

*We
Demand
Freedom!*

Two Addresses by

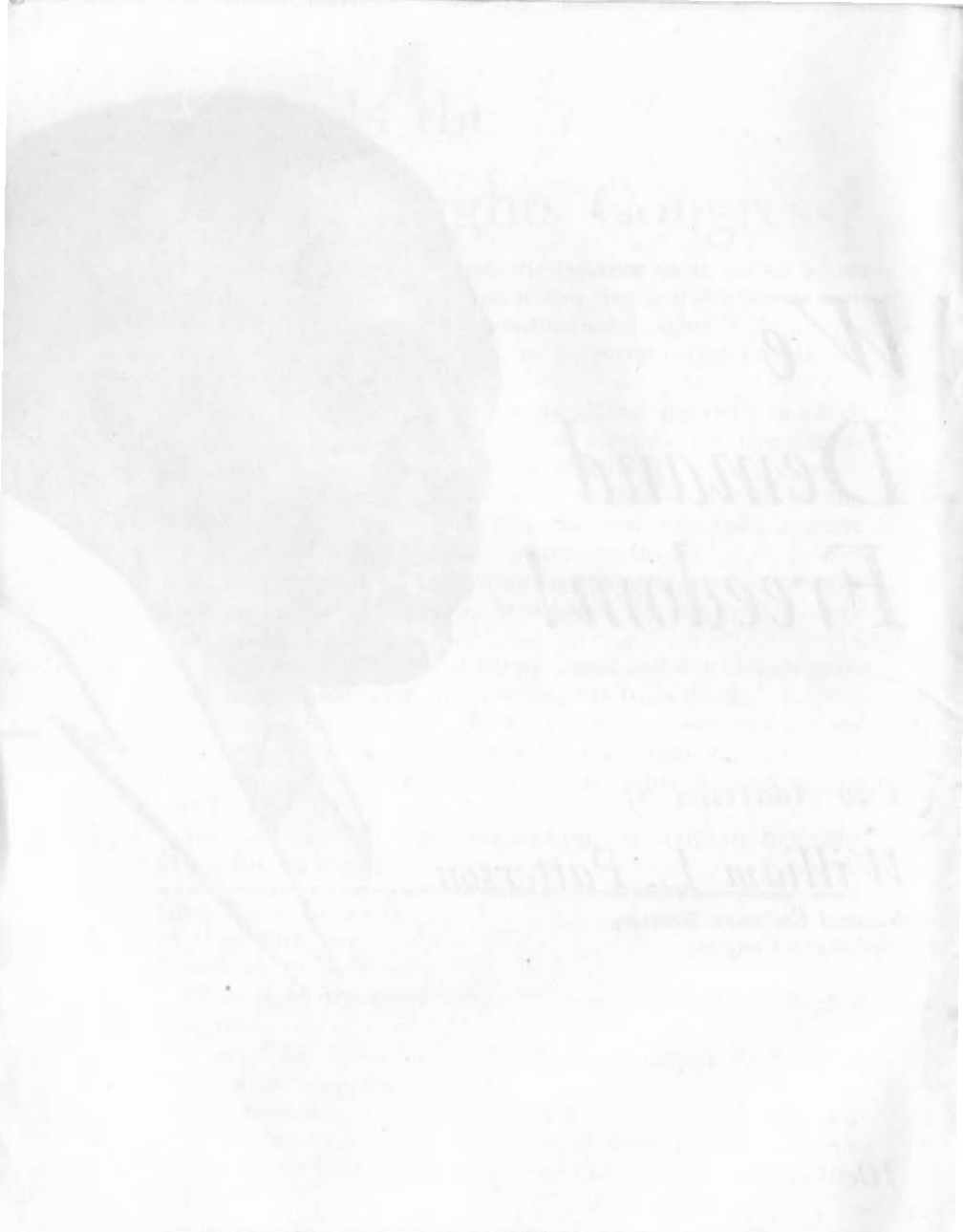
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, National Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, is well known to millions of Negro and white Americans for his militant leadership in the fight to save constitutional liberties for all Americans and to win full civil and human rights for the people—for the Negro people, in particular.

As the National Secretary of the International Labor Defense in the 1930's, Patterson led the world-wide campaign which saved and eventually freed the nine innocent Scottsboro Negro lads.

More recently, he helped save the innocent Trenton Six from the terrible death their official framers had prepared for them. The Civil Rights Congress won them a second trial which saw four of these innocent young Negro men freed. Patterson also led the historic people's movement for the Martinsville Seven in Virginia, and headed the glorious defense of Willie McGee in Mississippi—eight Negroes, innocent of rape, whose lives were taken on a charge for which no white man in either state had ever been given the death penalty.

After a Negro-white jury in April, 1951, refused to convict him on a so-called contempt of Congress charge, a second trial of Mr. Patterson was ordered by the Justice Department and set for June 18, but the intervention of 17 Bishops of the AME Zion Church compelled the government to grant an extension of time until January, 1952. The "contempt" charge grew out of a House Lobbying Committee meeting at which Georgia Congressman Henderson Lovelace Lanham called Patterson "a black s.o.b.," when the Negro leader charged Georgia had a lynch government.

The first is from an address delivered at the 60th Birthday Rally for Mr. Patterson in August, 1951. Over 2,000 people gathered to pay him tribute for his life of struggle for peace and freedom. The second was delivered at a dinner in May, 1951, at which over 700 Negro and white citizens, among them trade-union leaders, ministers and prominent figures in the arts and professions, honored him for his twenty-five years of activity in the civil rights field.

We Must Unite for Victory!

IT IS very, very good to be here, even though it has taken me sixty years. I can recount vividly many of the historical events which in that period have changed both the face and the body of the world.

I was born in the City of San Francisco just before the turn of the century which has seen the fall of Czarism and Hitlerism and the creation through blood and travail of a number of people's republics, with governments of the people, by the people, and for the people.

In the year 1891 nothing foretold with prophetic certainty that these people's democracies would be the dominant characteristic of government this century. Yet they do dominate the world scene.

