Mr. and Mrs. S. F. | Tyson, Francis and Helen |
| Hartleb, Glenn E., Erie | Tabor, Mr. and Mrs. William | Wright, Dr. and Mrs. Verno |
| Hogg, William L., Uniontown | Warman, Myron, Smithfield | Morgan, Robert and Emily |
| LaBarre, Ruth, Uniontown | Zuch, Melvin, Erie | Cartledge, William |

Registrations and meal reservations may be made by calling or writing:

Mrs. Janet Shugart
5742 Darlington Road
Pittsburgh 17, Pa. Telephone: Jackson 1-7377

Enclosed find \$..... covering registration fee and meals as follows:

Name Address

It is of the utmost importance that you indicate what meals you will want to eat at the college when you register.

Please register as early as possible, but in any case before March 15, if you want dining room accommodations.

Make checks payable to American Friends Service Committee.

April 6, 1954

Dear :

Your letter dated March 23, 1954, has been received and the motives which prompted your communication are indeed appreciated.

In the event you receive additional data which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, please do not hesitate to communicate with me or the Special Agent in Charge of our New York Office-located at 290 Broadway, New York 1, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-155

March 29, 1954

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Although the following information is third-hand and may contain inaccuracies and incorrect implications, it comes from an original source which I consider solid enough to warrant my transmitting it to authorities who can give it the proper interpretation and evaluation.

The American Friends Service Committee has apparently come under new administration in Philadelphia which is believed by the original source, a retired (New York City) College President, not to be as alert to the possibilities of Communist infiltration as the preceding Administration.

This original source believes that a [redacted], about [redacted], a [redacted] from Yale living at [redacted], New York City, and [redacted] also believed to be a [redacted] from Yale, has been utilizing the services of [redacted], Yugoslav Information Center, to lead or participate in discussion group meetings in their home.

[redacted], who about January 1, 1954, became [redacted] of the American Friends Service Committee in New York, is also reported to have utilized [redacted] to lead or participate in similar discussions at the Friends Meeting House, 144 East 20th Street, New York.

[redacted] is believed to have come originally from [redacted] Pa.

Sincerely,

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : [REDACTED]

DATE: July 22, 1954

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

By reference from the Director's Office, I spoke telephonically with [REDACTED] who described herself as [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED]. This is a co-ordinating group for various citizens' associations throughout the District of Columbia. According to [REDACTED], it is presently engaged in attempting to cause the District of Columbia Board of Education to handle its program of "desegregation" in the city schools in a more orderly manner. It is not the purpose to interfere with the "segregation" but the [REDACTED] is so concerned that it is prepared to enter into a civil suit if the "desegregation" program is not handled properly. [REDACTED] did not specify what general thing is wrong with this program.

She said in working on this matter she ran into the American Friends Service Committee's activities and that she had procured a brochure indicating that this organization has close contacts with the school board in Washington, D. C., and according to [REDACTED], the American Friends Service Committee allegedly knew in advance the program for integration in Washington schools. [REDACTED] further said that the American Friends Service Committee had been conducting seminars for previous two years for teachers.

[REDACTED] went on to claim that the American Friends Service Committee has headquarters in Philadelphia and is under the auspices of the Quakers. She said she was advised by [REDACTED], a clerk for the [REDACTED] that the organization was heavy infiltrated with Communists. She said through congressional contacts she went to the House Committee on Un-American Activities and through a [REDACTED] ascertained that that committee has three files on the American Friends Service Committee indicating that two of the leaders of the group (one [REDACTED] and one [REDACTED]) belonged to other Communist fronts. She said she wanted to get this information so it could be reported to the House of Representatives Committee on the District of Columbia and she went to a congressional contact who said he would obtain the information through channels from the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Thereafter, the Committee only gave excerpts from the file which excerpts were meaningless. [REDACTED] said she knew that there was additional information available and asked the House Committee on the District of Columbia to check into it.

100-11392-156 ✓

Memorandum to [REDACTED]

She had another appointment on the Hill with regard to this matter on the afternoon of July 22.

[REDACTED] desired the following:

- (1) The investigation of the American Friends Service Committee in its attempt to influence the schools.
- (2) Investigation to determine if the school board had been influenced by Communists.
- (3) What could be done about getting the full information from the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

ACTION TAKEN:

[REDACTED] was politely and diplomatically informed that the Bureau did not have investigative jurisdiction with respect to educational matters in the District of Columbia and that she should pursue her objective through appropriate officials such as Commissioners of the District of Columbia and/or congressional committees interested in the District of Columbia.

