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Just what is loyalty to America?, 1954.

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JUST WHAT IS LOYALTY TO AMERICA?

April 4, 1954

Loyalty, my dear friends, is a supreme virtue - loyalty to self, to family, to friends, to country, to faith, to God. Loyalty is a chief test of character. To be steadfast and undeviating in our devotions to one's people or institutions or causes which are deserving of our devotion, to be steadfast to them in spite of sacrifices which may be involved or in spite of enticements away from them or in spite of profit rewards to be disloyal to them is a chief test of one's character, of one's whole being. A disloyal person simply cannot be counted on in the necessary cooperative and joint effort which it takes to build the good family, the good community, the good society, from which institutions all men stand to benefit and to which therefore all men must give their dependable allegiance. Loyalty is the cement which holds every human organization together. Without it that association or organization or institution or family or country falls apart at the very first encounter with opposition.

Frequently, our loyalties express themselves in very simple ways and without great cost to ourselves. Other times loyalty may demand the sacrifice of our very lives. Patriotism is loyalty to one's country, and it is a form of loyalty which frequently demands the highest sacrifices - the sacrifice of life, the world being what it is.

Now no one who is prepared to take advantage of the opportunities which his country accords him - in education, in the achievement of a career, in the earning of a livelihood, in security - no one who is prepared to take advantage of these things can be unwilling to give to his country in return that measure of loyal cooperation for common defense and common security for the well-being of all, which is required of each and every citizen. And this obligation is particularly compelling

in a free society, where the citizen is sovereign and is therefore self-bound by sovereign obligations.

The terms "loyal" and "loyalty" derive from the Latin, "legalis" or "lex" which means law. Faithful to the law; faithful to the law of the government or faithful to the sovereign to whom one is subject.

In a democracy, the citizen is subject to no sovereign, and his loyalty is extended to no person, to no prince, to no king, to no president, for that matter. But it is extended to the government which he himself controls, which free men like himself help to establish and which free men like himself must defend and preserve. In being loyal to his country, therefore, a free citizen is loyal to his own highest and best interests. Without such loyalty neither he nor his fellow men can long enjoy the advantages of a free society.

A hundred and twenty-five years ago, Abraham Lincoln, in an address which he delivered at Springfield said, "Many free countries have lost liberty. And ours may lose hers. But if she shall, be it my proudest plume, not that I was the last to desert, but that I never deserted her." And that is how a free man speaks. His attitude to his free country.

Now the constitution of a free society like ours makes ample provision for revision and for change through its own channels, through its own methods, through its own machinery. And the method and the machinery of a free society are indispensable, are irreplaceable, cannot be substituted for if a free society is to be preserved. Therefore, disloyalty in a free society is of a two-fold nature - it may express itself in two ways - it may express itself, this disloyalty, in outright hostility to the free society and in activities to undermine it - that's one form of disloyalty - but there is another form - disloyalty to the method of the machinery and the legitimate channels of that free society, either in order to effectuate revision and change, or to protect that society against subversion or against enemies which threaten it from within. In other words, there are two ways of being disloyal to a free country - one

is to attack it and to seek its destruction outright and the other is to try to defend it with alien and subversive anti-democratic techniques which in the end amounts to the same thing - the destruction of the free society.

Now we have had in recent years our minds centered only on this first type of disloyalty - namely the disloyalty of those who would by violence overthrow our government. And we have set about in a somewhat hysterical fashion to root out these subversives, these communists, from government and other fields. And there is no criticism that could possibly be made of the efforts of a democracy and of a democratic government to defend themselves against subversion, against sabotage, against enemies from within. Democracies are destroyed when they lower their guard. Democracies must not be naive or play the trusting fool in the kind of a world in which we live, where propaganda and espionage and conspiracy are the every-day tools of governments. Communism, insofar as it sets out violently to overthrow our government, must be resisted and its infiltration checked.

