

2-- Negro: Fascism and Democracy--

sired aims and their supposed interests. They are callous in betraying friends; unhesitating in murdering opponents. The dominant fascist machine cannot, of course, be the majority, but it must control the majority. Any opposition must be immediately encircled and treated as a minority and a traitor. No rivalry can be brooked.

When an American Negro speaks ~~against~~ in favor of ~~Hitlerism~~ Hitlerism or against the Jew, his words spring either from ignorance or from spite: from ignorance of the true nature of Hitlerism, which is at least as much anti-Negro as it is anti-Jewish, or from spite at the hypocrisy of Americans, who get so "hot up" about harrows over the Rhine, while remaining so indifferent to like, or worse, harrows down the Mississippi. But in a right mind about his own interests, ~~surely~~ no American Negro can favor the downing of the Jew for being a Jew; for the Negro knows that in this country if the Jew is put at the bottom, the Negro will be put somewhere under the bottom. In a certain way the American Negro has relieved the American Jew of much oppression: in the north where there are fewer Negroes, anti-Jewish discrimination is more pronounced, and we hear of Jews being shut out of places of recreation and some hotels,-- these not owned by Jews. But even in the north the Negro, few as he is, is far more circumscribed than is the Jew. On the other hand in the south, where the Negro is on the average a fourth part of the population and in some communities more than half of it, the anti-Negro sentiment is so ~~great~~ strong that, like a greater pain, it renders southern society almost unconscious of any anti-Jewish feeling. On the background of the far greater "black problem", the Jew stands out simply as a part of the "white" world. So, anti-Jewish feeling in the south has remained in great abatement, in spite of the fact that this ex-slave territory is the most dangerously fascist part of the United States, as witness the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's. It is difficult for any ~~people in a great first class~~

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against more than one other people at a given time. In the southern community the Jew, in business, in the professions and in intellectualism, is accepted largely because there is little hate-energy left to be spared against him. If there were no black men in Georgia and Mississippi, the Jew would find those states far less civilized for his life than are New York and Massachusetts.

On the other hand, German society presented Hitler with Jews but with practically no Negroes. There were a few beautiful little ~~br~~ brownies left along the Rhine by the black African French troops who did post-war patrol duties for the allies in those parts. The last we heard of them was in the early days of Hitlerism, when these children were mostly in their early 'teens, and when the dictator was planning to take them from their German mothers and sterilize them, and so rid Germany of even that small smattering of pigmented levelness.-- That ought to be sufficient to show the American Negro where he would have stood, if he had been a minority in Germany at the rise of Hitlerism. The German Jew stood alone as a racial victim, and he caught the full savage onslaught of fascism. And yet only a fraction of one per cent of the German nation was Jewish, before the annexations of Austria and other smaller states. If only there had been as many Negroes in Germany as Jews, Hitler would have been so vicious in his attacks upon the blacks that the Jews would have been at least partly saved. In Berlin in 1932, just a few months before Hitler, I was told that there were not more than 30 Negroes in that great city, these being mostly musicians and theatre performers, few if any of them being citizens of democratic Germany. On many visits to Germany I had never seen one of them, but only heard of them. They awakened no social consciousness then, and for their own sakes I trust that not one of them is so unfortunate as to be there now. There were a few more Negroes in some of the port cities, like

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Bremen and Hamburg, brought there in pre-war days, when Germans owned (13) African colonies and were kicking blacks around in the southwestern and southeastern parts of that continent.

In the famous infamous book in which Hitler has written down the purposes and ambitions of his fascist life, and despite the fact that Germany had no Negroes for him to worry about at that time, the dictator nevertheless goes out of his way to show his vile hatred of the Negro race, wherever he mentions it. The Negro can draw only the conclusion that, if he were under Hitler power, he would be the chief object of National Socialist attack; just as post-war Ku Kluxism set itself first against the Negro in Georgia, and wishing later on to spread out and increase its income, it found that in the northeast the Jew offered a better mark, while in the middle and northwest the "furriner" was the best hate-object. Later still it discovered that the Catholic church, being a religious minority, could be set upon through the ~~means~~ ^{means} and sadists of some of the other churches. Thus the Kluxers "took in too much territory" and in a country that was very prosperous and could laugh; and so finally failed or at least were greatly reduced. But the American Negro group was the matrix and the bete noir, the first and last inspiration of the whole devilment. And even as late as May, 1939, the knightly Klansmen of the State of Florida paraded in the streets of Miami with conspicuous nooses, and burned crosses and hung black effigies in and near the Negro residence sections,-- trying to frighten Negroes out of exercising their right to vote in an election.

In this life choices are often only among evils, among which wisdom tries to pick the least or the lesser. Against democracy in the United States the Negro has great grievances: for its one hundred and fifty years it has been for him full of hypocrisy. And the democracies and constitutionally limited monarchies of Europe have for the last

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one hundred years made a mess of their imperialism in Africa. ¹⁴ But if any one thing could make even imperialism worse, that added thing would be fascism. Germans under the Kaiser were cruel in their African colonies and their brutalities were proverbial. But what would happen to these Africans if they were now turned over to Hitlerism, which has respect neither for religion nor humanity, neither for treaty nor truth? The German cry for African colonies may be only a blackmail threat to make France and England acquiesce in fascist domination of middle Europe, but that cry is nevertheless a challenge to the Negro everywhere; for if the fascists succeed in reducing England and France, there is no doubt that they will seize all or much of Africa. Two hundred million black slaves would add some butter to German cannon, magnificent man-power to its force-politics, and a voteless consumer-market to the mass product of its factories.-- It is no praise of imperialism to say that they may offer a choice of evils and that the fascist type is the worst.

Specific illustrations could be endlessly advanced, but if this is the situation of the Negro in America, and if that is the prospect of the Negro in Africa, what must be the attitude of the American Negro toward the spread of fascism in his own country? He should fight it,-- fight it when it attacks Jews, fight it when it attacks political minorities, fight its attacks on any group,-- fight its very existence. If it were not so pitiably tragic, it would still be ludicrous and amusing to hear any American Negro approving of attacks upon the Jew. Of course there are unworthy Jews, just as there are unworthy Negroes, unworthy Anglo-Saxons, and (God forgive me!) unworthy Aryans aplenty. But such reasoning from particular to general is silly. It has been used against the American Negro for generations. But the oppressor seldom uses such reasoning in reverse: that excellent Jews or excellent Negroes might as well determine our opinions of

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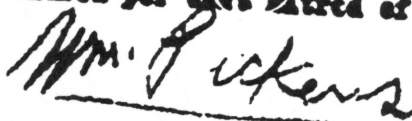
all Jews and all Negroes. That would be as poor logic as the other ⁽¹⁵⁾ way around, but far more pleasing. When white Americans want to attack American Negroes, they speak of "niggers" kings or chicken thieves, not of Frederick Douglass or Booker T. Washington; when German fascists want to attack the Jew, they speak of criminals, profiteers and war-mongers, not of Heine, or the Mendelssohns or Einstein. That is an old trick of attack, which neither the Negro nor the Jew ought to use against the other. As total groups they are both but human and reflect their environments: a Negro landlord in Mississippi will rob his black tenants like other landlords; a Jew in Mississippi is likely to be just another "white person", and even in New York he is likely to assume toward black people the same snobbish attitudes which the ~~ex~~ other whites affect. Persecuted minorities are even apt to lean over ~~backward~~ backward in these foolish attitudes,-- just as a white Negro who is "passing", will run a great deal faster when he sees a black Negro coming than a bona fide white person will run. But all these foibles are human, not racial. Both Jew and Negro have the same interest against fascism: if either is downed, the other is downed, albeit ~~at~~, in a "white" world, the blacks would get the worse deal of the two.

Fascism in America is far more inexcusable than fascism in Germany or Italy: for the United States has a bill of rights, a constitution and laws, all of which expressly forbid or oppose fascism. The 14th amendment was made to protect Americans, Negroes in particular, against fascist laws and administration. There is no 14th amendment to protect minorities in Germany; there everything that the ruling gang may decide to do, is legal and constitutional. And yet with our abundant laws our fascism far antedates Hitler's. Is the Jew disfranchised in Germany? That is old stuff with the Negro in Mississippi. Yellow benches for Jews in Germany? Well, peanut galleries, third balconies,

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and side views for American Negroes. Segregated travel in Germany? We
invented that in South Carolina. Brutal and beastly violence against
Jews in Germany? We have over five thousand recorded lynchings in A-
merica, more than four thousand of the victims being Negroes and the
other thousand being poor whites or whites whom our fascist lords did
not like. Is the Jew now being robbed of part of his economic share of
public school funds in Germany? For over 60 years in our American
south the Negroes have been robbed of (to understate it) three fourths
of their due share of public educational funds. Does Hitler yell about
"Aryanism" and "racial purity"? Well, that hypocritical nonsense has
rung in the Negro's ears for 300 years in ~~the~~ America, while the dom-
inant white race was merrily forcing its blood into the black group un-
til today at least ^{curing} nine-tenths of our Negroes have more or less of that
other blood. Water-curing Jews in Germany? Why, we fire-cure Negroes in
America.

In America we have this difference: a constitution, a 14th amend-
ment, and a supreme court. Nothing of the sort exists for the Jew and
the other disinherited in Germany. We can fight. I speak, write, and
publish this article. That cannot be done in Germany. Our foundation
idea is liberty; in Germany there is no liberty and no respect for that
idea. We can even muster two thousand policemen to protect a German
fascist meeting, while it attacks us in our own land. We have a democ-
racy, something worth fighting for. Its quality of liberty makes the
most imperfect democracy preferable to the best of fascism.-- The
choice of sides by the American Negro should be easy. Where there is
liberty, there is hope. A sane man cannot love everything in America,
but he can come very near to a one hundred per cent hatred of the very
essence of fascism.

William Pickens,



69-- Fifth Avenue, N.Y. City-----

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-3"

930- The War
10007

I AM AN AMERICAN

By William Pickens

Some of the refugees and other visitors, coming to us from Europe these days, are astonished at the American people: "It seems so strange that you are not seizing Canada or Bermuda or Jamaica,-- Newfoundland, Greenland, the Bahamas, Trinidad, the French West Indies, the foreign-held territories of Guiana; and that you are not at least bullying Mexico, ordering Central America about and dictating to South America!"

That seems strange to these people from Europe, where the international gangsters are seizing and subjecting or "protecting" every land in their reach and which cannot defend itself: Hitlerism has seized and pillaged, and enslaved, nine nations and their people, and is still going strong. Stalin has been making hay while the sun shone for him. Mussolini in the most contemptible action of all history has run in for his grab, after Hitler had made the way easy for Italy to move in. Russia is taking what Russia will be able to keep more easily than either Germany or Italy will be able to keep what they are now taking.

If any of these fellows were situated in these United States, Canada would have been seized months ago,-- for "protection"; and Jamaica and Bermuda and the Bahamas, and all else in the seas to the south of the United States would have been invaded, as a defense measure for the Panama Canal,-- or any other excuse.

But we are Americans,-- all of us except Lindbergh,-- and we are not hurrying to play the coward. If ever we take these territories, I predict, that it will be genuinely for our protection and for theirs,-- to keep them from falling into the hands of those monstrous European ravishers and to protect our own freedom to remain civilized.

It seems horrible to me that anybody should ever have gotten the impression that I am not for America because I have had to fight all my life against certain things in America,-- and will doubtless fight all the rest of my life against them: against lynchers, disfranchisers, segregators, oppressors, and all the other enemies of the real America. None of these things are America, but all of them are the enemies of America. If we are consistent in our Americanism, our fight against these internal enemies of America assures that we will fight just as hard, or harder, against any external or any invading enemy of America. I will fight Bilbo, of Mississippi, and all like Bilbo, until I die. But I am not a fool: and if Hitler attacks us, I fight with Bilbo against Hitler,-- and will go right on fighting Bilbo for America, and for the people of America.

It is a shock to commonsense to hear Negroes who have been parts of the British empire, in the West Indies, for many generations, and who have had to fight for their rights there, and who had at least the RIGHT AND LIBERTY TO FIGHT,-- to hear such people now proclaiming that they are not for British liberty, that they hope Hitler will ruin all Britain. They seem to lack the logical sense to see that such an attitude makes all their previous fight for domestic equality IN BRITAIN a lie: they were, then, never for the best that was in Britain, but were always and only for themselves. Their fight had been all along a purely and narrowly selfish fight,-- I am proud of America, and I will continue to fight for it,-- against all enemies, inside our country and outside of it. We must win both fights. If we lose either, we lose both

I AM AN AMERICAN.

Wm. Pickens-----

BRITAIN BATTLES FOR CIVILIZATION
By William Pickens.....

1940
(20)

Narrow minds and malicious anti-British people will fail to see at this moment that the battle which Britain is putting on for Britain is also a battle for all the world's decency and civilization. The fact that Britain has a great stake in that battle, does not mean that underlying truth are whit. Fascist fifth-columnists, cunning traitors and plain fools will still say that British history has been as full of wickedness as German history,-- as if the talk was about "history"! Relative wickedness of the past is always a debatable question,-- but it is not the question of the present. The present question is: On which side of this fight lies the interest of freedom for today and for tomorrow?

If that British line breaks, the world will know chains and horrors and suppression of freedom such as it has not known for many a generation.-- All nations have wickednesses in their past, including our own. If we should take an attitude against the present action of a society solely because of its past, we should have to oppose all people, including our own.

IN THE PRESENT the Union Jack stands for the salvation of Europe and the security of America. That fact is so plain that it is marvelous that any person could pretend otherwise, whatever his attitude toward England or toward Hitlerism. A few years from now the dullest minds will see that clearly. Maybe a few months from now. Only a few months ago (remember?) we had the fight of our lives to repeal a foolish "neutrality law", which would have aided only Germany and all the worst enemies of our democracy. Mr. Roosevelt had to fight and plead and pull for more than six weeks to get that plainly right thing done. Berah and all his kind were opposed and fought with fair and foul means against what is now plainly the only sane thing we could have done. A year or two ago, even the mention of enlarging the navy or increasing our ridiculous little army by a few thousands, brought howls of opposition about taxes, militarism, and waste, etc. Now we rush forward toward a two-ocean navy. There are still some howls against this, but the howlers are now insignificant, at least impotent. Two years ago would have been a much better time to begin the expansion of that navy than now.

"It is not our war". That's silly; if there were a great plague in Europe, threatening to sweep the world, it would not be "our plague" either,-- which fact would not alter our relation to it or our chance from it one little bit. Slogans are almost always foolish things, made to take the place of brain actions: "our war", "foreign war", "rival imperialists", "war of defense", "our soil" and the other fellow's soil,-- and wars of "invasion". All peppycock! War is always war. If there is a little war in Europe, as between Italy and Greece, America may remain reasonably aloof to it. If there is a big war, as between France and England, it is idiotic to think that America can remain indifferent to it. If there is a universal conflict, such as is raging now, it is madness to think that it is "none of our affair".

Of course the British are aiming first of all to save themselves,-- but if they save themselves in this instance, they will incidentally save civilization, the best that is in it. And what a people they will be if they succeed!-- If they fail, God help us----- taxes, munitions, militarism, vigilant waiting,-- doubt, distrust, tyranny.

Wm. Pickens-----

1940
(26)

WILLIAM PICKENS

... like saying "God save
... are some of its
... which seems to stick today
... unless I explain
... in high degree! The
... to admit that
... of asserting that you are

... in 1939, when the present war
... we saw immediately that
... will bring on, and the
... Americans
... kind of an ignorant
... in his account. How can a
... isolationism in 1941?

