



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE**

PART 10 OF 25

FILE NUMBER : 100-11392

SUBJECT; AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

FILE #: 100-11392

SECTION: 10

100-11392

1/25/62

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington; D. C.

Gentlemen:

From time to time there have been incidents arise when the American Friends Service Committee has been accused as being linked with Communism or at least having leanings in this direction. Only just last week the Palladium-Item a newspaper Richmond, Indiana again made such a public statement in its paper and this has stirred up again the same old subject which has been so many times brought out to the public eye. Such statements always bring further dissension in the church and of course this ought to be the result if the statements are true. Surely we ought not to support anything that in any way hints at being Communistic.

I quite naturally must face the question of persons regarding these statements and I am quite unable to be intelligent at this point. I do not know a single Communist, nor do I know of any organization which I absolutely know to be Communist. I read and hear of this and that group being of this persuasion out to say I really know, I could not be honest and so say. I know the Service Committee has over a long period of time done a great deal of good for human kind but it may very well be that there has come to this organization the infiltrating of that which is wrong and unChristlike. I could not for a moment give any support that would undermine the government or dishonor the name of Jesus Christ and this is the reason for my daring to write to you. I have also the same criticism of the National Council of Churches and yet I could not prove a statement concerning this organization either. The Friends Church is an affiliate of this organization too so I am doubly concerned about this matter.

It would not be my purpose to go about stirring up strife. I am only writing because I am so very bewildered to know what one can believe about these groups. If after reading my letter you feel it would be proper to make some statement in a reply, I shall be glad. If you feel that you cannot wisely make a written statement I shall understand fully and shall not trouble you further about it.

Most sincerely,

346

January 31, 1962

Dear

Your letter of January 25, 1962, has been received, and the interest which prompted you to write is appreciated.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI is an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret that I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subject of your inquiry.

Enclosed is some literature dealing with the general subject of communism which may be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: [REDACTED] The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a pacifist organization, opposing military conflict preparedness and the drafting of men since it was created in 1917. It was sub-
b3 JAMES D. [] TELETYPE UNIT [] of Bureau investigation in 1942; however, it was found not to be engaged in any sort of subversive activities. [REDACTED]

February 1961

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am a member of the Society of Friends, called Quaker.

Recently I had occasion to read the full transcript of the HUAC hearings in San Francisco which resulted in the May 12 riot. The film OPERATION ABOLITION was shown in our school, and much controversy arose as a result. I wished to get some background of the Hearings, so upon request [redacted] sent me the full transcript.

I was quite disturbed to find, in part 3, testimony given by Karl Prussion, which seemed to definitely point to the fact that the American Friends Service Committee had been infiltrated by some Communist Party activity. This testimony may be found on pages 2199 and 2201.

I have always supported and believed in the American Friends Service Committee, especially their humanitarian relief work, which began following World War I. I have sometimes disagreed quite strongly with their political point of view, especially their pacifism, which, I believe, leads them down the "garden path." I have objected to some of their literature, which I thought was unscholarly and even at times in sharp contrast to their avowed Christian and humanitarian principles. Yet, with all of this, I have continued to believe in this group, and still do not think, as Mr. Prussion's testimony made clear also, that they are conscious of being used by the Party, if they are at all so used.

Recently our local papers carried another story charging that AFSC literature had been used by the Party.

How does your office weight this testimony? Where does the AFSC stand? I would appreciate having some judgement on this matter, if you are free to give it to me.

February 21, 1962

Dear

I have received your letter of February 18, 1962, and want to thank you for your interest in writing.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI is an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret that I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subject of your inquiry.

I thought you might like to know that Mr. Karl Drussion was not employed as a Special Agent of the FBI; however, he furnished information concerning subversive activities on a confidential basis to this Bureau from 1949 to 1958 for which he was compensated. He is no longer serving in this capacity. His opinions and comments are strictly his own and do not represent the FBI in any manner.

In view of your concern, enclosed is some material on the menace of communism I hope will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: ~~REDACTED~~ The American Friend
Service Committee is a pacifist organization, opposing military conflict
preparedness and the drafting of men since it was created in 1917. It was
subject of Bureau investigation in 1942; however, it was found not to be
engaged in any sort of subversive activities.

THE WASH CHILD FEED SION

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

Greater New York Feder. of Churches
 American Unitarian Assocn
 Committee on Public Affairs of the
 New York Society for Ethical Culture
 World Alliance for International
 Friendship Through the Churches
 Committee on World Friendship
 Among Citizens
 Universal Christian Council
 Central Bureau for Relief of the
 Evangelical Churches of Europe
 Association to Save the Children of Spain
 United Christian Youth Movement
 AND OTHER FRIENDLY, PEACE
 AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

OF THE
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
 (ORIGINS)

in cooperation with the
 ETHICAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
 IN AMERICA
 MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
 CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN



33788

20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Telephone, Rittenhouse 2765

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
 COMMITTEE

RUFUS M. JONES
 Chairman

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
 Executive Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPAIN
 HENRY TAPPALE BROWN
 Chairman

REV. ROSWELL P. BARNES
 Federal Council of Churches

OTIS C. MILLER
 Mennonite Central Committee

Mrs. ROSE D. M. SPINNEY
 Church of the Brethren

JOHN F. REICH
 Secretary

Dear Friend:

Through many church and peace organizations, the news has gone out that the American Friends Service Committee is administering impartial relief to war-stricken children and women in Spain. The Committee on Militarism in Education now joins in an appeal to aid this work. We seek to overcome the evils of war cannot ignore the sufferings of its victims. There is urgent need to extend child feeding in Bilbao, to assist in removing children under bombardment in Madrid and Santander, and to support famished refugees in both Loyalist and Insurgent territory.

Friends' representatives are now established in Spain. They have cleared the way for effective action. Safe conduct to our American workers and pledges of free transportation of supplies have been obtained from responsible officials. We are assured that American food shipped for the benefit of children will not be seized for military purposes. At present we are working with pitifully inadequate funds. Miss Esther L. Farquhar is feeding infants in Murcia where thousands are hungry and infant mortality has been 50%. Wilfred Jones is feeding children in Bilbao where 200,000 refugees are destitute. Elsewhere in Spain we are cooperating with English Friends who find the same tragic need for simple foods and medicines.

Will you help us to carry out our non-partisan mission -- the only American channel for strictly impartial relief? We seek to save innocent lives and to demonstrate ways of peace and goodwill in contrast to war and hatred.

Very sincerely yours,

Rufus M. Jones

Edwin C. Johnson

100-11372-3
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 MAR 5 1948
 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MAR 21 1948

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pre-w/6

Handwritten initials and notes, including 'RN' and 'W'.

COMMUNISM--THE IMAGE AND THE REALITY
A Seminar for High School Students
Planned and Sponsored by
THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
Middle Atlantic Region
1500 Race Street
Philadelphia 2, Penna.

in
Washington, D.C.
January 24-27, 1962

INSTRUCTION SHEET

Perhaps there is no subject about which we talk more and know less than "Communism." Our obligation during this seminar will be to try and answer your questions regarding communism, some of which are listed below. To do this we will meet with people who have been intimately associated with communism, including a member of the Communist Party in the United States.

Since the seminars develop from the expressed serious concerns of high school age people for problems of our government in world affairs, we assume that those who have registered for this seminar are of the same mind and are willing to accept the responsibilities which are part of attendance at one of the seminars. (Please read (1) "Statement of Purpose" and (2) "What is a seminar?")

Because we will meet with busy people in the fields of Government, Education, Foreign Service and related areas, it is important that you MAKE NO ENGAGEMENTS for those hours when the seminar is in session. It is also important that you plan to be with the seminar at the beginning and stay until the end of the final session on Saturday morning. If you foresee any difficulties in doing this, please let us know immediately.

In Washington we will all be housed dormitory-style at Gauntt House. When we live together it is important that we consider the rights of others in our actions. We will have much serious thinking to do during the few days of the seminar and it will be necessary to get enough sleep at night. QUIET TIME set for 11:00 p.m. means "Give the people who are ready to sleep a chance - Stop talking in Sleeping Rooms." A separate room is provided for those who want to talk later.

PREPARATION FOR THE SEMINAR

1. Some of the questions you have raised on your applications are:
 - a. Is fear of communism what unites the West?
 - b. How are we meeting the challenge presented to us in Europe and the Far East and is our method of meeting it successful?
 - c. Is communist infiltration a real threat to this country? If so, is the House Un-American Activities Committee playing an effective role in controlling it?
 - d. How does the communism of Khrushchev differ from the doctrines of Marx and Lenin?
 - e. Does communism have history on its side?
2. Under separate cover you are being sent the following pamphlets and articles. They should be read before the seminar.
 - a. SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER. This Quaker pamphlet suggests alternatives to violence in dealing with international problems and is important as a background for discussing the present tension between what is called the East and West. 3417

- b. **ON THE NATURE OF REVOLUTION; THE MARXIST VIEW** by Dr. Herbert Aptheker. This pamphlet is important background for our seminar, not only because it outlines the Marxist view of revolution as seen by an American Communist, but also because it gives the view of one of our seminar resource leaders. An understanding of his pamphlet will give you a head start on your discussions with him during the seminar.
- c. **I. P. STONE'S WEEKLY**, June 12, 1961. This newsletter will help you to understand the current indictment against the Communist Party of the United States and the role of the Internal Security Act and the Subversive Activities Control Board. Since the mass media have generally supported the 5-4 Supreme Court decision, it is important for you to read the excerpts from the dissent by Justice Black and Justice Douglas.
- d. **THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**. This government publication tells how this committee was established and what it does. Prepare for your visit to this committee by reading this carefully.
- e. **THE DEVIL AND SOVIET RUSSIA** by Herman J. Berman, Harvard Law School and Russian Research Center at Harvard University. We will be discussing his views during the seminar.
- f. **BELIEFS INTO ACTION**. This will be helpful preparation for our day on The Hill.
- g. Excerpts from books by Albert E. Chandler and Erich Fromm which are self-explanatory.

The success of the seminar depends more on the participants than on anyone else. You will be one of the resource persons at this seminar so prepare as well as you can. Follow a good newspaper for stories on the East-West conflict, the trial of the Communist Party and the special Senate subcommittee hearings on charges that the Pentagon has "muzzled" military officials who have been speaking out against communism. (These hearings will be going on during our seminar.)

- 3. Write immediately to your representative, at the House Office Building, Washington 25, D.C. Ask him for an appointment on Friday, January 26 sometime between 10:30 and 12:00 noon. Tell him that you will be in Washington for a seminar entitled "Communism--The Image and the Reality" and that you would like to know his views on the subject. (Add that you would like to meet with his legislative assistant if he will not be in Washington on January 26.)
- 4. PLEASE RETURN THE ENCLOSED TRAVEL BLANK AS SOON AS YOU KNOW YOUR TRAVEL SCHEDULE.

BRING WITH YOU

- 1. THIS INSTRUCTION SHEET.
- 2. A notebook, pencils or pen.
- 3. The AFSC tag. (Wear it in a conspicuous place upon arrival.)
- 4. Few Clothes - you'll be busy most of the time you're there with no time to change during the day. Plan to dress simply. BE PREPARED FOR RAIN AND SNOW.
- 5. Money enough to cover living expenses:

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| ROOM | 3 nights @ \$2.00 ... | \$ 6.00 |
| LUNCHES | 3 @ .90 ... | 2.70 |
| DINNERS | 3 @ 1.20 ... | 3.60 |
| BREAKFASTS | 3 @ .60 ... | 1.80 |
| TRANSPORTATION (public) | | <u>1.25</u> |
| | | \$15.35 |

This covers only bare necessities. It would be well to bring a little extra for personal expenses or literature you may wish to purchase.

WHEN YOU ARRIVE

Look to see whether there are others wearing AFSC tags. These identify the people who are coming to the seminar. Go to the Information Desk and look for a member of the AFSC staff. If no one is there, proceed to Gauntt House according to the instructions below. If you have any questions about what to do, phone Gauntt House, Executive 3-9702. If no one answers, call Adams 2-4007 (International Student House).

While you are in Washington you will be staying in one of the guest homes of the Gauntts. These have been opened for groups such as ours who are interested in doing a serious job in Washington. Dormitory-style rooms cost \$2.00 a night per person. Go from the station to Gauntt House. Be assigned a room.

To get to Gauntt House by trolley from Union Station (allow about 20 minutes), take a #42 trolley in front of Union Station. Ask the operator to let you off at Connecticut Avenue and N Street, N.W. This is the last stop before the trolley goes underground at DuPont Circle. When you get off, go to the right on N Street from the direction in which the trolley has been going. Keep to the right hand side of the street to #1716. WASHINGTON D.C.

To get to Gauntt House by trolley from the Trailways or Greyhound bus depots (they are on opposite corners) walk south on 12th Street to F Street. Cross F Street and take a #40 or #42 trolley going west on F Street. Ask the operator to let you off at Connecticut Avenue and N Street, N.W. Follow the instructions in the above paragraph to reach Gauntt House.

Be at Gauntt House by 1:30 p.m. to get your room. We will hold seminar registration and the afternoon session on Wednesday, January 24 at Gauntt House. Bring money for meals and lodging and your notebook and pencil to the opening sessions.

Eat lunch on Wednesday before you come to Gauntt House. There are restaurants near Gauntt House or you can eat at the bus or train station.

MAKE NO APPOINTMENT WITH RELATIVES OR FRIENDS FOR OTHER THAN FREE TIME: Evenings: 9:30-11:00, or Wednesday preceding 1:30 p.m. or after 12:00 noon on Saturday.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24

- 1:30 p.m. Arrive at Gauntt House, Register. Get room assignment.
- 2:30 Seminar orientation, introductions, followed by a short break.
- 4:15 Break into small buzz groups for discussion of our views as we begin the seminar.
- 6:30 Dinner - International Student House.
- 7:30 "WHAT IS COMMUNISM." A discussion with Dr. Wolfgang Kraus, Professor of Political Science at George Washington University.
- 9:30 Close discussion.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 25

- 6:45 a.m. Termination of slumbers.
- 7:15 MEDITATION AND WORSHIP (Voluntary and non-sectarian period of shared silence).
- 8:00 Breakfast at I House.
- 8:45 The morning will be devoted to a discussion with Dr. Herbert Aptheker a member of the Communist Party of the United States (see page 2 of his pamphlet for further details) and a resource leader with contrasting views. Steve Cary of the American Friends Service Committee will moderate the discussion.

Washington D.C.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/22/62

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED;

(OO: Philadelphia)

Rebulet 2/2/62.

Since 1941, Philadelphia has been following captioned organization's activities, and in some instances individuals who are or were members of this Committee or associated with it.

Reference report of SA [redacted] at Philadelphia, 2/24/55, which reflects a comprehensive review of the activities of this organization up to that time, without any indication of Communist Party infiltration.

[redacted] advised SA [redacted] that since its founding in 1917 to render charitable assistance to war-torn Europe, the AFSC has expanded its activities to include peace, education, community relations, youth services, international seminars and related programs. Also, many present AFSC programs have evolved and continue to evolve with a sustained relationship to some element of U. S. Government, as, for example, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of State, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the International Cooperation Administration (now the AID).

Informant further advised that the AFSC has also cooperated with the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Church World Service. The AFSC's work has also been closely related to International Agencies such as the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (now UNRWA), the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and the Secretariat of the United Nations and with many Assembly delegates.

[redacted] advised that the leadership of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and of the AFSC are anti-Communist. He explained that in the cause of implementation of its various programs, worldwide, officers of the AFSC have made contacts with officials of the Soviet Government and Soviet-bloc establishments, in connection with various seminars and other activities of the AFSC. Their sole motive is to promote peaceful alternatives to war and foster understanding between peoples of different political, economic and cultural backgrounds.

He further advised that the activities of the AFSC are broken down into the following five major classes of service: International Services, International Affairs, Peace Education, Community Relations and Youth Service.

[redacted] made available an AFSC publication dated 1/5/62, entitled "An Introduction to the American Friends Service Committee." This publication is enclosed herewith for Bureau's information. This publication describes the over-all work of the AFSC.

On 3/20/62, [redacted] and a close associate of [redacted] of the CP, and [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that the CP has no influence and no members in any positions within the AFSC.

He advised that from time to time the CP, through a front group, has instituted peace rallies based upon specific issues or cases. Such rallies had not been identified as CP controlled and were attended by AFSC observers. In all such cases the AFSC representatives

The Philadelphia file of the AFSC has accumulated a voluminous amount of information and material, well over 500 serials, since the submission of Philadelphia report to the Bureau in 1955. Much of the information was furnished to this office by [REDACTED]

To prepare a current report in this matter would entail a great deal of effort, and Philadelphia believes that what would result in preparing such report will be that the AFSC continues to pursue its pacifist line according to its own line regarding international peace, etc.; that it has worked with various nations, including Soviet-bloc nations, in international seminars and the like, without necessarily changing its own pacifist line to conform.

UACB, Philadelphia will not prepare a current report regarding the AFSC for reasons mentioned above.

In the best interests of the Bureau, Philadelphia does not believe an active investigation of the AFSC is warranted at this time.

SAC, Philadelphia [REDACTED]

April 2, 1962

Director, FBI

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED
[REDACTED]

Reurlet 3-22-62.

The Bureau is changing status of your letter to pending. You are requested to contact [REDACTED] and determine whether the Student Seminar on Communism held in Washington, D. C., 1/24-27/62, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee was communist inspired or controlled inasmuch as [REDACTED] was scheduled to appear at this Seminar.

[REDACTED]

SAC, Seattle

Director, FBI

**PROPOSED PEACE MARCH
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
APRIL 21, 1962**

The Bureau fails to note any Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), international relations angle in this letterhead memorandum. According to information submitted the Communist Party is not the sponsor or organizer of this Peace March but it is allegedly sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee in Seattle, Washington, and organizations such as the Platform for Peace, Turn Toward Peace and University of Washington Student Peace Union also contemplate on participating in this demonstration.