When I was born, despite the already wide-spread nature of racist propaganda and attitudes, this country led the world in its institutions of democracy. The American people had exhibited a passionate love of freedom and a will to fight for it that none could deny. That is why I am so hopeful of the not-so-far-distant future.

REACTION'S MORAL DECAY

I have lived during the period when those Southern bourbons, the former slave landlord, and the Northern industrialists who returned them to political power in the South, have led this country, which I have learned to love so passionately, into the swamp of moral decay. They are turning it into a land stalked by klan and mob terror, political and Capone-like gangsterism, national hysteria artificially incited and imperialist aggrandizement motivated by a lust for profit and power.

How have they accomplished these evil ends? In various

ways. Have the people been entirely guiltless? No. They have become passive and inert in the face of a mirage of eternal security.

To create this situation, the evil men had first to ruthlessly smash the monumental democracy of the reconstruction era, so painfully and laboriously carved out of the ruins of the Civil War by the freed men and women and their poor white allies—hill billies, so called. How did they do that? By pitting white men against black. These black and tan governments that were destroyed by the klan and the white camillias—terrorist gangs of the landlords—were the only governments of the people, by the people, and for the people, this country has ever known. The then unconscious acceptance by millions of whites of the racist theories demanded by the monied men and propagated by their prostituted historians laid the basis for those crimes against the people.

The first war of aggression and conquest by the men whom Franklin D. Roosevelt was later to label “economic royalists” was fought while I was a child. It was heralded as a war of liberation. But it was promoted by the sons of those men who destroyed Reconstruction here at home. Their lust for power and profit was already being harnessed to a war chariot.

I never learned until later why the Filipinos fought so desperately and heroically against the very forces that some Americans shouted had freed them from the bloody clutches of Spain’s pre-Franco butchers. But I saw that to subdue the patriots of the Philippines, American soldiers were inspired to use the water cure and castor oil, to burn and pillage indiscriminately.

When the first World War was fought—the second imperialist war for the rulers of America—I was old enough to go. But instead I went to jail for a short time because I indiscreetly called it a “white man’s war” and said that Negroes should have no part of, or in it. I was wrong in one vitally important point. That was not a white man’s war. There has never been a white man’s war or a white man’s peace—and there never will be.

Some few white men were to profit mightily, but millions of white men and women were to suffer grievously. It was not a war to free exploited and oppressed peoples. Millions of men and women in Africa and the colonial lands got new masters. Wall Street became a world force. It was another war

of conquest. It was during the interlude called peace that followed that I learned much more about life and the forces that mold it and seek to direct its course against the people's interest.

RACISM FOR EXPORT

Millions of my own people, pouring out of the South, fleeing cotton plantation-exploitation and the landlord's rope and faggot, were caught in the ghettos where Northern real estate wolves literally devoured them. They found from their experiences that democracy had not only been betrayed by the smashing of the Reconstruction, but that, as well, the virus of white supremacy had been loosed, as poison gas is. That poison had been spread by church, schools, press and theatre and was consciously being carried North, East and West. Racism had become an interstate export commodity, later to be shipped abroad.

Unemployment, disease, malnutrition and vice were superimposed upon the ghetto by the real estate boards so greatly responsible for their being. These men began to take their toll even then. The American ruling class system of pogroms—the counter-part of Czarist Russia's murder of the Jewish people—was already beginning to take shape. The murderous East St. Louis drive against Negroes and their massacre at Elaine, Arkansas, were incited in order to quell the freedom demands of these Americans. Landlord and industrialist, both, were guilty.

I saw the first moves toward the wide-spread unionization of labor. These feeble efforts were later to gain momentum with the rise of the CIO and through the intense work of a man named William Z. Foster. I did not then realize its great significance for my people. But I saw the rage of business against this progress of labor mount in proportion to its growing size and its increasing hold upon government. That heroic working class figure, Tom Mooney, loomed up in the city of my birth. He was framed and imprisoned by Big Business. I failed then to recognize his splendid proportions or the relation of the struggle for his life to mine. I was chained to a narrow concept of white men as the eternal enemies of black at that moment. The rulers of America had created this hoax.

I saw the rise and fall of the IWW (International Workers

of the World) and understood little of what was going on. Thus I missed meeting Elizabeth Gurley Flynn,* a great leader even then. Now I can see how in those early days her fiery words might have opened my blinded eyes.

I finished school and fled America. In England I met George Lansbury, the renowned Labor Party leader, and other public figures. I found out that the fight for my own freedom and the democracy I sought could best be fought for at home. I returned from Europe to become involved in the most tragic phase of the lives of two innocent Italian-American workers entrapped by those Americans who already were plotting the death of our constitutional liberties. I helped in the attempt to save the lives of the innocent Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Their names are etched upon my mind. The impact of their death awakened me to a clearer understanding of the challenge of life. I was also now to learn that that challenge could only be successfully met by those standing firmly in the ranks of the people and labor. My meeting there in Boston with the immortal Mother Reeves Bloor, whom we so recently laid to rest, inspired that development. I was on the road to my rebirth. This time a white woman was to be my mother.

THE TWO AMERICAS

In that fight for the lives of two Italian-Americans, I learned that there were *Two Americas*—one of wealth acquired through exploitation and the power of a corrupted government; the other seeking security, yet not knowing that security lies in a people's government.

I had experienced the miracle of life—the awakening of social consciousness. The shock of rebirth wrought other changes. It brought an inkling of my colossal ignorance. I had been miseducated. Now I know that such miseducation is not an accidental affair. My training was the training of those whom the economic royalists hope will be the misleaders of the people. Above all else it is imperative that a person learn the demands of society in the period in which he lives. These needs are, today, peace and freedom.

* Miss Flynn, veteran American civil liberties fighter and now National Committee member of the U.S. Communist Party, is facing trial on a Smith Act indictment, charged solely with 'teaching and advocating' ideas.

Then I was drawn into a great school. It was known internationally as "The Scottsboro Case." Together with many of you who are here tonight, and my dear friend Ben Davis* who perforce is absent, the Scottsboro battle was fought through to a glorious victory. I learned then the meaning of the term "international solidarity." Progressive Americans could not have saved those black lads from the electric chair but for the aid of French, British, German, Russian and Latin American workers.

