

# Goliath vs David: A Short History of the Fight Against Organised Peace Work

*“Hermann Göring described, during an interview at the Nuremberg Trials, how denouncing and outlawing pacifism was an important part of the Nazis' seizure of power: “The people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country.”*

*“The United States was founded with a militia tradition of citizen-soldiers.”<sup>1</sup>*

*“As the Seven Years' War stretched into 1758, an “unknown Gentleman” in Pennsylvania censured surrounding Quaker communities for failing to raise provincial “Troops in ... a Time [of] inevitable destruction.” Arguing that pacifist policies proved dangerous in times of war, the author claimed that if natives attacked the undefended colony Quakers would “be[come] accessory [sic] to the Murders of their Wives and Children.”<sup>2</sup>*

*“The basic authority of a modern state over its people resides in its war powers... On a day-to-day basis, it is represented by the institution of police, armed organizations charged expressly with dealing with “internal enemies” in a military manner. Like the conventional “external” military, the police are also substantially exempt from many civilian legal restraints on their social behaviour. In some countries, the artificial distinction between police and other military forces does not exist. On the long-term basis, a government's emergency war powers - inherent in the structure of even the most libertarian of nations - define the most significant aspect of the relation between state and citizen.”<sup>3</sup>*

*“In addition, peace movements worldwide have to face charges of being unpatriotic, of undermining the troops, even of assisting the enemy”.*

By Holger Terp, editor, The Danish Peace Academy

## Peace is Good, but Pacifism ...

This history of organized peace work begins with the people that suffered during war or were supposed to do so. But first there was the Sermon on the Mount which much later in the European middle age inspired to the creation of the historical [peace](#)

---

<sup>1</sup> [America's Military Population](#) by David R. Segal and Mady Wechsler Segal. Population Bulletin, December 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Of Pen and Sword: The Pennsylvanian Press and the Decline of Quakerism: 1740-1765. By Spencer Wells. Quoted from: Ebenezer Durham, “To the Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania,” (Philadelphia, 1758. <http://phikappaphi.byu.edu/Awards/2008/papers/Wells.SamuelSpencer.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Report from Iron Mountain: On the Possibility and Desirability of Peace. Dial Press, 1967 p 39.

churches and sects as the [Diggers](#), the [Doukhor's](#), the Quaker's<sup>4</sup> and many more. The personalities of these groups were persecuted by the church and the state, because they refused to participate in the rulers' crime: organized mass murder, also by some called war. Then came the friendly teacher [Anthony Benezet](#) and created the first peace group shortly before the American war of independence<sup>5</sup>. This is all well known history and some of the printed records hereof can be found in the bibliography [Peace in print](#).<sup>6</sup>



[Pieter van der Heyden](#): *Fight of the Money-Bags and the Coffers, c. 1558. Second state. Caption below image is in Latin, French and Dutch: Riches make thieves, or, gold and silver have destroyed many.*

<sup>4</sup> The Quaker Testimony for Peace: [Bibliographical Resources](#).

<sup>5</sup> Anthony Benezet Bibliography: [http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/b/benezet\\_a.shtml](http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/b/benezet_a.shtml)

<sup>6</sup> See also: <http://www.ppl.nl/100years/peacemovement/>

At the end of the [Napoleonic wars](#) peace groups were established in the UK and in USA: [London](#) and the [New York Peace Society](#), and soon after their troubles began according to [Devere Allen](#): *The Fight for Peace*<sup>7</sup>. “One rather naive and revelatory complaint came in [in 1836 to the [American Peace Society](#)] from the Reverend Mr. Ely ...: In my opinion, serious injury has been done to the society by placing defensive and offensive wars upon the same ground. The opinion among the people of all classes is nearly universal, that wars strictly defensive may sometimes be demanded. So far as I know, no objection is made to the course which the American Peace Society pursues. Having thus uttered *a warning against the pacifist agitators*”...

An important influence on [draft resistance](#) was [Henry Thoreau](#)'s essay on “Civil Disobedience” from 1848. Written during the [Mexican War](#), the long article was a classic analysis of the individual's duty to refuse to cooperate with immoral government policies<sup>8</sup>.

[The American Civil War](#) brought the first US national [draft](#), with both the North and the South passing conscription. During the American Civil War pacifist were persecuted from both sides. This is described in the volume: [Southern Heroes, or the Friends in War Time](#) by Fernando G. Cartland from 1895.<sup>9</sup>

### **THE [WAR DEPARTMENT](#): Extracts from the Report of [Secretary Stanton](#).**

“Anxiety was felt in some States at the probable success of disloyal practices [tending to discourage enlistments](#), and the Government was urged to adopt measures of protection by temporary restraint of those engaged in these hostile acts. To that end, Provost-Marshal were appointed in some of the States upon the nomination of their Governors, to act under the direction of the State Executive, and the writ of habeas corpus was suspended by your order. By order of the Department arrests were forbidden, unless authorized by the State Executive or by the Judge-Advocate. Some instances of unauthorized arrests have occurred, and when brought to the notice of the Department, the parties have been immediately discharged... New York Times, December 4, 1862.

---

<sup>7</sup> (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930 p. 383).

<sup>8</sup> “In the 1950s, according to Walter Harding, Senator Joseph McCarthy had overseas libraries run by the United States Information Service pull an anthology of American literature from the shelves because it included Thoreau's Civil Disobedience.”Source: <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/banned-books.html>

<sup>9</sup> See also Historical Times Encyclopedia of the Civil War <http://www.civilwarhome.com/conscientiousobjectors.htm>



Russia an expert on extremism Paul Suslonov testified: "In the leaflets by Leo Tolstoy's "A preface to instructions to a soldier" and "Instructions to an officer", which were addressed soldiers, sergeants and officers, there direct calls to form a religious hatred against the [Orthodox Church](#) according to Article 282 of the Russian Criminal Code".<sup>10</sup> ;<sup>11</sup>

## The [First World War](#)

“The greatest right in the world is the right to be wrong. If the Government or majorities think an individual is right, no one will interfere with him; but when agitators talk against the things considered holy, or when radicals criticise, or satirize the political gods, or question the justice of our laws and institutions, or pacifists talk against war, how the old inquisition awakens, and ostracism, the excommunication of the church, the prison, the wheel, the torture-chamber, the mob, are called to suppress the free expression of thought.”<sup>12</sup>

The First World War began with an international arms race that had lasted since 1870 - the first golden era of many for the [military-industrialized-media](#) complex and with the murder of the French socialist and pacifist Jean Jaurès just before the war.<sup>13</sup>

“Jaurès was a committed anti-militarist who tried to use diplomatic means to prevent what became the First World War. He opposed Émile Driant's 1913 law which implemented a three-year draft period, and tried to promote an understanding between France and Germany. As conflict became imminent, he tried to organise general strikes in France and Germany in order to force the governments to back down and negotiate. This proved difficult, however, as many Frenchmen sought revenge for their country's defeat in the [Franco-Prussian War](#) and the return of the lost Alsace-Lorraine territory. On 31 July 1914, Jaurès was assassinated in a Parisian café.” Source: Wikipedia.

## The Press Campaign Against the Pacifist Joseph Caillaux

“Joseph Caillaux (1863-1944) served as Prime Minister of France for a few months in the immediate pre-war years, but was jailed for a period at the close of the war for his radical pacifist stance... Reviled for being a pro-German pacifist, Caillaux was obliged to resign in January 1912. Charges of pacifism were reawakened in 1913 with Cail-

---

<sup>10</sup> Source: <http://www.kavkaz.org.uk/eng/content/2010/03/28/11735.shtml>

<sup>11</sup> See also: [Testimonies of Conscience sent from the Soviet Union to the War Resisters' International 1923-1929](#). Published by War Resisters' International and Peter Brock. See also Peter Brock's: *Against the Draft: Essays on Conscientious Objection from the Radical Reformation to the Second World War*.

<sup>12</sup> Source: Harry Weinberger: “The First Casualties in War,” letter to the editor, *The Evening Post*, New York City, April 10, 1917, p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> See also: Francis Feeley: *The Pacifist Tradition of French Anarchosyndicalist Teachers and their Congress in Chambéry in 1912*.

laux's opposition to an extension of conscription; once again the popular press were at the forefront of criticism levelled at Caillaux.”<sup>14</sup>

## **Feminist and Non-Feminist Women: Between Collaboration and the UK Pacifist Resistance**

The UK “[Military Service Act of 1916](#), which enforced the conscription of men between the ages of 18 to 41, marked no doubt the beginning of the second stage of feminist pacifist protest against the war though the first began together with the war, crystallising in the [International Women's Congress for Peace and Freedom](#) at The Hague (1915)”.<sup>15</sup>

### **[No-Conscription Fellowship](#), Violet Tillard**

The Fellowship was founded by A. Fenner Brockway after the outbreak of war in 1914 to organise opposition to conscription amongst men of military age. It was an explicitly pacifist organisation and its members committed themselves to 'refuse from [conscientious](#) motives to bear arms, because they consider[ed] human life too sacred'. Membership reached 10,000 at its peak, two thirds of whom were members of the Independent Labour Party; the next largest group were Quakers. After the introduction of [conscription](#) in 1916 its role expanded to include provision of information and welfare services for its members, many of whom were imprisoned during 1916-1918. The movement was wound up in November 1919 after the release of the last conscientious objectors. “During the First World War Tillard was energised into helping conscientious objectors. She was appointed Co-Treasurer of the No-Conscription Fellowship’s Maintenance Committee. However, on 23 May 1918 Tillard found herself once again in court for her agitations. She was on trial for refusing to disclose to police the name of the person who printed the March edition of the No-Conscription Fellowship News. Tillard was found guilty under the Defence of the Realm Act and was sentenced to 61 days imprisonment to be served once again at Holloway.” Source: Wikipedia.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Source: <http://www.firstworldwar.com/bio/caillaux.htm>

<sup>15</sup> [http://www.firstworldwar.com/features/womenww1\\_three.htm](http://www.firstworldwar.com/features/womenww1_three.htm)

See also: MI5 1 March 2005 releases: Cases of general interest (Archibald) Fenner Brockway MP, later Lord Brockway File ref KV 2/1917-1921

<sup>16</sup> See also: London University: Senate House Library: Catherine Playne, pacifist and historian: notes, press cuttings, pamphlets and journals rel to her research into the First World War, pacifism, censorship, propaganda and the internment of aliens in Britain 1907-24 (MS1112)

## British Conscientious Objectors Court-martialled to Death in France

“Mr. E. HARVEY asked the Prime Minister whether his attention has been called to the court-martial held at Boulogne upon Howard Marten, a member of the Society of Friends, and three other conscientious objectors to military service, at which the Court sentenced these men to [death](#) by shooting<sup>17</sup>;<sup>18</sup> whether this sentence was subsequently commuted to ten years' penal servitude by the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in France; and whether, in view of the promises given in Parliament by various members of the Government and the provisions of the Military Service Act, any steps are to be taken to prevent similar action by courts-martial in future?”

“Mr. [WHITEHOUSE](#) asked the Prime Minister, as acting Secretary of State for War, (1) whether four conscientious objectors were court-martialled in France on 2nd June and sentenced to death by shooting; whether this sentence has been commuted to ten years' penal servitude; what action he proposes to take; and (2) whether the four conscientious objectors who, on 2nd June, were sentenced to death by shooting, the sentence being commuted to ten years' penal servitude, were Howard Marten,<sup>19</sup> a member of the Society of Friends, who had previously been sentenced at Harwich to twenty-eight days' cells, a diet of bread and water, and confinement in irons; Henry Scullard, a Congregationalist and secretary of a Young Men's Christian Association; John Ring, of Barnet, who had previously suffered solitary confinement, bread and water diet, and confinement in irons; and J. Foister, of Cambridge?”<sup>20</sup>

### The Richmond Sixteen

“[Richmond Castle](#) served as a base for the Non-Combatant Corps<sup>21</sup> from 1916<sup>22</sup> and COs from across the north were sent there. These included 16 men who stuck to their pacifist principles and refused to do anything to promote or contribute to the war. [Kitchener](#), who had introduced conscription, had wanted to make an example of them by having them shot for refusing to obey orders. Just before the death sentence was due to be carried out, Kitchener died suddenly and the sentence was commuted to ten years hard labour by the Prime Minister, [Asquith](#). Arthur Rowntree, an MP for York

<sup>17</sup> British Army: courts martial in the First World War: [Death sentences](#) were passed by the British Army in courts martial between 1914 and 1924, for offences such as sleeping on duty, cowardice, desertion, murder, mutiny and treason, on  
1 over 3000 British soldiers  
1 members of Dominion, Colonial and foreign forces  
1 several British and foreign civilians.

<sup>18</sup> See also: The List of 306 Shot at Dawn: <http://www.shotatdawn.info/page59.html>

<sup>19</sup> [Howard Cruttenden Marten](#) (b. 1884), a member of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

<sup>20</sup> Source: HC Deb 26 June 1916 vol 83 cc521-8

<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1916/jun/26/conscientious-objectors>

<sup>21</sup> See: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1918/mar/06/non-combatant-corps>

<sup>22</sup> 3,400 COs accepted call-up into the [Non-Combatant Corps](#) (NCC) or the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC) as non-combatants. The NCC (the 'No-Courage Corps' as the press rudely called it) was set up in March 1916, part of the army and run by its regular officers. The COs assigned to it were army privates, wore army uniforms and were subject to army discipline, but didn't carry weapons or take part in battle. Their duties were mainly to provide physical labour (building, cleaning, loading and unloading anything except munitions) in support of the military. See also: [The Labour Corps of 1917-1918](#)

and a Quaker, had taken up the case of the Richmond Sixteen and campaigned for their release at a high level. On their return from France the Richmond Sixteen, with the other absolutist conscientious objectors, were imprisoned again in labour camps and civil prisons.”<sup>23 24</sup>

## The Death of Walter Roberts

At a labour camp at [Dyce](#), near Aberdeen, “about 200 men were forced to quarry stone while living in leaky tents with poor sanitation, little food, and no medical attention. One man, Walter Roberts, died and became the first of 73 conscientious objectors across the UK to lose their lives as a result of their treatment.”<sup>25</sup>

## Dead UK Conscientious Objectors During WW1

Allen, Peter.	Firth, H. W.	Parton, F. L.
Allen, Tom .	Gillan, P. L.	Peddieson, A.
Allen, Walter G.	Gouldsborough, H.	Phipps, H.
Barlow, A. .	Hall, Percy	Richmond, Royle A.
Battenham, F. .	Hasten, H Chesterfield	Rigg, J. A.
Benyon, H. .	Henderson, A.	Roberts, W. L.
Bone, Walter	Hirst, H. M.	Rudall, A.
Bowden, F. .	Hoad, H.	Slater, A. J.
Brentnall, A. G..	Hooper, R.	Stafford, N.
Bridle, O. S.	Horton, A. .	Stanton, W.
Brightman, H. .	Hurley, W.	Statton, -
Burns, W. E. .	Hurst, A Southwark	Swettenham, W.
Butler, A. .	Hurst, H.	Taylor, J.
Cainey, Thomas .	Jackson, Theodore	Thompson, C.
Campbell, N. A..	James, Albert L.	Todd, G.
Campbell, P.	James, H.	Wallis, B.
Cobb, C. J. .	Linscott, S. . .	Whilmore, P. A.
Crosby, Ernest .	Malcolm, W. W.	Whinnerah, G.
Dardis, G. H. .	Marriott-Dodington, S.	Wilkinson, F. .
DeUer, L. .	Martlewe, A.	Wilson, A. .
Dunbery, P.	Matchett, T. D.	Winter, J. G.
England, E.	May, W.	Woodward, E.
Eungblut, A.	Moss, -.	Zachnies, C.
Evans, J. LI. .	Mountfield, J.	
Evans, R. G.	Parkin, W. H.	

<sup>23</sup> Source: BBC.

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/york/hi/people\\_and\\_places/religion\\_and\\_ethics/newsid\\_8342000/8342995.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/york/hi/people_and_places/religion_and_ethics/newsid_8342000/8342995.stm)

<sup>24</sup> Se also: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1919/aug/13/conscientious-objectors-non-combatant>

<sup>25</sup> Paul Kelbie: Memorial honours sacrifice of conscientious objectors. The Independent, Monday, 15 May 2006.

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/memorial-honours-sacrifice-of-conscientious-objectors-478318.html>

## The Murder of the Journalist Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, Dublin 1916

He campaigned against recruitment on the outbreak of World War I and was jailed for six months.<sup>26</sup> Arrested and murdered with other innocent men by the British soldiers during the [Easter Rising](#) 1916. The “report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the killings gives a graphic account of the callousness with which Sheehy Skeffington’s widow and family were treated by the British authorities immediately after his death. Presided over by Sir John A Simon, a barrister and MP, the inquiry sat for six days at the Four Courts in Dublin during August 1916 and examined 38 witnesses. Its report, issued just a month after the hearing, described the savagery of the shooting of the three men at [Portobello Barracks](#) two days after the Rising on Easter Monday.”<sup>27</sup>

## Democracy in Wartime: Antimilitarism in England and the United States, 1914-1918

By Blanche Wiesen Cook

“During World War I both Britain and the United States, two of the oldest and most self-congratulatory democracies, experienced periods of repression which left permanent scars on their proud heritage. But in both nations organizations emerged which sought to preserve political liberty. A survey of the goals and experiences of the [American Union Against Militarism](#) and England's [Union of Democratic Control](#) reveals not only the fragile nature of democracy in wartime, but suggests also that private citizens must prepare to fight against those forces which threaten their nation's democratic institutions.”<sup>28</sup>

The following are the first three pages from a secret report from January 1918 addressed to the War Cabinet in the Whitehall in London. The rest of the report deals with labour unions. The copy of the typewritten memo in the files of the Danish Peace Academy is not declassified and it seems to be but one of many written during the war. Some of the information appeared directly in the newspapers and demonstrated the cooperation between the government, the intelligence services and the media against the pacifists.

### PACIFISM, (Report by [Mr. Basil Thomson.](#))

“The developments during the past fortnight have been unfavourable to the Pacifists. The newspaper outcry about "Boloism.”<sup>29</sup> has had the effect of hardening public opinion against

---

<sup>26</sup> There were two Irish peace groups: the Irish Peace Society and The Irish Peace Union. Source: National Library of Ireland: Collection List No. 82: Sheehy Skeffington Papers (Additional) <http://www.nli.ie/pdfs/mss%20lists/Sheehy%20Skeffington%20List%2082.pdf>

<sup>27</sup> Source: <http://www.nli.ie/1916/pdf/10.2.pdf>

<sup>28</sup> Source: <https://journals.ku.edu/index.php/amerstud/article/download/2411/2370>

<sup>29</sup> Boloism, the practice, during war, of promoting propaganda and defeatist activities favouring an enemy country.

them, and they seem to feel themselves on the defensive, and to think it necessary to deny that they are supported by Enemy funds.

A Joint Committee of the War Office and the Metropolitan Police is now sitting and the books of a number of the smaller Societies which have been seized by the Police during the last fortnight, are being examined by chartered accountants.

The following is a list of the places visited by the Police;-<sup>30</sup>

NO-CONSCRIPTION FELLOWSHIP,

5, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C. and  
4 and 5, Duke Street, Adelphi, W.C.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION.<sup>31</sup>

17, Red Lion Square, W.C.

INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE UNION

26, Victoria Street, S.W.

B. Zusman's flat at 15, St. Anne's Villas,  
Royal Crescent, W.,

and

Blackie's house at Reigate.

ARNOLD LUPTON'S premises at 7, Victoria Street, S.W.

T. KEELBY & CO. (alias Isaacson)

47 Darnley Road, Hackney,

WOMEN'S PEACE CRUSADE,

39, Doughty Street, W.C.

MISS THEODORA WILSON-WILSON

(New Crusader & Christian Peace Crusade)

10, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.

THOMAS KEELL,

127, Ossulston Street, N.W. ("Satire").

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS COMMITTEE, (City Police)

47, New Broad Street, E.C.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES,

Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.

A more detailed account of what was found will be furnished in the next fortnightly report, but it is sufficient to say here that at the premises of Mr. [Arnold Lupton](#), 150 letters and postcards from soldiers stationed in the United Kingdom, were found, and that in all the premises, specimens of pamphlets and leaflets that would almost certainly not have been passed by the [Official Press Bureau](#), were found ready for distribution.

---

<sup>30</sup> The information about the [police raid](#) on the pacifist organizations appears in the Evening Post, New Zealand, Volume XCV, Issue 15, 17 January 1918, Page 5.

<sup>31</sup> The Society was formed by about 130 people who gathered in Cambridge during the last four days of 1914." See: <http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/Heddwch/Heddychiaeth/index-e.htm>

There was evidence that these Pacifist Societies were closely inter-related, and that the names of the same persons recurred either as Subscribers or members of the Committees. So far as they have yet been examined, the accounts seem to show that the "Boloism" is home-grown.

### **PACIFIST LEAFLETS.**

The new Regulation requiring that all pamphlets and leaflets shall bear the name of the author and printer, and shall be passed by the Official Press Bureau, has now come into force, and instructions are being issued to the Police, explaining how the Regulation is to be applied. It will enable the Police to proceed against the distributors of illicit leaflets, and will also make it an offence for any of these Societies to have in their possession illicit leaflets ready for distribution. It is possible that at first we shall be flooded with typewritten leaflets, or sheets printed by a secret press, such as the cheap and portable machine, easily moved from house to house in a taxicab, which was used last year for the production of Miss [Christabel Pankhurst's "Britannia"](#). But in the long run, the Regulation is likely to do good.

There is some consternation among the Pacifists at the passing of the new Regulation. A Meeting of the Socialist Party were held at Huddersfield on the 18th November to protest against it, particularly at the requirement that pamphlets should be submitted to the Censor.

A large number of Pacifist pamphlets such as "Democracy and Peace", "Three Years of War", "An Appeal to Women", "A Reasonable Man's Peace", "Save the Children of all Nations", "Security" etc., etc., were distributed during the Salford Bye-Election. A man named Guillian was found folding these pamphlets for distribution, and said that he had been working voluntarily for the Peace Movement for eighteen months. He produced an Exemption Certificate issued by the Hale Urban District Council last May, exempting him from combatant service only. He refused to give his address, and as he had moved about without notifying the Registration Authorities, he was taken to the Police Station and charged.

### **THE INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE LEAGUE.**

The International Free Trade League calls for special notice<sup>32</sup>. It was founded quite lately by Benjamin ZUSMAN, who was born in England in 1860, of Russian parents, and who married in 1918 the daughter of the late vice-Admiral T. B. M. Sullivan, and sister of Captain E. A. Sullivan, R.K. He is a personal friend of Mr. Arnold Lupton, and a Pacifist. The "League" seems to consist of three persons, viz., Mr. R. Blackie, Mr. Arnold Lupton<sup>33</sup>, and Mr. Zusman. So far, the League appears to have done nothing but re-print and distribute 400,000 copies of Mr. H. G. Wells's "[A Reasonable Man's Peace](#)",<sup>34</sup> which is re-printed from the "Daily News"<sup>35</sup>, and which advocates allowing Germany a road to the East, and to Central Africa. This leaflet has been widely distributed.

---

<sup>32</sup> THE FREE TRADE LEAGUE; Replies to the Charges of Aiding the German Cause Made by W.E. Walling. By: KENNETH B. ELLIMAN, FRANK W. GARRISON. New York Times, August 25, 1918.

<sup>33</sup> ENGLISH PACIFIST PUNISHED: Arnold Lupton Gets Six Months for Circulating Leaflet.

"Arnold Lupton noted civil and mining engineer and former Member of Parliament, was sentenced today in Bow Street Court to six months' imprisonment for circulating a pacifist leaflet. The printer of the leaflet was fined £90." New York Times. February 17, 1918.

<sup>34</sup> This letter was presently followed up by an article in the "Daily News", entitled "A Reasonable Man's Peace." This article provoked a considerable controversy in the imperialist press, and it was reprinted as a pamphlet by a Free Trade organization, which distributed over 200,000 copies. It is particularly interesting to note, in view of what follows it, that it was attacked with great virulence in the "Evening News", the little fierce mud-throwing brother of the "Daily Mail". Wells, H. G.: In the Fourth Year Anticipations of a World Peace, 1918.

<sup>35</sup> Reprinted from the Daily News and Leader, August 14, 1917.

## LABOUR PARTY.

The Independent Labour Party has held a good many Meetings lately at 78, Hyde Road, Gorton, Manchester. Councillor H. J. Davis, lecturing on "Is Permanent Peace Possible?" declared this to be a Capitalists War, and advocated a general strike if the War went on much longer. He was asked how this policy would stop the War if the Germans did not also "down tools", and he replied that it was a question of getting the whole world to organise, and then it d only need one day to bring about Peace.

Speaking at Long Eaton, [Tom Mann](#)<sup>36</sup> declared [himself](#) to be an anti-Militarist, and demanded the repeal of the Military Service Act. He made a tour in South Wales this month, during which he delivered revolutionary speeches. At [Gwaun Cae Gurwen](#), on the 11<sup>th</sup>. November, he said that he was a revolutionary, and that there should be no law. "Law is a fraud, and the people that make it are frauds, and the place where it is made. Take no notice of the law. Why not do as you please?"

Referring to the 150 summonses issued to, the Ammanford colliers for breach contract, he said, "If they proceed against these men, and make them pay a fine, tell them not to pay. I advise you here to-night to "down tools. at once. watch developments, and I hope you will act upon my advice".

Mr. [Ramsay Macdonald](#), M.P., is expected to visit South Wales at the beginning of December, to address members of the Independent Labour Party in private. This was arranged at a private meeting at Merthyr, where it was decided that a secret meeting should be held at Merthyr on the morning of the End December, when Mr. Ramsay Maodonald would be present, and that he should address a public meeting in the evening. Gory Hall, Cardiff, has also been reserved for a private meeting be addressed by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

The Works of the [Daimler Company at Coventry](#) were recently flooded with Peace literature by some unknown person.

## THE WOMEN'S PEACE CRUSADE,

The offices of this organisation have been raided during the past fortnight, and the books are being examined. The Crusade has been very active in Lancashire, working from their headquarters at 5, John Balton Street, Manchester. The distribution of leaflets is done voluntarily by women, who used to distribute then by night, but they now call openly at houses, and on the 8th November, they were handing their leaflets to persons leaving a concert at the Free Trade Hall. I am told that Mrs. W. O. Anderson (Miss Mary McArthur) who carries great weight with women Trade Unionists, is doing much harm among young women by her Pacifist propaganda, and that she and her husband are entertaining disillusioned and discontented young Officers on leave from the Front, and are using their statements for the purpose of propoganda.

In other parts of the North, the Crusade has not been a success, and in South Wales they have not at all had matters their own way.

Mrs. Philip Snowden endeavoured to address a Meeting at Consett on the 29th October, but the Meeting broke up in disorder. She had previously addressed a Meeting at Stanley, Durham, which was also a fiasco.

---

<sup>36</sup> "In 1912 he was convicted under the [Incitement to Mutiny Act 1797](#) of publishing an article by Fred Crowsley in the [Syndicalist](#), as an '[Open Letter to British Soldiers](#)', urging them to refuse to shoot at strikers (later reprinted as a leaflet, Don't Shoot); his prison [sentence](#) was quashed after [public](#) pressure. He was opposed to Britain's involvement in the first World War on socialist and religious grounds and addressed pacifist rallies." Published in Grey River Argus, March 18th., 1912.