It is noted that a source advised that attempts are being made to gain participation from peace groups from Canada, Washington State, Oregon, Idaho and Montana.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Seattle, Washington

March 23, 1962

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Information has previously been developed that above-captioned organization in Seattle was going to sponsor a peace march in Seattle, Washington on April 21, 1962.

Information was received from a source on March 23, 1962 to the effect that the above-captioned organization has just recently decided to cancel this proposed peace march until further notice.

NOTE CONTINUED

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party line; however, it has not been investigated by the Bureau, and it is a Quaker organization. One of its current activities is fostering good will between young people of various nations and for this reason, it is recently subject of citizens' inquiries.

March 31.1962

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D .C.

Dear Sirs:

I would like a little information if possible.

I have been receiving mail from " American Friends Service Committee, Inc. 300 West Congress Parkway, Chicago 7, Illinois.

This group is promoting the week for World Peace April 15-21. The material I receive seems to promote the communist line. I would like to know if you have anything in your records that might show whether this is a front organization, or whether it may be a legitimate cause. I will appreciate any information you can give me as soon as possible.

Very Sincerely

April 6, 1962

Dear

Your letter of March 31, 1962, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI being an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret that I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subject of your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: [REDACTED] The
① American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party line; however, it has not been investigated by the Bureau, and it is a Quaker organization. One of its current activities is fostering good will between young people of various nations and for this reason it is recently subject of citizens' inquiries.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois

CG

April 13, 1962

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

On April 11, 1962,

made available a flier entitled "A Call to Participate - - - Week for World Peace, April 15-21, 1962" described therein as issued by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).

This flier states that the Week for World Peace for 1962 is sponsored by the AFSC, Chicago Office. It lists the following as cooperating organizations:

Chicago
Ill

- American Veterans Committee
- Chicago Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy
- Church Federation of Greater Chicago
- Committee for Nonviolent Action
- Committee of Correspondence
- Eight State Fellowship
- Fellowship of Reconciliation
- International Commission on Disarmament
- International Union of Social Workers, Chicago Chapter
- Peace and Social Concerns Committees,
- Chicago Area Friends Meetings
- Student Peace Union
- United Service Employees, AFL-CIO, Local 329
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Continuing, the flier states that the most influential world powers continue to turn away from peaceful principles in international relations. It notes that the world has witnessed with dread, horror and protest the following warlike developments:

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Soviet resumption of nuclear testing, followed by U.S. resumption.
Breakdown of relations over Berlin.
U.S. sponsored invasion of Cuba.
The Hysterically motivated U.S. Civil Defense program as another
step in the arms race.
~~The U.N.'s use of violence in the Congo.~~
And finally, India's reliance on violence in their liberation
of Goa.

Under the caption "Where Are We Going?" the flier notes that there are some rays of hope in the United States and Soviet agreement on principles for disarmament negotiations; the United States creation of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; the Peace Corps; and the Soviet Union's giving up their deadline for the settlement of the Berlin issue.

Continuing, the flier observes that in spite of these hopeful acts the sponsors of the Week believe that the world is showing serious symptoms of moral collapse and the malignant growth of reliance on mass murder as the final solution to hard political, economic, and moral problems.

Under the caption "The New Turn," the flier states that the sponsors believe that there is a real hope only if the people will rally to build a movement in a Turn Toward Peace across the world. It notes that thousands demonstrated throughout the country in last year's Week for World Peace. It observes that the reception of the San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walkers, especially in the Communist countries, and the growth of a mass civil disobedience movement for peace in Britain, demonstrate the universality of these hopes. The strong grass roots demonstrations for peace carried on by students throughout the country and by Women for Peace point the way.

It concludes that April 15 - 21 is the time for demonstrations across the United States and in many foreign lands. It asks for the recipients to make their voices heard.

Under the caption "What You Can Do," the flier states that the months of March and April should be made a period of intensive peace education by scheduling film and discussion meetings in churches, schools, unions and clubs. It calls for a generous contribution of money and/or volunteer time to help with the expenses and organization of the Week for World Peace.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

It also calls recipients to join the walk beginning at the Glenview Naval Air Station on Friday, April 20, 1962, or on Saturday, April 21, 1962, from Evanston, Illinois, Hyde Park, or the Chicago West Side. It notes that a rally will be held at Grant Park, Randolph and Michigan, at 1:30 PM on Saturday, April 21, 1962, to be followed by another rally at Orchestra Hall at 2:15 PM on April 21, 1962.

The flier lists the following speakers:

Clarence Pickett - Secretary Emeritus, AFSC; Co-chairman, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

William Davidon - Chairman, Physics Department, Haverford College; board member, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; National Peace Education Committee, AFSC; National Advisor, Student Peace Union.

Elise Boulding - Editor, Women's Peace Movement Bulletin of the National Women's Strike for Peace; Center for Conflict Resolution.

Continuing, the flier notes that additional activities are being planned for Chicago in the form of film and discussion meetings in homes, churches, clubs, etc., during the two months preceding the week for Peace. Leaflet distributions will also be made in many locations and vigils of prayer for peace in designated churches are scheduled for Holy Thursday, April 19, 1962.

The flier calls for the participants to abide by a discipline of nonviolent action outlined by the sponsoring committee.

Under the caption "What We Will Ask For," the flier states that the Week's activities will emphasize those elements of a national program which the sponsoring organizations and associates will support, including:

American initiatives to break the arms race, such as:

Immediate stop to all nuclear testing and vigorous efforts for a permanent international ban.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Conversion of chemical-biological-radiological research centers into world health centers.

Conversion of the DEW line into a reciprocal two-way guard against accidental or deliberate attack by either the United States or the USSR.

A United States pledge not to give atomic weapons to any other country.

A nonviolent solution of the German question based on international supervision of Berlin and a demilitarized, nuclear free, Germany.

Involvement of China in disarmament negotiations and membership in the United Nations.

A national program for the economic adjustment to disarmament and an international program for world economic development.

A strengthened United Nations for nonviolent settlement of disputes among nations.

The Social Service Directory for Metropolitan Chicago, issue of 1958, published by the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, describes the AFSC as having been established in 1917 and as representing the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in fields of social action. The regional office in Chicago furthers the work of the national committee in promoting international, industrial, and interracial understanding. Local activities include assistance for programs of minorities, a peace education program, operation of interracial work camps and similar service units in state institutions.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

July 12, 1961, that as of that date the CP of Illinois had repeatedly instructed its members to infiltrate "any and all" mass organizations in an effort to influence the policies of the organizations in the direction of the CP line on domestic and foreign issues. One of the prime targets of the Party at this time, according to this source, was the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

According to information furnished by the first source, on March 26, 1962, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, also a cooperating organization in the Week for World Peace, had its inception in England in 1914 and 1915 and was extended to the United States as a movement of Christian protest against war and violence. The Fellowship, described as pacifist, lays down no hard and fast rules governing its members regarding their participation in armed conflict, but exhorts them to win over their enemies through their exemplary love for their fellow men. The organization advocates conscientious objection to service with the armed forces.

Concerning the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), Chicago Chapter, a fourth source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 27, 1958, that the Chicago Area Chapter of the NASW has been assigned to a CP club in the Professional Division, CP of Illinois, by the CP as the mass organization through which the members of this club are to work politically.

The "Social Work Yearbook, 1957" published under the auspices of the NASW, states that the NASW was formed and began operation on October 1, 1955. It is the result of action by seven predecessor organizations of social workers, all of which were absorbed into the NASW.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

On January 9, 1962, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] furnished a booklet entitled "Student Peace Union." This booklet described it as an organization of young people who believe that war can no longer be successfully used to settle international disputes and that neither human freedom nor the human race itself can endure in a world committed to militarism. It states that the SPU works toward a society which will insure both peace and freedom and which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited by another. It believes that to be effective, any peace movement must act independently of the existing power blocs and must seek new and creative means of achieving a free and peaceful society.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

further advised that undoubtedly CP members, also members of some of the organizations cooperating with the activities, such as SANE, will directly participate in the activities such as the peace walk and the subsequent rallies.

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

April 17, 1962

To Whom it May Concern:

I received this pamphlet while out shopping, and it interested me, I was thinking of joining, but when I read it through, some of the ideas + goals seem a bit extreme, I am always reminded on TV + Radio + so on to

be active in community affairs, if you believe something, work for it, I certainly believe mutual disarmament is the only hope for world peace, but not "America first" if you know

what I mean + certain other things in this pamphlet I do not entirely hold with, such as - involvement of China in disarmament (yes) but -
Imperialism in U.N. (No) also - the
Hypocritical motivated U.S. Civil Reform

program. (I do not believe this) as another
step in the same case. and a few more
I would really want to participate
in any peace movement, but not
at the cost of my country's internal
strength. + the gain of Communist
influence in this country in the
disguise of innocent organizations.
They said they would conquer us with-
out firing a shot.

If this organization is Com-
munist inspired, surely people
should be warned + if I could be
of service passing out pamphlets to
the public in regards to this, please
don't hesitate to let me, but if this
organization is a true + honest effort
toward World Peace, please let me
know at once as I would like to
join + get my friends + family to
join also.

I would appreciate a reply

In any case. Thank you

Sincerely

P.S. I hesitate sending this, my family
& friends would think me silly but
I must know for sure!

April 23, 1962

Dear _____

Your letter of April 17, 1962, with enclosure, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI being an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret that I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subject of your inquiry.

May I suggest, however, that in your personal evaluation of the merits of any organization you give careful consideration to its objectives and whether they are being achieved through orderly, legal procedures.

Enclosed is some literature which I hope will be of interest, together with your enclosure.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE:

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party line; however, it has not been investigated by the Bureau, and it is a Quaker organization. One of its current activities is fostering good will among young people of various nations and for this reason, it is recently subject of citizens' inquiries.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois

April 27, 1962

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Reference is made to Chicago letterhead memorandum dated April 13, 1962, captioned as above, outlining the program for the "Week for World Peace" of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) from April 15 through 21, 1962.

Concerning the sponsoring organization, the AFSC, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information on April 19, 1961, to the effect that at a meeting of the National Board of the Communist Party-USA (CPUSA) and invited guests held in New York City on that date, [redacted] member of the CPUSA, stated that the Quakers were a key force in establishing united action in various phases of peace activities. The source further advised that [redacted] stated that the Quakers consistently work with the Party privately but not publicly.

The Social Service Directory for Metropolitan Chicago, issue of 1958, published by the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, describes the AFSC as having been established in 1917 and as representing the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in fields of social action. The regional office in Chicago furthers the work of the national committee in promoting international, industrial and interracial understanding. Local activities include assistance for programs of minorities, a peace education program, operation of interracial work camps and similar service units in state institutions.

On April 25, 1962, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that a North Side Peace Walk began at Glenview Naval Air Station, Glenview, Illinois, on April 20, 1962. The walk proceeded via Evanston, Illinois, where it remained on the evening of April 20, 1962. It continued on April 21, 1962, and arrived in the Chicago Loop at approximately 1:30 PM, April 21, 1962. Approximately 310 people participated in the walk as it arrived in the Chicago Loop. Among those leading this group was [redacted]

According to the second source, a west side group of peace marchers assembled on April 21, 1962, in the vicinity of 2307 South Laramie, Chicago, and marched to the Chicago Loop, arriving at approximately 1:30 PM. This group consisted of approximately 63 people, and noted accompanying this group was [REDACTED]. The group merged with the north and south side peace walk groups for a combined peace rally at Randolph and Michigan Avenue, and thence the combined groups moved to Orchestra Hall for a peace rally which was scheduled that afternoon.

AFSC²

The second source further advised that the participants of the south side peace walk group began assembly at Stagg Field near the University of Chicago and this group was assembled by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]. This group also marched to the Chicago Loop, and at its height consisted of approximately 360 people. The source noted among the individuals noted in this group was [REDACTED]

Concerning the Chicago Branch of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, a seventh source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on July 12, 1961, that as of that date the CP of Illinois had repeatedly instructed its members to infiltrate "any and all" mass organizations in an effort to influence the policies of the organizations in the direction of the CP line on domestic and foreign issues. One of the prime targets of the Party at this time, according to this source, was the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

Also noted by the second source as participating in the south side group walk were [REDACTED]

The CPUSA and the RWL have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

An eighth source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in 1950 that Sidney Okun had been expelled from the RWL in November, 1947.

AFSC.

The second source further advised that the "Rally for Peace" meeting held at Orchestra Hall on Saturday, April 21, 1962, was attended by approximately 950 people.

Noted by the source on the speakers' platform were

[REDACTED] of the AFSC;

[REDACTED] of the AFSC

[REDACTED] of the affair and the first speaker was [REDACTED]. The theme of [REDACTED] talk was on the importance of facing reality in the world. He emphasized that the American people must be told the truth and not be misled by false claims of politicians and high ranking military men. He discussed the question of non-mutual trust which he stated was leading to the brinkmanship of a nuclear holocaust.

Continuing, [REDACTED] stated that the peace movement in the United States and abroad is committed to preserve the peaceful co-existence of all nations through an idealistic approach. He called for an awakening of the people to reality so that they would not be misled by false concepts for peace. He called for a concentration of youth in the struggle for world peace and stated that the eyes of youth must be opened to these misconceptions so that they may be readied for future leadership in world unity for everlasting peace and friendship.

Next, the meeting chairman stated that the peace movement is entering politics in order to be more influential in world affairs and policy. The chairman noted that an individual present was strongly committed to the peace movement

AFSC

and was a candidate for the State Legislature from Du Page and Lake Counties, Illinois. He stated that the peace movement needs political candidates who are committed to the peace movement to represent them in Congress and to cast negative votes on appropriations for huge military budgets supposedly for defensive purposes only. He announced that the AFSC is therefore organizing a "Volunteers for Peace Committee" designed for the sole purpose of investigating potential candidates' backgrounds and informing the public of their findings.

The next speaker was introduced as [redacted] in his remarks said that the leaders of our nation are steering our people into a state of lunacy in striving for world nuclear supremacy. He referred to his recent visit to Washington, D.C., where he claimed he discussed the world situation with the "modern day crewcut officials in the Pentagon" after which he stated he was convinced that our Capitol building was a lunatic asylum. He stated that the axiom of nuclear deterrence is the craziest philosophy ever adopted in this country and called for an end to the brinkmanship of mass murder. He stated that the leaders of the nuclear power nations will not solve the problems regarding world peace, and it is up to the people to demand the end of nuclear testing by means of peaceful demonstrations such as those which have just terminated.

[redacted] next made an announcement that a "Vigil for Peace" would take place at Congress and Michigan the morning following the day of the first forthcoming series of atmospheric nuclear tests. He stated the Vigil would be jointly sponsored by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the AFSC and asked all persons interested in taking part to make a note of this projected program.

The next speaker, [redacted] spoke on the role of women in the struggle for peace. She called for greater participation by women in the drafting of world politics. She called for the American people to learn to understand the people of Iron Curtain countries. She concluded by stated that women have the power in their minds and resources to build a new society.

AFSC

The main speaker was [REDACTED], who spoke of his early life in a Quaker community in Kansas where he was taught that those who take the sword will perish by the sword. He called for the maintenance of a spiritual confidence to insure peace and stated that to bomb the people of the Soviet Union would not bring peace. Concluding, Pickett stated that ~~"We kill ourselves when we kill our enemy.-- We must resume our relations with Cuba and China by giving them medical aid and food."~~

The meeting concluded at approximately 4:15 PM with a silent prayer.

Noted by the second source in the peace rally crowd were the following:

Concerning the information furnished by the second source to the effect that the AFSC and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy would conduct a "Vigil for Peace" on the day following the first atmospheric atomic explosion, this source advised that beginning at 9:50 AM, April 26, 1962, a group of ten individuals congregated at the Congress Street Plaza, Chicago, Illinois, bearing signs and facing silently toward Michigan Avenue. Included in these signs was one bearing the inscription "Nuclear tests threaten mankind." The demonstration was orderly, and it was indicated that it would continue through the day.

The AFSE is further described by informants, who have furnished reliable information in the past, in the appendix of this memorandum.

APPENDIX

AFSC

AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION,
Also known as American Forum

According to an article appearing in the May 13, 1957, issue of the "Daily Worker," page 1, column 2, A. J. Muste, "well known pacifist," announced the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education (AFSE). According to this article, the American Forum seeks to promote "study and serious untrammelled political discussions among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives... however deep and bitter their differences may have been." The article reflects that among other purposes, the AFSE seeks to call attention to the various publications of the groups whose people engage in discussion; to publish bulletins or pamphlets; to organize regional and national conferences; contribute to the building of new morale and ethic, a spirit of fair play, labor militancy, determination and hope among the progressive and radical forces in this country.

April 30, 1962

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have recently received. I am desirous of making a student tour in Europe this summer and therefore am interested in such an opportunity as this. However, I am doubtful about some of the sponsors of this program and would appreciate it very much if you could tell me if the organization or people involved are affiliated in any way with Communism. The name of the organization in charge of this tour is listed below, as are the names of two persons connected with the trip:

American Friendship Service Committee

Because the time is short I would appreciate an answer as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

May 3, 1962

Dear .

Your letter of April 30, 1962, with enclosure, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subjects of your inquiry.

Enclosed is some material I hope will be of interest to you. I am also returning the item you forwarded.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

**John Edgar Hoover
Director**

NOTE: The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party line; however, it has not been investigated by the Bureau, and it is a Quaker organization. One of its current activities is fostering good will between young people of various nations and for this reason, it is frequently subject of citizens' inquiries.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 5/23/62

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC. (AFSC)
[REDACTED]

Re Philadelphia letter 3/22/62 and Bureau letter

52.