Again my path crossed the fight for the life of Tom Mooney. Now I was prepared to play some small part in that successful struggle. I remember taking the venerable and patient 75-year-old mother of Tom to see Franklin D. Roosevelt, then President-elect, and demanding that he intercede in behalf of her innocent son. He did.

It was during those early days that I met a young Negro law student who is one of the greatest living Americans, and a friendship developed with Paul Robeson which has greatly enriched my life.

WHAT I HAVE LEARNED

I have reviewed this period since 1926 several times as I pondered what I would say here tonight and each time I have had to admit that I would follow the same road if I had to live it over again. The lessons have been of inestimable value to me. I have learned, for example, that there is a vast difference between love of country and blind loyalty to those who rule it. I have learned my relation to the people of whom I am a part. True love of country demands struggle for the heritage of the people—freedom.

A study of Thomas Jefferson's fight against the Alien and Sedition Laws, the fight against the Fugitive Slave Law and the fight of our forefathers against England's George III, has taught me this. The consciousness I had acquired taught me to read aright this history which is so distorted by the respected historians.

I have learned that no rights are guaranteed except to those in power. No constitutional liberties are fully enjoyed by a

* Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., former N. Y. City Councilman, and son of the famous Georgia Republican leader, is a Negro Communist, National Committee member, now in jail, solely for "teaching and advocating" ideas.

people except where those from whom these liberties have been wrested no longer control the government.

Constitutional rights will be enjoyed by all, regardless of color, creed or nationality when and where there exists a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Until such time the people will know only such rights as their unity in daily struggle can win for them. That is why Abraham Lincoln urged us to secure for ourselves here in America a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The measure of the people's unity determines the extent of their rights. Nor will rights won today be secure for tomorrow, except where the pressure of the people's will is sustained. Where the people do not have the government, the Constitution will be enforced in the interests of those who do. They may be Economic Royalists, Dixiecrats, lynchers of democracy and of people.

Once I thought these truths concerned only black men. I have learned out of my experience—sometimes bitter, sometimes sweet, but always profitable—that they apply to men and women regardless of their color, their creed or nationality.

Now I know that force and violence as a policy of government for the purpose of destroying constitutional liberties and human rights is doomed to failure. Labor will no longer submit. The Negro people no longer can endure this dehumanizing process. Progressive people fear the wars inherent in it. The knowledge that all of these have the same enemy is tremendously revealing.

SMITH ACT—AMERICA'S CRISIS

We face what must become the greatest American crisis in the fight to defend our constitutional liberties and human rights.

Six men amended the Constitution when the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of the 11 Communist Party leaders under the provisions of the Smith Act. We had believed that only the people could alter or abolish that document. But these six men wiped from the Bill of Rights the First Amendment, which we thought guaranteed to all Americans their freedom of speech, press and religion.

Men have been forced to be witnesses against themselves—the crime is called “guilt by association”—or they are found

to be in contempt of court and arbitrarily sent to jail. Thus the Fifth Amendment is being destroyed. Excessive bail is fixed as men and women are charged with harboring guilty thoughts.

The monies of the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress are declared tainted and unacceptable. And those who are denied the resources of a people's bail fund are also denied the right to have as bailors members of organizations the Attorney General—acting for the President—has arbitrarily declared to be un-American and subversive. The trustees of the fund are imprisoned because their honor would not permit them to disclose the names of its supporters.

Every organization directed by those who fight for the interest of the people, every people's organization is placed in the un-American category. Peace organizations have become un-American, and that magnificent figure of a man, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, is declared to be the agent of a foreign government because of his fight to block the road of American economic royalists to an atomic war.

Labor's legal safeguards have been smashed. The Taft-Hartley Law has opened wide the road to the legal destruction of all that is vital and protective of labor's interests in trade unionism. Loyalty oaths are demanded of government employees, with emphasis upon the elimination of Negroes and Jews who refuse to accept jimcrow and segregation as a policy of government, or anti-Semitism as a way of life.

Legal lynchings are staged regularly. The framed victims go to electric chairs, doomed by the state courts whose murderous decisions are endorsed by the United States Supreme Court on the basis of states' rights. States' rights has become the bastion of the lynch-mad racists, and before this distorted theory the inalienable rights of the Negro American have disappeared. The murdered Martinsville Seven and the heroic Willie McGee call upon us from the grave to awaken to save our America.

This is a bird's-eye view of the American scene. The drive of reaction proceeds under the slogans of "contain the Communists" and "Keep the Negro in his place." When reaction speaks of constitutional liberty, democracy and human rights, one has to ask "For whom? It is not here for exploited minorities." Thus speaks the voice of reality.

THE GREAT DECEPTION

In a formal sense, constitutional and human rights embrace us all. But therein lies the deception. The substance has even taken from the Constitution. Only the hollow words remain. The lists of those slated for arrest, who speak the language of the people and voice their demands, run into the thousands. The President speak about safe-guarding constitutional liberties but his Department of Justice has itself loosed the terror.

There are men and women who believed that these illegal raids would affect only the Communists. They have been duped by the wild hysteria that has been artificially inspired. They are as gullible as those who believed that racism would only affect the Negro people—those who blithely ignored the repeated violation of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, not being able to understand that democracy is indivisible.

The lessons of Hitler's Germany are lost upon such people. Our every effort must be to awaken them, for their sleep imperils our very lives.

We are not confronted here with the matter of an attitude toward a political philosophy. The issue is what to do to defend the constitutional guarantees and human rights of the American people. Upon our answer rests not alone the fate of our country. Upon our understanding, our willingness to fight to save our heritage of democracy, rests the fate of the world.

Mr. Justice Black, as he dissented from the opinion of Chief Justice Vinson in the decision upholding the thought-control Smith Act in the case of the Communist leaders, said:

"These petitioners were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind, designed to overthrow the government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date. . . ."

