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# Department of Justice

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COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

by

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ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

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President Case, distinguished guests and faculty, family and friends of the graduating class, and members of the graduating class.

Twenty-four years ago it was my good fortune to participate in ceremonies similar to these here today. At that time, I received my degree from Colgate University. The diploma I received is among my most cherished possessions. Those who graduated with me are among my most cherished friends. You will find that it will be the same with you.

To those of you who will receive your diplomas today, may I extend my most sincere congratulations. You will become members of a select group who have had the privilege of graduating from this finest institution of higher learning. This occasion is one of the most significant and meaningful events in your life. It signifies that you have demonstrated your ability and your character and are now prepared for greater responsibilities and for new achievements. With each step forward your warm regard for these surroundings and the faculty who worked so closely with you will increase. Every year of your life your affection for Colgate and all that it means will grow and deepen.

Having four children of my own -- two of college age -- I want to pay tribute to the group that is too often forgotten at graduation. I'm speaking of those who have worried about each of your problems as much or more than you have -- and who are the proudest people in the room -- the parents of the graduating class. Recently I saw an item in the paper

about a boy in college who wrote a letter to his father saying, "Dear Dad: Please write to me often -- even if it's only a couple of dollars." When you consider all the trials and tribulations of parenthood it has seemed to me for some time -- in fact, since the time I became a parent -- that parents ought to receive more recognition, particularly at graduation. Pursuant to that policy, I want to pay a high personal compliment and a tribute to each parent of each member of the graduating class.

In addition to that, President Case has authorized me to extend an oral diploma to you saying, "You are entitled to be very proud today."

Permit me to say a brief word, too, about the Nation's most unappreciated minority group -- the teacher. There are several reasons why the teacher is not fully appreciated -- one is that the results of his efforts take some time to materialize. But I believe everyone can directly relate some counsel from his teachers to important events in his life. Recently a Washington paper wrote a story about this subject, and it was interesting to see what a significant role teachers had played in the lives of many people. When the reporter who wrote the story asked me, I recalled, among others, Professor Herman Aude, who taught mathematics here at Colgate. Toward the end of a term of calculus he asked me what I planned to do when I finished college. I told him because of financial difficulties I would have to go to work immediately after graduation. He advised me not to do that, but to go

to law school instead, even if I had to borrow the money to do it. Later he helped me obtain a scholarship at Cornell Law School. Very probably, except for Professor Aude, I would never have been a lawyer. Although I am sure you can get an argument about whether it's a good thing for anybody to be a lawyer, I followed the advice given to me by Professor Aude -- and I've never been sorry.

Each of you who is graduating today appreciates how much the faculty has contributed to the splendid training you have received here and you will be able to recall in the years ahead specific examples of how teachers at Colgate contributed to your success. So on behalf of the graduating class may I pay a tribute to each member of the Colgate faculty.

Each generation is told that it faces the greatest dangers and the greatest challenges in history. Of course, every generation faces new and different problems and failure to solve these problems can have a disastrous effect on the world for long periods of time. I want to talk briefly about the future -- not to try to convince you that your generation is faced with the greatest challenge -- but to suggest that the problems are serious, that they have meaning for you and that they are different from the problems of other generations.

My generation was faced with the threat of Fascism. I can recall that I had a scholarly but impersonal interest in the rise of Hitlerism. I

read "Mein Kampf" and disbelieved that such evil ideas had a chance to gain a strong foothold in the world. Even with the successes of Hitler and Mussolini it seemed that such a concept could never engulf the whole world in a war. I realized how wrong I was on December 7, 1941. I was listening to a professional football game on the radio that day when the broadcast was interrupted by the news that stunned the world. Then the conflict between Fascism and freedom became distinct, immediate and personal.

The impersonal attitudes that millions of Americans had about Fascism was wrong, and we paid a high price for that mistake. We must not -- we cannot afford to -- be wrong in our attitudes about Communism.

In the first place, there is no reason to have any doubt about the objectives of international Communism or any doubt about the fact that its leaders will use any means to achieve those objectives. Marx and Lenin and others have reduced to writing all the basic policies of Communism just as Hitler did in "Mein Kampf".

