

CRISIS *No. 1*

BY

HOWARD FAST

IN 1776, at a time of awful trial and tribulation for the people of the American colonies, a man called Tom Paine addressed himself to his fellow countrymen. He wrote a proclamation called *The Crisis*, a message addressed not to all Americans, but to those who loved freedom and thought independence a cause worth fighting for and, if need be, dying for.

He was not a man of prime importance in the struggle then going on; he held no official post of leadership; but he hated tyranny and he hated injustice, and he could not remain silent while a handful of brave men fought for freedom.

Therefore, again and again, when the forces of hate and oppression seemed overwhelmingly strong against the people, he spoke out firmly and forthrightly. And these statements of his are still remembered as the *Crisis Papers*, potent weapons in the struggle for American freedom.

Similarly, in what follows, I hope to create another weapon in the struggle for American freedom. I have been, for the many years past, a part of the people's struggle. As a writer in that struggle, I state that I will speak out at this time of crisis, and call the attention of my countrymen to the dangers they face.

If I speak with passion and anger, it is because I believe this is a time for passion and anger, even as it was when Tom Paine lived.

I intend this to be the first of a number of *Crisis Papers*. This tyranny of today will not be easily conquered, nor will the evil men who rule America easily bow to the will of the people. I state that I will speak up again and again so long as the need be present.

ISPEAK of what is happening to a land which was once, and not too long ago, a place of freedom and dignity for the individual. Today, this land is fast becoming a police state, a land of terror.

What has caused this? I ask you that, my fellow Americans. Were you consulted when Harry Truman and the miserable men who surround him plunged us into war with Korea?

And now, for more than a year, American boys have been laying down their lives in Korea--so that those who make guns and tanks and airplanes might fatten on American blood and amass millions out of the deaths of our brothers and children.

Did they ask you, my fellow Americans, when they decided to turn the Korean cities into wastelands, the Korean children into corpses, the Korean women into widows? Were you consulted?

My God, how I hate the men who dabble so easily in blood and death--while they themselves sit in comfort and ease! I don't call them Americans. They have sold us, dirtied our land, besmirched our honor, and sullied all that is beautiful and noble in our past. They have exchanged our Constitution and our Bill of Rights for the Smith Act, the McCarran Law, and the Taft-Hartley Act.

Consider what they have done to our past. How was it that when, in the city of Madison, Wisconsin, a newspaper reporter approached one hundred and eleven Americans with words from the *Declaration of Independence* and the *Bill of Rights*, these one hundred and eleven men and women were afraid to put their names to these two documents? Harry Truman blames this on Senator McCarthy. I say that Harry Truman above all others must bear the blame. He above all others took the lead in imposing this terror on America.

He instituted the *Loyalty Oath*. He started the witch hunt. He ordered the chief of his secret police, J. Edgar Hoover, to spy into the lives of a million Americans, to turn men and women into

informers. He gave aid and comfort to the unspeakable *House Committee on Un-American Activities*. He instituted the charges against the eleven national leaders of the Communist Party, establishing the principle that men might be jailed for what they think, even though such men as Justices Black and Douglas pointed out the dreadful consequences of this action.

Harry Truman directed the mass arrests, the smashing down of doors, the dragging of people from their beds without warrant or indictment, the tapping of telephones, the trailing of citizens. He could have saved the seven martyred Negroes of Martinsville, but never lifted a finger. He could have saved Willie McGee, but he would not save him. And what does he do in the case of Rosa Ingram, the Negro woman, mother of 14 children who faces a living death in a Georgia prison--for no crime? The answer is that he does nothing.

Yes--and he could have prevented the Korean war. He could have prevented this blood bath.

But instead he directed that warrants be sent against the five leaders of the Peace Information Center, and it is his administration which seeks to put the venerable Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois in prison for five years.

I DO NOT SAY that Harry Truman alone does these things. He is only the face and the voice. Behind him stand the men of Wall Street, the men of the trusts, the munitions makers, the merchants of death. And these merchants of death tell you,

"Do not be alarmed. We are only after Communists. We are only destroying the Constitution in terms of the rights of Communists. We will not bother good, loyal Americans."

"Good, loyal Americans!"

By all that is holy, how do they dare speak such words--these men who are an abomination to all that is good and loyal and American! Never before in all our history has there been such a gang of evil, disloyal and un-American men in power!