The set-back to Pacifism in the Provinces and in London is believed, by my informants, to be largely due to the efforts of the War Aims Committee,<sup>37</sup> and arrangements have now been made, by which the Committee shall be kept quickly informed of any movement that may come to the knowledge of [New Scotland Yard](#), in which it appears that a Meeting, either indoors or in the open air, might usefully be arranged.

## **THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE**

The second Yearly Report just issued. shows a membership of 3,576, and the subscriptions and donations have increased from £1,025 to £1,380. The expenditure last year was £1,522, and there is a balance of £533.”

## **A Challenge to Militarism Jailed**

“In May 1918, Edith Ellis and two other members of the Friends’ Service Council were prosecuted under the Defence of the Realm Act for publishing a pamphlet entitled A Challenge to Militarism without submitting it to the official censor. ‘We feel,’ said the defendants, ‘that the declaration of peace and goodwill is the duty of all Christians and ought not to be dependent upon the permission of any Government Official. We therefore intend to continue the publication of such leaflets as we feel it our duty to put forth, without submitting them to the Censor Edith Ellis served a three month sentence after refusing to pay fines of £250.’”<sup>38</sup>

## **Archibald Fenner Brockway On Bread And Water**

“Archibald Fenner Brockway (1888-1988), the journalist and politician, was vocal in his opposition to conscripted military service and acted as a prominent pacifist during the First World War, in which cause he was sent to prison.<sup>39</sup>

Brockway's editorial offices were raided by the police in 1915 and Brockway himself subsequently prosecuted on grounds of publishing seditious material, a case Brockway

---

<sup>37</sup> 1917 the propaganda bureau in Wellington House was replaced by a new Department of Information. In theory it was headed by the government minister, Sir Edward Carson. In practice it was run by the novelist, John Buchan. In 1918 this Department became part of a larger Ministry of Information headed by Lord Beaverbrook, the newspaper owner. Also in 1917, the [National War Aims Committee](#) was set up to focus on propaganda at home. This Committee worked closely with the Department of Information and with voluntary organisations like the Topical Committee for War Films. This group, and other voluntary organisations like the British Empire Union, the Fight For Right Movement and countless others, held rallies and parades or produced pamphlets or made films. Source:

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/britain1906to1918/g6/background.htm>

<sup>38</sup> Opposition to the First World War: The Fate of Conscientious Objectors in Leicester by Malcolm Elliott. [http://www.le.ac.uk/lahs/downloads/05\\_7799\\_vol77\\_Elliott.pdf](http://www.le.ac.uk/lahs/downloads/05_7799_vol77_Elliott.pdf)

<sup>39</sup> "Several months prior to the Easter week rising my husband was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for making a speech 'calculated to prejudice recruiting. He went on hunger strike, and was out after six days with a licence under the Cat and Mouse Act. Shortly after his release he went to the United States where, in February, 1916, Century Magazine published his article entitled 'A Forgotten Small Nationality.'"From MICHAEL COLLINS' OWN STORY - CHAPTER XI: THE MURDER OF FRANCIS SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON. Source:

[http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/Michael\\_Collins\\_own\\_Story/12SHEEHY\\_SKEFFINGTON.html](http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/Michael_Collins_own_Story/12SHEEHY_SKEFFINGTON.html)

won in court. Brockway nevertheless continued with his anti-war activities in the face of government opposition. Along with Clifford Allen he founded the No Conscription Fellowship, a body which provided assistance to those who were similarly inclined to refuse wartime service.

In pursuance of this policy Brockway was once again prosecuted in 1916, this time for distributing a leaflet opposing conscription. Ordered to pay a fine in consequence, Brockway and Allen adopted a defiant position. Their refusal to pay led to their incarceration in Pentonville Prison. Shortly after his release, and his refusal to be conscripted, Brockway was re-arrested and despatched this time to the Tower of London. Further harsh treatment (including bread and water punishment) ensued as Brockway continued to write and speak publicly in opposition to the government.”<sup>40</sup>

## The [Bermondsey](#) Story of Alfred Salter

As a pacifist, Alfred Salter “was a strong opponent of the First World War. On 24th September 1914 he wrote in *The Labour Leader*: "I believe that all killing is murder and is wrong". He then published a pamphlet, *Faith of a Pacifist* that sold over a million copies. It was translated into most European languages and was clandestinely distributed in Germany.

Salter joined the No-Conscription Fellowship, an organisation formed by two pacifists, Clifford Allen and Fenner Brockway. The NCF encouraged men to refuse war service and required its members to "refuse from conscientious motives to bear arms because they consider human life to be sacred." Other members included Bertrand Russell and Arthur Ponsonby.

Salter formed a Bermondsey branch of the No-Conscription Fellowship. After making several anti-war speeches the local newspaper asked: "Is Dr. Salter Pro-German?" Several of his patients sent letters to the newspaper defending their doctor. One wrote: "When my father and I were both so ill that we thought there was no hope for either of us. Dr. Salter attended us night and day, although he knew his chances of being paid were very small. There are many other poor people in Bermondsey who have cause to be grateful to him." This general affection for the doctor among the people led local editors and political opponents to refrain from the viciousness which they voiced towards other opponents of the war.. As the author of *Bermondsey Story: The Life of Alfred Salter* (1949) pointed out: "The truth was that the main feeling in Bermondsey was respect for Salter as a man and a doctor rather than as a pacifist... This general affection for the doctor among the people led local editors and political opponents to refrain from the viciousness which they voiced towards other opponents of the war.”<sup>41</sup>

## First World War Peace Movement, Glasgow

“At the beginning of the war Glasgow was the leading militant city, the major centre of mass support for the anti-war movement. John MacLean grew to be a giant by his anti-war stance. Though he was an important figure he was not alone. James Maxton

---

<sup>40</sup> Source: <http://www.firstworldwar.com/bio/brockway.htm>

<sup>41</sup> <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/PRsalterA.htm>

and his sisters were on holiday the day that war was declared and immediately decided to hold a street meeting against the war. There were many more like minded people in the City. Pro-war meetings in the city were more than likely to turn into anti-war demonstrations. Glasgow's socialists, in all their various groupings, campaigned for peace from the day war was declared and continued their efforts right up to the armistice. Among the groups involved were the ILP, the Labour and Socialist Alliance, the Women's international League, the Peace Society, the Women's Social and Political Union, and many others. But the Women's Peace Crusade was possibly the one with the largest following and in Glasgow the one with the largest working class grassroots support”.

## **John MacLean, 1879-1923 Second Prosecution and Imprisonment**

“MacLean continued to remain active at work gate meetings during the day and at public meetings in the evening. On the 1st of February 1916 he was again arrested and handed over to the Military authorities in Edinburgh Castle. Public outcry forced his release from Military to Civil authorities. He appeared in private before the Sheriff on the 14th of February and released on bail of £100, the trial set for 11th of April 1916. There were six counts in the indictment concerning statements allegedly to have been made at separate meetings during January 1916. He refused to take the oath and affirmed. He was found guilty on the first four charges, not proven on the fifth and not guilty on the sixth. The sentence was three years penal servitude. Large meetings and demonstrations for his release continued throughout his prison sentence. He was released on the 30th of June 1917 on "ticket of leave", having served 14 months and 22 days. In July 1917 he was served with call up papers, but they were immediately cancelled.

### **Sedition**

1917 saw him appointed Consul for Soviet Affairs in Great Britain. He set up a Consulate Office in 12 Portland Street Glasgow. The police raided the office on March 22nd 1918 and arrested MacLean's assistant Louis Shamus. On Monday the 13th of April 1918 they again raided the office and arrested MacLean. The charge was sedition; this was to prove one of the greatest political trials in Scottish history.<sup>42</sup>

“Despite the paucity of information, M.I.5 directed the Home Forces to widen surveillance; and their reports began to record the opinions of Quakers and Anglicans as examples of revolutionary dogma. The law-abiding octogenarian, philanthropist Joseph Rowntree of York, was smeared for marrying a German and being related to Morris, a ‘conchy’, and Arthur, a plain speaking Scarborough worthy.”<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Source: <http://www.gcu.ac.uk/radicalglasgow/chapters/johnmclean.html#Prosecution2>

<sup>43</sup> Source: [Carl Williams: The Policing of Political Belief in Great Britain 1914-1918.](#)

## **Government Conspiracy Hidden from History, the Case against the Family of Alice Wheeldon**

By John Simkin

The outbreak of the First World War caused conflict between Alice Wheeldon and the Women's Social and Political Union . Alice was a pacifist and disagreed with the WSPU's strong support for the war. Sylvia Pankhurst and Charlotte Despard established the Women's Peace Army, an organisation that demanded a negotiated peace. Alice, Hettie Wheeldon and Winnie Wheeldon, all joined this new political group. Alice and her daughters also joined the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF).

In 1915 Alice's daughter, Winnie, married Alfred Mason. The couple moved to Southampton, where Mason worked as a chemist and continued to be involved in the socialist and anti-war movement. Alice's son, William Wheeldon, was also active in the cause. On 31st August 1916, he appeared before Derby Borough Police Court charged with "wilfully obstructing police officers in the execution of their duty." The previous week he had attempted to stop the police move five conscientious objectors from the prison to the railway station. William was found guilty and sentenced to a month imprisonment.

Alice Wheeldon, John S. Clarke and Arthur McManus, established a network in Derby to help those conscientious objectors on the run or in jail..."<sup>44</sup>

### **Bertrand Russell**

Bertrand Russell was a prominent anti-war activist; he championed free trade and anti-imperialism. Russell went to prison for his pacifist activism during World War I. Later, he campaigned against Adolf Hitler, then criticised Stalinist totalitarianism, attacked the United States of America's involvement in the Vietnam War, and finally became an outspoken proponent of nuclear disarmament... During the First World War, Russell was one of a very small number of intellectuals engaged in pacifist activities, and, in 1916, he was dismissed from Trinity College following his conviction under the Defence of the Realm Act. A later conviction resulted in six months' imprisonment in [Brixton prison](#) Russell was released from prison in September 1918.

### **Bohemian Homosexuals and Pacifists, Despised and Rejected**

"I've been off to Amsterdam for a few days, during which time I managed to take a look at the archive of the publisher C.W. Daniel (at the International Institute of Social History there.) He was a Tolstoyan pacifist, and a brave and principled man. He went to prison in 1916 rather than pay a fine for publishing the pamphlet 'A Knock-out Blow', which was an appalled response to Lloyd George's determination that the British should fight to a complete victory, and never consider a negotiated settlement.

---

<sup>44</sup> Source: <http://educationforum.ipbhost.com/index.php?showtopic=14375>

He was also tried and convicted under D.O.R.A for publishing *Despised and Rejected* by 'A.T.Fitzroy' (Rose Allatini), a novel about a group of bohemian homosexuals who are also pacifists. It was prosecuted for its pacifist sentiments, but the sexual unorthodoxy played a large part in the press campaign against it, which provoked the authorities into a prosecution several months after the book's publication."<sup>45</sup>

## The Apology from the War Office

"In the Daily News of April 7, 1919, appeared an odd incongruous statement by the War Office as follows : "As a matter of fact the Army authorities themselves recognize that the lot of the conscientious objector is a hard one. They recognize that he has been the victim of ineptitude. Their view is that many hundreds of these men have been thrust into the Army whom the House of Commons never intended should become soldiers. The Tribunals, they consider, rejected the applications of hundreds of these men whose consciences were sincere, and to protect whom the conscience clause was expressly framed by the House of Commons. The Army did not want these men, and would have discharged them if it could. But the legal view taken was that having been made soldiers by Act of Parliament they could only be unmade by a similar measure, and the Government was unwilling to take that necessary step."

## Anti-War and Peace Movements in Australia

"The growing casualty lists confirmed the Australian Peace Alliance 's abhorrence of war. But it was the Commonwealth Government's mid-1915 recruitment campaign that saw the rise of anti-militarist and explicitly anti-conscription groups. The WPA was formed in July by Adela Pankhurst. The Australian Socialist Party and the Socialist [Labor Party](#), together with a small International Workers of the World group, set up an Anti-Militarist and Anti-Conscription League, with explicitly revolutionary objectives. The VSP affiliated but devoted most of its energies to the more broadly based No-Conscription Fellowship, which worked in close collaboration with the Peace Alliance to urge 'the people of Australia to resist to the utmost all attempts to foist compulsory service upon them', and called on the imperial government to declare peace terms. The closure of venues for pacifist meetings and the scapegoating of outspoken radicals and pacifists made public heroes of Adela Pankhurst, Joseph Skurrie and Fred Katz, who were defended by the new United Peace and Free Speech League. In December 1915 the Victorian Labor Party signalled its leadership of the peace

---

<sup>45</sup> Source: William Golding on War Poets and Georgians

<http://greatwarfiction.wordpress.com/2009/12/05/despised-and-rejected/>

Archives Charles William Daniel Company: 'Charles William Daniel started the C.W. Daniel Company Ltd. with the purpose of further propagating the ideas of the Russian writer; visited Tolstoj at Jasnaja Poljana in 1909; founder and editor of the magazine *The Crank* in 1904, later renamed *The Open Road*, a forum for Tolstojans, anarchists, pacifists and health food promoters; married Florence E. Worland in 1905; participated in anti-war propaganda in the First World War; condemned and imprisoned for the publication of pacifist pamphlets'. Source: <http://www.iisg.nl/archives/en/files/c/10741558full.php>

movement by agreeing to pass on a VSP-Peace Alliance call for peace terms to the prime minister. All Melbourne's pacifist groups campaigned against conscription in 1916 and 1917. <sup>46</sup>

## **Alfred Hermann Fried Accused of Treason, Austria**

“Fried was in Vienna when war broke out in 1914. Since pacifist activities there were curtailed by government censorship and intolerant public opinion, Fried shifted his organizational and journalistic work to Switzerland. He was active in efforts to ameliorate the conditions of prisoners of war and continued to publish [Die Friedens-Warte](#) as a rallying point for international peace efforts. Accused of treason by the Austrian government, he was unable to return to Vienna until the war's end.”<sup>47</sup>

## **French Army Mutinies (1917)**

“Execution at Verdun sometime in 1917The French Army Mutinies of 1917 took place amongst the French troops on the Western Front in Northern France. They started just after the conclusion of the disastrous Second Battle of the Aisne, the main action in the Nivelle Offensive, and involved, to various degrees, nearly half of the French infantry divisions stationed on the western front. The mutinies were kept secret at the time, and their full extent and intensity has only been revealed recently. Detailed research in 1983 by the late French military historian Guy Pedroncini, based on the French military archives, concludes that altogether 49 infantry divisions were destabilized and experienced repeated episodes of mutiny. This was calculated as: nine infantry divisions were very gravely impacted by mutinous behaviour; fifteen infantry divisions were seriously affected; and twenty five infantry divisions were affected by isolated but repeated instances of mutinous behaviour. As the French Army comprised a total of 113 infantry divisions by the end of 1917, this puts the proportion of destabilized French infantry divisions at 43%. Conversely, only 12 artillery regiments had been affected by the crisis of indiscipline.” Wikipedia.

## **The War Brides, US 1916**

“We are living in a time of war. We are always living in a time of war. The conflict in this case is the Great War, and while at the time of this film's release Britain has been part of the fighting for two years, the United States has followed President [Woodrow Wilson](#)'s policy of neutrality. The British and the Germans have each plied the arts of propaganda to gain American sympathies, and the British have hopes that America will eventually side with it militarily. Some in America are thinking this way, and their call is for 'preparedness' should the need to fight arise. Others are appalled by

---

<sup>46</sup> Source: <http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM00071b.htm>

<sup>47</sup> Source: [http://nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/1911/fried.html](http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1911/fried.html)

the European folly, and speak out against war in all its forms. Already in 1916 American producers have given us [Intolerance](#) and [Civilization](#), and now at the end of the year comes the most acclaimed film the year, and the strongest plea against war that we have yet seen on the screen.”<sup>48</sup>; <sup>49</sup>

## American Conscientious Objectors by Numbers

“One unofficial source states that 3,989<sup>50</sup> men declared themselves to be conscientious objectors when they had reached the camps: of these, 1,300 chose noncombatant service; 1,200 were given farm furloughs; 99 went to Europe to do reconstruction work for the [American Friends Service Committee](#) (AFSC); 450 were court-martialed and sent to prison; and 940 remained in camps until the Armistice was discharged.”<sup>51</sup>

“These men were imprisoned in military facilities such as Fort Lewis (Washington), Alcatraz Island (California) and Fort Leavenworth (Kansas)<sup>52</sup>. Some were subjected to treatment such as short rations, solitary confinement and physical abuse severe enough as to cause the deaths of two [Hutterite](#) draftees<sup>53</sup>.” Source: Wikipedia.<sup>54</sup>

## Selective Draft Cases in the US

“In World War I, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Selective Draft Act of 1917 and national conscription in general in the Selective Draft Law Cases (officially, *Arver et al. v. United States*, 245 U.S. 366), 1918.

In a unanimous decision written by Chief Justice Edward White, the Court rejected arguments that the draft was not authorized by the Constitution and violated the Thirteenth Amendment's prohibition against involuntary servitude. *Citing Southern court rulings upholding conscription in the Civil War* (the Northern judiciary had di-

---

<sup>48</sup> Source: <http://bioscopic.wordpress.com/category/lost-films/page/2/>

<sup>49</sup> Regarding the first pacifist movie's see Holger Terp: [Pacifism during World War One](#).

<sup>50</sup> "The Provost Marshal General's report of December 20 shows that 3,887 men received the certificates from their local boards exempting them from combatant service. This, however, was the total number out of 3,082,949 examined." Source: The Facts about Conscientious Objectors in the United States. National Civil Liberties Bureau, June 1, 1918.p 21.

<sup>51</sup> World War I Conscientious Objectors. Compiled by Anne Yoder 2002. Source: [http://filemaker.swarthmore.edu/fmi/xsl/SCPC\\_COWW1\\_main.xsl](http://filemaker.swarthmore.edu/fmi/xsl/SCPC_COWW1_main.xsl)

<sup>52</sup> II. statements as to conditions at the Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. "This is the chief military prison in the United States. At this time it contains approximately 3,000 prisoners, of whom about 300 are conscientious objectors. Most of these latter are under sentences ranging from 10 to 30 years. Political Prisoners in Federal Military Prisons, November 21, 1918. Printed in the anthology: *The case of the Christian Pacifists at Los Angeles*, Cal. National Civil Liberties Bureau, 1918.

<sup>53</sup> Two young married brothers from Rockport Colony who'd been held in solitary confinement died as martyrs because of their mistreatment. Joseph Hofer was only 24, and Michael Hofer was 25. Although they refused to put on a military uniform, the last time Joseph's wife saw him, he was in a government-issued coffin, dressed in a military uniform! Source: <http://www.anabaptistchurch.org/ThingsHutterite.htm>

<sup>54</sup> See also: The Facts about Conscientious Objectors in the United States. National Civil Liberties Bureau, June 1, 1918. Printed in the anthology: *The case of the Christian Pacifists at Los Angeles*, Cal. National Civil Liberties Bureau, 1918.

vided), White—a Confederate veteran and former Louisiana judge and senator—declared that the power to compel military service was inherent in any state for its defense”... it is said, the right to provide is not denied by calling for volunteer enlistments, but it does not and cannot include the power to exact enforced military duty by the citizen. *This however but challenges the existence of all power*, for a governmental power which has no sanction to it and which therefore can only be exercised provided the citizen consents to its exertion is in no substantial sense a power.”<sup>55</sup>

## **Men Reported as Conscientious Objectors, Now in Prison by Order of Court-Martial.**

Camp Devens, Mass.—Tony Petroszki, 20 years.

Camp Dix, New Jersey.—Charles W. Titus, 3 months.

Camp Dodge, Iowa.—Otto Wangerin, 15 years; Harold Bruber, 15 years; A. S. Broms, 20 years; W. H. Treseler, R. A. Carlton, Caul W. Johnson, Axel W. Carlson, Gunnard Johnson, Forris Kamman, and Nickolaus Ungar, 25 years.

Camp Gordon, Georgia.—Otto Brennan, 10 years.

Camp Grant, Illinois.—Gust Wittrock, 3 years ; Abraham Bieber, 1 year; H. Austin Simons, 8 years.

Camp Lewis, Washington.—Eno Larsen, 5 years.

Fort Worden, Washington.—Alfred Bloss, 10 years ; and Wallferd E. Marker, 10 years.

Camp Taylor, Kentucky.—Earl Huckelbury, 3 years; Ernest Schneider, 10 years.

Fort Adams, R. I.—John T. Dunn, Theo. Hiller and Adolph T. Yanyar, 20 years each.

Fort Andrews, Mass.—Fritz Stephanovitch, 15 years.

Fort McArthur, Texas.—Vane V- Dart, 10 years.

Jefferson Barracks, Mo.—R. H. Franke, 10 years.<sup>56</sup>

## **The intellectual leaders of the women's peace movement**

“As war fever spread in America, pacifists found fewer supporters. Reflecting the national mood, the [American Unitarian Association](#) censured pacifist clergy in 1917. The next year, [Emily Greene] [Balch](#) lost her position at Wellesley. In 1920, she formally became a Quaker. For the next 20 years, Balch devoted her energy to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.”<sup>57</sup> She received a shared Nobel Peace Prize in 1946.

---

<sup>55</sup> Source: <http://supreme.justia.com/us/245/366/case.html>

<sup>56</sup> The Facts about Conscientious Objectors in the United States. National Civil Liberties Bureau, June 1, 1918.P 18. See also: [Report of Treatment of Conscientious Objectors at the Camp Funston](#) [Kansas] Guard House [events of Sept. 5 to Oct. 21, 1918] by David Eichel, et al.

<sup>57</sup> Citation from the Seventh Annual Unitarian Award for Distinguished Service to the Cause of Liberal Religion, presented to Emily Greene Balch by the American Unitarian Association on May 2, 1955. <http://www.uuworld.org/2002/02/lookingback.html>

## [Jane Addams](#)

“Jane Addams, born in 1860, was the Chairman of the [Women's Peace Party](#)<sup>58</sup> in the United States. In 1915, she presided over the first Women's International League (WIL) [sic], which was formed to protest against World War I. Elected as the International President of WIL, she continued in that capacity until her death, in 1935.”<sup>59</sup>

## **Jessie Wallace Hughan**

“A deeply religious person, Jessie Wallace Hughan was a committed pacifist who spent the whole of her life fighting the spread of militarism in America. Following the eruption of the First World War in the summer of 1914, Hughan felt herself called to action. In 1915 she organized the Anti-Enlistment League, with a headquarters in her apartment. Hughan and her associates were able to gather the signatures of some 3,500 men to a declaration opposing military enlistment with a view to demonstrating to American political leaders the unpopularity of the European war. She was a devoted opponent of the coordinated "Preparedness" campaign which emerged across the nation in 1915 and 1916. American entry into the war in April 1917 spelled the end of the Anti-Enlistment League, with the government seizing the organization's files and records.

While she was never fired from her public school teaching positions for her political views, Hughan was called into suspicion in the eyes of some New York politicians. In 1919, Hughan was called before the Lusk Committee of the New York State Assembly, a special committee convened to investigate and report upon radicalism in New York state. The Committee denied her the Certificate of Character and Loyalty due to her appending the words "This obedience being qualified always by dictates of conscience" to the state's teachers' oath. Later in 1919, Hughan's name appeared with those of settlement house pioneer Jane Addams and liberal journalist Oswald Garrison Villiard on a list of 62 "[dangerous radicals](#)"<sup>60</sup> presented to the Overman Committee of the U.S. Senate, the first congressional body charged with the investigation of radicalism in the United States<sup>61</sup>. Hughan sat on the National Council and was a member of the New York Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious pacifist organization, from 1920 to 1923. In 1923, she helped to organize a new anti-militarist group, the War Resisters League (WRL), over which she presided as Secretary from the time of its formation. The intent behind the WRL was to provide an organizational framework for opponents of militarism who had no traditional religious basis for their

---

<sup>58</sup> See also the much learned: [A Beautiful and Impressive Southern Woman of Decidedly Individualistic Outlook](#): Notes on the Life of Harriet Park Thomas Robert by: Throop & Lloyd Gordon Ward for the Mead Project.

<sup>59</sup> Source: <http://foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex/addams.htm>

<sup>60</sup> The list was originally submitted by Archibald E. Stevenson of the Military Intelligence Service. New York Times. "[Lists Americans As Pacifists](#)." New York Times January 25, 1919: 1, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Some of the organizations mentioned in the showcase: [American League to Limit Armament](#); [American Neutral Conference Committee](#); Bureau of Peace Without Victory League; [Collegiate Anti-Militarism League](#), [Emergency Peace Federation](#), [League For Permanent Peace](#), League of Conscientious Objectors and the League of Free Nations Association.

pacifist beliefs. The organization of the WRL was supported by other pacifist groups, including the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's Peace Society, and the [Women's Peace Union](#).” Source: Wikipedia.

## Roger Nash Baldwin

In April 1917, [Roger Nash] Baldwin joined the [American Union against Militarism](#)<sup>62</sup> (AUAM), a New York organization of prominent reformers, writers, editors, church people and lawyers who opposed W.W. I. The next month, he organized the Bureau for Conscientious Objectors within AUAM to advise conscientious objectors and to help them receive favourable treatment under the new Selective Service Act. The bureau took a more aggressive stance than some AUAM directors could accept, and—after changing its name to the Civil Liberties Bureau—it became an independent organization. Its work broadened to include freedom of speech, press, and conscience and the defense of citizens who were prosecuted under the 1917 Espionage Act, including members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), who were accused of calling strikes to obstruct the war effort.

In September 1918, Baldwin was called to register for the draft. After he "respectfully declined to appear" for a physical examination, saying that he was opposed "to any service whatever designed to help the war," he was arrested. At a hearing, he made a long and eloquent statement in which he said:

"I regard the principle of conscription of life as a flat contradiction of all our cherished ideals of individual freedom, democratic liberty and Christian teaching. . . . I cannot consistently, with self respect, do other than I have, namely, to deliberately violate an act which seems to me to be a denial of everything which ideally and in practice I hold sacred."<sup>63</sup>

## Dorothy Day's World War I Experience

By Mark and Louise Zwick

“Prior to her conversion to Catholicism, Dorothy Day was very much a part of the socialist anti-war movement before World War I. She participated in demonstrations against U. S. involvement organized by socialists, and she was clubbed, albeit accidentally, by police. The socialist paper, *The Masses*, for which Dorothy was a reporter, took a pacifist stand. Anne Klejment reports that for all practical purposes *The Masses* was closed down by the local postmaster, who refused to "send anything through the mail that he considered treasonous." Dorothy, from this early date, trus-

---

<sup>62</sup> See also: [Records of the American Union Against Militarism](#), 1915-1922, SwarthmoreCollege Peace Collection, Scholarly Resources microfilm edition. The most notable achievements were the work in the successful effort to avert war with Mexico in 1916 and the encouragement of opposition to peacetime conscription following World War I. See also: The [New York Bureau of Legal Advice](#).