She was further advised that the Bureau had no authority for jurisdiction or reason to inquire into the administrative practices of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

She was further informed that her call would be given appropriate consideration and it made a matter of record in the Bureau's files. This was when she wanted to know if the Bureau would investigate alleged Communist infiltration of the American Friends Service Committee.

SAC, Philadelphia [REDACTED]

July 28, 1954

Director, FBI [REDACTED]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED], who described herself as [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED], contacted the Bureau and advised that in connection with work being done by her for the [REDACTED] concerning the District of Columbia Board of Education she has become aware of some of the activities of the American Friends Service Committee and the contacts of that Committee with the school board in Washington, D. C.

[REDACTED] said that she was advised by [REDACTED], a clerk for the [REDACTED], that the captioned organization was heavily infiltrated with Communists. She also determined that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has three files on the captioned Committee indicating that two of the leaders of the group (one [REDACTED] and one [REDACTED]) belonged to Communist fronts.

Bureau files reflect that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] have held executive positions with the captioned Committee and may be the individuals to whom [REDACTED] referred.

100-11392-157

August 2, 1954

The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear [REDACTED]:

"The American Friends Service Committee, reported to be a working committee of the American Friends Society, a Quaker organization, was subject of an Internal Security investigation in 1942. It was alleged that the organization was engaged in un-American or subversive activities. There is transmitted a Photostat of a report made at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on July 16, 1942, by Special Agent [REDACTED] which reflects the substance of our investigation concerning the American Friends Service Committee. The investigation was subsequently closed without developing any additional pertinent information.

[REDACTED]
Our files reflect that the American Friends Service Committee has published numerous pamphlets opposing the peacetime draft and military service. According to a booklet entitled, "Some Quaker Proposals for Peace," published in July, 1949, the organization favored "a neutral Germany, free flow of East-West trade, and sealing of atomic bombs under United Nations supervision." Allegations have been received from time to time that the teachings of the group parallel in some instances the Communist Party line, particularly in the peace promotion field. However, a check of our files reflects that there

100-11392-159

have been numerous individuals, who have stated that the American Friends Service Committee has not deviated from its teachings in the past 30 years. A confidential informant of known reliability advised in July, 1952, that for years he has attended affairs sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and has found it to be a sincere pacifist organization.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Sincerely yours,

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: August 11, 1954

FROM : SAC, WFO [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIEND SERVICE COMMITTEE

[REDACTED] was telephonically contacted on August 2, 1954. [REDACTED] stated that she had some information she considered of interest to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, but she believed [REDACTED] was in a better position to furnish this information in more detail and that she would have [REDACTED] contact the Washington Field Office.

On August 3, 1954, [REDACTED] appeared at the Washington Field Office and furnished the following information:

She advised that she was the [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] which she described as being made up of delegates from the different civic organizations in the District of Columbia. She stated this group at this time included the Parent-Teachers Association and the Federation of Women's Clubs, but that they had withdrawn after they had become integrated because the charter of the [REDACTED] forbids membership to any non-white person.

[REDACTED] advised that the [REDACTED] was not in favor of the integration plan for the D. C. schools as set forth by [REDACTED], [REDACTED] of the Washington D. C. schools. She stated that the [REDACTED] planned to take their case to court to force District of Columbia school officials to take a more reasonable approach to the integration of the District of Columbia school children. [REDACTED] advised that a study by her group has revealed that there are several cases where two or three white children will be forced to go to a predominately colored school and she is certain that similar hardships will be worked on the colored children in certain cases also.

100-11392-160

WFO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that about a week ago she found a pamphlet entitled "Integration of Washington Schools" at the Brookland Baptist Church, Washington, D.C. This pamphlet indicated that it was published in April, 1954, by a Quaker organization, The American Friend Service Committee (AFSC), 104 C Street, Northeast, Washington, D. C. She stated that she and other members of the [REDACTED] had made an examination of this pamphlet and that it was readily ascertained that the "philosophy" of [REDACTED] integration plan for the District of Columbia schools was contained therein. As an example of this she stated that both [REDACTED] plan and this pamphlet had similar plans to take immediate steps to integrate the schools, and that the children should go to schools within their fixed boundaries regardless of race or color. She stated that it was her opinion that exceptions should be allowed in any integration and that the [REDACTED] plan" was un-American because it would not allow exceptions and that she did not believe that the Supreme Court had in mind this type of integration when they did away with segregation in public schools in their recent decision. She stated that after examining the above pamphlet and "[REDACTED] plan" of integration she was of the opinion that [REDACTED] was greatly influenced by the AFSC. She stated that ever since [REDACTED] had become the [REDACTED] of Schools in Washington, D. C., he has been a controversial figure and that she had heard many rumors that he had been forced to resign from a similar position in [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] prior to his becoming [REDACTED] of Schools, Washington, D. C. She stated that she wrote to several persons in [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] for information concerning [REDACTED] and that she was informed that [REDACTED] was allowed to resign after considerable commotion had been caused over the use of textbooks considered to be un-American.

