

U.S. Department of Justice

[Handwritten signature]

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

July 07, 2008

MR. WILLIAM MAXWELL
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN
608 SOUTH WRIGHT STREET
URBANA, IL 61801

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Subject: PICKENS, WILLIAM

FOIPA No. 1109952- 000

[Handwritten notes]

Dear Mr. Maxwell:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

Section 552

Section 552a

- (b)(1)
- (b)(2)
- (b)(3) _____
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- (b)(4)
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- (b)(7)(A)
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- (b)(7)(F)
- (b)(8)
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- (d)(5)
- (j)(2)
- (k)(1)
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- (k)(7)

247 page(s) were reviewed and 247 page(s) are being released.

- Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:
 - referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.
 - referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, 1425 New York Ave., NW, Suite 11050, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from the date of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown,

[Handwritten notes and signatures on the right side of the page]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (140-0)(RUC)
SUBJECT: WILLIAM PICKENS
SGE

DATE: 5/17/64

On 4/28/64, [redacted] [redacted] Roxbury, Mass., provided material which belonged to EDWARD HARRISON, who died recently. [redacted] WILLIAM [redacted] stated that she desired to cooperate with the FBI and turned over this material for review in order that electrostat copies be made before it was returned as she intended to write a book about HARRISON and would use some of the material. A review of the numerous documents revealed that the majority of the material was innocuous and personal.

b6
b7C

However, during this review one letter was located which was addressed to WILLIAM EDWARD HARRISON from WILLIAM PICKENS, Savings Bonds Division, U.S. Treasury Department, Washington 25, D.C., and dated 4/17/48.

In this letter PICKENS mentions that he will visit the World Fellowship Camp in New Hampshire, (characterization attached).

HERBERT PHILBRICK, who testified on behalf of the Government in the trial of the U.S. vs. CP, USA, leaders on trial in New York City in 1949, named HARRISON before public hearings of the HCUA on 7/23/51, Washington, D.C., as a CP member.

b6
b7C

It is not known if PICKENS is still employed by the U.S. Treasury Department and, therefore, this matter is being forwarded to you for whatever action you may desire to take.

Boston indices reflect nothing identifiable with PICKENS because of the lack of identifying data concerning him.

An electrostat copy of the letter is attached for the Bureau and WFO.

*if alive
need be
3
[redacted]*

ENCLOSURE

- 2-Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2-WFO (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2-Boston (140-0) (1-100-13336)

RHB/hw
(6)

REC-112 121-4978-11

121 4978

MAY 14 1964

64 JUN 9 1964

SEC. [signature]

Best Available
Copy

WILLIAM PICKENS
SAVINGS BONDS DIVISION
UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 17, 1948---

Mr. William Harrison,
Associate Editor,
The Boston Chronicle,
794 Tremont Street,

Boston 18, Mass.

Dear Mr. Harrison:-

I am glad that my letter reached you. Thank you for your prompt reply dated May 15th.

What I had in mind on writing you, was the plan which we had in mind, or at least broached between us, when I first came to the Treasury here, 1941.

I think that, with your aid and suggestion, and a bit of your time, we can now soon carry that plan through: to enlarge *THE BOSTON CHRONICLE* or to make a successor book to that sketch.

I want to talk it over with you some time, even if I must send for you when I am to be in N.Y. City, or wait and see you when next I am in Boston (certainly in summer on my way up to World Fellowship Camp in New Hampshire). I have no doubt that we can get together on it, if you find the time.

I suppose you can always reach you at the Boston Chronicle. I had not heard from you in so long, although I had often talked with other about you and about your association of 7 years ago, that was not certain when I wrote the other week. Methinks you were still with the Chronicle.

Excuse my poor typing: my Secretary is out to lunch. This is personal anyway.

Shall I let you know when I find we can surely get face-to-face again?

Very truly yours,

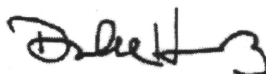
W.P. Pickens
W.P. Pickens

421-14978-49
ENCLOSURE

when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Hardy", with a stylized flourish at the end.

David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

The enclosed documents were located on microfilm and are the best available copies.

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute(A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could be reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could be reasonably expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "H"

A USELESS AND EXCUSELESS RIOT

By William Pickens

As I write I am in New York City. The riot, started by Negroes last night is still on, but seems smoldering towards its end. The Negroes did all the rioting, practically unopposed, except in a few instances where the police interfered.

It was not a race riot, white people were not attacked. It was just a Negro's riot. Stores and shops were broken into and goods of all kinds were taken and carried out. It was a looter's holiday. Groceries, meats, vegetables, shoes, clothes, fur coats, everything from the drug stores except the bad medicines. - In the part of the town where I watched the riot, the police, evidently at the suggestion of the Mayor, were firing blank cartridges or firing into the air. The Mayor, perhaps intended to leave the burden on the Negroes this time and not to help their leaders to shout and publish all over the nation that the police killed the Negroes - even though these Negroes were doing the things for which people are supposed to be killed in all riots - making a wholesale attack on everybody's property, with the great threat of fire and death-violence.

The rioting started at 125th Street early Sunday night and ranged on uptown to 115th Street before morning light. They smashed glass and doors and gates; they stole liquor and canned goods and cleaned out the "cleaning shops." They carted the stuff off in bundles and baskets and parcels. Two young women even called a taxi because their loot was too burdensome to carry. One hardware store on Eighth Avenue, between 139th and 140th Streets, run by a Russian Jew who has been friendly and very helpful to the Negro population for about twenty years, was entered and plundered like all the others.

And what was the cause of all this? Of course, Mr. Sociologist will want to direct us way back into former generations for the cause, telling us that it began with the slave drivers, and that it has been growing stronger with every instance of race rioting and anti-Negro activities for the last eighty years. But that is too far back for present purposes. All crimes, sins, and weaknesses may be "explained" in that way. If the judge in court had to consider all the causes since Adam, which causes produced the mind of the criminal before him, the judge never could condemn anybody and could never get to the second case on the docket. In one sense everything has an adequate cause, even the causes themselves have causes behind them. Murder and executions, laws and mobs are all products of nature. But in practical living we have to begin at some tangible and reasonable thing and place.

A Useless & Knowledgeless Riot
William Pickens
Page 2

Therefore, we go no farther back than the "occasion" which set off this robbing and thieving. These people were the hoodlums of the New York Negro people. They had thievery in their bones, perhaps from Cain. But in a magistrate's court, or in the Supreme Court, they can be dealt with only on the more recent evidence, the thing that caused them to turn savage and wreck four or five millions of dollars worth of property and to set us all back many millions of days and hours. That thing does not justify the rioting. A Negro Military Policeman was shot through the shoulder by a city policeman (incidentally, of the white race) in a dingy hotel lobby on 125th Street, near 8th Avenue.

But why and how? That Negro N. P. had attacked the policeman, knocked him down with the stick which he had taken from the policeman, and was running away when winged. You see, Uncle Sam's soldiers are being ruined by the many rotten women whom they contact in some hotels, and this policeman had been placed in the lobby of this hotel many weeks ago to help save the boys. On this Sunday he stopped a green Negro soldier coming in with a prostitute of another race because the policeman knew what was in store for the soldier. The Negroes gathered around and the N. P., from New Jersey, came in to show his authority, as if he did not know that a military policeman in New York City, so long as it is not under military rule, has no authority over the city police.

A fight was started, the Negro knocking down the policeman, who then shot at his assailant, who knew he was in the wrong, was trying to run away. Well, what would you have done? I know what I would have done. But Negro mobs are no better than white mobs. They began to lie, all that sixth column stuff - a poor Negro soldier had been "killed" by a policeman (the Negro only having been wounded in the shoulder), because the poor boy was simply trying to protect his own mother, etc., etc., the usual lies that are told when mobs want to justify their savagery.

The white policeman, hurt by this Negro N. P., was taken to the same hospital with the Negro, but after a mob of three thousand or more gathered around the hospital, the Negro was removed to another hospital under arrest, as ought to have been.

This was not a race riot, but it had a race element in it, for these mob hoodlums passed by some Negro shops, especially if they were labeled "Colored Man's Store" or if they bore the Father Divine label of "PEACE." Negro mob action looks no better to me than white mob action, whichever way you turn it, and I have been fighting mob action for the last forty years, and will continue to fight it. Negro soldiers are not always being treated right in this country, but even the Negro soldier is not always blameless.

A Useless & Excuseless Riot
William Pickens
Page 3

They used to tell us that it was all "economic." That is what they said when, eight years ago, a similar rioting in Harlem by Negroes and white sympathizers with Negroes, took place. The occasion at that time was that a Negro child had been caught stealing from a ten-cent store counter and had been perhaps untactfully handled by the store policeman and taken out, but had not been hurt. News spread that the child had been killed, just as it was said last night that the Negro M. P. had been killed. Then (1935) the Negro leaders told us that it was all due to the "depression," that "no work" and "unfair relief treatment" of colored people was the cause. That bunk will not explain last night's rumpus. There is no depression. There is plenty of work for all who want to work, and no "relief" business at all.

We must, as Americans, talk plain when either white people or black people are at the wrong end. The Mayor did not want it said that the police department of New York had discriminated against Negroes and therefore they were for the first night allowed to run away almost un-molested, by the many thousands. It was a rascal's paradise.

This morning on Seventh Avenue at 136th Street I passed a delicatessen, and a Negro crowd was emptying it of its goods, at 11:00 o'clock. They had put small children inside to hand out the stuff through the broken window glass. The police strolled by in their bullet-proof metal hats and did not even look at it. Later, when I returned that way, the crowd had been dispersed and five policemen were standing guard.