<sup>63</sup> Source: *Freedom Heroes: American National Bibliography* edited by John Garraty, 1999. See also: *The Individual and the State The Problem as Presented by the Sentencing of Roger N. Baldwin*, November 1918. Publisher unknown. Printed in the anthology: *The case of the Christian Pacifists at Los Angeles, Cal. National Civil Liberties Bureau*, 1918.

ted in neither education nor legislation as methods for engaging the world and working for peace and justice, observing that placing one's energy in politics, "rife with deal-making" stifled genuine change. She preferred to trust in the direct action of the common people."<sup>64</sup>

## The Ordeals of [Eugene V Debs](#)

"Debs' speeches against the Wilson administration and the war earned the undying enmity of President Woodrow Wilson, who later called Debs a "traitor to his country." On June 16, 1918, Debs made a speech in Canton, Ohio, urging resistance to the military draft of World War I. He was arrested on June 30 and charged with 10 counts of sedition. His trial defense called no witnesses, asking instead that Debs be allowed to address the court in his defense. That unusual request was granted, and Debs spoke for 2 hours. He was found guilty on September 12. At his sentencing hearing on September 14, he again [addressed](#) the court, and his speech has become a classic. [Heywood Broun](#), a liberal journalist and not a Debs partisan, said it was "one of the most beautiful and moving passage in the English language. He was for that one afternoon touched with inspiration. If anyone told me that tongues of fire danced upon his shoulders as he spoke, I would believe it."... Debs appealed his conviction to the Supreme Court, [Debs v. United States](#). Debs was sentenced on November 18, 1918 to ten years in prison. He was also [disenfranchised](#) for life. On December 23, 1921, President [Harding](#) commuted Debs' sentence to time served, effective Christmas Day." Source: Wikipedia.

## A Lesson in Patriotism, California 1917

A"CALL for a Conference of Christian Pacifists in California," signed by a group of ministers and laymen was somewhat widely circulated in August, 1917. It began: "The Conference of Christian Pacifists in California is called at the initiation of many Christian ministers and laymen, who notwithstanding their various religious and political beliefs, are united in open protest against the militaristic interpretation of Christianity.

On December 8, 1917, the three leaders of this conference. Rev. Robert Whitaker, a Baptist, Rev. Floyd Hardin, a Methodist, and Harold Story, a young Quaker, were sentenced by Judge White in the Los Angeles police court to six months in prison and fines aggregating \$1,200 each. He thus described their crimes at the beginning of an elaborate address on patriotism:

"You three defendants stand here for sentence after having been found guilty by a jury on three counts of a complaint charging most serious, extremely aggravated, and intensely unpatriotic charges, that is to say:

1st: Participating in an unlawful assemblage—unlawful because of the unpatriotic utterances and purposes of said meeting against the President of the United States , the conduct of the war against Germany, and the selective draft law, under the terms of

---

<sup>64</sup> Source: Houston Catholic Worker, Vol. XVII, No. 5, September-October 1997. <http://www.cjd.org/paper/pacifism.html> see also: <http://www.youtube.com/user/4854derrida#p/u/2/rNMHudOfFUg>

which we expect in the United States to recruit soldiers and sailors (sic) to fight our battles against against the imperial government of Germany.

2nd: Refusing to disperse from the unlawful assembly which I have defined above.

3rd: Disturbing the peace and quiet of this community by the unpatriotic and un-American sentiments uttered by you."<sup>65</sup>

## **The Expulsion Case of Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin**

“Shortly after America's entry into World War I, members of the Nonpartisan League, an organization of farmers that promoted cooperatives and an alliance with labor against the power of large corporations, gathered in St. Paul, Minnesota. On September 20, 1917, Wisconsin Senator Robert M. La Follette (R) delivered a keynote address to the convention that included a call for increased taxation of the wealthy, a fervent attack on corporations, and a stinging denunciation of America's participation in World War I.

On September 29, 1917, the Senate received a petition from the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, formally taking exception to La Follette's St. Paul address and asking the Senate to expel the popular Wisconsin progressive. The commission charged that La Follette was "a teacher of disloyalty and sedition, giving aid and comfort to our enemies." On January 16, after only a brief debate, the Senate voted 50 to 21 to dismiss all charges against Robert La Follette."<sup>66</sup>

## **The Lynching of Frank Little**

“Frank Little (1879-August 1, 1917) was an American labor leader who was lynched in Butte, Montana in 1917 for his union and anti-war activities.” Wikipedia. “In the summer of 1917, Frank had been helping to organize copper workers in a strike against the Anaconda Copper Company, but it was most likely his stand against World War I that so infuriated his assassins. He argued that all working men should refuse to join the army and fight on behalf of their capitalist oppressors.”<sup>67</sup>

## **Kate Richards O'Hare**

“As the editor of the National Rip-Saw, a socialist journal, O'Hare critiqued American society from a socialist perspective. After the outbreak of war in 1917, O'Hare led the Socialist Party's Committee on War and Militarism<sup>68</sup>. Due to her anti-war activities, she was imprisoned by the government for violating the Espionage Act of 1917, but in 1920 was pardoned by President Warren Harding after a nationwide campaign to se-

---

<sup>65</sup> Source: [The case of the Christian Pacifists at Los Angeles](#), Cal. National Civil Liberties Bureau, 1918.

<sup>66</sup> Source:

[http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/expulsion\\_cases/101RobertLaFollette\\_expulsion.htm](http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/expulsion_cases/101RobertLaFollette_expulsion.htm)

<sup>67</sup> Source: <http://www.iww.org/culture/biography/FrankLittle1.shtml>

<sup>68</sup> [Socialists Denounce U.S. Entry Into War](#). St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Thursday Evening, April 12, 1917.

cure her release. While in prison, she met the anarchists Emma Goldman<sup>69</sup> and Gabriella Segata Antolini, and worked with them to improve prison conditions.” Wikipedia.<sup>70</sup>

## **Walter Nelles files confiscated**

“Nelles, Walter (1883–1937). A graduate of Harvard Law School, professor of law at Yale University, founding member of the American Civil Liberties Union during World War I. Nelles was a pacifist and frequently served as attorney in conscientious objector and civil rights violation cases. He served on the faculty of Yale University law school where he often taught courses on the history of labor injunctions. His offices of the then, National Civil Liberties Bureau in New York City was raided by the Department of Justice on August 30, 1918 by agents who seized all of Nelles' files.” Wikipedia.

## **The Perils of Pacifism, the Case of Edward A. Steiner**

By Dennis Haas

“It is not difficult to trace the roots of Edward A. Steiner's pacifism. Born into a Jewish family in the Slovakia area of Austria, Edward "grew up in a staunchly anti-militaristic family and lost both his father and an older brother in wars of the Austro-Hungarian Empire." After receiving his doctorate from the University of Heidelberg where he nurtured convictions against both nationalism and war and now fearful that he might be conscripted into the Austrian imperial army, the twenty-year old Steiner immigrated to America in 1886.

All of this made Steiner very receptive to the writings of Leo Tolstoy whom he met on a number of occasions. Tolstoy was, says Steiner, "the maker of my life," "my prophet," the first prophesying he had heard. Steiner became a disciple of this "most famous peace apostle of our times." Tolstoy "opened the door to his home and to his soul, revealing to me the essence of the gospel story." This Gospel according to Tolstoy challenged Steiner to hate all shams, to love all persons no matter how unlovely they are, even your enemies, and be at peace with all. Jesus' Sermon on the Mount was a central feature of this pacifist Gospel, especially the fifth chapter of Matthew's Gospel where peacemakers are blessed (v. 9) and commanded, "Do not resist an evildoer. But if anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other also; and if anyone wants to sue you and take your coat, give your cloak as well; and if anyone forces you to go one mile, go also the second mile." (v. 39) This great impact of his mentor was a prelude to Steiner's conversion to Christianity, Tolstoy's kind of radical Christianity...

One leading Des Moines newspaper, the Capital, in an editorial titled, "Dr. Steiner Must Amend His Patriotism," (11/29/17) agreed that Dr. Steiner is a well known and effective orator, yet his so-called patriotism is patriotic in name only, a halfbreed pat-

---

<sup>69</sup> See: Emma Goldman: [Articles in the New York Times](#), 1917 and No-conscription League [Manifesto](#), 1917 (from Records of the Department of War and Military Intelligence Division, Record Group 165, National Archives).

<sup>70</sup> Source: The Conviction of Mrs Kate Richards O'Hare and North Dakota Politics, National Civil Liberties Bureau, March 1918.

riotism which could lead his hearers astray. In another editorial titled, "Is Dr. Steiner Doing The United States Any Good?," the Capital said, "No!" He makes too many apologies for Germans in his most dangerous speeches. Some hate is good directed towards our enemies. "Our advice to Dr. Steiner, in a patriotic sense, is to 'Go and sin no more.'"

After World War I in 1917 Steiner, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, returned to a "dull gray" Europe to travel widely and record his impressions of war-torn countries there. These impressions are set forth in his book, OLD TRAILS AND NEW BORDERS (1921)".

In 1917 the [American Union Against Militarism](#) reprinted [Daniel Webster on the Draft](#): Text of a Speech delivered in Congress, December 9, 1814!

### **A few selected cases<sup>71</sup>**

8/23/17. York, S. C.—Rev. W. T. Sims, negro preacher, lynched for alleged opposition to the draft.

4/5/18. Collinsville, Ill.—[Robert P. Prager](#), lynched by mob because of alleged pro-German utterances. Mob leaders [tried](#) and acquitted.

12/13/17. Seattle, Wash.- Louise Olivereau, sentenced to 10 years on several indictments, charging interference with the draft.

1/17/18. Parkersburg, W. Va.— Paul Bosko, 15 years for talk about conscription

10/4/17. Davenport, Iowa.—Daniel Wallace, 20 years for a speech on conscription and the war.

6/16/17. Topeka, Kans.—I. T. Boutwell, 6 months for distributing leaflet "A Good Soldier," by Jack London, to drafted men.

1/18. Des Moines, Iowa.—D. T. Blodgett, 20 years for circulating leaflet advocating not re-electing Congressmen who voted for conscription.

6/15/17. Orofino, Idaho.—Edw. Hofstede, in jail five months before trial, sentenced to 4 months on charge of advising young men not to register.

2/26/18. St. Paul, Minn.—A. C. Townley and Jos. Gilbert, Pres. and Sec'y [Non-Partisan League](#), indicted for circulating pamphlets "tending to discourage enlistments." Gilbert sentenced to 1 year.<sup>72</sup> Appealed."<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> More cases are in Stephen Martin Kohn: American political prisoners: Prosecutions under the espionage and sedition acts, 1994.

<sup>72</sup> See note in the New York Times, March 13, 1918.

<sup>73</sup> Source: War-time Prosecutions and Mob Violence Involving the rights of free speech, free press and peaceful assemblage. (From April 1, 1917 to May 1, 1918). Printed in the anthology: The case of the Christian Pacifists at Los Angeles, Cal. National Civil Liberties Bureau, 1918.



## The Inter-war Period

### The Killing of [Hans Paasche](#), Germany 1920

“Hans Paasche (3 April 1881 — 21 May 1920) was a German politician and pacifist. His first experience with war was at the German African military campaign in the German East Africa colonies, where he learned first hand the horror and futility of war. In 1905, Paasche becomes commander in chief in the Rufiji-region, now southern Tanzania. His command was decisive, but he also took pains to reach a swift pacification. Refugees and defeated Africans found medical help and shelter at his headquarters at Mtanza. He was decorated with the Order of the Crown with Swords, but was removed from command because of his independent peace negotiations. His experiences during the uprising and his guilty feelings over his actions changed his life forever.

Still in uniform but not on active duty, he undertook an assault on the many wrongs that he saw in the German society and its military obsessions. This brought him many avid listeners and readers, especially among the young. It also brought him vilification, including that of his own father, and the dangerous attention of the military authorities. A high treason process was conducted against him by the General Staff and ended in 1918 with a negotiated admission into a mental health institution. He was released at the end of 1918, and continued his work as a radical journalist.

After the sudden death of his wife Ellen at twenty nine, he retreated to his estate at Waldfrieden to take care of his four young children, Jochen, Nils, Helga and Ivan. Nevertheless, he still took part in national and international campaigns for peace, understanding among nations, and a League of Nations. His estate Waldfrieden becomes a shelter for hunted revolutionaries.

His name appeared on the murder-lists of the Freikorps, right wing political extremists. In 1920, at the age of 39, he was shot by a commando of sixty soldiers from District Command III while supposedly trying to escape. The soldiers had mounted the operation under an anonymous call with the pretence of finding a hidden weapons cache, which was never found. Few of the murderers were brought to justice, none were ever found guilty.” Source: Wikipedia,<sup>74</sup>

### The Relative Pacifist Albert Einstein

“An investigation was conducted by the FBI regarding the famous physicist because of his affiliation with the Communist Party. Einstein was a member, sponsor, or affiliated with thirty-four communist fronts between 1937 and 1954. He also served as honorary chairman for three communist organizations.”<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Primary sources: Overview of the John Paasche papers.

<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/data/13030/h9/kt5z09r7h9/files/kt5z09r7h9.pdf>

<sup>75</sup> Source: <http://foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex/einstein.htm> See also: The Einstein File: [J. Edgar Hoover](#)’s Secret War Against the World’s Most Famous Scientist, by Fred Jerome. St. Martin’s Press, 2002. 348 pages. ISBN 0-312-28856-5

## Gandhi Arrest, India 1922

*“From Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, dated 5th March 1922. (Received 6th March 1922.)*

(Telegraphic.)

Reference is requested to my telegram dated the 1st March.

The Government of Bombay have telegraphed as follows :

"It has been decided unanimously by the Governor of Bombay in Council that the prosecution of Gandhi should be proceeded with under the Indian Penal Code, section 124A, in respect of four articles published in Young India, as follows :

- (1) 15th June 1921 "Disaffection a Virtue";
  - (2) 29th September 1921 "Tampering with Loyalty";
  - (3) 15th December 1921 "A Puzzle and Its Solution";
- and
- (4) 23rd February 1922 "Shaking Manes."

A decision was also arrived at to proceed at the same time on the same charge against S. G. Banker, the printer of Young India.

Arrests will take place probably on the evening of the 9th March, Thursday, at Bardoli.<sup>76 ; 77</sup>

The trial of Gandhi and Banker, on seditious writing against the government was held on March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1922 in District and Sessions Court in Ahmedabad.<sup>78</sup>

Gandhi: [Statement](#) in the trial of 1922



૧૯૨૨માં ગાંધીજી પર અંગ્રેજ સરકારે અમદાવાદમાં સર્કિટ હાઉસમાં કેસ ચલાવ્યો તે પ્રસંગે કોર્ટમાં હાજર રહી કરેલો સ્કેચ

### The Judgement:

“Mr. Gandhi, you have made my task easy in one way by pleading guilty to the charge. nevertheless what remains, namely, the determination of a just sentence, is perhaps as difficult a proposition as a judge in this country could have to face. The law is no respecter of persons. Nevertheless, it will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to have to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that, in the eyes of millions of your countrymen, you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and of even saintly life. I have to

<sup>76</sup> Source: [India Governor-General: East India \(non-co-operation\) : Telegraphic correspondence regarding the situation in India](#). - London : His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922 p 16.

<sup>77</sup> Back ground documentation to the trial: The Congress Punjab Inquiry 1919-1920 : Report of the Commissioners Appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress/Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Reprint. First published in 1920. New Delhi, 1994-1996, 2 v., 928 pp. Republished in the [Gandhi CD-ROM](#) in the Danish Peace Academy.

<sup>78</sup> See also: [Hunting the Lion](#)—An eyewitness record of 1922 trial of Mahatma Gandhiji.

deal with you in one character only. It is not my duty and I do not presume to judge or criticize you in any other character. It is my duty to judge you as a man subject to the law, who has by his own admission broken the law and committed what to an ordinary man must appear to be grave offences against the State. I do not forget that you have constantly preached against violence and that you have on many occasions, as I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence, but having regard to the nature of your political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom it is addressed, how you could have continued to believe that violence would not be the inevitable consequence it passes my capacity to understand.

There are probably few people in India who do not sincerely regret that you should have made it impossible for any Government to leave you at liberty. But it is so. I am trying to balance what is due to you against what appears to me to be necessary in the interests of the public, and I propose, in passing sentence, to follow the precedent of a case, in many respects similar to this case, that was decided some 12 years ago, I mean the [case](#) against Mr. [Bal Gangadhar Tilak](#) under this same section. The sentence that was passed upon him as it finally stood was a sentence of simple imprisonment for six years. You will not consider it unreasonable, I think, that you should be classed with Mr. Tilak, and that is the sentence, two years' simple imprisonment on each count of the charge, i.e., six years in all, which I feel it my duty to pass upon you and I should like to say in doing so that, if the course of events in India should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I."

## The Lusk Committee & the First Red Scare in the USA

[American] ACCUSED OF HIGH TREASON.; D. H. Wallace<sup>79</sup>, British Deserter and Pacifist, Arrested in Iowa. Headline in the New York Times, July 28, 1917.

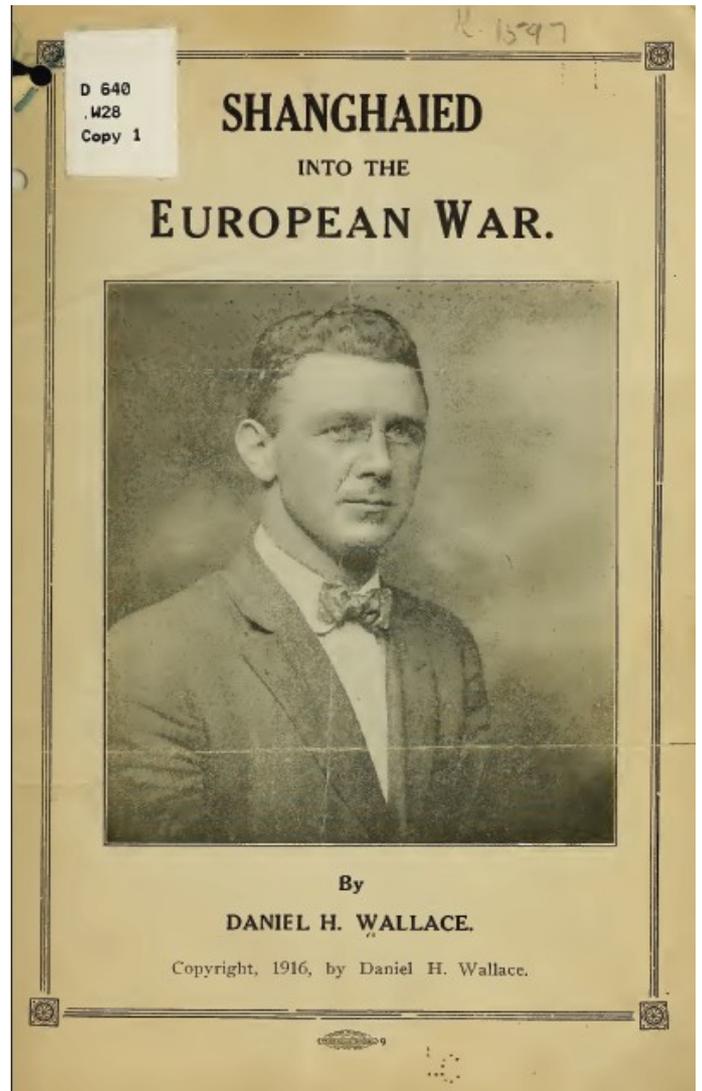
“ASKED TO SUSPEND PACIFIST TEACHER; Board of Superintendents Accuses Quakeress of Holding Anti-War Views. REJECTED LOYALTY PLEDGE Work Commended by Superiors;- War Immunity of Her Sect May Complicate Situation. The Board of Superintendents has recommended to Acting City Superintendent of Schools Gustave Straubenmuller, that, pending *the making of charges relating to pacifism against her*, he suspend Miss Mary S. McDowell, a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers,) who is a teacher of Latin in the Manual Training High School, Brooklyn. Headlines in the New York Times, January 23, 1918.”

STRIKES OF WORKERS ASSAILED AS TREASON; *American Rights League Condemns Pacifists*. Headline in the New York Times, February 25, 1918.

Doniphan Camp's Commander Assails Foes of Preparedness

“Okla., Jan. 28, 1918. -- Blame was placed indirectly at the door of the American public for inefficient army hospitals in a statement today by Brig Gen. William H. Wright, commanding Camp Doniphan. He condemned pacifists and “others who obstruct the War Department's program for preparedness.”” Source: The New York Times.

“In American history, the First Red Scare of 1919–1920 was marked by a widespread fear of Bolshevism and anarchism, as well as the effects of radical political agitation in American society and especially in the labor movement. It had its origins in the hyper-patriotism of World War I at the war's end, following the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. The Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities, popularly known as the Lusk Committee, was formed in 1919 to investigate individuals and organizations in New York State suspected of sedition.” Sources: Wikipedia



<sup>79</sup> Daniel D. H. Wallace wrote two pamphlets: [Shanghaied into the European War](#) [Chicago? Ill. : League of Humanity?], 1916 and *The revelations of an American citizen in the British army*. New York, [1916].

THE MASSES CASE RESTS.; Defense Begun in Conspiracy Trial of Eastman and Reed. Headline in the New York Times, October 2, 1918.

## The Lusk Committee and the National Civil Liberties Bureau

“During its investigation, the committee charged that the National Civil Liberties Bureau (NCLB) was engaged in a number of seditious activities, particularly undermining the nation's efforts during World War I. The NCLB was formed in 1917 as an outgrowth of the American Union Against Militarism, which was formed to work against American intervention in the war. The stated objectives of the NCLB were to protect free speech and civil liberties of citizens and to assist the defense of conscientious objectors during the war. The NCLB also served as a type of national clearing-house for information relating to the legal defense of conscientious objectors and other individuals charged by the government with various types of seditious activity. In 1920, the NCLB changed its name to the American Civil Liberties Union.

During the hearings, the committee accused the NCLB of many radical activities including:

- encouraging individuals to register as conscientious objectors to escape military duty
- assisting radical groups in obstructing the war effort
- issuing propaganda for radical organizations
- furnishing attorneys for those objecting to military service and for those being prosecuted for violating the Federal Espionage Act.”<sup>80</sup>

## How Did Women Peace Activists Respond to "Red Scare" Attacks during the 1920s?

US “Secretary of War [John W. Weeks](#) was the first public figure to initiate the campaign of slander against the women's peace organizations when he began speaking tours around the United States to counteract the WILPF opposition to the National Defense Act. He encouraged other military men to follow his example and many did, including the director of the [Chemical Warfare Service](#), Brigadier General [Amos H. Fries](#). ... In response, WILPF began a policy of sending letters to their accusers, refuting each slanderous claim one by one. Document 2 in this project refutes Fries's claim that WILPF members took an oath against any involvement in war. The Woman Patriot<sup>81</sup> took up the "slacker oath" issue in its pages. Other conservative writers like Fred R. Marvin and R. M. Whitney wrote articles for the magazine that falsely claimed connections between the peace movement and the communist movement, ranking individual members on a color code of radicalism.

However, these attacks were not viewed as significantly damaging until the famous Spider-web chart appeared in Henry Ford's newspaper, The [Dearborn Independent](#), in 1924. This chart, which the [Women's Joint Congressional Committee](#) later discovered

---

<sup>80</sup> Source: [http://www.archives.nysed.gov/a/research/res\\_topics\\_bus\\_lusk\\_civillib.shtml](http://www.archives.nysed.gov/a/research/res_topics_bus_lusk_civillib.shtml)

<sup>81</sup> The woman patriot : a national newspaper for home and national defense against woman suffrage, feminism and socialism. : (Washington, D.C.) 1918-1932.

had originated in the Chemical Warfare Bureau of the War Department, linked numerous women's organizations and their members to communist and socialist doctrines. The chart received a great deal of attention both from the many it accused and from those who read it. [Carrie Chapman Catt](#), former president of the [National American Woman Suffrage Association](#), expressed her outrage at the chart in several articles in *The Woman Citizen*. There she investigated the origins of the chart and defended the accused. Her discovery of the government sponsorship of the chart exposed the significant power that lay behind the redbaiting campaign".<sup>82</sup>

## **United States v. Schwimmer, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1929**

Rosika Schwimmer was a pacifist who would not take the oath of allegiance to become a naturalized citizen. She was born in Hungary and while in the United States delivering a lecture she decided that she wanted to become a US citizen. When asked if she would be willing to "take up arms in defense of her country" she responded in the negative. She stated that she believed in the democratic ideal, but she asserted that she was an uncompromising pacifist. "My cosmic consciousness of belonging to the human family is shared by all those who believe that all human beings are the children of God." Source: Wikipedia.

### **Aftermath**

"The Court invoked the Schwimmer precedent when it decided *United States v. Macintosh* in 1931. By a one-vote margin, with Charles Evans Hughes, Holmes, Brandeis and Harlan Fiske Stone in sharp dissent, the majority ruled that an alien seeking citizenship could be denied it if, even for bona fide religious reasons, he refused to agree to bear arms in wartime. And then in *In re Summers* (1945), the Court (relying on both Schwimmer and Macintosh) sustained the denial of an applicant's admission to the state bar on the grounds that he refused to take an oath to support the Illinois Constitution because of bona fide conscientious objections. There, too, the vote was 5-4, with Justices Hugo Black, William O. Douglas, Frank Murphy, and Wiley Rutledge in dissent. (Holmes had stepped down in early 1932.)

By the time the Supreme Court rendered its 5-3 ruling in *Girouard v. United States* (1946), Oliver Wendell Holmes had been dead for 11 years. *Girouard* was another naturalization case involving a noncombatant. Writing the majority opinion, Justice Douglas quoted generously from Holmes's Schwimmer dissent. And in that spirit, Douglas stressed: "The victory for freedom of thought recorded in our Bill of Rights recognizes that in the domain of conscience there is a moral power higher than the State." By that logic, and the legal arguments accompanying it, the Schwimmer holding could not remain since it no longer stated "the correct rule of law."