[REDACTED] stated that inasmuch as she felt the "[REDACTED] plan" of integration was un-American and that his "philosophy" of integration appeared to be very similar as that set forth by the AFSC in their pamphlet "Integration of Washington Schools" she decided to investigate the AFSC to determine if that was a subversive organization or not. With this in mind she stated that she approached the [REDACTED] Committee and that she was referred by them to the [REDACTED] Committee because that Committee conducts investigations of

and that this Committee decided to conduct an investigation of the Communist influence on the District of Columbia school integration and also the Communist influence in the District of Columbia school system in general.

_____ stated that she had been shown some files of the House Committee on un-American Activities which reflected that the AFSC leaders are or have been affiliated with various "radical" and "radical pacifist" groups. She stated that after reviewing these files she believed that the AFSC was a "subtle, subversive group" hiding behind respectability.

_____ advised that she then went to see _____ the _____ of the _____, of which she is a member, and she related to him the above information. She said she did this because she had known _____ for a long time and she knew he would not think she was a "crackpot." _____ then arranged an interview for her on July 23, 1946, with _____, one of the District of Columbia Commissioners. She stated that _____ seemed to be concerned about what she related to him but that he did not initiate any investigation. Before she was finished with her interview, _____ had to leave and his place was taken by _____, another District of Columbia Commissioner. She advised that _____ stated that he felt that there was no Communist influence in the integration plan but that he was certain President EISENHOWER would not want his model integration influenced by Communist propaganda and that therefore he, _____ would take the problem up with officials of the White House. She stated that _____ contacted _____ of the White House staff on July 29, 1954, and that _____ was informed that _____ would have the Federal Bureau of Investigation investigate this matter. She stated that _____ then proceeded to the House District Committee on July 30, 1954, and informed them that the FBI was going to conduct an investigation in this matter and thereby causing the House District Committee to postpone their planned investigation until the FBI reports were reviewed. _____ stated that she had no confidence in _____ and that she had requested that _____ arrange it so that he would get the FBI reports directly instead of receiving the results of this report from _____.

WFO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that another matter she wished to bring to the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was that the AFSC held seminars in Washington, D. C. the past summer which were attended by D. C. school teachers. She stated that she had been advised by some of the teachers who had attended one of the seminars that the speaker devoted most of his time pointing out the unfairness of discrimination and highlighted his speech by a tale of a lynching which took place in Texas, stating that when the Negro fled in great numbers to avoid being lynched the white people finally refused to allow any more to leave in order to make certain that there would be enough Negroes left to operate the laundries. The speaker also pointed to a picture of the Statue of Liberty before which several white children were playing and he pointed out the fact that the picture did not have any colored children in it. [REDACTED] advised that this appeared to her to be un-American and she read significance in the fact that the teachers were told not to divulge anything discussed in this seminar. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] arranged for [REDACTED], an [REDACTED], to visit Washington, D. C., where she gave a lecture on May 24 and May 25, 1954, taking half the D. C. teachers on one day and the other half on the next day. Her lecture was on the subject of the origin of the races, pointing out that originally all the persons were of one race and that some day all the races will be again integrated forming one race.

[REDACTED] further advised that the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflected that [REDACTED] was a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held in New York City on March, 25, through March 27, 1949. This organization, she reported, was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

She further stated that she had been informed that [REDACTED] had advised [REDACTED], the [REDACTED] of the Board of Education for Washington, D. C., that [REDACTED] had been cleared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. [REDACTED] stated that she was aware of the fact that the FBI did not give clearances on anyone.

[REDACTED] advised that she had gathered considerable literature during her investigation but that she had turned this literature over to [REDACTED], [REDACTED] of the House District Committee, inasmuch as they had planned to conduct an investigation.

WFO [REDACTED]

Washington Field Office files reflect that [REDACTED] was one of the sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace.

WFO files also reflect that [REDACTED], telephonically advised WFO on May 21, 1954, that [REDACTED], who was to have addressed the teachers of the District of Columbia at a teachers' meeting on May 24 and May 25, 1954, had been cited by HCUA as a sponsor for two organizations cited as being subversive. [REDACTED] again telephoned Washington Field Office on May 25, 1954, and advised that [REDACTED] had informed a member of the D. C. Board of Education that [REDACTED] office had cleared [REDACTED] but that she had telephoned [REDACTED] Administrative Assistant and learned from him that this was not true and that she felt the FBI should know about this.