Actually, however, there has been far more smoke than fire in the anti-communist campaign in our country. What has been uncovered of communist penetration in our government is very small indeed in relation to the scare headlines which have been accorded to it and the fears and apprehensions which have been aroused in our citizenry. The noisiest fellow of all who has battered on this headline publicity has not evidently uncovered a single communist in any important government position, and the American people are still left in the dark as to the exact number of actually disloyal and subversive people who have been dismissed from government service. There was an attempt made to palm off a large "catch-all" figure of dismissals recently - dismissals from government for various reasons, but when these figures were closely investigated it was found that the number of actual disloyal persons, subversive persons, included in that figure was amazingly small.

It goes without saying that in this people of 160 million souls that are communists, that are spies, there are communists today in every country on the face

of the earth. But it is a tribute to the strength of our democracy that there are so few communists in our country. And this fact, it would seem to me, would be our strongest answer to the lying propaganda emanating from the Kremlin that the American people are dissatisfied with their form of government or with their economic system, that they're unhappy, that they're fretting under the yoke of unhappy circumstances. The American people have been united against communism. American organized labor has been united against communism. The American free press has been united against communism. The clergy of America has been solidly against communism. Why should people in the United States try to play up the scare of communism? Why give aid and comfort to our enemies abroad? Who stands to benefit from this building up of the communist menace in the United States. Certainly not the free people of our country. I am inclined to believe that there are elements in the United States who like to see this communist scare blown up to pathological proportions. The reactionaries would like it; the Fascists in our midst would like it; the politically minded religious fundamentalists in our midst would like it; all those who would like to exploit the communist scare to throttle free thought, free education, free pulpit, a free press - all these would like to see the American people obsessed, panicked, with the idea of communism in their midst. All those who would deliberately confound the American mind so that it will not be able to discriminate between what is progressive, what is liberal, what is legitimately seeking changes in our forms of society, and what is communism. There are people who would like to see this thing carried on - the people who would like to turn the American people into a nation of snoopers, of informers, of vigilantes, like the Nazis did in Germany where every neighbor spied upon his neighbor and informed the government. There are those who like it - all demagogues, who would like to ride into power on this wave of hysteria and those who are behind these demagogues who ultimately intend to use them for their purposes, all those who would like to censor our school textbooks and our libraries and our screen and our stage so that they will conform to what they believe is the

orthodox, the proper points of view; all those who would like to dominate by intimidation our faculties, our colleges, our clergy; all those are interested in keeping the fires burning, in stirring up the fear of communism to unreasonable proportion.

Therefore I say that it is now high time that the American people center their attention not only on this first type of disloyalty of which I spoke which should not be overlooked, of course, disloyalty of those who actually would like to destroy our government; but upon this second type of disloyalty - those who in the name of democracy resort to alien and anti-democratic and anti-American techniques to fight communism in the United States. For these too, whether wittingly or unwittingly, consciously or unconsciously, are enemies of America. Knowingly or blindly, they are enemies of America because "Communists," as someone, I believe it was Justice Jackson of the United States Supreme Court, "Communists," he said, "are not the only faction which will put us all in mental straightjackets." There are other people besides communists who would like to put us in mental straightjackets.

I came across recently a very challenging and a very disturbing, in a way, book, written by Professor Commager of Columbia called "Freedom, Loyalty, and Dissent." I read you one paragraph from this little volume.

"What do men know of loyalty who make a mockery of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, whose energies are dedicated to stirring up race and class hatreds, who would straightjacket the American spirit? What indeed do they know of America, the America of Sam Adams and Tom Paine, of Jackson's defiance of the court and Lincoln's celebration of labor, of Thoreau's essays on Civil Disobedience and Emerson's championship of John Brown, of the America of the Fourierists and the Come-Outers? Who among American heroes could meet their tests, who would be cleared by their committees? Not Washington, who was a rebel. Not Jefferson, who wrote that all men are created equal and whose motto was "rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." Not Garrison, who publicly burned the Constitution because he was an

abolitionist and believed that the Constitution tolerated slavery; or Wendell Phillips, who spoke for the underprivileged everywhere and counted himself a philosophical anarchist; not Seward of the Higher Law or Sumner of racial equality. Not Lincoln, who admonished us to have malice toward none, charity for all; or Wilson, who warned that our flag was 'a flag of liberty of opinion as well of political liberty'; or Justice Holmes, who said that our Constitution is an experiment and that while that experiment is being made 'we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death.'