In their own lifetimes, then, Schwimmer and Rabe had finally tasted victory; they had seen *United States v. Schwimmer* overruled."<sup>83</sup>

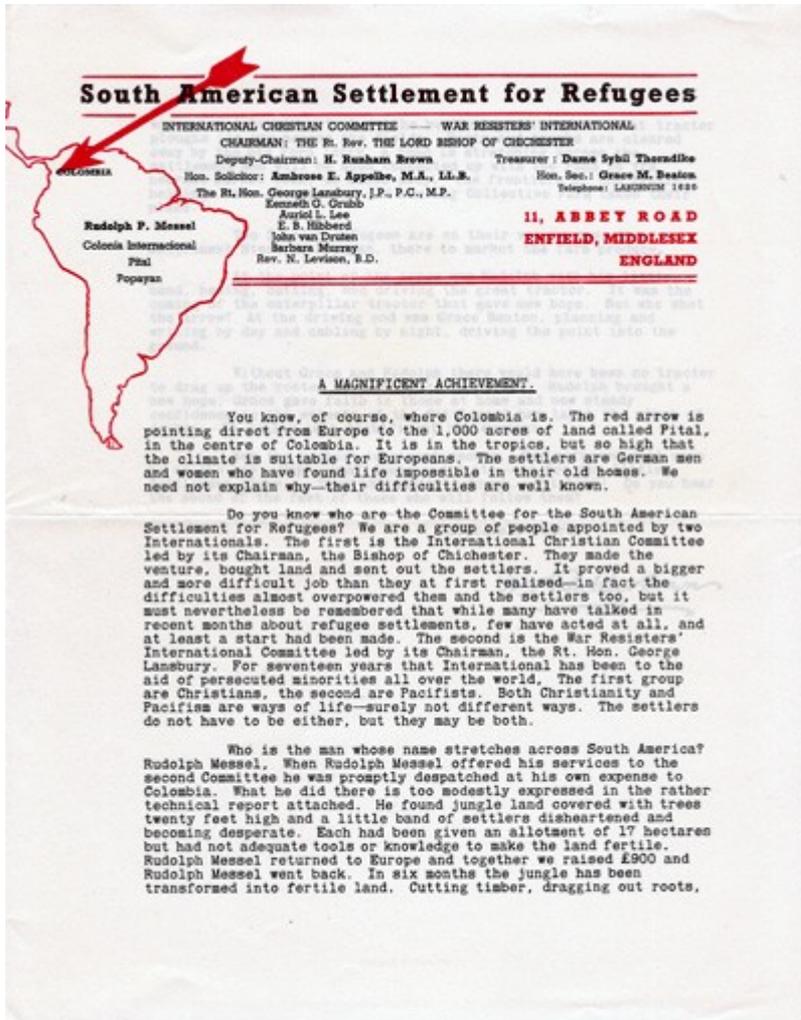
---

<sup>82</sup> Documents selected and interpreted by Kathryn Kish Sklar and Helen Baker, State University of New York at Binghamton Spring 1998. Republished from *Women and Social Movements in the United States 1600-2000*. <http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/wilpf/intro.htm>

<sup>83</sup> Source: <http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org/analysis.aspx?id=19995>

# Persecution of Pacifists in Nazi Germany

## Quaker's arrested by Gestapo



“Corder and Gwen [Catchpool](#), the British Quaker Representatives in Berlin, had paid similar visits to Jewish shops during the boycott. Two days later, early in the morning, their house was searched and the family held under arrest. Corder was taken off to Berlin Gestapo HQ for interrogation, though released 36 hours later. The Nazis were skilled at skimming through papers to search for 'disloyal elements'. Whilst this was extremely unpleasant for the Catchpools and their children, it gave great anxiety to the individuals who were being helped by the Friends.”<sup>84</sup>

There are many additional cases of the use of the concentration camp against the men who wanted peace. There was, for example, a group called the "Bibel Forscher" (Bible Research Workers), most of whom

were Jehovah's Witnesses... <sup>85</sup> Many Austrian and German pacifists went into exile including [Anita Augspurg](#), <sup>86</sup> [Lida Gustavo Heymann](#), [Helene Stöcker](#), <sup>87</sup> Elsbeth Bruck, [Constanze Hallgarten](#), and Gertrud Baer, just to mention some few of the women and in Switzerland the Committee to Aid Pacifist Refugees and Prisoners was established in 1935. Along with Friends in Paris, Quakers around France aided Jewish refugees; as pacifists they took non-combative roles such as nursing, cooking and stretcher-bearing. The German commandant asked them to help at the the prison in Bordeaux. Gilbert le Sage was later given the Medaille de Justice by Israel for saving Jews, particularly children, during the war. Other helpers were André and Magda Trocmé, Eileen Egan and Bertha Bracey and [Rufus Jones](#) from the [Friends Committee on Refugees and Aliens](#) in London, last but not least [Elisabeth Rotten](#) and [Pierre Ceresole](#) <sup>88</sup>, just as

<sup>84</sup> The Integrity of German Friends During the Twelve Years of Nazi Rule by Brenda Bailey [http://www2.gol.com/users/quakers/german\\_friends\\_during\\_nazi.htm](http://www2.gol.com/users/quakers/german_friends_during_nazi.htm)

<sup>85</sup> Source: Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, Vol. II. US GPO, Washington, 1946, pp.949-968.

<sup>86</sup> See also: [http://www.ghi-dc.org/files/publications/bulletin/bu044/bu44\\_029.pdf](http://www.ghi-dc.org/files/publications/bulletin/bu044/bu44_029.pdf)

<sup>87</sup> [Helene Stöcker Papers, 1897-1994](#).

Garsington Manor, the home of [Lady Ottoline Morrell](#), had been a refuge for pacifists and refugees during the First World War.<sup>89</sup>

## Ernst Friedrich

“In the Twenties the pacifist Ernst Friedrich was already well-known in Berlin for his book »War against War!« when he opened his Anti-War Museum at 29, Parochial Street. The museum became a centre of cultural and pacifist activities until it was destroyed by the Nazis in March 1933 and its founder got arrested.

Friedrich's book »War against War!« (1924) is a shocking picture-book documenting the horrors of the First World War. It made him a well-known figure in and outside Germany. Owing to a donation he was able to buy an old building in Berlin where he established the »First International Anti-War Museum«. After having been in prison already before Friedrich was financially ruined when he was convicted again in 1930.

<sup>90</sup> In March 1933 Nazi storm troopers, the so-called SA, destroyed the Anti-War Museum and Friedrich was arrested until the end of that year<sup>91</sup>. Thereafter he and his family immigrated to Belgium, where he opened the »II. Anti-War Museum«. When the German army marched in he joined the French Resistance. After the liberation of France he became French citizen and member of the Socialist Party.”<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Switzerland Yearly Meeting: History and Biography Project: “Let Their Lives Speak”: A Resource Book prepared by Michael and Erica Royston

<http://www.swiss-quakers.ch/Documents/Let%20their%20lives%20speak.pdf>

Regarding the refugee work in Denmark before and during World War II see: Holger Terp: Refugee work before World War Two, <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/dkpeace/dkpeace12.htm#Refugee> and Non-violent resistance during WW2

<http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/dkpeace/dkpeace13.htm#ww2>

<sup>89</sup> Bronwen Hanna: Rescue and resistance on the plateau: Why an isolated French community saved thousands of Jews during World War II <http://www.publicchristianity.org/Lechambon1.html>

See also: <http://www.maison-quaker-congenies.org/nonconformist/info.html>

<sup>90</sup> "Friedrich helped form a "Revolutionary Pacifist Group" whose membership included such figures as [Kurt Tucholsky](#), [Walter Mehring](#), & the Expressionist writer [Ernst Toller](#). During the last years of Weimar, Friedrich found himself in constant litigation against people who alleged that he had defamed them, & against state officials who accused him of "treason." In 1930, Friedrich was imprisoned for "high treason" for about a year because of the publication of antimilitarist writings intended for secret distribution among the army & police."

<http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/Encyclopedia/FriedrichErnst/FriedrichErnst.htm>

<sup>91</sup> Friedrich was released in September, 1933 due to illness and pressures from American Quakers.

<http://www.endthiswar.org/war.htm>

<sup>92</sup> <http://www.anti-kriegs-museum.de/english/history.html>

## [Carl von Ossietzky](#)

“Carl von Ossietzky was a German pacifist and publisher. “He was convicted of high treason and espionage in 1931 after publishing details of Germany's alleged violation of the [Treaty of Versailles](#) by rebuilding an air force, the predecessor of the [Luftwaffe](#) and training pilots in the Soviet Union<sup>93</sup>. In 1990 his daughter, [Rosalinde von Ossietzky-Palm](#), called for a resumption of proceedings, but the verdict was upheld by the Federal Court of Justice in 1992 in a decision that is final”. Ossietzky was awarded the [1935 Nobel Peace Prize](#).” Source: Wikipedia

## **The Nazi Book Burnings Lists of Banned Books, 1932-1939**

“What was forbidden? What was burned? It is difficult to say for sure, in part because there were so many agencies which got involved. According to Leonidas Hill, author of "The Nazi Attack on Un-German Literature, 1933-1945," by 1934, over forty agencies had lists enumerating 4,100 publications to be banned.”

### **Guidelines from Die Bücherei 2:6 (1935), p. 279**

1. The works of traitors, emigrants and authors from foreign countries who believe they can attack and denigrate the new German (H.G. Wells, Rolland).
2. The literature of Marxism, Communism and Bolshevism.
3. Pacifist literature.”<sup>94</sup>

### **Executing the Will of the German Volk: Un-German Literature on the Pyre**

... ”7. Against the literary treason committed against the soldiers of World War One; For educating the nation in the spirit of military might.  
E.M. Remarque”<sup>95</sup>

### **Report by Louis P. Lochner, Head of the Berlin Bureau of the Associated Press (May 10, 1933)**

“In May and June 1933, the National Socialist German Students’ League<sup>96</sup> and the German Student Body<sup>97</sup> joined members of the SS and SA in organizing various country-wide actions to “cleansing” libraries of “un-German” literature<sup>98</sup>. This campaign led to a wave of public book burnings, the most spectacular of which took place on Berlin’s Opera Square on May 10, 1933. Approximately 20,000 books were incinerated that

---

<sup>93</sup> Source in German: Die Weltbühne. 27. Jahrgang 1931, Nummer 41, Seite 803-811.:

[http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Der\\_Weltb%C3%BChnen-Proze%C3%9FDer\\_Weltb%C3%BChnen-Proze%C3%9F](http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Der_Weltb%C3%BChnen-Proze%C3%9FDer_Weltb%C3%BChnen-Proze%C3%9F) . See also [German Military in the Soviet Union 1918-1933](#) by Arvo Vercaemer and Jason Pipes.

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/burnedbooks/documents.htm>

<sup>95</sup> Speeches, May 10, 1933. Source: <http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/burnedbooks/goebbels.htm>

<sup>96</sup> Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund or NSDStB.

<sup>97</sup> Deutsche Studentenschaft or DSt.

<sup>98</sup> Principles for the Cleansing of Public Libraries. Prinzipielles zur Säuberung der öffentlichen Bücherei, "Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel 100 (5/16/1933): 356-358.

night, and Goebbels delivered an appropriately inflammatory speech. Each burned book fell under at least one of nine categories – for example, Bolshevik, Jewish-democratic, or morally depraved. Works by Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Erich Kästner, and Sigmund Freud were among those slated for defamation and actual destruction. Beginning in September 1933, the elimination of “un-German” literature from the cultural realm was centrally organized by Goebbels’ Reich Chamber of Culture, which censored texts and barred certain individuals from the literary profession. In total, about 2,500 writers left Germany during the Nazi period. On the flip side, authors of conservative, militaristic, or völkisch works – i.e., writings that were suitable for propaganda purposes – benefited from Nazi policies”... <sup>99</sup> In the present time Denmark the politicians are not burning books, they are more clever: they close libraries.

## **Norway, Olau Kullamann**

Olau Kullamann was a Norwegian naval captain and later pacifist. After Minister of defence Quisling was 'assaulted' in his office in 1932, Quisling and his staff set to work, determined that Kullmann became discharged and indicted for pacifism, treasonous activity and high treason, because of his participation in the Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam the same year where Kullamann with background in the Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1929 recommends soldiers strike, if it came to war of aggression. A judgement by the Oslo City Court in late 1933 lead to the dismissal of the high treason charge.

## **MI5 Records a Singer, UK**

“Ewan MacColl (25 January 1915 - 22 October 1989) were a British folk singer, songwriter, socialist, actor, poet, playwright, and record producer... He collaborated with Joan Littlewood in the theatre and with Peggy Seeger in folk music... In 1932 the British counterintelligence service, MI5, began a file on MacColl, after the local police told them that the singer was "a communist with very extreme views" who needed "special attention". For a time the Special Branch kept a watch on the Manchester home that he shared with his wife Joan Littlewood. MI5 caused some of MacColl's songs to be rejected by the BBC, and prevented the employment of Littlewood as a BBC children's programme presenter ... MacColl enlisted in the British Army during July 1940, but deserted in December. Why he did so, and why he was not prosecuted after the war, remain a mystery”. Source: Wikipedia.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Source: Louis P. Lochner, ed., *The Goebbels Diaries 1942-43*. Washington, DC, 1948, pp. 177-80; reprinted in Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, eds., *Nazism, 1919-1945, Vol. 2: State, Economy and Society 1933-1939*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000, pp. 207-08.

<sup>100</sup> See also: Piece reference KV 2/3180 Retained Until 2010.

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/displaycataloguedetails.asp?CATLN=6&CATID=8899933&j=1>

## Second World War

### Pacifism and the war

By George Orwell

*“Pacifism is objectively pro-Fascist. This is elementary common sense. If you hamper the war effort of one side you automatically help that of the other. Nor is there any real way of remaining outside such a war as the present one. In practice, ‘he that is not with me is against me’. The idea that you can somehow remain aloof from and superior to the struggle, while living on food which British sailors have to risk their lives to bring you, is a bourgeois illusion bred of money and security. Mr Savage remarks that ‘according to this type of reasoning, a German or Japanese pacifist would be “objectively pro-British”.’ But of course he would be! That is why pacifist activities are not permitted in those countries (in both of them the penalty is, or can be, beheading) while both the Germans and the Japanese do all they can to encourage the spread of pacifism in British and American territories. The Germans even run a spurious ‘freedom’ station which serves out pacifist propaganda indistinguishable from that of the P.P.U. They would stimulate pacifism in Russia as well if they could, but in that case they have tougher babies to deal with. In so far as it takes effect at all, pacifist propaganda can only be effective against those countries where a certain amount of freedom of speech is still permitted; in other words it is helpful to totalitarianism.”<sup>101</sup>*

### Conscientious objectors, Canada

“Elford Bell was denied status as a conscientious objector and was assigned a prison term. While in prison, he applied for admission to the medical corps and was accepted. He served in the Kingston Military Hospital in Kingston, Ontario. He began as a ward orderly, but soon rose to the rank of sergeant. By the end of his term of duty, he was in charge of the isolation unit, which was attached to the hospital. When the war ended, conscientious objectors were held for an extra year (until July 1946) because the government feared public outcry if conscientious objectors arrived home before the soldiers.”<sup>102</sup>

### 1939-1945: Anarchist activity in France during World War II

“After the war Jean Rene Sauliere continued his anarchist activities, settling in Marseille again. In 1948, because of his wartime draft resistance, he was sentenced to a five-year prison term. But this was suspended because he was able to produce twenty-eight affidavits from people who had known him in the resistance.”

---

<sup>101</sup> Sources: First published: Partisan Review. London. August-September 1942

[http://www.orwell.ru/library/articles/pacifism/english/e\\_patw](http://www.orwell.ru/library/articles/pacifism/english/e_patw)

<sup>102</sup> Source: [Shelley L. Jacobs: Pacifism in Churches of Christ in Western Canada during World War II and the Influence of Nashville Bible School.](#)

**Lars G. Petersson**



# DESERTERS

This is the disturbing story of the courageous men who refused to fight for the Third Reich. It is also the story of an international community that turned its back on them.

Danish Resistance Museum Publishing

**Over 20 000 deserters** and war resisters paid the ultimate price at the hands of Hitler's brutal war judges and executioners; thousands of others died in prison-camps and penal battalions.

Even for those who escaped death, life was never the same. Today many of those who once refused to serve the Nazis live as pariahs, scorned by a society that professes to hate the regime they had actively opposed. In contrast, their judges, masters of unbelievably draconian sentences, thrived in post-war Germany and beyond as honoured men in prestigious positions.

*Deserters* is the story of this incredible injustice. It is the disturbing story of what happened to those who refused to fight for the Third Reich, and – even more disturbing – it is the story of an international community that has turned its back on them.

## The Fifth Broadsheet of the "White Rose" Germany, January 1943

“By offering active political resistance to the Nazi regime, the Munich student group known as the “White Rose” earned a special place in the history of Germany’s youth opposition. No doubt the best-known members of the group were siblings Hans (1918-1943) and Sophie Scholl (1921-1943), both of whom had supported the Nazi regime early on but eventually came to oppose it. Information about the government’s crimes – the euthanasia program and conditions on the Eastern Front, for example – hastened their move toward resistance. In addition to the Scholls, the core group consisted of Hans's friends and fellow students Alexander Schmorell (1917-1943), Christoph Probst (1919-1943), and Willi Graf (1918-1943). Professor Kurt Huber (1893-1943) joined the “White Rose” later on... When Sophie Scholl went to distribute the group’s sixth and final broadsheet at Ludwig Maximilians University on February 18, 1943, she was spotted by the school’s janitor, who informed the authorities. The

Gestapo arrested Hans and Sophie along with Christoph Probst. On February 22, 1943, the People's Court sentenced all three to death. They were beheaded the same day. Schmorell, Graf, and Huber were sentenced on April 19, 1943. Schmorell and Huber were executed on July 13 of the same year. Graf was executed on October 12, 1943.<sup>103, 104</sup>

## New Zealand Censorship of Pacifist Literature

“Pacifist and anti-war publications were banned... Some were straightforward pacifism, such as C. O.'s Hansard by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, or Baxter's We Will Not Cease. Some were anti-war on other grounds, such as Hawkers of Death (on private arms trading) by [P. Noel Baker](#); others by communist writers and publishers exposed the exploitation of the working class in war: Fair Play for Servicemen and their Families by D. F. Springhall, Men behind the War by J. Johnson, War-time Profits by the British Labour Research Department, The Empire & the War by the Communist party of Britain, Democracy for Whom by L. L. Sharkey. Some were pre-1941 expositions of Russian foreign policy, now embarrassing for everyone; several concerned India, such as India's demand for freedom by the University Labour Federation, and Why must India fight? by Krishna Menon. Lord Ponsonby's [Falsehood in Wartime](#) and Steven MacGregor's Truth and Mr Chamberlain were still banned, along with Aldous Huxley's What are you going to do about it?”<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup> [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=1515](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1515)

<sup>104</sup> German search terms: [Fahnenflucht](#), Hochverrat, Landesverrat, Kriegsverrat, Wehrkraftzersetzung, Kriegsdienstverweigerung, Wehrdienstverweigerung aus religiösen Gründen, [LITERATUR ALLGEMEIN – DESERTEURE UND ANDERE OPFER DER NS-MILITÄRJUSTIZ](#)  
Schwinge/Schweling, Die deutsche Militärjustiz in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus 1978  
[Soldaten und Zivilisten vor Gerichten der Wehrmacht](#)

<sup>105</sup> The Home Front Volume: The Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–45 II  
CHAPTER 19 — Censorship. <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-WH2-2Hom-c19.html>

## No Conscription League, Scotland

“The peace movement during the 2nd World War was far different to the type of movement that formed during the First World War. The 1914-1918 peace movement was a mass movement with women playing a major role, and featured marches and demonstrations. Also the left on the political field were united in their total opposition to the war. During the 2nd World War, the political left was split with most seeing it as a war against fascism, and that they therefore supported the war. The main groups of the left that remained opposed to the war were the Independent Labour Party, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and the Anarchists. The No Conscription League also had branches in most towns and cities throughout the country, and Glasgow was no exception ...

### Defence Regulations No.39A

The pressure of the State was not only felt by COs, but by their supporters. On Wednesday July 31st 1940, Frank Leech, James Kennedy, Frank Dorans and Edward Shaw were arrested under Sheriff's Warrant and charged with contravening Defence Regulations No. 39A. Leech was charged that, between June 8th and July 20th, in premises occupied by the Anarchist Federation at 127 George Street Glasgow he publicly, in a window facing the street, placed an advertisement in the following terms, "Conscientious objectors and those about to register, meet here every Wednesday at 8pm. Call for free advice anytime. Assert your right to freedom." The charge alleged that this was an invitation and incitement to persons who had become, or might become, liable under the National Services Armed Forces Act 1939, to be called up for service to attend a meeting in the premises when advice and guidance were given concerning methods of procuring exemption from combatant military service. The charge continued, Leech did, preparatory to an endeavour being made at these meetings by the three other accused and others unknown incite persons attending the meeting to evade the duties and liabilities which they might become liable to perform or discharge by virtue of the said Act, contrary to the Defence (General) regulation 1939.

### Persecution

The COs who were sent to work on farms were under the control of the farmers and their treatment got so dreadful that there were calls that for humanitarian reasons they be removed from the farmers' control and placed under the control of some other body. Some Municipal Councils sacked any COs in their employment. The press kept up a campaign against COs and their supporters, claiming that most COs were "pansies" or "gay". They also claimed that they were cowards, but when we consider the treatment from some of the general public, the institutions, the effect on their families and friends, the treatment in courts and prisons, and the separation from 99% of the population, we have to accept that only a very determined, very strong conviction would carry them through. This is not the characteristic of a coward.”<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> Source: <http://www.gcu.ac.uk/radicalglasgow/chapters/ww2.html>

## **Civilian Public Service Union**

“The Civilian Public Service Union was organized at the beginning of 1944 in the CPS camp at Big Flats, New York. Men at other camps and units quickly joined the group. CPSU, a union for "drafted workers conscientiously opposed to war," was formed to provide an organized means of communication and group action among men in all sections of CPS and to combat the waste and injustice of the CPS system itself. Ralph C. Rudd served as chairman from late 1944 until CPSU was dissolved in early 1946.”<sup>107</sup>

## **The War Resisters League, US**

“The War Resisters League is a pacifist organization whose members are against all war. Witnessing the establishment of the War Resisters' International in Europe in 1921, and sensing a need for a similar organization in the United States, Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, together with colleagues from the Women's Peace Society and the Women's Peace Union established the War Resisters League as an independent organization

### **IX. FBI Files on War Resisters League, 1939-1976**

Box 34

[Air Force Office of Special Investigations](#)

Army Intelligence & Security Command

Defense Investigative Service

Department of Justice

Immigration & Naturalization Service

Internal Revenue Service

Naval Investigative Service

[Nuclear Regulatory Commission](#)

Post Office Department

State Department

FBI investigation of "[The Continental Walk for Disarmament & Social Justice](#)"

Research findings of Susan Dion and Maris Cakars re: FBI investigation

FBI-NYC branch

FBI-War Resisters League correspondence

FBI Records of War Resisters League, 1939-1976...”<sup>108</sup>

## **The American Gandhi: Abraham Johannes Muste**

“Muste was the ultimate pacifist and protested against every major war of this century while he lived. He joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an inter-faith pacifist

---

<sup>107</sup> Source: <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace/DG001-025/DG008CPSUnion.html>

<sup>108</sup> Source: <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace/DG026-050/dg040warresistersleague/dg040wrl-main.htm>

organization in 1916. In 1917, he resigned from the Central Congregational Church due to his pacifistic views, and the following year led the Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile workers strike. Among the many places he has protested are famous landmarks like Red Square in Moscow, the United Nations, Times Square, and the White House. It is also telling that despite disappointment over his son's desire to enlist in the Navy at the age of 17, Muste honoured his son's wishes and signed the enlistment papers. Muste has had an impact on major figures in the peace movement and many called him the "American Gandhi." The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was a college student when he first heard Muste speak. The fact that the struggle for civil rights in this country has been so bloodless when compared to some other areas of the world is largely attributable to Muste.

In 1948, Muste stopped paying federal income tax due to the fact that they were used to finance the machineries of war. Every year he sent a package to the Internal Revenue Service containing the following items: a Bible, a copy of Henry Thoreau's "Essay on Civil Disobedience," and a three-page typewritten paper outlining the principles that prevented him from making a contribution to the armaments of the United States. It wasn't until 1961 that the United States Tax Court ruled that the government had a right to back taxes but collection against Muste's small retirement income was never attempted.<sup>109</sup>

## **Opposition to war, Jeannette Rankin**

"Jeannette Pickering Rankin of Montana was the first woman in U.S. history to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. A nonconformist Republican, she served two nonconsecutive terms in the House. Rankin is best remembered for her opposition to war. In 1917 she voted against the entry of the United States into World War I, and in 1941 she took the same position against U.S. involvement in World War II. During the 1960s Rankin protested U.S. military action in Southeast Asia.

The bombing of Pearl Harbor by Japan on December 7, 1941, shattered widespread support for U.S. neutrality. This time when President Franklin D. Roosevelt sought a declaration of war against Japan, Rankin was the only legislator to vote against it. Her vote, although consistent with her two decades of work in the international peace movement, was roundly criticized as unpatriotic. Rankin's political career was irreparably damaged, and she did not run for reelection".<sup>110</sup>

## **CO as Forced Labour, the Case of Igal Roodenko**

"He become "aware of the conflict between my pacifism and my Zionism, and then ceased being a nationalist."...In July 1943, at his request, Roodenko was transferred to the newly opened CPS camp (#111) in Mancos, CO, which was directed by the Bureau of Land Reclamation of the Department of the Interior and run by the Selective Service. The men were to erect an earth dam at the head of the Mancos River to irrigate

---

<sup>109</sup> <http://www.hope.edu/jointarchives/collections/registers/hope/muste.html>

<sup>110</sup> <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Rankin,+Jeannette>

Mancos Valley. Roodenko became deeply involved in several controversies that had erupted in the CPS community in 1943. One concerned the issue of pay. The base wage for men in CPS was \$3 a month; they wanted a minimum of \$50 a month. They called their work "forced labor without compensation" and Roodenko termed CPS as "close to a prison camp" and a "slave labor camp." Many felt that the work they were directed to do was not of national importance, as had been promised. They also believed that CPS should have been under civilian direction, rather than military, as they still considered themselves to be civilians. Some stated that they would have refused to register for CPS if they had known all it entailed. On September 29, 1943, six war objectors imprisoned at Lewisburg, PA, started a hunger strike against censorship of mail and reading material by prison authorities. In October, Roodenko began his own hunger and work strike in support, stating: "My concern was [with] . . . censorship which occasionally reached preposterous depths of pettiness and stupidity, censorship of mail and reading matter which frequently denied men the opportunity of reading and writing about those very matters which made them sacrifice comforts and respect for the ignominy and disrepute of a prison record. And it should be noted that the opinions of such men were not treasonous, but those objections to warfare recognized by Congress in the Selective Service Act." ...Roodenko was in the prison at Sandstone, Minnesota from April 1945 to December 1946 when he was paroled."<sup>111</sup>

## **WWII Pacifists Exposed Mental Ward Horrors**

By Joseph Shapiro. December 30, 2009.

"In September of 1942, Warren Sawyer, a 23-year-old conscientious objector, reported for his volunteer assignment as an attendant at a state mental hospital. The young Quaker was one of thousands of pacifists who had refused to fight and instead were assigned to work in places few outsiders got to see — places like Philadelphia State Hospital, best known as Byberry."<sup>112</sup>

## **UK CABINET. RELEASE OF CONDITIONALLY REGISTERED CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS FROM THEIR CONDITIONS**

MEMORANDUM BY THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE.

"I desire authority to proceed with the urgent preparation of a short Bill amending the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, in such a way as to release from their conditions the twenty-five thousand men (and a few hundred women) who are conditionally registered conscientious objectors, on a basis comparable with that of the release from the Army of men in Class A.

2. Under the terms of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, Section 5 (6) (b), a conscientious objector who is ordered by a Tribunal to be registered in the Register of Conscientious Objectors on conditions, is bound by such conditions " until the end of

---

<sup>111</sup> Source: <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace/DG151-175/dg161irood.htm>

<sup>112</sup> Source: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=122017757>

the present emergency." There is at present no legal power to terminate such conditions before that event, the date of which has yet to be fixed.

3. It seems reasonable to modify the Act now in such a way as to give power to release conditionally registered conscientious objectors from their conditions before the legal end of the present emergency.