WFO files reflect that the AFSC was one of the organizations from the United States which announced that they would send representatives to a peace conference which was to be held on October 23 through October 26, 1951, in Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

WFO files also reflect that on March 16, 1949, an informant had advised that [REDACTED] of the AFSC of New York City had advised the informant that he was making arrangements for a dinner for the Russian Ambassador [REDACTED]. It was also stated that the Russian Embassy would be contacted to see if the Ambassador would approve of a dinner at the Quaker House in New York City on March 28, 1949. WFO files further reflect that a Russian official had asked a member of the Soviet UNRRA Delegation to find out about the AFSC of Philadelphia, who had offered to send relief food to Russia and in particular wanted information as to what the organization reported, what its political leanings were and what sort of a business it was engaged in.

WFO files also reflected that a Soviet representative had attended a meeting of the AFSC which was held in England and that at the invitation of Russia the AFSC planned to send a delegation of Quakers to Russia, in the summer of 1954. These files reflected that a [REDACTED] of the AFSC had made arrangements with the Yugoslavian Embassy and the Russian Embassy enabling students in Washington, D. C. to visit those embassies.

~~WFO~~

WFO files also reflected that the AFSC also planned on using its Nobel Peace funds to promote better relations with Russia and that an official of the AFSC stated that that organization might fall under the provisions of the Mundt Bill because of their advocacy of friendly relations with Russia.

WFO files also contained numerous references which reflect that the AFSC was an old Quaker organization whose home office appeared to be in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This organization's religious objections appear to be well known and would be generally accepted. During World War II it took care of refugees, war victims, etc., and also took charge of camps of conscientious objectors. WFO files also reflect that the AFSC has shown an interest in the segregation problem in the District of Columbia.

The above is set forth for the information of the Bureau. No further investigation is being conducted by the Washington Field Office.

It is to be noted that on 7/15/54, ~~_____~~ telephonically contacted WFO and furnished some of the information as given above concerning the AFSC. C

September 23, 1954

Dear

Your letter dated September 16, 1954, with enclosure, has been received.

In response to your request, I wish to advise that information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. You may be interested in knowing that this Bureau is strictly a fact-finding agency and does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual.

I do hope you will understand the reasons for these rules and will not infer from my inability to be of assistance either that we do or that we do not have any information concerning the subject of your inquiry.

I am returning your enclosure at this time since you may want to use it.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-141

Sept 14, 1954

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

28

Gentlemen:

The enclosed circular from
American Friends Service Council
is very appealing. Before I assist
them I would like to be advised
as to whether American Friends
Service Committee is in the clear
so far as subversive activities are
concerned.

The reason for this inquiry is that
a number of groups with seemingly
good intentions and ~~no~~ ^{no} subversive
members have been ~~glorified~~ ^{glorified} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~for~~ ^{for}
F.B.I. records are concerned.
circumstances

8 SEP 21 1954

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]

DATE: 10/11/54

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
[REDACTED]

Rebuletts, [REDACTED]

As instructed in relets, logical Confidential Informants were contacted regarding their knowledge of captioned organization with the following results:

[REDACTED], of known reliability, who is currently familiar with the activities of the CP, EPD, was contacted on 9/25/54 by SA [REDACTED] and advised of no knowledge regarding efforts of the CP, EPD, to infiltrate captioned organization.

[REDACTED], of known reliability, who is familiar with current activities of the CP, EPD, was contacted 9/15/54 by SA [REDACTED]. This informant had no knowledge of efforts on the part of the CP, EPD, to infiltrate captioned organization.

[REDACTED], of known reliability, who is familiar with the current activities of the Committee, advised SA [REDACTED] on 9/21/54 that captioned committee is an organization which has as one of its basic purposes peace through education. The organization stems from the Society of Friends, a religious sect. The informant said the committee receives funds from the Society of Friends and grants from the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. The informant is not aware of any individual in the American Friends Service Committee who is connected with the Communist Party. The informant said that the committee tries to avoid having individuals connected with the committee who are known to be connected with the Communist Party. Informant said that statements have been made in writing concerning certain individuals and issues, noting that if such were in any way connected with the Communist Party they should be avoided.

It is the informant's opinion, however, that the committee will not completely isolate itself from an individual, organization, or group merely because of the fact that the individual is a Communist or the group is a Communist sponsored organization. The informant feels that the committee would discuss the individual or organization to ascertain their position in a particular issue and then would act independently.