The Mayor has said that there will be a curfew tonight (Monday night) and that if there is not order and quiet and civilization, he means to turn on the heat.

I hear that six people have been killed - all Negroes, of course; but not because they were Negroes, but because they were looters, and only Negroes were looting. When things happen against colored people or colored soldiers, it is not safe to make an automatic outcry about injustice and oppression. It is best to find out what is back of it. Sometimes there is a Negro back of it.

So, Herr Hitler, this New York foolishness is another score for you, without cost to you. It did more to New York than many of your bombs might have done. But you are going to lose this war, if you expect the American Negro to help you to win it. He has some bad people in his country, but he does not want any worse people here.

- William Pickens

Best Available Copy

ANTI-ALIEN AND ANTI-MINORITY LEGISLATION
By William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "G"

(Emergency Committee Mass Meeting
Plaza Hall, Brooklyn, July 25, 1939)

American democracy goes out wherever pure class legislation steps in. And legislation to oppress or to handicap minorities reverses the direction of our democratic policy: for our constitution and most of our laws have been framed upon the premise that the minorities, the weaker portions of our society, are the elements needing favorable legislation. The majority rules, not as a tyrant, but in co-operation with the minority, or the minorities. Our national constitution is really the body of rules setting limits against the majority in its control of minorities, and even of individual citizens.

Our post-World War trend has been somewhat against this fundamental Americanism. Our contacts in that war made us more afraid of our freedom, of our ideas of equality, of our open door. Altho during 300 years we had been made up chiefly out of the peoples of Europe and of Africa, we now almost closed the door against all of them. Very few, if any of us, would have been against the wisdom of placing some guardship over that door; for our frontier of territory was vanishing and we could no longer absorb and advance an unlimited number of workers.

But that limitation on immigration should never have been permitted to generate any idea that there should be any lack of equality before the law of any of those who occupy our country, of whatever race or of whatever color of immigration here. What difference of merit can there be between the workers who came in the 18th and 19th centuries and those who were advanced here in the 20th century?

There is nothing in the genius of our constitution which says that the protection of the minority must be a mere technicality, and that the protection of the whole people must be a mere technicality.

#2 - Anti-Alien Legislation

(18)

minorities is the only sure protection of the rights of the majority. Laws and regulations oppressing the weak have always managed the strong. If the right of an alien-born inhabitant to pursue life, liberty and happiness here is limited, the same right of the native-born is questioned and threatened.

Certainly we ought to learn the lessons taught by our own native-grown minority problems: I notice that the great majority of those bills in our present congress, threatening the freedom and equality of the foreign-born and the politically exotic, are bills introduced by southern representatives,-- by representatives who are a minority in the Congress and who represent a part of the country that is a still smaller minority of the whole country. Why? Because that section of our country has for 100 years had a minority problem which they have dealt with in just that bungling way, and of which they have made our greatest national mass. Statesmen who have learned to oppress a people because of race or poverty or origin, are the least competent people to set the pace for us in dealing with our foreign-born and political minorities.-- I myself am a southerner, but that objection is compelling.

Because of our limitation on immigration for many years past, our alien population must be relatively smaller than it has perhaps ever been in our national history. There is now no excuse for any restrictive legislation, hampering these people's right to work, or speak or move about freely. The accidentally created and artificially maintained "race problem" of our South is really the South's greatest handicap. We do not want to copy those old and tragic mistakes.

The psychology of our people is important: the manner we permit aliens to register or to limit their speech or their right of assembly, protest, or to act with less political privilege, in that manner we will

...the claim is our right and a troublesome group problem. If
...to say nothing of the an-
...have become citizens.
...in order to get work, citizens must show
...that they are not aliens; when citizens seek work.
...are forbidden to join anything but the Republican and the
...that is undeniably a great reflection against the honor
...of all native-born citizens who choose to belong to other

...is expected for certain opinions, political, social
...that is a slap in the face to all citizens who hold

...to have a democratic government and a free society, the
...makes an exception of.

...when we begin to grade the privileges of our people on
...religion, or what-not, we immediately play
...of the anti-democratic forces that really want to establish
...of government and society in the place of what we have here.
...really want to divide and conquer us, do not care much on what
...divide.

Today, after more than 150 years in the pursuit of democracy, Amer-
...of America, is the best place in the world in which
...and women. Any successful effort to legally classify us
...to lessen that democracy in law, will lessen that human
...age.

In a world and age where some great nations have turned back to the
...of the middle ages or the jungle tyranny of primitive man, it is
...easy for our great nation to keep on the road toward freedom and equality

4 - Amplified Legislation (70)

to the people, and to keep its respect for the individual personality.
and it is the direction toward which we should direct our efforts.

William F. Buckley

WFB

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "J"

- Mr. Adams: Q. Mr. Pickens, what we want to talk to you about, you probably have guessed, is the Dies Committee Report.
- Mr. Pickens: A. I have an idea, but I do not know.
- Mr. Adams: Probably the best way to proceed would be for Mr. Jordan to go back to his original report and check with you the list that the Dies Committee states you are connected with. He also had at that time a list of law suits which you wrote him a letter about.
- Mr. Pickens: A. I know I wrote him a letter.
- Mr. Adams: You wrote him a letter saying that you were not the William Pickens included in this list.
- Mr. Pickens: A. I was not the William Pickens. I never had a lawsuit in my life.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember my first interview on September 30, 1941?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I remember very well. I do not remember the date.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember a list of certain organizations of which you were a member and for which you spoke?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I remember that you had such a list. I do not remember the organizations, or what I said.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Here is a copy of that list. I am going over this fully. Did you at that time deny making the speeches referred to in that list.
- Mr. Pickens: A. I spoke several times at public rallies at the Manhattan Center December 1, 1940.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. In connection with this rally, to what extent did you participate?

Mr. Pickens: A. Just a speaker. I was down there and naturally someone asked me to come and speak.

Mr. Jordan: Q. You delivered one speech?

Mr. Pickens: A. That's all.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a member?

Mr. Pickens: A. Not at all. Just invited as a speaker because I was to Spain.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a member of the New York Tom Mooney Committee?

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not know. I know I was interested in Tom Mooney for about 20 years. That was not a political case. I do not think I ever met Tom Mooney. I never helped to organize, or be a member. I sponsored something for him.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Then you were not a member of the Tom Mooney Committee?

Mr. Pickens: A. No.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you know that the Tom Mooney Committee is made up of Communists?

Mr. Pickens: A. No I did not know that it was made up mostly of Communists.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Third is the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights. You are listed as a sponsor.

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not know about that. It must have been back.... I do not know much about the organization.

Mr. Jordan: Q. The fourth one is an appeal on behalf of Sam Darcy?

Mr. Pickens: A. I remember that name but nothing else about it.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Did you sign the statement which was in the "Daily Worker" dated December 19, 1940, urging the release of Sam Darcy?

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not remember signing a statement.

Mr. Adams: Q. Sam Darcy, as I understand it, was purported to be a Communist with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not know the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. I do not recall Darcy. I do not remember that.

Mr. Adams: Q. If anybody came along and asked you to sign anything or make a speech, did you ever ask if they were Communistic?

Mr. Pickens: A. No I never did. My attitude toward Communists was indifferent.

Mr. Adams: Q. Then you never were as a matter of fact a Communist?

Mr. Pickens: A. I never was a Communist. I never thought of becoming a Communist.

Mr. Jordan: Q. You were listed as a member of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not believe I was. I went to Spain in 1938, and saw ~~that~~ what was going on. I am not a member. I have not kept up anything since I gave my dollar. When I came back they asked me to tell them what I saw. I do not know the people there. I might have said something, I could not say.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you connected with the publication entitled "Fight?"

Mr. Pickens: A. No, I have not even read it. They might have published something of mine. They never paid me for saying anything.

Mr. Jordan: Q. You were listed as Vice-Chairman.

Mr. Pickens: A. Not with my consent. They might have put me in without my consent.

Mr. Jordan: Q. ~~Were you a member of the Council for Pan-American Democracy?~~
Were you a member of the Council for Pan-American Democracy?

Mr. Pickens: A. I was a member. I am not a member now. I was on the Executive Committee in 1936 or 1937.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did you take any active part in the programs or organization?

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not believe I ever spoke on their programs. I never quite agreed with the Civil Liberties Union.

- Mr. Adams: Q. Did you contribute any articles or make speeches for these organizations?
- Mr. Pickens: A. The Civil Liberties Union often helped us with cases. I worked with these people because they were helping the advancement of the colored people. Politics did not enter into it. I never pretended to be a Communist. They knew it.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, you are listed as a sponsor?
- Mr. Pickens: A. Some time ago, but I am not now.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. On April 13, 1940, the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom in a Citizens Rally, you are listed as a sponsor?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I do not deny that. I do not remember making a speech.
- Mr. Adams: Q. Do you remember anything about this organization.
- Mr. Pickens: A. No, I do not.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. The New York Conference for Inalienable Rights, July 29, 1940, you were guest of honor. The notice appeared in the "Daily Worker."
- Mr. Pickens: A. I do not read the "Daily Worker," so I never say anything there. I cannot say "yes" or "no". I go to so many things.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Are you a member of the American Friends of Spanish People?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I went to Spain. When I came back I wanted to help those Spanish people. I do not deny that.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember contributing to the "New Masses" publication?
- Mr. Pickens: A. Yes, I do. I have written two or three articles.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember the article, "Why the Negro Must be Anti-Fascist?"
- Mr. Pickens: A. Yes, I do remember that.

