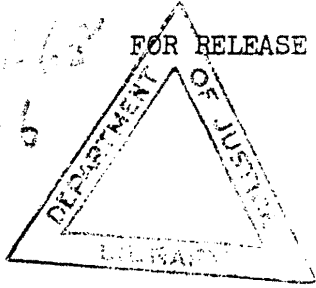


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ADDRESS

BY

HONORABLE J. HOWARD McGRATH

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

Prepared for Delivery

at

JACKSON DAY DINNER

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6:30 P. M.

It is a pleasure to be with you and to join with you and with others throughout this land who pause each year to do special honor to Andrew Jackson. I am particularly happy to be celebrating the occasion with Missourians, the friends and neighbors of our great President and leader, Harry S. Truman.

It has been said that Thomas Jefferson provided the framework and that Andrew Jackson utilized that framework to erect the edifice of our democracy. We here today acknowledge our debt to Thomas Jefferson; to Andrew Jackson and his successors. They have built well.

The very observance of this occasion reaffirms our faith in the democratic freedoms for which Andrew Jackson stood fast, those freedoms which have enabled us to assert our ingenuity -- to give full rein to our imagination -- to expand to the limit of our abilities and of our courage.

We live in the greatest country on earth. Our physical needs of food, clothing, and housing are better taken care of than in any other country in the world. But, more than that, the individualism which is the cornerstone of our democratic edifice has made us great; our precious heritage of freedom has been an inspiration to the peoples of the world.

As our President pointed out only a few days ago in his State of the Union Message delivered to a joint session of the Congress, we can be assured that our country at this critical time is in a healthy condition. We have by far the greatest productive capacity ever attained by any nation of people. Our people are skilled and vigorous. We are a people of great technical skills and knowledge that are constantly expanding our control over the natural resources of the ground, sea, and air that God has placed in our hands.

After the most devastating of wars we have continued to maintain standards of living approximating, in many ways excelling, our pre-war levels. Since World War II we have had no such unemployment as followed World War I; in fact, we have more men and women at work than ever before. Strong heads and practical minds have been behind advances in production which have made it possible to report, for the year 1950, the production of the greatest abundance of goods in our history. In the year just past our industries have created gigantic new standards with which to measure our industrial might.

Much of the know-how which has made this record possible was learned during World War II. Consequently we are prepared to meet the most recent challenge to modern democracy -- the third in the lifetime of most of us -- with greater resources, more armed might, and more inflexible determination than ever before. Against the challenge of the Kremlin, the people of the United States, together with all free peoples, will be prepared to pit formidable military strength, if necessary. I join with the President and all our people in a prayer that it will not be necessary. But, if it becomes necessary, we are pledged to produce all the weapons and equipment that our increased armed forces will need, no matter what their ultimate active strength. That strength must be measured by the demands of our security.

I do not minimize the present serious state of world affairs, or the enormous problems which confront our United States in this latest crisis. To do so would be foolish and dangerous.

We Americans are not fools. We recognize the nature of the challenge. Earlier challenges have been answered by us with a showing that we were prepared and able to defend our country's honor and its freedom. Let there be no mistake. Any new challenge will be met equally well.

We Americans are no fair-weather friends of liberty and democracy. We have practiced democracy, we have lived it through the decades, we have a deep awareness of its intrinsic values. No slanders, no bullying threats from Kremlin propagandists will change our faith in the future of our American promise, or of our American democratic ideal, or our belief in the future of the free nations of the world.

Nor will the American people need to be goaded into the sacrifices necessary to accomplish the great tasks which are imposed by our responsibility to ourselves and to our position of world leadership. We have vast objectives which cannot be gained by Government alone. The task must be shared by the whole American people, 151,000,000 strong. We know that all-out effort and all-out measures are required. Preparedness means careful planning and careful control over essentials which will prevent the non-essential use of vital goods. We don't like controls, yet we know we must endure them.

We will have need for substantial controls to divert goods from civilian to military use. That is the reason that credit has already been tightened on housing and on automobile financing. Other restrictions will come along as they are found to be necessary. We will have to convert plants. Materials in short supply will have to be allocated. There will be shortages in certain consumer goods. The burden of the enlarged defense program must be borne by all of us, and for that we must also expect tax increases.