100-11392-163

PH [REDACTED]
DIRECTOR, FBI

10/11/54

✓ [REDACTED], of known reliability, who is currently acquainted with the activities of the American Friends Service Committee, advised SA [REDACTED] on 9/15/54 that the American Friends Service Committee is a tightknit sincere Pacifist group. The informant pointed out that the Communist Party line at times parallels the Pacifist stand of the American Friends Service Committee, but the committee would not in any way identify itself with the Communist Party.

[REDACTED] has no knowledge of Communist Party infiltration into the American Friends Service Committee.

[REDACTED], of known reliability, who is closely associated with the Society of Friends and is currently familiar with the American Friends Service Committee and other Pacifist groups, advised that the American Friends Service Committee was initiated as a venture of the Society of Friends in 1917 for the purpose of assisting the people in Germany and France following World War I. The source said that thenceforth the committee work broadened to a universal scope dedicated to the alleviation of human suffering and the promotion of world peace.

The source said that, whereas in the beginning all members of the committee were also members of the Society of Friends, throughout the years many individuals who were not friends but who desired to share in the work of the committee have become affiliated with the committee. The source said that the policies of the committee, however, are still governed by the Society of Friends.

✓ [REDACTED] The source feels that the governing forces of the Society of Friends, as well as those of the American Friends Service Committee, are keenly aware of the possibility that the Communist Party might attempt to infiltrate and utilize the Pacifist groups for its own purposes. These groups are, accordingly, the source said, particularly alert against this danger. The source said, however, that at the same time the American Friends Service Committee is, as it always has been, essentially Pacifist in nature and will, therefore, in its policies and programs sometimes appear to be following the Communist line.

[REDACTED] feels certain that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] officials of the American Friends Service Committee and both long standing members of the Society of Friends, are patriotic individuals who would have no real sympathy with the Communist Party.

PH [REDACTED]
DIRECTOR, FBI

10/11/54

The source said that [REDACTED], who was quite elderly, might be more apt to be influenced by the Communist Party Pacifist policies but not to the extent of favoring Communism or Russia over the American way of life. The source said that in any event [REDACTED] does not have sufficient power in the American Friends Service Committee to be very influential. The great part of [REDACTED] time, according to the source, is devoted to the compilation of the statistics regarding the achievements of the American Friends Service Committee.

The source is not aware of any attempts by the Communist Party to penetrate the American Friends Service Committee.

[REDACTED], of known reliability, who is currently familiar with the Communist Party activities in this area, advised SA [REDACTED] on 9/16/54 that he had no knowledge of individuals from the Communist Party, EFD, having been instructed to become active in the American Friends Service Committee.

Literature received by this office and information in the files of this office concerning the committee indicate that the committee is following the same general programs and policies which are essentially humanitarian and Pacifist in nature as it has since its inception. It is believed that the fact that these policies sometimes agree with the Communist Party peace policy is coincidental.

It is noted that [REDACTED], sister of the wife of [REDACTED], has been employed in a [REDACTED] capacity at the American Friends Service Committee since approximately April 1954. There are no other individuals known to be Communist Party members affiliated with the committee in Philadelphia.

It is not believed desirable that the American Friends Service Committee be investigated as an organization at this time. Individuals with subversive affiliations who are or may become affiliated with the committee will be investigated individually. This office will be alert to future attempts by the Communist Party, EFD, to infiltrate or control the American Friends Service Committee, and if such attempts become apparent will again consider whether or not this organization should be actively investigated.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF AMERICAN
FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

DATE: Oct. 18, 1954

Information has been received from a New Haven Confidential Informant to the effect that [REDACTED] attended a meeting held in Boston, Mass. by the American Friends Service Committee on or about 6/6/54. [REDACTED] gave a report of this meeting at a meeting of the Conn. Peace Council held at Bridgeport, Conn. on 6/6/54. [REDACTED] indicated that he attended this meeting of the American Friends Service Committee along with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED].

It is to be noted that the Conn. Peace Council, according to informants, is dominated and controlled by the CP in Conn. and that [REDACTED], [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] are members of the CP in Conn.

Information has also come to the attention of the New Haven Office that the American Friends Service Committee held its annual institute from June 16 to June 20, 1954 at the Avon Old Farm School, Avon, Conn. A list of the participants who took part in this institute included the names of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] New Haven, Conn.; [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. These individuals are [REDACTED].

It is to be noted that approximately 200 individuals from various states throughout the union attended this institute. New Haven is in possession of the names of these participants.

In view of the fact that various members of the CP appear to be interested in the activities of the American Friends Service Committee, it would appear that this information should be set forth in report form.