Recently they arrested seventeen working class leaders in New York City. As happened under Adolf Hitler, these seventeen were arrested by the secret police, in the first hours of the dawn. As under Adolf Hitler, they were arrested, ostensibly, because they were Communists. But do you know what the actual indictment said? Here is why they were arrested--and I quote the exact language of the government:

Betty Gannett was arrested because she "delivered a report."

Pettis Perry was arrested because he "did leave 35 East 12th St., New York."

Alexander Bittelman was arrested because he "did issue a directive."

Albert Francis Lannon was arrested because he "did issue a directive."

Marian Bachrach was arrested because she "did mail approximately fifty envelopes."

William Weinstone was arrested because he "did issue a directive concerning teaching of Marxism-Leninism."

George Blake Charney was arrested because he "did attend and participate in a meeting."

Alexander Trachtenberg was arrested because he "did participate in and report on the expulsion of Max Bedacht from the Communist Party."

Isidore Begun was arrested because he "did attend and participate in a meeting."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was arrested because she "did participate in a meeting."

Simon William Gerson was arrested because he "did issue a directive and cause it to be circulated."

Louis Weinstock was arrested because he "did teach at the Jefferson School of Social Science."

Arnold Samuel Johnson was arrested because he "did issue a directive."

Victor Jeremy Jerome was arrested because he "did issue a directive."

Claudia Jones was arrested because she "did issue a directive."

So much for fifteen of the seventeen. There are no specific acts mentioned for Israel Amter and Jacob Mindel, two men so old and sick that they could barely totter into court. But if you are curious as to what the government means by "issue a directive," the answer is that they mean the writing of an article--an article on some question of politics or peace.

IS THIS something to be easy about? Or is it something to make a decent American weep with shame and anger? What Hitler did, is done even more openly and shamelessly here. I weep with shame that my country has made it a crime, punishable by ten years imprisonment, to talk, to write, to think, to meet together. I weep with shame that such miserable, petty, cowardly and stupid public officials can do such things to Americans.

I do not believe that these actions are directed only against Communists. That is what Hitler said. That is what Mussolini said--and they both lied.

We know why Hitler and Mussolini did these things. They did these things to terrify and intimidate the people, so that the people would not resist the smashing of the trade unions and the preparations for war. I hold that Truman and his helpers do these things for the same reasons, to sow terror among the American people, to smash the trade unions, and to prepare for war. And we ourselves can see how, at the same time, the burden of American workers grows heavier, with rising prices and merciless speed-up.

Where has there ever been an attack against Communists that was not preparation for war and fascism? This is no different. Once the principle is established, anyone can be called a Communist and sent to prison simply because he has been accused.

IHAVE NOT told the whole story. There have been new mass arrests. Every day there are new arrests, new jailings. When lawyers come forward to defend these people, they too are sent to prison. And when Dashiell Hammett, Alphaeus Hunton, Abner Green and Frederick Field offered bail from a fund of which they are trustees, they were imprisoned without trial or warrant. And now, William L. Patterson, great leader of the Civil Rights Congress, is ordered to turn over the records and names of his organization, or face jail himself.

But I have told enough of the story for you, my fellow Americans, to begin to think about these matters. I do not ask that you accept my statements without question. Question what I say--by all means, question it. Get the facts for yourself. Look at the facts. And see whether the facts do not bear me out.

As for myself, I will not be silent. I should consider it a shame to be silent at this time. I would rather say what the author of the first *Crisis Paper* said. These are Tom Paine's words:

"Let them call me rebel, and welcome. I feel no concern from it; but I should suffer the misery of devils, were I to make a whore of my soul by swearing allegiance to one whose character is that of a sottish, stupid, worthless, brutish man. I conceive likewise a horrid idea in receiving mercy from a being, who at the last day, shall be shrieking to the rocks and mountains to cover him, and fleeing with terror from the orphan, the widow and the slain of America."

To this, Tom Paine signed the name *Common Sense*. Not out of any desire to hide his identity, but because the words he spoke seemed to him--and to thousands of his countrymen--the essence of common sense.

So I end my *Crisis* similarly, as a part of common sense, the common sense which impels a people to choose life and freedom and with the firm belief that my people will defeat fascism.

HOWARD FAST

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CRISIS *No. 2*

BY

HOWARD FAST

THIS second *Crisis Paper* deals with honorable men, and dishonorable men. And so it was long ago, during our Revolution, when the original *Crisis Papers* were written. Then too, there were men who loved America and men who sold America.