What does it mean to be loyal to America - in a positive way - not merely negatively in fighting subversion or in attempting to quarantine hostile doctrines. What does it mean to be loyal to America? In my judgment it means loyalty to the Civil Rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and those who violate these rights under whatever excuse even though the excuse seems to be terribly patriotic, are disloyal to America.

America means no abridgement of freedom of speech or of the press or of the right of men to assemble and to discuss freely their common problems, or freedom of worship. America means that no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, and that holds good of courts of law and of Congressional Investigation committees also.

Professor Chafee recently wrote, "Congress was not designed to determine whether one individual is innocent or guilty of crime or other misconduct. That is what courts are for." An investigation committee must not be an inquisition committee or a persecution committee.

The junior senator of Wisconsin sneers at the fifth amendment, to which I have just referred and holds in contempt those people who resort to it. The framers of the Constitution of the United States and of the Bill of Rights - wiser men, I believe, than this senator from Wisconsin - and, I believe, as great patriots, did not sneer

at it. They thought it so important that they incorporated it in the basic document of the American government. I am inclined to believe that the Senator himself, if he ever got into a tight pinch, would be the first man to resort to that fifth amendment, just as this same Senator, who denied the people whom he called up before him the right to question witnesses, is the first one to demand the right for himself in the forthcoming investigation. What is good for the goose is cynically not good for the gander, or the other way around.

And speaking of this forthcoming investigation - I am wondering whether the American people is not being taken for a ride. Here is a committee whose chairman and whose chief counsel are to be investigated because of certain charges which they made against the army, and this committee, instead of referring the whole issue to another, to an impartial committee not directly involved, decides to investigate itself. But strangely enough the counsel, whom this committee finally selected after weeks of searching is found to be a man who is a violent partisan of Senator McCarthy, who set out to raise money for his re-election in 1952, who attacked professors at Harvard for daring to criticize Senator McCarthy - this is the man who is to carry on this investigation. Figure it out for yourself - for clean, unimpeachable, judicial procedure this is something new.

What is meant in being loyal to America? It means being loyal to America's leadership, moral and spiritual leadership in the world today. And these incidents of hysteria, of panic, of persecution, of smearing, of undermining the prestige of America all over the world, as we see daily from the newspapers - making us the laughing stock, in many instances. In this critical time when so much hangs in the balance, when the voice of America should ring out crystal clear on basic human issues it is being distorted by these voices - loud, raucous, unauthentic, un-American - which speak for America at this time.

What does it mean to be loyal to America? It means to dare to be a non-conformist at all times - not for the sake of non-conformity, for the sake of greater ideals.

America is not something fixed and finished and static. No society is, unless society is beginning to die of senescence. Any young vigorous society must be progressive, must adjust itself to new conditions. The genius of America has been experimentation, daring to do the new thing when conditions warranted it. These spiritual rebels, these non-conformists, these people who dare to be different who dare to defy the majority, who frequently led the American people forward to greater heights of achievement. And it is loyalty to America to remain loyal to this principle of the right of non-conformity - not to try to stifle men who happen to express opinions which are not approved at the moment by the majority of the people.

Finally, loyalty to America is loyalty to the principal purpose of preserving our characteristic way of life, our free institutions, our civil liberties, our method, our machinery, our democratic apparatus, without which a free democracy cannot long endure; to try to preserve that as our greatest and most significant to mankind in this twentieth century, when these very methods and machinery and apparatus of free men have been distorted by half of mankind, are being rejected, are being challenged. It is of especial importance that free Americans at this time scrupulously guard these time-tested techniques of American life.

