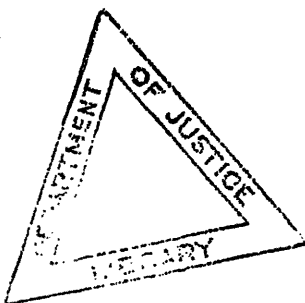


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REMARKS

OF

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Prepared for Delivery

at

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of the

NATIONAL SOCIETY

OF THE

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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MADAM PRESIDENT GENERAL, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I deem it a great honor and a genuine privilege to be invited this evening to address the opening session of the 60th Continental Congress of your distinguished Society. Organized as you are to "cherish, maintain and extend the institutions of American freedom, to foster true patriotism and love of country, and to aid in securing for mankind all the blessings of liberty," your Society constitutes one of the bulwarks of our American democracy, and you meet at a time when your contribution to the preservation of American freedom is most needed.

I have chosen as my topic this evening "JUSTICE -- THE KEY TO DEMOCRACY." I am convinced that the democratic values which your organization is dedicated to preserve can be secured only if justice is maintained. Where a society is not founded on justice the individual lacks protection against arbitrary power. His political rights become a mockery and his freedom vanishes. Democracy cannot thrive in such an atmosphere.

We are engaged at present in a struggle against the vicious forces of international communism. We are determined not to succumb to this enemy. There are, unfortunately, few signs on the horizon that communism is likely in the near future to abandon its efforts to destroy us. We must therefore prepare ourselves for a protracted struggle. Even if, as we hope and pray, this struggle will not involve us in another world war, it will undoubtedly place all of our institutions under a severe strain.

We must thus regard the present emergency as one which is likely to remain with us for years to come, and we must plan for it in long terms. Above all, we must so plan that when we emerge from the struggle we will do so with our democracy undamaged and our freedom intact, for if we sacrifice our freedom in the very struggle to preserve it, victory will avail us naught. Not the least important factor in achieving this purpose is the maintenance of our high standards of justice. Knowing that right is on our side we have always been able to fight the more valiantly. In the words of the last stanza of our national anthem -- "Conquer we must when our cause it is just."

America has traditionally stood for right against wrong, and for law above force. Just as the individual rights of our citizens are sacred to us at home, we stand in the world arena for the rights of peoples of small nations to live their lives unmolested by their more powerful neighbors. We have always been in the eyes of the world the land of freedom and hope, of peace and justice. This is a tremendous source of strength to us. It is not a secret weapon but one about which we should shout from the housetops. To make the most of this weapon, however, we must not allow it to be tarnished. And if we wish to lead other nations in the struggle for world-wide justice, we must make sure that our own house is in order.

For a free people like ourselves, justice permeates many sides of life, but perhaps we tend to think of justice first of all as connoting fair play in our courts of law. The Constitution of the United States

and the laws of the land ensure that our judicial procedures are just and fair. It is the constant endeavor of the Department of Justice to maintain these standards, and to do nothing, even in the zeal of a hotly contested case, to take an unfair advantage or in any other way to weaken our tradition of fair and impartial justice.

But justice in the judicial sense means more than the mere absence of unfair treatment. It also means the vigorous enforcement of law. A society is not a just one if it allows its criminals to go unpunished. It was with this in mind that I called, in February, 1950, a National Conference on Organized Crime. Senator Kefauver was an active participant in this Conference, and following the Conference his Committee began its public hearings resulting in disclosures which have brought to public attention the ramifications of organized crime. These conditions cannot fail to weaken our Nation at a time when it is essential that it be at its greatest strength. I want to assure you that the Justice Department, of which I have the honor to be in charge, has been acting vigorously both through the Federal Bureau of Investigation and through its law enforcement staffs, to expose and to punish such of these manifestations as fall within its province.

In addition, we have asked Congress for new legislation where existing laws are inadequate. I wish to add, however, that State and local governments should not abdicate their responsibilities in this field to the Federal Government. The Federal Government is one of limited powers; organized crime is in large measure the problem of each community in

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which it crops up, and its destruction will be accomplished at the "grass-roots" level.

There is another important field, however, where criminal behavior which weakens our country is within the purview of the Federal Government. The Federal law enforcement authorities have been striking vigorously at the criminal conduct of communists in this country, and shall continue to do so with every resource at their command.

In this connection I should like to distinguish between communism as a political doctrine and communism when it involves espionage, sabotage, and similar acts of subversion. Communism as a political doctrine has never had much success in this country. The Communist Party has never captured a large part of the vote and has won no office of national importance. Communism is unable to compete in the open market of competitive ideas. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" has no more appeal to the American people than the dictatorship of the Fascists and Nazis. When communists operate in the field of ideas, therefore, I think we can safely say that as a group they have no chance of success in capturing the adherence of the American people.