These are sacrifices, but they are a part of the price we are willing to pay for liberty and democracy. The quality of the zeal with which we defend our freedoms is a measure of the sacrifices we are willing to endure. I know that the American people will welcome the sacrifices made necessary by our defense effort.

With foresight born of his intimate experience as a Senator, and Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate National Defense Activities during World War II, President Truman is gathering in Washington a defense mobilization organization that will be fully able to meet, with speed, with clarity of thought, and with the appropriate action called for, the difficult problems that lie ahead. The lines of authority in this organization are clear and straight. It is an organization that merits the full confidence and cooperation of every American. With such confidence and cooperation, I am sure that the mission of the defense mobilization organization will be successfully accomplished. At the top of his organization, the President has placed, in the post of Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Mr. Charles E. Wilson, formerly the President of General Electric Company and Vice-Chairman of the War Production Board during World War II.

During World War II our role was emphasized as the arsenal of weapons to defend freedom in this world. Today, however, we are the arsenal of democracy in a much greater sense. We are not only an arsenal of material weapons; also we are an arsenal of the moral and spiritual values which are the basic elements of true democracy. By our way of life, we shall show the world that we do not give up our democracy in our mobilization effort to defend it.

In our defense effort it is important that we bear clearly in mind that there is no need for us to abandon the aspirations around which our lives center. In periods of emergency it is natural that some of the rights and privileges of peacetime must be temporarily abridged or restricted in the interest of national survival. But the restrictions

should be, must be, limited to the minimum. We cannot afford, by any yardstick of wisdom, to plan a wholesale discarding of the democratic processes and institutions which this Nation has developed during its decades of experience. The maintenance of both the structure and the spirit of our civil liberties is essential to the country's well-being.

In a period of emergency such as this, the undivided loyalty of all our people to the Nation and its institutions is essential. President Truman, early in his administration, foresaw the need of assuring that no disloyal persons should be employed in the Government, and, to that end, in 1947 instituted the Government Employees Loyalty Program. Under that program the records of well over 3,000,000 employees have been checked by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These investigations have been conducted in a manner consistent with our principles of fair play and in accordance with the provisions of the President's Executive Order establishing the Loyalty Program; and they give us the assurance that your Government is making every effort, and successfully, to see that no disloyal person is working for it.

But many sins have been and may be committed in the name of loyalty. There are men in this country -- in both private and public life -- who have indicated a dangerous willingness to use this emergency as an occasion for discarding much of our carefully constructed edifice of human rights. I am frankly concerned about those who would smear every opposition sentiment with the label of communism -- men who would penalize the thinking of unorthodox thoughts, or the writing of non-conformist words. Those who pose as the saviors of our Nation by seeking to abridge beyond reason our tradition of democratic freedom are as dangerous to

American liberties as the Communists themselves. For, in destroying that fabric of democracy and reason, they play directly into the hands of the Kremlin's agents. In the struggle against our enemy we must be aware of the danger of losing our freedoms for the sake of victory.

In his State of the Union Message to the Congress, President Truman asked the Congress for unity. But he made clear what he meant by unity. He said:

"Make no mistake about my meaning. I do not ask, or expect, unanimity. I do not ask for an end to debate. Only by debate can we arrive at decisions which are wise and which reflect the desires of the American people. We do not have dictatorship in this country, and we will never have it.

"When I request unity, what I am really asking for is a sense of responsibility on the part of every member of this Congress. Let us debate the issues, but let every man among us weigh his words and deeds. There is a sharp difference between harmful criticism and constructive criticism. If we are truly responsible as individuals, I am sure that we will be unified as a government."

What the President requested of the Congress is just as applicable to all of the people of the country. Unity we must have. But unanimity is not expected. Responsible constructive criticism is healthy; it is not subversion or disloyalty. We must be ever alert and on guard to protect the rights of the constructive critic. We must be careful to use the words "disloyal" and "subversive" with caution. They should not be used as synonyms for "critical" and "unorthodox."

There is not any magic formula yet discovered upon which we may rely for the sure preservation of our freedoms. To the contrary, danger lurks in the recourse to catchy name-calling and the easy methods of those advocates of extra-legal conduct who would justify their actions in glib phrases such as "putting down the Reds." Our best resort is to the application of common sense standards.