- Mr. ^{Jordan} Adams: Q. You did make speeches against the poll tax?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I did not make any speech against it, but I did make thousands of speeches and included it.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you remember the United States Congress Against War?
- Mr. Pickens: A. No, I do not remember that.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a member of the American League Against War and Fascism?
- Mr. Pickens: A. Yes, I was when it first started.
- Mr. Adams: Q. Did you in that organization, or any organization, try to prohibit arms shipped to Europe?
- Mr. Pickens: A. No, I never did. All I was interested in was to get charity money for these people.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. Were you a signer of a letter to the President published in the "New Masses", published April 2, 1940.
- Mr. Pickens: A. I do not know what the letter was about.
- Mr. Adams: Q. It was to get one Mexican by the name of Constanta Lemana into this country.
- Mr. Pickens: A. It was a woman in Mexico who was a leader of the Mexicans in Spain who wanted to come here.
- Mr. Adams: Q. The woman was refused a visa.
- Mr. Pickens: A. Of course, anybody could have asked the President.
- Mr. Adams: Q. Did you know that this person was a Communist?
- Mr. Pickens: A. No, I did not know ^{it} if I signed the letter. I might have signed it, but if she were a Communist, I would have said to keep them out. I was not signing things for Communists.
- Mr. Jordan: Q. The Public Rally under auspices of the New York Chapter of the Spanish Aid Committee, you were listed as speaker?
- Mr. Pickens: A. I guess that is the Committee I have in mind. When I came

back from Spain, whatever meeting they had, I would go to it if I could. If I was there I would be invited to speak.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Do you have any connection with that committee?

Mr. Pickens: A. No, I was never a member.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Since your appointment to the War Savings Staff, what participation have you made in any other organization, either as a speaker or writer.

Mr. Pickens: A. I am a life member of the League for Industrial Democracies.

Mr. Jordan: Q. In other words, you remained a member only of the League for Industrial Democracies?

Mr. Pickens: A. I am a life member of that. I paid them \$100 for life membership.

Mr. Adams: Q. You are still a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

Mr. Pickens: A. Yes, I worked with them for over thirty years, but only for the advancement of the colored people.

Mr. Jordan: Q. Are you in sympathy with any programs the Communists promote?

Mr. Pickens: A. I do not believe in anything they try to do. I have no political motives. I have been opposed to having Communists run this country. I am not interested in any of it; I am opposed to everything they do.

Mr. Adams: Q. Were you a member of the national committee of any labor defense?

Mr. Pickens: A. Yes, the International Labor Defense, when it first started. When I found that Communists were running the whole thing, I just quit. I joined it as a non-partisan organization to defend the laboring people, black or white.

Mr. Adams: Q. Did ~~you~~ you appear on a program with Marcantonio some time during the past two or three years?

Mr. Pickens: A. I guess about two or three years ago when they were having some sort of a meeting down there I spoke with Mrs. Roosevelt. I told somebody he talked like a radical or a Communist. I think I spoke. It was not important. Nothing that I would particularly remember, except to tell my story about the Spanish people. I had no other interest.

MY JOURNEY TO AND FROM RUSSIA
IN 1927

by

William Pickens

In 1926, I did a hard year's work in the United States, raising for my organization over \$20,000.00 in "Baby Contests" alone, and many thousands more in membership campaigns. I was always a popular speaker on our Negro problem in the United States of America. The Quakers of England (Friends House on Euston Road) invited me to come to England and lecture in England and Scotland under the general direction of John Fletcher, leading English Quaker.

The organization for which I worked gave me a two months' leave and \$250.00 on my expenses. The rest of the estimated cost was made up by:

\$105.00 from Moorefield Storey, Great Boston law firm head
10.00 from each of a number of Negro Newspapers, arranged
for by Claude A. Bennett, editor of the Associated
Negro Press; many individuals and friends from
Seattle to the Atlantic; and the fees which the
Quakers of England were to charge against each
place where I should lecture.

I went and started my lectures by the end of November, in London; and spoke in all the principal cities of England and Scotland until near Christmas time.

The Quakers had missions in almost all foreign countries, and my lectures were to be suspended before Christmas and taken up again after Christmas. Russia was a most interesting question in this world in 1926-27, and knowing of my interest in social problems from my lectures among them, and having a mission in Moscow, Warsaw, and in Berlin, the

My Journey to and from Russia in 1927
William Pickens
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Quakers helped me to arrange a sort of "vacation" for the days of intermission in our lecture program, and wrote to their mission heads in Berlin, Moscow, and Warsaw, directing them to meet me and to prepare for any possible lectures and conferences and for my education through sightseeing.

I was duly met by the Quakers in Berlin, Warsaw, and Moscow. In Berlin they arranged for me to speak on my return in the Herren House (upper chamber of the Prussian legislature) and an audience of a thousand Germans greeted me when I returned from Moscow and Warsaw. Also, Warsaw arranged a meeting for my return, and a large audience of English-speaking Poles met me. I could speak German, but not Polish.

It was interesting in Moscow, where I was for about two weeks and was shown everything from dead Lenin and the Kremlin to Leon Trotsky and twenty-odd visiting Chinese "Generals", and was invited by some persons to let them show me to Stalin, who had just stepped up top, but I actually thought such little of it that I could not make the time mentioned convenient. I was too busy looking at Moscow, its churches, science schools, workers' clubs, boulevards, squares, etc. But I did get to call at Trotsky's office. He was then head of the very powerful "Concessions Commission." I am ashamed to confess that I ran out on him before he had got through talking with me, because I wanted to see an interesting Russian movie which was being put on especially so that some English people and I could see it. When I reached the movie place and announced that I had almost been made late by Trotsky, the Russians laughed, and an Englishman explained to me, "They are laughing because

My Journey to and from Russia in 1927

William Pickens
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most of them would crawl five miles on their hands and knees to get three minutes with Trotsky."

Trotsky was doubtless far more interested in seeing and talking to me than I was in seeing and talking to him. He never once mentioned politics, but spoke of his previous residence in the United States and showed intelligent interest in the American Negro. It was all instructive to me.

When I got back to England, via Warsaw and Berlin, our lectures were resumed. My record stated "about sixty lectures" before and after my visit to the Continent, thirty in each period. But since then, I have been told that there were seventy-two lectures in all.

The British were thrilled by our American message. I met members of the Parliament, spoke at a Bye-election for one of them (and he was elected, a new member, think).

In York, England, I heard the great Quaker, Rufus Jones, just returned from China and bound for his home in America, give a lecture on the Chinese, in which he confirmed my faith in the correctness of our "Hands off China" aims. He said that the Chinese farmers are the most honest and honorable people in this world, and that England and America and other powerful nations should at least refrain from repressing the Chinese uprising, for by repression, they would play into the hands of the Japanese. Just like me, he seemed to have no interest in the radical element in China, but in freedom for the Chinese people.

When I was through in England with one of the most interesting lectures experiences of all my career, I returned to the United States from a British port.

--William Pickens

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM
By William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "B"

The only thing new about "Fascism" is its present name. As a process it is about as old in the world as is human government. Turning to Fascism is like turning back toward the primitive. Mississippi and South Carolina have within them all the elements of Fascism which can be found in Germany or Italy; but these states are parts of the United States and subject to its constitution, and their Fascism is held in check and modified by the less Fascist parts of the Republic.

In 1926 I went lecturing in Europe,-- England, Scotland, Germany, Poland Russia,-- and at that time kings and tyrants seemed definitely on the wane, and moving toward the exit. Besides the old democracies, such as Britain, France, Switzerland, there was popular government, or attempts at it, in Germany, Austria, Russia, China, and in many of the lesser states of central and southeastern Europe. All of the Western Hemisphere at the time was being run by democracies, of a sort, altho the ballots were often subordinated to bullets, as many of the chief executives shot their way into office and were in turn shot out of it again. But that we looked upon as the adolescence of democracy, feeling that all the world was going to be democratic in a generation or two. Kingdoms like Britain, Belgium and Holland might continue to have figure-head "monarchs" for a while, or indefinitely. Western Asia was discarding its veil and turban, and even Japan was loosening up.

New ideas asked for by the masses, but never permitted.

The League of Nations, which had been midwifed into existence by an American president, was flourishing at Geneva as a promise of International Democracy. Even the nations of the earth seemed ~~to~~ about to agree to settle international arguments by votes instead of by cannon and bomb.-- The course of human history was just about set, and all that was left for us reformers "in them days" was to fight what we called Imperialism,-- the export of capital and the oppression of weaker subject peoples, by the European powers and the great Colossus of North America. England, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal and Belgium still held large areas in Africa, and we wanted them to give the native people better economic opportunities and more local autonomy. In the Orient, India and China felt the mace of this imperialism, so that Orientals and Hindus were active in our crusades. The United States, with the vastest capital in human history, with war debts coming in, and supposed to keep coming in ad infinitum, was anxious to use this excess capital in Central America and in the West Indies, and make more capital. While Europe was at war, we had seized Haiti on a slimmer pretext than that on which Italy was later to seize Abyssinia, and Mussolini's son was not to have a more thrilling time dropping bombs on ~~black~~ Ethiopians and their straw hats, than our marines had shooting ~~cases~~ and "bandit" patriots in Black Haiti, the second oldest republic of the Western Hemisphere.