... an inability to admit
... I wonder if he
... it could not make
... a very intelligent

... I was for years
... in Asia, and
... they will be so
... with latent relations
... in the last six months
... themselves as
... and interna-
... and perhaps
... a community.
... that I am
... with the Fascists
... to fight and die for,

... who are willing to betray this country to
... to some other than to this. That
... people to come here from all over the
... but it is a problem. Only foolish Ameri-
... If we get into a war, we shall have trouble
... and not first. Those who call every
... are very foolish; but those who say that there
... feels still.

... If we have to spend half of
... in a fight for our freedom, or for the
... it is a cheap cost even at that

God will save it, if we do our dearest to help Him.

WILLIAM PICKENS

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EXHIBIT "F-15"

LEON TROTSKY
BY WILLIAM PICKENS FOR ANP

So, they finally got Trotsky. The man who murdered him says that he killed Trotsky because the latter remarked that the murderer would be a "fool to marry" a certain girl. Nobody kills anybody for warning not to marry, especially when the one giving the warning cannot interfere with the marriage. In such a case, if the fellow commits murder, he thereby prevents his own marriage.

When anybody of ordinary brains even wants to murder a person, it can always be done, barring some accidents. When Abraham Lincoln was warned not to go riding any more out to the Old Soldiers Home, he kept going, remarking that if he was to be murdered, refraining from visiting the home would not prevent the accomplishment of the murder. He knew that when a man is marked for determined murder, those on the hunt for him have all the advantages. They know WHO he does not know when, or where. He must look in a thousand directions, while his would-be murderer must look in only one direction. He must guard every minute, while the assassin must concentrate on one. -- Lincoln had, as usual, the sense to see this, and to conclude that if he refrained from taking his nice rides to the home, his murderers would kill him anyway, -- and then he would be minus

both his life and his nice rides. -- He kept on going to the home, -- and was later murdered in a theatre, with officers on guard to protect him.

But Trotsky certainly lengthened his life by 13 years, by leaving Russia and leaving Stalin in charge since 1927. Wherever he went, they pursued him, whether he was in Turkey, in France or in North Europe, -- or finally in Mexico. They were always willing to try and try again, -- with the perseverance of the devil.

Trotsky's record is now history, interesting history. When I saw him in 1927 (early part of the year) in Moscow, he proved to be one of the most interesting and affable and congenial of men. This man who had helped Lenin to lay the foundations of the new Russia and had made and led the Russian army to victory, seemed to be absolutely unconscious of having any status except that of a man, a friendly and interested human. Whatever his enemies may say of him, he still was a great man because he never once "played at" being "great."

But what is one to do when the one who is perhaps finally appointed by the enemy to "got" him, goes to the extent of courting the sister of the secretary of the intended victim, and worms himself into the inner circle as practically a member of the family, -- and then, suddenly, when alone with the unsuspecting, uses his pick-axe on him?

At any rate, Trotsky staved off murder for more than a decade of intense pursuit of him. We wonder how long Stalin and Hitler will be able to stay un-murdered. Perhaps their success to date has been due to the advantage of staying inside and of CROWING all the murder machines that were inside with them. Still, we wonder, how long it will be?

What a murderous world! -- We liked Trotsky as a human. We found much less favor with any of his political plans. But we DETEST his murderers.

PEACE, PEACE TO THE "PEACE" SOCIETIES
By: William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-14"

Every American who thinks at all should now take his position on the matter of the defense of this country, and of this hemisphere, and incidentally of the best of civilization,--either with the program laid out by the President of the United States, or against that program. "Neutrality" in such a situation is cowardice, when it is not mere idocy. I am confessing that, although my name is on the roll of at least one of them, the seven Peace organizations that recently met in Washington to influence the attitude of government on arms and armaments, have greatly disappointed me in their pronouncements--some of them being silly pronouncements,--like that one comparing the President's concern about defense against foreign attack on this continent to the scare about the "invasion from Mars" which actor Welles threw into simple minds over the radio.

One would almost conclude that these peace organizations, with some very important people in them, are mostly run by nuts: that they have no real program beyond silliness and insults. The President's proposal to have an adequate armed air fleet, and an adequate navy and a slightly larger army than we have ever before had in peace days, deserves better consideration. If any one can honestly disagree with the President, it must be only a relative disagreement: for example, when the President calls for about 10,000 war planes, any sane person might aver that 7,000 would be sufficient, or even 5,000,--or less. But only a fool can simply shout aloud: "We do not need any military preparations". Such a fool will not be heard by the great masses of American. They know better. This old world is not yet a Paradise of Pacifists. To keep America out of war is a sensible proposition,--but to do so by impotency is an idiot's dream. This country has more to lose than will tempt the invader than any other country on earth; therefore it has more to defend. Hard-headed people cannot be hypnotized into the belief that the same forces which would rape a barren Ethiopia and butcher a

Letter to the "Peace" Societies-2.

Spain or a sun-patched China, would refrain on moral grounds from attacking this country,--if ever they could get away with it. We are safe here only so long as we believe that we are capable of defeating them in such an eventuality. The only thing to the contrary could only be brought to its issue by a Fascist boot.

We are with the President in his program, or ready to accept any modification of that same program--but the mere fact that we are ready to march right on over him or through him. We believe, in the defense of New York and San Francisco, but in the defense of Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires,--which in certain respects might be the very best places to begin our defense of our own country. We believe in being fully prepared for the whole job. If the President shows us that we are already prepared, or that we do not need the full measure of preparation which the President has in mind, let the President show us. But the general idea is already settled for most of us. And the Negroes of America, who helped to build, create and defend this country,--the five thousand strong with George Washington when he crossed the Delaware at Yorktown, who according to Abraham Lincoln were necessary to the saving of the Union, who have sweated and bled and fought for civilization here, are going to be, as they have always been, about 10 and some fraction of percent for the defense of democracy and the ideal of equality,--right here!

WILLIAM FIGUEROA

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-13"

"IF WE DON'T HAVE A WAR"

By William Pickens---

How silly Hitler and Mussolini make themselves look, for going into a froth at the mouth simply because President Roosevelt, of the United States, tells his people in Georgia, when he is about to leave them, that he will be back later if we don't have a war. It all shows how insecure and frightened the poor "dictators" must be. "Hellzapoppin'" needs a scene with Roosevelt sneezing and the dictators jumping out of their skins.

"If we don't have a war"--- since when has any American lost the right to say that?-- Of course, there are other things which Roosevelt might have said, but which he was too polite to say; a plain American citizen can say them for him: He will be able to go back to Georgia if the dictators do not start a war and make it necessary for him to stick on the job in Washington, trying to help the democracies to lick the devil out of Hitler and Mussolini. He did not say that,-- but the dictators know that that is what the American people mean to do, if it becomes necessary.

If there is a war with Hitler and Mussolini on one side of it, there is no doubt that the sympathies, the goods, the money, and finally the lives of the American people will be standing up on the other side.

The idea of "isolationism" in the world as it is now made, shows that such thinkers live in the past world, not in the present one. Some of our peace-loving people are really foolish; they imagine that we can keep peace and prosperity, and DEMOCRACY, not only in the western hemisphere, but even north of the Rio Grande, while all the rest of the world goes totalitarian and mad.

George of Georgia, who has not even the good sense to want to pass an anti-lynching bill, hates Roosevelt,-- and has good reason to do so, for Roosevelt does not especially love him; but there is no reason why George should froth along with Hitler just because the President makes a remark to his own people which any American citizen, including George, is privileged to make. The President tried to get Georgia to keep George at home last election, but that is a domestic fight, an American fight,-- and enough of our fellow-citizens disagreed with the President to cause George to get back into the Senate. That is settled, by Americans. Now it is like "like the boys" for the fellows to keep up that fight,-- after it's over.

WE CANNOT STAY OUT OF A WAR WITH DEMOCRACY FIGHTING A LIFE-AND-DEATH FIGHT ON ONE SIDE OF IT,-- AND WE WON'T STAY OUT. That is so clear that it seems that any congressman or senator might understand it. But there are some people in congress with far less sense than the sense of the hog-callers whose votes count more than theirs.

What of Mussolini and Hitler? They hurried to "take sides", not merely to remark to their friends; when Chamberlain was flapping at Munich, Mussolini had already started out; "Italy's side had already been chosen". And Hitler has hurried to O.K. Mussolini's cowardly rape of the little people of Austria, and indicated that he is ready to help Italy (with its 40 million) to have her way in Africa (with its one billion).

Those of our people who imagine that we can stay out of the nothing to do with matters that will finally determine whether we can go right on eating fat food and wearing fine clothes, and that people are just as wise as was Chamberlain at Munich, and that Benches and Gaden. They live in good houses, and are in the United States; on the earth. If we have had, we have had some of us will have to hang on to our lives, and we will not look the matter through straight in the face.

VIEWS OF THE NEWS

By William Pickens for ANP

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-12"

'But the Southerners in Congress Are for It!'

Just think, people of that being given to me by a man in a recent audience, in "question period," as the same reason why I should be AGAINST the bill to aid England and so defend America. Think of the lack of brains in such a position as that! As if a thing had to be WRONG simply because the southerners, (white) are for it. It reminds me of what Booker T. Washington used to tell about the old colored man's politics in "Reconstruction" days: The old man would go down to the town square, before election time, and lean against the telegraph poles and listen slyly to the talk of the white people, to hear how they intended to vote, and when asked about that interest, he explained it thusly: "Well, you see, I'm tryin' to find out how I must vote, and when I learn how the white folks is goin' to vote, I know that I must vote agin' it".

Only—this question in my audience did not come from a colored man, but from a white university man in a university town.

Of course Carter Glass is and was for the Lend Lease bill—but so was and am I. That is one thing on which Carter Glass and I agree. We disagree hopelessly on the Anti-Lynching bill and on Jim Crow. But it is foolish to pretend to disagree on everything, because we disagree on some very important things.

Without the almost solid South behind our defense movements, the President would never have been able to make any progress with that movement. The southerners are Americans, and it happens to be that they are American next to the Negro American himself. The rest of the country is largely European and of other there recent foreign origins. Not considering the American Indian, who, by the way, has not been so very much to American developments in the last 200 years, and who has almost disappeared, the truest American of all is the American Negro. The whites started coming

here 12 years before the Africans started coming here. BUT the African stopped coming here 82 years ago this year. —and during that 82 years most of the whites who are here have come here. That is the American whites have come here since the Negro STOPPED COMING.

Bad as America is, it is the American Negro's only hope of the future, the near future, at least. And next to the American Negro is the southern white man. The southerner is a much older American, no the whole, than are the whites of the rest of the land.

When it comes to an international problem, the southern whites and the blacks, if they use their heads instead of their gall bladders, are most apt to agree together. In defense of America the Negro (when he thinks) will be second to nobody, and the whites of Texas and South Carolina will be second to no white people. There is no great room for differences; the southern whites want to keep their national freedom and their rights—even their rights to keep trying to keep the Negro down. And the Negro wants to keep his American rights—his rights to fight like the devil against being kept down. Under Hitler or any other foreigner, both of these old Americans would lose their good American rights—for the foreigner would keep BOTH of us down—white and black.

And besides, an American who brains will not be set against just in order to be set against the southern Negro.

Robert R. Moton Memorial Service Friday, April 6

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE — Services in memory of Dr. Robert R. Moton, noted president of Tuskegee, will be held Friday afternoon, April 6, in the institute chapel. Speakers will be Leo Parrot and Dr. Channing H. Tobias.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-11"

VIEWS OF THE NEWS

By William Pickens for ANP

"Short of War" What?

The President is right. We should lend or give to Britain, rather than suffer the calamity of a British defeat in this war. Mrs. Roosevelt is correct, too: that it is time to speak of giving, rather than of lending. But that lends emphasis to that nonsense about "short of war" help,—unless we simply mean that while we aid Britain, we are not aiming to go to war with Germany and Italy, and Japan, unless they start the fight against us. But we cannot sensibly say that we will stand against British defeat; "short of war." No, sirree, we will, if we have sense, stand the battle line.

If Germany and Italy and Japan choose to let us alone while we help Britain with our money, our credits, our ships, our guns and our explosives, and while we allow our young men to join the British air forces, and while we not only cheer British victories but do all we can to bring them to let us alone while we do that, there will be no further activity in this war by us.

But if we are attacked, or if we ever see clearly that the only way to prevent the defeat of the British Empire is to join the fight by Britain's side, it is my prediction that we will join up. And I know that we should join up, even to TRY to prevent such a calamity to this world, long as we live in it.

Most of the radio commentators have put out: "Short of war!" Our half-hearted politicians try to keep out of trouble by chattering: "Short of war!" The phrase is becoming silly; it is losing its diplomatic value. We do not mean just that,

and usually it means we mean it. We do mean that we hope that our aid will not draw us into the active fighting.

But if it does, we are ready, most of us, to back up our other aid with our powerful navy and with our army,—in the western hemisphere, or finally, wherever effectively for the purposes of our in the world that army can operate effectively for the purpose of own victory, if we have to enter the active war.

"Short of war" does not really mean short of war. It means that we hope it will not lead to war. But if it leads to war,—we shall be there.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-10"

IEWS OF THE NEWS

By William Pickens for ANP

If a speech like that made by Franklin D. Roosevelt on Saturday evening, March 15, fails to arouse some American to stand up and fight for democracy and freedom, there is something radically wrong, not merely with that American's "Americanism," but with his human gizzard. Thank heaven for a country, wherein its leaders can still speak without guile and without equivocation—and without half-heartedness and fear.

Think of the poor and humiliated countries of Europe today: not a man in any one of them, except Britain and Greece, can make a plain, straight - from-the-shoulder speech about anything—and especially not about international relations and this war. Here is a great republic, which almost two years ago, they ought to have been at stand and fight for freedom in its own borders and in the world of like-minded peoples—and its chief executive can speak out so plainly, so honestly, and with such straightforwardness that the simplest mind in any continent can understand it.

Contrast that with the abominable of the Russian leadership for almost two years now—with a diplomacy so double-dealing and crooked that nobody, including the Russians themselves, knows until the day what Russia really stands for or what they seek to do, or attempt... Russia is a wolf in sheep's clothing, and has no intention of halting, and making any effort to cover up their... and to conceal... if they

Contrast With Russian Leadership

Contrast it with the wobbly knees and the wishwashiness of the Spanish leadership, which, like that other south European in Italy, seems waiting and waiting, trying first to see, not what is right and best for the world and its future, but WHO IS GOING TO BE THE WINNER, so as not to be bet on the "wrong horse."

Then there is poor France, ex-France! Overthrown by its traitors and fifth columnists, piping low, half-bewildered, half-starved and not even half-hearted, trying at one moment to appease the German threat and to ward it off. Contrast all this with the position of the people of the United States, as spoken through their President: honest, earnest, determined, with no bridges for retreat cunningly devised behind them.

For us Americans there is just one word, Napoleon's favorite word, even when he was uncertain of the ultimate outcome, one word which he could always utter and always uttered even in the greatest danger: **REPUBLIC**.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EMERIT "F-9"

THAT "LEASE-LEND"-GIVE BILL
By William Pickens

March, 1941

Thank God for that Senate majority! It is a large answer to Hitler's charge that democracies are made up of muckskulls, who will only talk and talk until they talk away their opportunities to act; and that the democratic legislatures are made up of self-seeking, rival windbags, each one trying to grab something for himself; and that each nation which he intended to attack would try to get far out of his war until it was "too late".

This bill, this law, says to Hitler and his stooge, Mussolini, that this nation across the Atlantic intends for Britain and Greece and China to get a due out of this struggle, even if we have to stake our existence on that result. It says that we will stay out of the actual physical struggle if and so long as it is consistent with this end of victory for these nations that are defending their liberties and our liberty,-- but that it is now in the power and privilege of Germany or Italy or Japan to invite us into the deadly conflict at any minute,-- and that if we are invited, we shall enter it. It says that we want peace, but that we want some other things more than we want life-- and that neither for peace nor life will we do any disgraceful "appeasing".