[REDACTED] also advised on 5/17/62 that members of the AFSC are generally outspoken, honest people and anti-Communist.

political, economical and cultural backgrounds.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is a new booklet furnished by [redacted] on 5/17/62, captioned, "An Introduction To The American Friends Service Committee," issued by the AFSC, Philadelphia, Pa., 1962. This booklet sets forth "AFSC philosophy and program" and contains information which tends to clarify the actions of the AFSC. The booklet states in part as follows:

"The AFSC does not seek to advance any particular political theory. It believes that nonviolent attitudes and practices would create their own beneficent result within any system...."

"The Committee brings this philosophy to bear in two problem areas particularly: race relations and international order. It does so, first, because its faith that Christ's message can speak to the affairs of nations is as deep as the conviction that it speaks to the affairs of individuals, and second, because it feels the need is greatest where the gulfs are widest. In choosing these fields of service, which are complex and charged with emotion, the Committee must expect to find itself caught from time to time in controversy, its motivation questioned, its actions misunderstood, its conclusions rebuffed.

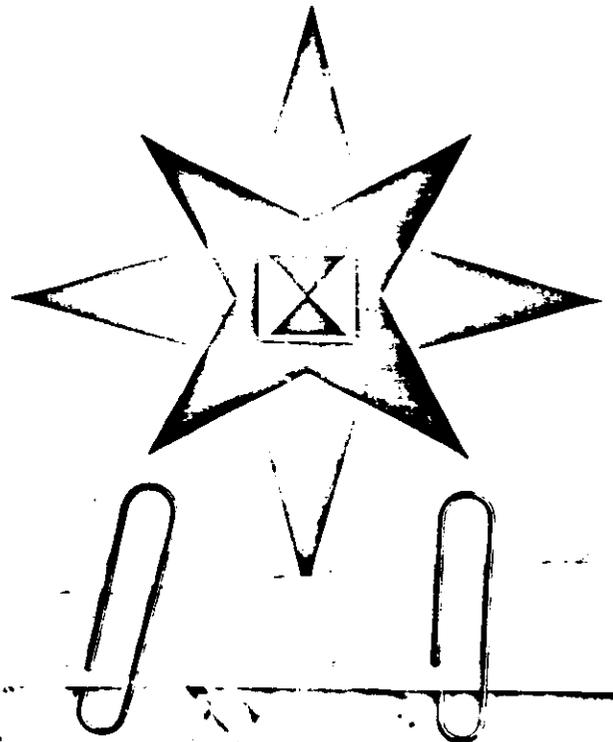
"In spite of this, the American Friends Service Committee feels compelled to continue to witness to its convictions both as a religious duty and as an expression of responsible citizenship in a free society. It is precisely because the AFSC is concerned to uphold the values that lie at the core of our national way of life, that the Committee has exercised its responsibility to speak freely, as conviction may require. This it believes to be real patriotism, because freedom must be exercised with vigor if it is not to become mere form and ritual, and lost its power. The committee has therefore spoken out in opposition to loyalty oaths and security programs because it believes they create a climate of timidity and mistrust that chills the heart of freedom. It has

"supported experiments in nonviolence and public witness because these reflect the individual's conscientious assumption of responsibility at a time when apathy prevails."

Philadelphia will remain alert for any evidence of any Communist influence within the AFSC.

The Bureau will be advised of any pertinent information.

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO
THE
AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE



*Issued by the American Friends Service Committee,
Philadelphia, 1962*



THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The Religious Society of Friends—often called Quakers—is a small religious body having a world-wide membership of approximately 200,000 persons, of whom 125,000 are in the United States. Like other Christian fellowships, it embraces a broad range of emphases in the areas of faith and practice, but for the most part Friends are marked by their emphasis on the direct religious experience of the individual. In the Society of Friends authority is not vested in a hierarchy; major decisions are made by the group.

Like science, Quakerism depends on experience, in this case inner experience. Whereas science directs its attention to the external world over which it seeks to achieve control, the Society of Friends seeks inward discipline and harmony as prerequisites to outward peace. This search does not induce withdrawal from the ordinary life of society. William Penn expressed the ideal in this sentence: "True godliness does not turn men out of the world but enables them to live better in it, and excites their endeavors to mend it."

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

The American Friends Service Committee, as an outgrowth of the Society of Friends, is a contemporary expression of this religious belief. Through service for the common good, the AFSC bears witness to the unity and interdependence—economically, socially, morally, and spiritually—of all mankind. One of the original committee members wrote in

1917: "In this time of national and world crisis, which is no less a crisis in the Kingdom of God, the dominant impulse is that of service."

That committee member also wrote that, "Everyone asks: What can *I*, what can *we*, do to help, not only in overcoming the evil effects of wars, but in preventing war's recurrence?" More than forty years later the same question is still asked. War is a disease and today nuclear war threatens mankind's extinction. A lone person often feels there is nothing he can do; the AFSC tries to show that with others he can perhaps make some headway.

The very nature of the American Friends Service Committee precludes a rigid, hierarchical structure. Yet even as an adventure of the spirit, if people are to work usefully together, organization is necessary, and an AFSC structure has been gradually evolving. Beginning with a staff of two in 1917, there are now several hundred employed workers in the various offices as well as a host of volunteers. What began as a single center in Philadelphia consists now of eleven regional offices and several other area offices from coast to coast. In the mid-twenties the Service Committee was incorporated, first in Pennsylvania and later in Delaware, with the broad purpose of engaging in religious, charitable, social, philanthropic, and relief work in the United States and in foreign countries on behalf of the Religious Society of Friends. All members of the corporation are Quakers as are their elected members of the board of directors, thirty-nine in number. With the directors rests the responsibility to take up, continue, enlarge, decrease, or lay down programs. The executive secretary, also a Friend, is responsible to the board of directors for carrying out its decisions. A high percentage of the organization's executive staff members are Friends, active in their Meetings and in the affairs of the Society of Friends.

The Committee's overseas field appointees are volunteers, serving generally for two years at a time, occasionally longer. Participation has always been open to persons not

in membership with the Society of Friends, but sympathetic with its principles. These men and women have added different kinds of spiritual gifts, and a constant effort has been made to conserve the wisdom derived from differing abilities and points of view within a basic area of agreement.

Most important in AFSC workers is the quality of their commitment as individuals. The nature of the program sometimes demands special training and experience but there has always been room for concerned and sensitive spirits, especially for men and women possessed of what one English Quaker characterized as "divine ordinariness."

The Committee's expenses are met by contributions from members of the Society of Friends; from the wider American public in sympathy with Quaker efforts or with one or another aspect of them; in some circumstances from governments and intergovernmental agencies in areas where work is carried out; and, in recent years, from philanthropic foundations and corporations.

AFSC PHILOSOPHY and PROGRAM

Over the years, the Committee has sought to give expression to its aims and philosophy. The most recent effort grew out of a comprehensive review of AFSC program and practice, carried out by the board of directors in 1960 and 1961. Their report included the following paragraphs:

At its beginning, as today, the AFSC was a movement concerned for the expression and implementation of the Quaker peace testimony as an integral part of our whole understanding of the Gospel. It took the form of relief to refugees and other war victims. This feature has continued, but with varying needs and in various locations. It has offered Friends and like-minded persons an outlet for their service in behalf of the principle of peace. Other channels have appeared, all of them connected with this aspect of Quakerism. The present five program divisions—Com-

munity Relations, International Affairs, International Service, Peace Education, and Youth Services—are all seen as expressions and implementation of the same basic concern.

Our concept of service has broadened over the years to include efforts to prevent violence as well as to counteract its effects, but the roots have remained constant, nourished by our religious faith and our desire to serve God more fully. We see a basic unity in all our efforts, whether they be directed to saving lives, or changing them, or refusing to be party to their destruction. It is all of a piece and cannot be divided. It seeks to show the whole relevance of the life and teaching of Jesus to present-day life.

This unity of purpose requires us to have a point of view on the great issues of the day. We are not neutral. We work for a world society that is nonviolently ordered and in which men are neither debased nor exploited for any reason or for any purpose. We work for it because we think it is the kind of world God intends men to live in.

The AFSC has not interpreted the Quaker peace testimony as a purely individual and negative matter. We are a community impelled by the conviction that it is God's will for men to do no grievous hurt to the personality of other sons of God nor prepare to do so, and by a belief in the practical relevance of love as taught by Jesus. Like other testimonies it is built upon individual sense of duty and upon personal abstention from what conscience forbids. It does not end there, any more than did Quaker objection to slavery limit itself to individual clearness from slave owning. Friends, then and now, have felt responsibility to act collectively as well as individually, and to inform their own members and the general public of their concern.

The AFSC does not seek to advance any particular political theory. It believes that nonviolent attitudes and practices would create their own beneficent result within any system. Out of its faith in the unique and finest values of our national way of life, it does undertake to sustain and strengthen these values for the benefit of all. It is concerned with those freedoms which are both the cause and the effect of man's responsible behavior.

This is the Committee's philosophy of service, suggesting why it has gone beyond emergency relief to involve

itself in the great problems of the social order and why it constantly endeavors to bring love to bear in their solution.

The AFSC is an instrument of communication, small scale rather than mass, but at its best, deep communication. All of its programs explore the requirements of a nonviolently ordered society, or experiment with approaches to its realization. The Committee tries to examine candidly the implications of its religious pacifist insights, and to offer opportunities to those holding other responsible beliefs to challenge them.

The Committee brings this philosophy to bear in two problem areas particularly: race relations and international order. It does so, first, because its faith that Christ's message can speak to the affairs of nations is as deep as the conviction that it speaks to the affairs of individuals, and second, because it feels the need is greatest where the gulfs are widest. In choosing these fields of service, which are complex and charged with emotion, the Committee must expect to find itself caught from time to time in controversy, its motivation questioned, its actions misunderstood, its conclusions rebuffed.

In spite of this, the American Friends Service Committee feels compelled to continue to witness to its convictions both as a religious duty and as an expression of responsible citizenship in a free society. It is precisely because the AFSC is concerned to uphold the values that lie at the core of our national way of life, that the Committee has exercised its responsibility to speak freely, as conviction may require. This it believes to be real patriotism, because freedom must be exercised with vigor if it is not to become mere form and ritual, and lose its power. The Committee has therefore spoken out in opposition to loyalty oaths and security programs because it believes they create a climate of timidity and mistrust that chills the heart of freedom. It has supported experiments in nonviolence and public witness because these reflect the individual's conscientious assumption of responsibility at a time when apathy prevails.

The Committee is encouraged by the fact that the independence of its position, the vigor of its criticism, and the pioneering quality of its experiments have never in its forty-five year history prevented the development of sustained and fruitful cooperation with other voluntary agencies, with the American government, and with international organizations. A unique expression of the confidence others have felt in the work of the Committee may be seen in the award of the 1947 Nobel Peace Prize jointly to the American Friends Service Committee and to its British counterpart, the Friends Service Council.

Many AFSC programs have evolved and continue to evolve with a sustained relationship to some element of our government, as for example, the International Cooperation Administration (now AID); the Department of State; the Department of Justice; the Department of Agriculture; the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The AFSC has also cooperated with Church World Service, with the National Catholic Welfare Conference, with a number of Jewish service bodies, and with the service agencies of the Mennonites and the Brethren. Its work has also been closely related to international agencies such as the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (now UNRWA), the U.N. Korean Reconstruction Agency, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It works closely with the Secretariat of the United Nations and with many Assembly delegates. The AFSC is now working on behalf of Algerian refugees with the League of Red Cross Societies and the Red Crescent Societies in North Africa. We recognize the increased breadth of service made possible through such cooperation with public and voluntary agencies, and appreciate the confidence in the American Friends Service Committee which this reflects.

SUMMARY OF PROGRAMS

In order to provide insight into the scope and outreach of the AFSC, a representative list of programs undertaken by the Committee in its first forty-five years is provided below. This is a summary list and makes no effort to detail many individual programs that have been undertaken, especially in the Committee's regional offices. It does, however, illustrate the long-standing policy of the AFSC to pick up and lay down program as needs shift or work is devolved on others. Responsibility for these decisions rests ultimately with the board of directors, but the process is facilitated by the work of a representative Program Priorities Committee, and by the periodic reviews and evaluations of regional office committees and national program division committees.

Further information on all current programs may be obtained at any AFSC office. In addition, a number of books have been written about the Committee that illuminate earlier periods of its history. Among these are: *A Service of Love in Wartime** by Rufus M. Jones, (New York, 1920); *For More Than Bread* by Clarence E. Pickett (Boston, 1953); and *The Quaker Star Under Seven Flags* by John Forbes (Philadelphia, 1961).

The list of programs, classified to reflect current AFSC organization, and including approximate starting and termination dates, follows. Programs currently active are in bold-face type.

I. INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

A. RELIEF, REHABILITATION, AND RECONSTRUCTION

War relief and village reconstruction: France 1917-20.

Post-World War I relief: Austria 1919-25; Germany (child feeding in cooperation with American Relief Administration) 1919-24; Poland and Upper Silesia 1920-24; Serbia 1919-22.

* Out of print.

Famine relief: India 1943-46; Soviet Union (in cooperation with American Relief Administration) 1920-27.

Relief and self help: West Virginia and Kentucky coal fields 1931-35.

War relief: China (both Nationalist and Communist territories after 1946) 1941-51; Spain (both Nationalist and Republican zones) 1937-39.

Post-World War II relief: Austria 1945-58; Finland 1945-50; France 1944-59; Germany 1945-59; Hungary 1946-49; Italy 1945-62; Japan 1946-59; Norway 1946-47; Poland 1946-49.

Post-war relief: Canal Zone evacuees, Egypt 1957; Korea 1952-58; Civil War, Lebanon 1958-59.

B. REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS

United States: Resettlement assistance 1938—; services to Japanese-Americans (U.S. relocation camps) 1942-44.

Pre-World War II: Austria 1938-40; Cuba 1939; Germany 1938-40.

World War II: Austria 1946—; France 1939-42, 1944-61; Germany 1947-59; Italy 1940-41; Mexico 1940-41; Netherlands 1946-52; North Africa 1942-45; Portugal 1941-45; Spain 1942-50; Switzerland 1942-46.

Since World War II: Algerian refugees, Tunisia and Morocco 1959—; Arab refugees, Gaza and Western Galilee (under UN auspices) 1948-50; Chinese refugees, Hong Kong 1959—; Hindu and Moslem refugees, India and Pakistan (in Pakistan) 1947-48; Hungarian refugees, Austria 1956—, and Yugoslavia 1957; Tibetan refugees, India 1959-61.

C. COMMUNITY SERVICES, SOCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Central Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1958—; El Salvador 1952-59; India (Pipha and Raghampur 1946-50, Rasulia 1951-59; Barpali 1951—); Israel 1950-61; Jordan 1953-56 and 1960—; Mexico 1939—; Nigeria 1960—; Pakistan (Chittagong 1948-49; Dacca 1949—).

II. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Quaker International Centers: Amsterdam, Beirut, Berlin, Calcutta, Copenhagen, Dacca, Delhi, Frankfurt/Main, Geneva, Moscow, Paris, Shanghai, Tokyo, Vienna, Warsaw (with British Friends Service Council and local Friends) 1920—.

Visits to German leaders on behalf of Jews 1938.

International Student Seminars 1942—.

International Student House, Washington, D.C., 1945—.

Davis House, Washington, D.C. (hospitality and conference center) 1947—.

Quaker United Nations Program (sponsored by Friends World Committee) 1948—.

Study Pamphlets: *The U.S. and the U.S.S.R.* (Yale Press) 1949*; *Steps to Peace* 1951*; *Speak Truth to Power* 1955; *Meeting the Russians* 1956*.

Goodwill Missions: Yugoslavia 1950, U.S.S.R. 1955, Poland 1957.

Washington International Affairs Seminars (for government personnel) 1951—.

Quaker International Affairs Representatives: Delhi, Geneva, Germany, Paris, Tokyo, Vienna (some with British Friends Service Council) 1952—.

Work with U.S. educational leaders and associations 1952—.

Conferences for Diplomats 1953—.

Reciprocal Seminars U.S.-U.S.S.R. 1961—.

III. PEACE EDUCATION

Peace Caravans 1927-40, 1948, 1957—.

Institutes of International Affairs 1930—.

Emergency Peace Campaign 1936-38.

Friends Peace Service (a ministry among Friends) 1942—.

National Speakers Program 1947—.

Family Camps 1950—.

* Out of print.

Peace Literature Service 1950—.

Programs with special groups: Churches 1950—; Farmers 1950-56; Labor Unions 1950—.

Assistance in initiating: Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy 1956; Committee for Non-Violent Action 1958; Committee of Correspondence (scholarly exploration of implications of arms rejection) 1959.

DocuDrama: *Which Way the Wind* (stage tours) 1959-60.

Cooperating member: Turn Toward Peace campaign 1961—.

Disarmament pamphlet series: *Beyond Deterrence* 1962.

Easter Public Witness 1961.

Films: *A Time for Greatness* 1951; *Alternatives* (with other agencies) 1959; *Language of Faces* 1961; *Which Way the Wind* 1962.

IV. COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Self-help Housing: Penncraft (Pa.) 1936-47; Philadelphia 1948-57; Tulare County (Calif.) 1962—.

Little River Farms project, Abbeville, S.C. (with sharecroppers) 1940-55.

Visiting Lectureship program (placing outstanding Negro scholars in colleges and universities) 1944-51.

Employment Placement Service, Philadelphia 1946-47.

Employment on Merit: (1947—)

Atlanta; Baton Rouge; Chicago; Columbus (Ohio); Dallas; Houston; Indianapolis; Kansas City; North Carolina (state-wide); Philadelphia; Richmond (Calif.).

Prison Services:

Visitation, Los Angeles area 1947; San Francisco area 1948-50, 1956—.

Crenshaw House (for parolees), Los Angeles 1958—.

American Indians: (1948—)

Off-reservation: Los Angeles; Oakland (Calif.); Rapid City (N.D.).

On-reservation: Fort Berthold; Klamath; Maricopa; Na-

vajo; Papago; Penobscot; Pine Ridge; Round Valley; San Carlos Apache; Tule River; scattered Indian groups in California, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Spanish-speaking people: Austin (Texas) 1949-59; Santa Clara County (Calif.) 1955—.