And the present leaders of the Soviet government admit their objective of world domination quite openly. At a banquet for Chou En-lai in 1957, Khrushchev said: "I said capitalist society will perish. It is obvious that I was talking about a natural death without any violence on our part. You will die whether you like it or not. It is inescapable. Of course, we will contribute to it what we can."

You will notice that Khrushchev disavows any intention to use force but we must remember that the Soviets will use force when it serves their purpose.

It was my privilege to go with the Vice President of the United States on a trip to Austria in December 1956 to see first-hand the plight of the Hungarian refugees. One night we went with a few Austrian officials to the Hungarian border where the refugees were crossing. We travelled for several miles through muddy fields along this border in a large open half-track. Every so often a family of refugees would appear from out of the darkness. There were families with five or six small children -- an old couple, both over 75 years old, who had walked twenty-five miles through the night across swampy lands -- a blind woman -- a man with legs cut off at the knees -- all had left their homes, their friends, and all their property -- and escaped in a flight to freedom.

The gallant stand of the Hungarian "freedom fighters" who were slaughtered by the Soviet tanks and the subsequent mass exodus of refugees into Austria dramatically showed to the world the true meaning of the Soviet system.

What did the Russian leaders say about this? They said they were protecting Hungary and Hungarians at the request of the Hungarian leaders. Such immorality and deceit is inconceivable to us. But surprisingly enough, there has not been the lasting revulsion against the Soviets everywhere in the world that you would have expected.

Today we hear a good deal of discussion about peaceful coexistence. I think we should discard the phrase entirely because it is so misleading. The leaders of international Communism do not want to coexist with the free nations of the world -- they seek to destroy them. It may be for the moment that its leaders have decided that war is not the way to achieve their objective -- and we certainly hope so -- but any thought that they have decided on a policy of coexistence is unrealistic.

What we are faced with today is "total competition". We are challenged by Communism on all of our basic ideas and in every area of the world. The Soviet's immediate target of this total competition is the 700 million uncommitted peoples of the world who make up the balance of power between the Communist-dominated bloc and the nations of the free world. I do not believe that this has fully dawned on the American people.

One of the most important battlefields in this area of competition is trade. Thus, as Khrushchev recently said: "We declare war on you in the peaceful field of trade. \*\*\* Your grandchildren in America will live under socialism."

These are no idle threats. It would be a serious mistake to take this challenge lightly or to fail to recognize that the Communist system is capable of carrying out plans efficiently and effectively. They have some important advantages. Crash programs of short duration designed

to produce spectacular results can be put into effect without consulting a parliament or a Congress. They need not go through the time-consuming task of taking budgetary considerations into account. They need no public support to embark on a huge aid program in Yemen, North Africa or anywhere else in the world at a moment's notice.

The Soviet Union, because of its autocratic control over its people, can act swiftly on trade or assistance to any area of the world that will help it achieve world domination. One-third of all the people in the world live under Communism. On the other hand, the free world with its combined resources is immensely stronger than the Communist world today. In this area of trade the free world -- and especially the United States -- has manifold advantages.

Our nation is adjusting its economic foreign policy -- through its trade and aid programs -- to meet this threat.

What we must recognize is that this will be a constant and continuing struggle and our plans and programs will have to be flexible enough to meet the threat and dynamic enough to meet constantly changing world conditions.

The Soviet will not overlook any possible field of competition. In athletic events, for example, the Russian leaders are dedicated to proving to the world the superiority of the Soviet athlete as part of their scheme of world domination. For example, one area in which we have



always excelled in the past has been in rifle and pistol marksmanship. But in the 1956 Olympics, the United States was shut out of all team or individual titles, and the Soviets won the Free Rifle, Smallbore Rifle and other titles. These are minor contests but significant to the Soviet because many people in the world associate these rifle-pistol championships with military might. To the Soviet leaders, the Olympics is much more than a sport tournament -- it is an opportunity to demonstrate before all of the nations of the world that just as the Soviet athlete can take the measure of the American athlete so their system as a whole is better than ours.