Thank God for America! Today, Sunday, March 9, 1941, I believe in God more than I ever did before in my life. Here we have this America in which a two-thirds majority of the representatives of the people, and we believe a much bigger majority of the people themselves, are ready to live or to die by certain high principles,--but to stand by these principles in any event. With all the frail, weak and wicked elements that are in it, America is still a great country of a great people.

We are proud, too, of this democratic process by which a majority could still hold up legislation for a period, by debate and discussion, and even by some waster opposition and political motives,-- legislation that the country as a whole had gradually come to demand from the day of the "isolationism" of Borah, on through the weak nonsense of Lindbergh, to the political intransigence of the Wheelers and the Clarks. There can be no doubt that the President of the United States had a better sense for the wishes of the people in this 1941, than had these opposing gentlemen. Still we thank heaven for the democratic right which allowed them to say their say, even almost to the point of disgraceful filibuster. The immoral habit of filibustering on domestic issues, on which a majority of the legislators and of the people were already united, might have proved a calamity for the republic, if it had been allowed to run loose in this case.

That brings us to this thought: Will that 33 percent minority, which was allowed its full say, now stand for the support of the law which the great majority demanded and voted? They will testify to the honesty of their erstwhile opposition in proportion to their cooperation in administering and executing this law of the nation. We shall soon see. Any unfair obstruction tactics will tend still to justify Hitler and will be a menace to democracy,-- a democracy which this majority of the people, no less than this minority, loves.

The debate is over. Now for the action. We are naturally divided in debate. We should seek normal and wise unity in ACTION.

William Pickens

THE WAR--- GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE
By William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-8"

Yes, it is our war. In spite of all our sophistries, we all know that we cannot afford to have Britain and France to lose against Nazism. Some say that Great Britain has been a great sinner among history's nations. The answer to that is: Yes, but in the present conflict the worst possible sinner is the German regime. No nation is without sin and crime; so that we have no choice between the sinful and the sinless. We can only choose among the sinners. And one must be foolish indeed not to find the choice easy between present Britain and present Germany,-- between imperfect democracy and almost perfect dictatorship.

What can we do? If Congress can see straight we shall make munitions, guns, gun-carriages; we shall raise food and weave cloth,-- and we ~~xx~~ stay within our national rights and say: Come and get it, any of you! Of course we will know that only England and France can come and get it for the present, and we shall not pretend that we are not glad of that. Indirectly we shall help these two nations.

The British Empire ^{is} standing by: We expected Canada and Australia and New Zealand to stand straight and to realize that the destruction of Britain would be their enslavement,-- ~~xxx~~ the enslavement of all except Canada, for after Britain only the United States can have Canada, unless the United States is first destroyed. But we were doubtful about South Africa,-- South Africa, one of the lowest civilizations in human history. But, behold, even South Africa has come through,-- after a fight with Her-rog. That old race-hating leader wanted to favor the Germans, it seems, but Smuts, who always seemed to have more sense and more humanity than Herseg, took up the battle for Britain and swung even South Africa into his line. If Britain should set South Africa adrift, how long do you suppose Capetown could hold out against a victorious or an unimpeded Hitler? India might hold back,-- but even India cannot wish that Hitlerism would defeat Great Britain; for without a navy and without a great army, India would lie open to any marauder. And what a marauder Hitler would be if he could get Britain out of his path!

And we of the United States,-- let us not kid ourselves; we are not going to see democracy lose this fight. We will furnish supplies and credits, and if that does not suit, we will furnish men, guns and money. It cannot be otherwise,-- if it becomes necessary. At the very start of this war, we are madder at Hitler than we were at the Kaiser even after the first World War had gone on for three years. One great victory Chamberlain's seemingly foolish patience achieved; it made it clear to all the world, outside of Germany, that Hitler and his minions have caused this war. Our sympathies ~~are~~ with England and France. Even Mussolini and Japan have seen straight, so far. We do not believe that Soviet Russia is so foolish as to ~~do~~ anything except guard her own frontiers.

Democracy and freedom and liberty,-- that is what we want in America, and what we will die to keep or to try to keep. Those Frenchmen and Englishmen now dying on the borders of western Germany are our front line. We know that. We hate war, but if war is there, and there by no will or wish of ours, we shall not be such fools as to take no account of its existence or of its sure consequences. If the present allies should lose to Germany, we should have to fight her alone,-- economically, politically and physically. Who doubts that?-- Our hearts and our interests are with Britain and France. Long live Democracy!

William Pickens---

X 7 1
AGAIN THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS
By William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "E-7"

At this Geneva, in Wisconsin, the young people of the United States have been standing up on their hind legs and talking some more,-- expressing sometimes their real sober sentiments, and sometimes just shooting off hot-air, smart-alecky fashion. I like to see them do it, for it is proof that, until this minute at least, America is still free America, where people can talk as they please, even when they please to talk non-sense, or to hint treason.

But I can have no idea that these young people will want to ruin their country in any case,-- any more than those British boys who a few years ago "swore" not to fight in any English wars, not even if England were attacked, up the Thames and on their Oxford campus. Many of those boys have died since in defense of their country, and are still fighting for it.

But these young people want, what all humans have always wanted, and will always want: Freedom, Security, Self-expression. They must know, however, that at this moment they have more of that than they would have in any other country: they could never speak in Germany or in Italy, as they speak in the United States; they could never disagree with Hitler or Mussolini, as they disagree with Roosevelt; they could not "sass" the government in those countries. And even in Russia, to which some of these American young people seem to be so idealistically attached, they could not for a moment disagree with Stalin, and live on to disagree again. Such liberty for these young people exists right now **ONLY IN THE UNITED STATES**. If they love such liberty, they will have to fight to keep and protect the United States, if a fight is made on the United States. And it does not matter a damn who starts the fight; whether the United States starts it, or whether some enemy starts it. If there is a fight and the United States' independence and self-hood is in jeopardy, the Americans will have to defend the United States, in order to defend the admirable liberty which these young people are taking.

Of course, they may fail, even at that: if the United States goes to war, certainly some of that liberty will be lost, at least for a time,-- at the very least during the progress of the war. But if you see any way to prevent that curtailment, I do not. The point however remains: **THE ONLY CHANCE WE AMERICANS HAVE FOR SUCH LIBERTY AND FREEDOM AND HAPPINESS IS IN AMERICA**, and in an America that can defend itself against Germany, Italy, or Russia, or Japan, and against the whole lot of them. That may be a slim chance, but slim or not, it still is the **ONLY** chance. Such liberty as these young people take, is worth fighting and dying for, even in the **EFFORT** to keep it, even if the effort proves to be a failure. It would be the lowest idiocy to say: We have the liberty to talk and disagree and sass and strike back in our country; because we can do almost as we please, we are going to destroy or to allow others to destroy the country, the only country, which gives us that liberty.

And I notice that these young people are guilty of a great error in reasoning, just like some of our older people: they think they can "compromise" on war,-- that they can say: O, yes, we'll help to defend America by fighting **IN** America, or even **IN** the western half of the world, but we won't go beyond that to fight Poor young things! If a war is started, we'll fight wherever the fighting is to be done, from day to day: in California, in Massachusetts, in Canada, and in Mexico, in South America or in Europe or in Asia,-- or on the back side of

Against the American Youth Congress - #2.

the moon, -- wherever the fighting goes on with the necessity of even TRYING to win that war. There is no such thing as starting a war without the hope of winning it,-- and there is no sense in setting limits to a war and to the fighting areas. That sort of stuffy stuff makes good talk while we are NOT AT WAR. But if we go to war, nobody is going to ask such individual soldier where he wants to fight: they will take him where the fighting is to be done, put the right fighting irons into his hands, and let him use his brilliant judgment for the rest of it.

There are only two choices, in case of war, for the individual: either he can refuse to go and take the consequences; or he can go, and take the consequences. If he refuses, he will either be shot or confined,-- unless he can start and WIN a private war of his own. If he goes, he will obey the orders,-- unless he again starts and WINS a private war of his own. In any and all cases it boils down to War for him, if there is a war.

None of that prevents us from doing all we can to avoid the necessity of war of any war. But smart-alecky talk about treason; and nonsense about war plus individual choices and liberties, at one and the same time,-- all that is iffoey. I do not believe American youth can ever be guilty of such a crime against its country and itself.

William Pickens.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-16"

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SENSES AGAINST WISHES

By William Pickens for
ANP

We all wish to stay out of the war, but our senses tell us that we are already in the war, as far as we think now that we need to go. If we over think we should go further in, we shall go. Nobody wants war, but such a "peace" as we should have without the British navy and the British line east of us, would be far worse than war: both in dishonor and in cost. To maintain such a peace, we should have to arm as we never yet have armed for any war; we should have to tax as no nation has ever yet taxed itself; and we should have to drill, manufacture, maneuver and struggle as never before in our life as a nation. And after all that we should have to fight,-- and only God knows whether we should lose.

Nobody wants war: even Hitler and Churchill and Mussolini wish that they were out of it,-- especially Mussolini. But they ARE in it, and it would be suicidal for any one of them to wish and think and act for just one week as if he were not in the war.

The Atlantic, especially the north Atlantic and the short stretch of it between Africa and Brazil, is no more of a protection of the United States against hostile powers in Europe than both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean are a protection of Italians in North Africa against the English from Great Britain. They are very feeble minds that look now upon the oceans as barriers instead of highways of approach.

It is not possible for us to regard men like Wheeler and Lindbergh as traitors, but there is certainly something they lack. Perhaps Wheeler in his old habit of wishing for isolation and peace, lacks the capacity for change, and lacks realism. Lindbergh never had any statesmanship, and he lacks about everything else, since he stopped flying.

Roosevelt and Willkie, Stimson and Knox, are four hard-headed Americans whose loyalty and patriotism nobody will question, and whose experience in statesmanship should inspire confidence. The basic proposals in the bill which they all support, should be granted by their fellow countrymen. The bill proposes to concentrate America's economic and military power in those treacherous times. Some amendments to the bill could well be made: the time limit of two or three years should be set upon these extraordinary peace-time powers of the chief executive, and perhaps a representative of the congress which has the right to declare war, should be added to the administration of affairs to be created by this bill. But the bill should be passed, and at once.

The dictators should have the truths that the great majority of the American people are perfectly ready to go to war rather than to suffer the calamity of having the British empire smashed by its present enemies. And that is because the primary interest of Americans is not in the British Empire but in the American states. We see clearly that for the next hundred years at least, and maybe for the next thousand, we ride in the same boat with the great English speaking empire. We also know what happens to those who appease, or attempt to appease, fascism and militarism.

Our judgment reckons that it is far better for us to fight than it is for us to run any serious risk of a triumph on this earth of Hitlerism and Mussolinism.

ACTUAL CONTACTS

1. League Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism
2. Daily Worker
3. Hands Off China Association
4. All-America Anti-Imperialist League
5. International Labor Defense
6. League Against Imperialism
7. Prisoners Relief Fund
8. National Organizing committee of the United States Congress Against War.
9. United States Congress against War.
10. National Committee United States Congress Against War.
11. American League Against War and Fascism.
12. Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
13. New Masses.
14. Workers School.
15. American Rescue Ship Mission.
16. Council for Pan American Democracy.
17. United American Spanish Aid Committee
18. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
19. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
20. Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.
21. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "M"

Mr. William Pickens, Promotional Specialist, War Savings Staff, made the statements summarized as follows, when his attention was directed to certain accusations purported to link him with Communism as set out in the Congressional Record of February 8, 1943, by Congressman Dies: 2-9-43

W Z Harvey

First. League Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism.

I did not attend this meeting; the allegation may come from the fact that my name appeared in some literature, but I do not know this is a fact. At this time, I believe, I was in England making speeches under the auspices of the League.

Second. Daily Worker.

I do not recall specifically that I ever contributed an article especially for the Daily Worker; I may have. If so, it was not more than two or three times. I have been a prolific writer for the Associated Negro Press for about twenty-five years and it may be that the Daily Worker has reprinted my material. I don't know because I don't read the Daily Worker.

Third. Hands Off China Association.

To the best of my recollection, I was in New York as Field Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and some young people came to me in connection with the idea of Hands Off China. I did not associate this with politics and did not associate it with Communism. At this time, the Kuo-Min-Tang, or People's Party, which was being led by Chiang Kai Shek, was getting under way; the idea was Hands Off China, - China for the Chinese. As I said, I did not associate the Chinese activities in any way with Chinese or American Communists. I recall having received either a letter or a cablegram from Earl Browder asking for funds, upon which I took no action. I believe this was the first time that Earl Browder's name ever came pointedly to my attention. I did not then associate him

with the Communist movement. I did not release Browder's letter to the press. I perhaps showed it to some of my associates and Browder himself may have sent a copy.

Fourth. All-American Anti-Imperialist League.

I was invited to make a speech at the Anti-Imperialist Congress meeting at Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, in 1928, I think. I am not sure now from just whom the invitation came, but I am sure it was not from Communist sources. Part of my expenses were defrayed by contributions from such people as Lou Marshall, Rabbi Wise and John Haynes Holmes. A lot of my friends who had no Communist connections contributed. At that time, I was still Field Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and, of course, the Anti-Imperialist term, especially as it applied to Africa, was not obnoxious to our ideas. Incidentally, when I got to Frankfurt-am-Main, I found what I believed was a Russian Communist presiding the day I spoke and he tried to limit my speech from forty-five minutes to seven but as I spoke in German, he was not successful. Representatives of the Frankfurter Zeitung, then a conservative newspaper, commented on the democratic philosophy of my remarks.

Fifth. International Labor Defense.

When this group was organized, which I think was about 1929, it was represented as a nonpartisan organization dedicated exclusively to the defense of the laboring class. At that time, my political affiliation was with the Republican Party. I was sympathetic with a philosophy to safeguard the rights of labor, particularly colored laborers. I attended a couple of meetings, no more, and I then saw that the Communists dominated

the organization and I simply dropped out and had nothing further to do with them. I do not think my contact with these people lasted through the first year of the organization.

The reference to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is interesting inasmuch as I participated in action which removed her from a committee of American Civil Liberties Union on the grounds that she was a Communist and had given expression to extreme views.

Seventh. Prisoners Relief Fund.

I do not associate the Prisoners' Relief Fund as a Communist project, and it was not so presented to me. In view of my interest in the advancement of colored people, I would naturally subscribe to a project which might be concerned with the relief cases in which colored persons would find themselves prisoners.

Eighth. The National Organizing Committee of the United States Congress Against War.

Ninth. United States Congress Against War.

Tenth. National Committee United States Congress Against War.

Eleventh. American League Against War and Fascism.

This series of projects were concurrent with the rise of Hitler as a danger to our civilization. Because of my affiliation with the League for Industrial Democracy, with many other non-Communist persons, we debated the advisability of going into an organization where the Communist Party was represented but finally decided that it was advisable because of the object to be attained. However, after the League Against War and Fascism was organized, Mary Fox, secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, wired me that she and Harry Laidler, Norman Thomas and other non-Communists

were resigning and suggested inasmuch as I had joined it at their instance, I might like to resign also. I immediately wired my resignation. Mr. J. B. Matthews was an active officer in the American League Against War and Fascism and its antecedent organizations.

Twelfth. Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy:

I did not conceive of the Spanish Civil War as a Communist enterprise; rather it occurred to me it was a fight of democracy against a Fascist regime. I was making a tour of Europe in 1936, and while I was in Paris it was suggested to me that I visit hospitals in the Republic of Spain. This suggestion came through people that I did not consider as Communists; I thought of it simply as a humanitarian venture. I went to Spain at my own expense. The only interest of the Medical Bureau was to see that I get a visa to visit Spain from the American State Department.