General Community Relations Programs: (1951—)

Baton Rouge; North Richmond (Calif.); Philadelphia (metropolitan area); Santa Clara County (Calif.); state programs in Louisiana and Mississippi.

Equal Housing Opportunities: (1952—)

Burlington County (N.J.); Cambridge (Mass.); Chicago; Des Moines; Pasadena; Richmond (Calif.)

School Desegregation (1952—)

Little Rock (Ark.); North Carolina (state-wide); Prince Edward County (Va.); Washington (D.C.).

Farm Labor: Tulare County (Calif.) 1955—.

Study Pamphlets: *The Spirit They Live In** (AFSC approach to American Indians) 1956; *Race and Conscience in America* 1959.

V. YOUTH SERVICES

Internes in Industry program 1927, 1944—.

U.S. Work Camps 1934—.

Service projects in Mexico 1939—.

Civilian Public Service (administration of camps for conscientious objectors) 1941-46.

Institutional Service Units 1943—.

Services to conscientious objectors 1946—.

High School World Affairs Seminars 1946—.

School Affiliation Service 1946—.

College Program (campus visiting) 1947—.

* Out of print.

Overseas Work Camps 1947—.

Internes in Community Service 1952—.

El Salvador Service Unit 1952-59.

Friends Neighborhood Group: East Harlem Project 1958—.

**Youth for Service, San Francisco (work with street gangs)
1958—.**

**Voluntary International Service Assignments (VISA):
France, Germany, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Morocco,
Pakistan, Tanganyika, Tunisia, United States, 1960—.**

AFSC OFFICES

CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS
130 Brattle Street (P.O. Box 247)

CHICAGO 7, ILLINOIS
300 West Congress Parkway

DAYTON 6, OHIO
915 Salem Avenue

DES MOINES 12, IOWA
4211 Grand Avenue

HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA
1818 South Main Street (P.O. Box 1307)

HOUSTON 2, TEXAS
4717 Crawford Street

PASADENA 20, CALIFORNIA
825 East Union Street (P.O. Box 991)

PHILADELPHIA 2, PENNSYLVANIA
1500 Race Street

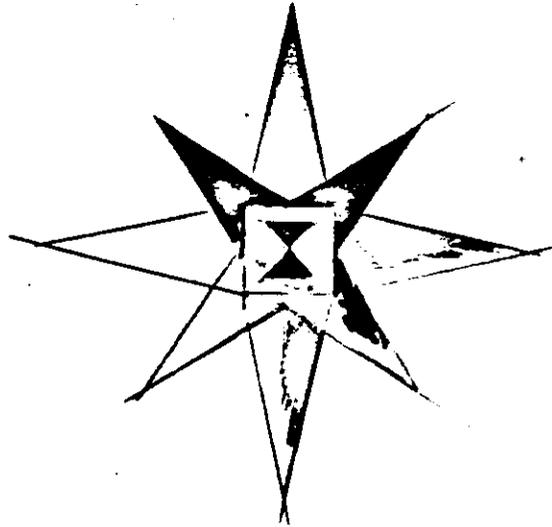
New York 3 (NYC area only)
218 East 18th Street

PORTLAND 15, OREGON
4312 S.E. Stark Street

SAN FRANCISCO 21, CALIFORNIA
2160 Lake Street

SEATTLE 5, WASHINGTON
3959 15th Avenue, N.E.

NATIONAL OFFICE
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania



The red and black star was originally the emblem of Nancy, France, a city helped by Quakers in the Franco-Prussian War. These relief workers first adopted the star as their identifying symbol in 1870, and it has appeared since then in many parts of the world as the symbol of Quaker service. The star has been used by the American Friends Service Committee since its founding in 1917.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

On May 17, 1962, [redacted] made available a pamphlet entitled, "An Introduction to the American Friends Service Committee" which was issued by the AFSC, Philadelphia, in 1962. It reflects in part as follows: "The religious society of Friends - often called Quakers - is a small religious body having a world-wide membership... The American Friends Service Committee, as an outgrowth of the society of Friends, is a contemporary expression of this religious belief. Through service for the common good, the AFSC bears witness to the unity and interdependence - economically, socially, morally and spiritually - of all mankind..."

On February 20, 1962, [redacted] furnished a "statement of purpose" concerning the high school program of the AFSC, Middle Atlantic Region (MAR), 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia. This statement was distributed by the AFSC. It reads in part as follows:

"The high school program of the Middle Atlantic Region of the American Friends Service Committee is part of the world-wide program designed to educate for responsible world citizenship, to witness to certain religious truths which we deem to be relevant to life in these times, and to relieve human suffering.

"The American Friends Service Committee has its roots in the faith of the religious Society of Friends. We have been and we continue to be opposed to all wars. We are constrained to make peace. We do not fear death; but we want to live, and we want our children to live and to fulfill their lives. Mankind, we believe, has a higher destiny than self-destruction...

"The primary purpose of the high school program is to provide an opportunity for high school age people to study, analyze, and discuss the economic, social, and political problems of our time not only to be better informed but to find the implications of non-violent approaches to these problems. Since one of the purposes of the program is to maintain a free platform where controversial issues can be discussed by people of diverging opinions, resource people used in the program often-times are themselves controversial figures. In the program, however, every attempt is made to bring a balance of ideas..."

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE
(Seventh World Youth Festival)

On August 4, 1958, a source made available a background statement on the Seventh World Youth Festival distributed by the United States Festival Committee then in process of organization in New York City. This statement sets forth that the Festival idea is supported by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, (cited as a Communist organization in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, January 2, 1957, page 94.) with headquarters in Budapest, Hungary, and the International Union of Students, (cited as a Communist organization in the House Committee on Un-American Activities Guide, above, on page 48.), with headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia. It was decided to hold the 7th World Youth Festival in Vienna, Austria, during the summer of 1959.

The statement made available by the above source on August 4, 1958, set forth that the Festival has as its aim the desire to promote understanding and friendly cooperation between the youth of nations of the world.

A second source on October 3, 1958, made available information concerning a Regional Youth Conference of the CP, USA, held in New York City, on September 27, 1958. The Youth Festival to be held in Vienna was discussed and those attending were urged to get delegates to attend this festival and to help raise money to defray delegate expenses.

June 29, 1962

Gentlemen:

I'm taking the liberty to write you, because of the recent business meeting in our local Friends Meeting. We of the [redacted] monthly meeting of the [redacted] yearly meeting of Friends had a rather lengthy discussion in regard to appropriations made to the American Friends Service Committee offices in Philadelphia, Penn. & High Point, N.C. in the yearly meeting budget. A committee was appointed to gather information if possible to present to our next business meeting in regard to reports of Communist activities in the American Friends Service Committee and American Friends Peace Corp. Now I appeal for your help in this matter; if you have access to any information on any member of the above mentioned groups being affiliated with or participating in any Communist movement, it would be of great help and appreciated by us of this committee.

Sincerely yours

July 5, 1962

Dear

Your letter of June 29, 1962, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In this connection, information contained in our files is maintained as confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. I regret I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to your inquiry.

Enclosed is some material I hope will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: ~~_____~~
The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party line;
(note continued next page)

(Note continued)

however, it has not been investigated by the Bureau, and it is a Quaker organization. One of its current activities is fostering good will between young people of various nations and for this reason, it is recently subject of citizens' inquiries.



AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

New England Region

130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Massac

P.O. Box 247 UNIV

ROBERT HINDMARSH
Chairman

ROBERT A. LYON
Executive Secretary

HERBERT HUFFMAN
Finance Secretary

May 1962

Dear Friend:

How do you evaluate what is taking place in Berlin, Viet Nam, Jackson, Mississippi, the United Nations and Washington?

Do you have any real voice in the basic national policy decisions that effect war and peace?

Is the Black Muslim movement a hopeful alternative or a threat to Negro Americans: to white Americans?

Where do you as a person fit into a world in which two-thirds of the people are undernourished and the two power blocs continue to harden both their missile bases and their attitudes?

These are but a few of the questions which will be raised at the Avon Institute this summer, July 7-14. I hope you will give careful attention to the enclosed brochure describing the program. With an excellent faculty this year, (Kenneth Boulding, A. J. Muste, C. Eric Lincoln, I. F. Stone, Roger Fisher, Robert Pickus, etc.) we are looking forward to an unusually stimulating time.

A week spent at the Avon Institute with people from many religious, national and political backgrounds, who are deeply concerned with the ways of building a peaceful world, has been for many an unforgettable experience. It can be the same for you.

Won't you bend every effort to be with us for the tenth anniversary of Avon this summer? I look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Jack Bollens

Jack Bollens
Peace Education Secretary

859X

10

Sep: 12th / 1962

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Dear Sir's.

Would it be possible to get information concerning the America Service Committee the address is Ware House, ~~2nd~~ 23rd Arch. & Philadelphia.

Our Church received pamphlets and requests for help, and there seems to be some doubt of this group. Is there any connection between the America Service Comm., and the Nature Fr of America?

Is there information for a church to safe guard its self from helping a cause that is communist affiliated?

Thank you very much

10
September 19, 1962

Dear

Your letter of September 12th has been received.

It is always encouraging to hear from citizens who demonstrate an awareness of the problems facing our country and who desire to prepare themselves and others to meet the atheistic challenge to our freedoms presented by communism. A broad knowledge of the objectives and operations of the communist movement is essential if the American people are to effectively resist its eroding influence.

Although I would like to be of service with reference to your request, information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only, as to regulations of the Department of Justice. Please do not infer either that we do or do not have data concerning the subjects of your inquiry.

It is a pleasure, however, to enclose literature I hope will be of interest to you and your friends. It contains suggestions as to how all of us can fight communism. I also would like to urge that in your personal evaluation of the merits of any group or publication, you give careful consideration to its objectives and whether they are being achieved through orderly, legal procedures.

In the event you are not already familiar with it, I would like to draw your attention to my book, "Masters of Deceit," published by Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 363 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York

~~_____~~

I have also written a new book entitled "A Study of Communism," to be released by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., on October 1st of this year. It deals with the development and expansion of communism throughout the world.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: ~~_____~~ The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party line; however, it has not been investigated by the Bureau, and it is a Quaker organization. One of its current activities is fostering good will between young people of various nations and for this reason, it is recently subject of citizens' inquiries. "Native Friends of America (since 1935)" appears on the list of groups designated as subversive under Executive Order 10450. Its current title being used is Metropolitan Recreation Association, and the headquarters for this group uses the address of General Post Office Box 634, New York, New York. ~~_____~~

September 19, 1954

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
U.S. Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

As a loyal American citizen and as a member of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] New Jersey, I am concerned about
whether the ^② American Friends Service Committee either wittingly
or unwittingly is permitting itself to be used as an instrument
of Communist propaganda.

If you can give me any relevant information I will appreciate
a reply.

Yours very truly,

September 25, 1962

Dear

Your letter of September 19, 1962, with enclosure has been received.

In response to your inquiry, I would like to point out that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In addition, information in our files must be maintained as confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. I regret I cannot be of assistance and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have the specific data you requested.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

~~_____~~
NOTE: ~~_____~~

The American Friends Service Committee has never been investigated by the Bureau. It has been described as a pacifist group of Quakers dedicated to the abolition of the nuclear arms race and the establishment of peaceful coexistence with Russia.

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed persons distributing this leaflet in downtown Chicago on October 24, 1962 and at the Burlington Railroad Station in Downers Grove, Illinois, on the morning of October 25, 1962.

The contents of this leaflet are set forth verbatim below:

"AN APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

"Every new military act, however justified it may seem to governments, is a threat to the lives of all the people of the world.

- The Russian build-up in Cuba is such a threat.
- American bases surrounding Russia are such a threat.
- The American blockade of Cuba is such a threat.
- Russian retaliation against a blockade would be such a threat.
- An American invasion of Cuba would be such a threat.

"WHAT YOU CAN DO

"TELEGRAPH PRESIDENT KENNEDY URGING:

1. Immediate suspension of the naval blockade, an ACT OF WAR.

**AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE**

2. A pledge to keep the Cuban problem before the United Nations until a peaceful solution has been negotiated.

3. Support the United Nations Principle of INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTION of problems, INSTEAD OF - - -

**"MILITARY ACTION BY THE UNITED
STATES OR ANY OTHER NATION**

"TELEGRAPH THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON, URGING:

1. Immediate cessation of military build-up in Cuba or elsewhere.

2. A pledge to keep the Cuban problem before the United Nations until a peaceful solution has been negotiated - -

"There may still be time to avert WAR -- a war that can lay waste the cities of the world.

"LET YOUR VOICE BE HEARD!

**"Attend A Gigantic Peace Rally sponsored by Voters
For Peace**

Mc Cormick Place, Tuesday, October 30--8 P.M.--\$1 donat

"This statement is sponsored by:

**American Friends Service Committee
Chicago Committee For Sane Nuclear Policy
Committee for Non-Violent Action
Councils For Correspondence
Fellowship Of Reconciliation
Student Peace Union
Voters For Peace
Women For Peace**

**"Distribute copies of this leaflet--available at
Room 305 -- 431 S. Dearborn St. - - HARRISON 7-2533"**

**AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE**

The second source advised in October, 1962 that the program of the CP of Illinois remains unchanged from past years regarding mass organizations. This program of the Party calls for the infiltration by Party members of all legitimate organizations such as peace groups, Negro organizations, civic, fraternal and community groups, labor and political organizations in an effort to influence the policies of these groups toward the line of the CP.

This same source advised on October 25, 1962 that at a Board meeting of the Illinois CP held on October 24, 1962 Party leaders reiterated this program,

Characterizations for the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, Chicago School of Social Science, Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Chicago Chapter, can be found in the attached appendix pages.

All informants utilized in this memorandum and the attached appendix pages have furnished reliable information in the past.

1
AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE

APPENDIX

CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND
THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR) maintains headquarters in Suite 424, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

A source advised in July, 1960, that RICHARD CRILEY, a member of the Civil Liberties Commission, Communist Party (CP) of Illinois, met with key leaders of the CP of Illinois and discussed with them the fact that the climate in the United States on civil liberties and civil rights issues had changed to the extent that it was now possible to proceed to form a new organization with broad mass support. By doing so, CRILEY believed that people who would not associate themselves with an organization of narrow scope would join a civil liberties and civil rights organization built around a broader issue such as the abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). The CP leaders, after receiving assurance from CRILEY that any new organization that might evolve would protect the Party interests, authorized CRILEY to proceed with his plan to form a broader organization.

A second source advised on October 31, 1960, that a new organization known as the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights was formally launched in Chicago at a meeting on October 26, 1960. The stated primary purpose of the new organization was to seek the abolition of the HCUA, and RICHARD CRILEY was named as its Executive Secretary, after having been the guiding force in arranging the October 26, 1960, meeting.

The first source, in October, 1960, advised that CRILEY again attended a meeting of the Illinois District CP leadership on October 28, 1960, at which time he reported on the organizational meeting of the CCDBR. CRILEY stated that the immediate purpose of his organization is to obtain mass support to abolish the HCUA, but the new Committee purposes will also include defense of Smith Act and Taft-Hartley victims. He said there will be no formal affiliation with any national organization of similar purpose; however, the CCDBR, according to CRILEY, will consult and have liaison with national organizations having the same purpose. According to the source, the CP leadership agreed with the general direction of the CCDBR as outlined by CRILEY.

A third source advised on May 3, 1962, that the CCDBR continues to adhere to the same aims and purposes and operates under the same leadership.

APPENDIX

1 .

AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE

APPENDIX

CHICAGO SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

A source advised on May 7, 1962 that the Chicago School of Social Science (CSSS), located at 333 West North Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, was organized by the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois Educational Commission in late 1960. A School Committee consisting of eight CP members of the Educational Commission was formed to conduct the day-to-day activities of the school. At that time, DAVE ENGLESTEIN, Education Director, CP of Illinois, had over-all responsibility in forming policy of the operation of the school.

During the summer of 1961, the Educational Commission and School Committee of the CP of Illinois were dissolved as a result of the Supreme Court decision on the Internal Security Act of 1950. Since that time, LOU DISKIN, member, CP of Illinois, and leadership representative of the West Side area, CP of Illinois, and DAVE ENGLESTEIN have been primarily responsible for the operation of the CSSS.

The aims of the school to instruct Communists in Marxism-Leninism and to provide a basis of contemporary subjects which would attract non-Communists have not changed, and classes are still being taught by members of the CP of Illinois.

APPENDIX

1
**AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE
FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE**

APPENDIX

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

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

On October 3, 1960, a source advised that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in New York had become active in the FPCC, and that SWP members, in a FPCC election, had been able to remove several Communist Party (CP) members who were on the Executive Board of the FPCC and gain control of the organization.

A second source advised that an announcement from National Headquarters of the SWP was made on September 24, 1961, to the effect RICHARD GIBSON had fired the secretary in the FPCC headquarters and was trying to break the SWP influence in the FPCC.

Column 2, page 8, of the February 22, 1962, edition of "The New York Times" contains an article captioned, "Cas Backer Resigns," which announced that ROBERT TABER had resigned as Executive Secretary of the FPCC and as President of the Institute for the Improvement of Inter-American Relations, Inc. which had organized the FPCC in April, 1960.

On May 17, 1962, a third source advised that National Headquarters of the FPCC is located in Room 329 at 799 Broadway, New York City, and that the FPCC is operating under the direction of RICHARD GIBSON, Acting National Executive Secretary of the FPCC.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

**AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE**

APPENDIX

**FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE,
CHICAGO CHAPTER**

A source advised on May 11, 1962, that the mailing address for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC), Chicago Chapter, is Post Office Box 4474, Chicago 80, Illinois.