4. If amending legislation on these lines was agreed, I should propose to release conditionally registered conscientious objectors from their conditions by groups based on their age and the length of time during which they have been conditionally registered as conscientious objectors, arranging, so far as possible, for the groups to be released after the completion of the release of the equivalent Army groups based on age and length of service.

5. The persons so released from their conditions would be subject to such control as might at the time be applicable to other civilians of the same age.

6. In my view the above proposals would be acceptable to public opinion and equitable to the individual.

G. A. I. Ministry of Labour and National Service, S.W. 1,  
31st August, 1945.”<sup>113</sup>

## **Prolonged service to British conscientious objectors after the war**

“The Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour and, National Service, explained that, under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, a conscientious objector who was ordered by a tribunal to be registered on conditions was bound by these conditions until the end of the existing emergency. The date fixed for the end of the emergency might be some considerable time in the future and it seemed desirable that legislation should be introduced to empower the Minister of Labour and National Service to release conditionally registered conscientious objectors from their conditions before the legal end of the emergency. The Minister of Labour and National Service would propose to use this power to release conscientious objectors by groups based on their age and the length of time during which they had been conditionally registered, and he would arrange, so far as possible, for the groups to be released after the completion of the release of the equivalent Army groups. Conscientious objectors released from their conditions would be subject to any controls which were at the time applicable to other civilians of the same age ... (b) Conscientious objectors who had undertaken agricultural work would remain subject to the operation of the Essential Work Order after their release.”<sup>114</sup>

See also the [Daniel Seeger](#) case.

---

<sup>113</sup> George A Isaacs: Release of Conditionally Registered Conscientious Objectors from their Conditions. [http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/details-result.asp?Edoc\\_Id=7969900&queryType=1&resultcount=47](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/details-result.asp?Edoc_Id=7969900&queryType=1&resultcount=47)

<sup>114</sup> SECRET CONCLUSIONS of a Meeting of the Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street, S.W. 1, on Thursday, 13th September, 1945, at 11 a.m. Printed for the Cabinet. September 1945.



had classified information, we concede that I might well have been restrained from speaking to the public”.<sup>116</sup>

## **“Enemies from Within”: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy’s Accusations of Disloyalty**

Wisconsin Republican [Joseph R. McCarthy](#) first won election to the Senate in 1946 during a campaign marked by much anticommunist Red-baiting. Partially in response to Republican Party victories, President Harry S. Truman tried to demonstrate his own concern about the threat of Communism by setting up a loyalty program for federal employees. He also asked the Justice Department to compile an official list of 78 subversive organizations.<sup>117</sup> As the midterm election year got underway, former State Department official Alger Hiss, suspected of espionage, was convicted of perjury. McCarthy, in a speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, mounted an attack on Truman’s foreign policy agenda by charging that the State Department and its Secretary, Dean Acheson, harbored “traitorous” [Communists](#).

## **Have You No Sense of Decency: The Army-McCarthy Hearings**

“Anticommunist crusader Senator Joseph R. McCarthy stepped into national prominence on February 9, 1950, when he mounted an attack on President Truman’s foreign policy agenda. McCarthy charged that the State Department and its Secretary, Dean Acheson, harbored “traitorous” Communists. McCarthy’s apocalyptic rhetoric made critics hesitate before challenging him. Those accused by McCarthy faced loss of employment, damaged careers, and in many cases, broken lives. After the 1952 election, in which the Republican Party won control of Congress, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and its Subcommittee on Investigations. McCarthy then extended his targets to include numerous government agencies, in addition to the broadcasting and defense industries, universities, and the United Nations. After Secretary of the Army, Robert T. Stevens, refused to intercede to halt an overseas assignment for McCarthy’s chief consultant, G. David Schine, who had been drafted, McCarthy’s committee began a two-month investigation of the Army.”

## **Report on the Communist “peace” offensive; a campaign to disarm and defeat the United States**

“It has come to the attention of the committee that some of the persons who are so described in either the text or the appendix withdrew their support and/or affiliation with these organizations when the Communist character of these organizations was discovered. There may also be persons whose names were used as sponsors or affiliates of these organizations without permission or knowledge of the individuals involved. The committee, having no desire to charge any innocent person with having Communist affiliations, will therefore publish the names of any individual who has so

---

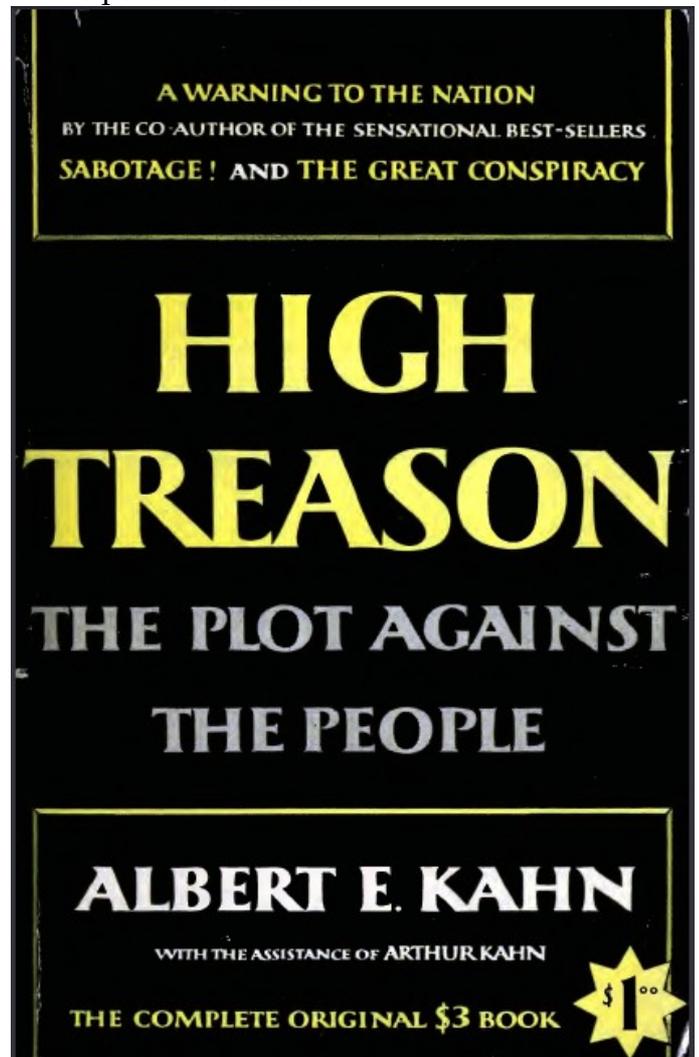
<sup>116</sup> Source: <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/conversations/Pauling/pauling2.html>

<sup>117</sup> Read: [Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations](#).

withdrawn from these organizations or whose name was used by these organizations without permission or knowledge in a future report if such person will communicate with the committee, giving the circumstances in his particular case.”<sup>118</sup>

## [William Edward Burghardt DuBois](#) [Seen as Unregistered Foreign Agent](#)

According to the [FBI](#), the historian [William E.B. DuBois](#), “former Director of Publications of the [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People](#), was of interest to the FBI due to his affiliation with communist front groups.” ... “In the following years Du Bois served as a co-chairman of the [Council on African Affairs](#),<sup>119</sup> chairman of the Peace Information Center and of the American Peace Crusade<sup>120, 121</sup>. In the 1950 elections he ran as the candidate of the American Labor Party for United States Senator from New York. The activities of the Peace Information Center led to an indictment against Du Bois and four associates as unregistered foreign agents during the anti-Communist [vigilantism](#) of 1951. Although the charges were dismissed as groundless later that year, the attack by an arm of his own country's government was a bitter experience for Du Bois. For the next several years Du Bois continued his interest



<sup>118</sup> Source: <http://www.archive.org/details/reportoncommunis00unit>

<sup>119</sup> “In 1953, the CAA was charged with subversion under the McCarran Act. Its principal leaders, including [Robeson](#), Du Bois, and [Hunton](#), were subjected to harassment, indictments, and in the case of [Hunton](#), imprisonment. Under the weight of internal disputes, government repression, and financial hardships, the Council on African Affairs disbanded in 1955. Ardent involvement in the liberation of colonialist Africa was considered a threat to the US government.” Source: Wikipedia.

<sup>120</sup> See: [Guide to the Abbott Simon Papers](#) TAM 346. Elmer Holmes Bobst Library and Manning Marable,.: [Peace and Black Liberation](#) : The Contributions of W.E.B Du Bois. Science & Society, 1983-1984 p. 399. The National Committee to Defend Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and Associates in the Peace Information Center was created to support the accused. The Peace Center published “Peace on Trial” pamphlet prepared by the Peace Information Center, I Take My Stand for Peace by W. E. B. Du Bois and Agents of Peace by [Albert E. Kahn](#), published by the National Committee to defend Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Associates. Joshua Dougherty: [Left out in the cold](#) : the arrest of W.E.B. Du Bois and the reaction of the African American community to the red scare. Thesis (M.A.) - Simon Fraser University, 2003. See also the case against the [Highlander Folk School](#), 1959.

<sup>121</sup> See also: [Investigation of Communist propaganda among prisoners of war in Korea](#), (Save Our Sons Committee) Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eighty-fourth Congress, second session, June 18 and 19, 1956.

in peace and international affairs, visited Russia and China, and worked on The Black Flame trilogy of novels.”<sup>122</sup>

## **I Have Sung in Hobo Jungles, and I Have Sung for the Rockefellers” Pete Seeger Refuses to “Sing” for HUAC**

“During the Cold War era, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) interrogated more than 3,000 government officials, labor union leaders, teachers, journalists, entertainers, and others. They wanted to purge Communists, former Communists, and “fellow travellers” who refused to renounce their past and inform on associates from positions of influence within American society. Among the Committee’s targets were performers at events held in support of suspect organizations. Pete Seeger acquired a love of American folk music while travelling through the South in the 1930s with his [father](#), a musicologist and classical composer, and as an employee in the [Library of Congress’ Archive of American Folk Song](#). As a folk singer motivated by concerns for social justice, cross-cultural communication, and international peace, Seeger performed songs from diverse sources to many kinds of audiences, and in 1948 campaigned for [Progressive Party](#) candidate [Henry Wallace](#) as part of the folk music organization [People’s Songs](#). In the following testimony before HUAC, Seeger refused to invoke the Fifth Amendment, protecting citizens from self-incrimination. Instead he insisted that the Committee had no right to question him regarding his political beliefs or associations. This strategy resulted in prison terms for contempt of Congress for the [Hollywood Ten](#) in 1947. Seeger himself was sentenced to a year in prison for contempt, but the verdict was reversed in 1962. Nevertheless, Seeger remained on a network television blacklist until the late 1960s.”<sup>123</sup>

## **The FBI's Vendetta against Martin Luther King, Jr.**

In November 1963, “John Kennedy was [assassinated](#) in Dallas, Texas. [Lyndon Johnson](#) became president and the Justice Department was in a state of confusion with the attorney general preoccupied with his personal grief. King viewed the assassination as a tragedy, and hoped it would spawn a new public concern for peace and reconciliation. While the nation mourned, the FBI held a conference at the beginning of December to plan its campaign to destroy King and the civil rights movement. At that all-day meeting FBI officials put forward proposals that make [G. Gordon Liddy's](#) Watergate plan seem pale by comparison. Officials of the nation's number-one law enforcement agency agreed to use "all available investigative techniques" to develop information for use "to discredit" King. Proposals discussed included using ministers, "disgruntled" acquaintances, "aggressive" newsmen, "colored" agents, Dr. King's housekeeper, and even Dr. King's wife or "placing a good looking female plant in King's office" to develop discrediting information and to take action that would lead to his disgrace.”<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> The Papers of WE.B. Du Bois 1803 (1877-1963) 1979. A Guide by Robert W McDonnell.

<sup>123</sup> Source: <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6457>

<sup>124</sup> Excerpted from the book The Lawless State: The crimes of the U.S. Intelligence Agencies. By Morton Halperin, Jerry Berman, Robert Borosage, Christine Marwick Penguin Books, 1976

## The Spying Against the Reverend [Martin Deppe](#)

“[From Social Questions Bulletin, October 1972]

[Rev. William Baird](#), Executive Director of the Northern California Committee Against Repressive Legislation, and pastor of the [Humanist Church in Oakland](#), told of his experience in getting 67 organizations in Chicago organized in the Chicago Alliance to End Repression ; it took 27 years to get it together. Our MFSA vice president Martin Deppe was involved in this project. Chicago is the only place in the U.S. where there is such an alliance. "I was headlined in the Chicago Tribune as the Red Minister of Chicago." Feeling that the threat of a [police state](#) in the U.S. was very great, the Alliance helped to get 50 anti-Daley delegates elected to the Democratic [Convention](#). "A Roman Catholic priest is chairman of the Alliance, a nun is secretary. We won't do anything unless we work with the [Gus Halls](#). There was a discussion between [Karl Barth](#) and six selected U.S. Communist leaders. Barth said, 'I am a Christian Marxist'. The Communists replied. 'You are our brother.' What is your concern [Angela Davis](#)? The Blacks? Housing? I took six months off from my job to work on the Angela Davis case. I tried to get into the churches with the film about Angela, '[Portrait of a Revolutionary](#)'. Most of you weren't with her," Baird said to the Federation members. "As far as you would go was to say she should get a fair trial. But she, to you, had leprosy. She is a Communist."

This statement really confirmed my suspicion about the Alliance, and so I called the Chicago Police Department and asked if there was anyone there who was interested in the organization, the Alliance to End Repression. The man on the phone said he would check and get back to me. I was contacted by a member of the intelligence division who said he was interested and would like to meet and talk with me. I was so pleased to get this call because it was evident someone else shared my concern.

It is appalling to me that the United Methodist Church would financially and vocally support an organization such as the Alliance to End Repression when it is built on such a foundation. Perhaps the reason for the initial support was that one of the founders of the Alliance is Reverend [Martin Deppe](#), a Methodist. [Martin Deppe](#) has been connected with several questionable groups, such as the [American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born](#),<sup>125</sup> which has been cited as a Communist front organization. He has served as vice-president in the [Methodist Federation for Social Action](#), also cited as a Communist front. He is involved in [Clergy and Laymen Concerned](#)<sup>126</sup>, a peace group, and when participating in this organization's activities was arrested in the Capitol Rotunda;<sup>127</sup> and is on the Advisory Council of the Chicago Committee to

---

[http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/NSA/Vendetta\\_MLK\\_LS.html](http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/NSA/Vendetta_MLK_LS.html)

<sup>125</sup> In 1982 the ACPFB was absorbed by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and went out of business.

<sup>126</sup> "According to excerpts from the [FBI](#) file regarding this pacifist organization, it participated in many anti-war, anti-draft activities during the Vietnam War era of the late 1960s and early 1970s."

<sup>127</sup> In 1972 Rev. Martin L. Deppe, was one of 95 members of Clergy and Laity Concerned arrested during a demonstration in the Capital Rotunda in Washington DC.

Defend the Bills of Rights<sup>128</sup>, the Midwest affiliate of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.”<sup>129</sup>

## Operation CHAOS

Operation CHAOS or Operation MHCHAOS was the code name for a domestic espionage project conducted by the Central Intelligence Agency. A department within the CIA was established in 1967 on orders from President of the United States Lyndon B. Johnson and later expanded under President Richard Nixon. The operation was launched under Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) [Richard Helms](#), by chief of counter-intelligence, James Jesus Angleton, and headed by Richard Ober. The program's goal was to unmask possible foreign influences on the student antiwar movement. The "MH" designation is to signify the program had a worldwide area of operations.

Parallel operations

Project MERRIMAC - Designed to infiltrate domestic antiwar and radical organizations thought to pose a threat to security of CIA property and personnel.

[Project RESISTANCE](#) - Worked with college administrators, campus security and local police to identify anti-war activists and political dissidents without any infiltration taking place”. Source: Wikipedia.

“The organizations, to name a few, included:

[Students for a Democratic Society](#) (SDS);<sup>130</sup>

Young Communist Workers Liberation League (YCWLL);

[National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam](#);

Women's Strike for Peace;<sup>131</sup>

[Freedomways Magazine](#) and Freedomways Associated, Inc.;

[American Indian Movement](#) (AIM);

[Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee](#) (SNCC);

Draft Resistance Groups (U.S.);

Cross World Books and Periodicals, Inc.;

[U.S. Committee to Aid the National liberation Front of South Vietnam](#);

[Grove Press, Inc.](#);

[Nation of Islam](#);

<sup>128</sup> Deppe headed the Alliance to End Repression in its 11-year effort that culminated in a consent decree from a federal district court eliminating the Chicago Police Department's Subversive Activities Unit, the infamous "Red Squad."

<sup>129</sup> [The nationwide drive against law enforcement intelligence operations](#) : hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-fourth Congress, first session ... (1975) p. 107.

<sup>130</sup> See: <http://terrasol.home.igc.org/wiretap2.htm>

<sup>131</sup> Women Strike for Peace was founded by [Bella Abzug](#) and [Dagmar Wilson](#), and was initially part of the movement for a ban on nuclear testing and to end the Vietnam war ...They played a crucial role, perhaps the crucial role (according to Eric Bentley), in bringing down the House Un-American Activities Committee. Source: Wikipedia. See: The Committee on Un-American Activities: Communist activities in the peace movement: (Women strike for peace and certain other groups). Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities House of Representatives 87th Congress 1962. Second session December 11-13, 1962. pp. [2047]-2201. <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/strike.pdf>  
See also: <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace/DG100-150/DG115/hist.htm>

[Youth International party \(YIP\)](#);  
[Women's Liberation Movement](#);  
[Black Panther Party \(BPP\)](#);  
[Venceremos Brigade](#);  
Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam".<sup>132</sup>

"The Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI was a leftist activist group operational during the early 1970s. Their only known action was the stealing over 1000 classified documents ... The documents revealed the COINTELPRO operation ... According to its analysis of the documents in this FBI office, another 14 percent of the documents concerned draft resistance and "leaving the military without government permission." Source: Wikipedia.<sup>133</sup>

## The November 1967 Peace Movement Study

"CIA's inquiry into foreign ties of American dissidents intensified at the end of October 1967. This time, responding to a specific White House request, Helms directed CIA to produce a study on the "[International Connections of the U.S. Peace Movement](#)."<sup>134</sup> Presumably, this request was precipitated by the October 21 demonstrations and arrests at the Pentagon and the worldwide antiwar demonstrations on the same day... The conclusions of the review were essentially negative. The study noted that the diversity and loose structure of the peace movement in America permitted the more active leaders to coordinate some of the activities on an international scale and it cited the simultaneous demonstrations on October 21, both here and abroad. But the CIA *found little evidence of actual foreign direction or control*, or evidence that any international dialogue went beyond consultation and coordination.

From this intimate review of the bulk of the material on hand in Washington, we conclude that there are significant holes in the story. We lack information on certain aspects of the movement which could only be met by levying requirements on the FBI.

First we found little or no information on the financing of the principal peace movement groups. Specifically, we were unable to uncover any sources of funds for the costly travel schedules of prominent peace movement coordinators, many of whom are on the wing almost constantly.

Second we could find no evidence of any contact between the most prominent peace movement leaders and foreign embassies, either in the U.S. or abroad. Of course, there may not be any such contact, but on the other hand, we are woefully short of information on the day-to-day activities and itineraries of these men.

Finally, there is little information available about radical peace movement groups on U.S. college campuses. These groups are, of course, highly mobile and sometimes even

---

<sup>132</sup> Source: <http://www.cia-on-campus.org/surveil/chaos.html>

<sup>133</sup> See also: Noam Chomsky: Domestic Terrorism: Notes on the State System of Oppression. *New Political Science*, Volume 21, Number 3 (September, 1999), pp. 303-324.  
<http://www.chomsky.info/articles/199909--.htm>

<sup>134</sup> See also [Reactions abroad to Vietnam protest demonstrations in the US](#), 1965 and the memorandum [CIA support to Washington metropolitan police department during anti-Vietnam War demonstrations 1969-1971](#)

difficult to identify, but their more prominent leaders are certainly visible and active enough for monitoring”...<sup>135</sup>

“It was the height of the Vietnam War and the U.S. military draft; Woodstock was taking place in New York; and it was also a turning point for the Mennonite peace witness. The year was 1969.”<sup>136</sup>



## The Anti-War Movement in the United States

By Mark Barringer

“The movement regained solidarity following several disturbing incidents. In February 1970 news of the [My Lai massacre](#) became public and ignited widespread outrage. In April President Nixon, who had previously committed to a planned withdrawal, announced that U.S. forces had entered Cambodia. Within minutes of the televised statement, protesters took to the streets with renewed focus. Then, on 4 May, Ohio National Guardsmen fired on a group of student protesters at Kent State University, killing four and wounding sixteen<sup>137</sup>. Death, previously distant, was now close at hand. New groups-Nobel science laureates, State Department officers, the American Civil Liberties Union-all openly called for withdrawal. Congress began threatening the Nixon ad-

<sup>135</sup> Source: <http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/cointelpro/churchfinalreportIIIi.htm>

<sup>136</sup> Source: Mennonite peacemakers across generations gather to discuss resistance – then and now. <http://www.goshen.edu/news/pressarchive/11-24-09-resistance376.html>

<sup>137</sup> “The FBI investigated the violent events at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.” <http://foia.fbi.gov/foi-aindex/kentstat.htm>

ministration with challenges to presidential authority. When the New York Times published the first instalment of the Pentagon Papers on 13 June 1971, Americans became aware of the true nature of the war. Stories of drug trafficking, political assassinations, and indiscriminate bombings led many to believe that military and intelligence services had lost all accountability. Antiwar sentiment, previously tainted with an air of anti-Americanism, became instead a normal reaction against zealous excess. Dissent dominated America; the antiwar cause had become institutionalized. By January 1973, when Nixon announced the effective end of U.S. involvement, he did so in response to a mandate unequalled in modern times.”<sup>138</sup>

## Draft Offenders in Cleveland

“The Vietnam War most directly affected those young men eligible for military service. Between 1965-72, about 154,000 men of draft age lived in Cuyahoga County. Local statistics for military service are not available, but from 1970 census figures and percentages derived from national figures, it appears that about 50,000 draft-age men of the county enlisted, 12,000 were drafted, and about 92,000 never served in the military. Of those who never served, about 88,000 were deferred, exempted, or disqualified from service, while about 4,000 were apparent draft offenders. Of the estimated 62,000 Clevelanders, who served in the military during the Vietnam era, probably 47,000 never went to Vietnam, 3,000 served in Vietnam but saw no combat, and 12,000 experienced combat.”<sup>139</sup>

## Emigration to Canada

“Between 1965 and 1976 there was a net increase of roughly 120,000 American immigrants to Canada. The actual number of draft resisters and deserters is uncertain. Estimates vary between 30,000 and 100,000, but Renée Kasinsky’s figure of 40,000 seems closest to an accurate accounting.”<sup>140</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Source: <http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/vietnam/antiwar.html>

<sup>139</sup> Source: Kenneth W. Rose: the Encyclopedia of Cleveland History. <http://ech.cwru.edu/ech-cgi/article.pl?id=VW>

<sup>140</sup> Source: David S. Churchill: An Ambiguous Welcome: Vietnam Draft Resistance, the Canadian State, and Cold War Containment. <http://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/hssh/article/viewFile/4372/3570>



# CIVIL LIBERTIES

PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION    NUMBER 260 - MAY, 1970

### West Point Grad Is CO

The ACLU is representing Lt. Louis Paul Font, a "distinguished graduate" of West Point who has petitioned the Army to discharge him as a selective conscientious objector.

While doing graduate work at the Army Civil Schools Program at Harvard, Font became convinced he could not participate in the Viet Nam war. He submitted a 4-page petition for discharge to the Commanding General, First United States Army, Fort Meade, Md.

Font said, "The value I place on human life, the value I place on individual integrity and honor, and the respect I feel for God and my Creator, compel me to submit this claim of conscientious objection to the Viet Nam war. I am not a total pacifist, but after considerable meditation and study, there exists no doubt in my mind that the Viet Nam war is immoral and unjust. To act as Viet Nam in the United States government is destroying another country - an undeveloped country - and in the process is destroying itself. I find this morally repugnant. Each lot of explosives takes its toll in the brutalization of the American soldier in the field as well as in the death and hardship and the suffering loss of the Vietnamese people we know, and need only read General William C. Westmoreland's June 1968 Report on the War in Viet Nam to grasp the flavor of a war." *Cont'd p. 4, col. 2.*

### ACLU Asks Court to Stop Army Spying on Civilians

The ACLU Foundation is suing the Army to dismantle its civilian intelligence network.

The Army gathers, records and disseminates extensive information on politically dissident individuals and organizations, ostensibly so it will be able to function effectively if called upon to act in domestic disorders.

According to the Union, information on lawful political activity can serve no legitimate military purpose. But the operation of the intelligence network does serve to inhibit civilian political dissent.

The federal lawsuit claims anonymous informants, the FBI and state and local police gather and feed to the Army information "on virtually all political protest occurring anywhere within the United States." The Army circulates this information indiscriminately to every troop command in the form of daily and weekly teletype reports. A "blacklist" booklet contains profiles of individuals and organizations who "might cause trouble for the Army."

Much of the information is stored in data banks. The Foundation's lawsuit says the Army plans to make the information in the data banks available to numerous federal and state agencies upon request.

A week after the suit was filed in Federal District Court, Cong. Cornelius E. Gallagher, Chairman of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, announced the Army would stop its surveillance of civilian organizations, and Army General Counsel Robert E. Jordan made similar assertions to ACLU Washington Director Lawrence Spierer.

The Union went back to federal court with a motion asking an immediate injunction against the Army. The motion pointed out the inadequacies of the Army's "reassurance" and provided new information about the scope of the intelligence system.

According to the memorandum filed with the Court, the Army's domestic intelligence program "involves the conduct of undercover operations by military intelligence units within the civilian community, the maintenance of over a dozen regional and national records centers on political protests, and the distribution to military units



Louis Paul Font, shown here at West Point, was released from the armed forces as a conscientious objector to the Viet Nam war. He is thought to be the first Academy graduate to seek CO status. The ACLU is representing him in Army hearings.

### CLUs Challenge Abortion Laws, Four More Lawsuits Started

The abortion laws of four more states have been challenged in court actions instituted by ACLU affiliates in recent months. The new ACLU suits were filed in Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey and Iowa.

According to the ACLU Foundation's Illinois Project, the Illinois abortion statutes violate constitutional guarantees of free speech, privacy, due process and equal protection. The statutes permit abortion only to preserve a woman's life.

The ACLU filed a federal suit on behalf of the chairman of the departments of obstetrics and gynecology of the four major Chicago medical schools. Plaintiffs include a married woman who was forced to go to Great Britain for an abortion and a poor woman who was forced to bear an unwanted child. Both were denied legal abortions in Illinois.

According to the complaint, free speech and privacy are abridged when the state interferes with a woman's right to decide whether to bear a child, denies a doctor's right to advise his patient according to his judgment, and intrudes in the marriage relationship.

**Due Process**

The terms of the law are vague and overbroad, in violation of due process, the complaint says. And the law discriminates against women who cannot afford to travel out of the state or country to obtain legal abortions or to pay for psychiatric and other examinations to determine that they will be endangered if forced to bear children.

According to a public statement issued

### Jack Pemberton Resigns Union's Top Staff Job

ACLU Executive Director John de J. Pemberton, Jr. announced his resignation last month. He will leave the Union when his successor is chosen.