To agree . . . to assemble . . . and to talk and publish certain ideas. For this, these Americans are being punished! This is a crime in the U.S.A. under the Smith Act. Not for the Ku Klux Klan, nor the Dixiecrats, nor Senator McCarthy, but for you!

THE SMITH ACT MUST GO!

The continued existence of the Smith Act as an organic part of the law of the land spells the death knell of the democratic principles for which we have fought and bled. It must go in the name of democracy. The Smith Act is not only a fetter upon democratic thought and expression. It is destructive of both. It is the door to the realm of Thought Control. This is a matter that concerns the non-Communist, anti-Communist, Communist, the Republican, the Democrat and the Socialist. It concerns black as well as white, and men and women irrespective of their religious beliefs or their national origin. It concerns us all. Its repeal is possible if we have courage.

I must express some alarm at the last note in Justice Hugo Black's dissent.

"Public opinion," he said, *"being what it is, few will protest the conviction of these Communist petitioners. There is hope, however, that in calmer times when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."*

Mr. Justice Black is wrong. Victories have already been won and greater victories will be won.

In the middle west in the fight to maintain inviolate the right of bail, we have won partial victories. In the city of Philadelphia, the right to bail by the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress was won in the case of Steve Nelson a short time ago. In the City of Richmond, Virginia, where the Martinsville Seven were murdered, we recently secured the release of five Negroes falsely charged with the crime of rape.

The presence on the streets of Trenton, New Jersey, of four of the Trenton Six is a testimonial to the power of the people. This is only a partial victory. It can be completed. Collis English can go home to his mother and his amazing sister, Bessie Mitchell.

President Truman's oft-repeated words that he will fight for democracy is proof of his feeling that the American people are not passively willing to see their constitutional liberties destroyed. Neither his home nor his foreign policy has been sold to the people. We must show them how the fight is to be waged, for Truman gives no lead.

The people will fight back *now*. The St. Louis Post Dispatch

editorial against the Smith Act verdict strikes an inspiring note. Many labor press editorials indicate an awareness. The Smith Act has set those wheels in motion that are destructive of all the rights of the organized and unorganized workers of the United States. I feel the anger of labor mounting everywhere.

We must move the people to protest the conviction of the Communist petitioners now, if we would save ourselves.

UNITY GUARANTEES VICTORY

The fight to restore the Bill of Rights can and must be mounted. The American people are not indifferent to the needs of the moment. Unity in struggle is the guarantee of victory. White men, women and youth must understand that the key to the unity of progressive America lies in the unity of black and white. We of the Civil Rights Congress have shown that this is achievable and that smashing blows can be dealt the terrible myths of white superiority that would destroy the moral fiber of millions of white Americans.

Yes, we can win. There will be casualties. There are already far too many. But the assurance that these thought-control arrests will stop is to be measured by the size of the movement which we mount.

The Bill of Rights must be restored to the people. The 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution must be enforced, not alone in the interest of the Negro people but in the interest of American democracy.

The Smith Act and its vicious class brothers, the McCarran and Taft-Hartley laws, must be repealed.

The rights of minority parties, especially the Communist Party which those who violate the Constitution seek now to destroy, must be restored, with full guarantees of free speech, free assembly and freedom of the press.

The right of bail must be restored and the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress exempted from attack by reactionaries in State and Federal government. The four trustees must be freed.

Excessive bail must not be applied.

The Ku Klux Klan must be outlawed. "Death to Lynchers" must become a policy of government. Jim-crow and segregation and the ghetto must be wiped from the face of the earth.



"Pat," as he is affectionately known to thousands of friends and co-workers all over the country, is shown with his wife, Louise, and their 10-year old daughter, Mary Lou. Mrs. Patterson is a leader in the Council on African Affairs and a Vice-President of the International Workers Order, the only interracial fraternal order in the United States.

The curse of legal lynching must be driven from the land.

Anti-Semites must be summarily punished and anti-Semitism made a crime against the people.

Fair Employment Practices must be ordered and enforced.

Free speech against the crime of war must be protected in every section of our country. Peace must be made an American way of life.

Let us go forward to reaffirm our faith in our heritage of freedom by the struggle for our constitutional liberties and human rights. Victory lies ahead.



(ABOVE) Workers chained to the columns of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington demand Willie McGee's freedom—but the war-makers did not listen. (UPPER RIGHT) Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, Mrs. Rosalie McGee and Lewis Moroze (N.J. CRC leader) discuss the fight to free the remaining Trenton Two. (RIGHT) Picket marches in the cold in White House Vigil to save the Martinsville Martyrs. (BELOW) White women's delegation to Mississippi highlighted CRC's stirring struggle to save Willie McGee.

MR. PRESIDENT
 YOU LET NAZIS LIVE
 LYNCHERS LIVE!
 IS THAT WHY
 YOU LET
 NEGROES DIE
 SAVE MARTINSVILLE
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(ABOVE) Los Angeles mothers and children march in CRC picket-line to halt Smith Act persecutions and arrests. (RIGHT) Four of the Trenton Six outside death house. After CRC took up their fight, four were freed in a re-trial.

Win Democracy at Home!

I SHALL confine myself to the state of constitutional liberties and human rights of Negro America today, for I think this is a matter of vital importance, both to America and the world.

We Americans have grave responsibilities before history. In order to retain the respect of progressive mankind, it is imperative that we clean our own house before we set ourselves up as the arbiters of world democracy. To the degree that we here successfully defend our heritage of freedom and democracy, and advance it until it embraces all Americans regardless of creed, color, nationality, sex or political belief, to an even greater degree do we make possible the extension of human freedom to the very ends of the earth. Once that is done it will not be necessary to send our troops abroad.

We are in a most strategic position. We, in America, confront here in our own country the main body of fascist-racist thought in the world. The safety and the lives of untold millions depend upon what we do about that fact here and now. If we guarantee constitutional liberties and human rights in Mississippi and Georgia, we can be certain the people of Korea will achieve democracy. First things come first. *Our job is here.*

WOMEN — A GREAT FORCE

I entertain great faith in the ability of progressive-minded Americans to discharge their responsibilities. I believe that the women of the United States, white and black alike, constitute a great reserve for democracy. They must be drawn into militant action in its behalf. I do not believe that they will allow the hysterical cries about the danger of a foreign foe to turn their attention from the reality of legal and extra-legal lynchings here at home.

