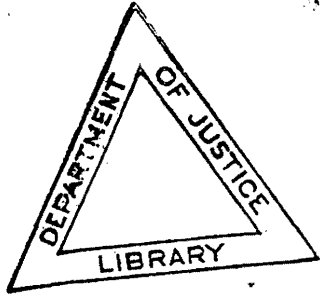


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REMARKS  
OF  
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## STOUTHEARTED MEN

It is a distinct pleasure to appear before you this afternoon. We live today, in this mid-century year, in a period of great decision. The world, unfortunately, has become divided - between freedom and slavery, democracy and totalitarian dictatorship. We in America have a deep responsibility - a responsibility to nurture, protect and enlarge the boundaries of freedom. The tidal wave of Communism, which has engulfed so much of the world, must not be allowed to penetrate our shores. That is our task - the task of America of 1950.

Unfortunately, in many parts of the world, the twentieth century did not bring humane and enlightened leadership. The principles of democracy, which by the end of the nineteenth century had made such marvelous progress, began to be repealed. The cult of violence dethroned reason; fanatical faith in the infallibility of the leader replaced the concept of rule by the majority; primitive beliefs in the sanctity of blood, the superiority of a "super race," the survival of the fittest, uprooted the democratic beliefs in the inherent dignity and glory of the individual. The chisels of hate, violence and deceit chipped at the very foundations of Western civilization. New leaders, schooled in the mechanics of destruction, sadism and brutality, sprang to power, first in Russia, then Italy, Germany and Japan. Millions of human beings were enslaved, the glories of western art, literature and music - works which have thrilled and stimulated generations of men - defaced, mocked and belittled. Totalitarian society, one by one, tore up the guideposts of democracy, freedom of speech, the press, religion, habeas corpus, trial by jury, and set, in their stead, new signposts.

These signposts, planted by starving hands amid pools of blood, proclaimed a "new world" - a world of brute force, where falsity became truth, war became peace, and fear became hope. The traditional values of Western civilization were turned topsy-turvy.

Totalitarianism - despite its record of force, ruthlessness and death - enchanted the minds of many individuals throughout the world. Mass slogans, appeals to prejudice, avowal of sublimity of purpose to achieve Utopian goals: these propaganda techniques befuddled many minds. Fascism and Communism blossomed, both overtly and covertly, in democratic lands. They became Trojan horses, fifth columns ready to stir up confusion, despair and dissension. Totalitarianism became a deadly challenge to democracy. Nations, where freedom still reigned, overlooked these maniacal mouthings at their own peril.

America as a young nation, protected by two vast oceans, enjoyed for over a century the advantages of isolation. The problem of internal security, of protecting the home front against the intrigues of a foreign power, played, at best, only a minor role in our national life. But the twentieth century brought a vast change. Internal security became, within a few short years, a problem of deep concern to the American people, a vital function of government. European and Asiatic totalitarianism perfected sabotage, espionage and subversive penetration as weapons of terror, and fitting them with wings, propelled them, above and below the oceans, to enemy lands. America, rocked by disastrous explosions during World War I, knew, from first-hand experience, the deathly terror which a saboteur or enemy agent could sow.

We in America had learned our lessons well. Your Government was not oblivious to the cauldrons of hate, terror and destruction brewing in other areas of the world. When the bitter test came, in the tragic days after Pearl Harbor, our defenses against internal subversion and intrigue stood firm. Enemy aliens, deemed potentially dangerous to the internal security of the Nation, were quickly apprehended; enemy agents, long under meticulous surveillance, were rendered harmless; espionage activities were kept at a minimum. In fact, I am proud to say, not a single successful act of enemy-directed sabotage occurred in the United States during World War II. The case of the eight Nazi saboteurs, well known to you, is dramatic proof of the futility of Nazi efforts to penetrate our shores. These men, each trained in the latest techniques of sabotage, were landed by submarine, with specific instructions to disrupt national defense installations. But, within 14 days, before they could commit a single act of sabotage, all eight were arrested by the FBI.

The successful conclusion of the war was based, to a large extent, on our victory at home. America's factories, shipyards and aircraft plants could continue, without fear of sabotage or enemy-directed impairment of morale, to pour out vitally needed munitions and supplies. The troops on the front lines knew, without a moment's hesitation, that the enemy was ahead, not behind; that saboteurs and spies were not nullifying their hard-earned victories on the field of battle.

America's victory on the home front was accomplished in a democratic manner. Witchhunts, dragnet raids, mass arrests: these were not part of America's defense. The basic liberties of American life were preserved. The Department of Justice, as the governmental agency designated by the President to correlate national security investigations, had, in fact, "gone to war" against Axis subversion long before Pearl Harbor. Its careful and meticulous investigations enabled the Government to handle each case individually and on its own merits. There was no need for hasty, ill-advised and extralegal activity; we stood ready. The wholehearted cooperation of American law enforcement agencies, and of citizens everywhere, made possible our victory.