Thirteenth. New Masses.

This was in connection with a natural desire because of my interest in colored people to put forth our ideas wherever possible and in whatever form made available. I think the article referred to may be "Why the Negro Must be Anti-Fascist". I believe the ideas expressed there find general approval among Americans and I do not think the article is Communist. I think the other article was on the "Poll Tax". That article also was not Communist, but simply represented the point of view of my organization.

Fourteenth. Workers' School:

This school, located within half block of my office in New York, offered me an opportunity, on what I believe only one occasion, to talk

before them. I did address the school on the work of my organization and the interest of the colored people and my remarks I made were not political or Communistic.

Fifteenth. American Rescue Ship Mission.

My appearance at this mass meeting was not because it was Communistic or controlled by Communists. I had been to Spain, I believed, in the cause of the Spanish Republic. I thought the project a good one. I appeared on the program with a member of Congress and others. I know that most of my speech was Communistic and I only related to what I saw in Spain.

Thirteenth. Council for Pan American Democracy.

I first became acquainted with some of the people connected with this organization through my interest in allowing negroes free entrance into Mexico. Some of these persons convinced me that Prestes was irregularly imprisoned in Brazil and likely to be murdered. This appealed to me because I have been concerned with similar cases involving colored people in this country where I have solicited the support of others. I was not concerned with this organization because it was communistic; although I feel sure it had some Communists in it. I did not know that Browder was a member of the Council, and I had nothing to do with him in connection with the Prestes matter or any of the matters of the Council.

Seventeenth. Anti-American Spanish Aid Committee.

I do not recall having spoken before this organization December 3, 1940, or at any other time. However, I may have done so. If I did, it was simply because I had visited Spain, was interested in the Loyalist cause and could give some factual account of my trip. I did not know Fred Biedenkapp.

Eighteenth. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

I do not know Sam Darcy and do not recall having joined in an appeal in his behalf, but I may have done so. It would be a most natural thing for me to join in such an appeal if it had been represented to me that Darcy was most likely to get a "raw deal". In such a case, I would have joined in an appeal regardless of the political convictions of the person concerned.

Nineteenth. American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born.

My connection with this organization, which was not Communist to my knowledge, was more or less casual. As the name of the organization implies, it was represented to me as a very worthy matter. We were interested in the protection of colored persons, and had a natural sympathy for any other minority which needed protection, and we were often appealing to the foreign-born and other groups which might find themselves in the same position as we were, for assistance.

Twentieth. Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.

I do not know of any connection between this conference and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Furthermore, I do not recall having been a sponsor for the conference, or ever having attended one of its meetings, but can say that I may have, that I would be thoroughly sympathetic with the idea conveyed by the name of the conference - "inalienable rights".

Twenty-First. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

I do not recall this organization at this time. If it were presented to me with the name of the person who spoke to me, I might do so. I have no recollection of ever having acted on such a committee.

I have never had any connection with James Ford, a candidate on the Communist ticket for Vice President. I never supported him or made any efforts in his behalf; on the contrary, my efforts would be against him.

Congressman Dies' statement in the Congressional Record, regarding my contacts or associations, represents only the minutest fraction of my interests and activities during the period covered by his review. In line with my duties as Field Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I carried on a large volume of correspondence; held from 200 to 300 meetings a year; and visited as many as 100 field branches of the Association yearly. My principal interest was to convey the program of the Association to whoever would receive it without any consideration for politics. I have been a contributing editor of the Associated Negro Press since its inception in 1918, and almost every week scores of negro papers contain material from my pen. I submit that any examination of this material will fail to disclose any advocacy of Communism. If I were a Communist or a fellow traveller of Communism, it seems to me it would have been inevitable that I would have used the outlet available to me to pass on an advocacy of Communism.

2 Akron Parleys Flay Cop Terror Toward Negroes

NAACP and Youth Conference Attack Brutal Arrest of Innocent Man; Youth Group Urges Positive Peace Policy

(Special to the Daily Worker)

AKRON, O., Dec. 13.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples and the Akron Youth Congress, in separate conferences this week, leveled an energetic campaign for the rights of Negro people and against police brutality against the Negro population of this city.

Quash Iowa Conviction of CIO Organizer

High Court Holds Jury Was Swayed by Improper Evidence

(By Federated Press)

SIoux CITY, Dec. 13.—The Iowa Supreme court has reversed the jury verdict under which James Porter, former organizer for the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee (CIO), was sentenced to serve five years in the state reformatory.

Porter was found guilty in district court here about a year ago of an indictment which charged him with "malicious mischief" in connection with an alleged stoning of a house during the four-month strike at Swift & Co. in 1938.

The supreme court, all of whose members are Republicans, reversed the verdict on the ground that ex-Union House Miles W. Newby permitted the state to introduce evidence on a charge of violence during the strike and the supreme court declared that this might have prejudiced the jury against Porter.

County Attorney Maurice F. Rawlings has not revealed if he will try Porter a second time.

The other 11 men are named in the same indictment with Porter, who was accused of stoning the home of a scab during the strike. Porter was one of 12 men and women which police said they found in the back seat of Porter's automobile and the tracks in the snow.

Army Is Training

The Youth Council, at its Christmas Youth Peace Conference at the Y. W. C. A., united its demands for the rights of Negro people with its demands for a positive peace policy for the country.

The N. A. A. C. P., which drew 250 people to a mass meeting at the Second Baptist Church here Sunday night, urged a unified campaign of white and Negro people of Akron to defeat the terror against the Negro population.

The meeting of the N. A. A. C. P. projected the case of young Benjamin Finney, framed on four charges of robbery, as a specific example of the current terror. Young Finney, accused of the four robberies, said to have occurred at a time when he is known to be working, was "recognized by his voice" as a purse-snatcher by one white woman who "identified" him before hearing him speak.

YOUTH FOR PEACE

The Akron Youth Council, at its Christmas Youth Peace Conference at the YWCA, united its demands for a positive peace policy with a call for a campaign for the protection of the rights of the Negro people against the local drive of police brutality which started here two weeks ago.

Rex Herbert, secretary of the AYU opened the conference with the statement: "there is no winning side in the present war because it is the people who bear the burden on both sides."

Joseph Huehler of the Barabten CIO council presented labor's viewpoint, emphasizing the warning of the recent CIO convention that "eternal vigilance is the price of peace" and that labor must be on its toes on all questions.

The conference gave full support to a report on civil liberties which stated there is no half-way mark in civil liberties. If from our civil liberties structure you take away the piece from any group, no mat-



Guarding U.A.W.'s Health: Dr. Morris Rankin, a medical consultant for the United Automobile Workers, is shown here examining a Ford worker as part of the union's constant check on the health of men in the industry. State officials have admitted that the "defense" speedup is causing a sharp increase in industrial disease and accidents.

'Defense' Speedup Brings More Industrial Disease

Michigan Board of Health Finds Its Staff Taxed to Combat Increasing Illness in Factories; Accidents Also Grow

DETROIT, Dec. 13 (FP).—A rising tide of industrial disease and accidents is beating against the health of Michigan's factory workers as one of the fruits of the accelerated defense program. Both public health officials and private consultants are dreading the outcome if nothing is done to stem the current.

The bureau of industrial hygiene of the Michigan state board of health finds that its small staff, inadequate even in normal times, is unable to cope with the situation. While no specific figures were given out, it is believed that the bureau has only five men for inspection in Detroit and only two men outside.

Factories are working three shifts a day, in many cases Saturdays and Sundays, at overtime rates. Idle plants are busy once more and old buildings are being converted to industrial uses. Plants designed for a certain health load are being overtaxed.

Accidents are also multiplied by the absence of adequate ventilation and other equipment to remove fumes and dusts. This condition lowers the vitality of the workers and brings on more accidents. The hurry to get out orders introduces a further health hazard through the increased use of solder to cover defects. In normal times defective pieces would be scrapped. Today in some plants they are doctored with lead, which increases the poison content in the air.

Health add safety conditions must be increased, says Dr.

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The Modern

Chief of G-Men Call of Protection of and His Pa

Mr. Hoover, found for publicity Senator George Norris also called across instance of democracy today.

Telling of Hoover's vix organization, of writers who turn out his the press agents who dead, Norris sounded the

"This is the second of the first of adding to being easily that have an organization of the FBI instead of protecting the evil acts of will lead to the end of government by tyrannical as the history of the world has been the case with pain and moral decay has been sweeping around the world."

HIDES HIS PA

Hoover's scurrilous Harry Bridges the W. CIO leader, and his position to outlaw the C. Party, give point to the "greatest hound dog" on the American coast, however, has some in his closet that he tucked up and hidden world.

The Chief of the G. not allow his press agent some dark chap's past.

The "Red Raid" of

The "Ohio Gang" of 1921-1924 form another All during the "Old Years when Attorney Daugherty and Jess S. William J. Burns were down the bootleggers peddlers and white slave country. J. Edgar Hoover either Daugherty's special, or Burns' right hand, the FBI, or Acting D. the FBI himself.

PROTECTED DAUG

Hoover, in fact, took part in trying to protect

The Nazi Gestapo Is Hoover's Model of Conduct for F.B.I.

Chief of G-Men Carefully Conceals His Past Record of Protection of the 'Ohio' Gang of Swindlers and His Part in the 1920 Red Raids

This is the second of two articles on J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief. By Art Shields

"Mr. Hoover, the head of the FBI, is the greatest scandal for publicity on the American continent today," said Senator George Norris of Nebraska in a speech in the Senate on May 7 of this year.

Norris also considers Hoover one of the most dangerous enemies of democracy in America today.

Telling of Hoover's vast publicity organization, of the ghost writers who turn out his speeches, the press agents who hail his deeds, Norris sounded this warning:

"Unless we do something to stop this sort of adulation and praise as being commendable, we shall have an organization—the organization of the FBI—which, instead of protecting the people from the evil acts of criminals, will itself in the end direct the government by tyrannical force, as the history of the world shows has been the case when secret police and secret detectives have been sneaking around the homes of honest men."

HIDES HIS PAST

Hoover's scurrilous attacks on Harry Bridges the West Coast CIO leader, and his present proposal to outlaw the Communist Party, give point to this warning. The "greatest bond for publicity on the American continent today," however, has some skeletons in his closet that he tries to keep jacked up and hidden from the world.

The Chief of the G-Men does not allow his press agents to discuss some dark chapters in his past.

The "Red Raids" of 1920 form one chapter.

The "Ohio Gang" scandals of 1921-1924 form another.

All during the "Ohio Gang" years when Attorney General Daugherty and Jess Smith and William J. Burns were shaking down the bootleggers and dope peddlers and white slavers of the country, J. Edgar Hoover was either Daugherty's special assistant, or Burns' right hand man in the FBI, or Acting Director of the FBI himself.

PROTECTED DAUGHTERTY

Hoover, in fact, took an active part in trying to protect Daugherty from the U. S. Senate Committee's investigation, which finally drove the Ohio hoodler out of public life.

as possible in her testimony. She admitted no more than she had to. But she had to admit that Jesse Smith gave orders to the whole department, though he had no official government post and that Jesse Smith handled the whiskey permits and certificates.

That was enough for Hoover and Daugherty. They fired the senate's witness four days later.

Hoover's curt letter dismissing Mrs. Duckstein, dated May 28, 1924, was read into the senate committee record by Wheeler.

"Dear Madam," Hoover began, "At the request of the Attorney-General I am hereby requesting your resignation as special agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, to take effect at the expiration of such accrued leave of absence as you may be entitled to."

"Very truly yours,
J. E. HOOVER,
Acting Director."

The barest hint of "whiskey certificate" graft brought Hoover's name on the witness's head.

Wheeler's comment was: "When they tell the truth, why they fired them."

Hoover managed to stay in when Daugherty was thrown out in 1924, but it must not be forgotten that the present FBI chief was a partner in Daugherty's administration of the Department of Justice during this period.

NATURALLY BRUTAL

Hoover cannot escape responsibility for the arrest of hundreds of AFL railroad shopmen during the great 1922 strike at the orders of his agents.

The FBI has expanded its activities vastly since then, having over 2,050 persons on its payroll now, compared to less than 700 in the Daugherty days.

Naturally brutal, Hoover enjoys handcuffing prisoners and exhibiting them to the public.

Both Circuit Judge A. J. and Senator Norris have commented on such treatment.



J. EDGAR HOOVER

ought to be treated in a civilized manner.

"Intimidation by third-degree methods is indefensible and is illegal under our system of jurisprudence. The officers of the law, such as agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, ought to be the first to obey the law."

Scoring FBI brutality to the pro-Spanish prisoners, Norris told the Senate on May 7 that "I think such practices are deplorable; to my mind they are detestable."

John L. Lewis, CIO leader, went further in attacking the FBI and Hoover as an enemy of labor, in his presidential report to the Atlantic City convention last month:

"One of the most vicious threats to civil liberties," said Lewis, "is represented by the actions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Testimony before Congressional committees and other public reports indicate that the FBI has gone beyond the limits contemplated by Congress or authorized by federal law, in its drive in whipping up war hysteria against 'subversive activities,' 'sabotage,' and 'activities detrimental to the internal security of the United States.' These activities, by admission of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, include:

- (1) Setting up a 'General Intelligence Division' in September, 1939, to probe not only espionage and violation of neutrality laws, but also anything which the FBI calls 'sabotage,' 'subversive activities,' and 'activities detrimental to the internal security of the United States.' Only the first two are specifically made criminal by federal law, and there is no authority for the others.

John L. Lewis Warned of Hoover's Usurpation of Power

war people, and plain citizens were hauled out of meetings and out of their homes, placed in jail, handcuffed, held incommunicado and generally, harried by agents of the Department of Justice." Lewis closed with a solemn warning that Hoover was preparing a "Gestapo."

"It is of the utmost importance," said Lewis, "that there not be permitted to be created in this nation an organization that will carry on in the manner of the Gestapo of Nazi Germany."

"Criticism of the illegal actions of the FBI is customarily condemned by Mr. Hoover, as the equivalent of unpatriotic activity. This is the first step of a person who cannot stand the light of free discussion and open criticism. All the people of this nation, and the government itself, should be made to comply with the law of the land, including, and particularly, the FBI, its agents, and its head, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover."

Lewis's warning against Hoover's Gestapo should be posted up in every union hall in the United States.

Hoover's Gestapo is a deadly tool of the employers of America, who are trying to squash the trade unions. His attempts to deport Harry Bridges, to outlaw the workers' political organizations are timed with the drive of "Defense" and "Kassen" to restore the seven-week and destroy the right to strike.

Every decent American will join with Senator Norris in calling Hoover's practices detestable.

Inspectors Probe Fatal Mine Blast

Seven Dead, Many Hurt In Gas Explosion in West Virginia

BECKLEY, W. VA., Dec. 18 (AP)—Inspectors today were probing the cause of a gas explosion in a coal mine here which killed seven men and injured many others.

Our judgment reckons that it is far better for us to fight than it is for us to run any serious risk of a triumph on this earth of Hitlerism and Mussolinism.

Army Is Training Parachute Corps Of Infantry

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18 (UP)—The Army is training "air infantry" troops with a view to moving large numbers of men—possibly whole divisions by air transports, it was learned today.

Training of air infantry is now concentrated at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, where troops of the second division have been practicing the important maneuvers of loading and unloading men and equipment into big transport planes.

CIO Construction Union Wins Pay Boost

LOCKPORT, N. Y., Dec. 18 (AP)—Hourly wage increases of from 4 to 8 cents are provided in an agreement between the United Construction Workers' Organizing Committee (CIO) and the Upson Co., wall-board manufacturer, ending a 3-day strike by 144 workers.

liberties structure, you take away one piece from any group, no matter how small, it will not be long before the whole structure falls upon the heads of the people.