A second source advised in October, 1960, that the Chicago Chapter of the FPCC was formed during the summer of 1960 at Chicago, Illinois, under the direct guidance and leadership of RICHARD CRILEY, a member of the State Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

A third source in August, 1960, furnished a leaflet entitled, "What Is Really Happening in Cuba?" distributed by the FPCC, Post Office Box 4855, Chicago 80, Illinois. The aims and purposes of the FPCC as set forth in this leaflet include the following: "To disseminate the truth, to combat untruth; to publish and distribute factual information which the United States mass media suppresses. In general, to contribute to foundations for peace, friendship, and understanding between ourselves and the Cuban people." The leaflet reflects the FPCC plans to accomplish these aims: "By mailing of informational bulletins; organizing public meetings and forums; providing speakers, movies, and slides for meetings of interested organizations, placing ads in newspapers; to visit Cuba and see for themselves what conditions really are."

A fourth source advised that as of May 7, 1962, this Committee continued to exist, with the same aims and purposes, but under the direction and leadership of former communists, communist sympathizers, members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and others who are pro-CASTRO supporters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

This document contains information that is neither recommended nor endorsed by the FBI and its activities are not to be construed as an official position of the FBI.

F. B. I

Washington D. C.

Please give us such information
as you can in regards to
enclosed folders. We frequently
get this, and no one seems to
know if it's American or
Subversive. Thank you.

November 27, 1962

Dear

Your letter postmarked November 22, 1962, with enclosures, has been received, and the thought prompting you to write is appreciated.

With respect to your inquiry regarding the American Friends Service Committee, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In addition, information contained in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I regret I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to this organization.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: ~~_____~~

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party line; however, it has not been investigated by the Bureau, and it is a Quaker organization. One of its current activities is fostering good will between young people of various nations and for this reason, it is recently subject of citizens' inquiries. Enclosures were a pamphlet on AFSC and a questionnaire.

10
November 30, 1962

Dear

Your letter of November 27th, with enclosure, has been received and I appreciate your kind comment regarding the work of this Bureau. It is a pleasure to learn that your son enjoyed his tour of FBI Headquarters.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI being an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In addition, information in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I regret I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subjects of your inquiries.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

~~_____~~

NOTE: American Friends for Peace could not be identified in Bufiles. The American Friends Society has never been investigated by the Bureau however, numerous inquiries are received relative to this Quaker group and the American Friends Service Committee. The latter has been described as a pacifist group of Quakers dedicated to the abolition of the nuclear arms race and the establishment of peaceful coexistence with Russia. In October, 1962, about 15 persons from several local "peace groups" met at the local offices of the AFSC in Chicago, Illinois, to prepare a leaflet on the subject of the Cuban Crisis for local distribution.



AFSC AFRICA REPORT

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

From Lyle Tatum, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia November 1962

Vol. III, No. 13

NOT FOR QUOTATION OR GENERAL CIRCULATION

CRISIS CONTAINED IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The growing crisis reported in September in AFSC Africa Report (Vol. III, No. 10) seems to have been temporarily contained by vigorous action on the part of the Southern Rhodesia Government. Using new security legislation, the Government has restricted about 300 former officials of the outlawed Zimbabwe African People's Union. The restrictees are widely dispersed throughout the country for 90 days. The Government has given no indication as to its intentions when the restriction orders expire. The law places no limitation on new orders being issued when previous orders expire.

The area of restriction varies but is generally from three to 12 miles from the residence of the restrictee or some other fixed point. Restrictees are required to make regular, given daily, reports to a police station, and they are forbidden attendance at public meetings. When it is needed, the Government makes limited grants to dependents of restrictees.

In addition to the restriction orders, there have been some 2,000 arrests for politically inspired violations of law, ranging all the way from calling police recruits names to arson and murder. No top members of ZAPU have been arrested.

It is difficult to make an accurate judgment as to how many "incidents" occur now as compared with the period before the outlawing of ZAPU. There was no immediate lull following the ban. It is not clear now whether the rate of incidents has slowed up considerably or whether it is only the news reporting which is handled differently. Some incidents are reported. However, it is not uncommon now to read a report of the arrest of someone charged with a violation which was not reported when it took place. Before the ban on ZAPU, incidents of violence and sabotage were headline news, but now they seem less newsworthy.

Although ZAPU is outlawed in Southern Rhodesia, it continues to operate legally in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, at the United Nations, and elsewhere as it wishes. The leaders of the party declare that no new party will be formed to take ZAPU's place.

Numerous persons have tried to start parties to take advantage of ZAPU's absence from the field, but none has gained any sizable support. They continue to get some favorable newspaper publicity when they start, then they go quietly to the side ways. The only African nationalist parties with perhaps two handfuls of support instead of a single handful are the Zimbabwe National Party and the Pan-African Socialist Union. Both of these parties were formed before the ban on ZAPU, and both were formed because of dissatisfaction with what their leaders felt to be a lack of militancy on the part of ZAPU.

 1962

Southern Rhodesia Election Set

After considerable vacillation, the Southern Rhodesia Parliament has been dissolved and elections set for December 14th. The new constitution came into effect with the dissolving of Parliament.

Although some of the new parties formed after the ban on ZAPU declared their intent to contest the election, none can now do so, as the deadline for nominations is past and no candidates for new parties filed for election.

The UFP and the Rhodesian Front are contesting all of the 50 upper roll seats and the 15 lower roll seats. (In one upper roll seat the UFP candidate is standing as an Independent.) The RF is a right-wing coalition of splinter groups led by Winston Field, former leader of the opposition in the Federal Assembly.

The only other party participating in the election is the Central Africa Party, a small, liberal group. They have one upper roll candidate and 13 lower roll contestants. There is also a sprinkling of Independents in the field.

The RF is campaigning on just one issue -- no forced integration. They wish to keep the Land Apportionment Act, which divides Southern Rhodesia into white and black areas, but they are willing to have nonracial areas established for those who wish to live in racially integrated communities. They feel that the new franchise provisions are too liberal, but it is doubtful if there is any constitutional way they can be made more strict.

The UFP promises to repeal the Land Apportionment Act and to legislate against racial discrimination in public places. They believe they can best deal with the forces of nationalism by gradual African advancement. In a burst of enthusiasm in opening the campaign, Sir Roy Welensky made the improbable declaration that if Southern Rhodesia can just hold on for another two or three years the battle against Pan-Africanism will be won.

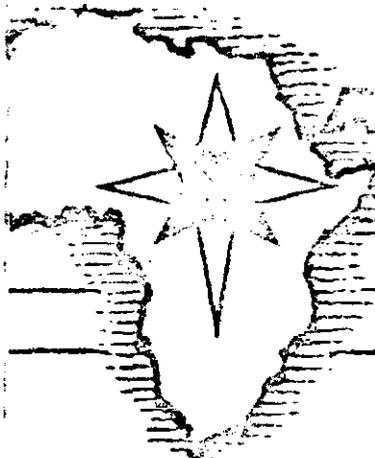
Although there seems to be a definite swing to the right in Southern Rhodesia at this time, the UFP is almost certain to be kept in power with a comfortable majority. Salisbury and Bulawayo are UFP strongholds, and 29 of the 50 upper roll constituencies are in these two cities. It is difficult to see how the RF could win any lower roll seats.

The nationalists have called for Africans to boycott the election. Therefore, most Africans who do vote are apt to be UFP supporters. (These are more numerous in Southern Rhodesia than in the Northern Territories, although they constitute a small minority of the African people.) The CAP might pick up a few seats from protest voters. The CAP represents no threat to the UFP, as it would support the UFP if it were necessary to make that choice in the formation of a Government.

The election is complicated by cross voting on the two rolls (with influence limited to 25% by either roll on the other) and by a single transferable vote. Nothing is simple in the politics of Central Africa.

There are about 100,000 persons registered to vote -- 90,000 on the upper roll and 10,000 on the lower roll. One of the side effects of the boycott of registration by the nationalists is that a lower roll vote turns out to be worth more than an upper roll vote (10,000 voters for 15 seats vs. 90,000 voters for 50 seats).

The nationalists have sworn to thwart the election, but this seems impossible. However, it seems certain that the election will be the focal point for more trouble. Within 24 hours of the closing of nominations, one African candidate and his wife were hospitalized as a result of a petrol bomb thrown into their home. Uneasy days lie ahead for Southern Rhodesia.



AFSC AFRICA REPORT

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

From Lyle Tatum, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia November 1962

Vol. III, No. 12

NOT FOR QUOTATION OR GENERAL CIRCULATION

AFRICANS MOVE INTO POWER IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

Assuming the formation of a coalition between the nationalist parties, Northern Rhodesia is about to become the newest addition to the list of African states with African governments. That coalition seems certain, although as this is being written (November 22nd), Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is still whistling in the dark about believing such a coalition is not going to come about. Sir Roy, according to the Rhodesian Herald, says, "If it does happen it will be extremely difficult for the Federal Government." Actually, it will make the continued existence of this Federation impossible for much longer.

In the election held October 30th*, the United Federal Party won 15 seats; the United Independence Party won 14 seats (including an independent candidate backed by UNIP), and the African National Congress won five seats. (The UFP is the governing party in Southern Rhodesia and for the Federation. UNIP and ANC are African nationalist parties.) Something like this result was expected, although the successful deal made by the UFP and the ANC, which allowed them to pick up two seats each in the national constituencies, was a mild surprise. (For explanation of the complex national constituencies, see AFSC Africa Report, Vol. III, No. 6.)

The complete elimination of the Liberal Party was foreseen as election day approached, although it was a bit of a surprise to see them pulling almost no votes at all. The national seats were supposed to be tailor-made for the Liberals, a party trying to bridge the transition to African rule. Yet in the five national constituencies of two seats each, where no candidates met the minimum requirement of 10% of the vote of each race, the Liberals averaged only 4.88% of the European vote and 1.02% of the African vote. The Liberal Party disbanded immediately after the election and urged its former members to support UNIP.

A second and final attempt will be made to fill these ten seats at a by-election December 10th. It is doubtful if any of the seats will be filled, and it is certain that not enough seats will be filled to make any appreciable change in the balance of power.

One upper roll constituency being filled on December 10th, because of the death of a candidate, will go to the UFP.

*Through a typographical error, the election date was reported as October 31st in AFSC Africa Report, Vol. III, No. 10.

UNIP Wins Mass Support

The bare reporting of seats won obscures the fact of mass support for UNIP. To analyze the election returns for party support, the national constituencies may be ignored, as merely swelling the totals, and the 14 upper roll and 15 lower roll constituencies considered. This will include one vote for every registered voter with the exception of the fifteenth upper roll constituency where the election was postponed.

Of these 29 seats, 13 went to the UFP, 13 to UNIP, and three to ANC. There were 107,000 valid votes cast for these seats. Sixty per cent of these votes went to UNIP, 21% to UFP, 16% to ANC, and 3% to Independents and minor parties.

The disparity in seats won in relation to popular vote is largely due to the much smaller number of voters in the upper roll constituencies. The combined margin of victory for UNIP on just two large lower roll constituencies in the Copperbelt totaled more than all of the votes cast for the UFP in all 29 constituencies.

One of the UFP myths is that they are supported by a large body of "moderate" Africans. The Nyasaland election ended that myth there, and now the same has been done in Northern Rhodesia. It is customary, when parties are selective as to where they enter candidates, that they run for office in the constituencies where they are strongest. The UFP entered candidates in only four lower roll constituencies. These four men received a grand total of 180 votes.

Another clear-cut result from the election is that four out of five voters voted for candidates committed to termination of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Purpose of the Constitution Defeated

The supposed purpose of the national seats was to weight the Legislative Council with members obtaining support from both races. No such persons were elected. Both ANC and UNIP worked hard to woo European support with a campaign stressing moderation. The UFP fought a "hate UNIP" campaign, led by Sir Roy Welensky and supported by the Territory's only daily newspaper, which successfully drove wavering white voters into the UFP camp, apparently convinced that the time had not yet arrived to seek accommodation with African political aspirations.

As clearly shown by the voting in the national constituencies, the result was strictly racial voting. In the two national constituencies where candidates were elected, it was done not by support across racial lines because of confidence in the candidates but by cooperation of parties with diametrically opposed policies.

The cornering of the market on white votes by the UFP was a Pyrrhic victory. Not only did the abusive anti-UNIP campaign cause bitterness on the part of Africans and rouse more fears on the part of whites, but the strictly racial voting also convinced many top UNIP leaders that it is useless to try to placate whites and to deal with them on a friendly basis. Some UNIP National Council members are charging Kenneth Kaunda, UNIP president, with wasting time on Europeans and misjudging the value of UNIP's emphasis on nonracialism, attempts to reassure the civil service, etc. On a visit to Northern Rhodesia following the election, it was easy to sense the slump in race relations. The price will be paid in such specifics as faster Africanization of the civil service, a harder line in relationships with Southern Rhodesia, greater pressure against the Federation, etc.

One lesson that should be learned from the election is that, whereas ideally a constitution reflects the best in the society it serves, it is too much to expect a constitution to remake a society.

What Next?

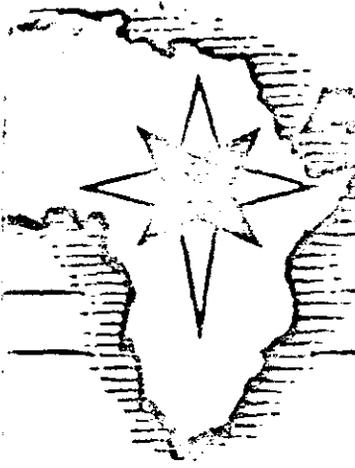
Although the new constitution has become an instrument for tremendous advance in African participation in Government, it does not change the basic constitutional status of Northern Rhodesia. The Governor, now Sir Evelyn Hone, continues to be the source of all executive authority. One of the Governor's many powers is the right to appoint any number of members of the Legislative Council, although he would not normally be expected to appoint more than one or two.

The Legislative Council will be made up of the 34 members elected October 30th, plus those elected December 10th, plus six civil servants holding certain official posts, plus any additional nominees of the Governor.

The ANC is in a strong bargaining position in relation to the UFP and UNIP, as a coalition with either party would give a majority of the elected members. This deal has now been made with UNIP, and it is presumed the Governor will ask the UNIP-ANC coalition to form a Government soon after the December 10th elections.

It is an uneasy coalition, not because of basic policy differences between the parties but because of mistrust of personalities on both sides. However, ANC power will largely end with the formation of the Government as there are apt to be, and can be at any time necessary, sufficient official members and nominated members to maintain the Government with UNIP Legislative Council votes alone, even if ANC should later on choose to vote with the UFP.

It is most unlikely, however, that Northern Rhodesia can gain a respite from pressure for more constitutional change, no matter how stable the Government. Both UNIP and ANC are committed to immediate constitutional advance to transfer power from the Governor to a parliament, to broaden the franchise, and to establish a legislature reflecting more accurately the more than 30-1 African-European population ratio.



AFSC AFRICA REPORT

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

From Lyle Tatum, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia September 1962

Vol. III, No. 10

NOT FOR QUOTATION OR GENERAL CIRCULATION

CENTRAL AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS APPROACH POLITICAL CLIMAX

The last months of 1962 will see political changes in Central Africa which will make irreversible the march toward African rule in the very near future. In different ways the three Territorial Governments of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are moving toward political climaxes which have been gathering force but have been successfully delayed for years.

The roles of the British Government and the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland continue to be important in this process, but each step forward in African political advancement removes a bit more of the influence of these two Governments. This removal of influence and responsibility is welcomed by the British but bitterly resented by Federal officials. The extent to which these two non-territorial forces will go to maintain their diametrically opposed interests remains the greatest unknown in a fluid political situation heavy with potential violence.

Crisis Mounts in Southern Rhodesia

With a deadlocked political problem, mounting violence, tough security legislation and a stagnating economy, Southern Rhodesia faces a real crisis. As even Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister, admitted in a speech a few days ago, "the next four or five years are going to be hard" and "Rhodesians will get little sympathy from the rest of the world in the next few years." (as reported in the Rhodesia Herald, September 12, 1962)

Sir Edgar meant, of course, that white Rhodesians will get little sympathy. This endemic slip of the tongue by local white politicians, referring to the less than 7% of the population which is white as "the Rhodesians" or "the people of Southern Rhodesia," is part of the local problem. Sir Edgar definitely feels that the black nationalist Rhodesians get far too much sympathy from the United Nations, independent African states, Britain, and the United States.

Although it is easy to lose patience with the more reactionary white Rhodesians, the vast majority of them are deserving of sympathy from the rest of the world. They are caught in a web of circumstances from which there is no easy way out. Their fears of both physical violence and financial loss are real and based on events in other parts of Africa. They are neither devils nor saints. Many of them have contributed to their own predicament and share the human failing of wishing to escape the consequences of their own acts. Many have made tremendous contributions to the African community, particularly in the fields of education, health, and economic advancement. The problems of white Rhodesians deserve to be viewed with sympathy, even when it seems necessary to be critical of local political and social policies.

Deadlock Continues

The deadlock on constitutional advancement for Southern Rhodesia continues. The election which will put the new constitution into effect was originally scheduled for October but has now been postponed until some indefinite time next year, perhaps March. This constitution, giving Africans the possibility of about 17 seats in a parliament of 65 members, was drawn up at a conference with representatives of four local political parties and the British Government. The Dominion Party (right-wing), now a part of the Rhodesian Front, never approved the constitution. The National Democratic Party (African nationalist), now the Zimbabwe African People's Union, first accepted some parts of the plan but then rejected it completely. The Central Africa Party (liberal) accepted the constitution, but has now rejected it because they feel that new security legislation violates the spirit of the constitutional agreement. This leaves the United Federal Party, the party in power, as the only local participant in the conference which still supports the new constitution.

Last month, in an unprecedented move, church leaders, including the Roman Catholic Archbishop as well as Protestants, made a public call for a conference of political leaders to reconsider constitutional advance and other problems facing Southern Rhodesia. The public request was followed by one public meeting, large newspaper advertisements, and a mailing requesting support from numerous organizations. There was little public response.