The end of World War II, from the point of view of internal security, meant but one thing: the Fascist threat, in the form of danger from the Axis powers, was eliminated; but the Communist menace, which had been lurking in the background, suddenly came to the front. The unsettled state of international affairs since 1945, marked by Russian aggressive moves in many areas of the world and the intensification of both open and underground Communist propaganda, made internal security a problem of deep concern to your Government. Eternal vigilance became our motto, full preparedness our aim. We stand ready today, in the event of a sudden emergency, to take effective steps, within the democratic framework of government, to secure the protection of the Nation.

Communism today represents a vital danger to America. The Marxist philosophy, stripped of its philosophical husks and propaganda jargon, is, in fact, age-old tyranny dressed in twentieth century clothes.

The Communists, with Moscow as their guiding genius, are determined, through every available means - sabotage, espionage, civil war, dissension - to destroy democracy throughout the world. And their chief foe is America. They know that as long as this nation remains strong, powerful in arms, virile in spirit and dedicated to improving the dignity of the human personality, they fight a losing battle. A strong America - materially and spiritually - would be a constant beacon of light, buoying the hopes and aspirations of the millions of men, women and children crushed under the yoke of Communist tyranny. America, in Communist eyes, must be weakened, divided and eventually destroyed. Then the Marxist revolution, riding the caissons of Russian imperialism, would sweep the world.

A Communist America! These words send a shiver of apprehension down the spine of every true American. What would it mean? How would I as a citizen fare? These questions, to my mind, are the crux of the entire problem. If each citizen realized, in true perspective, just what a Communist government in Washington, D. C., would mean to him, to his relatives, to his friends - he would spring instantly to the defense of democracy and work actively for the American way of life. Lethargy, indifference, lack of interest - these would have disappeared. Victorious Communism, the waving of the hammer and sickle over the White House and the Capitol Dome, would mean, within a matter of hours, the stifling of free speech, the perversion of the daily press, mass arrests, the formation of "people's courts" -- where justice would be based on political expediency, vengeance and terror, not on law and mercy - the

transformation of your FBI and all law enforcement, from being your servants, vigilantly working to protect your liberties, into a Russian secret police, armed with brass knuckles, bludgeons and torture apparatus. Make no mistake, do not allow idle fancy to deceive you. Individual liberty, as we know it in America, would be a relic of the past. The right to gather together, as you are doing today, for example, would be ruthlessly controlled. The state would dictate when, where, how you would meet, who would speak and what he would say - or if you were to meet at all!

The picture I draw is dark, terrifying, brutal - but accurate, unbelievably accurate. Communist objectives, techniques, and modes of action stand revealed, for all who care to read and learn, in the writings of the Communist masters themselves, Marx, Lenin, Stalin. No words are minced, no punches pulled. The fiery road of revolution is marked, step by step. If doubt still existed, even after reading Marxist literature, a glance at other countries, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, would confirm, in dramatic and terrifying fashion, the validity of my conclusions. There, Communism has come to power, and with systematic relentlessness, has wiped away, like chalk marks on a blackboard, the ancient liberties of these proud peoples. Communism in action is a frightening picture, a picture of human carnage, the devouring of the spirit, the culture, the very blood and bones of millions of people - a sound which can be heard the world around.

The sound of the Communist grist mill, now gnawing over so vast an area of the world, should alert us to the defense of our liberties. This sound - the sound of a twentieth century tyrant reducing the human personality to a thoughtless, lifeless, senseless robot - is our challenge. The moment our ears become muted, the moment we fail to hear -

and heed - this tragic sound, that moment our liberties become endangered. An alert citizenry, cognizant of the evils of Communism, ready through education and public exposure to uproot the enemies of democracy, is the best possible defense of our Nation and way of life.

Communism, attractively wrapped in philosophical jargon and beguiling phraseology, has succeeded, to a certain extent, in selling itself as "liberalism" - as the avenue which will eventually lead to the creation of a society where violence, injustice and intolerance will no longer exist. This facet of Communism, of masking illiberalism, despotism and barbaric sadism, as liberalism, progress and enlightenment, represents a deadly threat to free society. The Communist must be unmasked, his veil of hypocrisy, deceit and untruths, ripped away - and he must stand, under the glare of free scrutiny and vision, for what he is - a false prophet, a quack savior, a deadly poison. Liberalism, historically speaking, meant freeing the individual from the restraints of the state, the flowering of the human personality through independent thought and reasoning. Communism is the exact opposite - the unmerciful chaining of the individual to the state; where truth means the will of the ruling elite, freedom the blind devotion to dictatorial command. Individuals who confuse Communism and liberalism, intellectual slavery and free thought, are rendering a great disservice to America. They are encouraging confusion, when clear thinking is needed.

