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ADDRESS

By

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Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, fellow delegates to this assembly of law officers of the Americas, ladies and gentlemen;

It is a great privilege for me to speak to you on this occasion when such momentous events are rapidly following one another in these challenging times in which we live.

From our earliest history there were many factors which drew the peoples of Latin America and of our country together as friends. It did not take long before the courageous struggle for freedom by your peoples enlisted the full sympathy and aid of our young nation.

In 1822,--almost 125 years ago--President Monroe received the patriot Manuel Torres, as diplomatic representative of Greater Columbia. This was but one of the many instances of recognition of the free nations of Latin America. One year later, in 1823, the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed. Its purpose was to prevent the wars of Europe from spreading to any part of this Hemisphere. It helped save the Americas from the domination, greed and exploitation of European rulers.

It was a fierce longing for freedom which aroused the soldiers of the American Revolution to seek the independence of the United States. The same inspiration moved your patriots under the leadership of such great liberators as Simon Bolivar, Jose de San Martin and Antonio Jose de Sucre. In the face of great odds and by most heroic deeds they finally threw off the yoke of foreign domination established in part of this hemisphere for over three hundred years. You have ever since established yourselves as self-governing nations of dignity, justice and industry.

The struggle for freedom was not the only common bond between us. As a basis for the constitutions upon which your governments are founded,

you followed the pattern and principles of the United States Constitution which are the bulwark of our individual liberties and property rights.

Your founding fathers early recognized as ours did, that no man could be fair and objective enough to be the author of laws, to be their administrator and to judge what they meant. They knew then, as everyone knows now, that when the legislative, executive and judicial powers of government are ever lodged or concentrated in one man, the result is tyranny, not liberty.

Accordingly, your forebears adopted the guiding principle of our Constitution which provides for separation of powers. Through the checks and balances which this doctrine affords, one branch of government may apply its own brakes upon abuse of power by the other. These checks are well known to you. To mention just a few. Under our Constitution, the federal judiciary was given life tenure as a barrier against encroachment and oppression by the legislature. The President was given considerable independence in the conduct of foreign relations and broad powers for enforcing legislation. He was also given a veto power over legislation enacted by Congress, with a right by the latter branch to override the veto by a two-thirds vote. The Congress was given the right to impeach the President, and control of the public purse.

With similar origins in struggles for liberty, with similar constitutional governments, with the same high regard for the rights of our neighbors, it was natural that a spirit of mutual respect, cooperation, friendship and trust develop among us.

There was still another important reason for common understanding and good will. It was that channels for the free communication of ideas have

in the main, been kept open. We have no iron curtain between us to prevent us from learning the truth about each other.

Another means for developing understanding and cooperation has been through exchange of students. During 1953, about 4500 persons exchanged visits and engaged in studies between us and the American Republics. At its last session the Congress of the United States provided more than \$1,500,000 for these worthwhile purposes.

Your students are more than missionaries of good will and culture to our country. Without restriction they are welcome reporters who are subjecting our land to critical observation. They see for themselves and will tell you that the Soviet distortions of our people and our way of life are merely a pack of lies which are spread to divide and isolate us.

The matter of promoting better understanding between us has not been exclusively the subject of governmental interest. Private organizations have also played a major role in fostering amity and firm bonds of friendship. An active participant in the legal field is the Inter-American Bar Association founded in Washington in 1940. It has held eight conferences in various cities of this hemisphere--the most recent in the great city of Sao Paulo last March.

At this conference many legal subjects were discussed and significant resolutions adopted. One resolution called upon bar associations and lawyers' organizations to cooperate in the exchange of law students and professors. Another resolution sought uniformity of commercial laws, especially with respect to negotiable instruments, maritime laws, protection of patents, trade marks and copyrights and similar projects of great interest to the members of our profession. Still another resolution

favored the Universal Copyright Convention recently signed at Geneva, Switzerland, I am happy to tell you that the United States Senate gave its advice and consent last June and has enacted the necessary legislation to implement it.

As a result of friendly relationships, our representatives have met together on numerous occasions when threats arose to the peace of this part of the world. Plans of mutual defense followed to exclude disturbing and hostile influences as well as foreign undemocratic ideas of government from our shores. You will recall the pact of Rio in 1947 which had and continues to have outstanding effects for the preservation of peace everywhere.