But when, to serve the ends of the Soviet Union and to destroy or cripple our Nation, communists or any others engage in espionage and sabotage and similar subversive acts, we must and are taking swift penal action. Our national security statutes and administrative security programs cover these activities. They range through treason,

sedition conspiracy, advocating the overthrow of the Government by force or violence, sabotage, espionage, registration of foreign agents, perjury, exclusion and deportation of subversive aliens, exclusion or removal of disloyal persons from Government employment, denial or cancellation of passports, and denial of income tax exemptions to subversive organizations or of tax deductions for contributions made to them. Under these statutes, a number of World War II traitors have been convicted of treason; eleven leaders of the Communist Party of the United States have been convicted of a conspiracy to advocate and teach the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence and to organize the Communist Party of the United States to so teach and advocate; a number of the members of espionage rings have been apprehended by the FBI and convicted; communists have been excluded from entry into the United States at the borders and ports of entry; and deportation cases are now in process against a number of communists on similar charges. You can be sure that your Federal law enforcement authorities are vigorously executing the laws against those who would betray our Country. American justice has been, and is continuing to, deal harshly with these traitors.

But justice means more than that our courts are conducted fairly. It means more than that our Constitution is upheld. It means more than that the laws are vigorously enforced. For ours to be a just Nation, our citizens must be just in their actions toward one another. The American tradition of fair play must permeate every aspect of our national life.

This tradition means that people must behave with dignity and treat each other with respect. Particularly high standards in this regard must be maintained by men in the public eye.

I regret to have to say that there are men in this country, in both private and public life, who appear willing to use this emergency to discard much of our tradition of liberty and fair play. I am frankly concerned about those who would attack every person who disagrees with them on some question of national policy. This practice is brutally unjust to those who are its victims. Moreover, those who claim to be safeguarding our Nation by seeking to curtail the right of others to their own contentions and opinions are as dangerous to our safety as the communists themselves. One of the strengths of Democracy has always been that the decisions it reaches are the result of the interplay of arguments on every side by men who are confident that they will not be penalized for their views. There has been no such thing as orthodoxy in American politics. By encouraging every man to speak his mind, the ultimate decision stands the greatest chance of being the wisest. Contrast this with the kind of freedom of discussion one finds in a communist dictatorship. There one is free to say only what the heads of the state want him to say. Honest disagreement is a crime. If the heads of government are embarked on a foolish course, there is no one who dares tell them so. Our kind of government makes many mistakes, to be sure, but it avoids many more because of the freedom of its citizens to criticize. A government which

allows no freedom to disagree has no such safeguard against blunders. People who brand as undesirable and dishonest all who oppose their views are aping the communists' practice of penalizing disagreement. In the process, they are throwing away one of our greatest advantages in the struggle against communism. They can be far more dangerous to the Nation's safety than the communists themselves.

I should like to contrast this sort of indiscriminate and harmful name-calling with the measures which this Government has been taking. I have mentioned the prosecutions of those individuals who, in order to subvert our Nation in the interests of the Soviet Union, have violated our criminal laws. These prosecutions have been conducted in the fairest manner before courts of law and in conformity with the Constitution. In addition to the prevention and punishment of crimes of this sort, the Government has seen the need of ensuring that no disloyal persons are employed by it. To that end the President in 1947 instituted the Government Employees Loyalty Program. Under that program the records of well over 3 million employees have been checked by the FBI. Similarly, new applicants for Federal positions have been carefully screened. These investigations have been conducted in a manner consistent with the principles of fair play. While irresponsible critics have bandied loose charges against the methods of investigation used by the FBI, of disloyalty in various parts of the Federal service, the Government has calmly, quickly,



and systematically conducted investigations of all of its employees with fairness and justice. It has been the Government's purpose on the one hand to see to it that no disloyal person is working for it and on the other to give every individual the fairest treatment. When a sense of justice governs the conduct of an investigation of the loyalty of Government employees the fabric of our Government service is not weakened. The disloyal are weeded out and the reputations of the overwhelming majority of loyal public servants are safe. In this field also, therefore, justice is no mere luxury. It is a vital factor in the strength of our institutions and in our ability to prevail in the struggle against communism. I pledge to you, for myself as Attorney General, and on behalf of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, that we shall never engage in witch-hunting, but will seek out and destroy subversive activities with firmness but with fairness, and in keeping with American standards of justice.

There is another field in which our sense of justice contributes greatly to our strength. Our high standards of social justice, our recognition of human rights, of the necessity for economic security, of freedom to worship as we please, have been contributing factors of considerable importance in making Americans impervious to the blandishments of the communists. It is well recognized that communism has been most successful where human misery has prevailed--where life was so bleak for so many people that they had no stake in the existing order and were ready to try anything else that was offered. To the downtrodden, communism has

offered the lure of security and freedom, although where it has obtained power it has given neither. It has been shrewd enough to align its propaganda with valid complaints. It has played for all they are worth every inequality and injustice it could unearth.