The Prime Minister responded, with an air of injured innocence, that the church leaders didn't need to make such a public declaration, and that he would be glad to talk to them or anyone else anytime. He followed up with a forthright statement in Parliament that there was no possibility of any change in the constitution before its implementation by the election.

ZAPU replied that they were willing to sit in on a new constitutional conference if it were chaired by a representative of the British Government and if they could attend as equals with the "minority control" Southern Rhodesian Government.

Meanwhile, ZAPU declares that they will make it impossible for the new constitution to be implemented. They have successfully frustrated the Government's effort to enroll a large number of African voters. (There are about 10,000 Africans now on the rolls out of a Government estimated potential of 70,000. There were better than 4,000 on the old roll.) They have not disclosed the means they intend to use to keep the constitution from going into effect. Although ZAPU could cause a great deal of trouble, it is unlikely they could prevent a determined Southern Rhodesian Government from holding an election.

Violence Mounts

In the context of ZAPU opposition to the new constitution and increasing frustration within the African community, Southern Rhodesia is facing a rash of widespread violence. There were far more incidents of violence in the month of August than in any previous month, and the tempo of incidents has speeded up during the first half of September.

There have been a number of cases of arson, mostly minor and largely confined to African areas, unsuccessful attempts at derailing trains and dynamiting bridges, stonings, roadblocks, cutting of telephone cables, etc. The more serious attempts, such as the dynamiting, have been carried out in an inept way and have been largely unsuccessful. The incidents are in both urban and rural areas.

It is remarkable that in so many incidents there has been so little loss of life

and property. One African was killed by police gunfire in a riot a few days ago, and there have been a couple of Africans killed in apparently politically inspired murders. A few Africans have been injured in the course of petrol bomb attacks on their homes. The most extensive property damage was a \$25,000 fire.

Who is responsible for the violence? Although ZAPU gets a great deal of the blame, they deny all responsibility. It is possible that these events stimulate one another among more irresponsible members of the African community. There is no evidence of centralized planning or pattern of method. Some of the violence is obviously related to a split in the African labor movement, some directed against Africans who are police reservists or members of the UFP, some without any obvious motivation.

Three organizations of unknown size and composition have secretly distributed leaflets in urban African townships. These have called themselves the Zimbabwe Liberation Army, Zimbabwe Liberation Front and the Zimbabwe African Ru Klux Klan. (Zimbabwe is the current African name for Southern Rhodesia. Northern Rhodesia is Zambia, and Nyasaland is Malawi.) This Zimbabwe trio has attacked ZAPU as being too moderate. It also promises more violence in the fight to "liberate" Zimbabwe. The "trio" appears to have a common source as yet undecided what to call itself.

Government response to increased and more violent opposition has been to tighten up existing security legislation and to introduce more stringent laws. The main additions to the security legislation give the Government wide powers to control the movement about the country of suspect individuals and prevent the regrouping of a banned organization into a new organization with the same leadership.

The African National Congress was banned and became the National Democratic Party which was banned and became ZAPU, all with practically the same leadership. It is expected that ZAPU will be banned soon.* The New York Times (August 22nd) and Time Magazine (Atlantic Edition, September 7th) erroneously reported that if ZAPU were banned this legislation would prevent the legal formation of a new African nationalist movement. These reports were based on early versions of the law, but as it was finally enacted it is only duplicate or similar leadership which is outlawed, not duplicate or similar aims and policies. The Southern Rhodesian Government would welcome a widely supported nationalist party willing to contest the election. There will be no such party under this constitution.

(Those persons interested in a more thorough examination of Southern Rhodesian security legislation should see the addendum to this report.)

Positive Action Taken

The Southern Rhodesian Government continues to move in the direction of its declared policy of eliminating all racial discrimination. By concurrent action in the Federal Assembly and the Southern Rhodesian Parliament it is now possible for the first time for private schools to offer integrated education to Africans and Europeans.

In a sweeping administrative change, the groundwork has been laid to abolish the Native Affairs Department and carry out Government administration on a nonracial basis.

There have been more amendments to the Land Apportionment Act to enable

*Since writing this report, Lyle Tates has called that ZAPU was banned on Sept. 26.

commercial areas to become nonracial. More than a million acres of rural land is in the process of becoming or has become open to settlement on a nonracial basis.

In spite of considerable progress in the elimination of discrimination, Sir Patrick Dean's statement at the United Nations that the Southern Rhodesian Government has removed "virtually all those features which discriminate unfairly against Africans" can not in all charity be called anything other than a gross overstatement. More than 8,000 Africans were arrested the first six months of this year for not carrying proper identification certificates, while Europeans are not required to carry identification of any kind. Public education is completely segregated and vastly different in availability and per pupil expenditure. Permits are needed to go into many municipal African townships, and municipalities have only such authority as given them by the Government. Trade union legislation provides for racially segregated branches and devalued votes based on skill, which is really a reflection of race. Most of Southern Rhodesia is still divided into African and non-African areas by the Land Apportionment Act. There is racial discrimination in the police force in status, uniforms, etc. The list could be extended. The point is that the Southern Rhodesian Government deserves credit which it often doesn't get for advance on this front, but it and the British Government often damage the case by claiming far more than has actually been accomplished.

Welcome as are changes toward a nonracial society, it must be kept in mind that the complete elimination of racial injustice on the legal and social front would not solve Southern Rhodesia's problems. The African drive is for the takeover of political power.

Northern Rhodesia is Campaigning

Northern Rhodesia is in the midst of an election campaign to implement a new constitution which all parties dislike but with which all are cooperating. The election has been set for October 31st. 1961

Because of the complexities of the constitution (See Africa Report Vol. III, No. 6), the outcome of the election is uncertain. The race is between the United National Independence Party, the larger of two African nationalist parties, and the United Federal Party. UNIP will probably pull through without a clear-cut majority but with the most seats. Irrespective of the outcome, this election marks the point at which Africans become a majority in the Legislative Council, even though they will be divided among the various political parties.

The British will be faced with demands for a new constitution soon after the election. The pressure will be applied by the Africans, whether it be from the vantage point of a stable African-led Government or in the context of political instability with a UFP-led Government. Northern Rhodesian Africans are in no mood to wait for a more representative government inasmuch as they see Nyasaland Africans moving rapidly ahead in the acquisition of political power.

Although sporadic incidents of unrest continue to occur in Northern Rhodesia, the atmosphere seems much healthier than during the past year of constitutional negotiations. The prospect for a peaceful election looks good. If there is to be additional difficulty in Northern Rhodesia, it will be subsequent to the election.

Advance Set for Nyasaland

In August Nyasaland passed the first anniversary of the inauguration of the Malawi Congress Party Government led by Dr. Banda. In many ways it was a most

successful year, with even the uneasy, reactionary white opposition somewhat mollified. Malawi ministers gained widespread respect for their hard work and devotion to duty. There was close cooperation between the Governor and the ministers. Development plans were worked through, including great increases in educational opportunities. Plans were implemented for placing more responsibility at the local level for things such as roads and schools. A system of direct election to district councils for local government functions is now in operation. Agricultural policy is one of persuasion rather than coercion. An impressive international symposium on economic development was organized and led by Danduza Chisiza, the Parliamentary Secretary for the Ministry of Finance. (It was a severe blow to all of the people of Nyasaland when Mr. Chisiza was killed in an automobile crash a few days ago.)

Nyasaland is dominated completely by the Malawi Congress Party, with Dr. Banda in undisputed charge of the party. There is little tolerance of opposition, although the United Federal Party still functions and a small African opposition party struggles along. There has been some Malawi opposition in the labor movement. This centralized power disturbs some Europeans, but Nyasaland is more than 300-1 African, and there is no question about Dr. Banda's massive support from Africans. What looks like loss of freedom to some Europeans is seen as the coming of freedom to most Nyasaland Africans.

There is no slackening of Malawi opposition to Federation. Visitors to the Federation under Federal Government sponsorship are boycotted by Malawi officials and often don't bother to go to Nyasaland. Letters from Federal officers to Malawi Government offices are apt to be cheerfully deposited in the most convenient wastebasket. Federal schemes for development are turned down. Nyasaland students have been recalled from Southern Rhodesian institutions and from the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury and sent elsewhere for education. However, Federal functions such as post offices, health services, and non-African education continue to operate unmolested.

A new conference on constitutional advance for Nyasaland is scheduled for November. It looks as if the British have promised Dr. Banda that, in return for not rocking the boat until after the Northern Rhodesian election, they will permit substantial progress at that time toward his goal of an independent Nyasaland outside of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Federation of Rhodesia & Nyasaland is in Trouble

The Federation has just passed, or is just approaching, its ninth birthday according to which date you consider its anniversary. (The Order in Council establishing the Federation was made August 1st, 1953. The first Governor-General assumed office September 4th, and the first Federal Assembly was elected December 15th.) Whichever date is the ninth anniversary, it is unlikely that the Federation will celebrate a tenth anniversary.

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, and some other Federal Government leaders, take violent exception to this opinion, but it is widely held, even among UFP leaders in Southern Rhodesia, and it is only among whites in Southern Rhodesia that the Federation has any sizeable group of supporters.

In Nyasaland opposition to the Federation is almost 100%. In Northern Rhodesia the UFP is the only party committed to Federation, so the October election will show the electorate of Northern Rhodesia (about 120,000 people) to be against Federation by a large majority. Those without a vote in Northern Rhodesia would certainly line up with one or the other of the African nationalist parties -- both of them being

against Northern Rhodesia remaining in the Federation.

Although the majority of Southern Rhodesian whites would favor continuing the Federation under the status quo, their sentiment seems clearly against being in a Federation with two African-dominated Territories. Therefore, support for Federation in Southern Rhodesia is apt to be severely weakened by the Northern Rhodesian election.

An abortive Federal review conference, which was started and then adjourned nearly two years ago, is supposed to be resumed around the end of the year. Advisors to the British Government are again touring the Federation for information, but it seems unlikely they can find anything new to report. They are specially charged with assessing the economic impact on Nyasaland of its leaving the Federation, an item of hardly more than academic interest to the Malawi Congress Party.

Although Nyasaland is usually held up as the Territory which needs the economic aid of the Federation, Southern Rhodesia is the Territory which will suffer the greatest economic loss. Markets for the industries concentrated in Southern Rhodesia will be smaller; there will be a great loss from the reassignment or discharge of Federal civil servants concentrated in Salisbury; Federal Government activities, which cause economic stimulus, will be ended; mining companies will transfer personnel from Salisbury to Lusaka and so on. Economic difficulties will further aggravate the political problems.

Not even the African leaders most antagonistic to this Federation are opposed to the federal idea, but this Federation was imposed over African objections, and those objections have never been overcome. It is doubtful now if any action of constitutional review could save the Federation, even giving an African majority in the Federal Assembly, a step which whites are not willing to take anyway.

Some white Rhodesians are hoping that Nyasaland may go and political links be kept with Northern Rhodesia. This, too, is an idle dream. Northern Rhodesian Africans are going to be calling the tune for their Territory, and they will not link up with a white controlled Southern Rhodesia. Even the public airing of this idea has caused UNIP to take a much tougher line on cooperation with Southern Rhodesia. The British will surely not impose a second affiliation unacceptable to Africans.

Those Federal leaders intent on maintaining white control, some for good reasons and some for bad, will have to retreat to Southern Rhodesia if they wish to remain in Central Africa. "Western standards" can be maintained in Southern Rhodesia for a little longer.

APPENDIX

Security Legislation in Southern Rhodesia

The Unlawful Organizations Act came into effect in 1959. It provides for the banning of organizations which,

- "(i) are likely to endanger public safety, to disturb or interfere with public order, or to prejudice the tranquillity or security of the Colony; or
- "(ii) are dangerous or prejudicial to peace, good order or constitutional government; or
- "(iii) are likely to raise disaffection among the inhabitants of the Colony or to promote feelings of ill will or hostility between or within different races of the population in the Colony; . . ."

There are penalties of up to five years in prison for violations of the law by membership in an unlawful organization, contributing to or soliciting for such an organization, etc.

Under this Act both the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia and the National Democratic Party, as well as a number of organizations based outside of the Territory, were declared unlawful, i.e. "banned," a popular term not used in the Act.

The new amendment to this Act provides that an organization may be declared unlawful if it

- "(a) is the parent organization of an unlawful organization; or
- (b) is derived from the same parent organization as an unlawful organization; or
- (c) is the successor of an unlawful organization; or
- (d) is composed substantially though not necessarily predominantly of, or directed or controlled, directly or indirectly, by, persons who have been or are officebearers or officers of an unlawful organization; . . ."

The amendment is not retroactive. ZAPU cannot be declared unlawful because of being a successor to the NDP.

Law and Order (Maintenance) Act

The basic security law is the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act of 1960. (For a summary of this law see the addendum to Africa Reports Vol. II, No. 3.) The first conviction under this law was in January of 1961. Between that time and August of this year there were 975 convictions for violations of the Act. Except for one European, those convicted were Africans.

The Act has been used extensively for banning and regulating political meetings.

September 8th was the effective date for a 21 page amendment to the original 35 page Act. In spite of its length, a great deal of the amendment was a matter of tightening up the wording of the original measure. For example, Section 39(2)d of the Act provides a penalty of five years in prison for "any person who utters or by means of a recording apparatus plays any subversive statement in the hearing of any other person;"

An amendment now allows recorded subversive statements to be played in the hearing of another person "in the course of the investigation of an offence or of proceedings in a court of law."

The most extensive new powers under the amendment are in relation to the movements of suspect individuals. If at any time the Minister responsible for administration of the Act "considers that for the purpose of maintaining law and order it

any part of the Colony it is desirable to do so," he may make an order against any person preventing him from entering any area of the Colony, or preventing him from leaving any area of the Colony, or "requiring the person named in the order to notify his movements in such a manner, at such times, to such authorities and during such period, not exceeding three months, as may be specified in the order." (I'm not clear as to whether "notify his movements" is just legal jargon or will need clarification in a future amendment.)

No order under this section (44A) may be for longer than three months, but there is no prohibition against successive orders. There is no appeal to a court, although representations may be made to the Minister for exceptions to the order or changes in the order.

If a person has been convicted of an offense under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act or the Unlawful Organizations Act or under the common law under certain circumstances of public disorder and sentenced to pay a fine exceeding 25 pounds (\$70) or to be imprisoned for a period exceeding three months, the Minister may then issue such orders at any time, to be effective for a maximum of five years, or may order that "the person named in the order shall not convene, attend or address any public gathering in the Colony" with a five year time limit.

The new amendment continues the practice of assuming the accused to be guilty until proved otherwise in many of the crimes set forth. One such section attempts to spell out intimidation and provides up to ten years in prison for "any person who, without lawful excuse, the proof whereof lies on him -

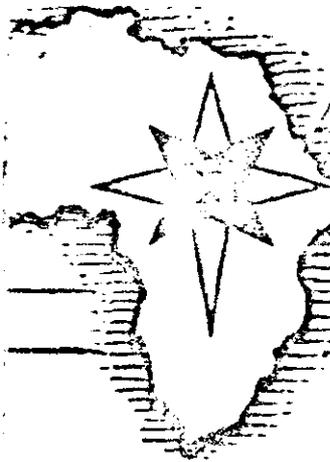
"(a) watches or besets any premises or place or the approaches to any such premises or place;

"(b) persistently follows some other person about from place to place;
. . . etc."

A section making it a crime to have any "offensive weapon" or "offensive material" in any public place has now been amended so that a person can get a ten year prison sentence if he has such things "in his possession or in or upon any premises occupied by him." Among items listed as offensive weapons or materials are "any stone," wire cutters, and acids. Again, the defendant must have "lawful authority or reasonable excuse, the proof whereof shall lie on him." Taken at its face value, this means that possession of a tool kit in the car, a bottle of vinegar in the cupboard, or a stone in the garden is prima facie evidence of criminal intent.

The original law provided penalties for throwing at vehicles or blocking roads. An addition to this section states, "Any person who throws or propels or prepares to throw or propel any article or thing likely to cause damage or injury, at any building or structure shall be guilty of an offence and liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years."

The original law provided penalties up to seven years imprisonment for the publication or reproduction of false statements likely to cause "fear, alarm or dependency among the public or to disturb the public peace" unless the defendant "satisfies the court that before such publication he took reasonable measures to verify the accuracy thereof." An amendment now adds that the making of any such statement is a crime as well as to publish or reproduce such statements. The amendment is without qualification as to whether the statement is made in public or private, to a single person or a group, or as to the intent of the person making the statement.



AFC AFRICA REPORT

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

From Walter Martin, Nairobi, Kenya Oct., 1962 Vol. III, No. 11

NOT FOR QUOTATION OR GENERAL CIRCULATION

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN KENYA*

Kenya is a perplexing country. Time after time in the past few years it has seemed like a ship in a very rough sea. Waves, in terms of national difficulties, have borne down on this ship of state on its journey to independence, each one seeming as if to crush it completely. Yet somehow the ship contrives to rise atop the crest -- only to find another wave waiting on the other side.

Employer-Employee Relations

As I wrote the last report in June, industrial unrest was the order of the day and the threat of a general strike hung heavily over the country. The plantation workers were on strike over the issue of a separate union for coffee workers. The Kenya Federation of Labour had proposed calling a general strike if this demand were not met. There were other workers on strike in the printing, motor, food, banking, brewing industries and in local government.

The fact that this most turbulent period of industrial unrest in Kenya's history occurred soon after Tom Mboya moved from the post of K.F.L. General Secretary to that of Labour Minister, and Peter Kibisu, recently returned from a period of study at Harvard University, had taken over from him in the K.F.L., caused a great deal of speculation as to its origin. The feeling was widespread (a) that this was an attempt by Mboya's political enemies to embarrass the new minister and undermine his strong political position, (b) that communist influences were at work to wreck the Kenya Federation of Labour which is a staunch member of the western International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. There is probably some truth in both of these allegations, though the degree to which they are true is extremely difficult to assess. But acceptance of these claims should not blind one to the fact that there has been a growing dissatisfaction amongst workers over their low wages.