Pemberton, who plans to return to law practice, has led the Union through eight years of unprecedented growth. Membership more than doubled; income quadrupled, and the legal case load increased eightfold. The Union extended its influence throughout the nation and into new areas of civil liberties concern.

In announcing Pemberton's resignation, ACLU Board Chairman Edward J. Emswiler said, "All this attests to the creative, bold and dedicated service that Mr. Pemberton has rendered the Union, and for which our Board, affiliates and members are deeply appreciative. As we begin our search for his successor, we are heartened by the strong foundations on which the Union rests. This is evidenced not only by the concrete examples of the ACLU's growth, but by the love of liberty and freedom, and the determination to maintain them, which Mr. Pemberton has exemplified throughout the Union."

A special committee has been appointed by the chairman to search for a successor to Pemberton.



John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

## **Destroy this insidious movement**

“As the current school year commences, it can be expected that the New Left with its anti-war and anti-draft entourage will make every effort to confront college authorities, stifle military recruiting, and frustrate the Selective Service System. Each office will be expected, therefore, to afford this program continuous effective attention in order that no opportunity will be missed to destroy this insidious movement.”<sup>141</sup>

## **The Contest for the Center, Turning a Corner**

“The president understood the importance of public opinion. "Our biggest problem," he told a reporter, "is not with Ho and with the fighting out there. It's with our situation here. It is leading the enemy to believe that we might quit." With public support fading and the military situation a stalemate, the administration launched a major effort to sell the war as a success and to discredit the antiwar movement.

On the eve of the March on the Pentagon, Secretary of State Rusk announced that the White House had secret evidence that the antiwar movement was communist-controlled. Shortly afterwards, the president arranged news leaks, including a meeting with a small bipartisan group from Congress on 24 October, intended to suggest that the CIA had documentary proof of the movement's communist sources. Itching to seize the offensive against his critics, the president met with his closest advisors on 4 November and ranted: "I'm not going to let the Communists take this government and they're doing it right now. ... I told the Attorney General that I am not going to let 200,000 of these people ruin everything for the 200 million Americans. I've got my belly full of seeing these people put on a Communist plane and shipped all over this country I want someone to carefully look at who leaves this country, where they go, why they are going, and if they're going to Hanoi, how are we going to keep them from getting back into this country".

As the president well knew, his own security agencies had been looking carefully at the antiwar movement and its international connections. The FBI had been engaged in surveillance (and sometimes harassment) of dissidents for two years, and the CIA had begun to penetrate Washington-area peace groups in February 1967 through a proprietary company related to its Project Merrimac. In September the CIA had intensified its surveillance of the antiwar movement in a program aptly called Operation Chaos. Investigation concentrated initially on the Pentagon march and on international connections of organized protest. It turned into the CIA's most massive intrusion into domestic American politics—a seven-year campaign that monitored (and sometimes disrupted) over 1,000 organizations and 200,000 individuals while claiming a priority status equal to that of the Agency's spying on the Soviet Union. On 15 November, CIA director Richard Helms submitted a preliminary report of this investigation to the president. The CIA team concluded at the outset that the antiwar movement was so diverse that it could not be characterized by any specific political or ideological

---

<sup>141</sup> Sources: Memorandum from FBI Headquarters to all SACs, 10/9/68. In: COINTELPRO: THE FBI'S COVERT ACTION PROGRAMS AGAINST AMERICAN CITIZENS <http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/cointelpro/churchfinalreportIIIa.htm>

labels. The CIA judged, moreover, that the leaders of the movement "have close Communist associations but they do not appear to be under Communist direction." More precisely, the report drew two key conclusions:

On the basis of what we now know, *we see no significant evidence that would prove Communist control or direction of the U.S. peace movement or its leaders. Most of the Vietnam protest activity would be there with or without the Communist element.*

The president refused to release this report, although pressed to do so by House minority leader Gerald Ford who, as a result of the president's private briefing, had claimed publicly that the October march was "cranked up in Hanoi." Instead, the administration continued to denigrate the antiwar movement as communist-inspired.<sup>142</sup>

## The Catonsville Nine

"The trial of the "Catonsville Nine" was a legal rite which served to draw American attention to an increasingly unpopular war, openly opposed by Roman Catholic priests and nuns. [Daniel Berrigan](#) used the event to create a dramatic play which soon was being performed all over the nation. In spite of their efforts to put the war itself on trial, the court convicted the Berrigans and gave them two-year sentences. They appealed the decision and, while free on bail, dropped from sight. Philip was captured 11 days later, but Daniel remained at liberty for four months, even making public appearances while the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) chased him around the country. In August 1970 he was finally captured and sent to the Danbury, Connecticut, correctional facility. There he spent his time writing several volumes of poetry. Enraged over its own failures, the FBI accused the Berrigan brothers of conspiring to blow up parts of Washington, D.C., and of attempting to kidnap government officials. The charges were all thrown out of court in 1972.

After his release from prison in February 1972, Berrigan continued his "witness-bearing" against militarism, nuclear arms, racism, and injustice. Calling his post-Catonsville pacifist efforts "Ploughshares," as in the Biblical injunction "to beat your swords into ploughshares," Berrigan and his brother repeatedly pitted their freedom against the power of the state. During the late 1980s and early 90s, their protests included breaking into a defense contractor's plant to douse blood on nuclear missile nose cones, the disarming of two cruise missile launchers at a submarine construction site, and illegal entry aboard a destroyer under construction. From 1970 to 1995 Berrigan spent a total of nearly seven years in prison for various offenses related to his protests. In later years he regretted the level of American apathy and often complained that his protests received scant attention in the press."<sup>143</sup>

## Erich Fromm

"Erich Fromm was born on March 23, 1900, in Frankfurt, Germany. He was employed as a psychoanalyst at New York University in 1965. He was to attend the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow, Russia on July 9 - 14, 1962. He

<sup>142</sup> Source: Charles DeBenedetti: *An American Ordeal*, 1990 pp. 204-205.

<sup>143</sup> Source: <http://www.answers.com/topic/daniel-j-berrigan>

was the sponsor of the New York Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Erich Fromm was not the subject of an FBI investigation, but his name appears in cross references. He was active in the Viet Nam Anti War demonstrations, therefore, his name appears in lots of documents.”<sup>144</sup>

## Howard Zinn

“On July 30, 2010, the FBI released one file with three sections totalling 423 pages on Howard Zinn, a best selling radical historian, teacher, playwright, and political activist. Zinn was born in Brooklyn, New York and died at the age of 87 on January 27, 2010. As a young man he worked as a shipyard hand and served in the U. S. military as a bombardier during World War II. Returning from the war, he became involved in a number of left-wing political causes, some of them associated with the activities of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA).

In 1949, the FBI opened a domestic security investigation on Zinn (FBI File # 100-360217). The Bureau noted Zinn’s activities in what were called Communist Front Groups and received informant reports that Zinn was an active member of the CPUSA; Zinn denied ever being a member when he was questioned by agents in the 1950s. In the 1960s, the Bureau took another look at Zinn on account of his criticism of the FBI’s civil rights investigations. Further investigation was made when Zinn traveled to North Vietnam with Daniel Berrigan as an anti-war activist. The investigation ended in 1974, and no further investigation into Zinn or his activities was made by the FBI.”<sup>145</sup>

## The Vietnam War on Danish Soil

The following article is from the International Information Centre on Imperialism and the Capitalist State, in Copenhagen.

“In the NATO-country Denmark the developments were followed with increasing anxiety. The times were over when Per Haekkerup could swing his lash over a Sara Lidman and without any shame at all confess to the US anti-communist crusade in Vietnam. The Social Democrats were now represented in the leadership of the organization Vietnam 69. The president of DASF, Anker Jørgensen, sharply turned against the US warfare and large parts of the Trade Union movement were behind the demand for "peace in Vietnam." On November 15th, 1969, The Danish Vietnam Committees gathered more than 25,000 demonstrators in Copenhagen under the slogans "USA out of Vietnam," "Fight American Imperialism," and "NATO out of Denmark." Public opinion was changing in favour of the liberation movements. The pressures from below were too much for the VKR-government. And what about the pressures from above? Danish commercial interests in South East Asia: SAS, A.P. Møller, OK, Kampsax, F.L. Smidth? He who swaps horses in midstream gets his feet wet.

---

<sup>144</sup> Source: <http://foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex/erichfromm.htm>

<sup>145</sup> Source: [http://foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex/zinn\\_howard.htm](http://foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex/zinn_howard.htm)

On March 14th, 1972, the PRG Information Office was meticulously searched by activists from the Danish Vietnam Committees, DDV, and two radio transmitters were found—both in the residential quarters on the first floor. Both transmitters were "made in USA", but what was the nationality of the "plumbing gang"?"

### **Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Oversight of the Permanent Select Committee On Intelligence, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 2nd Session, February 6 & 19, 1980**

“Mr. ASHBROOK. Well, let's take a specific example and see where the trail leads and if it is a dead end. You identified the World Peace Council as the largest of the major Soviet front groups used in propaganda campaigns. Is that correct?

Mr. McMAHON. Yes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. All right. Does it or does it not have an American affiliate?

Mr. PORTMAN. It has an American affiliate.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The American affiliate is the U .S. Peace Council, is it not?

Mr. PORTMAN. Right.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The American affiliate of the World Peace Council, the U .S. Peace Council, had their founding convention just last fall. It was November 9 to 11 in Philadelphia, I guess that is why I raised the first point. You know, we are talking about action, we are talking about the largest of their front groups. They founded an American affiliate. They will obviously start the propaganda effort. Now, is that important enough that you follow it or do you target that?

Mr. McMAHON. We would not target it, nor would we follow it, but the Bureau would be apprised and aware of any reporting we had to that end, and if they deem it is an illegal activity in the United States, then they would pursue it. I must point out that the Communist Party is a very legal institution in the United States.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes, and I followed what they did very carefully, looked at their agenda, and I doubt whether most of what they do is illegal but the Supreme Court has found that the C.P.U.S.A. is controlled by the Soviet Union. As near as I could follow the speeches at the Philadelphia meeting, everything was done legal and above-board. But, we have this connection that very few, except the few of us in this room, probably know that here is an American affiliate of what you term the major Soviet international front organization in propaganda campaigns, and it goes on its merry way. I guess that is just a part of the problem we have in the west.

Mr. McMAHON. That is part of an open society, sir” ....<sup>146</sup>

## **The second cold war**

“On December 12, 1979, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) implemented the so-called Double-Track Decision: In case arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union failed, the West would station intermediate nuclear forces to provide a counter-

---

<sup>146</sup> Source: <http://cryptome.org/cia-FM30-31B.htm>

weight to the new Soviet SS-20 missiles. This momentous decision, alongside the almost simultaneous Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, directly affected international politics as well as domestic developments in Europe and North America. The world moved from an era of reduced tension to a newly heightened East-West confrontation during the "Second Cold War."<sup>147</sup> The political debate of the second cold war is described in the anthology *The Arms Race or the Human Race* from 1986.<sup>148</sup>

## **State surveillance of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament**

The [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament](#) (CND) is an anti-nuclear organization that advocates unilateral nuclear disarmament by the United Kingdom, and for international nuclear disarmament and tighter international arms regulation through agreements such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The security service (MI5) has carried out surveillance of CND members it considered to be subversive. From the late 1960s until the mid-1970s, MI5 designated CND as subversive by virtue of its being "communist controlled". From the late 1970s, it was downgraded to "communist-penetrated". MI5 says it has no current investigations in this area.

In 1985, Cathy Massiter, an MI5 officer who had been responsible for the surveillance of CND from 1981 to 1983, resigned and made disclosures to a Channel 4 20/20 Vision programme, "MI5's Official Secrets". She said that her work was determined more by the political importance of CND than by any security threat posed by subversive elements within it. In 1983, she analysed telephone intercepts on John Cox that gave her access to conversations with Joan Ruddock and Bruce Kent. MI5 also placed a spy, Harry Newton, in the CND office. On the basis of Ruddock's contacts, MI5 suspected her of being a communist sympathiser and it was suggested that Bruce Kent might be a crypto-communist. MI5 also suspected its treasurer, Cathy Ashton, of being a communist sympathiser. When Michael Heseltine became Secretary of State for Defence, Massiter prepared a report on CND for him. She was asked to provide information for Defence Secretariat 19 about leading CND personnel but was instructed to include only information from published sources. Ruddock claims that DS19 released distorted information regarding her political party affiliations to the media and Conservative Party candidates." Source: Wikipedia

## **Danish historian found guilty of libel against 'Soviet' journalist**

Monday, 10 May 2010

"On Friday journalist Jørgen Dragsdahl won his second libel case over being called a KGB agent but the defendant will appeal the ruling

A university professor and historian was found guilty of libel by a Svendborg lower court on Friday over numerous articles accusing a well-known journalist of being a KGB spy during the Cold War.

---

<sup>147</sup> Source: [http://www.nuclearcrisis.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=1](http://www.nuclearcrisis.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=1)

<sup>148</sup> <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/armsrace.pdf>

In its ruling, the court ordered professor Bent Jensen to pay a fine of 40,000 kroner and another 200,000 kroner directly to the plaintiff, Jørgen Dragsdahl. Jensen said he would immediately appeal the decision.

The long history behind the conflict began in the 1980s when former KGB double-agent Oleg Gordievskij included Dragsdahl as one of 273 Danes whose names Gordijevskij gave to the British Secret Service and Danish intelligence agency PET as people having contact with the KGB. Secret PET documents reveal that the agency found it likely Dragsdahl was working for Soviet intelligence.

PET had called Dragsdahl to a meeting back in 1986 and told him his activities were suspect and that they were keeping an eye on him. However, the final documentation on the journalist concluded that there was insufficient evidence against him to pursue charges of treason against him.

In 1992 Ekstra Bladet newspaper had published an article alleging Dragsdahl was a KGB agent. Dragsdahl took the newspaper to court and won a libel case against it, with Ekstra Bladet fined 125,000 kroner.

Some of the information in the PET documents was later obtained by Jensen, who used it to write an article in 2007 in Jyllands-Posten newspaper labelling Dragsdahl as a KGB agent. Jensen asserted that the documentation proved that PET considered Dragsdahl to be a Soviet spy. Dragsdahl subsequently sued both Jensen and Jyllands-Posten culminating in Friday's verdict. Jyllands-Posten was acquitted of any wrongdoing. Jensen, who also heads the Centre for Cold War Research (CFKF), called the grounds for the judge's decision 'erroneous' and that Friday's ruling was made by 'legal people who know nothing about source critique'.<sup>149</sup>

## Looking for Links in Denmark

By Judith Winter

"In the spring of 1981, an advertisement ran in two Danish newspapers, "Information" and the communist paper "Land og Folk", calling for a Nordic Nuclear Weapons Free Zone. The ad was sponsored by the noted left-wing author Herløv Petersen and signed by most of Denmark's authors and poets. Petersen has travelled widely in the Soviet Union and North Korea and has written about those countries, such was all well-known. Then in November, shortly after the grounding of the Soviet submarine in Swedish waters, the Danish government announced that Petersen had been arrested because the money for that advertisement had come from Soviet diplomat Vladimir Mercoulov. The Soviet was expelled from Denmark, charged with spying. Petersen was released from jail but will still have to appear in court. A notable point in this case is that accepting money from foreign countries in order to influence public opinion is not illegal in Denmark. Attempts to pass such a law after World War Two failed when right-wing parties opposed it since it would mean they could not get U.S. money to promote their programs. So the thrust of this case is that it has supplied the material

---

<sup>149</sup> Source: <http://www.cphpost.dk/news/international/48942-historian-found-guilty-of-libel-against-soviet-journalist.html> See also and [http://www.petkommissionen.dk/fileadmin/bind/pet\\_bind13.pdf](http://www.petkommissionen.dk/fileadmin/bind/pet_bind13.pdf) and <http://jp.dk/indland/article1667748.ece> in Danish.

for a huge slander campaign against the Danish peace movements. This one incident is being used to smear not only the movements in Denmark, but all of the people in Europe working for disarmament. While the Petersen case has been brought up again and again, the smear campaign has not succeeded in discrediting the movements. The ministers of Justice and Foreign Affairs have both warned against using this event against the peace movements, stressing that there is a difference between the Danish groups. One group, Samarbejdskomiteen for Fred og Sikkerhed, is associated with the World Peace Council and gets money from the Danish Communist Party, but this is not all that there is to the Danish movement. Another positive result is that when the artists who signed the ad were asked if they would have signed it had they known who paid for it, most said yes — they were in favour of a Nordic Nuclear Free Zone no matter who paid for the advertisement. Finally the 5 December disarmament demonstrations around Denmark dramatically showed that commitment to disarmament — both East and West is widespread.”<sup>150</sup>

## **The spy case that would not disappear - 2nd Chap**

By Jens Lenler, Politiken 11<sup>th</sup>, December 2005

“In March, 1982 - just over four months after [Herløv Petersen's] arrest - the Danish historian David Gress wrote a major freelance article to the Wall Street Journal on the European peace movements. He talks about his compatriot Herløv Arne Petersen, who "was accused of having helped Soviets to spread disinformation and in particular to be indented on the Soviet account, full-page ads in Danish newspapers, giving rise to opposition to NATO and support to 'sensible' Soviet peace proposal. " David Gress also writes that the ads were officially engaged on Cooperation Committee for Peace and Security - the principal organization in the Danish peace movement. Arne Herløv two ads - one in Information and one in Land og Folk- filled a fraction of a page. They said neither NATO, Soviet nor the Cooperation Committee.

Today, says historian David Gress: "If the ads did not have the size, I wrote about it is obviously regrettable - I may not have had access to them - but it was just not what it was all about. It was about that we were in the middle of a situation in years about missile debate and footnote policy where Arne Herløv Petersen took the enemy party. That I still believe he did, "said David Gress...

Later, the story spread forward - usually supported by the specify the charges from the statement - but also swell up. Reader's Digest, UK's Daily Mail and the German Der Spiegel wrote that Arne Petersen Herløv organized the European peace march from Oslo to Paris. A Swedish author writes, that the Dane has organized peace consultations with Soviet professors, while the popular Reader's Digest writer John Barron reveals in the book "KGB Today 'that Arne Herløv ad campaign would deprive NATO's northern flank his nuclear defense that he organized the European peace march and

---

<sup>150</sup> Disarmament Campaigns, 1982 No. 9 pp. 8-9.

that he was active in the Cooperation Committee - 'a communist branch of the World Peace Council'.<sup>151</sup>

## East Germany, the Christian Peace Movement 1983

“Responding to the arrest of peace movement members, the East German group “[Women for Peace](#)”<sup>152</sup> turned to church leaders in Saxony, Berlin-Brandenburg and Anhalt, reminding them of the church’s special role in mediating with East German state authorities and requesting immediate help.

The arrest of Frau [Kathrin Eigenfeld](#) has struck us profoundly. We are stunned by the fact that this occurred at a moment when we were in the middle of preparing a children's peace festival, one day before World Peace Day.

In addition, two young men who were closely involved with the organizational aspects were themselves arrested temporarily on [World Peace Day](#). It should be emphasized that this was a church event. According to the church leadership in Halle, Frau Eigenfeld was charged on the basis of Paragraph 106 of the penal code (subversive agitation), a much over-used paragraph at the moment.<sup>153</sup>

## Mordechai Vanunu, Israel's Nuclear Whistleblower

“Mordechai Vanunu is a former Israeli nuclear technician who, citing his opposition to weapons of mass destruction, revealed details of Israel's nuclear weapons program to the British press in 1986. He was subsequently lured to Italy by a Mossad spy, where he was drugged and kidnapped by Israeli intelligence agents. He was transported to Israel and ultimately convicted in a



<sup>151</sup> Source: [http://politiken.dk/kultur/fakta\\_kultur/article131694.ece](http://politiken.dk/kultur/fakta_kultur/article131694.ece)

<sup>152</sup> [Frauen für den Frieden](#) (FfF) CHRONOLOGIE ausgewählter Daten von Ereignissen und Aktionen im Kontext der Ost / West Friedensbewegung, Quelle: Irena Kukutz: Grenzüberschreitend ... Frauenprotest im Kalten Krieg, Erfahrungsberichte und Dokumente, unveröffentl. Manuskript. Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V.

<sup>153</sup> [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=246](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=246) Source: Women for Peace, Christians, and Pacifists in the GDR – Enemies of the State? (Autumn 1983); reprinted in Bernhard Pollmann, ed., Lesebuch zur deutschen Geschichte [German History Reader], vol. 3, Vom deutschen Reich bis zur Gegenwart [From the German Reich to the Present]. Dortmund, 1984, pp. 268-70. Translation: Jeremiah Riemer. See also: Violations of the Helsinki accords, East Germany: a report prepared for the Helsinki Review Conference, Vienna, November 1986 [by Daphne Eviatar] New York, N.Y. : U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, c1986.

trial that was held behind closed doors. Regarded by peace activists as a hero for taking a stand against weapons proliferation ...

Vanunu spent 18 years in prison, including more than 11 years in solitary confinement. Released from prison in 2004, he became subject to a broad array of restrictions on his speech and movement. Since then he has been arrested several times for violations of those restrictions, including giving various interviews to foreign journalists and attempting to leave Israel. He says that he suffered "cruel and barbaric treatment" at the hands of Israeli authorities while imprisoned, and suggests that his treatment would have been different if he were Jewish (Vanunu is a Christian convert from Judaism)." Source: Wikipedia.

## **The New Zealand SIS and the Philippines Solidarity Movement in Aotearoa**

By Maire Leadbeater

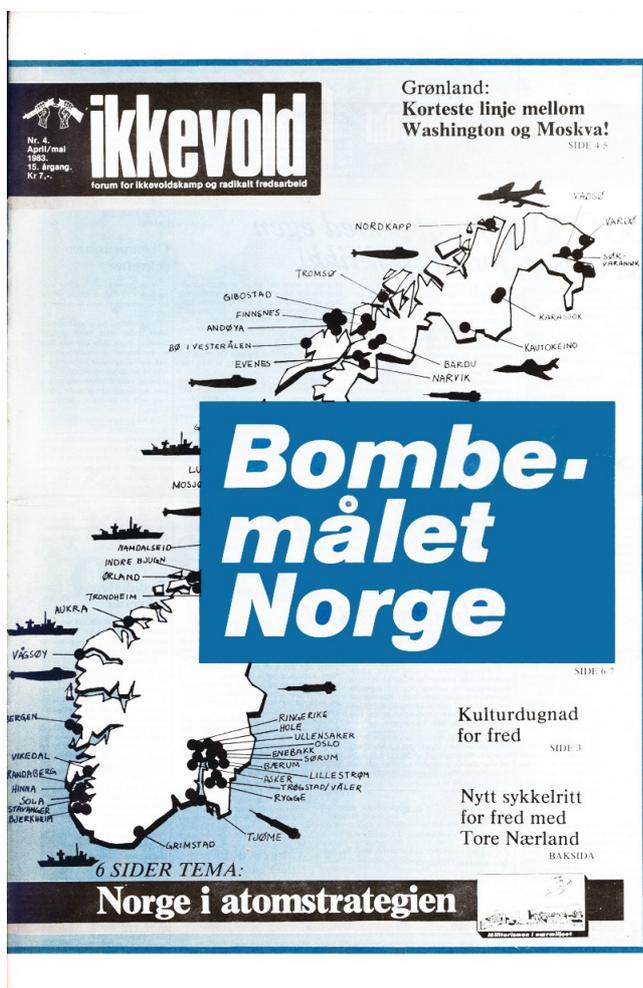
“For me the most disturbing material in my recently declassified NZ Security Intelligence Service (SIS) file is that relating to my involvement in the Philippines Solidarity Movement in the latter half of the 1980s and the early 1990s. The documents, taken with others such as those released to my brother Keith Locke, Green MP, and former Philippines Solidarity Network national coordinator; suggest a high level of SIS infiltration and surveillance of the movement.

The New Zealand Philippines Solidarity Network was launched at a highly successful Conference on Philippine Concerns in August 1984. A key driving force behind the initiative was the late Father John Curnow, a visionary leader in the Catholic Commission for Evangelisation, Justice and Peace, who had visited the Philippines many times since 1971. From the start, the network had roots in the union movement and support from the Labour Party hierarchy, but many key activists were drawn from the ranks of the (since disbanded) Workers Communist League (WCL).... The programme culminated with the Asia-Pacific Peoples Conference on Peace and Development and a two day peace caravan to protest at two major US bases: Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base.”<sup>154</sup>

---

<sup>154</sup> Source: <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/HL0903/S00145.htm>

## Bomb target Norway, The Cases Against a Peace Magazine



*The peace magazine that wrote Norwegian history.*

greater openness and accountability on the part of the secret service. The so called Lund-commission's report was simultaneously presented to Parliament and published in full.<sup>155</sup>

### Faked evidence against Arne Treholt, Norway

“Justice Minister Knut Storberget says that in view of several recent allegations that [the key] evidence in the Treholt spy case were fabricated, the Government should consider making its own review of the case. The case is very serious, and I assume that

“In 1983, the magazine "Non Violence" published a critical review entitled "Bomb target Norway" concerning the position Norway de facto held in the allied atomic strategy, as compared to the non-atomic defence policy adopted by the Norwegian Parliament. In both these cases, the Chief Prosecutor brought charges against the newspapers and editors / journalists involved of *activities harmful to national security*. The editorial staff of "Ikkevold" were found guilty by the County Court (Oslo) in 1985 and sentenced to jail. The sentence was appealed to the Supreme Court and consequently annulled. However, new charges were brought against the editorial staff, and in 1986 the County Court (Oslo) once more found them guilty as charged. Finally, all were acquitted by the Supreme Court in 1987. In the early 90s, these cases led eventually Parliament to appoint a commission to investigate the allegations of illegal political surveillance of Norwegian citizens. The critical report, confirming that illegal surveillance had taken place, also called for measures to secure

<sup>155</sup> In Norwegian:Lund-rapporten. Rapport til Stortinget fra kommisjonen som ble nedsatt for å granske påstander om ulovlig overvåkning av norske borgere. Dokument nr. 15 (1995 -96)). Source: Norway: Content of database: Suppressed literature and illegal newspapers Specific period: 1570 – 2000.

[http://www.beaconforfreedom.org/about\\_database/norway.html](http://www.beaconforfreedom.org/about_database/norway.html)

the prosecuting authority will do all it can to get to the bottom of this, Storberget says to NRK.”<sup>156</sup>

## Spying against peace research groups in Scandinavia

### Prelude, the ABC Trial UK

“The ABC Trial was an Official Secrets Act trial in Britain. It took place in 1978 and is named after the three defendants: Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell. Aubrey was a journalist for Time Out, John Berry was a former corporal in signals intelligence (SIGINT), and Duncan Campbell is an investigative journalist.” Source: Wikipedia.