Yes, it is here at home that progressive Americans are menaced. Legal and violent lynchings constantly take place in our land. The Smith and McCarran laws undermine our Bill of Rights. The Taft-Hartley Act still stands as a club against labor. American citizens are arrested for their ideas alone. Anti-Semitism is growing. Leaders of the minority Communist Party are illegally jailed. There is wholesale corruption among the bi-partisan politicians. The Ku Klux Klan is in the ascendancy under the protective cloak of the Dixiecrats. Police brutality is rampant in every city in the land. Through terror, and through the action or passivity of the administrative, legislative and judicial branches of our federal, state and city governments, the myth of white superiority is transformed into a jimcrow policy which is a clear and present danger to all Americans, and especially Negroes.

Millions of American women recognize these facts, but do not know what to do. They can be shown.

I am brought to my conclusion by those historic crusades in the interest of justice and democracy which white women took into Mississippi, the most fascist-like section of this country, in the campaign to save Willie McGee. I come to this conclusion by reason of the stand a Negro woman juror took in Washington, D.C., in that case in which, despite loyalty oaths and intimidation, this magnificently heroic woman led her fellow Negro jurors in their refusal to convict me.

The women of America have the power to move the mountains of reaction. They are, and have always been, history makers.

Seven magnificent women invited us here. They had, I firmly believe, definite aims and desires when they agreed to sponsor this affair. Our beloved chairman, Dr. Harry Ward (a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union and professor emeritus of Union Theological Seminary), has already paid tribute to their heroism and their undying faith in the people.

For me, their recent activities constitute not only the most logical point of departure for all that I shall say, but in their pursuit of the justice and democracy they love so dearly, they have set a splendid example for us all.

WOMEN TO THE FORE

Who are these seven dauntless Americans the daily tragedy of American life has brought to the fore?

They are logical spokesmen and representatives of all the victims of the Taft-Hartley Law, the Administration's so-called loyalty tests, the Un-American Activities Committee's un-American activities, the McCarran Law and the Smith Act, the illegal raids and wiretapping of the American Gestapo, the F.B.I., and the vicious rulings of corrupt judges and hand-picked juries.

In their courage and their devotion to democratic procedure, these women, symbols of the deathless will of the people for freedom, implore us to learn from their experiences. There is no need for all to go through fascism in order to realize the weight of its horrors. In fighting to save others, let us learn through their experiences.

WIVES OF NEGRO MARTYRS

Four of these women are black Americans. Three of these four have been prematurely widowed. Their husbands were murdered on the altar of white supremacy. That is the altar fashioned by the rulers of the United States of America and the owners of its wealth and its resources—the altar upon which every vestige of honor, nobility, justice, democracy, freedom and respect for human dignity has been ruthlessly sacrificed for gold.

We must learn from these women that American reaction can be turned back. We also learn that it will not voluntarily abandon terror as a policy of government. We must learn that loyalty to country demands the repudiation of a jim-crow government.

Robert Mallard, of Georgia, husband of Amy Mallard and father of two children, was murdered by white gangsters in the white-sheeted garb of the Ku-Klux-Klan, that semi-official government agency of murder and violence. His crime was that he wanted black Americans to be able to vote.

Scores of other Negroes have been killed for the same reasons. The Dixiecrats openly declare that blood will run before 'n—rs' will vote. The federal government accepts the edict of the Dixiecrats and its Supreme Court makes jim-crow

and segregation the law of this Republic, which is dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal."

Amy Mallard, wife of Robert Mallard, was not terrorized by his murder. That terrible crime awakened all of her dormant love for liberty and democracy. It sparked the fires of revolt within her. She linked her husband's murder with all of the people's struggles. She has emerged a fighting American seeking organization and a program. She has joined CRC. *Amy Mallard, I salute you.*

Francis DeSales Grayson and Willie McGee were murdered by the states of Virginia and Mississippi respectively, with the open and direct participation of the administrative and judicial branches of the federal government.

The courts were the major instruments of terror here. The black-robed gentlemen took the lead. Klan or court, the final result was the same. These innocent men are dead. That is the old story. Josephine Grayson and five children and Rosalee McGee and four children were left behind, destitute and fatherless. But the impact of these murders has made of those women freedom-fighters, seeking organization, a program and unity in struggle with their white sisters and brothers. *Josephine Grayson and Rosalee McGee, I salute you. I pledge to you that these deaths shall not be unavenged!*

Bessie Mitchell is the half-sister of Collis English, one of the innocent Negroes now known as the Trenton Two. The State of New Jersey has imprisoned him for life as an act calculated to terrorize Negro citizens. Jim-crow terror is a national institution. But there was in the heart and mind of Bessie Mitchell something of the love of freedom that relentlessly drove Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth forward to the construction of the Underground Railroad, that immortal struggle for the freedom of the slaves and an end to slavery on this continent. *The name of Bessie Mitchell will never die!*

The reign of murderous terror which has victimized these women is in varying degrees the daily lot of more than 15 millions of Americans—Negro Americans. No one tries to deny this. Some apologize and seek to explain, but there can be no denial of historical facts.

Let us face reality. There is nothing that is contradictory to the white supremacists' "American Way of Life" in this terribly alarming situation. But it cannot be the American

Way of Life for progressive men and women. Thousands of Negroes have been done to death. The ghetto, with its dopings, superimposed vice and indiscriminate police murder, must always be the normal way of life for those oppressed by men who reach the top by way of the Frank Costellos, Al Capones, Tammany Halls, Pendergast political gangs and Ku-Klux-Klan violence.