Attorney Kelly of the NAACP, addressing the Youth Peace Conference, explained the struggle of his organizations for equal rights for Negro people and requested aid from the AYC and other organizations in this fight.

The AYC conference went on record to participate in the present campaign for the defense of Negro rights in Akron, against police brutality, intimidation, indiscriminate arrests and beatings of Negro youth. The most recent case cited was that of Bernard Jones, Negro youth leader and chairman of the Akron Youth Council, who was brutally slugged by police a week ago for the "crime" of looking for an address in a white neighborhood at night.

The AYC conference closed with a panel meeting on job, education, civil liberties and peace. Plans were adopted to involve all Akron young people around a campaign for the American Youth Act and the defense of the rights of draftees.

ACCIDENTS INCREASING

The result is a bumper crop of disease and accident cases.

Ventilation and safety measures are none too good, even in normal times. But when additional machines are installed and more dust and fumes created, the existing blowers and exhausts and dust preventives no longer meet the demand. Men and women swallow fumes and dust. Poisons eat into the skin and lung tissues and affect the blood.

The accident rate is also rising sharply. Union officials are warning their members to insist on safety rules being enforced. Secretary George Borovich of UAW Local 410, for example, told the workers in Midland Steel that they were losing too many fingers and suffering too many cuts and bruises.

The rise in accidents is due to many causes. In many plants the seniority lists are exhausted and inexperienced men and women are taken on, almost automatically boosting the industrial injuries. The rush of orders is leading to a breakdown of normal safety measures. Overtime leads to fatigue and

son content in the air.

"Health and safety" conditions must be improved quickly," says Dr. Morris Rankin, industrial disease consultant formerly on the staff of the UAW Medical Research Institute, "or else there will be an alarming increase in accidents and industrial diseases. My office is getting many more calls than in normal times. All health agencies should pool their resources to cope with this critical problem."

As unions negotiate new contracts greater insistence on adequate safety clauses is coming from the bargaining committees.

2 Trainmen Die In Utah Wreck

SALT LAKE CITY, Dec. 18 (UP)—An eastbound Union Pacific passenger train crashed into the rear of a standing freight train today as it approached Union Station.

Two trainmen of the freight were killed. They were William Floyd McCumber, brakeman, and O. N. Williams, conductor.

George C. Rogers, also a trainman, was injured.

Free Sam Darcy, Educators and

(Special to the Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.—Immediate dismissal of charges against Sam Adams Darcy, Communist leader, was urged upon Governor Culbert Olson of California today by 165 nationally prominent representatives of every field of public life.

Darcy was recently extradited by California authorities from Pennsylvania, where he was state chairman of the Communist Party. He faces up to fourteen years imprisonment for a minor inaccuracy in his registration as a voter in California in 1934.

Charging that Darcy is being persecuted because he represents a minority party, signers of the appeal declare this constitutes a violation of the principle of equality before the law.

"We believe that the State of California," they wrote, "if it continues to make such discriminatory application of the law, places our own rights in jeopardy and undermines the Constitution of the United States, which its officials have sworn to uphold."

"We urge you to dismiss the charges against Mr. Sam Adams Darcy."

THE SIGNERS

A copy of the appeal, which is sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, was forwarded to District Attorney Matthew Brady of San Francisco.

Signers include Oswald Garrison Villard; Bishop William P. Remington, Pendleton, Ore.; Clifford T. Sawyer, Deputy Commissioner, New

York City Department of Welfare; Olin Downs, music critic, New York Times; Dr. Harry F. Ward, Rockwell Kent, artist; Theodore Pfister, Aaron Copland, composer; Congressman Vito Marcantonio; Herman Shumlin, theatrical producer; Donald Ogden Stewart, president, League of American Writers; and Haps Otto Storm, author.

In their letter, the signers point out that the "crime" charged against Darcy in no way affected his eligibility as a voter.

In proof of their assertion that Darcy is the victim of discrimination, they cite the statement of U. S. Webb, attorney-general of California in 1934, that 250,000 false voter's registrations were made in that year, yet no prosecutions were ordered.

"Mrs. Charles G. Johnson, state Treasurer of California," the letter says, "placed on his registration certificate for the year 1933 precisely the same inaccuracy charged against Mr. Darcy. Quite properly, in our opinion, Mr. Johnson was not prosecuted."

The full list of signers follows:

Dr. Thomas Addin, Stanford University, Civil Rights Council of Northern California, San Francisco, California.
Edward S. Allen, Ames, Iowa.
Rev. Paul J. Altieri, Kinde, Michigan.
Miss Roberta Anthony, Springfield, Mass.
Prof. George T. Astoria, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.
Leo H. Ball, Methodist Church, Lake Waukegan, New York.
Frank O. Barcroft, Managing Editor, Social News Yearly, New York City.
Dr. Archie D. Ball, Minister, Westchester, New Jersey.
Rev. Norman B. Barr, Chicago, Ill.
Carroll B. Barr, President, St. Johns College, Annapolis, Maryland.
Hon. John T. Bernard, British Minis-

ter, Dr. Henry Lambert Binky, Kingston, New York.

Mr. Louis P. Berk, Modern Age Books, Inc., New York City.

Alice Stone Blackwell, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Mare Rutstein, Composer, New York City.

Ralph E. Mount, Oak Park, Illinois.

Prof. Edward S. Boyer, Millikin University, Decatur, Illinois.

Dr. George L. Brown, Philadelphia, Pa.

Harold Chapman Brown, Prof. of Pathology, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California.

Calde Owen, Upper Montclair, New Jersey.

Rev. Edwin Berry Burgess, New York City.

Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Carhart, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

Aston J. Cariani, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Thomas E. Casey, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Russell E. Chase, Cleveland, Ohio.

Sarah Chubb, Manchester, Vermont.

Mrs. Elsie Clyde, Huntington, Long Island, New York.

Henry E. Collins, Jr., Descendants of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Thomas E. Conley, Director, Children's Hospital, Detroit, Michigan.

Mr. Philip M. Connolly, Los Angeles Industrial Union Council, Los Angeles, California.

Mrs. Walker Ouse, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Richard T. Cox, New York City.

Prof. C. M. Cowley, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

Prof. Ephraim Cross, City College, New York City.

Quennie Cullen, Negro Post, New York City.

Prof. Edward E. Curtis, Wallingford, Massachusetts.

Rev. E. Larry Dakin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Mr. David Davis, Business Agent, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Rev. E. A. de Bordenave, St. Paul's Church, Alexandria, Virginia.

Hugh de Lucy, Washington Commonwealth Federation, Seattle, Washington.

Prof. Harry DeLore, Assistant Dean, University of Virginia Law School, Charlottesville, Va.

Miss Alice Colton Davis, Council of Young Southerners, Birmingham, Alabama.

Olin Downs, Music Critic, New York Times, New York City.

Thomas Dreiser, Hollywood, California.

Dr. Robert Davis-Dubois, Service for International Education, New York City.

James R. Dampson, New York City.

Mr. Robert W. Dunn, Labor Research Association, New York City.

Prof. Horace A. Eaton, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

Robert E. Egan, New York City.

Prof. Charles A. Elwood, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

Prof. Milledge Fairchild, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

Sara Bard Field, Los Gatos, California.

James L. Fitzpatrick, Editor, Wisconsin Union Teacher, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Margaret Gage, New York City.

Mr. Joseph Gelders, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Birmingham, Alabama.

Walter E. Gelline, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Prof. Paul F. Gonnelli, Prof. of Economics, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Rev. Stephen B. Goodall, Jr., Boston, Massachusetts.

Rev. Robert Owen's Grady, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dr. Russell G. Ham, President, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

Prof. O. E. Hamlin, Alliance for Christian Unity, North Carolina.

Daniel Harbo, Author, New York City.

Rev. Donald Harrington, Chicago, Illinois.

Alma Davis Hays, New York City.

Duane Henderson, President, United Workers' Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, Kansas City, Mo.

Charles E. Heasler, Alliance for Human Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Washington, D. C.

Daniel Howard, Chairman, Conference on Social and Labor Legislation, Washington, D. C.

Prof. Elizabeth Huntington, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Prof. Wallace Hunter, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Abraham Isaacson, Newark, New Jersey.

Wesley A. Johnson, Los Angeles, California.

Dr. John J. Jones, School of Social Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1939

Continue Fight, Says USSR Press

guard fighters against fascist barbarism for the cause of all progressive mankind.

"The working people throughout the world realize as never before the truth of Stalin's words that 'the liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not a private affair of the Spaniards, but the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind'."

"The Republican troops have retreated from Catalonia, but the determination of the Spanish people to continue the struggle against the foreign barbarians has not been broken."

"This is clearly shown in the great wave of Spanish refugees who fled Catalonia in order to escape the rule of the hated invaders."

"Barcelona fell, Gerona was surrendered. But the heroic country continues to hit back against the fascist barbarians."

"The territory of Republican Spain is still large. It occupies about 50,000 square miles. The coastline of Republican Spain is about 500 miles long, which means that France and Britain have ample opportunity to supply Republican Spain with arms, food and everything necessary for carrying on the war until victory."

SPIRIT UNBROKEN

"Hundreds of thousands of Spanish fighters, steeled and tested in the long hard war against the fascists, imbued with hatred for the enemy, continue to hold the invaders of the Madrid and Estremadura fronts and have struck strong counter-blows against the fascists."

"The population of Madrid and other cities and villages

of the central zone of Republican Spain are imbued with patriotic enthusiasm."

"The events in Catalonia have been watched in the central zone without confusion. The morale of the population is very high. The masses of the people have rallied around their government."

"Examples of self-sacrifice and heroism are being set by the glorious Communist Party of Spain, which everywhere, in the rear and at the front, is inspiring the people to the sacred struggle against fascism."

"The Spanish people have raised numerous highly talented and brave commanders and political commissars from their ranks. The names of Modesto, Lister, Taguena, Fusimana, Alvarez and others, will go down in the history of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people."

"At present, when fascist Italy already is openly placing its aggressive claims to France, when the French government continues to pursue its policy of capitulation to the aggressor, the Spanish problem acquires an especially great significance."

"The future fate of France is being decided on the battlefields of Spain. It is not only a question of the defense of Spain now. The national security of France, which is facing a threat on a third front in the Pyrenees, is under direct threat."

"This is being more clearly understood by wide circles of the French public. The demand of millions of working people that arms and food be given to the Spanish people at once can be heard more loudly than ever throughout the world."

out Spain Through Tory Press



Vets Call Daily Picket Line at Italian Consul

Protest Fascist Invasion of Spain; Spur Fight to Lift Embargo

The veterans of the International Brigade, both military and medical, let Mussolini know yesterday that they are still continuing the fight for Spanish democracy even though an ocean now separates them from the scenes of conflict.

Organized by a joint committee from the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, a permanent picket line has been established before the Italian consulate, Fifth Ave. and W. 50th St., to demonstrate daily as long as Mussolini's fascist troops remain in Spain.

With the permission of the Police Department, the pickets, who include only veterans, nurses, doctors and dentists who served abroad, will be allowed to march in groups of six from noon to six o'clock. The first picket line began yesterday afternoon.

Negrin Rejects Parley Offer

Loyalist Premier Flying to Valencia; President Azama's Policy of Surrender Repudiated by the Government

Continued from Page 1

and German forces and foreign influence.

Further, he believes that the situation in Central Spain, a half million men in the army, an equal number of reserve divisions, factories, which can make anything except heavy guns and planes, and a stripe system of factories, justify hopes for further advance for many months.

Finally, Negrin is convinced that the tension between the demofacs and the fascist states will rapidly reach a pitch at which capitulation of the crime of 1938 is inevitable.

Meanwhile the treatment of veterans is an unglorious protest. The use of Senegalese troops, considered as a provocation since the Spaniards they are Moslems. Complete freedom has been granted to agents, messengers, and forces

in London. Pablo de Aznate, to say that the Loyalist government would settle the problem created by the Catalan defeat and the evacuation of tens of thousands of soldiers and refugees into France before flying to Valencia to carry on the war.

MADRID MORALE HIGH

Negrin, it was said, intends to make one or two attempts on the French side of the frontier to deal with the refugee situation.

The embassy said it had reports from Valencia indicating that the morale of both troops and civilians in the central zone remains high.

Madrid, known as the savior of Madrid, has now a nation well-trained troops under his command for the defense of such important cities as Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona and Alicante.

Main Call

Republican Spain, fighting against tremendous handicaps in support of those principles and ideals upon which America was founded and whose ultimate realization our people hold dear.

"We Negroes," the letter further stated, "alarmed at the growth of totalitarian methods of warfare, first practiced against the people of Ethiopia, see in Spain today a battleground where the issue between darkness and enlightenment is being decided. In addition, to the open brutal warfare of armaments, we find equally alarming the other phase of that warfare which is using every means, ideological, economic, social, to destroy minorities, of whom we are one."

MUST FIGHT BARBARISM

"The most obnoxious of these means is the propagation of unscientific, barbaric race theories, theories which are incorporated in the organic body of fascist law and circulated through their official educational curricula.

"With this evidence before us, we representatives of a minority race recognize that our hope of freedom and equality is in combating such theories and in achieving their liquidation both within and without our country. We are therefore impelled by logic and sentiment to support democracy throughout the world."

Signatories to the letter included: R. B. Atwood, President Kentucky State College; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune; Rev. Shelton Hale, Bishop of New York; Dr. M. O. Bousfield, of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Margaret Davis Bowen, Supreme Executive of Alpha Kappa Alpha; Council Cullen; C. L. Delums, fourth International Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago attorney; Floyd A. Douglas, President of the South-west Sections Postal Alliance; Rev. W. J. Faulkner, Dean of Men at Fisk University; Arthur Huff Fauset, one of the national Vice-Presidents of the National Negro Congress; Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Professor at Howard University.

Also: Ishmael P. Flory, Secretary-Treasurer of the Joint Council of the Dining Car Employes, A. F. of L.; John M. Gandy, President of Virginia State College for Negroes; Rev. Joseph Gomez, pastor of St. James A. M. E. Church of Cleveland; Mrs. Irma Neal Henry, Consultant W. P. A., Administration of North Carolina; Angelo Herndon; T. Arnold Hill; Isobel C. Lawson of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A.; Estia Moton; Dr. Gooden; Nurse, New York physician; William Pickens of the N. A. A. C. P.; James E. Shepard, President of North Carolina State College for Negroes.

Also: Ferdinand Smith, Vice-President of the National Maritime Union; M. Smith, Director of Chicago Baptist Institute; Lillian

Housing Administrator of the Department of the Interior; Dr. Charles H. Wesley, Dean of Graduate School of Howard University; Clarence Cameron White, violinist and composer; Mrs. Susan W. Yergan of Shaw University, and others.

MASS RALLY SUNDAY

Meanwhile a capacity attendance was expected at the mass meeting and rally which the committee is sponsoring Sunday afternoon, Feb. 19th, in the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, Seventh Ave. and W. 129th St.

Speakers will be Dr. Arnold Donawa, Negro surgeon who recently returned from Spain; Council Gibson Carter, Negro ambulance driver just returned from Spain; Dr. Irving Busch, former director of the International Hospital Corps in Spain; Assemblyman Oscar Garcia-Rivera; Dr. David Efron, executive secretary, Pan American Conference; Ashley Totten, International secretary-treasurer, International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Miss Louise Thompson, International Workers Order; Dr. Malaku Bayen, chairman, Ethiopian World Federation; and Senor Antonio de la Cruz Marin, Spanish Consul General.

In other sections of New York numerous other meetings are being called to rally the fight for the Spanish embargo lifting. Tonight's meetings are being held in the Bronx and Brooklyn.