Having jumped to the side of the underdog ever since I was a school boy, and having "fought, bled, died,-- and come away" from many such struggles, this looked like inviting adventure to me. So I joined with European friends, and with Roger Baldwin and others in America, in promoting "Anti-Imperialist Congresses", held in Europe. These were great and exceedingly democratic gatherings, to start with: Communists, Socialists, Republicans, Democrats, and people from the monarchist lands, and even some who, like myself, were independent

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of anybody's party, were equally welcomed. The ultimate triumph of political democracy seemed assured in the world, and all we had to do, was to look out for economic democracy, for the protection of workers, laborers and consumers against the profit-takers. Russia, whose leaders loomed large in these movements, was still an unrecognized outcast among the greater nations, but that would righten itself, with developments inside and outside of Russia.

By training and by temperament I am a democrat, believing in the compromise of the ballot after agitation and discussion, and having no favor for class warfare. Narrow discipline never suited me. Therefore, altho I could work toward these universal ends side by side with any humans, I could never become a member ~~of~~ of minority political parties, with the limitations implied. Some of the people with whom I worked, made the mistake of many,-- seeming to think that a man could not look upon "radicals" as being simply human beings, without being one of the radicals. From these I expected opposition, ignorant opposition. Soon I was to find also that with the radicals I was a "marked man", because I did not and could not agree with them in all things. Like Roger Baldwin I took the right which I accorded: the right to ~~sing~~ disagree in any detail. When I got to the great Anti-Imperialist Congress in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1929, whither I had been urged to come and to deliver an address of 45 minutes, I found that plans had developed at the Congress to muzzle me, and other American leaders, and the great leader of the Independent British Labor Party,-- those of us who were on the program, but who did not belong to the ~~major~~ racial party, whose members seemed then in the saddle. Accordingly, when an audience of 15,000 was gathered to hear us, I had been advised by a Boston woman that a plot had been made to have the presiding officer to ring me down after I should have spoken about 10 minutes,-- and then to have an American Negro who was a party member to get up and take as much time as he pleased "tearing up" the speech which I may have made. Nobody knew at that time what I would say,-- but this was just a strategy for checking and killing off the non-elect.-- I therefore kept my counsel, resorted to a little strategy myself, and did not give my address to the army of translators until just before I was to speak, making it impossible for them to get an English copy to the man selected to criticize me. I had my speech in both German and English, and seeing so many Englishmen at the conference, I had decided to use the English version, but now switched back to the German, knowing that my critic knew not one word of German. This was fortunate in another way: when the vast audience, the great majority of whom were Germans, heard their mother tongue, they got so enthusiastic that when the Russian Chairman attempted to stop me after a few minutes, they shouted and threatened a riot,-- and I had to go on to the end of the 45 minutes talk. The joke was turned: the poor critic, seated behind me, did not know one word I had spoken, and had to get up and fill in his time as best he could, talking about whatever occurred to him.-- I never had had a mere enthusiastic audience in my life, and even the conservative papers of the city, the "give-us-back-our-colonies" papers, gave faithful reports and invited me to visit their ~~and~~ offices.

With such backgrounds, and such temperament, there could be but one side for me in the present fight between people's government and Fascist dictatorships. The last time I was in Germany was just a few months before Von Hindenburg made Hitler Chancellor. It was 1932, during one of Hitler's election efforts, in which he received

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a minority vote, as he ~~generally~~ always did, until he became dictator,-- dictator of elections as of everything else. We had always argued against the unjust treatment of Germany by the Allies,-- against the robbery of "reparations" and other tribute,-- and we had won over perhaps 50 per cent of the people of England and America to the side of Germany, under the republican government, before Hitler. But the attitudes and intransigence of the erstwhile "victorious" governments of the Allies toward the reasonable leaders of the new German state, made Hitler. It gave point to his beer-garden attacks against the mild and umbrella-carrying statesmanship of his country, which was being humiliated by the haughty victors; it got him at last, the foolish vote of the younger generation, and of the women, when the Social Democrats had enfranchised in their republican state. The older women did not then dream that a Hitler triumph would kick them back into the kitchen; but perhaps the younger people have not yet learned anything from their mistake, for they now have no chance to learn anything outside of their regimented political and social education.

One need be only an American democrat to be able to take the right side, the people's side, in the Ethiopian crisis and in the Civil War in Spain. Last August I went to Barcelona, with the co-operation of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee, but at my own expense and risk,-- and in sympathy with the anti-Fascist forces. It was then clear to those how had eyes that Catalonia was on its last legs, unless those who should have been its best friends, should at once change their tactics, and lift their embargoes and open their "closed borders". But England seemed set against popular government in Spain; France had to follow England; and America just followed. This Spanish republic had come into existence a few years ago, in a most decent way, for a European country: They had let their king leave without beheading him, and allowed him to take much money with him.

These republican leaders, soldiers and heroes, with whom I talked in Barcelona in August,-- what has become of them now, with France in that city? Some are in prison, ~~many~~ many in dishonored graves, many more in exile. The city, built to accommodate a million, had nearly three million people in it at that time, mostly refugees. Barcelona,-- ancient port of Iberia,-- founded before the Roman Republic,-- refounded by Hannibal's father,-- survivor of Napoleonic vengeance,-- perhaps it will still survive, and its will to liberty.

In southern France, being a tolerated visitor, I argued with the younger Frenchmen that Spain should be helped to maintain its independence against Italy and France,-- in spite of the fact that Spain did not help France when the Germans attacked in 1914. I told them not to substitute sentiment or grudge for statesmanship; that real statesmanship looked forward, not backward; that the fact that Spain did not help France in a past crisis, should not be allowed to cause France to hurt its own future by a wrong course in the present crisis; that the present question was: What should France do today for the best good of France tomorrow? Another hostile Fascist border would not be good for France: Germany and Italy are enough.

When I got back to Paris, I flew to England, to sail from Southampton after a week's visit in England. I had entered England a number of times in previous years, but I now had a new experience with the

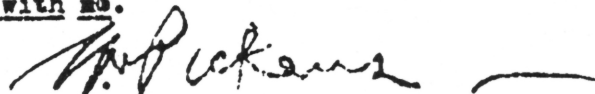
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Scotland Yarders and the immigration officials. I had been to Spain, which seemed now to make them as nervous as it did twelve years before when one had "been to Moscow". I had gone to Spain on my regular American passport, from France, across the French border, and with all sanctions of the American State Department, the American Ambassador, the French police and the border officials. Frankly, that was none of Britain's business. They saw my numerous Spanish visas in my passport at the Air France office in Paris before we sailed; and no doubt they radiated ahead to Greyden Field, London, about it. Why did they not tackle you in Paris? Not only because Paris is in France, but because they want to get your money for flying you to London first,-- and if they do happen to turn you back, they want to have your money first, going and coming. They did not turn me back, but they asked a lot of foolish questions, the most foolish questions I had ever been asked on entering any country: Why did you go to Spain,-- How did you get those photographs,-- Why do you carry a typewriter,-- What are you going to leave in England,-- When are you here to see,-- What's this (as they dived into some editorial copies which I had written for the press). I answered in the fewest words, and: "Until my ship sails, the Aquitania",-- and as to what I was going to leave,-- "Money for my expenses", etc. The Scotland Yarder must have been amused himself, but he held his face, while the two Bobbies of the city police, who accompanied him, fairly doubled up with laughter, in a most un-British fashion.-- When I saw that my unhesitating answers had about taken the wind out of his sails, I asked him one: "Are you through now?" to which he nodded slowly, almost reluctantly,-- and I was allowed to take the waiting bus with the other passengers into the heart of the great metropolis.

This showed me clearly enough where official England was standing at the time, so far as Spain was concerned: with the dictator and against the people. Perhaps they were more afraid of the Spanish people than of Italy: the people would be likely to use Spain for its own people, rather than for the profiteers of commerce.

The fight to keep democracy in the United States, in the face of developing Fascism, should engage our devotion. We should determine to keep it in peace, if possible; but if necessary we should endeavor to keep it, even if by war. Constitutional government is especially made for the protection of minorities, against the natural power of majorities. Law is not so much needed for the immediate protection of the strong: good law takes more account of protecting the weak. The outlawing of any minority, economic, political, racial or religious, is an attack on all minorities. Jews and Negroes, Catholics and Agnostics, Socialists, Communists, and Independents, and all the organized worker groups, can take the same interest in such a fight,-- without having to agree together about their differing political, religious and social aims. I believe in Democracy,-- but in that democracy I include everybody, especially those who disagree with me.


William Pickens----

4. 1943.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "E"

MY ADVENTURE INTO SPAIN

For a month in the early spring of 1938, I did Government forums in Seattle, Washington; and then, at the invitation of Dr. Studebaker, Head of the Office of Education, I did two months, from mid-April to mid-May, in Forum for the Government in five counties around Columbia, South Carolina.

This gave me an extra bit of money, and as I had not crossed the Atlantic in six years, I decided to go to Europe - Paris, London, and maybe Denmark.

Negro friends in New York, who were intelligent and alive to the growing unrest in Europe, asked me if I would visit Spain, from which so much news was coming. I said that I would like to, as I had never been to Spain, but that my passport, long ago secured, was marked, "Not good for Spain."