Terror is the very essence of their "Americanism" when they deal with the fundamental rights of the American people. There will be no exceptions. The denial of those rights must be enforced through terror. There will be murderous attacks on white as well as black, as Hitler attacked non-Jew as well as Jew. There will be only differences in the degree of terror. The great weight of their hellish crimes falls, and will, for the moment, continue to fall on the heads and shoulders of the Negro people. But white America is not exempted, as the facts of trade union history and that of minority oppositional political parties already reveal.

The profits derived through the oppression of the Negro people are greatest. The roads toward these profits have been blazed by the myth of white superiority. In the American sport of lynching and maiming Negroes, poor whites filled with racist poison can be incited and provoked by venal white preachers, the kept press, teachers and radio, to take an active part. Thus, the ranks of the people, the only true defenders of democracy, can be split along the color line and the reign of the oppressor prolonged.

White America will itself be subjected to these forms of terror in the nearest future unless it learns that the interests of black and white Americans en masse are mutual interests, and the enemy a common foe. The hour grows late. Even now many forms of what yesterday was punishment only for the Negro reach down to embrace whites who speak for peace or for equality of rights for all citizens.

GROWING NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

Jeanne Cole, wife of Lester Cole, one of the Hollywood Ten, has joined with her Negro sisters in this tribute to CRC. Her gallant husband has done his stint in an American prison. His contempt for the activities of the Un-American Activities Committee is shared by all decent thinking people.

The presence here of Jeanne Cole is a testimonial to the growing moral and political unity of white and black America. It is proof that the color bar, founded on filthy lies and unholy terror, can be overcome by the international solidarity of the people.

Edith Marzani, wife of the heroic Carl Marzani, is a woman molded in the crucible of a people's struggle. Carl Marzani has been criminally victimized by the government he served so gallantly at home and abroad.

Representative Sabath said of this man's conviction: "The latest sordid episode in the decline of human freedom in our beloved country is the conviction of Carl Marzani." His wife, Edith Marzani, is no newcomer to the struggle for human liberty. *We pledge to her our support, too.*

And lastly, there is Charlotte Stern of the Board of Directors of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, one of those heroic women imprisoned by this government of traitors to the Bill of Rights and the peace of the world. Her crime was that she refused to throw to the witch-hunters the names of those supporters of the anti-fascist fighters whom reaction in America sought to persecute.

These are the women who have sponsored this affair. Thus every pain and sorrow has its lesson. If we learn them well, we will destroy fascism before the ovens and the concentration camps are built in the U.S.A. The ruling cliques of our country are preparing for all who say "no" the hell of Hitlerism. *These heroic women have said "No—Never!" to fascist laws and edicts.*

WOMEN WHO WENT TO MISSISSIPPI

But there is yet another group of American women who by their significant courage and unparalleled action are also sponsors of this Civil Rights Congress gathering, as well as guides to future action.

They are the white women who went into Mississippi to express their hatred of lynch justice and those who have spread it across our land; who went to cement the progressive North and the militant South. Nothing that I can say can adequately describe the lessons they have taught us.

"If you would fight American fascism," they have said in effect, "then go into the heart of the lynchers' states, where

the evils of racism daily reflect themselves in the most vicious form. Go South; see the degraded and dehumanized white Americans and the Negro people they have been taught to degrade and dehumanize. There you can confront the monster for whom lynching is the accepted American way of life. There you can refute their bestial racist propaganda. There you can strike a vital blow at those who, controlling the industrial life of our country, have in racism an avenue to ever greater profits and who demand that their money tree be watered with the blood of lynched Negroes and the ground fertilized with their flesh. There, also, will you find white and black Americans of matchless moral strength, political courage and understanding, who want only to know that they have allies in the North and West that are ready, willing and able to fight together with them."

Those women who went South made history. They carried the spirit of the Abolitionists along with them. They are crusaders who make the continued failure of the American church to organize a moral crusade against the system of jim-crow and its accompanying terror stand forth in all its naked bankruptcy.

Those heroic women have challenged every progressive thinker in America. But their activities above all else call for the formulation of an advanced and intensified program of struggle.

UNITY IN STRUGGLE

History does not demand that in defense of our constitutional liberties and human rights the terror of government and the unspeakable crimes of its courts be countered by a people's terror.

The lynchers, their Klans, the white supremacists, those for whom gangsterism is also a policy of government, those for whom the loot of the spoil system is a way of life, can be beaten by the moral and political unity of the people, by the unity in democratic struggle of white and black America. But to assure these victories, the struggle we waged in behalf of the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee can only mark a beginning.

We organized too little, too late. Millions more must see these struggles as vital to their daily needs. If this task is not

achieved by us, then our country can be bathed in blood.

The Negro people cannot longer endure this nation-wide persecution and oppression.

Everywhere they cry, as their great leader, W. E. B. Du Bois said in his "Litany at Atlanta"—'Doth not this justice of hell stink in Thy nostrils, oh God? How long shall the mounting flood of innocent blood roar in Thine ears and pound in our hearts for vengeance? Pile the pale frenzy of blood-crazed brutes who do such deeds high on Thine altar, Jehovah Jirah, and burn it in hell forever and forever!'

Little doubt remains in the minds of the Negro people but that they are the unhappy victims of the crimes of a bi-partisan terror that had its beginning in the betrayal in 1876 of the victories won in the bloody fratricidal battles of the Civil War. What little doubt remains is being rapidly dispelled.

NEGRO MISLEADERS CONDEMNED

Those Negro 'leaders' bedecked with Nobel prizes, United Nations Commissions and seated on federal court benches can no longer conceal the crimes of the government they serve against the Negro people.

They may proclaim the justice of the war their masters wage abroad, but they can no longer bring the Negro people to believe that the spilling of the blood of a colored people five thousand miles away will bring democracy to black men in America.

It is becoming clear that he who serves these un-Americans in government serves the lynchers of the Negro people.

The lynching of Willie McGee is destroying those legalistic illusions which linger longest. What a dastardly crime the governments of Mississippi and the nation perpetrated as they murdered this innocent man! They sneered in the face of a world-wide protest movement sponsored by decent men and women.