BRONX MEETING

Major Allen Johnson, Spain veteran, heads the list of speakers at the Bronx meeting being held at the Concourse Plaza, 161st St. and Grand Concourse. Other speakers include John J. Donohue, principal of Public School 18; Rev. H. Norman Selby of University Heights Presbyterian Church; Rabbi Jacob Grossman of Temple Beth Elohim; Rev. George Taylor, president, Epworth League; and Charles Rubenstein, president, United Bronx Civic Association.

Called by the Williamsburg Committee to Lift the Embargo on Spain, the Brooklyn meeting is being held at the Grand Paradise Ballroom, Grand and Havemeyer Streets. Speakers include Louis M. Notkin, chairman, American Jewish Congress of Williamsburg; Gino Bardi, editor, "Il Popolo," Italian newspaper; Morris Lasky, chairman, Williamsburg Federation of Social Clubs; and Hyman Hodas, secretary of the committee.

James M. O'Leary, executive secretary, Congress of Industrial Organizations; Bishop Ashton Holdon, and Joseph Shane will speak Monday evening, Feb. 13th, at a meeting arranged by the Concerted Peace Efforts Group at Carnegie Hall. Revision of the Neutrality Act will be the theme of the rally.

Take the new Sunday Worker out to your neighborhood! Watch how easy it makes the sale of Daily Worker Coupon Books!

will be worth, at a minimum, \$10. And with 15,000 cans out, all friends of Spain can understand how important this tag day can be."

Urging every volunteer to bring in a full collection can, Holt continued, "Funds from this joint tag day will be divided between the two committees, half going for rehabilitation of American volunteers from Spain, and the other half to be cabled immediately to the International Coordinating Committee for Aid to Spain in Paris where food will be purchased immediately and within five days will reach the refugees in Spain."

The first prize is a bronze cast of Jo Davidson's bust of La Pasionaria, which recently was highly praised by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the second prize will be a portfolio of twelve original prints and drawings, some in black and white, some in color, done by outstanding Spanish artists of scenes of refugees, soldiers, and life in Spain around Madrid. The portfolio was sent by the Spanish Government to the Medical Bureau and North American Committee and is a collector's item of a rapidly growing value.

Mr. Holt asked all volunteers to put their names and addresses on the collection cans when they return them to the Bureau offices, at 361 Fourth Ave.

Visit of Nazi Sports Head to England Opposed

LONDON, Feb. 7 (UP)—Herbert H. Elvin, chairman of the British Workers Sports Association, protested to Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain today the forthcoming visit to England of Dr. Robert Ley, head of the Nazi "Labor Front," and his scheduled reception by the King and Prime Minister.

Elvin said that to receive him would be an "insult" to every British trade unionist.

"I do hope you will be able to see your way to let Ley know that his presence in this country will not be acceptable and that you yourself will refuse to meet him and will pass on to His Majesty the views that I have expressed," Elvin wrote Chamberlain.

Silver Purchase Aided Neighbors Senate Hears

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7 (UP)—Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., told a special Senate Silver Committee today that the Treasury's purchases of silver have benefited China, Mexico, Canada, Peru, Chile, the Philippines, and "a number of other countries."

Morgenthau answered a series of questions drawn by Sen. John G. Townsend, Jr., R., Del., sponsor of a bill to stop the government's silver purchase program.

Executive, Vice-President Martinez Barrio.

There remains the firm government leadership which has been at the helm of Spanish democracy since the Trotskyite Fifth Column conspired to pave the way for Franco's entry by an armed uprising.

Premier Negrin and Foreign Minister del Vayo will lead the reorganization of the government in its new Central Front stronghold.

THE LONG PRESS PROPAGANDA

Strange and revealing, indeed, are the present antics of the Tory press in the United States. For days on end it has been publishing largely British and French foreign office propaganda, fed through the Associated Press and in some measure also by the United Press, via the British news agency Reuters. It laid the end of Loyalist Spain is "a matter of days—even hours."

Now they are forced to print different stories.

Even when they quote Franco, again transmitting his wildest boast, they say the fascist state it will require at least two months (with new Italian reinforcements, of course) to storm Madrid and Valencia.

But Franco's exaggerated claims to "final" conquest of Loyalist Spain have been exposed on numerous occasions. Many, many more months will be required, at worst, for the combined fascist forces to expect the Central Front's defeat.

But far more decisive is the growing tense international situation, with favorable factors growing for longer Loyalist resistance and for that assistance which can turn the tide for Spain and the world democracies.

KEY TO FRENCH SECURITY

Loyalist Spain, for instance, holds one of the powerful fortresses for French national safety—namely, the Mahon naval base on the Island of Minorca.

For two and a half years, 50,000 Loyalists there with the most intricate and formidable defenses have beaten back prodigious efforts of the fascists to take this key position for French and Spanish democracy.

As a pre-condition for capitulation, Chamberlain and Bonnet want Loyalist Spain to give up this position.

But the Spanish people will not submit. They know the longer they hold out the more certain it will be that despite the Daladier and Bonnet the French people in time will realize that their fate, their peace and democracy, are inseparably bound up with Loyalist Spain's continuing defense.

Then, too, fascism does not have inexhaustible resources. German and Italian fascism are in crisis. The Spanish fascists are bickering over the present spoils and positions.

COUNT ON EMBARGO DRIVE

With her 500-mile coast, Loyalist Spain with the help of the democracies can keep up indefinitely. And the democratic government

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Spain is counting on an extension of the campaign for lifting the embargo and of supplying arms to the people of Spain for use against the invaders.

JOSE MIAJA

Spain is counting on an extension of the campaign for lifting the embargo and of supplying arms to the people of Spain for use against the invaders.

More than ever in the 30-month existence of the Spanish people against fascist rebellion and invasion, outside help is vital and will be decisive.

The fight for lifting the embargo is a more imperative task than ever.

American reactionaries desire to keep this phase of help to Spain. They must be defeated.

FIGHT IN SPAIN GOES ON
Food for the people of Loyalist Spain who are continuing the fight is absolutely necessary.

Funds and food for the magnificent fighters who fought every step of the way to the French border are needed urgently.

Many of these fighters, with much of their equipment, will be transferred to the Central Front.

Let us not desert them, let us not wait for a moment in this great hour of need and determination of the Spanish people.

The fight in Spain goes on. Our struggle to assist the Spanish people in every way must be redoubled.

Keep that circulation going up and up! Sell the new Daily Worker Coupon Books! Use them when you visit the neighborhood with the Daily and Sunday Worker!

Sell the new Daily Worker Coupon Books! Make yourself eligible for one of the prizes in the "Amster Vote" Party Free Contest!

Anti-Nazi Film Will List Cast by Numbers

HOLLYWOOD, Feb. 7 (UP).—Warner Brothers, about to film "Confessions of a Nazi Spy," an anti-dictator picture, announced today that most of the actors will be unidentified for the protection of their relatives in totalitarian countries.

Only Edward G. Robinson and some nine others of the cast will be listed by name in the screen credits; the other 68 by numbers. It was explained that most of them are naturalized foreigners, who still have families in the nations of their birth.

The picture is based upon the recent New York spy trials. Leon G. Turrour, former G-Man who exposed the spy ring, is a technical director.

With the permission of the Police Department, the pickets, who include only veterans, nurses, doctors and dentists who served abroad, will be allowed to march in groups of six from noon to six o'clock. The first picket line began yesterday afternoon.

FLEDGES AID FIGHT

Speaking for the veterans, Capt. Martin Hourihan, trade union director of the Rehabilitation Campaign, declared:

"We people who fought in Spain and those of us who went with the purely humanitarian purpose of caring for the wounded, feel that the American people should come to the realization of the great injustice being done to the Spanish people by the embargo which we have placed upon them.

"Particularly when at the same time we are giving the fascist government and the Hitler Nazi government the opportunity of sending in countless men and tremendous supplies of munitions to the Franco forces.

"Therefore, we are pledged to continue in the fight for Spanish democracy until the American embargo is lifted and all foreign troops are removed from France Spain."

The sponsoring committee for the picket line includes Miss Helen Freeman, a nurse who was wounded at Pueblo de Hajar by an Italian bomb; Dr. Zachery Stadt, Italian American dental surgeon to go to Spain; Joseph Hecht, political director of the Cordovan medical corps; Joseph Rothman, a first-aid man in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion; and Edward Linde, a veteran of the George Washington Battalion.

Sell the new Daily Worker Coupon Books! Make yourself eligible for one of the prizes in the "Amster Vote" Party Free Contest!

of the crime of non-intervention will be impossible.

Meanwhile the treatment of refugees is causing widespread protest. The use of Senegalese troops is regarded as a provocation, since to the Spaniards they are Moors.

Complete freedom has been given to agents provocateurs and fascist agents to circulate among the refugees in concentration camps.

These agents spread anti-French propaganda and offer clothes, food, a thousand pesetas and free pass to Franco Spain to all.

The urgent need to intensify relief work and support was emphasized in an appeal of the International Red Cross issued last night in view of the incapacity of French organizations to carry out the task.

LONDON, Feb. 7 (UP).—The Spanish government tonight turned its back on Anglo-French pleas for surrender to the fascists and announced it will return to Valencia to carry on the war in southern Spain.

The Spanish embassy in London announced that Premier Juan Negrin was determined to fight to the finish in the Madrid-Valencia zone—nine provinces and about 47,000 square miles of rich territory—with the central army of General Jose Miaja.

The embassy announcement followed diplomatic information that Negrin and his foreign minister, Julio Alvarez del Vayo, had rejected all efforts of Great Britain and France to induce them to agree to "mediation" following the Loyalist retreat from Catalonia.

It was announced that Del Vayo had telephoned to his ambassador

Pro-Nazi Alsatian Autonomist Party Head Is Arrested

PARIS, Feb. 7 (UP).—Dr. Charles Ross, leader of the pro-Nazi Alsatian Autonomist Party, has been arrested in Strasbourg. It was announced today. Officials refused to give the reason because of the military character of the arrest.

It was believed Ross was arrested last Saturday and transferred to the military court of the 20th region in Nancy, which usually hears espionage cases. Ross is a member of the Strasbourg Municipal Council, President of the Landes-Partei and a former member of the Heimatsbund. (These are organizations under Nazi influence.)

French Chamber Defeats Amnesty Plan for Strikers

PARIS, Feb. 7 (UP).—The Chamber of Deputies today voted down 224 to 269, a Communist-Socialist proposal to grant a blanket amnesty to strikers penalized by loss of their jobs in the general strike last November 30 against Premier Edouard Daladier's decree-laws.

Madrid has nearly 400,000 well-trained troops under his command for the defense of such important cities as Madrid, Valencia, Cartagena and Alicante.

Miaja Calls War Council For Defense

(Continued from Page 1)

"Despite the gravity of the situation, we are confident of the result for we have the entire Spanish people with us."

Alvarez Del Vayo came here from La Junquera, just across the frontier, after the decision to return the government to Valencia.

The Spanish embassy in London announced that Premier Juan Negrin was preparing to fly to Valencia and re-establish the government there after arranging for the care of 165,000 military and civilian refugees who are encamped in concentration centers on the French side of the border.

CAN HOLD "INDEFINITELY"
Miaja said that the Loyalist-held Central Zone, comprising about 25 per cent of Spain, was capable of indefinite resistance.

The Loyalist and fascist armies spread along the southern front, extending fanwise to the east and south from the pivot of Madrid, are about even in manpower, with the heaviest forces around Madrid and Valencia. Some of the outlying lines are held only by disconnected outposts or thin lines of infantry.

First Lady Tells Nazis She'll Write As She Pleases

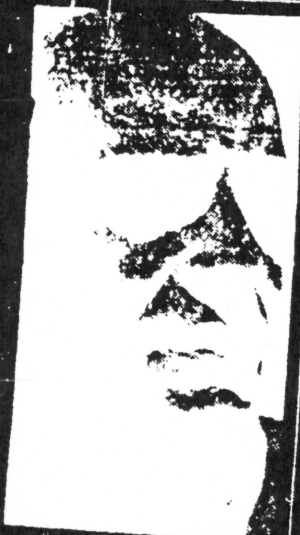
WASHINGTON, Feb. 7 (UP).—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt said today that she will continue to write as she pleases despite criticism by the semi-official Nazi press which, she added, surprised her because she believed "their whole attitude was that women didn't count."

She referred only briefly to an article in last Sunday's issue of the Berlin "Local-Anzeiger" which suggested that "one should ask her to keep her pen away from things of which she is ignorant." The article referred to her defense of the sale of American planes to France.

What impressed her most, she emphasized, was not the criticism of her daily newspaper column but the fact the Nazis would deign to take cognizance of a woman's words. She frequently discusses international affairs in her column.

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Haitian Writer Blasts War, Oppression of Colonials



JACQUES ROUMAÏN

Jacques Roumain, Famed Negro Poet, Says Writer's Job Today Is to Fight Against Imperialists; Speaks at Reception Here

Jacques Roumain, noted Haitian poet and writer, speaking at the banquet-reception held in his honor Wednesday night at the 137th St. YWCA, denounced the imperialist war in Europe as another attempt of Nazi, British and French imperialism to re-divide the world at the expense of millions of exploited colonials. The event was under the auspices of the New York Chapter of the League of American Writers.

Roumain called upon all writers to enlist themselves in the cause of the persecuted Jews, Negroes and all people who are ground down under the heel of imperialism.

In paying tribute to the writer, who is now exiled from his native land after being sentenced to three years in prison for his struggles against imperialist exploitation, Max Yergan, head of the Committee on African Affairs and vice-president of the National Negro Congress, said:

"Mr. Roumain is the symbol of the fight against imperialism, and Haiti, his country, represents the un-ending battle against imperialist oppression of millions of people."

Speaking for the council for Pan-American Democracy, Dr. David Efron, warned that America's good neighbor policy was disappearing in the relations between America and the Caribbean region. He denounced proposed bills before Congress and the newspaper campaign calling for the seizure or purchase by the United States of the European possessions in the Western Hemisphere.

CONDEMNS LINDBERGH'S SPEECH

After exposing the slanderous speech of Charles E. Lindbergh, mouthpiece of Wall Street, who described the Western Hemisphere as the natural domain of the United States, Dr. Efron declared: "It is unnecessary to point out the threatening implications of these developments. The suggested seizure or purchase of the European possessions is typical of the traditional imperialistic policy of dealing with people as if they were cattle or merchandise. Furthermore, these same proposals, as well as Lindbergh's scurrilous remarks constitute an unspeakable affront to the Negro and Indian peoples of the Americas, who comprise a great portion of the population of the Western Hemisphere."

"The ominous trend just mentioned," he continued, "in connection with the European possessions is, unfortunately, only one of several recent developments that make one wonder whether the Good Neighbor Policy is still in practice. I need not call your attention to the attempted transfer of American

Imperialist War Brings Mental Crackup, Says Noted Spanish Psychiatrist

Contrasts Will to Fight and Cultural Impetus of Spanish Republican Masses; People Will Struggle When They Have a Goal

By Louise Mitchell

When a people are engaged in war and know that it will bring them real freedom and independence, their fighting courage and spirit is unsurmountable and the incidence of war neurosis is almost nil, Dr. Emilio Mira, former chief of the psychiatric forces of the Spanish Republican

Army told a distinguished audience at a dinner-forum held in his honor at the Hotel Commodore, Wednesday night.

On the other hand, the doctor noted an increased number of mental cases now occurring in England because the people are worried, bitter and frightened, engaged in an imperialist war without real motivation. Whereas the Spanish people were excited, activated and full of hope, the peoples in the belligerent countries today are unhappy and potential victims of war neurosis. This difference in mental attitude is the difference between hope and defeat, he explained in his talk on "The Mental Effects of War and Propaganda on Civilian and Military Populations."