That brought me my first information of a "Medical Bureau" which was sending ambulances and medical supplies to Spain, lawfully, and which, I was informed, could get me visa from our State Department, if I would agree to run down to Spain from Paris and see what was the situation and treatment of Negro boys of America, who were in the Spanish hospitals, etc.; because, these colored people of New York City, with a natural feeling against Italy, which had destroyed the last native government of Africa just three years before (1935), were interested in buying an ambulance to send to the anti-Italian side in Spain, the Loyalists. I said I would go if they got the visa. They seemed to admire my courage, inasmuch as Italians were flying from the Balearic Islands and bombing the Loyalist communities every few days.

But they failed to get the visa; my ship sailed, and a week or more later, I was notified over the telephone by our Ambassador's office in Paris, that our State Department had cabled him to visa me for Spain. Frankly, I was elated - at adventure and danger ahead.

After another week's patience, the French Gendarme and the Spanish consuls also agreed, - when they checked the whole matter. I had never met the people of the "Medical Bureau", except those intelligent colored people who wanted to send ambulances in honor of the colored boys fighting for democracy against Italy.

When I returned in September, they had a banquet (these colored citizens) to hear a report on what I had found in Spain. They were the best and highest type of American Negro citizens, and the banquet

My Adventure into Spain - 2

was presided over by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, top Negro official of our National Y. M. C. A., and member of the National Council of the Y. M. C. A. on Madison Avenue, and the diners were from churches, social work organizations, and many other groups.

They had formed a "Negro Committee" to continue to work for Republicanism and Democracy in Spain. The head of the committee was Lester Granger (Executive Secretary for the National Urban League). Later, I was invited to join and joined, but had no opportunity or time to meet with them. Later, I resigned, when the white committee objected to the plans of the Negro committee to do the same thing for Finland, when it was attacked by Russia, as we wanted to do for Spain when attacked by Italy. (See Chairman Granger's letter and my suggestion that we resign in such case). I think he did so. I did so. There was nothing to compel us in this choice except our own democratic convictions. We all preferred Finland to Spain. (By accident, his letter to me and mine to him were found preserved in my files in New York, in February, 1943.)

At several meetings to aid the democracy side in Spain, I spoke, but dropped out of the "Rescue Ship" plans, by special resignation, when it took the turn of aiding Communist propaganda more than the democracy cause. Other good citizens, of both races, did the same, at the same time.

The Prestes Protest. The Council for Pan-American Democracy, at its own initiative, wrote to Mexico and got us over a mean hurdle: For many years colored Americans entering Mexico had to deposit five hundred dollars at the border (as in Laredo, Texas) and get it again when they came out. White Americans had to leave five hundred dollars for a Negro chauffeur, and if the chauffeur deserted in Mexico, their money was lost. This Council, headed by a Professor, who was a member of the faculty in one New York College, got this discrimination removed, got official word from the Mexican government, and on that word in writing, I had received permits for myself and two young Negro lawyers (S. R. Redmond and Robert Elzy) to go into Mexico in June, 1941 - when our plans were interfered with because the Treasury asked me to come in and help on the Defense Savings Staff in May, 1941.

Of course, I consented on invitation, to join "The Council" for such Pan-American Democratic cooperation, - they proclaiming their Council's desire to be a non-partisan organization, and knowing me to be a member of one of our old and conservative political parties.

Nobody in the council even said the word "radical" to me. I, however, found out that many of them were radicals by the simple fact that I was pro-British-French and they, while not pro-German, were always arguing that "there was no difference" between the British side and the German side, - a position which I impolitely told them sounded "idiotic" to me.

My Adventure into Spain - 3

I went a few times to their conferences and then quit absolutely, - because I lacked interest in the things which seemed to interest them.

They asked the Council members to sign a paper, which I read carefully, it seemed designed to save one, "Prestes" from probable murder in Brazil, - said paper being accompanied by a communication from a Mexican government official, asking that humane people show an interest and help to deter the murderers. Nothing was said of Prestes' politics, and the next time I saw his name (or heard it spoken) was in the Congressional Record, 1943. I have never been a reader of radical papers.

Ever since I was a little child of South Carolina and Arkansas, I had heard and read of the proud American boast of "the right of protest", and I had never been informed that such right of protest was to be reserved for those judged to be righteous or withheld from those suspected of being not right. And when a very young American black youth, I had read with a thrill where one of our great American presidents (of the 20th Century) had dignifiedly, but very firmly, protested to the head of a great foreign nation against its brutal treatment of one of its minorities - a Roosevelt to the Czar of Russia. At another time a president, I think, but at least our newspapers and people and pulpits protested in no uncertain meanings to the Turk over the Armenian. Some of this sort of Americanism, from my childhood and my youth, has always been in my bones.

I was Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., meeting all types of people, with our benevolent propaganda, - and we counted it gain when we could present our case for the American Negro to any groups of whites. Again, I received a paper, which I carefully read and which was a pattern with our own frequent requests for aid, for one Sam Darcy, who was not presented as a Communist, but for whom simple American justice seemed to be asked. I heard his name no more until 1943. I was never a reader of the Daily Worker, and usually saw a copy when somebody called my attention to some attack in it on me, or on the organization for which I worked, but on me in particular.

In 1939 and 1940, our country was in a great ferment as to our possible and ultimate relation to the Second World War. Many organizations were holding meetings and conducting lectures and discussions. They presented their requests to us for a "sponsorship", sometimes asking for a dollar, and sometimes saying "No obligations," etc. Most of them we turned down, always turning them down when we saw Communistic disguise. That is how my name perhaps got on the "sponsoring" roll for meetings, not for membership, for the three or four organizations of 1940 which were recalled to me again in 1943.

But (and I say this with all sincerity) I am not sure that I did actually sign for these three or four meetings, as the "Daily Worker" was the source from which my informant took his information, and as you

My Adventure into Spain - 4

will see from my exhibits, the "Daily Worker" had the habit of falsifying in such things. Once, they had me in Birmingham, Alabama, helping the "Capitalists" and "lynchers", as they put it, to coerce the Scottsboro boys into dropping their Communist lawyers and defenders, and into accepting what the I. L. D. and the "Daily Worker" called "Lynch Lawyers". At that time I had not been to Alabama for a year, when Roderick Bedow, great Alabama criminal lawyer and I had gone together to Libby Prison, near Montgomery, and had both pleaded with those boys to drop their Communist "defense" set-up, and accept a real Alabama law firm with Clarence Darrow as the out-of-state lawyer. And I was not to go to Alabama for a year or more after the "Daily Worker" lied me into the state in 1934.

That time, I, who had learned to hold my temper, was really angry enough to move to sue the "Daily Worker" for what I called a "Two-Thousand-Mile Lie" (See my exhibits). But Arthur Garfield Hayes, noted New York Attorney, advised me not to sue them unless I wanted to help them. His words (from my memory) were like these: "If you sue, you will put out money, and they will collect money, and they will proclaim to their followers that those same "lynch lawyers" have put you up to it. You will win the suit but you will find that they did not even own the desk on which the lie was written."

So, I contented myself by writing that the I. L. D. and the "Daily Worker" had told a "Two-Thousand-Mile Lie," - a scathing article, here in the exhibits, which was read by one million Negroes, who read my editorials each week (by estimate of Claude A. Barnett, Editor of the Associated Negro Press).

That is why, Gentlemen, I honestly doubt whether I really signed for as many as the three or four meetings out of the dozens presented to us in 1940, - because the honest investigator read some of the evidence from the "Daily Worker". That paper had me in Birmingham, Alabama, when the railroad ticket agent told me that New York, where I actually was at the time, is 1916 miles from Birmingham. (Two thousand and thirty-two miles distant, there and back). "The Daily Worker" also had me in Brussels, Belgium, when I never even heard that they had me there until I heard it from our Congress in 1943. Much of this paper's evidence is undoubtedly false, - and I could doubt any of it.

Respectfully submitted,

William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "D"

THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS AGAINST IMPERIALISM
WILLIAM PICKENS.

O.K. File

The Congress assembled in Frankfurt-on-Main, Germany, July 22, 1929.

There were about 500 delegates from all over the world, and they were greeted by an audience of over 4,000 people. The Congress proper lasted for one week. There had been preliminary conferences of important committees.

Also a pre-Congress conference had been held in London, England, on July 17th and 18th, a meeting of British and American anti-imperialist minds, - conference organized under the leadership of The People's Lobby, of the United States. Among the American representatives at the London conference were Ben Marsh, of the Peop's's Lobby; Roger N. Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union; Mrs. Gilman, of Baltimore; and William Pickens, of the N.A.A.S.P. Among the British speakers were Fenner Brockway, Member of Parliament; and Mr. Brailsford, and many others.

The World Congress, originally scheduled for Paris, was transferred to Frankfurt, it was reported, because France refused visas for delegates from North Africa and Russia.

All sections of the world and all races were represented at the Congress: North America, Latin-America, the West Indies; East, West, South and North Africa; the East Indies and Indonesia; and nearly every nation of Europe and Asia. The Chinese had the largest racial delegation, numbering about 60. There were 7 Negroes; 4 from the United States (two via Russia); 1 from Hayti; 1 from French North Africa; 1 from Kenya (British East Africa). Other parts of Africa were represented by whites, - Belgians, Englishmen, etc.

There were many addresses, and some informal, very instructive reports, showing the abuses of foreign capital in weaker countries, especially in Latin-America, Africa and China.

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The Communists were evidently, perhaps a bit too obviously, in control of the general machinery and leading policies of the Congress. There were many influential non-Communists, like Justice Carter. Several of the American delegates, like Roger Baldwin and William L. White, and some of the representatives of India.