Both Peter Kibisu and Tom Mboya came out of these trials extremely well. By the end of June all of the strikes had been settled, in the main through the extraordinary ability of Mboya as a peace maker. At the end of it all Mboya announced that he was calling a joint meeting of representatives of the Kenya Federation of Labour and of the Federation of Kenya Employers to "throw out a Charter for Industrial Peace." "We are approaching independence," said Mboya, "in a semi, if not wholly bankrupt state and peace in industry is vital if the economy is not to collapse completely."

A few days ago the fruits of these joint meetings were published in the form of an Industrial Charter to which both K.F.L. and F.K.E. set their signatures on behalf of their affiliates. Stressing the great need for such an agreement between labour

*This follows on the report by Walter J. Martin entitled "Kenya Politics - June 1962," dated 22nd June, 1962.

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and employers, Mboya explained that up to the end of August this year Kenya had lost 322,000 man-days of production as a result of 278 strikes involving 78,000 workers.

But between the reaching of agreement over strike issues in June and the signing in mid-September of the Industrial Charter, Kenya suffered yet another strike -- this time a nation wide one which affected virtually all African teachers, plus a few Asians and Europeans who are in membership of the Kenya National Union of Teachers. The strike, called on eight counts, including the claim for a basic salary of £20 per month (at that time it was about £10 per month), a free pension scheme and a unified teachers' employment service, involved between 15,000 and 20,000 teachers for a three week period. The teachers reluctantly accepted a compromise of about half their original demands, which means a general increase in salary of between 7½% and 12%, although some will benefit by as much as 20%.

The Financial Position

In the course of negotiating with the teachers the government made a significant statement on Kenya's general financial position:-

"The whole question of the teacher's strike must be considered against the background of the Government's overall financial position and of the further burdens which the government will have to assume on Independence when grant-in-aid will not be available towards meeting normal recurrent expenditure.

"The deficit of the present 1962/63 budget is some £2,500,000, part of which relates to special items such as food and famine relief. The basic deficit on Kenya's normal recurrent expenditure -- now covered by grant-in-aid -- is £600,000, assuming that the 1962/63 revenue estimates will be achieved -- which, on the basis of receipts in the first two months of the year, will not be the case.

"With the national income not rising, revenue at existing rates of taxation is more likely to fall than to rise. The Government is facing a prospective deficit on normal recurrent expenditure to be met from local resources in 1963 of some £3,000,000, and a much greater figure in the following year..."

Security

Yet in spite of the major events, both negative and positive, occurring in the industrial field and in spite of this sobering statement of our economic position, it was the security position which has been uppermost in many people's minds during the last few months.

Although the Mau Mau emergency ended officially in 1958, there have been a number of cases of "illegal" oathing brought to the courts in the last few years. In 1960 a new subversive organization, the Land Freedom Army, was brought to the notice of the Kenya public. Some 75 people believed to be connected with the LFA were arrested at that time, but in spite of efforts by the security forces the organisation did not die.

At the end of July a new rash of oathing broke out in the Kiambu forest area, within a few miles of Nairobi. The oaths, often administered to innocent people against their will, bound the takers to secrecy, on fear of death, with regards to the activities of the LFA; to steal firearms and to take part in general anti-government activities.

Apparently since the end of August a non-stop campaign against the LFA has been proceeding. During this period there have been frequent reports of the capture of home-made guns and the arrest of LFA suspects. Some 100 or so people have been sentenced for illegal oathing and another sixty convicted on charges of being in illegal possession of 250 arms and 480 rounds of ammunition. The areas affected include those of Nakuru, Molo, Kericho and Kiambu. Many of the gun-cache discoveries and arrests have been made on European owned farms and this has caused some African leaders to suggest that Europeans have been bribing their farm hands to take oaths and make guns. These allegations are being investigated by the Ministry of Defence, but in the meantime they have undoubtedly caused a worsening in race relations.

In a Legislative Council debate a few days ago, the acting Minister for Defence talked of successful action against LFA, but stressed "We are not out of the wood yet." He went on to say that although the LFA was pretty well confined to the Kikuyu tribe, only a small minority of that tribe were involved.

One can go a long way to explaining Mau Mau in terms of a nationalist movement struggling against a colonial power, of land hunger, of social discrimination and of inter clan feuding, but it is by no means easy to understand this new movement except in terms used by the acting Minister of Defence that its membership is recruited "from the fanatics of the 1950's who do not understand that times have changed, the thugs and criminals, from the unemployed and the incurably tribalist."

It has been gratifying to note that almost every African leader, including Jomo Kenyatta, has roundly condemned oathing and gun-making.

Constitutional Progress

Only a week before he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and handed over the Colonial Office to Duncan Sandys, Reginald Maudling spent five days in Kenya in July to review the progress made by the two major parties, KANU and KADU, in solving the details of the outstanding problems in the new draft constitution. He was obviously not content with the progress that had been made for he announced that in view of the lack of agreement, he intended imposing solutions concerning central-regional government powers in the following spheres:- education, health, labour, the public service and the special position of Nairobi.

Elections will not be held until 1963, most probably in March. This is a big disappointment to many -- not only Africans -- who feel that this continued hiatus is creating an extremely unhealthy situation. A big share of the responsibility for this delay must surely rest with the British Government. *The third and fourth (the Regional Boundaries and Constituencies) commissions of the five agreed on at Lancaster House were appointed four months after the completion of the conference and the fifth two months later! The feeling that this is part of a deliberate stalling process on the part of H.M.G. is widespread, particularly in KANU circles.

Land Resettlement

Reginald Maudling also announced the welcome news that H.M.G. is prepared to finance the purchase of 1,000,000 acres of land in the Scheduled Areas (former White Highlands) for African re-settlement. This constitutes about one third of the land farmed by Europeans and the scheme will cost about £15,000,000. About 200,000 acres a year for five years will be taken over. At the end of five years the situation

*See June Report.

will be reviewed and perhaps an extension of the scheme contemplated.

At the beginning of October the Minister for Land Settlement announced his Ministry's plans for the next five years under this scheme. By the middle of 1963 some 200,000 acres will have been purchased for settlement. All of the 1,000,000 acres will be given over to high-density farming schemes involving the sub-division of plots into an average of 16 acres each. It is accepted that this will result in a set-back to the economy, but the case of the landless and their consequent threat to security has been given precedence. Two large areas near Nakuru and Kitale are being set aside for permanent large scale farming as a "sort of insurance policy against a drop in agricultural production as African re-settlement gets under way."

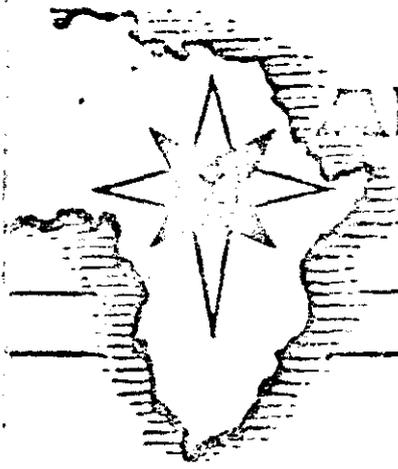
There is, however, a considerable amount of speculation as to whether this emphasis on helping the landless as opposed to maintaining economic production will be maintained throughout the five year period.

In addition to these small farm schemes the Kenya Government is assisting about 120 Africans to buy farms totalling 45,361 acres.

There have been other signs of positive progress during the past few months. The most significant of these was the five day convention in Nairobi entitled "The Kenya We Want." It was primarily the brain-child of Dr. Julius Njoro, the present Parliamentary Secretary to Jomo Kenyatta. It was sponsored by leading citizens of all races from the fields of commerce and industry and government. It received in the initial stages the blessing of both KANU and KADU, and an impressive list of speakers, in the main from Kenya was drawn up. It had ambitious ideas of producing a blue-print for Kenya's economic and social development and indeed a great deal of work was put into the Committee sessions and since then groups have been working on the follow-up.

Unfortunately KADU withdrew its official support from the convention a few days before it began. Nevertheless, a number of KADU supporters participated and at least one KADU Legco member addressed a plenary session.

It is not easy to assess the significance of such a conference in terms of the validity of the plans and ideas it produces, although even these may prove to be of considerable significance. But no one can doubt its being a clear demonstration of the ability of people from various races, tribes and political parties to think and work together constructively on important national issues. Kenya needs more of this kind of activity and of the spirit which pervaded it.



AFSC AFRICA REPORT

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

From Paul B. Johnson, Geneva, Switzerland

December 1962

Vol. III, No. 14

NOT FOR QUOTATION OR GENERAL CIRCULATION

A VISITOR'S VIEW OF WEST AFRICA

Many intelligent and world-minded West Africans are hurt by what seems to them the quite inexplicable lack of American interest in French-speaking Africa. Over the past few months I have visited 17 West African countries, 12 of which are French speaking. Most Americans know the names of the two larger English-speaking countries, Nigeria and Ghana, and some could even add Sierra Leone and Liberia; very few, however, could name the countries freed from French colonial status in 1958 and 1959 which reached full independence in 1960 and 1961.

Yet, French-speaking Africa is almost five times as large as the English-speaking area and has, according to 1960 population estimates, 30 million people, as compared with the 44 million in the English-speaking area.

It is true that Nigeria seems to the ordinary American observer to be the single most important state in West Africa. It is the most populous and may have 50 million people by 1970. In Nigeria right now is being decided the fate of almost the last existing two-party parliamentary system of democracy, as we know it, in that part of the world. One would be unwary to predict the results of the present struggle in Nigeria, but I have a hunch that here, as in all other countries of that area, the system imported whole from European experience -- in this case complete with the Parliamentary mace and the judges' robes and wigs -- is going to give way to something new and more suitable to African conditions. We may not immediately recognize it as democracy; if we don't, we had better give it a long and careful look to see whether it or our own parochial view of proper democratic forms is, in fact, at fault.

It is equally true that Ghana makes more noise than any other country in Africa, with the exception of the Congo, which I omit for various reasons. Much of this noise relates to President Nkrumah's continuing efforts to solve the problems of tribalism in Ghana -- problems which, of course, plague to some degree each of the new states in Africa, and which draw typically different reactions from the several heads of state.

But beneath these problems in Ghana, and much less apparent to the visitor, are some fascinating experiments. Let me cite two, both in the broad field of education and social development. One is the system of "Peoples' Universities," which will employ the experience both of the Danish Folk School and of our Agricultural Extension Service in a series of institutions designed to provide brief, residential, college-level experience for adults. To be released freely by government and other employers, these people will feed back into ordinary social, government and business life a seminal influence without counterpart in any country I know of. A second Ghanaian experiment is in rural self-help. I read report after report of the field workers, all brief, published by the Ministry of Social Welfare. Many of these reported failure. They said, in effect, "This is what we tried to do. We failed here, and here, and

T.W.

here. But here we succeeded, and we learned this and that." It is the vigor, and the uncompromising, non-apologetic quality of the self-criticism that fascinates the thoughtful observer. These people are going to get somewhere.

So, I am not saying that the English-speaking countries are less significant or interesting, but rather that we Americans are palpably ignorant of the French-speaking area. It is true that, taken as a group, the French-speaking countries are much more under the influence of their former "metropole" than are the English-speaking countries. But they differ so widely among themselves that an over-all judgment is likely to be faulty in detail. Broad differences in the extent and quality of this influence may be illustrated by reference to Ivory Coast and Togo.

In Ivory Coast I was told that, taking that portion of the upper public service beginning with secondary school teachers up to and including members of the Council of Ministers, there are probably twice as many Frenchmen as Ivoiriens. This is a pretty heavy salting of metropolitan influence, though not all of these men by any means are appointed by the French government. A considerable number come, for instance, from Martinique or some other French possession, and are professionally on their own. President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast handles foreign affairs himself. There is no Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the Ministry, where I went on business, the senior official was a Frenchman, a so-called Conseiller Technique. There is no Ivoirien on duty in this Ministry above the clerical or housekeeping grades.

Togo, on the other hand, has asserted its independence by refusing the massive French administrative and financial assistance characteristic of Ivory Coast. It has few Frenchmen, and has selectively recruited outside help from several countries, including Germany and Israel, for example.

While the political influence of France varies widely, its commercial and economic dominance is striking. The two coinages of the area -- Central and West Africa -- keyed to French money and guaranteed by France, are set at an unrealistically high rate of exchange. An African franc costs two French francs. Trade and tourism are, by this monetary system and raw resource subsidies, almost preempted by France. My hotel rooms on this trip, frequently at the only decent hotel in a capital city, have cost up to \$13.50 per night. Meals are typically \$3.50 to \$4.00.

Each capital in the French-speaking countries is connected by overnight air service with Paris at least several times a week. Air connections among the several African capitals themselves are less frequent, and with the English-speaking capitals are exceedingly sparse. For example, there is air service only twice weekly from Yaoundé (Cameroun) to Conakry (Guinea). The airline distance is about 1700 miles, flying time is about 10 hours, but the trip requires three days. This is typical, not extreme.

A cable or letter from Yaoundé, Libreville, or Bangui to Freetown is sent by way of Paris. It is much faster. Even the airmail rates are rigged. It costs more to send a letter from Brazzaville to Leopoldville, three miles away across the Congo river, than it does to Paris, several thousand miles distant. The President of Togo cannot telephone from Lomé to Accra, the next capital along the coast, but he can pick up his telephone and talk with Paris in 30 seconds. Only on August 9, 1962, was the first telephone link opened over the border between Nigeria and Dahomey.

I have been impressed with a good many individuals in high government posts in French-speaking Africa: Joachim Pomy, Minister of Education in Ivory Coast; Dr. Ball Zinsou (G.D.), Minister of Foreign Affairs in Dahomey; Jean-Marie Ecoh, Minister of Education in Gambia; the President of the National Assembly of Niger, to name only a

few. These would be wise and able men in any context. To offset their personal quality and competence, however, is the sad lack of able supporting staff, the absence of a framework or tradition of vigor and competence in public service, the lack of a common tongue -- even within single countries -- which forces all public officials in this modern, swift-paced world to think and to work in a second language. One often has the feeling that these able men are lost in a sea of inefficiency and lassitude. Their staff seem entirely unrelated to events as they are. One doesn't, after a while, ask too much. An American ambassador told me he counted it a heartening result of the current U.S. Leadership Grant Program that one African public official came back from his four months in the U.S. and answered his countrymen's question: "No! There is no siesta hour in the U.S.! I have seen men who work. And we must learn to work, too, if we are to progress."

We of the West haven't always been helpful. Take these two cases in point:

In the famous de Gaulle referendum of 1958 in French Africa, Guinea was the only colonial territory to opt for freedom rather than membership in the French Community. Overnight, the stiff French reaction was to stop French assistance programs and to withdraw French personnel; it is even said -- though I cannot personally vouch for it -- that what equipment the French could not take with them was destroyed. The inevitable happened. President Sékou Touré, who came up through a tough labor movement found a ready friend in the U.S.S.R., and there emerged in Conakry the only coagulatively left-leaning state on the continent. There is a sizable Russian program of technical assistance in Guinea as a result. Guinea is the only Black African country to which a Communist airline flies a regular weekly service -- Prague to Conakry. Now after the famous snowplow story -- for which in any version whatever I do not vouch -- President Touré is said to be somewhat disenchanted and his relations with the West are said to be on the mend.

Then consider the case of the last small Portuguese enclave in Dahomey. When I saw it last summer, it consisted of a block-square overgrown park on the sea some miles from Cotonou, surrounding a burned-out mansion. The story was told to me by a responsible Western diplomat. A relic of the 17th century, this quite useless little area housed a Portuguese official and a library in which had been collected documents from the time of the earliest Portuguese visitors -- something like 1482. The date doesn't matter. This last bit of foreign property was a bit of a thorn in the side of the new-fledged Republic. Apparently Dahomey offered all sorts of settlements which the Portuguese refused. The enclave might, for instance, have been given recognized diplomatic status, or been made a consulate. No. It was Portuguese property, and nothing could be done.

After months of effort, their patience at an end, the Dahomeyan authorities set a final date for the removal of this irritating reminder of the bad old colonial days. Seeing that the Government of Dahomey meant business, on the eve of the deadline in 1961 the Portuguese resident burned the mansion, the irreplaceable library, and even his own car. He was taken to the border by Dahomeyan authorities to be expelled, and had the gall to announce that by his action the honor of Portugal had been saved.

We Americans have done nothing quite like this, but we cannot expect to be completely dissociated from the actions of our French and Portuguese friends.

Americans haven't always been helpful at home, either. I have recently visited a special friend in French-speaking Africa, a member of his country's Supreme Court. He has visited the U.S., but says he likes us anyway. Here is the story he told me as we looked over his treasured scrapbooks of the trip:

He said that it wasn't so bad in Washington, D.C. He was the guest of the French Ambassador, who took him out to supper and put him aboard the Greyhound Bus for Richmond. "I took the seat of my choice," he recalled, "and talked for a time to the friendly white man beside me. But at the border of Virginia the driver stopped and ordered me to the back with the other Blacks. They knew where to sit. But I did too. I said 'O.K.' and went back."

This was the beginning of a series of adventures for him: Richmond, Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Houston, Los Angeles. I said to my friend, the Judge, "But what about the Mississippi River? The Grand Canyon? The Painted Desert? The Golden Gate?" He was a bit vague about these. Other events seem to have been more vivid.

In Richmond, in the middle of the night, he felt cold and followed other passengers from the front of the bus to get a cup of coffee. "A Negro lady pulled at my sleeve as I got up," he said, "and whispered: 'You're crazy! You can't do that!' She was right. I couldn't." People in the back of the bus tended to carry their own warming fluids; whisky appeared from several inside pockets, and he was offered some. Humanity from any source is warming.