Netherlands Adopt Defense Measures

Lowlands to Be Flooded in Event of Invasion Minister Declares

THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS, Nov. 16 (CP).—The government announced today, following collapse of the Dutch-Belgian peace appeal, completion of plans for evacuation

Tokio in Money Snarl in China Invasion

Chinese Gov't Moves to Widen Democracy in Nation

(By Cable to the Daily Worker)
SHANGHAI, Nov. 16.—The puppet government in China, facing financial difficulties in China, puppet government troops received only 80 per cent of their October wages, causing great discontent among them.

A group of puppet government soldiers in the Pootung suburb of Shanghai which had not been paid for five months recently deserted and joined the Chinese partisans.

(By Cable to the Daily Worker)
CHUNGKING, China, Nov. 16.—Important steps toward increased democracy in the Chinese Government are being taken at the current session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

The committee will adopt regulations on election of a National Assembly, to determine the future of China.

The session is the largest since the war began, 132 members being in attendance.

The introductory speech by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, outlining China's prospects of victory, met with approval in all political circles.

Dock Workers of Rouen, France Support USSR

(Special to Inter-Continental News)
ROUEN, France. (By mail via Amsterdam).—The Rouen Longshoremen's Union still stands on record today for the German-Soviet non-aggression pact despite the desperate efforts of the reactionary leaders of the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) to force adoption of an anti-Soviet resolution.

The C.G.T. set up a so-called "Committee for the Defense of the Interests of Rouen Longshoremen" as a dual union. This "Committee" hastened, at its "masters' bidding, to condemn the pact and to defend French imperialism.

The Rouen longshoremen, who have a long-standing revolutionary tradition, are supporting their old trade union despite police persecution.

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Squalus Survivors

NOVEMBER 17, 1939

Are Not Part of U.S. Zone Panamanians Say

Denies Imperialist Assertion That Nation Is Part of U. S. Defense Zone; Fight Being Dragged Into War, Nation Warned

PANAMA, Nov. 16 (ICN).—A leaflet being circulated through Panama denies vigorously the assertion of Senator William E. Borah that Panama is part of the U. S. defense zone from the point of view of its national interests.

"The Panamanian people will cooperate with all men and with all countries of this continent to defend human liberties. But the people of America will not cooperate with the United States in order to lose the few liberties we still enjoy." The people of Panama are greatly concerned with the attempt to transfer American ships to Panama register, and see in this maneuver a great danger to their national security and independence, as well as a menace to their neutrality.

U. S. R. Takes Excellent Care of Soldiers Families

Many Troops Have No Fear of Leaving Their Families Destitute; Dependents, Invalids, Students, Children Are Cared for

(Special to the Daily Worker)
COW, Nov. 16.—Red Army soldiers called to the front have no fear of leaving their dependents in the grip of poverty and destitution. Government grants to families of soldiers in military service does not bear the character of a bribe but is part of the Soviet Government's obligations to its citizens.

These allowances range from 90 to 100 rubles a month, depending on whether the family lives in the city or on a farm. They include children under 16, students under 18, as well as sisters and brothers under 16. A mother receives a grant when she is 55, a father when he is 60, while invalids receive support without consideration of age.

An important provision in this decree reads: "In the event of release from military duty because of sickness or injury the family receives support until the sickness pension payment begins. Families of killed or missing Red Army men receive support until pension payment begins."

These are conditions which far exceed provisions for support and pension payments in capitalist armies.

With the Soviet Government's considerable payments to dependents of men on military service, part of the pension and the "under-the-table" payments to corporals and sergeants).

Attend Decommissioning

Finish Fight, Nazis Declare In Statement

Declares Britain, France Forced War—Peace On Victory, He Asserts

BERLIN, Nov. 16 (UP).—An authorized German spokesman said today that Germany is compelled to settle down for a fight to the finish because Britain and France have served "new declarations of war" by their rejection of the Belgian-Netherlands peace appeal and mediation offer.

The authorized spokesman said that Germany will continue the war "until British supremacy has been destroyed," and only then can there be talk of peace terms.

"We did not want this war," the authorized statement said. "It was forced upon us by Britain and France. We will be ready to talk peace conditions only when the war has ended victoriously for us."

The statement was made in response to a question in connection with Hitler's negative reply yesterday to the Belgian-Dutch peace offer, as to what the German peace conditions are.

"We shall show that, just as we were ready for peace, we also are ready for a victorious war," the spokesman added.

The spokesman was bitter in assailing what he called British and French propaganda efforts to portray Germany as weak internally and unable to fight a long war.

"The greatest mistake made by the anti-German propaganda has been the endeavor to create the impression in Allied and neutral countries that Germany was not prepared to fight to the finish," he explained.

SEA SUPERIORITY CLAIMED

"It had been affirmed that Germany would not venture to take military action on a large scale and had therefore planned an attack on Holland and Belgium in order to reap military successes in order to conceal their real weakness. When this assertion no longer appeared plausible it was predicted that Germany would take action in southeast Europe."

The official DNB news agency said the activity of German U-Boats was increasing rapidly.

Contrary to "repeated enemy reports" that U-Boats are being destroyed, it was said, German submarines are returning regularly to their home bases and reports are rolling in of British steamship losses.

Referring to a British report that the German steamer Schwanland

3 Killed As British Plane Crashes Into Seine River

VERSAILLES, France, Nov. 16 (UP).—Three men were killed when a British Royal Air Force plane crashed into the Seine River near Villeneuve St. Georges last night, it was announced today. Engine trouble was believed to have been responsible.

from the
SOVIET UNION

PUBLICATIONS: Moscow News, illustrated weekly in English, 12 year; Sovietland, illustrated monthly, \$1.50 year; International Literature, monthly, \$2.00 year; USSR in Construction, de luxe monthly, 63 year.

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PHOTO ALBUMS: Fragrant of Youth, 50c; Soviet Aviation, 61; Red Army and Navy, 61; Moscow, 60c; Soviet Films, 50c; Soviet Photography, 50c.

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announced today following collapse of the Dutch-Belgian peace appraisal. completion of plans for evacuation of nearly 2,000,000 women and children from lowland areas if any invasion threatens.

The Wellington ship passages on the southwestern coast, dredged channels of the Schelde River used by Dutch and Belgian shipping, were understood to have been closed but officials refused to discuss the action on the grounds that matters of military secrecy are involved.

Belgian shipping circles were disturbed by the closing of the Wellington passages, forcing their vessels to use the more difficult Oostgate Channel into the North Sea, and mild protests were raised during the day in the Belgian Parliament at Brussels.

Minister of Interior Hendrick Van Boezingen announced that all details have been arranged for the flooding and evacuation of the low areas and that lists will be issued to bourgeois masters of villages and towns in the affected regions, indicating the manner of removing civilian populations in event of an emergency.

Although military authorities would immediately take over all hospitals, it was explained that sufficient beds would be available for aged and enfeebled persons unable to be moved.

Workers School Starts Lectures on Imperialist War

Opening a series of four lectures dealing with all major aspects of the war, Milton Howard, member of the Daily Worker's editorial board, will speak this Saturday, Nov. 18, at 2:30 P. M.

Mr. Howard's discussion will center around six major points: 1) The general nature of imperialism as the cause of war; the Bolshevik analysis of the first war. 2) New aggressions following the Versailles Peace; the drive of German fascism for a redivision of the world. 3) The essence of the Chamberlain policy; the plot against the Soviets; and the failure of this plot. 4) The second imperialist war as a reactionary war; the official policy of England and France. 5) The position of American imperialism; as a world power, and its aims today. 6) Alignments in the present war; the Soviet peace policy; the outlook for the world.

Harry Gannes, James Allen and V. J. Jerome are the other three speakers in the series. Each will discuss a different aspect of the war.

Registration for the course is now proceeding in the office of the Worker's School. The fee for the entire course is \$1. If any places are left, single admissions will be sold for 35 cents.

The Mental Effects of War and Propaganda on Civilian and Military Populations.

This also explains why the total of mental cases during the Spanish war was practically insignificant compared to the first World War when the people hardly knew or understood why they were in combat.

The doctor informed his audience that the war in Spain is still going on. It is going on in the minds of the people who will never surrender until the people have won.

BLACKOUT OF CULTURE

Just arriving from England, he noted another striking difference between the two wars. Whereas during the Spanish war there was a rebirth in scientific investigation and art, there is a total blackout of culture and science in England and France today.

"I have never seen such a drive for cultural expansion, such a need for constructive activity and creation as I saw in my people during the war. That is, not only a considerable improvement in technical devices and inventions took place, but also a renaissance of poetry, music, literature and painting emerged from hitherto unknown sources. Even now when the Spanish Republicans are in concentration camps in France, living in the worst conditions, deprived of help and means, they still conserve their faith and need of expression and creation that makes them produce a considerable amount of intellectual work."

Dr. Mira who holds 70 titles in the field of psychology and 66 in the field of psychiatry, is now on his way to Buenos Aires where he will take up a post in the University of Buenos Aires.

ASK REFUGEE AID

Dr. Walter B. Cannon, of Harvard Medical School presided and called upon the distinguished guests to aid the refugees to find a new home in the new world. Among the other speakers were Dr. Kennedy and Isabella de Palencia, minister of the Spanish Republic to Sweden and Finland and a member of the first delegation to the United States after the beginning of the war. She made a stirring appeal for funds to carry on the work of rehabilitating Spanish refugees in France.

Prominent among the guests were: Lieutenant Negrin, son of the former Spanish Premier Negrin; Jo Davidson, noted American sculpture who spent many months in Spain scuttling many leaders of Republican Spain; Dr. Edward Barry; Dr. Douglas Fryer; Dr. John L. Elliot; Gardner Murphy; Noan C. Lewis; George W. Hartman; Miss A. Gordon Hamilton; Dr. J. McKeen Cattell; Dr. W. J. Birmingham and others.

Neighbor Policy is still in practice. I need not call your attention to the attempted transfer of American vessels to Panamanian registry, as a means of evading the recently Neutralty Act.

"Such attempt to use the sovereignty of a small sister Latin American country for the benefit of certain shipping companies, is indeed, hardly compatible with the Good Neighbor Policy.

"I am proud," he went on, "to belong to a people for whom the cry 'liberty' has always found a living echo. The first Negro people who have broken their chains and crushed slave domination after an implacable war against Bonaparte's France. I am proud as an individual and as a Haitian citizen that one of my ancestors, General Andre Rigaud, fought in Savannah in 1799 for the independence of North America."

HITS WRECKERS OF CULTURE

Castigating Chamberlain's crusade for a bogus democracy no different from that of Hitler, Mr. Roumain said:

"We hate fascism with its racial myth which is a challenge to science, an insult to man's dignity. We condemn a regime which burns the books of Heine, reduces Hindemith to silence, outlaws aesthetically Rembrandt, Cezanne, Van Gogh, and drives into exile the best thinkers of modern Germany.

"But we also refuse to adhere to those who have imprisoned the great writer Louis Aragon and who make use of the same methods of brutal persecution while pretending to fight it in their enemy, by sending millions of men to their death.

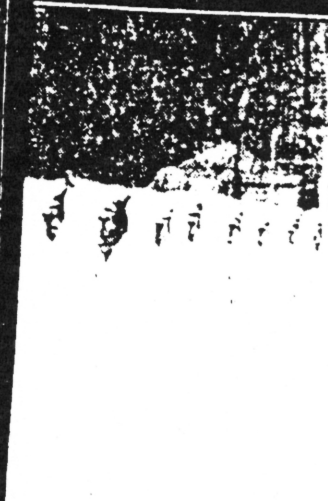
"We oppose a spurious crusade for liberty when this same liberty is refused to India. We oppose the bloody carnival of a holy war for democracy when the most modest enjoyment of this same democracy is refused to Africa and India."

"An analysis of the character of this war which threatens to crush us in its murderous machinery, and its effect upon present day history of the American people seems to me a more urgent task than to stir the dust of archives in a professional manner or to orate upon the nature of literature.

"Who is not against war is for war. I urged the voices of the men of good will, from Argentina to the United States to unite, to harmonize in a single symphony of brotherhood. May they rise and proclaim the unshakable will of all the Americas to preserve the inestimable treasure of humanity—peace and liberty."

Other speakers were William Pickens, N. A. A. C. P. leader, Isobel Walker Soule, Ralph Thompson, and Jean Lamothie. Several poems were read by Gwendolyn Bennett, well known Negro writer.

Squalus Survivor



Officers and crew of the ill-fated submarine N. H. Navy Yard as Lieut. Oliver F. Naughton, in which twenty-six men lost their lives, are seen in uniform of service until next May, anniversary of the sinking.

Vancouver Mayor Urges Civilians to Support War Effort

SEATTLE, Nov. 16.—In a stinging condemnation of the imperialist war in Europe, Mayor W. L. Telford of Vancouver, British Columbia, yesterday told the Washington Commonwealth Federation that Canadians wanted to know what the war is being fought for.

Canadians are a courageous people, willing to give their lives if they know what they are fighting for," he said.

But, he said, "are not sure yet just what we are fighting for. There's a lot of excitement and some people think they know why."

Smith College Of War in

Dr. William Alland Neilson, President emeritus of Smith College, complained Wednesday in a speech thumping the drums of war that American student youth are not anxious to go to fight.

"For the moment the attitude of our academic youth seems to be so largely self-centered that one doubts

Survivors Attend Decommissioning



Submarine *Squalus* stand at attention on deck of the craft in Portsmouth, P. Maguin, commander, reads decommissioning orders. The underwater lives when it plunged to the bottom during a test dive, will be out of the disaster. Thirty-two survivors, including the commander, took part in the ceremony.

Mayor Asks What War Is Civil Liberties Guarded

There is a war, but nobody has told us what it's all about.

"ECONOMIC INSANITY"

He described the present European war as "economic insanity," adding: "Neither the victor nor the vanquished will win this time. They didn't last time."

"Great Britain," he said, "financed Germany. It loaned them a lot of money. Canada sent millions of pounds of nickle to Germany, but now the darn stuff is

coming back a lot faster than it went over—in arms and bullets, designed to kill those who sent it over."

"You in this nation," he said, "can make no finer contribution to the civilized world than by keeping your heads, keeping cool, keeping your democratic processes working and continuing your efforts to improve the standards and social conditions of your citizens."

Prexy Thumps Drums Attack Against Youth

Under the form in which pacifism was brought to them during these days was the best for their spiritual health," he declared plaintively at closing exercises of the 50th anniversary celebrations at Barnard

The young men today seem to be concerned with safety and

the old men with \$30 every Thursday," he added.

Dr. Neilson indicated that his main thought was on what he called "justice and liberty," though the remainder of his address showed that he interpreted these two concepts in the fashion of the British and French imperialist warmakers.

routing in of British steamship to sea.

Referring to a British report that the German steamer *Schwabenland* had been sunk by a British cruiser it was said that the *Schwabenland* had been safe in a German harbor since August, a month before the war started.

The D.N.B. reported "liveller action" by patrols on the western front between the Moselle and Saar rivers but said that the Upper Rhine front was absolutely quiet and that French soldiers digging trenches on the west bank of the Rhine waver their hands at the Germans, "to indicate their satisfaction with the quiet."

New British Ambassador To France Is Received

PARIS, Nov. 16 (UP).—Sir Ronald Hugh Campbell, new British Ambassador to France, presented his credentials to President Albert Lebrun at Elysee Palace today.