The most important action of the Congress concerning the situation of Americans, was the decision to call to meet in Europe in 1950 a "World Congress of Negro Workers." It will be called to meet in London, if the British government will guarantee visas for African delegates and a location which is not likely. If the Congress is not held in London, it will be held to hold it in Berlin. If the Congress is held in London, the Communists hope to bring before the very eyes of the British government a great aggregation of dissatisfied Negroes from all parts of the British Empire. If it cannot be held in London, they hope to use that fact to embarrass the Labor Government, or whatever British government is then in power, and to increase the publicity for a greater meeting in Berlin. For the Communists it is a game of "Heads--I win! Tails--you lose."

Judging Communist tactics for the future by their past, makes it clear that this Negro Congress will embody a drive not only against the imperialist and nationalist oppression of Negroes, but also a drive to align Negro workers with the Communist political party. Of that there can be no doubt.

All the more important is it that there should be Negroes in this Congress who have influence and who are not Communists. Such a congress is likely to have a large influence on liberal and open-minded people in all the great nations. Most of the delegates, even from the United States, will be Communists or directly under Communist influence. Even the wisest Communist leaders must realize that such a show of party alignment and party propaganda would not react to the advantage of Negroes in America or elsewhere in the world.

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But whether we are there or absent, we will share in whatever influences are there released. We should be there and understand, - and undertake to direct those influences. (3)

TO THOSE WHO CONTRIBUTED TO MY GOING TO FRANKFORT:

After the Congress I delivered 7 lectures in Germany, in the German language, and visited Negro groups in Paris. In addition I had many conferences, discussions, interviews, and question-and-answer forums. I addressed the members of two schools, and attended the annual dinner meeting of "Black National Minorities" in Berlin.

While over on the Majestic I lectured Sunday afternoon on "The Negro Art and Literature." The meeting was sponsored by those who had heard me speak in forums in the United States, and a surprisingly large attendance in the dining saloon. Many were well known, including the folk singer Roger Baldwin presiding, and a young woman from Virginia made an effort to get a chorus

The American Committee... total of \$1000. The American Committee... for airfare, postage, and the European trip.

In addition to... free... also contributed toward the... by myself... percent... American

(4)

And most of the people, white and colored, who contributed toward this venture, while open-minded and in some cases aggressively progressive, are by no means "radical." One white student of the University of Washington, in Seattle, who was not solicited by the Committee, but who heard incidentally through his mother that I was to go, voluntarily and thoughtfully sent me dollar. Nearly 4 years ago he had heard me speak at the University.

Many thanks to all of you!

---William Pickens.

P.S. - Louis Marshall, who has just died, was a generous contributor to the expenses of the trip.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F"

A-XXI
I AM NOT, NEVER HAVE BEEN, AND NEVER CAN BE A COMMUNIST

By William Pickens -

February, 1943

To Representative Kurr, of North Carolina, and his associates, appointed by the House to receive and consider these facts and evidences:

My name is William Pickens, born in South Carolina, lived for 62 years - the first 23 years on farm, in school and at college, working my own way from 13 years. Finishing school at 23, I was for 16 years a college teacher and officer, bringing me to 39. Then for 21 years with a large national organization of white and colored people trying to better relations of races in this country, becoming 60. Today for 21 months I have served the United States Treasury, becoming 62 years old one month ago (January 15).

Having had more than 10,000 speaking engagements, conferences and connections in the last 25 years, I am charged by gentlemen who have not known me closely with having had 21 contacts with radical organizations, or organizations in which radicals were active, specifically in the last 16 years (since 1927). Permit me to say first that the list given should properly be 14, instead of 21: numbers 1, 4 and 5 belong together; numbers 8, 9, 10 and 11 are one connection; and numbers 12, 15 and 17 are the same. Allow me to state the facts about these cases or groups singly:

In 1927: I was not in Brussels in 1927. The one and only time that I have ever been in Brussels was 1913, 14 years before that date.

In 1929: I did go to the Congress in Frankfurt, Germany, as a non-Communist

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William Pickens -- Anti-Communist Record -- 2

in feeling and an anti-Communist in all action. Thoughtful people in New York City reflected that only Communist Negroes had attended the world congress in Belgium and asked me to join a non-Communist American group for the Frankfurt Congress. All the Negroes known to be going from the United States were with the Communists, and the non-Communists thought it a good idea to take a Negro in their non-Communist delegation. We had each to raise his own expenses: the American Committee asked me, as the others, to send a list of my friends and acquaintances who would be willing to help on my expenses. I sent a list and contributions were made by such Americans as Louis Marshall, great constitutional lawyer; Moorfield Storey, great Boston law-firm head; Dr. C. K. Bartlett, then in Chicago, now in Iowa City, and other white and a number of colored conservatives of our country. In a hurried trip to New York City a day or two ago, I found a "Report" made by William Pickens in 1929, when he returned, and sent to all those who had contributed and to the Associated Negro Press: thanking them for sending a total of \$382, and reporting that \$30.84 of that amount had been deducted by the Committee for stenography, postage, printing, etc., leaving \$351.16; that the trip had cost \$530.98, so that more than \$200 he had to pay himself. Of the amount contributed, 67 per cent was given by whites and 33 per cent by Negro Americans. All this I learn now, 14 years after, from this old paper dug out of a file that was tied up and put away in my cellar, perhaps never to be opened again. It is here for your inspection, and a photostat copy. I quote from William Pickens of 1929: "The Communists were evidently, perhaps a bit too evidently, in control of the general machinery and leading policies of the organization. There were many influential non-Communists, like James Maxton, of England; several of the

William Pickens -- Anti-Communist Record -- 3

American delegates, like Roger Baldwin and William Pickens; and some of the representatives of India." Those were a few of the non-Communists encountered. There was not then any reason to expand or to apologise, for nobody at the time had any doubts about my politics and my connection with this Congress. I warned in this brief statement of three pages that the Communists were planning to call the next year for London or Berlin a sort of "Heads--I win! Tails--you lose!" congress of all Negroes, to embarrass the British Government, for if the British shut them out of London, they could make all the more of this fact at Berlin. And one paragraph from the "report" of Pickens of 1929 added:

"All the more important is it that there should be Negroes in this Congress who have influence and who are not Communists. Such a congress is likely to have a large influence on liberal and open-minded people in all the great nations. Most of the delegates, even from the United States, will be Communists or directly under Communist influence. Even the wiser Communist leaders must realize that such a show of party alignment and party propaganda would not react to the advantage of Negroes in America or elsewhere in the world."

Evidently, that Pickens, of 14 years ago, was anti-Communist, but was not so ambitious as to think of so being for the sake of his country, but for the best interests of his race.

In 1933: In this year Pickens still seems to be most emphatically anti-Communist, unless he has been able to jump both in and again out of that party in the intervening months; we find in his files the following statement published in "The Springfield (Mass.) Republican" of November 22, 1933:

"COMMUNIST 'AID' DEPLORED"

"Negroes Misled in Accepting Championship of Reds"

This article which was carried by the Associated Negro Press also to their nearly 200 Negro papers, after giving the details of this Communist meddling with Negro cases, closes with this paragraph:

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"It is time that political organization of Communists stopped meddling in the 'Negro Problem'."

In 1934: The very next year after that editorial I find a blast against the Communist from the old files of that William Pickens, such as would certainly seal the doors to the Communist Party to him from that date (April 14, 1934) until doomsday, even if by some miracle he had succeeded in entering the party and being kicked out in the few months that intervened since that editorial in The Springfield Republican and the Negro Press in the late fall of 1933. It is entitled:

"INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE TELLS 2000-MILE LIE"

Evidently, in the previous few months Pickens had not jumped into and again out of the Communist Party, but had been standing much in their way of making headway among colored Americans by their sham championship of the cases of the unfortunate Negro youths known as the "Scottsboro Boys," which had induced the International Labor Defense and the "Daily Worker" to tell a lie which called out this terrific blast of logic, fact and humor. (If this Committee wishes me to do so, I will read that two page editorial of mine to the Committee. But it is here in the record.)

In 1938-39: Since that 1934 evidence would certainly have shut me out of joining privileges for the next fifty years, I knew you will allow us to move on to 1938 and the Spanish cause. In that year I was in Europe as a tourist. All our passports were marked NOT GOOD FOR SPAIN, or words to that effect. That made me all the more interested when intelligent Negroes, before I sailed from New York, asked: "Are you going to Spain?" "No," said I, "but I would like to do so, to see something of the awful civil war of the Fascists and the

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Loyalists, but we are not allowed in Spain." They explained that they were interested in a Medical Bureau (of white Americans) which sends medical supplies and ambulances, and that they were themselves getting the Negroes to raise funds for one ambulance to be sent the Loyalists and that they (these colored people) would like to have me to go down to Spain, as a part of my vacation, and see what is being done for the colored American boys who were in the Loyalist armies. The only catch I saw in this was that I was to pay my own expenses from Paris to Barcelona and back. They undertook to get the visa through the Medical Bureau, but had not succeeded when the ship sailed. However, in Paris, I was a week or so later advised by the American Ambassador's office that our State Department had cabled him to visa me for Spain. I was elated, went through the tedious process of being checked and okayed by the French police, by the Spanish consuls, and almost a week later took a train for the Spanish border, paying every cent of my own expenses, except that, after I entered Spain, some Loyalist government bus took me in a great crowd of other passengers on to Barcelona. I was permitted to see through one of the greatest hospitals in Spain, to view the work for children, to talk with high officials, etc. - all because I was a nominal representative of the "medical bureau," which I had never met or seen. One of the officials of government in Barcelona was so cordial and intelligent in allowing me to see the inside workings of the so-called Loyalist government bureaus, that a year or two later, after France had taken Barcelona, when I was presented with a circulating petition to the government here that this person should be permitted to come over the border from Mexico into our country for a brief visit, I just naturally and normally signed the petition to the President. The idea of the political party that this person might belong to had never occurred to me either in

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Spain or since.