It is more than a century and a half since those original *Crisis Papers* were written by Tom Paine. Yet, *the times that try men's souls*--of which he spoke so movingly--are here again, and once again *the summer soldier and sunshine patriot* find security in silence and cowardice.

Yet others are neither silent nor cowardly, and here is a tale of four honorable men who would not crawl and debase themselves. I want to tell you about the price they paid for courage and honor.

GO BACK in your memory a few years, and you will recall how the witch-hunt began, how labor leaders, Negro leaders and intellectuals were dragged before the Un-American Committee, and how one after another they were summarily sentenced to prison. Recall the early trials of progressives. That was when it became plainly evident that many Americans would be arrested and imprisoned for their political beliefs; and already, at that time, private bonding companies -- companies which readily provide bail for drug-dealers, gangsters, pimps and thieves--refused to provide bail for progressives.

That was when it became necessary that some sort of fund be provided and a bail fund was set up by a group of public-minded citizens. They established, then, the *Civil Rights Bail Fund*. They did this because the tradition of bail, the tradition that no man should be imprisoned until he has been tried and sentenced, is as old as the United States itself.

When they announced the existence of such a bail fund and asked for contributions, money came pouring in from thousands of people of every political persuasion, from workers, professionals, storekeepers, artists, ministers, rabbis and housewives--yes, and from children too, who gave their small savings.

Such a fund had to be administered by people of honesty and courage--who would use and guard this fund. Four such men were found. One was Dashiell Hammett, the novelist--a man not only known and beloved by many millions of American readers, but a part of the struggle for civil rights these fifteen years past.

The second of the trustees was Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, Negro scholar and philosopher, for many years a fighter for Negro rights and for the freedom of the enslaved people of Africa.

The third trustee was Abner Green, head of the *Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born*, whose record in the struggle for civil rights and individual freedom is almost unequalled in America--a man whom thousands of the foreign born remember with love and gratitude.

The fourth trustee was Frederick Vanderbilt Field, scholar, author, and student of Far Eastern affairs, a man of wealth and prestige who has unselfishly devoted himself to the struggle for democracy.

THESSE are the four trustees who were made responsible for the fund. In the years since the fund was established, they have carried out their trusteeship with scrupulous care. During that time, dozens of political prisoners have been released on Civil Rights bail. No irregularity in the administration of these funds ever took place, nor did any of the depositors in the fund ever raise any question concerning the use of the funds.

How were the funds used? Well, for example, Harold Christoffel, Allis-Chalmers strike leader,

was released on CRC bail. Auto workers, fur workers, electrical workers were given their freedom through this fund. Persecuted Negroes, such as Haywood Patterson, one of the Scottsboro defendants, who was framed recently in Detroit, were released by CRC bail. Fletcher Mills, the Negro who faced extradition from Philadelphia to Georgia--and death--was bailed and saved by the Civil Rights Congress. More recently, bail was provided for the eleven leaders of the Communist Party who were arrested and sentenced to prison under the Smith Act for the "crime" of teaching and advocating peace.

This list is a long list and a proud list, and the bail fund became a shield and a buckler against injustice and wrong for scores of Americans, particularly for the foreign born--some of whom had lived and worked in this land for thirty and forty years--who were seized and sent to the concentration camp on Ellis Island and held without bail or trial. Those men and women, consigned to a living death, an eternity of imprisonment, the CRC fought for--and won them release with the bail fund.

For these very reasons, a savage and vengeful Justice Department set about to destroy the bail fund. Let me tell you how that was done.

SEVENTEEN working class leaders were arrested in a series of dawn raids. In a previous *Crisis Paper*, I told the story of their arrest by FBI agents. I told of how they were seized for mailing letters, writing on peace, or speaking at meetings.

When they were arrested, many were held in bail of seventy-five thousand dollars. CRC then fought to have this bail lowered, and CRC won its fight--and then they were released with money provided by the bail fund.

Meanwhile--it must be noted--four of the eleven Communist leaders whose bail had been provided by the *fund* had disappeared. Their bail was forfeit. People who provide bail cannot guarantee the appearance of the accused, nor are they supposed to. But this particular action of four men was seized upon by the Justice Department as an excuse, and all of the seventeen men and women who were out on CRC bail, were thrown back in prison.