Consider the Russian exhibit at the Brussels World's Fair. The Soviet budget is about 4 times larger than ours -- \$50 - \$60 million dollars as compared to less than \$15 million. About \$10 million of the Soviet budget is allotted to propaganda alone. Here as in other areas they have set out to demonstrate to a world-wide audience that the U.S.S.R. proposes to take over the lead in human progress in all fields.

Consider also the competition in the field of higher education. There are over 40,000 teachers of English in Russia. It has been estimated that 60 percent of the Soviet college graduates each year are in the natural and physical science fields, as compared to 13 percent in the United States. In 1956, 53,000 scientific and technical students graduated from Russian Universities while there were only 38,000 in the United States. Nor are the Soviets troubled by such problems as

placement or retention of these highly trained technicians. The new scientist is told by the Government where he will work and refusal to accept the assignment may result in criminal prosecution or forfeiture of his diploma or both.

Thus it is that we are competing in science, education, athletics, culture, production, agriculture, transportation, etc.

And we are competing in the Middle East, the Far East, Africa, South America -- in fact in every area of the world.

In addition to these competitive areas the Soviet has challenged every basic idea in which free people believe.

For example, our legal system has a moral basis. Our laws are an expression of what we believe is right and are designed to bring about a just result for every individual. Lenin described the Communist belief when he said "All is moral that serves to strengthen the Soviet system."

We believe that law enforcement has as its purpose the protection of the lives, property, and the rights of individuals. We believe that proving the innocence of an accused is as important as convicting the guilty. That is the hallmark of a free society. International Communism uses law enforcement as a weapon to perpetuate the power of the state.

Consider any of the basic ideas in which we believe -- religion, the rule of law, individual rights and freedoms, or ethics -- and you will find that the Communists challenge their validity.

The conclusion that one is apt to draw from any such discussion is that the free society is much better than the Communist system. And having said that we are apt to feel reasonably complacent.

Is it enough that ours is a better system -- viewed by ethical standards. Will the 700 million uncommitted peoples in the world necessarily agree with the free world because of ethical considerations? Or will other factors such as food and opportunity weigh heavily with them? It seems clear to me that it is not enough to be right and honorable. In addition to those qualities the free nations of the world must adopt practical plans to succeed in every area of competition in the years ahead.

The challenge facing us is whether it is beyond the capacity of a democratic society to meet this type of competition. Can democracy be aroused to action when the contest may seem remote? Can we maintain and strengthen the freedoms we have and compete on even terms against a foe which has no regard for decency or morality? Can we stimulate in our people the type of sustained enthusiasm which over the long haul will be required to win in an era of total competition?

I believe the answer to these questions is yes -- assuming that there is a growing awareness on the part of every individual in a free land that we are now living in an era of total competition and on a worldwide scale.

These are some of the reasons for confidence:

1. The free nations of the world are aware of the total nature of the threat and we will not lose our military superiority. We are not making the mistake we made before in the 1930's. As long as we have this superiority the chance of war is greatly reduced.

2. We are beginning to face up to the fact that we must convince the uncommitted peoples in the world not only that we are right morally and stronger militarily, but that in the long run the free nations of the world will succeed in this competition with Communism.

3. Our nation is becoming more alert to the fact that we are certain to gain from exchanges of ideas with the Russian people -- exchanges of students, artists, writers, agriculturalists, businessmen and others. This whole field of people to people contacts and exchange of ideas should be welcomed because it permits us to compete in the very areas which have been vital to the success of our system in the United States.

4. The Soviets have had to permit a greater penetration of ideas behind the Iron Curtain in order to embark on this type of competition. This is their Achilles heel. There is no greater force in the world than moral force. With greater freedom and means of communication, truth and considerations of right and wrong will play a more important

part in the thinking of the people now in the Soviet orbit. And this fact will, I believe, bring the Russian people to a yearning for freedom which will make itself felt in the years ahead.

May I close by saying that an important, additional factor which gives me confidence is your generation. Certainly -- and I speak from close exposure to it -- yours is the most able, prepared and imaginative group of men and women which our country has ever produced. If you have the drive to supplement your abilities -- and I believe you do -- the future for our country looks bright indeed. Again my heartiest congratulations and best wishes to this outstanding Class of 1958.