100-11392-164

October 27, 1954

Dear

Your letter dated October 21, 1954, with enclosure, has been received.

In response to your request, I wish to advise that it is not within the scope of this Bureau's authority to take the action you desire. I would like to take this occasion to point out that I am unable to comment concerning the literature you received since this Bureau is strictly a fact-finding agency and does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any publication, organization or individual. For your further information, data appearing in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only.

I know you will understand the reason for these rules and will not infer either that we do or that we do not have information concerning the literature you forwarded. Since you indicated that you do not desire to receive material from the organization in question, it is suggested that you may wish to consider the advisability of corresponding with the group and make known to its officials your wishes in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-145

Oct. 21, 1954

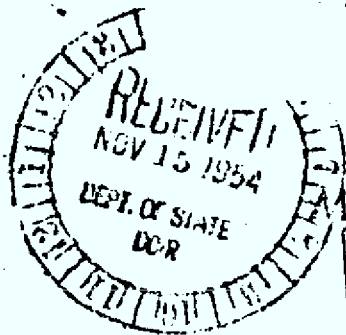
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

If the enclosed is Communistic Propaganda,
can you please refrain those people from
bombarding me with this literature?

In my opinion, it seems to be tinted with
Red Communism.

Yours very truly,



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

31

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Memorandum of Conversation

RECEIVED FROM

NOV 17 1954

STATE DEPT

DATE: November 8, 1954

SUBJECT: Quaker Contacts with Soviet Representatives

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, Incorporated, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Walter J. Stocessel, Jr. - EE

COPIES TO: SY - (2)

P

OLI-2

EUR - Mr. Barbour

EUR/P - Mr. Montgomery
American Embassy-Moscow

EE - Mr. Thurston

EE - USSR Affairs (3),

Mr. Hoskins called today to give me some information regarding Quaker contacts with Soviet representatives and activities.

He referred to the meeting of the World Peace Council held in Stockholm last spring, and said that the Vienna Secretariat of the WPC (Jean Lafitte and Duncan Jones) had been most insistent that the United States Quakers send representatives to the Stockholm Conference. Mr. Hoskins said that for some time the WPC had been interested in obtaining Quaker participation in their meetings but this had always been resisted by the Quakers. Although the US Quakers had great reservations about attending the WPC meeting last spring, they felt obliged to participate in some way since the organizers of the meeting had attempted to meet some of the Quaker objections with regard to size of the meeting and publicity to be granted to it. It was, therefore, decided that the representative of the Quakers in Europe, Mr. Edith Johnson, would attend as an observer.

Mr. Johnson did his best to report the Western point of view at the WPC meeting and he was allowed to make any statements he wished to in this regard. He came away from the meeting, however, feeling that his expression of views had not made much impact. He had tried to spread himself too thin.

The US Quakers have turned down an invitation to attend the WPC meeting in Stockholm for this November and they feel that

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100-11392-167

Nov 22 11 10 AM '64

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INTERNAL SECURITY - 2 -
FBI

Nov 17 3 23 PM '64
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useful to participate in large, publicized meetings with WPC people. There is a possibility that some small group meetings will be held at the Quaker Meeting House in England at which WPC representatives will be present. These meetings will be entirely run by the Quakers.

Mr. Hoskins then referred to a Baptist Rally held in Sweden in August of this year. Baptist representatives had come from all over the world and 6 Soviet Baptists were present. There did not seem to be any meeting of the minds whatever when discussions at the Baptist meeting got into political matters, but the Quakers still believe something useful is accomplished by such meetings simply by virtue of the contact provided with the Soviet representatives.

Mr. Hoskins also referred to a recent visit by 6 young Soviets to England. This visit apparently was stimulated and controlled by the Quakers. The Soviet visitors traveled all over England and Mr. Hoskins felt that their visit probably had the result of breaking down certain stereotypes regarding Western society held by the Soviet representatives.

Mr. Hoskins said that the US Quakers are still contemplating a possible visit to the Soviet Union but are having difficulty getting together a well-balanced, representative group. It is now thought that the visit will probably take place next summer and that it will be led by Clarence Pickett. Mr. Hoskins noted that both Zaroubin and Malik have inquired of Mr. Pickett regarding the trip and have expressed the hope that it will take place.

Mr. Hoskins referred to the conference of young diplomats to be held by the Quakers next summer in Europe. He mentioned the possibility that Soviets might attend this and said that the Quakers were still considering the problem. They saw many drawbacks to it, but on the other hand felt that it might be a good idea at least to try it as an experiment. Mr. Hoskins said he would keep in touch with us on this matter.