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FORT HUACHUCA AND 99TH
PURSUIT SQUADRON
By William Pickens

WFO 101-2190
WILLIAM PICKENS
EXHIBIT "F-17"

The Negro in the Army and in the Air; so much is said about it nowadays, and so much on mere imagination and theory. Some people's passion against "racial segregation", for example, blinds them to any excellence in the Negro's American military record and to his starting participation in the air forces. Go to Arizona and look at Fort Huachuca, its thousands of Negro soldiers and their daily routine and combat practice: a Negro Army post and as real an Army post as our Army has. Drill, machine gun practice, hill and mountain and prairie terrain; clean barracks, sanitary fixtures, recreation halls. At Fort Huachuca one feels the cordial relationship between soldier and officer. In December there was in process of construction one of the most commodious U S O Centers, hard by the Fort's main entrance gates. That U S O Center is being dedicated today, as I write. The guards at those gates are polite and prompt,-- but efficient and positive. Fort Huachuca is not a plot for getting rid of Negroes who want to join the Army. It is an efficient institution for integrating colored Americans into our armed forces. To any man with guts in his body and brains in his head, it is a thrill.

And then there is, still in process of construction at Tuskegee, the great air field of the 99th Pursuit Squadron, Negro unit. I had read so much belly-aching complaint against this three million dollar Army project, that until I went to Tuskegee a few days ago and looked at it, I had the feeling that it was a white man's device to keep Negroes from learning to fly and fight. It seemed strange that the Army would spend three million dollars, and more, of our money just to spoil Negroes' chances, when the Army could do that for three cents. The old American mischief-maker, segregation, is still in the Army, and out of the Army, and will be there for some generations to come,--but, by heaven, this 99th Pursuit Squadron Field is nothing to increase or promote segregation, but will make a dint in it. Those black boys are going to get into the air and prove their equality. Since racial segregation is based on or implies the theory or the fact of inequality, there can be no argument against segregation as convincing as the establishment of the actual fact of Equality. This 99th Pursuit Squadron Base is no expensive sham; it is a great training field with two runways that cross each other at right angles, to facilitate take-off and landing, whichever way the winds may be blowing. One of those smoothly paved run-ways measured exactly nine-tenths of a mile on the speedometer of my car. A great community; fine barracks, recreation halls, power plants, hangars, library, reservoir, sewage disposal plant. They have even changed the course of a river to make room for a corner of this field,-- as General Grant rerouted the Mississippi to by-pass Vicksburg. Segregation based on skin-color or eye-color is damned nonsense, of course,-- but this man's Army is not planning to break or make segregation; it is planning to win the war, in spite of segregation or of those who oppose segregation. That is the Army's business. If the Army were led by fools, they might decide to settle the "race question" first,-- and then try to win this war afterward; which would involve a plan to win the present World War in some distant time following the next World War. The Army may not settle the race problem but it will not give any comfort to those who despise Negroes by the erection of this black air base.

Segregation is not of the Army; it's of the American people. When the American people change or advance in this social field, their Army will change or advance. We must take the lead; the Army will not become a leader in such matters; -- especially not in times of war. There is something much bigger than social segregation before this Army now.

From what one had read before visiting this air-base, one might have thought that Tuskegee Institute had committed a crime by donating the land to the Army for that purpose,-- as Tuskegee also donated land for the great Veterans Hospital and for a plant to treat little black children who are suffering from infantile paralysis. Well, Tuskegee is used to that; what they are cursed for in one generation, they are blessed for in the next generation. By these acts Tuskegee is making itself one of the great centers of American and of Negro life on this continent. Tuskegee is fighting segregation; for the most basic thing in the fight against racial contempt and racial segregation is Achievement. (F.S. -- if we can get to it later, we want to tell you how successfully Negro Contractors, McKissack and McKissack, are constructing this project, with the aid of a dozen hundred black workers and several hundred white workers,-- in Alabama!)

William Pickens

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

February 10, 1942

My dear Mr. Pickens:

At the instruction of the Board of Directors I transmit to you herewith the following excerpts from the minutes of the meeting of the Board

held on February 9, 1942:

The Board considered a syndicated article written by Mr. William Pickens which appeared in the New York Amsterdam Star-News for January 31, 1942, entitled "Pursuit Squadron" and commenting on the establishment of a segregated unit at Tuskegee Institute for the training of Negro aviators. In the opinion of the Board Mr. Pickens in his article advocated segregation in the Army, taking a position directly opposite to that maintained by the Association. (The article in its entirety is attached hereto)

Following lengthy discussion, on motion of Mr. Lewis, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That Mr. Pickens be notified that his stand on the matter of segregation in the United States Army is so contrary to the repeated stand taken by the N.A.A.C.P. and officially taken by the Association's Board of Directors that the Board feels he cannot be reappointed to the executive staff; that Mr. Pickens be informed of his rights under the resolution passed by the Board at this meeting.

The Resolution referred to above follows:

RESOLVED, That except for new appointments expressly made on other terms, the following regulations shall affect appointment and tenure:

1. Appointments shall be for the budget year, subject to dismissal for cause, after notice and opportunity for hearing and appeal to the Board of Directors, and subject to emergency reductions of salaries affecting the entire staff.
2. Whenever the executive officer proposes not to reappoint an employee, at least sixty (60) days notice shall be given before the end of the budget year.
3. Duties of various positions shall be outlined during the current year, subject to change at the discretion of the executive officer.
4. These regulations shall be effective from March 1, 1942; provided however, that this shall not be interpreted as a renewal of contract on a yearly basis for any executive officer while on leave or for whom other recommendations have heretofore been made.

Very Sincerely
/s/ Walter White
Secretary

Mr. William Pickens
Room 24 - Treasury Building
Washington, D. C.

400 T Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
February 17, 1942

Mr. Walter White and Board of Directors
N. A. A. C. P.,
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Secretary and Members of the Board:

Mr. White's letter of February 10th reached me in Washington, February 14th, on my return.

The letter says that it was felt by members of the Board present at the meeting of February 9th that a recent editorial of mine "advocated segregation in the Army". I have not the clipping and newspaper display (Mr. White failed to enclose it), but I will find a copy of my words in the files.

I have never "advocated" racial segregation anywhere, in the Army or out of it. But I look with realism upon the dilemmas which face us in these times,--these times which bristle with dilemmas: for Negroes, for labor, for pacifists, and for others.

For Negroes there is American segregation, against which he is making some progress, but which will not be wiped out in this generation not the next. And on the other hand there is the threat of fascist victory, which would bring the Negro the most awful and complete segregation he has ever

been afflicted with, and even complete ouster, and for many years. That is certainly for him a dilemma, requiring more horse sense than theory,-- To advocate a policy for meeting that dilemma is to advocate a policy, not to advocate segregation.

For labor there is a like dilemma: workers have the right to strike in America, and A. F. of L. and C. I. O. have the right to fight each other; but if they bring a fascist victory by fighting and striking during this war, they will strike out for labor for generations to come. Fortunately most of them seem to have the good sense to see that in time, now.

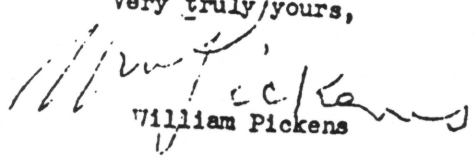
Then there are the pacifists, idealistically against war; but Einstein, Mann and Sherwood Eddy, and many others have come to see that if they oppose this war in a way to make this country lose it, then they will gain a war status, or a status far worse than war, for the next 500 years at least, and a situation that will bring the absolute suppression of pacifism.

Abraham Lincoln glimpsed such a dilemma: Union or Slavery. He chose union, not because he advocated slavery, but because the preservation of the union was necessary to any final disposition of slavery for generations to follow. The best prospect for the slave was that there should be union and the defeat of secession. He did not advocate slavery, but in an emergency he, like a good general, chose the better part.

Mr. White says the Board directed him to advise me of my rights, and I assume that he alludes to the rights mentioned in his number one quotation from the Board's minutes of February 9th: the right to meet with the Board, face to face, and ask and answer questions, to arrive at a complete understanding of each other's position. Then of course, the Board must decide, if it has not already decided.

I shall be happy to have such a conference: at your meeting of March 9th, by flying back from St. Louis, Missouri, where I work on the 8th; or more conveniently at your meeting of April 13th, if I hear immediately. Or we might set some special date possible for all of us.

Very truly yours,


William Pickens

April 13, 1942

TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
By William Pickens

Members of the Board of Directors:-

This principal statement I write, because the written word is clearer, more economical of time, and easier to recall than memory.

Since May 15, 1941, I have been working for the United States Government, in the Treasury Department, on leave of absence from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. On April 30 (?) an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury had called and said: "We want you." -- That was my first knowledge, word, information or intimation about it. No person had previously written or spoken to me on the subject. I have heard that that is hard for some people to believe. It is difficult for one to believe anything that differs very widely from one's own experience. It was difficult for some to believe, when I stood at the head of a non-partisan committee in the last national campaign, that I would not accept a cent of pay for it. In that case, Wendell Wilkie could have answered: I had told him, face to face, that I was only a citizen and voter, and that any offer of pay would be to me "an insult." In this case (of the Treasury), all one has to do is to consult the head of my division.

But I am an American, and have always been, since as a little child I followed the American spirit along in our little history books. So I answered the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury: "Yes, I will come down and talk the matter over. No, you need not pay my expenses for the trip, for I was planning to come anyway, at my own expense, to speak at the National Folk Festival, tomorrow. I will come in to see you next day."

On the day set we had a little conference, with another Treasury official who heads the entire Defense Securities set-up. They never told me who had mentioned me or why. I never asked. "We have had the very highest recommendations of you," they said. I informed them that final decision rested with the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and that the Treasury, not I, must ask for my release. They asked. The President of the Association said that we could not afford to run out on a need or request of the government. The release was granted and the Treasury wired me to report for duty on May 15th.

I went to work. Fortunately for me, I did not have to be converted to the belief that the security of the United States involves the security of all of us. That I had believed so long that I felt that I knew it. It constitutes one or more of the threads in the web of all the speaking and writing I have ever done,--especially in the old World War, and more especially since World War II broke out in September, 1939. I have a sneaky suspicion that what really recommended me to those officials, was some incidental acquaintanceship with those spontaneous ideas of mine, expressed without ulterior motives. Several times in the preceding months I had heard, from different people, that Vice President Henry Wallace, in his speech at the Negro World's Fair in Chicago, had used most or much of the time reading to the people little editorials of mine from the Associated Negro Press, saying meanwhile: "I have never met William Pickens. I do not know William Pickens. Perhaps you know him. But all of us can follow this good Americanism of his," and then he would read from another of the little editorials, that were never written with any such ambitions in the mind of the writer.--I have not yet met Henry Wallace, but I still believe that he could not save any part of America, least of all the American Negro part, if we lost America as a whole.

I have been fighting for my race, never hostile to my country, for nearly half a hundred years. For forty years I have repeatedly risked my life in the fight against undemocratic and unnecessary public discriminations based on race; thirty-three years of that time in the service of the Association, the first eleven years without pay of any sort (while I was a college professor or official) and the last 22 years on whatever wages the Board found it convenient to pay.

Therefore it was not less astonishing to me than it seems to be to almost everybody else, when I received a letter from the Secretary indicating that some of the Board members who were at the February, 1942, meeting, were of the opinion that one article of mine after 40 years of article writing, had one phrase in it which "advocated segregation." The Secretary's letter did not say one phrase, but I learned later from the newspapers and others that the criticized phrase was: that the "army is planning to win the war, in spite of segregation or of those who oppose segregation." The substance of that impartial phrase seems to me, and always has seemed to me, so simply true that it hardly needs to be stated. I who wrote it, have some idea of what it means to say: that in spite of the pros or the cons on any domestic problem, it is the business of the army, especially in time of war, to win that war; that it is neither the duty nor the capacity of the army to settle our peacetime social problems, even in peacetime; that regardless of the favors segregation or who

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Copy

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opposes it, all of us together must support the army in doing its job; and that this war, the greatest of all our wars, enhances the logic and the sense of that position. Pro-segregationists and anti-segregationists, peace-time opponents, should be war-time comrades. In that article it is very clearly indicated that the writer is with the anti-segregationists, but indicated only incidentally, for it did not seem necessary, after forty years, to say so at all.-- Our domestic struggles should not be abandoned, but should be tempered and directed in such wise as to give no aid or comfort or hope to the enemy.

As it now happens, the greatest enemy of our country is also the greatest enemy of the Negro race. The situation calls for honesty, for frankness, for straight-shooting, and no shenanigans. We do not abandon our domestic issues; we control them so that they may not betray us. If the whites are wise, they will relax their opposition to Negroes. If the Negroes are wise, they will not expect the whites to do all the relaxing. Priorities must be given to the plans for the defense of the United States as a whole. No passion or emotion can shake the fact that no domestic issue, however dear to its own propagandists, can be more than secondary to the great national and international interests. Individual freedom naturally impresses the individual more, but his intelligence says that he cannot have it and lose national freedom. White Americans have the right to fight for their opinions; colored Americans have the right to fight for their opinions. In opposing opinions in a democracy, which is right and which is wrong? If both sides speak, both are right and the other is wrong. Minorities are likely to forget that majorities, in spite of their bigness, have the same right to expression. Minorities are likely to grow impatient and violent toward minorities. Democracy is the only form of government that gives minorities protection and a chance, until education and history may give the minority opportunity to justify its claims.

Just two more things, briefly stated: First, why did I write "Fort Huchuea and 99th Pursuit Squadron"? In general I wrote it just as I had written thousands of other editorials in the last 25 years. But in particular, I wrote it because these two army posts are so competent, so impressive, and hope-inspiring; and in very particular, because the officers of these two posts, not the white officers but the colored officers, pleaded: "Mr. Pickens, why does not somebody tell the truth about this place? They come here and go away and only tell that it is a separate place for the training of colored troops, leaving the impression that it is a dump. Everybody knows already that it is a segregated institution, but none of our papers seem to know that Fort Huchuea is one of the best Army posts in the United States." So I spoke Shirley Graham, colored USO official at Fort Huchuea, in December, 1941, and every Negro army officer and every Negro official of the auxiliary services, who spoke about it, backed her up. Besides that, I had my own eyes and senses. Three times before I had visited Fort Huchuea and had written about it, once in condemnation and twice in praise. It is only coincidental, perhaps, but the time when it got from me the greatest praise was when two southern white men, one from Tennessee and the other from Alabama, were the heads of the Fort, and their Negro soldiers were enthusiastically devoted to these two southern colonels. The time of condemnation was when cold-blooded commanders from another part of the country were in charge. The Negro soldiers and their families hated them, and on a visit of a few days I learned to despise them, and I castigated them to the War Department.--- Similarly, at the 99th Pursuit Squadron Base at Tuskegee in January, colored men and officials asked: "Why does not some one tell the country how splendidly we are doing here? Why do they all try to depress us by abusing this airfield as an inefficient as well as a segregated training place?"-- "With my own eyes I saw that the government was not only spending millions of dollars to make a genuine airport and training base, but to make sure that the work was well-done they had put on the job one of the country's best firms of Negro contractors.

Now, the last thing: You have received a few letters from people. I know because in a few cases, they sent me copies of their letters. Their copies were the first articles to me that they even intended to write. Some who saw me, said: "Shall we write the NAACP?" My reply amounted to: "You are grown. Use your head."-- I avoided newspapers religiously, except to say "Thank you!" for some generous word. For in their zeal for publicity, I knew how newspapers may hurt an organization.

I have never advocated segregation,--not because I would think that any other American who did or does advocate segregation, is a criminal who ought to be shot, but because I differ from him in opinion,--believing as I do that in the long run racial segregation is against the interests and the best destiny of America. While we are pursuing that destiny, which we shall not reach by the end of the present generation, we must continually adjust ourselves in some *modus vivendi* which will not set that destiny back. We are not a perfect nation, but when we move, we want to move forward, not backward. I do advocate, however, with all my heart the use of common sense in this greatest of all wars, and in this greatest menace to the human race and to the social security of black people in the history of the world.

Am. Pickens
William Pickens