### The Military Background

“From the early 1960s U.S. reconnaissance satellites also could identify [nuclear] Soviet submarines being prepared for sea. Once cued by such sources, SOSUS networks emplaced off the northern coast of Norway and in the Greenland-Iceland-United Kingdom (GIUK) gaps would track Soviet SSBNs going to sea. Presumably, SOSUS networks in the Far East were cued by similar ELINT and other [intelligence](#) sources. Directed to possible targets by SOSUS, U.S. attack submarines would attempt to trail the ballistic missile submarines during their patrols. These SSBN trailing operations were highly sensitive and until the late 1970s were not referred to, in even top secret U.S. Navy documents.”<sup>157</sup>

The ABC case inspired the research work of Nils Petter Gleditsch and Owen Wilkes for the [Peace Research Institute Oslo](#). “In 1979, the two researchers published a report containing descriptions and illustrations of several Norwegian military establishments for electronic surveillance and intelligence<sup>158</sup>. Both men were prosecuted for violating a provision in the penal code on national security, and each was sentenced to a six months’ suspended prison term and a fine. They had not been convicted of espionage, the court stated, but of publishing information that might endanger national security. The Norwegian “Press reactions were mixed, but the [Norwegian Press Association](#), reacted strongly to one particular aspect of the sentence. The court had in fact judged it illegal to piece together and publish information that had been gathered from open sources. Neither Gleditsch nor Wilkes had worked clandestinely. In the opinion of many press men, the application of such a principle would in fact outlaw perfectly normal methods used by journalists in their everyday work.” “In 1975, a research report claimed that navigation stations of the [LORAN C](#) and Omega chains had been built

---

<sup>156</sup> Source:

<http://www.norwaynews.com/en/~view.php?72P6b54ZPa483as285Hmm844QO3886Sl76GCg353I5x8>

<sup>157</sup> Source: [http://www.navy.mil/navydata/cno/n87/usw/issue\\_27/asw.html](http://www.navy.mil/navydata/cno/n87/usw/issue_27/asw.html)

<sup>158</sup> Owen Wilkes and Nils Petter Gleditsch: Intelligence Installations in Norway: Their Number, Location, Function, and Legality, (Oslo, PRIO, February 1979).

with American financing on Norwegian soil. The Storting had apparently not been informed nor had it given its consent. The report created quite a stir, and a commission was appointed to investigate whether the Government had indeed neglected to inform the parliament. When the committee report was completed, large portions were kept secret, and the Storting held a debate in closed session in June 1977. However, two members of a small socialist party broke their parliamentary pledge and made some of the confidential material public. Simultaneously, a small publishing house published the entire report, thanks to an unidentified leak. (The report, incidentally, found no grave fault with the Government.)<sup>159</sup> Also in Sweden the peace groups had been, according to the Commission of Inquiry into the Security Service, under surveillance by the Police Security Agency since the beginning of the cold war.<sup>160</sup>

## **'Exceptional New Zealander Faced Jail in Scandinavia on Espionage charges Obituary: Owen Wilkes**

By Phoebe Falconer Saturday May 14, 2005

“AUCKLAND: Owen Wilkes, the New Zealand peace activist who once faced jail for allegedly spying in Scandinavia, has died at Kawhia. He was 65.

Invitations to work at peace research institutes in Norway and Sweden were sparked by the work Wilkes had done on the proposed Omega transmitter station in the South Island, which he believed would make New Zealand a target in a nuclear war. He went to the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo in 1976, where he studied electronic listening posts in Norway. One report led to an espionage charge, but the realisation that Wilkes and his colleague were not working for any foreign power meant the two were let off with a fine and a suspended sentence.

Wilkes then took up a job with the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, but by 1981 he was in trouble again, this time with Swedish authorities accusing him of improperly acquiring classified information on Swedish defence...

Claims by Wilkes in the early 1980s that the communications centre at Tangimoana in the lower North Island was actually an electronic spy station and part of an American worldwide network were immediately denied by the Government. Activists to this day are calling for the closure of Tangimoana and Waihopai base near Blenheim, another suspected spy base”...<sup>161</sup>

---

<sup>159</sup> Source: THE PRESS COUNCIL IN NORWAY: A BUFFER BETWEEN THE PRESS AND SOCIETY. By: Odd Raaum. In: The Vigilant Press: a collection of case-studies. UNESCO 1989. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000843/084313eo.pdf>

<sup>160</sup> Justitiedepartementet: Rapport från Säkerhetstjänstkommissionen / The Commission of Inquiry into the Security Service: [Den farliga fredsrörelsen](#). Säkerhetstjänsternas övervakning av fredsorganisationer, värnpliktsvägrare och FNL-grupper 1945-1990 - Stockholm: Statens offentliga utredningar, 2002:90

<sup>161</sup> Source: <http://www.asiapac.org.fj/cafepacific/resources/aspac05/140505owenwilkes.html>

## **OWEN WILKES' SIS FILE : Spies Play Hard To Get**

By Murray Horton, Peace Researcher 40 – July 2010

“The legendary Owen Wilkes was a world-renowned peace researcher and activist for decades, from the 1960s onwards. He was a founder of both the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) and, later, the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC)... It is, of course, no surprise that Owen was subjected to the attentions of the NZ Security Intelligence Service (SIS). In 2008 CAFCA received (the censored version of) its SIS file - I wrote about this in a very long article in Foreign Control Watchdog 120, May 2009”.

SIPRI's Foreign Military Present Project was delayed for political reasons. First in 1989 was Bases Abroad: The Global Foreign Military Presence by Robert E. Harkavy published<sup>162</sup>.

## **Conscientious Objection and the Freedom and Peace Movement in Poland**

By Gareth Davies

“In February 1986 two prominent Freedom and Peace activists, Jacek Czaputowicz and Piotr Niemczyk, were arrested and charged under Article 278 of the Penal Code with membership of an illegal organisation. The official change to a policy of open repression against Freedom and Peace members and others who returned their draft cards or refused to take the military oath presented a serious threat to the pacifist movement in Poland. A refusal to serve in the armed forces automatically meant a prison term.”<sup>163</sup>

## **Opération Satanique**

“The sinking of the Rainbow Warrior, was an operation by the "action" branch of the French foreign intelligence services, the Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure (DGSE), carried out on July 10, 1985. It aimed to sink the flagship of the Greenpeace fleet, the Rainbow Warrior in the port of Auckland, New Zealand, to prevent her from interfering in a nuclear test in Moruroa.<sup>164</sup> Fernando Pereira, a photographer, drowned on the sinking ship. Two French agents were arrested by the New Zealand Police on passport fraud and immigration charges. They were charged with arson, conspiracy to

---

<sup>162</sup> See: Zdzislaw Lachowski: Foreign Military Bases in Eurasia SIPRI Policy Paper No. 18

<http://books.sipri.org/files/PP/SIPRIPP18.pdf>

and Jules Dufour: The Worldwide Network of US Military Bases The Global Deployment of US Military Personnel.

<sup>163</sup> Source: [http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/rcl/16-1\\_004.pdf](http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/rcl/16-1_004.pdf)

<sup>164</sup> See also: Lawrence S. Wittner, "The Long Voyage: [The Golden Rule and Resistance to Nuclear Testing in Asia and the Pacific](#)," The Asia-Pacific Journal, 8-3-10, February 22, 2010 and Lawrence S. Wittner, "[Nuclear Disarmament Activism in Asia and the Pacific](#), 1971-1996" The Asia-Pacific Journal, Vol. 25-5-09, June 22, 2009.

commit arson, willful damage, and murder. As part of a plea bargain, they pleaded guilty to manslaughter and were sentenced to ten years, of which they served just over two. The scandal resulted in the resignation of the French Defence Minister Charles Hernu. Twenty years later, a report by the then head of French Intelligence, said the attack was authorized by French President François Mitterrand.” Source: Wikipedia.

## **The world's first nuclear-free constitution, [Palau](#) 1981**

“Palau adopted its own constitution in 1981. In 1981, Palau voted for the world's first nuclear-free constitution. This constitution banned the use, storage, and disposal of nuclear, toxic chemical, gas, and biological weapons without first being approved by a 3/4 majority in a referendum. This ban held up Palau's transition to independence because while negotiating a Compact of Free Association with the United States the U.S. insisted on the option to operate nuclear propelled vessels and store nuclear weapons within the territory. “ Source: Wikipedia.

## **FBI Traitor, [Robert Hanssen](#), Helped in Search for Subversives in the US**

By JONATHAN DANN, J. MICHAEL KENNEDY  
Los Angeles Times July 29, 2001

“Espionage: Even as he was selling secrets to the Soviets, Robert Hanssen was a supervisor in an '80s program to monitor U.S. anti-nuclear and peace activists.

At the same time he was selling U.S. secrets to the Soviet Union, former FBI special agent Robert Philip Hanssen was a key supervisor in a 1980s domestic-spying program questioning the loyalty of American citizens and monitoring their activities, newly obtained FBI documents show.

Under this program, federal agents filed reports on teachers, clerics and political activists who primarily were affiliated with liberal causes. FBI domestic spy operations under the Reagan and Bush administrations first came to light a decade ago, prompting congressional rebukes. But the role -- and historical irony -- of confessed traitor Hanssen has not been reported before. The documents also offer some of the richest information to date about FBI domestic surveillance during the 1980s”.

Epilogue: The Cold War Ends and Secrecy Spreads Targets of Domestic Spying excerpted from the book *Secrets the CIA's War at Home* by Angus Mackenzie, University of California Press, 1997

## **Targets of Domestic Spying: An Annotated List of Some FBI Surveillance Targets during the 1980s**

“I wrote the FBI on February in 1987 asking for files on I27 political groups, most of which were opposed to the U.S. government's arming of the [Contras](#). The Bureau's re-

sponse was dragged out over five years. The vast majority of the files were denied under the 1986 FOIA amendment, but the FBI did release some information about the size of the files, the number of pages kept secret, and the reasons for that secrecy. The FBI also released a few heavily blacked-out pages, enough to give a glimpse of the Bureau's investigations into a number of highly visible political groups.

The unwanted and unwarranted attention to ... politically active citizen organizations shows both the FBI's institutionalized disregard for constitutionally guaranteed rights and the use of FOIA exemptions to hide this abuse of power. Many of the groups have a long history of lobbying Congress and publishing newsletters-activities well within the scope of the [First Amendment](#). None of the FBI investigations resulted in criminal indictments. Rather the purpose of the investigations, as is evident from the documents, was to *monitor* their political activities. The following is a digested version of information concerning these FBI investigations.

American Committee on Africa/Africa Fund was a New York-based organization opposed to apartheid in South Africa. The FBI withheld 42, of 61 pages "in the interest of national defense or foreign policy." On July 18, 1979, the FBI searched for all subversive and nonsubversive information on this group, on which the FBI kept a domestic security file and a Registration Act investigative file.

Arms Control Computer Network, [Christic Institute](#), and the Committee Against Registration and the Draft. The FBI kept all records on these groups secret for "national defense" and to protect "confidential sources."

Black Student Communications Organizing Network is based in Jamaica, New York, and unifies black student groups. FBI files have been withheld in their entirety to protect "national defense or foreign policy."

The [Center for Defense Information](#), based in Washington, D.C., opposes excessive spending for weapons and policies that increase the danger of war. The FBI Director, in an administrative matter involving no alleged violation of laws, searched FBI files for data on the group for reasons the FBI kept secret. The FBI withheld fifty-seven pages of documents to protect national defense, privacy, and confidential sources in a "foreign counterintelligence matter." Other FBI reports profiled the head of the group, [Gene Robert LaRocque](#), citing Whos Who: "[He] is a retired naval officer, commander Task Group in Sixth Fleet, member of faculty of Naval War College." Another FBI document said the Center for Defense Information "functions as a 'gadfly' to the U.S. military establishment and is staffed with very liberal, anti-establishment, anti-FBI/CIA academics." A memo from the Special Agent in Charge to the FBI Director was stamped "SECRET" and said that [LaRocque](#) published The Defense Monitor, which reports timely information regarding military establishments. On August 3, 1986, FBI headquarters requested that information on the group be forwarded to the FBI agent attached to the U.S. Embassy in Bonn.

[Central American Solidarity Association](#) was a group opposed to Contra funding. Of the seventeen pages in this foreign counterintelligence-terrorism file, fifteen were kept secret.

Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Environmental Policy Center is based in Plainfield, Vermont. The FBI has kept one reference secret to protect "confidential sources."

Citizens Against Nuclear War.<sup>165</sup>; <sup>166</sup> The FBI has kept six cross-references secret for reasons of national defense."

[Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies](#), headquartered in Cambridge, Massachusetts, conducts public education and research and advocates lowering defense spending. In June 1983, the [Naval Investigative Service](#) asked the FBI to check on this group because of a counterintelligence interest.

Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race. The FBI has kept six cross-references classified secret to "protect the national defense, privacy, and confidential sources."

[Lawyers Committee for Human Rights](#). The FBI kept two cross-references exempt from disclosure to protect "confidential sources."

[Lutheran World Ministries](#) was based on Park Avenue South in Manhattan, New York. FBI documents containing cross-references were determined to be exempt from disclosure to "protect confidential sources."

[Medical Aid for El Salvador](#). The FBI kept secret one file of an investigation that was pending on November 30, 1988, to protect "confidential" sources and the "national defense."

[National Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala](#) is a Washington group advocating an end to U.S. military aid in Guatemala. All FBI counterintelligence-terrorism records on it are kept secret under the 1986 FOIA amendment.

[National Network in Solidarity with the People of Nicaragua](#) was a Washington group opposed to arming the Contras. Of the forty-six pages in this file, the FBI kept secret forty-one pages.

[National Peace Academy Campaign](#), Sojourners Peace Ministry<sup>167</sup> and World Peacemakers. Four cross-references were withheld to protect "national defense."

[Nuclear Control Institute](#) has worked since 1981 in Washington to oppose nuclear proliferation. Of the FBI file on this group, the FBI has kept nine pages secret "to protect privacy and confidential sources."

[The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign](#) was a major opponent of Reagan-Bush arms policies. Of its file, the FBI kept secret thirty pages and released eight, which revealed that in 1985, an FBI agent got a leaflet in Burlington, Vermont, about the organization of a nationwide contingency plan by the Resistance Pledge Network to block U.S. intervention in Central America. The agent reported the contents of the leaflet, which advocated a nonviolent, no drugs, no-property damage demonstration against U.S. intervention, and on March 6, 1985, forwarded the report to the CIA, the Naval Investigative Service, the Air Force Office of Special Investigations, the United States Secret Service, and the Army Intelligence Command at Fort Meade.

[Patrice Lumumba Coalition/Unity in Action Network](#) was based in Harlem, New York. Of the FBI's file of 105 pages, it kept secret 78. At least one FBI document in the file had been sent to the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the [State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research](#). The subjects of the documents were the [African National Congress](#), the [Pan African Congress](#), and the identities of individuals who attended the International Conference on Islam during October 1986. The contents of the memo were withheld to protect "foreign policy" and "privacy."

---

<sup>165</sup> See also: [Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control Records](#), 1984-1989.

<sup>166</sup> See also: [List of anti-nuclear groups in the United States](#).

<sup>167</sup> See also: [CarEth Foundation Records](#), 1988-.

Peace Child Foundation. The FBI has kept twenty-two pages secret concerning a June 1986 foreign counterintelligence investigation by FBI Squad 14, San Francisco.

[Peace Links: Women Against Nuclear War](#). An FBI agent in Detroit wrote headquarters on November 6, 1986, that a Peace Links chapter was part of a national organization of women to promote nuclear disarmament and peace between East and West. The rest of the memo was censored to protect "defense, foreign policy and confidential sources."

[Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War](#) of Boston. The FBI Special Agent in Charge of the New Haven, Connecticut, Field Office sent documents to the FBI director that had been provided by a confidential source, including a state, local, or foreign agency or authority, under the 1986 amendment. The New Haven FBI office placed this file in dosed status March II, 1985.

[Union of Concerned Scientists](#). The FBI has kept 296 pages secret to protect foreign policy, privacy, and confidential informants. According to a December 16, 1986, FBI summary, "The central files of this Bureau reveal the following information.... The Union of Concerned Scientists is composed of senior and junior faculty members and graduate students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology . . . organized for the expressed purpose of a one-day strike aimed at turning scientific research applications away from military technology and toward the solution of environmental and social problems. The UCS maintained no formal membership rolls.... As of this date, the UCS is under investigation due to the fact that its activities meet the criteria that fall within the Attorney General's guidelines."

[United Nations Center Against Apartheid](#), established by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1962, was opposed to South African racial policies. The FBI files contain a secret report from the CIA dated April 1984. The CIA withheld the document in entirety to protect the "national defense."

U.S. Out of Central America. The FBI has kept twenty pages secret to protect confidential sources.

[Washington Office on Latin America](#) was a Washington group with thirteen employees and an annual budget of \$500,000 that opposed the Reagan policies in Central America. The FBI's file contained seventy-nine pages, of which the FBI kept secret seventy-three pages under the FOIA amendment's provisions for hiding foreign counterintelligence matters. Parts of this file were distributed to the FBI San Antonio office and to the [Defense Intelligence Agency](#).

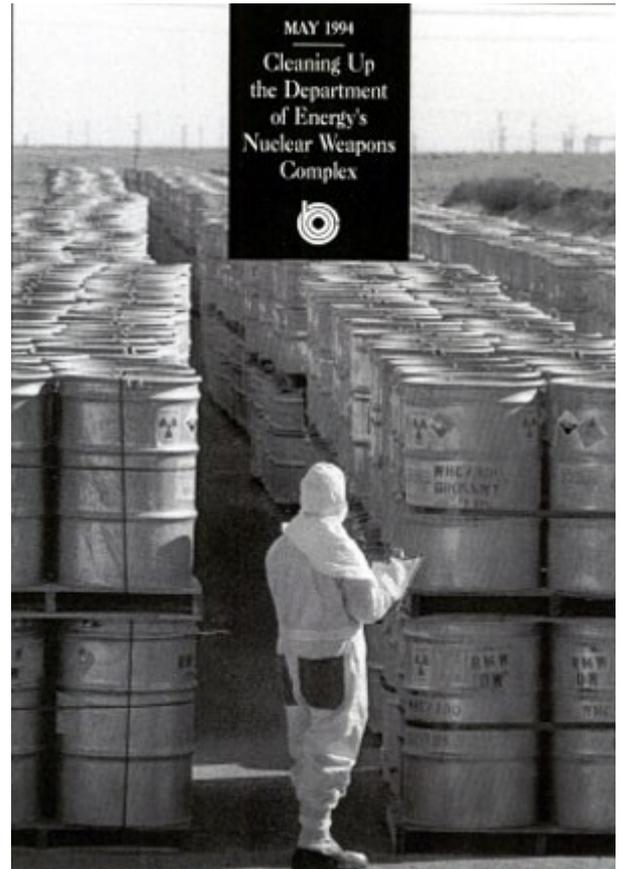
[Witness for Peace](#) is a Washington group with an annual budget in excess of \$1 million that characterizes itself as a grassroots, faith-based, nonviolent group opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America. The FBI kept secret eleven pages on this group under the 1986 amendment because they could "reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings.""

## The war against terror et al

### A Tortuous Trail: The predicament of the Israeli peace movement, 1993-2008

By Tamar Hermann, Dean of Academic Studies  
at the Open University of Israel  
September 23, 2009

“In a closed-to-the-media meeting held in mid August 2009 with members of the radical right wing - Jewish Leadership (Manhigut Yehudit) - faction of the Likud party, former IDF Chief of Staff and current deputy Prime Minister, Moshe (Bougie) Ya'alon, referred to the Israeli peace movement, [Peace Now](#), as "a virus." He said that the movement jeopardized Israel's national interest by their persistent anti-settlement campaign, which, he maintained, negated the basic right of Jews to live wherever they wished in the entire "[Greater Israel](#)" territory.”<sup>168</sup>



### Déjà Vu, the FBI's Assault on Civil Liberties in the US

By [Ronnie Gilbert](#), Counterpunch October 5, 2001

“For the second time in my life -- at least -- a group that I belong to is being investigated by the FBI. The first was [the Weavers](#).<sup>169</sup> The Weavers were a recording industry phenomenon. In 1950 we recorded a couple of songs from our American/World folk music repertoire, [Leadbelly's](#) "Goodnight Irene" and (ironically) the Israeli "[Tzena, Tzena, Tzena](#)" and sold millions of records for the almost-defunct record label. Folk music entered the mainstream, and the Weavers were stars. By 1952 it was over. The record company dropped us, eager television producers stopped knocking on our door. The Weavers were on a private yet well-publicized roster of suspected entertainment industry reds. The FBI came a-calling.

This week, I just found out that [Women in Black](#), another group of peace activists I belong to, is the subject of an FBI investigation. [Women in Black](#) is a loosely knit international network of women who vigil against violence, often silently, each group autonomous, each group focused on the particular problems of personal and state violence in its part of the world. Because my group is composed mostly of Jewish women,

<sup>168</sup> Source: <http://www.israelpolicyforum.org/blog/tortuous-trail-predicament-israeli-peace-movement-1993-2008>

<sup>169</sup> Jorge Arevalo: [Harold Leventhal 1919 - 2005](#): The Fifth Weaver. The New York Times, October 6th, 2005.

we focus on the Middle East, protesting the cycle of violence and revenge in Israel and the Palestinian Territories. The FBI is threatening my group with a Grand Jury investigation. Of what? That we publicly call the Israeli military's occupation of the mandated Palestine lands illegal? So does the World Court and the United Nations”...

## **The Other Big Brother: The Pentagon has its own domestic spying program. Even its leaders say the outfit may have gone too far.**

By Michael Isikoff. Newsweek

Jan. 30, 2006 issue — “The demonstration seemed harmless enough. Late on a June afternoon in 2004, a motley group of about 10 peace activists showed up outside the Houston headquarters of [Halliburton](#), the giant military contractor once headed by Vice President [Dick Cheney](#). They were there to protest the corporation's supposed "war profiteering." The demonstrators wore papier-mache masks and handed out free peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwiches to Halliburton employees as they left work. The idea, according to organizer Scott Parkin, was to call attention to allegations that the company was overcharging on a food contract for troops in Iraq. "It was tongue-in-street political theatre," Parkin says.

But that's not how the Pentagon saw it. To U.S. Army analysts at the top-secret [Counterintelligence Field Activity](#) (CIFA)<sup>170</sup>, the peanut-butter protest was regarded as a potential threat to national security. Created three years ago by the Defense Department, CIFA's role is "force protection"—tracking threats and terrorist plots against military installations and personnel inside the United States. In May 2003, [Paul Wolfowitz](#), then deputy Defense secretary, authorized a fact-gathering operation code-named TALON—short for Threat and Local Observation Notice—that would collect "raw information" about "suspicious incidents." The data would be fed to CIFA to help the Pentagon's "terrorism threat warning process," according to an internal Pentagon memo.

A Defense document shows that Army analysts wrote a report on the Halliburton protest and stored it in CIFA's database. It's not clear why the Pentagon considered the protest worthy of attention—although organizer Parkin had previously been arrested while demonstrating at ExxonMobil headquarters (the charges were dropped). But there are now questions about whether CIFA exceeded its authority and conducted unauthorized spying on innocent people and organizations. A Pentagon memo obtained by NEWSWEEK shows that the deputy Defense secretary now acknowledges that some TALON reports may have contained information on U.S. citizens and groups that never should have been retained. The number of reports with names of U.S. persons could be in the thousands, says a senior Pentagon official who asked not be named because of the sensitivity of the subject.

---

<sup>170</sup> “After ACLU filed multiple Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests regarding information gathering on peace groups and NBC did a report citing a Quaker group planning an anti-enlistment action that was listed as a "threat", a review of CIFA activities was ordered by then Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence [Stephen A. Cambone](#), who stated at the time that it appeared that there had been several violations...On August 8, 2008, it was announced that CIFA would be shut down and its activities would be subsumed by the Defense Intelligence Agency”. Source: Wikipedia.

CIFA's activities are the latest in a series of disclosures about secret government programs *that spy on Americans in the name of national security*. In December, the ACLU obtained documents showing the FBI had investigated several activist groups, including People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals and Greenpeace, supposedly in an effort to discover possible ecoterror connections. At the same time, the White House has spent weeks in damage-control mode, defending the controversial program that allowed the National Security Agency to monitor the telephone conversations of U.S. persons suspected of terror links, without obtaining warrants” ....

## **The Pacifist `Threat': Disclosure Of Recent Government Surveillance Of Quaker Activities Doesn't Surprise Members**

Monday, January 16, 2006 by the Hartford Courant (Connecticut).

By Francis Grandy Taylor

“A group of Quakers who were protesting military recruitment efforts at a Florida high school recently learned their meeting was included on a secret Pentagon database of "suspicious incidents." When that news broke last month, it had a familiar ring for many American Quakers. "With the restriction of civil liberties goes surveillance," says Don Weinholtz, a Quaker who lives in Windsor. "It just seems to be a very unfortunate natural course of events."

The Religious Society of Friends is one of the largest groups of Quakers in the United States, with about 600,000 members worldwide. They embrace beliefs, called testimonies that include peace, equality and rejection of war in all its forms. Quaker groups and members have come under government surveillance and infiltration at various times in history, from the McCarthy era to Vietnam. The pacifist church was in the forefront of protest in the run-up to the Iraq war and since then has worked to counter military recruitment efforts in high schools.

"There are points in time where it is just a bedrock matter of faith that Quakers feel they must step forward," says Weinholtz, a member of the Hartford Quaker Meeting. Last month, NBC News broke the story that the meeting of Quakers in Lake Worth, Fla., was one of about 1,500 allegedly suspicious incidents included in the Defense Department's secret TALON (Threat and Local Observation Notice) reporting system. Recent reports have said Quaker activities in Ohio and Vermont also may have been scrutinized under the program”...<sup>171</sup>

## **ACLU Releases First Concrete Evidence of FBI Spying Based Solely on Groups' Anti-War Views**

March 14, 2006

“Pennsylvania Group Labeled “Pacifists” Targeted for Handing Out Flyers in Town Square

PITTSBURGH – The American Civil Liberties Union and the ACLU of Pennsylvania today released new evidence that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is conducting investigations into a political organization based solely on its anti-war views.

---

<sup>171</sup> Source: <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines06/0116-09.htm>

Two documents released today reveal that the FBI investigated gatherings of the [Thomas Merton Center for Peace & Justice](#) just because the organization opposed the war in Iraq. Although previously disclosed documents show that the FBI is retaining files on anti-war groups, these documents are the first to show conclusively that the rationale for FBI targeting is the group's opposition to the war."<sup>172</sup>

## **ACLU of Maryland Lawsuit Uncovers Maryland State Police July 17, 2008**

“BALTIMORE – The American Civil Liberties Union of Maryland today made public what it called "shocking" documents obtained through a Maryland Public Information Act (MPIA) lawsuit, revealing that the Maryland State Police (MSP) engaged in covert surveillance of local peace and anti-death penalty groups for over a year from 2005-2006. The organization expressed alarm at the incomprehensible spying revealed in 43 pages of summaries and computer logs, none of which refer to criminal or even potentially criminal acts, other than a few isolated references to plans for completely nonviolent civil disobedience.

ACLU of Maryland Executive Director Susan Goering blasted the program as "Un-American," and said, "I fear that the documents released today, which the MSP wrongfully withheld for almost two years, may be only the tip of the proverbial iceberg."

Goering continued: "The documents show that the MSP engaged in surveillance operations against peaceful activists similar to those abandoned in the 1970s with the end of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's infamous COINTELPRO program. The ACLU will soon file additional requests under the Maryland Public Information Act to assess other activities and targets of the MSP's 'Homeland Security and Intelligence Division' and will seek legislative reforms to ensure this kind of improper spying never happens again."