That is the basis of all my interest in and opportunities to speak for the "Spanish Aid" organizations when I came back home. The very first meeting on my return was a welcoming banquet presided over by the top Negro official of the YMCA. I had seen Barcelona under siege, where our present friends, the Italians, were bombing the people every day or two. I could tell about these things; many people wanted to hear, and so whatever time was allowed in between my frequent trips outside of the city in my regular work for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I went to some of these meetings, and with no interest in politics told of what I had seen and heard. At one of these meetings a member of the Congress of the United States was one of the speakers. The outrages of the Italians against Ethiopia had prepared all colored Americans to take the anti-Italian side in any war, with no thought of the politics of the opposing side.

In 1939: This explains another thing. While I was in Barcelona, trying to get some money changed into Spanish legal money, another American, of the white race, who was about the same errand, hearing me speak, recognized that I was also American, asked me a few questions, and offered to communicate with me when he got back to the U. S. A. Never again did he occur to my mind until in 1939 (I think it was) when I was about my usual task of work for my organization, I received a letter saying that the writer had seen me in Spain, and asking simply, would I not write an article on the "Fight Against Fascism" for the many Negroes who he said read his paper. I knew that "The New Masses" was a radical paper. I had never been close enough to any of them to know whether they were Communist or Socialist, or other radicals, - but I had a test for what they could stand for

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and so I wrote an article: "The Fight Against Fascism," which I knew would be good for whatever white or black American might read it. (It is page 6 in these documents.) He kept urging me to send an article, and so I sat down and wrote what I doubted he would publish, and he did not publish it. If anyone will read the long paragraph on page 7 of these documents, which is the second page of that article, he will see why the editor of that paper could not publish it. That gave me an advantage: I knew that he had hoped I would write something directly favorable to Communism, and so I wrote another article: "The American Negro's Interest is Anti-Fascist," - but was careful to contrast Fascism with DEMOCRACY and not with any minority political idea. He changed the title but published this. It was a fair article, and many Negro papers copied it.

In the article which the New Masses editor could not publish, I quote from the paragraph on page 7 (page 2 of the article):

"By training and temperament I am a democrat, believing in the compromise of the ballot after agitation and discussion, and having no favor for class warfare. Harrow discipline never suited me. Therefore, although I could work toward these universal ends side by side with any humans, I could never become a member of minority political parties, with the limitations implied. Some of the people with whom I worked made the mistake of many - seeming to think that a man could not look upon 'radicals' as being simply human beings without being one of the radicals. From these (conservatives) I expected opposition, ignorant opposition. Soon I was to find also that with the radicals I was a 'marked man', because I did not and could not agree with them in all things. Like Roger Baldwin, I took the right which I accorded: the right to disagree in any detail. When I got to the great Anti-Imperialist Congress in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1929, whither I had been urged to come and to deliver an address of 45 minutes, I found that plans had been developed at the Congress to muzzle me, and other American leaders, and the great leader of the Independent British Labor Party, - these of us who were on the program, but who did not belong to the radical party, whose members seemed them in the saddle." Etc.

Not to burden this Committee's time, I will tell more briefly what happened, but the paragraph is here (page 7 of these exhibits) for any one to read. They

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had planned to ring the bell on us at 8 or 10 minutes after we had started to speak, with no warning to us beforehand. They succeeded with some of the English non-radicals who did not speak German. In my case, it was planned to ring me down and one of the Negro American Communists was groomed to speak after me and tear up all that I might be able to say in my first few minutes. But this fellow was so elated at his opportunity that he talked (not to me but to one whom he regarded as a faithful radical). This person, who had heard me speak on the ship going over, who may have been a radical but who had conceived the idea that I was fair and decent, even though not a radical, warned me: "They are planning to tear up your speech," relating the plot. So I did a little plotting of my own, "Uncle Remus" style: I knew the German language, and I had put my speech into both German and English. The great audience (they said 15,000 that day) I noticed was mainly German people of Frankfurt. Therefore instead of speaking in English which the Russian Chairman who was appointed to preside and see the trick through that day expected me to use, I spoke the German language. The presiding officer was so excited that he rang the bell at exactly 7 minutes after I had started. Then the audience got busy: it threatened to tear the place apart unless they would let me go on with my speech. The Germans listened and shouted their applause, as I was permitted to use the entire 45 minutes and to make my entire speech. The conservative newspapers present, one I remember, the Frankfurter Zeitung, wrote up the incident, praising my German speech, and invited me to visit their editorial offices, where they asked me how in the world that crowd had invited me to make such a speech at this Congress. I explained to them: that I belong to one of the old regular parties of the United States and had come, not as a

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radical, but with regular Americans as a hopeless antidote to the radicalism which we had found there. That was the very last of my interest or activity even with the Anti-Imperialist movement, which involved much of the interest of the Negro race, 150 million of them being in Africa, which was controlled absolutely by the European powers.

And now, gentlemen of the Committee, and fellow-Americans, we come to what most of us have seen to be the acid test for an American Communist. We have brought William Pickens (see *New Masses* references) down to 1939 and he seems not to have declared or plainly revealed any Communist attachment but quite to the contrary he has been fighting the Communists without fear or apology, to prevent their taking in the gullible section of his own race. In a month or two Russia is to make a "Non-Aggression Pact" with Hitler, who is to start the present war in 1939. Then every Communist in our country (and even some others) are against any American sympathy or participation in the war, especially against giving or even selling any help to Britain. Some of our great Senators and Congressmen were of the same position, but for a different reason than the motives of the Communist. Surely this war will smoke out William Pickens, who, if he be Communist, has so far misled not only all of his fellow-citizens but also all of the Communists whom he has ever talked to. None of them believe that he is a Communist.

In 1939-1941: When the war was declared he was about to make a speech in Los Angeles, Cal., on the problems of the Negro race in America, for his regular organization program. On that Sunday following the war declaration he changed his subject and spoke on the war, taking his uncompromising and unhesitating stand squarely behind the President of the United States, going even further

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than our President could then afford to go: declaring that Britain and France were our natural allies, since they are freedom-loving democracies, that Germany and all who might support her were our enemies, and that we should not only be willing to sell to the democracies anything which we have that would help them but should hurry to the conclusion of actually GIVING them anything for their fight which we possess,--because they would be fighting our battles.

In a life of 58 years up to that time, I had never had any idea of working for the Government. The Treasury first called me up on the 29th or 30th of April, 1941. But all of these editorials and articles submitted hereafter, were written and published in the years of war preceding that date.--No true Communist sided with us until Germany invaded Russia, June 22, 1941. Following are a few of my editorials:

Page 21--"I AM AN AMERICAN"

Page 24--"ONE YEAR OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

Page 25--"BRITAIN BATTLES FOR CIVILIZATION"

Page 26--"GOD SAVE AMERICA"

Page 27--"AGAIN THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS"

Page 29--"THE WAR--OFKAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE"

Page 38--"THAT LEND-LEASE-GIVE BILL"

Page 44--"THE PRESIDENT MAKES A GREAT SPEECH"--Against Italy's jump into the war.

Page 45--"SHORT OF WAR"--What?

Page 46--"BUT THE SOUTHERNERS IN CONGRESS ARE FOR IT"--ridiculing this narrow-minded expression as a reason for others to be against our pro-British and pro-democracy sentiment.

Page 48--"IF WE DON'T HAVE WAR"--Striking back at the President's enemies or critics who attacked him for saying simply that when taking farewell

William Fickens -- Anti-Communist Record -- 11

of friends after a vacation in Georgia.

Page 25--26--27 "PLACE, PEACE TO THE PEACE SOCIETIES"--written in 1938,
year before war outbreak, in support of the President's
hard fights for naval and military preparedness.

And also there are the following:

My article on Trotsky's murder. What Communist would have dared to call that
simple murder by its correct name? Or if the Communist writer were a Trotskyite,
he would not go on to say as does the writer of my article, that he has no
sympathy with Trotsky's political plans. (See page 30 of these exhibits.)
Also, see pages 31, 32, etc., where I advised the Chairman of the Negro
Spanish Aid Committee that we should get out from the others, if they object-
ed to our giving the same sympathy and aid to Finland as we had tried to give
to other weak groups, like the Spanish Republicans.--And see "SENSES AGAINST
WISHES," (Page 47) written in support of the President's effort to prepare our
country by revamping our War and Navy Departments. In the same article I
strike out against the positions of Lindbergh and certain Government officials,--
which I had been doing ever since they started on their well-known course. If
these devotions, efforts and acts be Communist, gentlemen, only in such case
could William Fickens be a Communist. But he would be in a class by himself.

I realize that in running through the chronology laid out for me by those
who misunderstood me (namely, the last 16 years, from 1927 to 1943). I have
left out several of the charges, about which I will be glad to speak if ques-
tioned. Sponsoring "Constitutional Liberties," a meeting to protect the
"Foreign Born," endorsing the idea of holding a conference on "Inalienable
Rights," and saying a word for "Democracy and Intellectual Freedom," - those
things I may have done, as my organization was asking others almost daily to

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sponsor its open and public-educational efforts. I trust it will not surprise you that I never acted in any of these organizations, and never actually had the time to attend one single meeting of any of them. Many such solicitations we turned down. We could not investigate all of them. So when we saw some respected name on the officer list or letterhead,--like Dr. John Dewey, of Columbia, or Dr. Franz Boas, or a great Rabbi, or John Haynes Holmes, or others whom we knew to be good citizens,--we sometimes gave our amen.