His dying words must ring forever in our ears:

'Taking my life,' he said, 'doesn't end such things as have been existing, will be existing till the end of the world. There is a lot more things that causes me not to get a fair decision about this, solely because I am a Negro; this is a white woman. Being born in the South, know the laws, and then when a Negro, myself, being caught in this, having connection with a

white woman, that I was certain to a death penalty. So it is not the crime when a person give you consent and you by all means try to get away. It is a case of something that you can't and you won't and I did not have the chance to state to the courts my case for the simple reason my attorneys were afraid to bring these things out, having witnesses and proof that the statements I gave you are true and correct.'

Willie McGee, innocent of all crimes save that of being born black in America, is dead. The enemies of the people have won. The state adds his blood to that which has run from the bodies of ten thousand murdered Negroes. But he calls upon us to bring an end to that world of horror and torment.

Again, to borrow from the words of Dr. Du Bois: 'In the pale, still morning, we looked upon the deed. We stopped our ears and held our leaping hands, but they—did they not wag their hands and leer and cry with bloody jaws.'

LYNCHING TIED TO GHETTO

Who, I ask you, can find an apology abject enough to fit this crime? Who can separate it from the murder of the innocent Martinsville Seven, from the ghettos where the enemies of decency pour vice, dope and corruption into our youth? Who says this is not linked to the ghetto trial of the innocent Trenton Six and and the Peekskill pogrom. The blinded Isaac Woodward was not accused of rape; Maceo Snipes was murdered because he dared to vote.

This ruling clique has made of our America a land of force and violence and corruption against the people. Yet there are those who say that the lynchers, the pogromists, the anti-Semites have a constitutional right to spew their racism and their hatred for the people and to incite to lynchings and to murder. It's a lie. There is no constitutional right to do these monstrous things. It is a special license they would give to those who murder because of color and religious differences.

Those who rule prepare their concentration camps for those who protest this hell. Those who rule America prepare war in the face of the peace-cries of the people of the world. But they can be stopped. History does not lie.

The innocent, from the ranks of the people, black and white alike, must be freed. The guilty from the Trumans, Dulles, Deweys, Tafts, to the gangsters whose word is law in every

city in our beloved country, must be punished. The policy of jim-crow and segregation must end. The Stuyvesant Towns must be opened to all alike. *The walls of the ghetto must fall!*

The admonition of the immortal Lincoln must be understood as of decisive importance today. That deathless leader called for a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Who can say that such a demand is un-American, subversive and in the interests of a foreign government? Only such a government will protect the constitutional rights of the people and make of them real guarantees.

GUILTY OF GENOCIDE

The present rulers of America are guilty of the crimes Justice Robert M. Jackson charged against the Nazis at the Nuremburg trials. They are guilty of genocide against the Negro people, guilty of carrying on a campaign leading to the death and destruction of millions.

As a result of the Nuremburg trials, the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 11, 1946, formulated the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. That has become a part of the basic law of our country. To save ourselves and mankind we should use that law against our own oppressors.

We can submit before any court in the world, and must submit to the United Nations, proof of killings by police, killings by press and radio-incited gangs, killings at night by masked men, killings by the Ku-Klux-Klan, killings always on the basis of race.

We must submit proof of official violence which led to death on chain gangs, in the back rooms of sheriffs' offices, in the cells of county jails, in precinct police stations and on city streets; proof that hundreds have been framed and murdered by sham legal forms, by a legal bureaucracy; hundreds killed for failure to say 'sir' or to tip their hats or move aside quickly enough, or on trumped up charges of rape when in reality they were trying to vote, or for demanding the rights and privileges constitutionally guaranteed to all Americans.

We must offer proof of the terrors of the city ghettos and their rural equivalent where segregation exists by law and force and violence; where men, women and youth are crowded into filthy, disease-bearing houses; deprived of adequate medi-

cal care and education; with jim-crow buses, trains, hospitals, schools, churches, restaurants, theaters, hotels and, finally, jim-crow cemeteries and those even for dogs owned by Negroes.

Washington, our capitol, the disgrace to the nation, affords the proof.

We must submit proof of the efforts made to destroy every political party which defends the rights of the Negro people, and especially the Communist Party—all in violation of the Constitution and the Convention on Genocide.

When we have presented this proof to the opinion of the civilized world and the United Nations, we will not have ended our fight—for those who oppress us now control the activities of the United Nations.

MONUMENTAL ROLE FOR NEGROES

History has placed the Negro people in an enviable position. We who are black Americans can play a monumental role in safeguarding the democracy of our country and the peace of the world. If we are to play well our part in this greatest of all great dramas, we must be guided by the words of that magnificent black man, Frederick Douglass, who said:

'If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power conceded nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.'

There will be struggles, desperate struggles, and the Civil Rights Congress will play, we hope, a not inglorious part in these, for they will be struggles to preserve democracy.

Birthday Greetings

Messages and telegrams of greetings to William L. Patterson on his 60th Birthday poured in to the great Negro civil rights leader on August 23, 1951, from all parts of the United States.