"In our America, you should be able to attend a meeting about an issue you care about without having to worry that government spies are entering your name into a database used to track alleged terrorists and drug traffickers," said David Rocah, Staff Attorney for the ACLU of Maryland. "Americans have the right to peaceably assemble with others of a like mind and speak out about what they believe in. For undercover police officers to spend hundreds of hours entering information about lawful political protest activities into a criminal database is an unconscionable waste of taxpayer dollars and does nothing to make us safer from actual terrorists or drug dealers."

The documents obtained in the MPIA lawsuit reveal that for 14 months, MSP's Homeland Security and Intelligence Division sent covert agents to infiltrate the [Baltimore Pledge of Resistance](#), a peace group, the Coalition to End the Death Penalty (CEDP), and the Committee to Save Vernon Evans. The agents collectively spent at least 288 hours on their surveillance over the 14-month period. An agent also joined the electronic listserv of the CEDP under an alias using a spoof email address. Agents from the Division monitored private organizing meetings, public forums and events held in

---

<sup>172</sup> Source: <http://www.aclu.org/national-security/aclu-releases-first-concrete-evidence-fbi-spying-based-solely-groups%E2%80%99-anti-war-vie>

several churches, as well as anti-death penalty rallies outside the state's SuperMax facility in Baltimore and in Lawyer's Mall in Annapolis.

Despite the fact that reports from these events consistently said that activists acted lawfully at all times, the agents continued to recommend that the spying continue. Reports of this surveillance were sent to at least seven federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies, including the National Security Agency, Baltimore City, Baltimore County, and Anne Arundel County police departments, and the state General Services police. Logs of the surveillance do not contain any reports of illegal activity, but rather consist entirely of reports on the groups' and individuals' lawful political activities.

The MSP's Homeland Security and Intelligence Division also appears to have been working to specially track the activities of at least one individual activist, Max Obuszewski, who was entered into the "Washington/Baltimore High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area" (HIDTA) database. That database, which is funded by the federal government, was intended to facilitate information sharing among federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies engaged in drug interdiction. In December 2006, Congress modified the federal law to allow HIDTA funds to be used to assist in terrorism investigations as well. The entry for Mr. Obuszewski indicates that the "Primary Crime" linked to him in the database is "Terrorism-Anti Govern[ment], and the "Secondary Crime" is "Terrorism – Anti-War Protestors" – which are outlandish and blatantly false accusations.

Mr. Obuszewski, a client of the ACLU and a well known peace activist from Baltimore, is a lifelong pacifist. He engages in principled civil disobedience and strongly believes in and promotes nonviolence. Needless to say, there is nothing at all in any of the reports that links Mr. Obuszewski to any violent crime, much less drug trafficking or terrorism. Rather, all of his activities reported in the database concern lawful First Amendment activity, or non-violent civil disobedience, including a report about a meeting between activists and Rep. Benjamin Cardin in 2005 in which they asked him to support a timetable for withdrawal from Iraq.

"As a long-time peace activist who is familiar with our government's past history of surveillance of dissidents, I surmised that groups involved in First Amendment activities would be watched and infiltrated after 9/11," said Max Obuszewski, a client of the ACLU. "With the growth of the surveillance state after 9/11, it was evident that government agencies would come looking for groups and individuals engaged in peaceful protest activity and label them terrorists. So in all honesty, I was not surprised to be informed that I was wrongfully labeled a terrorist."

In 1976, following revelations of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program), the Federal Bureau agreed to limit its spying to situations in which criminal conduct was suspected. But after 9/11, Attorney General John Ashcroft rewrote the guidelines so that "for the purpose of detecting or preventing terrorist activities, the FBI is authorized to visit any place and attend any event that is open to the public, on the same terms and conditions as members of the public generally." Yet even under those draconian rules, much of the spying apparently conducted by the MSP would have been forbidden. In addition, the Ashcroft rules cautioned that "no information obtained from such visits shall be retained unless it relates to potential criminal or ter-

rorist activity." Clearly information has been retained by the MSP that does not relate to any unlawful acts.

Attorneys representing the plaintiffs in the lawsuit are Kit Pierson and Richard Rinkema from the Washington, DC office of the law firm Heller Ehrman White & McAuliffe LLP, donating their time pro bono, and ACLU of Maryland staff attorney David Rocah”.

## **Spying on pacifists, greens and nuns**

A Maryland trooper who went undercover to infiltrate nonviolent groups labeled dozens of people as terrorists. Los Angeles Times, December 07, 2008. By Bob Drogin  
TAKOMA PARK, MD. — To friends in the protest movement, Lucy was an eager 20-something who attended their events and sent encouraging e-mails to support their causes....<sup>173</sup>

## **Amy Goodman: Obama's Military Is Spying on U.S. Peace Groups**

The Huffington Post July 28, 2009

“Anti-war activists in Olympia, Wash., have exposed U.S. Army spying and infiltration of their groups, as well as intelligence gathering by the U.S. Air Force, the federal Capitol Police and the Coast Guard. The infiltration appears to be in direct violation of the [Posse Comitatus Act](#) preventing U.S. military deployment for domestic law enforcement, and may strengthen congressional demands for a full-scale investigation of U.S. intelligence activities, like the Church Committee hearings of the 1970s...”

## **Pentagon fesses up to 800 pages' worth of potentially illegal spying, including peace groups and Planned Parenthood**

By Cory Doctorow at 11:26 PM Thursday, Feb 25, 2010

“The Electronic Frontier Foundation has forced the Pentagon to release over 800 pages of classified material documenting "possibly illegal" spying during the Bush administration. The heavily redacted documents include details of a spying program against Planned Parenthood and white supremacist groups in the runup to the Atlanta Olympics, as well as spying on Alaskans for Peace and Justice, an anti-recruiting group, civilian cell phone conversations, and other breaches of spying laws...”

## **Lawless Spying in America to Obstruct First Amendment Freedoms**

By Stephen Lendman, October 7th, 2010

The ACLU has released numerous reports of illegal spying. They include federal, state and local SARs (suspicious activity reporting) programs that encourage police, intelli-

---

<sup>173</sup> Source: <http://articles.latimes.com/2008/dec/07/nation/na-cop-spy7>

gence and homeland security officials, emergency responders, and members of the public to spy on neighbours, reporting any "suspicious" activities to authorities.

In an environment of fear, commonplace activities may be misinterpreted; increasing chances to get innocent people on terrorist watch lists. As a result, their names and vital information will be in law enforcement/intelligence data bases, their personal safety and reputations jeopardized.

Using new intelligence sharing systems like fusion centers enables easy access of Joint Terrorism Task Forces and the Director of National Intelligence (DNI) Information Sharing Environment (ISE), as well as local police-collected information.

In *Terry v. Ohio* (1968), the Supreme Court established "reasonable suspicion" of criminal activity as the standard for police stops to investigate further. Under Title 28, Part 23 of the Code of Federal Regulations, law enforcement agencies getting federal funds "shall collect and maintain criminal intelligence information (on an individual) only if there is reasonable suspicion (of involvement) in criminal conduct or activity," and what's collected is relevant.

SARs, however, threaten civil liberties by encouraging indiscriminate spying, jeopardizing innocent people unfairly. They're similar to various Bush administration schemes, including:

- a signing statement to the 2006 Postal Accountability Act giving the president authority to order opening US citizens' mail without a warrant;
- sweeping warrantless wiretapping and other surveillance in violation of FISA (the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act), amended in 2008 to let telecom companies spy on their customers for the government;
- Operation TIPS (Terrorism Information and Prevention System), encouraging private citizens, including postal employees, to report "unusual" neighborhood activities;
- the Pentagon's Total Information Awareness (TIA), renamed Terrorism Information Awareness to monitor anyone suspected of terrorism or activities related to it;
- the Pentagon's Threat and Local Observation Notice (TALON) program, amassing a huge data base by domestic spying, done spuriously against anyone suspected of terrorism; and
- the Transportation Security Agency's SPOT program (Screening of Passengers by Observation Techniques), using behavioral detection officers to identify threats by observing and reporting suspicious behavior based on unscientific behavioral indicators.

#### Policing Free Speech

On June 29, an ACLU report titled, "Policing Free Speech: Police Surveillance and Obstruction of First Amendment-Protected Activity" highlighted the present danger. It also cited the long history of America's law enforcement agencies illegally spying on US citizens and obstructing lawful political activity. It "was rampant during the Cold War under the FBI's COINTELPRO, the CIA's Operation Chaos, and other programs," continuing now more obtrusively than ever under new names or none at all.

As a result, "Law enforcement agencies across America continue to monitor and harass groups and individuals for....peacefully exercising their First Amendment rights," eroding and gravely endangered.

In recent years, federal as well as in at least 33 states and the District of Columbia, Americans have been surveilled, otherwise monitored or harassed by police for enga-

ging in marches, protests, organizing, having "unusual viewpoints, and engag(ing) in normal, innocuous behaviors such as writing notes or taking photographs in public.

In the past year, at least four Fushion Center reports are troubling:

- the Virginia Fushion Center's Homegrown Terrorism Document;
- the Texas Fushion Center's Prevention Awareness Bulletin;
- the Missouri Fushion Center's Document on the Modern Militia Movement; and
- in Massachusetts, the Commonwealth Fushion Center's Standard Operating Procedures.

Below is a list of known states where the ACLU found incidents of political spying unrelated to lawlessness.

In Alaska, Military Intelligence Spied on Planned Parenthood and other groups ahead of the 2002 Salt Lake City winter Olympics, and on [Alaskans for Peace and Justice](#) in 2005. In 2007, various groups' cellphone calls were monitored. These are examples of more widespread, continuing practices in the state.

In Arizona, University of Arizona police arrested a student for "using sidewalk chalk to advertise a protest."

In California, an FBI agent admitted in court in 2009 that an informant was planted in an [Irvine Islamic Center](#). "Surveillance has prompted some Muslims to avoid mosques and cut charitable contributions out of fear of being questioned" or called "extremists."

LAPD Special Order # 11, dated March 5, 2008 (Los Angeles police), lists 65 behaviors to report, including First Amendment ones like using binoculars, taking photos or videos, taking notes, and espousing "extremist" views.

In 2006, the Los Angeles Times got Homeland Security reports on persons or groups participating in lawful demonstrations, including anti-war and for animal rights. Protests of various other activist organizations were also spied on throughout the state. During huge anti-war San Francisco 2002 and 2003 demonstrations, police posed as protesters to monitor crowd activities. Muslim groups were also surveilled in Los Angeles, San Diego and elsewhere in the state. Since 9/11, they've unfairly been designated enemy number one for their faith, many falsely arrested, convicted and imprisoned for being Muslim at the wrong time in America.

In Colorado, in 2005, FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) agents monitored the [American Indian Movement](#), as well as peace and environmental groups on suspicions of "domestic terrorism." In 2003, law enforcement agents infiltrated the [Rocky Mountain Peace and Justice Center](#) and other peace and social justice groups.

In Colorado Springs, in 2002, police collected names and license plate numbers of environmental and conservationist groups engaging in peaceful demonstrations. In 2002, a pro-Palestinian Denver rally was monitored as well as others for suspected "anarchists" and eight categories of "extremists" for peace. In addition, for environmental and animal rights issues, and justice for Black Americans.

FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force agents also spied on [Food Not Bombs](#), a Colorado group providing free vegetarian food to hungry people and engaging in protests against war and poverty - considered "terrorism" today in America, making nonviolent activists vulnerable, especially if minorities or Muslims.

In Hartford, Connecticut, police arrested an activist for photographing Governor [Jodi Rell](#) at a public event because information on his blog expressed criticism.

In Florida, peace activists were placed on a government watchlist for distributing information about conscientious objection to military recruiters and interested civilians. The Defense Department listed a [Broward County Anti-War Coalition](#) in a TALON database for protesting at a Florida air and sea show.

In Georgia, [Georgia State University Students for Peace and Justice](#) were included in the same database. Post-9/11, School of the Americas (SOA) Watch peaceful protests and civil disobedience acts were reclassified from "Routine" to "Priority," subject to "Counterterrorism" monitoring. In DeKalb County, a vegetarian activist was arrested for writing down the license plate number of a DHS agent who monitored her peaceful protesting. The state FBI Field Intelligence Group lists [Green Party](#) members as potential eco-terrorists for supporting environmental and animal rights.

In Idaho, members of the [Progressive Student Alliance](#), a non-partisan group focusing on social, economic, gender, and environmental justice were questioned by FBI agents for boycotting TACO Bell to protest conditions of [Immokalee Workers](#) in Florida.

In Illinois, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is listed in the Defense Department's TALON database for planning protests at a Springfield recruiting center. In Chicago, police conducted a three-day manhunt for a "Middle Eastern" man in traditional clothing after being notified that a passenger on a bus he was riding on said he was clicking a hand counter on board. An investigation discovered he used it to keep track of his daily prayers, a common Muslim practice.

In Indianapolis, Indiana, at the 2003 National Governors Association (NGA) meeting, police confronted nonviolent demonstrators disruptively, several suing on First Amendment grounds. On February 9, 2005, the US District Court for the Southern District of Indiana ruled in favor of protestors, a rare good guys victory.

In Iowa, in February 2004, four Drake University peace activists got federal grand jury subpoenas relating to a National Lawyers Guild campus seminar on nonviolent civil disobedience. In Iowa City, FBI and local authorities infiltrated peace groups ahead of the Republican National Convention to preemptively disrupt them.

In Kansas, police train maintenance staff of apartment complexes, as well as motels and storage facilities to watch for "printed terrorist materials and propaganda."

In Kentucky, a protestant minister was placed on an FBI watch list for ordering books online about Islam. In fall 2004, he was detained by Canadian border officials while trying to enter the country for sightseeing. He'd never been arrested, charged with a crime, or participated in a protest.

In Louisiana, the Defense Department classified Veterans for Peace as a threat to DOD personnel after participating in a New Orleans anti-war rally.

In Maine, FBI agents intercepted Veterans for Peace, [Pax Christi Maine](#), the Maine Coalition for Peace & Justice and other activist groups' emails pertaining to planned protests at the [Brunswick Naval Air Show](#) and against the christening of an Arleigh Burke Class destroyer.

In Maryland, state police spied on more than 30 activist groups, mostly peace organizations and anti-death penalty advocates, sharing information with local authorities and the FBI.

In Massachusetts, the FBI recruited a University of Massachusetts police officer to work several days a week for its Anti-Terrorism Task Force (ATTF). Undercover Harvard University police were caught photographing people at a peaceful protest. A uni-

versity spokesman refused comment about the school's affiliation with intelligence gathering or the targeting of local activists.

The state's ACLU also learned that the Commonwealth Fusion Center's "Standard Operating Procedures" let undercover police gather intelligence at public meetings even when there's no suspicion of illegal activity.

In Michigan, in April 2009, the Council of Islamic Organizations of Michigan wrote Attorney General Eric Holder after mosques and Muslim groups reported their members being asked to spy on others coming there.

In Minnesota, FBI agents tried to get an arrested University of Minnesota student to go undercover at "vegan pot-lucks" to spy on groups organizing protests. The weekend before the start of the 2008 Republican National Convention, local and federal authorities conducted preemptive raids and arrests against activist groups to disrupt their ability to stage protests. After it began, mass arrests followed. Hundreds were targeted violently for their nonviolent demonstrations.

In Missouri, the February Fusion Center report on "the modern militia movement" claimed members usually support presidential candidates Ron Paul, Chuck Baldwin and Bob Barr.

In New Jersey, in 2004, the ACLU made public requests to the state's 50 largest municipalities for documents disclosing criteria and other information used to identify individuals as "potential threat elements." Eight refused saying they're exempt under New Jersey's Open Public Records Act.

In New Mexico, [Veterans for Peace](#) was placed in the Defense Department's database, saying its protests "could become violent." In March 2003, Albuquerque police attended anti-war protest organizing meetings undercover to gather intelligence on participants.

In New York, Pentagon spies monitored a Veterans for Peace lecture. The Defense Department also placed the War Resisters League in its TALON database, saying CODE-PINK and United for Peace and Justice operate the same way. Ahead of the 2004 state Republican National Convention, undercover NYPD officers monitored activists nationwide, infiltrating hundreds of groups planning to attend protests.

A Syracuse University Muslim-American student was prevented by Veterans Affairs police from photographing flags in front of a VA building as part of a class assignment. After interrogation, her digital photos were deleted.

In North Carolina, a honourably discharged army veteran married to an active duty spouse was placed under Pentagon surveillance for participating in a Fort Bragg protest led by veterans and military families. Another planned protest was listed in TALON's database even though determined to be peaceful and unthreatening.

In Ohio, a "Stop the War NOW!" protest was listed in the TALON database as a potential terrorist threat. Its purpose was to read names of war dead in front of the Akron federal building and a military recruiting station.

In Oregon, in April 2005, Portland became the first US city to withdraw from JTTF law enforcement participation. In May 2008, a Federal Protective Service officer went undercover against a peaceful anti-pesticide Eugene rally. City police made one arrest.

In Pennsylvania, FBI agents investigated Thomas Merton Center for Peace & Justice gatherings because the group opposed the Iraq war. An FBI memo called TMC "a left-wing organization advocating, among many political causes, pacifism."

A Penn State University student was arrested in Philadelphia for photographing police activity in his neighbourhood with a cell phone camera. Threats but no charges against him included conspiracy, impeding police and obstruction of justice.

In Pittsburgh, the US Department of Energy revoked the security clearance of a Muslim American employee with 18 years of service for making critical public comments about the FBI's treatment of people of his faith.

In Rhode Island, the [Community Coalition for Peace](#) was placed in the TALON database for protesting outside a National Guard recruitment station. Comments about the group said commanders and staff were alerted "to (their) potential terrorist activity" and other "force protection issues."

In Texas, in February 2009, a DHS-supported North Central Texas Fusion System intelligence bulletin described a purported conspiracy between Muslim civil rights organizations, lobbying groups, anti-war activists, a former congresswoman, US Treasury Department, and hip hop bands. In Austin, a counter-recruitment/anti-war recruitment station protest was listed in the TALON database. In addition, an Al-Jazeera television crew was prevented from filming on a public road over a mile from a nuclear power plant. Extensive background checks were conducted uncovering "no criminal history or other problems."

In Utah, the US Joint Forces Command liaison and FBI Olympic Intelligence Center collected and disseminated information on [Planned Parenthood](#) and [National Alliance](#) members, regarding their involvement in 2002 Olympics protests and literature distributions.

In Virginia, the state Fusion Center's March 2008 terrorism threat assessment called state universities and colleges "nodes for radicalization." It also described the "diversity" surrounding a [Virginia](#) military base and black colleges as possible security threats. One man was arrested, but not charged, for videotaping the [Chesapeake Bay Bridge](#).

In Washington, a civilian [Fort Lewis](#) Force Protection employee posed undercover as an anarchist to participate in [Olympia Port Militarization Resistance](#) activities from 2007 - 2009. In addition, police stopped a University of Washington Associate Fine Arts Professor for photographing power lines as part of a school project. She was searched, handcuffed, and held in a police car for 30 minutes before being released, police saying FBI agents would contact her about the incident.

An Evergreen State College student was arrested en route to a [Port of Grays Harbor anti-war protest](#), police acknowledging he and others had been watched, calling them "known anarchists." No charges were filed.

In Washington, DC, a City Council committee said Metropolitan Police used undercover officers to infiltrate protest groups without evidence of wrongdoing. Making arrests, they also preemptively prevented demonstrations, denying participants free expression and assembly rights.

DHS also tracked a DC Anti-War Network's protest plans, informed the Maryland state police who'd labeled the activists terrorists. In October 2003, the FBI's Intelligence Bulletin No. 89 titled, "[Tactics Used During Protests and Demonstrations](#)," included Internet recruitment activity, fund raising, false documentation to access secure facilities, marches, banners, sit-ins, vandalism, physical harassment, and tres-

passing. No effort was made to distinguish between protected speech and potential criminal activity.

In Wisconsin, a DHS Intelligence official assigned to the Statewide Information Center produced a "threat assessment" with regard to a February 2009 rally involving local pro-and anti-choice groups even though neither posed a domestic threat. Nationally, DHS reports warn that "right-wing extremists" might recruit and radicalize "disgruntled military veterans." DHS's Contractor Eco-Terrorism Report called the [Sierra Club](#), [Humane Society](#), [Audubon Society](#), and similar groups "mainstream organizations with known or possible links to eco-terrorism."

DHS' "[Protective Intelligence Bulletin](#) designated [CODEPINK](#), [Iraq Pledge of Resistance](#) and DAWN groups "civil activist and extremist," planning dozens of nationwide anti-war demonstrations. The FBI lists the [Green Party](#) as a potential Eco-Terrorist target. In October, DHS sent a report titled, "[Nation of Islam](#): Uncertain Leadership Succession Poses Risks" to hundreds of federal officials despite Department guidelines designating the files for destruction because the group's assessment lasted over 180 days without evidence of wrongdoing uncovered"...<sup>174</sup>

## **Catholic Worker groups part of faulty FBI probe, says new report**

Friday, September 24, 2010

By Carol Zimmermann, Catholic News Service

"A handful of Catholic Worker groups across the country were among the anti-war activists, environmentalists and animal-rights groups wrongly investigated by the FBI, according to a lengthy report released Sept. 20 by the Justice Department's Office of the Inspector General. According to Inspector General Glenn Fine, there was "little or no basis" for the investigations. The groups included the anti-war Thomas Merton Center in Pittsburgh, the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), the Catholic Worker, Greenpeace, [People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals](#) and an individual Quaker peace activist. Fine's office reviewed 8,000 pages of FBI documents from 2001 to 2006 related to these groups in its 191-page document: "*A Review of the FBI's Investigations of Certain Domestic Advocacy Groups*."<sup>175</sup> The FBI's investigation of nonviolent civil disobedience of some of these groups placed them under an "acts of terrorism" classification, which automatically put them under government watch lists"...<sup>176</sup>

---

<sup>174</sup> Source:<http://www.progressiveradionetwork.com/the-progressive-news-hour/>

<sup>175</sup> <http://www.justice.gov/oig/special/s1009r.pdf>

<sup>176</sup> Source: <http://www.uscatholic.org/news/2010/09/catholic-worker-groups-part-faulty-fbi-probe-says-new-report>

## Spying and lying about the left

By Brian Lenzo<sup>177</sup> 12 Oct 2010

“The US peace group "[Peace of the Action](#)" has discovered documents showing that it and many other organisations have been under surveillance for many months by a private agency called the Institute of Terrorism Research and Response (ITRR).

Founded by antiwar activist [Cindy Sheehan](#), Peace of the Action has focused on opposing the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan by pressuring legislators and organising demonstrations and civil disobedience actions at visible places around Washington DC...

The revelations about the Philadelphia-based ITRR emerged as part of a scandal involving the [Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency](#), an office of the Department of Homeland Security, which gave a no-bid \$103,000 contract to ITRR to gather information on various community groups. Why? Because the organisations supposedly posed a threat to Pennsylvania infrastructure. As Bill Quigley and Rachel Meeropol, attorneys with the [Centre for Constitutional Rights](#), wrote:

Our friends at [MoveOn.org](#), the [Ruckus Society](#), Immokalee Workers, [the new SDS](#), [Jobs with Justice](#), the [Brandywine Peace Community](#), [ANSWER](#), PETA, [Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty](#), [MOVE](#), [The Yes Men](#), [Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign](#), [Climate Ground Zero](#), the [Rainforest Action Network](#), pro-Palestinian Groups, Puerto Rican nationalists, prisoners' rights organizations, citizen conservation groups and immigration activists opposing Arizona's crazy attempts to criminalize all non-citizens should know--Pennsylvania has been monitoring you. Dated February 22, 2010 and March 19, 2010, the newly discovered documents appear to have been produced for ITRR's contract with the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency.

Peace of the Action is mentioned in conjunction with its March 2010 antiwar efforts in Washington DC, including "[Camp Out Now](#)," an encampment on the National Mall to protest President Barack Obama's continued prosecution of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.”

### From the Serious Press:

WikiLeaks Should be Declared 'Enemy Combatants', says Fox News contributor. Christian Whiton says whistleblowing website presents serious challenge to national security after leak of Iraq war logs By Sam Jones

October 27, 2010 "The Guardian" -- “A Fox News contributor and former state department adviser has accused WikiLeaks of conducting "political warfare against the US" and called for those behind the whistleblowing website to be declared "enemy combatants" so they can be subjected to "non-judicial actions".”

---

<sup>177</sup> Brian Lenzo is an online contributor to TheSitch.com and the Socialistworker.org, as well as being a long-time antiwar activist, having recently travelled to the Gaza Strip in 2009 to witness the effects of Israel's blockade of the territory. The above article first appeared in the online publication Socialistworker.org.

## Conclusion

The many peace movements consisted of and are today made of personalities who do not want to kill on orders or commands. This volume has showed that there always has been and is so many peace movements that they couldn't be controlled by one party, one idea or one group of persons, but they all want to keep and expand freedom and political rights. Nobody knows how many peace and conscientious objectors groups there have existed worldwide. When the iron curtain of militarism and war come democracy, freedom and liberty goes out. The persecution of pacifists, conscientious objectors and progressive socialists during and after the First World War created two party systems in many countries, where the borderline not are political, but goes between the rich in the center and the poor. Most military decisions are made in small closed, secret circles sometimes even without public or parliamentary control or debate. First long time after the military decisions are made begins the defended to understand what's going on and can protest – asking what shall it benefit - and when they do so, they are, according to the courts and politicians threatening the national security of the state. What they really are saying is this: Peace work is politically important and has to be dealt accordingly with by about every dirty trick in the data bases. This study has shown that most intelligence work is collecting, analysing and the use of information. This does after all not need secrecy or uniformed intelligence. This kind of work could have been done openly by journalists or academics. The intelligence communities can be disarmed. The real threat to state security comes when the military industrialized media complex becomes a state within the state and orders the rules there has to be obeyed be those who are thus defended. The only solution to this present situation of the poor militarized bedlam we are living in is disarmament, rearmament and enlightenment towards civilization.

The end..

Goliath lost - as you might remember from the old tale.

## Literature

ACLU Asks Court to Stop Army Spying on Civilians: The ACLU Foundation is suing the Army to dismantle its civilian intelligence network. Civil Liberties No. 269,1970.

FBI documents regarding [Walter Cronkite](#)

FBI documents regarding Errol Flynn

FBI documents regarding Pablo Picasso

FBI documents regarding Elvis Presley... etc.

[First World War: conscientious objectors and exemptions from service 1914-1918.](#)

A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of Federal Bureau of Investigation Confidential Files. Edited by Athan G. Theoharis Guide compiled by Angela Botzer. University Publications of America, 1989

Journal des années de guerre, 1914-1919 / notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire morale de l'Europe de ce temps. Texte établi par M.R.Rolland. Paris : Albin Michel, 1952.

Joseph Hanlon, "Army Drops Data Banks but Keeps Data Banks," Computerworld, 11 March 1970. Mentioned in Civil Liberties No. 269, 1970.

McLean, Craig: Australian Government Responses to the Peace Movement 1949-1959. Department of Asian and International Studies, Faculty of Arts, Victoria University. 2001.

ISBN 978-87-91085-04-8

EAN 9788791085048