We have the Communist fifth column well under control. We have an efficient Federal Bureau of Investigation to prevent sabotage and to keep track of Communist espionage, maneuverings, and conspiracies. But Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and I are determined that there will be no Gestapo withh hunts -- that the basic civil rights of the individual will be securely protected and defended as guaranteed by the fundamental law of the land. The free America that we have inherited must be handed down in like manner to the future generations. It is, indeed, for this very reason that we are mobilizing our resources.

There is no more precious possession today than that of United States citizenship. The enslaved peoples of the world look upon our citizens as the guardians and the possessors of those moral, spiritual, political, economic, and social values which alone can bring to them the peace and freedom they so sorely need and pray for.

In the world today, where there is much chaos and confusion, we in this country have demonstrated that the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens can be respected and protected regardless of nationality, or racial or religious affiliations. It is our responsibility to recognize and meet the challenge that the free world is faced with today, for it is a real challenge.



I have never found it wise, nor will the American people find it wise, to take advice which counsels abandonment of our friends in Europe. To quote again from the President's State of the Union Message, "All free nations are exposed and all are in peril. Their only security lies in banding together. No one nation can find protection in a selfish search for a safe haven from the storm. ... If [the free nations] ... should fall apart, the results would be fatal to human freedom. ... We are the most powerful single member of ... [the community of free nations] ... and we have a special responsibility. We must take the leadership in meeting the challenge to freedom and in helping to protect the rights of independent nations."

I have faith, our great President has faith, and the overwhelming majority of the American people have faith in their own strength, in their intelligence, and in their ideals.

As I travel about this country, I gain constant faith in our people and in our institutions. I have faith particularly that we will keep our heads out of the sands of isolationism and hysteria. Alert to our problems, cherishing our great traditions, secure in the knowledge of our material and spiritual strength, Americans can face the future with quiet determination to fight the challenge of the hated dictatorships. The spectacle of our 20th century America is an object of pride and inspiration, and the source of spiritual strength.

To be sure, the Soviet Union has machines, and men, and mountains, and rivers; its assets, real and potential, are sizeable. But no one who seeks to appraise the limits of Soviet strength can for a moment

ignore what the Russian people lack, and what we have in abundance -- the power of the democratic way of life, the tradition of free institutions, the respect for the individual.

We must never underestimate the power of our liberty. In the final analysis, it is the bulwark of our defense against the imperialism and brutality of Communism. It is our democratic way of life that gives America the power and the inspiration of a free people. And, in this contracting world of ours, it is the example of our freedom rather than the example of our wealth which gives us a measure of spiritual and moral leadership among the people of other lands.

My friends, today our way of life is put to the test -- the supreme test of whether our free country can endure -- whether our people can remain free. We have met and survived other such tests -- from the very first one of which our Country was born. Then we were only a scattered handful, but we resisted and we survived -- a Nation of free men.

In the days that lie ahead we will gather our strength and mobilize our resources under the leadership of our great President. United with the community of free nations we shall be prepared to meet the challenge of any enemy, and we shall emerge once again with our heritage preserved -- secure in our dignity as individual human beings.

I have tried to state briefly what I deem to be our faith and our strength, and in conclusion I wish to quote from a recent editorial comment in one of our national magazines. I believe this more clearly states the message I deliver tonight than anything I have read since the beginning of the present crisis.

"It is the aim of everyone these days to speak very distinctly. And it should be the duty of speakers and writers, at any rate, to put things in their proper place in relation to the natural world and to avoid preoccupation with sudden, dark events that are only a small part of a very great picture. A man can search his morning paper in vain for a crumb of comfort, yet no man should forget that most of the strongest assets are on our side, many of the heaviest liabilities are on the Soviet Union's. The burden Russia carries is the simple burden of wishing to conquer and rule the world by guile and by strength. This is an ancient dream that has in every instance thrown the dreamer. Our own dream is not to rule the world, but to save and fortify the free men in an atmosphere of freedom. This, too, is an ancient dream, and although it has been a very costly one, it has never let anybody down yet. Even if it should now prove costly beyond all ability to pay, it is still worth following and there can never be a valid reason to deviate, to hesitate, or to compromise."