Whereupon the four trustees of the bail fund were summoned before a Federal judge and ordered to reveal the names of those men and women--thousands in number--who had originally provided money and government bonds for the fund. In other words, they were ordered to betray their trust, become common informers.

We have a history of what happens to people when the Justice Department gets their names as part of the civil rights struggle, a history of how they are hounded, blacklisted, thrown out of jobs they hold--and even imprisoned.

The trustees refused. They could not do otherwise, for this was a part of their trust, and one by one, Dashiell Hammett, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, and Abner Green, were summarily sentenced to prison.

YOU have been told very often that we live in times of crisis, which we do; but consider this: how is the crisis of our times manifest? I began this second *Crisis Paper* by stating that I would tell you a tale of honorable men.

These four trustees are *honorable men*, typically and finely American, not as a Rankin and a McCarthy are American, but in an older tradition, as Thoreau and Whitman, and Frederick Douglas and Lincoln and Eugene Debs were American. They are men who have achieved much, yet have always managed to live by certain ethics--and the main ethic they lived by might be summed up thus: *that they could not be silent or hold back from venturing their personal safety, so long as their fellow men suffered injustice and wrong.*

Here is the price they paid.

Dashiell Hammett refused to reveal the names of those who entrusted him with bail funds. He was sentenced to six months imprisonment--and clapped into jail.

Dr. Alphaeus Hunton refused to reveal the names asked of him, and he too was sentenced to six months imprisonment, and in the same fashion Abner Green was sentenced to prison.

But for Frederick Vanderbilt Field, a special vengeance was reserved; for it was felt that he must bear double punishment *for using his prestige and position*, not for his own comfort, but in the struggle of workers and Negro people for peace and freedom. He was sentenced to six months; then to three months more--and then dragged from committee to committee, from hearing to hearing, from New York to Washington and back again, with an endless nightmare of sentences hanging over his head.

So these four men sit in jail--and there in jail they can be kept forever, for there is no limit to the sentences which can be imposed upon them, even after they serve their present sentences.

Since these men were sentenced, Federal judges in other cities have scored the Justice Department and demanded that CRC bail be accepted. But this has not changed the fate of the four trustees.

A whole century has gone by since Henry Thoreau cried out, "What is the price-current of an honest man and patriot today?" To which he answered, at a time when his country--our country--was embroiled in an unjust war of aggression, "Under a government which imprisons any man unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison... the only house in a slave state in which a free man can abide with honor."

Thoreau wrote those words many years ago, but how hauntingly familiar they must sound to Judge Delbert Metzger of Hawaii who, when he stated that bail was not a punishment and released the victims of mass arrests in Hawaii in five thousand dollars bail for each, was told by the government that he would not be reappointed to his post.

How far have we gone! Where is honor today? Is it only among the political prisoners in jail that we find it? And is there no other reward for courage and honesty than that which Judge Metzger faces--that which the four trustees received?

Never before in all the history of our land, not even in the crisis of our Revolution, were there times that tried men's souls more sorely than the times we live in. Never was there so much injustice in America. Never were our courts turned into such a mockery, never were our jails so crowded with good and upright men.

It was not idly that Carl Schurz said:

"It is a matter of historical experience that nothing that is wrong in principle can be right in practice. People are apt to delude themselves on that point, but the ultimate result will always prove the truth of the maxim. A violation of equal rights can never serve to maintain institutions which are founded on equal rights."

I have told you the price of courage and integrity and human dignity. Scores of men are paying that price in prison today, and four in particular, the four trustees of the bail fund, are there without trial, hearing or appeal.

Can you remain silent?

If you think silence is safe, then consider how many Americans and Koreans and Chinese have died--because we are silent. These things do not happen only because evil men desire them to happen. They happen so that the peace movement may be paralyzed with terror, so that the merchants of death may grow fatter with their millions of war profits, and so that plain people, workers, Negroes, intellectuals--people like yourself--will pay and suffer without protest. And in the end, even as in Germany, the price of this evil is death.

There is neither honor nor safety in silence.

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(WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, *National Executive Secretary*), proudly publishes this second of a series of articles by the noted American author and novelist, Howard Fast.