In New Orleans he got into a taxi, driven by a white man, and asked to be taken to Tulane University. "Tulane?" said the driver; "You must mean Dillard." But he insisted; and, after an argument, was driven there and deposited opposite the gate. "As I went in to deliver my lecture, I saw the driver sitting there, watching to see what would happen to me."

Approaching Los Angeles, he sat in the rear of the bus and played peek-a-boo through his laced fingers with a little blonde girl up the aisle, bored by the ride, whose mother refused to let her come back to see him. In the early morning, adventuring back while her mother slept, she climbed into his lap and was discovered after some time by a chastened parent, happily asleep. "But she was a nice lady," the Judge said. "At the Los Angeles depot she said, 'I can't talk to you now, but won't you come to my house for tea? Here is the address.'"

As the Judge showed me his memory-book I saw page after page of brief, signed notes from friends met all over the world: Tulane, a Quaker Seminar in Denmark, sociologists at many great American universities, and one of the daughters of Chief Justice Warren. I could feel how he treasures these contacts. He analyzes the Black-White problem objectively. "This will be solved in the U.S.," he says, "by influences from the outside. Chief among these is the shame Americans are beginning to feel as they get acquainted with the world and with ideas different from their own." Meanwhile, in one world this man sits in the lonely eminence of the Supreme Bench, deciding the major criminal and civil cases of a nation. In another world he sits in the back of a bus.

Every country in French-speaking Africa is what we would call a one-party state. That is, there is no formal opposition party as we know it. This has led us to condemn these states as undemocratic and even totalitarian. I think this is a serious mistake. It amounts to putting on political blinkers and refusing to recognize that these states are confronted with what are probably the most frightening problems ever laid before groups of human beings. A description of these problems is well beyond the scope of this paper, but I keep hearing the cry of a citizen of one of these

countries: "Look at you Westerners! You have everything. We can't afford the luxury of an opposition."

In many of these countries an effort is being made to take the opposition into organized political life, to use its skills and loyalties in the common effort. In Dahomey, for instance, the Vice President is the leader of the former opposition party, now merged with the Government party. His position is honorable and useful, though one has the impression of a certain amount of mutual discomfort. In Gabon, the chief of the opposition is Minister of Foreign Affairs. One could cite other examples.

There is another comparison here, too, which ought to interest Americans. In the original system devised by our Founding Fathers, the winner in a national election became President, while the loser, leader of the defeated party, became Vice President. Those elections were not the direct, universal democracy which we now revere, but involved the votes of only a privileged few, cast indirectly, through an Electoral College not bound to reflect the will of the voters. The system didn't work very well. Differences of political view were too strong to be contained within the structure of a functioning government. But the parallel should not escape us. In early times, Americans experimented and improvised, just as the Africans are doing now, and we would not have taken kindly to having anyone tell us what to do or how to do it.

The U.S. Government shows more concern for French Africa than do many of its citizens. Ours is the only government with a full-time ambassador and embassy staff actually resident in every new country of Black West Africa. This, of course, would not be the case if France had not fallen out with Nigeria over the atom bomb tests and had her diplomatic mission sent home. On my checklist of the countries of the area, the U.S.S.R. is represented in only six, and the other Communist countries in fewer. Even in the two newest countries, Ruanda and Burundi, independent only since July 1, 1962, U.S. missions are being opened.

Though my work in West Africa for a private American organization has no connection, expressed or implied, with the U.S. Government or with national policy, I have been for two months almost daily in and out of the American embassies in the area, and have developed a forthright respect, and in many cases affection, for the men and women who represent us there. They are typically hard working, dedicated, above all interested in the countries in which they serve and in their people. Many of them have volunteered for these posts. In one post I was told jubilantly that the U.S. wives' population had just doubled: a new U.S.I.S. officer had brought his family. It is sometimes a lonely life, for the children especially. Every one of our people must resolutely leave as much of his cultural baggage behind as he possibly can, to cut down barriers of race, of wealth, of possessions, and to help build as many bridges of understanding as he can manage.

There is one post in which, during the past year, the Deputy Chief of Mission died of assorted tropical diseases, and from which several Americans had to be evacuated by air for treatment at the U.S. Army Hospital in Frankfurt, Germany. The evacuees are all back on duty. Nobody quit.

There is another post where our ambassador does not play tennis, his favorite sport, because all the courts in town are "restricted." I don't suppose many native citizens want to play tennis, but how would it look for our ambassador to enjoy himself on the court with other foreigners, while the local people to whom we have sent him as our representative look on through the fence? I was told he is building a

court -- at his own personal expense -- where all can play.

The strictly diplomatic work of many of these posts is limited. Treaties are not concluded very often, and if anything at all is signed, it is likely to be an agreement to supply some tons of insecticides, an English teacher, a Peace Corps group, some road-scrappers, or surplus food for a famine or flood area. We have one ambassador who likes to hike. Though advanced in years, he drove to the end of the road in the mountains and walked 13 miles farther to visit the U.S. missionaries at their station.

Women are making a major contribution in our diplomatic missions in Africa. Many a diplomat's wife, beside her family and domestic duties, enlarged by all sorts of tropical problems, labors to arouse interest in the sorts of community activities so common in the U.S. and so tragically lacking here. I have a mental image of the gracious wife of one of our ambassadors, hobbling about her garden with her foot in a cast, welcoming local women and children to a movie showing. In that predominantly Muslim country this may have been the only window open on the world for these women, though they were the wives of Ministers and other high officials. We have a woman administrative officer at one of our posts, in charge of such fascinating items as transport, shipment of goods, leases on staff houses, etc. Her chief said she was doing a fine job. We have a woman economics officer at another post. I met her first some years ago at an embassy in Eastern Europe, where her eager interest in the economics and the art of that difficult area was outstanding. Now she is a volunteer in Africa, zest undiminished, interest keen. "Give me a developing area," she said; "for me the real hardship posts would be Paris, London, Geneva---." And every embassy has one or more secretaries from home: a lonesome life for many, and unsung, but without whom not much would get done.

There is a lot happening in French Africa that should be of vital interest to Americans. Let's at least give it the benefit of the doubt, as we are already giving it generous technical and financial aid, and, increasingly, human aid in the form of the Peace Corps. These countries are tackling some monumental problems.

SAC, Philadelphia

March 19, 1963

Director, FBI

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Reurlet 3/14/63, above caption.

The Bureau does not desire future issues of literature as described in relet. However, you should review any future issues of material received by you and forward issues of interest to the Bureau under the above caption.

NOTE:

SA ~~_____~~ advised that disarmament activity of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) was of no interest however, he suggested Philadelphia review future issues and submit any of interest to Bureau.

UNITED STATES () NT

Memora..... 1

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 4/11/63

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

On 3/5/63 [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past furnished to SA [redacted] a leaflet headed "American Friends Service Committee, Inc., Middle Atlantic Region, 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania," with a subtitle "Cuba Si! - Yanki Si!" by ARTHUR and HELEN BERTHOLF. This article is pro-Castro and against "our ill-considered Cuban policy." The leaflet goes on to state in part:

"Why did the United States help Batista's brutal dictatorship fight Fidel Castro? Why did it refuse in 1959 to take any interest in Cuban land reform and in plans for education, industrialization, and public health? Why have the U. S. press and radio, associated with subsidized affiliates in Latin America, reported the Cuban Revolution so dishonestly? As an example of the virulence of the attack on Cuba, within the past month we personally heard a Miami short wave radio urging 'patriotas' in Cuba to fight 'comunismo' by setting fires. A pack of matches was recommended, rather than one match or a cigarette stub. Why has our country gone to such extremes, sending saboteurs, guerrillas, and a well-equipped invasion army?The U.S. could be on better terms with Cuba if we would recognize it as an independent country that can buy, sell, and give diplomatic support where it pleases. Is that unbearable?"

The leaflet states that the BERTHOLFs are members of the Chestnut Hill Meeting (Friends), Philadelphia. They "were in Cuba from June to October 1960, traveling freely in their own car to all provinces." It also states that this leaflet was reprinted by permission of the authors and the Friends Journal as an educational service.

DIRECTOR, FBI

5/16/63

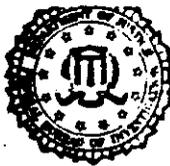
SAC, WFO

[REDACTED]
(OO:WFO)

[REDACTED]

RePHlet advised in effect that the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, indicated that the High School Seminar's plans for the spring included "April 3 - 6, Communism Today - The Image and The Reality (Washington)," and requested WFO to cover subject's activities and other activities at the seminar.

[REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] on 4/3/63, that no information was known or received regarding the above-mentioned seminar in Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-4899

JUN 7 1963

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
COMMITTEE

A source furnished on May 10, 1963, a pamphlet captioned "Search for New Directions." This pamphlet describes an American Friends Service Committee institute to be held at Camp Pinebrook located in the Pocono Mountains, north of Stroudsburg, Pa., July 14-21, 1963. This institute is described as a Quaker Approach to Conflict and will deal with the problem of how man can survive the weapons he has created - retain his humanity - become both free and secure in a world of conflicting ideologies and cold war tensions. The pamphlet goes on to state in part as follows:

"SPONSORSHIP

"This annual institute is sponsored by the Middle Atlantic Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee in cooperation with the New York Metropolitan Regional Office. ROBERT VOGEL, dean of the Institute, is executive secretary of AFSC's New York Metropolitan Region. He has traveled in Japan, Hong Kong, East Pakistan, India.

"SPEAKERS AND FACULTY

"STRINGFELLOW BARR, professor of humanities, Newark College, Rutgers University; formerly president of St. John's College and of the Foundation for World Government; author of Let's Join the Human Race, Pilgrimage of Western Man, Citizen of the World.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

James E. Bristol

"JAMES BRISTOL, AFSC's director of studies in nonviolence; formerly director of the Quaker International Center, Delhi, India; visited India this year to confer with representatives of pacifist organizations and had interviews with Indian government officials.

"HARRIS FREEMAN, professor, Cornell University's school of law; peace candidate for Congress, 1962; author of Road to Peace, Dear Mr. President: An Open Letter on Foreign Policy (with ROSE FREEMAN).

"TOYO-MASA FUSE, visiting professor in Antioch College's sociology department; a graduate of Missouri Valley College; held a Rotary scholarship for study in the U.S. (1951); was a kamikaze pilot at the age of 16.

"EDWARD KMIECIK, First Secretary, Embassy of Polish People's Republic, Washington, D. C.

Roy J. McKel

"ROY MC CORKEL, AFSC national fund raiser; formerly staff member of National Conference of Christians and Jews; formerly director for CARE in Europe, India and Pakistan; has traveled extensively throughout the world.

"FRANCIS PICKENS MILLER, special assistant in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State; vice-president, Virginia Council for Public Schools; on Central Committee of World Council of Churches; member of the boards of Freedom House and of the Southern Regional Council; author of The Giant of the Western World, The Church Against the World, The Blessings of Liberty.

"JOSEPH MONSERREAT, chief of Migration Division of Puerto Rico's Department of Labor.

"ROBERT RYAN, former chairman of SANE in Hollywood; currently star of Broadway hit 'Mr. President,' and motion picture 'Billy Budd.'

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

"SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

"These develop in each Institute, and are set up and scheduled by those involved. They can range from bird walks to problems of family life, chess to racial tensions. Also, JAMES ERISTOL will hold daily sessions on the philosophy and techniques of nonviolence. There are afternoon talks on the Quaker approach, led by WILMER and MILDRED YOUNG of Pendle Hill."

(1)

APPENDIX

Characterization of Organizations

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

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

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

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

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

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

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, May 14, 1951, contains the following information on "SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE:"

- "1. Cited as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 147.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist-front organizations 'which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South' although its 'professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.'
(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 592, June 12, 1947.)
- "3. Cited as typical of completely Communist created and controlled organizations in the civic committee field. It received money from the American People's Fund, a 'Communist financial organization.'
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 38 and 168.)"

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

July 23, 1963

Dear

Your letter of July 17th and enclosure have been received.

In response to your inquiry regarding the American Friends Service Committee, the FBI is strictly a fact-gathering agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. For this reason, I am unable to counsel you as you requested and hope you will not infer from my inability to be of aid either that we do or do not have related data in our files.

Enclosed are publications I hope you find of interest, together with the letter you forwarded.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: ~~_____~~ The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) has pacifist policies which occasionally parallel the aims of the Communist Party line; however, it has not been investigated by the Bureau, and it is a Quaker organization. One of its current activities is fostering good will between young people of various nations and for this reason, it is recently subject of citizens' inquiries.

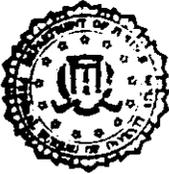
JULY
25
1 9 6 3

F.B.I.
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

Is there any record that ~~_____~~ OR
both, of the American Friends Service Committee, headquarters
office 160 N. 15th street, Philadelphia 2 renna. have any
connections or activities with the Communist party? or
are Communistically inclined, against the _____
United States government?

Best wishes,



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

AUG 28 1963

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past furnished on August 14, 1963, the following information:

The ~~Mar~~-Lu-Ridge World Affairs Camp near Jefferson, Maryland, will be held August 25 - September 1, 1963. The operation of this camp is an activity of the Middle Atlantic Region of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Headquarters at 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. The price of the camp is \$40.00 and 35 or more students from the Middle Atlantic states, Georgia, Florida, Virginia, and Michigan, plan to attend. Seven or eight resource leaders will share their experience and knowledge with those attending. Resource leaders include the following:

As a "bonus," AFSC staff and transportation will be available for anyone participating in the World Affairs Camp who wish to join the "March on Washington" on August 28th. The AFSC has previously urged participation in the "March on Washington," which they predicted will be a history making civil rights demonstration.

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

August 30, 1963

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Is the American Friends Service Committee a Communist front?

This is the "Committee" which advertised in the March 24, 1963 edition of The Worker that it was sponsoring the Fourth Annual Midwest Summer Institute at Camp Williams Bay, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, July 13 to 20. Apparently the main topic under discussion was Problems of Peace.

Thank you for your help.

Respectfully,

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DATE: 10-2-63

FROM :

SUBJECT:

○ AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
PHILADELPHIA 2, PENNSYLVANIA

BUFILES:

AFSC is a pacifist group of quakers dedicated to the abolition of nuclear arms and peaceful coexistence with Russia. This Committee, with headquarters at Philadelphia, has not been investigated by the Bureau.

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

INCORPORATED

160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

LOCAL

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus

GOLD W. BELL
Executive Secretary

September 27, 1963

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

Dear Mr. Hoover

Last April a series of incidents took place in connection with the American Friends Service Committee's High School Weekend Institute in Spokane, Washington, which are described and documented in the papers enclosed, which are:

1. A three-page memorandum from Patricia (Mrs. William) Perry of Spokane, Washington, Program Secretary of the AFSC Pacific Northwest High School Program. This memorandum gives facts and dates.
2. A one-page statement (signed by myself) of the initial response of our Board of Directors, and its effort to get in touch with Mr. Van Arsdale.
3. Exhibits sent by, and referred to by Patricia Perry:

Exhibit 1. Announcement of High School Weekend Institute, April 5-7, 1963, in Spokane

Exhibit 2. (a) Letter from Sam Van Arsdale, on stationery of Young Americans for Freedom, Inc.

(b) Reprint of Remarks of Hon. Bruce Alger of Texas (from Record of the 87th Congress, Second Session) on the Young Americans for Freedom, Inc.

(c) Copy of "Human Events" for Sept. 1, 1962, featuring "The UN: 'Biggest Fifth Column in the World.'"

Exhibit 3. Program of the High School Weekend Institute of April 5-7, 1963, in Spokane, as carried out, except for one last-minute substitution (see fourth paragraph from Patricia Perry's memorandum) of second page of Patricia Perry's memorandum.

Exhibit 4. Names and addresses of participants in Institute

Exhibit 5. Bibliography suggested to participants

Exhibit 6. Student evaluation form, and two pages of student reactions

Exhibit 7. Newsletter of Spokane Chapter of Young Americans for Freedom, Vol. I, No. 6, April 1963

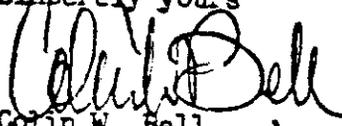
We of the American Friends Service Committee take a very grave view of this threat to free Inquiry. The fact that a private organizat

J. Edgar Hoover

September 27, 1963

- could intimidate young people by introducing the idea of the FBI has serious implications for our society, and we are resolved to proceed further with the matter.
 -) Our Board of Directors will shortly consider further steps. However, it does not want to reach a decision on what course to pursue, either private or public, before hearing your views and learning what action, if any, you might find it appropriate for the FBI to take.
- May I therefore ask you to grant me a personal interview at some convenient time in the next two or three weeks?

Sincerely yours



Colin W. Bell
Executive Secretary

October 2, 1963

Mr. Colin W. Bell
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Bell:

Your letter of September 27th and the accompanying enclosures have been received.

The FBI, being an investigative agency of the Federal Government, neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual.

In view of the foregoing, Mr. Sam Van Arsdale, East 117^{1/2} 14th Avenue, Spokane, Washington, is being contacted. He is being advised to cease and desist from using the name of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the manner noted in its communication of March 16, 1963, your exhibit 2 (a).

Due to a heavy schedule of prior commitments I will be unable to meet with you; however, you may wish to contact our representatives of our Philadelphia Office, 500 Widener Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107, if you so desire.

Your enclosures are being returned.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Colin W. Bell

NOTE: See Morrell to DeLoach memorandum of 10/2/63 captioned :
"Colin W. Bell, Executive Secretary, American Friends Service
Committee, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/3/63

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Reurlet 9/6/63.

The basis for maintaining this case in a pending status at the Philadelphia Office was that considerable agent time was spent in reviewing AFSC literature and information supplied by informants which contain items of interest regarding subjects of security investigations as well as AFSC activities of interest to the Bureau.

Since no active investigation of AFSC is being conducted, this case is being placed in a closed status. Pertinent information received, however, will continue to be furnished to the Bureau immediately upon receipt.