The Rio pact in recognition of our common concern and interdependence provided:

"* * * An armed attack on one of the American States shall be considered as an attack against all the States. Each one of the States undertakes to assist in meeting this attack."

At the Ninth International Conference of American States held at Bogota, Columbia in 1948, the representatives of the American Republics were again alerted to the menace to their democratic institutions from infiltration of international Communism in this hemisphere. Other meetings stressed the need for international cooperation to eradicate the international peril. Finally, the Conference at Caracas adopted on March 28, 1954 that notable "Declaration of Solidarity for the Preservation of the Political Integrity of the American States Against the Intervention of International Communism."

In this document the American States recognized that the international communist movement constitutes an immediate threat to their peace and security and to the right of each state to develop its cultural, political and economic life free from foreign influence. The American States condemned this interference in their internal affairs. They expressed their determination to protect their political independence from the interests of this alien despotism. They reaffirmed the faith of their people in the effective exercise of democracy as the best means to promote their social and political progress. They called for a meeting to consider action in accordance with existing treaties to meet this threat to their sovereignty and political independence. They recommended two important measures to counteract the subversive activities of the international communist movement: First, disclosure of the identity, activities and sources of funds of the communist propaganda machine; and second, exchange of information among governments to assist in achieving the objectives of the resolutions adopted by the American States regarding international communism.

By this declaration, the American republics have made clear their determination and cooperation to protect "the inalienable right of each American State freely to choose its form of government and economic system and to live its own social and cultural life."

This document gives recognition to the now established fact that the communist conspiracy will seize on every opportunity to gain a beachhead in this Hemisphere from which to base its operations. The evidence already establishes that the evil purpose of the Kremlin is to destroy the inter-American system--to drive a wedge between the United States and its Latin-American neighbors. Experience also tells us that the favorite method

pursued by the Communists, like that of any bird of prey, is to pick on its victims one by one until they are all consumed. As our common heritage teaches, so this historic Caracas Declaration proclaims that in united action lies our strength.

This is how the American States are meeting a common enemy on an international level. I want to tell you how we have taken care of this peril at home.

The first thing we did was to analyze the communist techniques and methods of this highly secret and effective conspiracy, and to study its history of betrayal, treachery and violence. We soon discovered that the communists engaged in a pattern of action which was similar in many countries.

During its initial stages the communists sought and obtained protection from democratic countries of freedom of speech, press and assembly. Under the pretense of being another political party, the communist party was permitted to participate in government. It was not long before their members had infiltrated into strategic positions. As they burrowed in, they soon made room for co-conspirators, particularly in the police and information services. At the same time they concentrated on the more important and strategic unions. Soon their henchmen were in charge of the auto, railroad, ship and other transportation unions, and those in food distribution. Through the control of these services contact could be made with the Iron Curtain without detection. Meanwhile, they were busy on the propaganda front; piously espousing every social reform in order to attract to their ranks the liberal writers, artists and thinkers as well as their financial support.

In the schools and colleges too, the communists unloaded and planted their agents as teachers with instructions to win over young impressionable students as adherents to their alien philosophy.

Thus the stage was fully set to undermine a democratic society as soon as it faced a foreign or domestic crisis. At that crucial period, with its strength distributed in important areas, the Communist Party would threaten civil war. In the period of disorder and confusion that inevitably followed, this small, but highly organized group would suddenly come to life in the guise of labor action committees. The communist conspirators would then take over the newspapers, radio and other information media, and authorize only the news which had its mark of approval. They would seize control of the police and army. Mass arrests would follow terrorizing persons who dared defy their lawless exercise of authority. They would dominate the transportation facilities and allow persons to travel only with party permits. They would take over the distribution of food denying it to those who refused to furnish support to their ruthless conspiracy. They would put through agrarian-reform laws, extending the benefits solely to those willing to cooperate. Finally, as soon as the elected government had abdicated, the communists would engage in a reign of fear and oppression ending in the deprivation of the very freedoms which had furnished safe haven for their conspiracy.

Those who for their own purposes had advocated the right to speak freely now imposed strict and rigid censorship on open discussion. Those who previously preached the need for independent thought in the schools then demanded complete conformity to the communist mold. Those who had complained that the system of justice had been unfair established courts

where the accused was condemned even before he was heard.

Was there ever any vestige of liberty left? You know the answer as well as I.