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

WFO:WJStoessel, 11
11/23/64

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-2, INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

RE: FILE
REF: TO: G2-SIS

1 December 1954

TO: DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SUBJECT: American Friends Service Committee

RECEIVED FROM

DEC 3 1954

105235 GE JES.

1. Concerning the above subject:

() reference is made to _____ dated _____

subject as above.

(X) the inclosed information is forwarded for your information and action deemed appropriate.

2. Files of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Department of the Army reveal:

() no record.

() no additional pertinent information

() nothing identifiable

() nothing derogatory

() that the requested information must be secured from other agencies of the Army Establishment. You will be advised upon receipt.

FOR THE ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-2:

RECORDED - 3

INDEXED - 3

W. A. PERRY

Colonel, GS

Chief, Security Division

1 Incl

Photo cy SCF dtd 12 Nov 54

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 23 DEC 1976
BY CDR USAINTA FOIC
AUTH PARA 1-603 DOD 5200

ACTION

1954

PREPARING OFFICE

Processing Unit, (

Headquarters Second Army, Fort George G. nd

SUBJECT

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
(AFSC)

CODE FOR USE IN INDIVIDUAL PARAGRAPH EVALUATION

OF SOURCE:

COMPLETELY RELIABLE A
USUALLY RELIABLE B
FAIRLY RELIABLE C
NOT USUALLY RELIABLE D
UNRELIABLE E
RELIABILITY UNKNOWN F

OF INFORMATION:

CONFIRMED BY OTHER SOURCES 1
PROBABLY TRUE 2
POSSIBLY TRUE 3
DOUBTFULLY TRUE 4
IMPROBABLE 5
TRUTH CANNOT BE JUDGED 6

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

1. On 17 September 1954, Mr. George Willoughby, secretary to the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was interviewed as a character reference during the course of a complaint-type security investigation. Willoughby refused to be interviewed regarding the subject of the investigation unless the entire interview could be transcribed in order that a copy could be forwarded to the subject. When Willoughby was advised that the contents of the interview would be classified and thus not available for transcription, Willoughby stated "It might make a good test case in court". Willoughby further stated that it was an individual's right in a democratic country to be informed of any statements made to governmental authorities concerning said individual. Willoughby concluded by stating that he did not intend to be intimidated by government officials and that any such intimidating action would be protested. (B-2)

2. The name files of a reliable investigative agency were examined concerning the AFSC and revealed that no investigation had been conducted by said agency as of 32 January 1954. An informant connected with the agency revealed that he had attended various affairs sponsored by the AFSC and had found it to be a sincere pacifist organization and added that the AFSC is an action committee of the Quaker faith, which had opposed military training, conflict, preparedness and the drafting of men since its inception in 1917. (F-2)

Appropriate files indicated that the AFSC was a section of the War Register, International Council of the International Anti-Militarist Corps and as such was registered with the Secretary of State on 9 November 1939. At that time, the AFSC was actively engaged in solicitation of funds for the use of relief agencies in belligerent countries. The AFSC had no direct association with the Association of Friends (Quaker Church), but was intimately, though unofficially, associated through the participation of many prominent Quakers in AFSC activities. After the beginning of World War II, AFSC was active in securing temporary deferments of numerous draftees on the grounds that they were conscientious objectors. In many cases, upon such postponement of actual induction, the draftees in question were taken, under the auspices of AFSC, to Mexico, where they were employed on various projects controlled or supervised by AFSC. Ostensibly, this work was for the improvement of Mexican living conditions and to foster good will between nations. Most of the groups who traveled by this means, apparently crossed the border at Laredo, Texas, where a thorough search and investigation was conducted by immigration and customs officials and by officers of the US Army. Competent informants felt that the purpose of AFSC had been abused and that young men were, by the activities of AFSC, aided in

(Continued)

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Page 2

dodging the draft and military service by residing in a foreign country. It was noted that members often carried large amounts of literature, indicating that AFSC carried on a recruiting campaign for its Mexican activities among young Americans of military age. Sources believed that such advertising delayed and impeded the American war effort and provided a convenient avenue of escape from military service for young Americans. (B-2)