CRISIS No. 3

BY

HOWARD FAST

RECENTLY the Supreme Court of the United States refused to grant a rehearing to the 11 convicted Communist leaders, seven of whom are now serving prison sentences of five years each. And this despite the fact that both Supreme Court Justices, Hugo L. Black and William Douglas, have stated that the Smith Act, under which these men were convicted, is unconstitutional.

In a general sense, this means that the Supreme Court underlines the fact that in America a man can be imprisoned for what he says – or even for what he thinks – regardless of whether he engages in any criminal act or not. When the Supreme Court decided against the Communist leaders last June, imprisonment for thought became the law of the land. Now in effect they tell the American people that they see no reason why this law should be changed.

I write this now because to me this is a moment of terrible crisis in the lives of the American people – not a crisis in the lives of one section of our people, but a crisis in the lives of the working class and the middle class, the Negro people and the Jewish people, the old and the young, the poor as well as those who are well to do and comfortable in the lives they live.

In order to demonstrate this, I must tell something of this trial and conviction of the 11 Communists, how it came about, and what has transpired since. I will endeavor to tell this story as simply as possible, avoiding legal complexities; for this is not a matter of legal complexity.

On the 20th of July, in 1948, a Federal Grand Jury, sitting in the Southern District of New York, brought in an indictment against the twelve members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. The indictment was brought in under the Smith Act, a measure which had been passed by Congress almost ten years before.

The indictment did not charge the twelve Communist leaders with any crime, any action against the security of the United States, any treasonable activity. It charged them with conspiracy to form an organization which would "advocate the teaching of Marxism-Leninism." And under the Smith Act, as the indictment was written, if the government could prove that such teaching might some day lead to an overt act against the United States Government, the Communists could be found guilty and sentenced to prison.

The government never proved this; but the Communists – William Z. Foster, because of extreme illness was not tried with the 11 others – were found guilty, and they were sentenced to prison. *For the first time in American history, leaders of a political party were sentenced to prison for what they thought and said.* For the first time, thought – "dangerous thoughts" as they put it – was made a crime in our land.

I have not space here to go into details of the trial itself. Much of it I saw with my own eyes, and it was as shameless a spectacle as had ever graced an American courtroom, but perhaps no more shameless than the average political trial of our times in our land. More important, for the moment, is the question of why this grotesque indictment was framed at the time it was, what its purpose was, and what results flowed from it.

These are questions which concern every American, and they concern us deeply, as you will see.

Firstly, let us take the time of the indictment. The Grand Jury prepared it during the spring of 1948. Now we have the testimony of Representative Howard Buffett (R-Neb.), in a newsletter sent to his constituents on September 13th, 1951, that during that time there was talk all over Washington that we would be at war with Russia "in thirty days."

Is it a coincidence that this indictment against the Communists was prepared at that very time? Can it be a coincidence, when it is common knowledge that the Communist Party for three years

prior to the date of the indictment, had fought a militant, consistent struggle for peaceful relations between America and all other countries? Representative Buffett is highly aware of this, and he states flatly:

"Hitler and Mussolini found the cry 'The Russians are coming!' the perfect weapon with which to enslave their people. But now we know the real peril to those people was not in Moscow. It was in their own capital cities. Will we learn by their experience before it is too late?"

There is no more meaningful question than that which Representative Burnett asks. Will we learn before it is too late – before we pay a price beyond calculation and imagination?

We did not go to war with Russia then, in 1948. Neither the American people, nor the people of other lands would tolerate a world holocaust then; and can anyone be so insane now as to say that we would be better off if a generation of our youth had perished, if our cities lay in ruins, our fields in ashes? But the Communist party was, in fact if not in law, outlawed – and the Communist leaders were sent to prison.

What is the connection? Well, let US see what has happened since. Since that indictment was brought in –

America, for the first time in our history, is engaged in a major war which Congress never voted, with a country which took no aggressive action against any part of American soil.

Almost a hundred thousand American lads have been casualties in this war. Three million of the Korean people, men, women and children, have perished.

The most merciless measures – unprecedented in our time – have been taken against the Negro people by government agencies. Seven Negro men of Martinsville, Virginia, although known to be innocent, were executed by the state. Willie McGee was executed by the state. Six Negroes in Trenton were framed on a murder charge. And that is only the beginning of enough blood and horror to fill a book*

A man and a woman, whose guilt was never proven, have been tried as atom spies on what the *National Guardian* calls "framed charges," and have been sentenced to death – the first such sentence in peacetime in American history.