The right of the people to worship in accordance with the dictates of their conscience; the right to vote; the right to engage in an occupation of one's own choosing; the right of an individual to privacy; the right to own property and to enjoy the fruits of one's own labor-- all these were erased from the slate of human rights. Freedom of every kind was beaten, crushed and killed for all the tragic people who happened to be the victims of the communist conspiracy.

Country after country has been infiltrated, subdued and finally overrun by just such communist intrigue, force and false promises. The proud peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Eastern Germany, Albania, The Baltic Provinces, China, North Korea, North Viet Nam and others are now humbled trophies hanging in the Communist Halls of Infamy. And recent events disclose that nations of this hemisphere are targets for a similar fate.

With this stained page of history before us, as well as the techniques generally pursued, it became apparent to President Eisenhower and the peaceful people of the United States that the communists were engaged in a vast international conspiracy dedicated to enslaving the entire free world. It was plain to us that unless this global menace was stopped in its tracks it would soon engulf the Americas. We realized that if our republican form of government was to endure it must recognize the security of the nation as well as the liberty of the individual. For once the

security of the nation is impaired, there can be no liberty for anyone.

To safeguard our security, we put into motion a drive to destroy the communist conspiracy in the United States. Our objectives have been carried out successfully within the framework of our Constitution and without sacrifice of our cherished rights and liberties. It was not easy--and it took considerable planning, perseverance and courage--qualities that your countries have always displayed in great abundance.

We have established within the Justice Department a strong team of experts skilled in the enforcement of anti-conspiracy laws. Together with another Division of the Justice Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation under J. Edgar Hoover--the most expert investigative organization in the world--we were in a position to track down and prosecute leading communist conspirators wherever they could be found. As a result of this splendid teamwork, most of the national communist leaders have been convicted of conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence. More are under arrest or out on bail and are to be tried shortly. These prosecutions seriously hurt the communist conspiracy in the United States on every level of its activity. Those who have not yet been caught are now running for cover not knowing where the Justice Department will strike next. Many of these convicted leaders had penetrated strategic industries from which they would have spearheaded their sabotage when the time was ripe for it. A conspiracy without leadership is doomed to failure.

At the same time that we were hunting down and convicting these leaders, we were also engaged in the second line of attack. This one was directed

to flushing out individuals who were security risks from government service--security risks because of their past indiscretions or activities. Some of these were found in our diplomatic corps; some were traced to our scientific laboratories where important atomic secrets could be stolen; some had woven their interlocking web of intrigue into executive and legislative departments.

We did not stop with those who were found to be disloyal to the United States. There were others in government whom the communists rely on to steal or convey government secrets. Some of these people are indoctrinated with communist ideology because of their association with communist "front" organizations. Some are subject to blackmail because of weak personal habits. You would not want people of this character to handle your confidential affairs. So too our government did not want them handling secret information which would be of great value to our communist enemies.

For that reason, the Eisenhower Administration adopted an employee security program under which security risks were weeded out of their jobs, or refused government jobs when they applied.

The third line of attack was to rid our labor unions and other organizations of communist leaders--a problem which fortunately is concentrated in only a few of the so-called "independent" unions not affiliated with our large national federated unions. Many of these leaders had been much too wary to engage in overt acts constituting unlawful conspiracy. They cleverly concealed their identity as Communists from the workers who elected them. Yet it was their sworn duty to subvert legitimate union activities and initiate obstructive

strikes whenever the Kremlin gave the signal.

Accordingly, legislation was passed which barred these leaders from occupying high positions in unions where they could pervert the right to strike to communist purposes. Under this law, a union would forego advantages under the Labor Management Relations Act unless its officers filed an affidavit stating that they were not members of organizations that sought the overthrow of the United States by illegal methods.

If the leader falsely swore in his affidavit that he was not a Communist, he could be convicted of perjury or false statement. This law has been declared constitutional by the Supreme Court. It has already been effective in bringing about the conviction of several top Communists in large and powerful unions who filed false affidavits. Indictments charging similar criminal violation have been filed against other primary and secondary leaders and their trials are now pending.

The fourth prong of our attack was to wipe out the network of organizations that comprise the communist conspiracy. These always seem innocent enough on their face. They usually masquerade under an attractive description such as a school association or patriotic or benevolent fraternity. But scratch the surface and you will often find them to be the principal propaganda fronts of the Party, honeycombed with Soviet agents.