Our society in America is far from perfect, but we are aware of our imperfections and are on the road to their elimination. We take pride in our present achievements, but, above all, we are dedicated to the goal of continued progress. Our people have the highest standard of living of any in the history of the world. And it is still rising. The underprivileged in our country have been making rapid strides towards equality in every respect. We have a real tradition that every citizen is equal to every other. No man is enslaved to another, and the vote of the poorest citizen counts as much as that of the wealthiest. Past achievements and the expectation of even greater ones in the future have made America, today just as in its earliest days, a land of hope and promise. What have the communists to offer that can compete with our way of life?

In this connection I should like to mention some of the splendid accomplishments of your organization in fostering and expanding social justice in the United States. Your patriotic activities with respect to new citizens are a matter of which I have personal knowledge, as the immigration and naturalization functions of our Government are carried on under my supervision in the Department of Justice. Your society has been of immeasurable aid in making each new citizen conscious of the greatness of his privilege of being an American citizen as well as of his obligations

and responsibilities as such. Your Ellis Island Committee has engaged in splendid humanitarian work for the benefit of new immigrants. In addition, your sponsorship of playgrounds and youth centers, your assistance in settlement houses, your educational program which affords opportunities otherwise completely lacking to underprivileged boys and girls, your provision of dental and medical clinics and day nurseries, and your entire Junior-American Citizenship program have helped not only to build constructive citizens but also to combat juvenile delinquency and to insure that the seeds of communism fall on unfriendly soil.

Justice has still another meaning to Americans. It means fair dealing among nations. The United States has been looked up to and trusted by the free world because of our fairness in dealing with smaller nations, our unwillingness to take advantage of our superior strength to gobble up or impose our wills on others. The added effectiveness which this good will has given us contrasts sharply with the hostility engendered by communist imperialism. America's adherence to justice in its international dealings has paid and will continue to pay rich dividends. Russia's callous disregard of justice has incurred the enmity of the entire world and has caused free peoples to band together to resist her.

I think of justice in the international sense, however, as something more than mere unwillingness to take advantage of a weaker neighbor. Justice also means to me that people all over the world shall have a chance to improve their lot. Pursuant to President Truman's "Point IV" program,

it has been the policy of this Government to give financial aid and technical assistance to under-developed countries throughout the world in order that their people may have the kind of opportunities the American people have had. Results in this field cannot be accomplished overnight, but we can discern a gradual improvement in the living standards of the countries which we have helped. Even if we were not engaged in a world-wide struggle with communism, we should want to do this in the interest of good will to men everywhere. In the present crisis, these activities have become particularly important, both through gaining for the United States the friendship of people in other countries and in giving them the hope of betterment and the sense of progress, which should make them unwilling to accept the false promises of communism.

I have spoken about justice in many of its aspects. I have stated my deep and sincere conviction that America's sense of justice is a tremendous source of strength in the present struggle with communism. On our country, more than any other, rests the responsibility of preserving free institutions in the face of the greatest danger they have ever encountered. We cannot accomplish this through throwing away our sense of justice and with it our freedom, but only by strengthening both to the point where the world of slavery and injustice must recognize that it can never hope to overcome us. As de Tocqueville said, in writing about democracy in America, "In times of danger a free people displays far more energy than one which is not so."

The American Revolution, the spirit of which is embodied in your Society, was fought to establish justice for this country. The Declaration of Independence is an appeal to mankind's sense of justice. The Constitution was ordained, among other reasons, to "establish justice." But the American Revolution is not an isolated event in the dead past. It is a living force constantly reaffirmed as this Nation broadens its horizons and carries democracy and justice to new frontiers. We are the true revolutionary Nation, with an appeal to all mankind. We are the apostles of democracy, of individual liberty, of equality before the law-- in short, of justice. There is nothing revolutionary in communism. It is not an advanced doctrine, but an ancient discredited one. The tyranny of man over man, the concentration of power, the enslavement of the individual--these are not new. Since time immemorial, mankind has been engaged in a continual struggle against these evils. The greatest victory in this eternal struggle was won when American independence and freedom were secured. The fruits of that victory are still coming forth. Armed with the knowledge of the strength of liberty and democracy, fairness and justice, we are a source of inspiration and courage for beleaguered freedom-loving people all over the globe. We shall not fail them. Today America is, as General Omar Bradley so wisely observed, the arsenal of hope of the world.

In 1951, one hundred and seventy-five years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, our Nation is more firmly devoted than ever

to those principles of liberty and justice which have made us great.

With God's help, we have become the mightiest nation in the world, mighty not only in the physical sense but also in the power that springs from our democratic institutions.

We are faced today with the greatest threat in our history, but I have not the slightest doubt that we will surmount this threat as we have overcome every one in the past. The entire free world has turned for leadership in this great crisis to the leaders of our Nation.

I am fully confident that under their guidance and with the help of Almighty God the freedom, not only of our Nation, but of the entire democratic world, will be preserved.