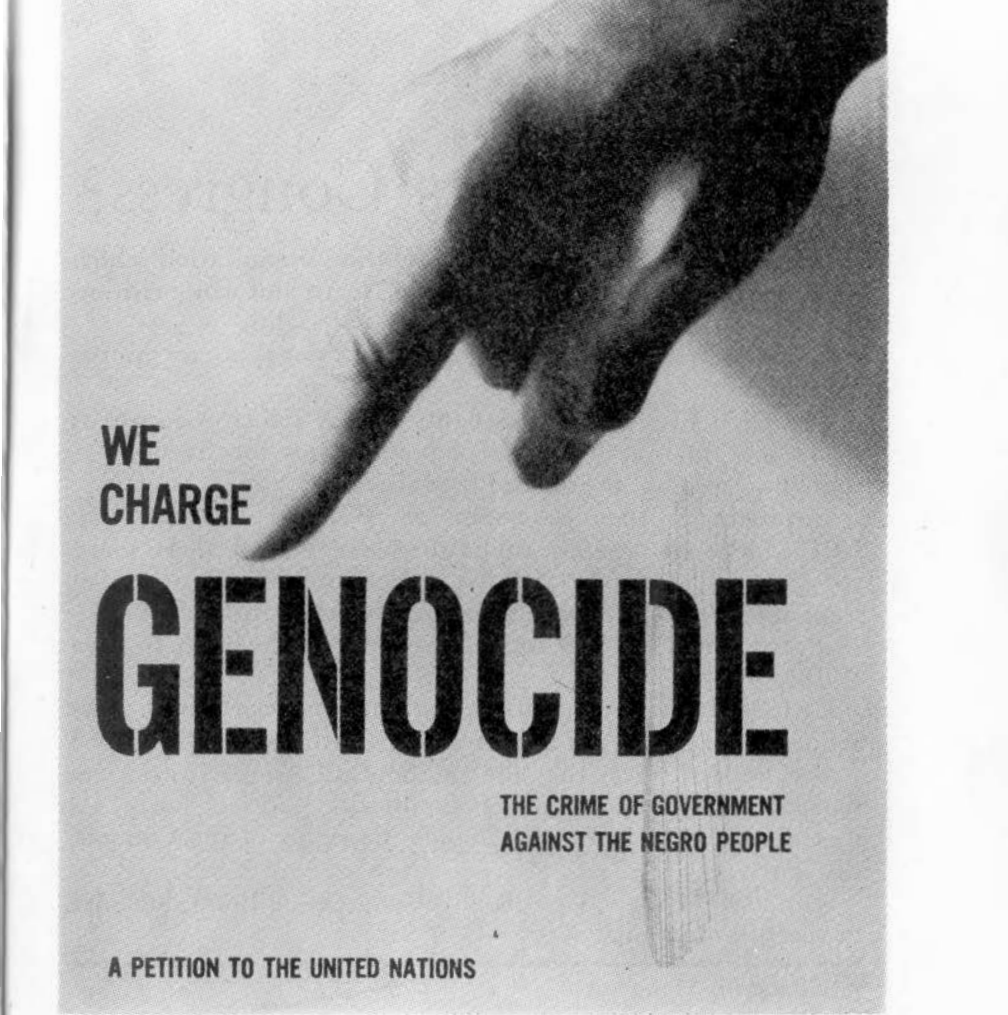
The children of Willie McGee, innocent Negro legally lynched on the frame-up charge of rape, wrote him: "*We love our Daddy, but thanks to God, we still have you to fight for peace and for the rights of all people. We love you.*"

From Velma Washington, wife of Paul Washington, another innocent Negro whose legal lynching the Civil Rights Congress and William L. Patterson are now fighting to prevent, came the wire: "*I won't stop till the whole world has heard me and we have won the battle for our people. I wish Pat a happy, happy birthday, and hope he lives to see many, many more.*"

Negro and white union leaders all over the country sent their congratulations. Among the messages were wires from *William Hood*, Negro leader of UAW Ford Local 600; *Harry Bridges*, President of the International Longshore Workers Union; *Nina Evans*, President of Local 149 of the Domestic Workers Union; *Hugh Bryson*, President of the Marine Cooks and Stewards; *Hyman Gordon*, President of Local 107 of the AFL Paper Bag Workers; and many others.

George Crawford, Negro, imprisoned for 18 years in the Virginia State Penitentiary on a manufactured murder charge, was one of many prisoners to send their greetings to the civil rights fighter. "*Pat deserves the best in the world for what he is doing for people like me,*" wrote Crawford.

Among others who sent greetings were *Josephine Grayson*, widow of the martyred Francis DeSales Grayson, one of the murdered Martinsville Seven; *Frank Borich*, *Tony Cattonar* and *Peter Harisiades*, imprisoned at the time on Ellis Island; *William Harrison*, *Larkin Marshall* and *W. P. Dabney*, editors of Negro newspapers; *John M. Coe*, Southern white attorney; *John Howard Lawson*, playwright; *Howard Fast*, novelist; leaders of the *Labor Youth League*, the *Jewish Peoples Order*, the *American Labor Party*, the *Progressive Party*; indicted Communist leaders, CRC chapters in many states, including Hawaii; the *American Slav Congress*, and countless others.



**WE
CHARGE**

GENOCIDE

**THE CRIME OF GOVERNMENT
AGAINST THE NEGRO PEOPLE**

A PETITION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The historic petition to the United Nations—now available—a documented expose of how Jimcrow and segregation enforced through terror have become an official policy of government.

"WE CHARGE GENOCIDE!" was prepared by a group of leading American writers, research workers and attorneys, under the editorial supervision of William L. Patterson. It is a new and powerful weapon in the fight against Jimcrow and the peril to democracy and peace!

Order *"WE CHARGE GENOCIDE!"* now from your local Civil Rights Congress chapter, or from the National Office of the Civil Rights Congress, 23 W. 26th Street, New York.

Paper bound \$1.50.

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What Is the Civil Rights Congress?

The Civil Rights Congress, the fighting organization which is led by William L. Patterson, unites Negro and white citizens in mutual defense of their constitutional rights.

It has chapters or committees in every major city in the country.

The Civil Rights Congress fights against jim-crow in all its forms and in every field—for labor's rights—for freedom of thought—freedom of political organization.

Inspired by the leadership of William L. Patterson, CRC's members organize committees, distribute leaflets, make speeches, and organize people's delegations like those which went into Virginia for the Martinsville Seven, into the Dixiecrat stronghold of Jackson, Mississippi, in the fight to save Willie McGee.

CRC members organized the national and world-wide mass campaigns which saved the Trenton Six from death.

Because it realizes that the rights of all Americans are endangered when the rights of a minority political party are destroyed, CRC vigorously defends the rights of the Communist Party.

Join and build the Civil Rights Congress—militant defender of the Bill of Rights!

Civil Rights Congress
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Please send me more information about the Civil Rights Congress.

I would like to join the Civil Rights Congress. Enclosed is \$1.00 for my 1952 membership.

I am enclosing a contribution of \$..... to help the Civil Rights Congress in this crucial hour in our nation's history as the CRC fights to maintain the people's democratic rights.

Name

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