Whatever others may think, the knowing Communists have always regarded William Pickens as their most effective opponent in the Negro race. They will be astonished to hear that anybody thinks otherwise.

And now, with the permission of the Chairman, I am giving him five copies of papers which show that less than a year ago, the inner circle of the organization for which I worked more than thirty years accused me of being the opposite to what the present accusation alleges: accused me, in fact, of being too loyal to my country and too willing to drop all domestic fights, or at least place them secondary to our great national fight for victory and survival. They let me out for that extreme. Surely I cannot be both at that extreme and, at the same time, at this one. But that is for the Committee to decide. I have only submitted part of the evidence which I incidentally have.

I shall be happy to help this Committee to arrive at any further information that is within my possession or my memory.

Wm. Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "N"

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee convened at 9:30 a. m., Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Hon. Joe Starnes, Hon. Noah M. Mason, and Hon. Karl E. Mundt.

Also present: J. B. Matthews, director of research, and Robert E. Stripling, secretary and chief investigator for the committee.

Also present: Messrs. Houghteling and Tietjens, Treasury Department.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Reporter, in the proceedings this morning, when you start let the record show that Mr. Houghteling, from the Treasury Department, who is in charge, as I understand, of Chief Administrator, of the office of which the witness is a member, and Mr. Tietjens, Assistant General Counsel for the Treasury Department, are present and observing the proceedings.

Let me say to the witness that the nature of this hearing is supplementary to the work of and is intended to assist Judge Kerr and his appropriations subcommittee in reaching a decision on the statements or allegations made by Mr. Dies on the floor a short time ago that a number of Federal employees either had been members of or were publicly affiliated with or publicly associated with what have been commonly denominated as front organizations of a subversive nature.

A. I recall it, there was no particular charge or allegation that any of the people named were subversive themselves, but that they had been members of these organizations or had been publicly associated or affiliated with them, as I recall the language.

It is for that purpose that the committee now is in session, and after we ask you some preliminary questions, and Dr. Matthews, acting as a committee employee, has asked you some questions with reference to your affiliations, if you have an additional statement you wish to make you can do so; and in the propounding of questions to you, if you feel that an unequivocal yes or no answer might be embarrassing to you, let me assure you that it won't be. Please answer yes or no and then give whatever explanation immediately thereafter you want to explain why. It saves you from qualifying

your answer and appearing evasive. You know how it is when a witness is asked a question. When he makes an unequivocal answer to it and is not given an opportunity to defend himself, he wants to explain himself. We understand that.

Will you stand and be sworn?

(The witness, William Pickens, was sworn by Mr. Starnes.)

**TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM PICKENS, PRINCIPAL DEFENSE
SECURITIES SPECIALIST, TREASURY DEPARTMENT**

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you a few preliminary questions, and after that Dr. Matthews will take over the examination. Give us your full name and your address.

Mr. PICKENS. William Pickens. My office address is United States Treasury Department, War Savings Staff. My permanent address is New York City—I mean my voting address. I have a residence here in Washington.

Mr. STARNES. Give us your address in New York.

Mr. PICKENS. 260 West One Hundred and Thirty-ninth.

Mr. STARNES. You are a native-born American citizen?

Mr. PICKENS. I was born in South Carolina.

Mr. STARNES. Give us the date and place of your birth.

Mr. PICKENS. January 15, 1881.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give us your educational training and background?

Mr. PICKENS. Well, my first 10 years or so I was on the farms in South Carolina and Arkansas. Then I got my public school education in Arkansas. I graduated from the school in Little Rock. Then I went to Talladega College in Alabama. I finished there. I went to Yale University. Then I went back to Talladega and taught 10 years. I taught 1 year in Wiley College in Texas. Then I was dean and vice president of Morgan College in Baltimore. For 21 years after that I was working for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Now, for about 21 or 23 months, I have been working for the Treasury Department.

Mr. STARNES. That gives us a summary of your educational background and your professional and business experience. That covers it in brief?

Mr. PICKENS. In brief; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You hold degrees from what colleges?

Mr. PICKENS. From Talladega, from Yale, from Fiske, and Selma University—

Mr. STARNES. Give us the degrees.

Mr. PICKENS. A. B. from Talladega and Yale; A. M. from Fiske; Literary Doctor from Selma; and LL. D. from Wiley College; and I have a little diploma from the British Esperanto Association.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever engaged in any work other than teaching and your work for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

Mr. PICKENS. I never have since I got out of school. Of course, I was a worker before I went to school; worked my way through college and school.

Mr. STARNES. No embarrassing implications are meant by the next question, but it is one of routine that we always ask. You have never been arrested or convicted of a crime?

Mr. PICKENS. I never have been convicted, but I was arrested once in a serious auto accident in California, where all the other people were white people, and I was completely exonerated.

Mr. STARNES. All right. That is all I have to ask, Mr. Mason, do you care to ask anything preliminarily?

Mr. MASON. No.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your title in your present position?

Mr. PICKENS. In my office I am Chief of the Inter-Racial Section of the National Organizations Division. Of course, the Treasury appointed me as Principal Defense Securities Specialist, but I am chief of the Inter-Racial Section.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On what date did you assume the duties of that position?

Mr. PICKENS. Of this office?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. PICKENS. I started working for the Treasury on the 15th of May 1941.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your salary in that position?

Mr. PICKENS. \$5,600.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has that been your salary since the assumption of your present duties?

Mr. PICKENS. Since the assumption of my duties.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you traveled abroad?

Mr. PICKENS. Yes, quite a number of times; five or six times. I forget which. About five times, at least.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you, from your recollection, give an outline of the dates and places visited?

Mr. PICKENS. In 1913 I went abroad for the first time as a tourist. I went to practically all the countries of Europe except Russia. We did not have to have passports to go anywhere except Russia and Turkey in those days, in 1913.

The next time I went abroad was a long time after that, in 1927, when the Friends, the Quakers, of England asked me to come and deliver some lectures in England. I delivered lectures in England. I went to Germany. I went to Russia. I came back through Warsaw, came back to England, delivered 30 more lectures, then I came back home.

The next time I think was 1929, when I went to Frankfurt, an anti-imperialist congress. Then I went to Germany and lectured in Germany again. I spoke the German language. I went to England first because in England the non-Communist crowd wanted to get with our crowd, which was understood to be non-Communist, and make preliminaries for that meeting in Frankfurt. Those people got together and some of us went over to Frankfurt, and then I went on with my lectures, and I came back. That was in 1929.

When I left Frankfurt I went to Germany, up to Hamburg, Berlin, and other places. I had been there before.

In 1932, I think was the next time, I went to Graz in Austria with the Study Tour. This is an American concern that was run out of

New York. It went to Graz and then to Vienna and through Prague—a Czechoslovakian city—and up into Germany again, in the German cities. I always felt very much at home in Germany, and I came back through France. I went through France and Geneva—the committees on the disarmament conference. I heard them discuss whether they would rather be shot with a 14-inch gun than a 16-inch gun.

Then I went to the Quakers' place and tried to teach them how to sing Negro spirituals. It is the only time I was ever a music teacher. I went through the States at that time also.

The next time was 1938. I went to Paris and some of my friends knew that there were colored boys in the Loyalist Army, and they asked me to go down to Spain. I could not get a passport. My passport was marked not good for Spain. I told them I could not go. They told me they would send me to the Medical Bureau, which sent medicines and ambulances. They said they could get me one. They could not get me a passport.

While I was in Paris the Ambassador here called me up and said they had a cable from the State Department to O. K. me to Spain. I went down to Barcelona. The Italians were bombing it every 2 or 3 days. That was not comfortable, but very interesting.

I came back to Paris, went over to London, and naturally, having been down to Spain and having a lot of pictures of children's camps and one thing and another, I was of interest in the Scotland Yard crowd very much, but they O. K.'d me and passed me through because my passport was all regular and everything I had was regular, and I went back to the United States after visiting England a little bit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean Scotland Yard detained you?

Mr. PICKENS. No. Whenever you come in they look at everybody's bag, but they were very much interested when they saw what I had in my bag. At that time in England it was hands off, but they were rather partial to the Franco crowd. They looked it over. Everything was O. K. I went to England and stayed as long as I pleased—it was about 2 weeks—and then I came back to the United States. I think that was the last trip.

Mr. STARBUCK. 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In telling about your visit to Europe in 1929 you mentioned going to the Frankfurt congress.

Mr. PICKENS. Anti imperialist Congress, they called it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1927 did you attend the same kind of congress in Brussels?

Mr. PICKENS. No. The only time I was in Brussels was in 1943 in my life.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend a congress anywhere else in Europe in 1927, of the same sort?

Mr. PICKENS. No. I spoke in Berlin, in the Herren House—thousands of Germans. I suppose they wanted to hear what kind of German I spoke. I spoke in Berlin and I spoke in Warsaw to the teachers who could speak English. They turned out a good many of them. They said they could speak English. It was not very much English to me.

You know, the Quakers, for whom I was speaking in England, had their men to meet me in Berlin. They had their men to meet me in Warsaw. They had their men to meet me in Moscow. There were