4. An informant of known reliability advised that the American Friends Service Institute at Albright College, Reading, Pennsylvania held a meeting entitled "Fellowship of Reconciliation" Day on 13 July 1946. Members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation were urged to attend this meeting. A special meeting was scheduled with A. J. Ruste and Eayern-Rustin as the speakers. (Rustin was sentenced to a three year term in the Federal Penitentiary as a result of his refusal to obey the Selective Service Act). The final report of the Prison Service Committee revealed that AFSC had been active in aiding and rehabilitating persons sentenced to prison in the United States, with particular attention toward persons who had been imprisoned as conscientious objectors. The AFSC acted as a distributor for a pamphlet entitled We, The Offenders, by Arle Brooks. The preface of the pamphlet indicated that Brooks had been sentenced to prison on two separate occasions as a conscientious objector, once for refusing to register for the draft and once for not having a draft card. The pamphlet was published by the Social Industrial Section of the AFSC. A newspaper article appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on 2 June 1951 by George E. Sokolsky, asserting that AFSC, the leading organization among the Quakers, had issued a pamphlet designed to encourage Americans to favor peace. (B-2)

5. The files of another agency of known reliability indicated that the AFSC has at various times supported Socialists and pro-Communists. The AFSC held its annual Institute of International Relations at Hershey, Pennsylvania on 7 to 9 May 1954. The program of this institute was entitled "World Focus on U. S. A." One of the speakers was Derk Fodde, a pro-Communist professor from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. No known Communists were observed at this meeting and no Communist activity was reported. (B-2)

Only information derived from Army sources is included in this summary.

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED
ON 23 DEC 1976
BY CDR USAINTA FOIG
AUTH PARA 1-603 DOD5200

Dear

Your letter of December 7, 1954, has been received, and I am enclosing a reprint of the article which you requested.

In response to your other inquiry, I must inform you that information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. I would like to point out also that this Bureau is strictly a fact-finding agency and does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization or individual.

I know you will understand the reason for these rules and will not infer either that we do or that we do not have information relating to the group you named.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

100-11392-169

Dec. 7. 1954

Dear Mr. Hoover: (141)

Can you send me a copy of your October release to law enforcement officials exposing co-existence as suggested in the Dec. 1954 ~~newsletter~~ of the Minute Women of the U. S. A. Inc.?

Also, do you have any release on American Friends Service Committee which meets here during

I which . . . once
"Mitter tree" at Chui-
mas time here in
San Antonio, and is
sponsored & backed
by our most promi-
nent local "left-
wingers"?

Thanking you, I am,
Sincerely,

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FD-12
(6-10-53)

FORM NO. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

PHILADELPHIA

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| <p>REPORT MADE AT</p> <p>NEW HAVEN, CONN.</p> | <p>DATE WHEN MADE</p> <p>DEC 16 1953</p> | <p>PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE</p> <p>11/2, 28, 30; 12/1, 6-7</p> | <p>REPORT MADE BY</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[REDACTED]</p> |
| <p>TITLE</p> <p>COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE</p> | | | <p>CHARACTER OF CASE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[REDACTED]</p> |

100-11392-170

NH [REDACTED]

INFORMATION CONCERNING SEMINAR CONDUCTED
BY AFSC, JUNE 13-20, 1954, AVON, CONN.

The "Hartford Times" of May 25, 1954, carried an article which stated in substance that the Peace Section of the AFSC would hold a second annual institute at Avon Old Farms, Avon, Connecticut, June 13-20, 1954. The article stated that as in the case of last year's institute, which more than two hundred persons from New England and other states attended, this institute would aim to demonstrate the Quaker approach to contemporary affairs.

Confidential Informant T-3 advised that the AFSC held its annual institute or seminar at the Avon Old Farms School, Avon, Connecticut, from June 13, to June 20, 1954, but he added that the school had no connection with the seminar and merely allowed the AFSC to use the school facilities on a business basis. T-3 furnished a "Tentative Directory of Avon Participants" who attended this seminar or institute. Informant stated he could not positively advise whether all of the individuals listed in the Directory were in attendance; however, he stated he knew that one [REDACTED] was in attendance. According to T-3 the latter and his wife [REDACTED] reside at [REDACTED], [REDACTED].

Confidential Informant T-4 advised that [REDACTED] was a guest of the AFSC in the United States during June, 1954. While he was in this country, he was to take part in political, social, and economic discussions sponsored by Quaker groups in Austin, Texas (June 4-7, 1954); Wichita, Kansas (June 8-12, 1954); Avon, Connecticut (June 16 to 20, 1954); and Chicago, Illinois (June 22-25, 1954). T-4 advised that [REDACTED] is generally critical of the U. S. policy, and it was expected that while he was in this country, he would promote the defense of Guatemala against possible U. S. action.

NH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of unknown reliability, advised that [REDACTED] in one of his talks at the seminar at Avon Old Farms School in June, 1954 expressed the opinion that U. S. big business was the cause of the trouble in Guatemala because big business wanted to keep their interests alive in that country. [REDACTED] also stated that the United States and other western powers should keep out of Indo China affairs.