Thousands of innocent men and women have been hounded out of industry and government on loyalty charges. Perjury trials, reminiscent of the Spanish Inquisition, have become, in a phrase Emerson used when he condemned slavery, "the manner of our time."

Half a hundred working class leaders have been arrested under the same Smith Act. The trade-union movement has been torn wide open. The blacklist operates through industry, and the terror of joblessness stalks everywhere.

Some of the best and the bravest American intellectuals have been sentenced to prison, as political prisoners, such men as John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Ring Lardner, Dashiell Hammett, Dalton Trumbo, Samuel Ornitz, Alphaeus Hunton, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Alvah Bessie – and many others.

A new word, a new horror has been coined in America – "McCarthyism." In the underworld, in gangland, this was known as "the big finger." But today, it has become a part of the pattern of American politics. Senator McCarthy – and he is not the only one who practices it – has become the chief exponent of this shame. He calls men Communists, and thereby he ruins them. It does not matter that they have never been Communists. It does not matter that their hatred of Communism is hardly second to their hatred of McCarthy. It is enough to accuse, and thereby the accused is a ruined man, his career shattered, his friends avoiding him out of the fear of "guilt by association," his future dark and troubled.

What a shameful and awful spectacle we see here in this good land of ours! What a thing it is in the eyes of the world when such men as Henry Wallace and Philip Jessup and Owen Lattimore must try to prove that their anti-communism matches the anti-communism of the "patriotic" McCarthy!

The cooked-up, faked-up, framed-up trial of 11 Communists has turned into a public circus which is destroying the last shreds of honor and integrity in our government. We are becoming a police state, a land where any dissent is attacked as pro-Communism.

Do I exaggerate – Then listen to what Paul G. Hoffman has to say. Mr. Hoffman is president of

the Ford Foundation and on the 5th of October he was given the annual Freedom House Award. Both Mr. Hoffman and Freedom House pride themselves on their anti-Communism, but they have learned, bitterly if not completely, that anti-Communism destroys more than Communists. Therefore, Mr. Hoffman admits that "too many of our fellow citizens have been afraid to speak out. In far too many cases, decisions, often in high places, have been influenced by fear."

So says Mr. Hoffman. *But fear of what?*

Fear of the monster of anti-Communism which they themselves created. This is what Mr. Hoffman means. He means a land where lawyers who defend political prisoners are themselves imprisoned, as Vincent Hallinan was in San Francisco, and George Crockett and Harry Sacher and Abraham Isserman and Richard Gladstein and Louis McCabe were in New York. He means a land where the president, Harry S. Truman, who instituted so much of this terror, is in turn threatened by a McCarthy and a Budenz. He means a land where every man of talent has been driven out of the film industry, where publishers are imprisoned for publishing books on Marxism, as Alexander Trachtenberg was, for editing a magazine, as Victor Jeremy Jerome was, or for publishing independent newspapers, as John Gates and Al Richmond were. He means a land where people are afraid to talk, afraid to think, afraid to protest.

And all this I have detailed is only a part of the score – the rotten, tragic score of those who told us:

"Don't be afraid. We are not after you. We are after the Communists, only the Communists."

That is the *great lie* of our times, the Hitlerian lie which grew into a world nightmare. And that is why the day the Supreme Court refused to review the case of the 11 Communists, is a day of crisis and tragedy for all Americans.

Yet the last word lies with us. If only we can see the truth and understand the necessity of our times, we can make this once again the America of Jefferson, Douglass and Lincoln, all of whom said the people were the court of last resort.

You yourself, if you are an American, have an enormous stake in this struggle. The real patriot is he who will not quietly and supinely see all that is good in his nation destroyed. You can stop this and change this. No power is greater than your power – the power of the people

Use your power! Fight back! Protest! Write to the President and let him know how you feel about this! Write to your Congressman, urging repeal of the Smith Act. Write to the Civil Rights Congress about what you can do in this fight! Above all, remember, *you* are the court of last resort!

* See Genocide, CRC, 1951.

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(WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, *National Executive Secretary*), proudly publishes this third of a series of articles by the noted American author and novelist, Howard Fast.

TEAR OFF AND MAIL TO:

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS, Suite B. 23 West 26th St., New York 10, N. Y.

I have written to my Congressman,
urging him to work for repeal of the
Smith Act.

I am enclosing \$. as my
contribution to the fight for the Bill
of Right