The fight will be hard. Communism, despite its inner contradictions, is a formidable foe. Its followers are fanatical, tireless, and oblivious to the rights and feelings of others. Morality, fair play, sportsmanship are meaningless concepts; murder, arson, treachery, essential weapons of attack. Democratic society cannot, even for an instant, allow its eyes to leave the opponent. Know your enemy is an admonition of supreme merit. We, as citizens of a democratic state, can help, in this vast



ideological struggle, by utilizing education, **the** free spirit of research and inquiry, to identify our enemy, to learn who **he** is, what **he** stands for, and intends to do. Communism is Communism's worst enemy. The true facts of Communism - moral **depravity**, intellectual sterility, the reign of violence - will, when **exposed**, become the most effective weapons in the defense of democracy itself.

When identified - correctly and accurately - **the** enemy must be exposed, pitilessly exposed. The Communist will wiggle and squirm, twist and dodge. He cannot thrive in **the** free air of truth and reason. His home is the musty underground vaults of **injustice**, lawlessness, **intolerance**, and untruths. Our problem is, through education, to unearth **him**, and then, through public opinion, to destroy his evil influences.

Our responsibility, as citizens, however, **does** not stop **here**. We have the duty, through our everyday activities, to **make** democracy work, to improve the society in which we live. The fight against Communism is not exclusively a negative fight, merely identifying and exposing the Marxist **rodents**. These steps are necessary, absolutely necessary. But, in addition, we must attempt, by every available means, **to** remedy the defects of democracy which provide the Communists with ammunition in their attacks on **the** American way of life. Our society, admittedly, is not perfect. We are **the** first to admit that point. But we are constantly working to improve the defects, to repair the cracks, and to mend the holes. We hope, each year, to have **a** better, more **healthy** society, a society more conducive to the development of **the individual** personality. This job is the responsibility of every individual citizen. By making democracy stronger, we make Communism **weaker**. The Communists will rise to

a man on behalf of the allegedly oppressed, neglected, mistreated. They denounce democracy in loud terms, describing the given defect as symbolic of society as a whole. Why are they so interested in these situations? To promote the best interests of the injured or mistreated? No. To provide a warning against the future repetition of similar injustices? No. The Communists, fishing in troubled waters, are endeavoring to recruit new comrades, to perfect new programs of action, to fashion beating sticks to club our society, to wallop you and me. If the blights, which plague democracy, are removed, the Communists will be deprived of their propaganda platforms.

There are today many Communists in America. They are everywhere - in factories, offices, butcher stores, on street corners, in private businesses. And each carries, in himself the germ of death for our society. But the situation is not alarming, not a condition to cause hysteria or panic. We can defeat the enemy and protect our liberties. The need is for vigilance, belief in the validity of democratic concepts, and eternal devotion to the spirit of free inquiry. The task can be solved in a democratic manner. Vigilante, unilateral action on the part of individual citizens or organizations, though motivated by patriotic purposes, is not in the American tradition, and would encourage the growth of the very evil we detest. Careless speech, irresponsible labelling of individuals as "Communists," character assassination, witchhunts, hysteria - these actions will sap our strength and destroy the very heart of the democratic counteroffensive.

Citizens should, however, report, promptly and accurately, pertinent information, without taking action themselves, to the appropriate

authorities. The Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice, designated by the President as the clearinghouse for subversive information, has the duty to receive such data. Every patriotic citizen should report such information to the FBI, where it can be analyzed and, if warranted by the facts, investigated. The most insignificant and seemingly irrelevant bit of information may be of utmost value when integrated with other data already in the possession of the FBI. Internal security investigations, in this day and age, are a highly complex undertaking, requiring great understanding, knowledge and training. It is a task for the expert, not the amateur. Unverified rumors, incomplete facts, uncoordinated items will be kept confidential and not allowed to injure the reputations of the innocent and falsely accused. Information in the hands of untrained individuals may, through ignorance or malice, be misused or distorted. The FBI, with years of experience, and drawing upon the lessons of World War II, is working, day and night, to protect the Nation from the intrigues of enemy powers. The very best in cooperation and coordination is being practiced with other governmental intelligence agencies.

The present arrangement of federal, state and local law enforcement agencies, each in turn, directly or indirectly, responsible to the elected representatives of the people, is fully adequate to handle the Communist challenge. We do not need a national police, a super over-all agency to coordinate and supervise internal security investigations. This development would run directly contrary to the democratic tradition.

The need today is for stouthearted men, men who, imbued with faith in democracy and belief in the power of independent thought, are willing

to work, and work hard for their Nation. The months ahead offer no sure prospect for an abatement of the "cold war," a reduction in the pressure of Communist intrigue. Democracy, as life itself, must be re-won each day anew. The nation needs, and needs badly, stouthearted men who, in the words of the famous song, will fight shoulder to shoulder, bolder and bolder, for the right they adore. Then, and only then, will the future of America be secure.