These organizations are active in aiding the Kremlin by obtaining funds and other assistance from many unsuspecting, innocent citizens who think they are contributing to a worthy cause. These organizations also provide a nucleus of fanatical workers to be used for sabotage as well as to indoctrinate numerous sympathetic fellow travelers.

Our laws now require these Communist-controlled organizations to register with the Department of Justice. They must disclose their officers, membership, activities, the source of their financial affairs and the nature of their expenditures. They must label everything published or broadcast as Communist propaganda. They must, in other words, operate in full public view--scarcely a condition that favors the success of a conspiracy. If they are convicted of violating these laws, they can be sent to jail.

There is still another method used by us that has gone a long way in wrecking the Communist conspiracy in our country. While the overwhelming number of our foreign born residents are loyal and have made a notable contribution in the fight against communism, a small core of aliens have abused their freedom here by working for the overthrow of our government. We are undertaking to deport this latter group - but only after scrupulous regard for due process of law. Citizenship is also taken away--under legal process--from those naturalized citizens who concealed their Communist affiliation at the time of naturalization.

These drastic results have not only crippled the domestic Communist movement, but have impaired its world-wide operations. The effectiveness of this conspiracy depends largely on the ability of Soviet agents to travel freely into and out of the United States. Stopping their entry, deporting those who have entered, and denaturalizing those who acquired citizenship, strikes a serious blow at the entire Communist movement.

Thus you see that we have been achieving internal security by cleansing the government, the unions, the schools and the country itself

of its prime Communist leaders, their subordinates and sympathizers. Most important, this objective has been accomplished in accordance with the traditional American conception of fair play and due process.

But it is not enough to act against Communist conspiracy; we must act affirmatively for peace and freedom. For example, President Eisenhower is concerned that "the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death but consecrated to his life." His plan to harness the force of atomic energy to peaceful use is now regarded as the greatest single proposal ever advanced for the well-being of humanity. To him the mightiest of all weapons is the will and determination of a people to be free from tyranny and oppression--to live in dignity and honor.

We in the United States do not believe that conquest creates right. We have condemned the exploitation of the weak. We have repudiated imperialism. We have recognized the juridical equality of the smallest of nations. We have in good faith sought to establish and maintain continental solidarity.

We are convinced that lasting peace will be achieved through the combined strength of a free world. Following the noble example set by the Americas, the hope of free men everywhere has been rekindled by the Southeast Asian Treaty and by the recent agreement signed in Paris. These proclaim the determination of the Asians and the European Western Nations, as did our own, to strengthen the cause of security, peace, independence and liberty throughout the world.

We are confident that the people of the Americas who value their precious liberty will never cease their eternal vigilance against the

most ruthless tyrant of modern times. Their endeavor, determination and faith will preserve their independent and enlightened government.

Many of you have often been puzzled, as I have been, why order and peace should prevail within our countries but the world outside is often torn asunder by savage war. For history teaches that disputes between nations do not die with war but are only laid to rest with peace.

It seems to me that we find peace where there is general agreement among our peoples as to what is right and just. It is upon this foundation that our internal laws beget respect and obedience.

In the pattern of our daily lives we may discover the ideal for world peace. Our way of life is one of trust in each other and in the judgment of the courts; of tolerance for each other's ideas and standards; of protecting the weak against the strong; of mediating our controversies with patience and abiding by the decision; of treating our neighbors as we want them to treat us; of recognizing the differences among our peoples and respecting them; of reducing inequalities and eradicating injustice; of acknowledging that progress cannot be stopped but must be attained by representative process; of regulating the course of public affairs to the needs of the people. These are the ingredients of order and peace at home.

President Eisenhower has wisely observed "Men of widely divergent views in our country live in peace together because they share certain common aspirations which are more important than their differences." In the scales of justice as applied to all mankind, there are no differences between nations, however deep-seated, that outweigh the cause of peace.

Let us learn to resolve the disagreements among hostile countries as to what is right and just, and we shall reach the ultimate solution for international order and world peace. Let us devote our attention to laws and programs which look to human betterment. Thus we will forever keep the baneful influence of the Iron Curtain from our shores.

Ours is a common destiny and will be maintained for all time through unity, justice, understanding and peace.