That is to be loyal to America. There is no other test of loyalty. Oaths, loyalty pledges, these are formalities, sometimes unwise formalities, which do not go to the heart of things, to the roots of things. The disloyal person, the conspiratorial communist, is not afraid to take an oath to cover up. Loyalty is a thing of the inside of man - inside his heart and inside his mind - it's a matter of basic attitudes. Loyalty and love are not separable. You are loyal to the thing that you love. If there is no love for the thing then formal expressions of ^{loyalty} ~~love~~ are of little worth and significance. We ought to begin to re-emphasize in our thinking... this one type of loyalty and the two types of disloyalty to which I have referred. The American people must be cautioned that they can be disloyal to America, sometimes

unconsciously, when they resort to un-American, alien devices, techniques, procedures to protect and defend the American way of life.

I have confidence in the good sense of the American people. It will assert itself in the long run. I think it is beginning to assert itself, but the process can be hastened if intelligent citizens, men and women, would be alerted, would make themselves heard and not to permit those who do not represent them royally give the impression to the world that they speak for them or think for them, or act for them.



1/ Loyalty is a supreme virtue. - (to self, to family, to friends, to country to faith, to God.)

It is a chief test of character. To be steadfast understanding in our devotion to people, institutions causes which are deserving of our devotion - in spite of sacrifices involved, or entirely a preferred rewards.

A disloyal person cannot be counted on with necessary joint and cooperative effort which it takes to build the first society - from which all men stand to benefit and to which all men must accordingly must see their defendable alliances.

Loyalty is the cement which holds every human organization together. Without it it falls apart at its first encounter with enemies. Since "Fides servat hominem humanitas consequitur" loyalty is the highest part of the human heart.

Frequently loyalty expresses itself in simple and not too costly ways - at other times it might demand the sacrifice of our very lives.

2/ Patriotism is loyalty to one's country - and a form of loyalty which frequently demands the highest sacrifices - the member / life - the whole being what it is -

No one who is prepared to take advantage of the opportunities which his country offers him - in education, career, livelihood and security must be unwilling to give to his country that measure of loyal cooperation and defense which is requested of all citizens.

This is not merely an obligation, is every man involved in the very nature of a free society, - when the citizen

in sovereignty, and is therefore self-bound by reverses
obligations.

(a) The terms "loyal" & "loyalty" derive from the Latin "Legalis"
"Lex" = law = "fidelity to law" or "law of government"
"To sovereignty to whom one is subject"

(1) For a democr. the citizen is subject to no sovereignty
and his loyalty is not extended to a person, a prince
a king or even a president. - But to the government
which he must obey, which free men like having
established, and which free men must defend and preserve -

(2) In being loyal to his country - a free citizen is
loyal to his own highest interests - without
such loyalty, neither he nor his fellow-citizens can
long be free - enjoy advantages of a free society.

← (Justi honestas) - 12th century, St.

3/ It contributes of any free society make ample provision for
revision and change - through its own channels and the
use of new machinery. This method overcoming the old
indispensable - unplanned - its very defects as it without these means
Disloyalty in a free society is therefore of a free old nation

and may express itself in any two ways - (1) Outright
hostility to the free society and activities to undermine it.

(2) Disloyal, the machinery & the best channels of that
free society, to effectuate revision or change - or to protect
it against subversion or external enemies threatening from
within.

(3) There are two ways being described - to attack

I am fight and seek its destruction - and to defend it with ¹³
Anti-democratic techniques which in the end amounts to the
same thing.

4/ We have ^{been} in recent years our minds centered only on the first
type of disloyalty - the disloyalty of those who could be reduced
or thrown out of part.

We have set out about in a somewhat hysterical fashion to
set out subversive and communist from part.
and other fields.

There is no outcome that could possibly be made of any
effort of a dem. part. to defend itself.

Democrats are destroyed when they leave their guard. They
must not be naive, in play the Franklin Town in the
kind, a world in which we live, where propaganda,
and espionage conspiracy are the every-day tools of guilt.
Conspiracy should be ruined + its infiltration checked.

5/ Actually, however, there has been far more need than fire
in the anti-communist campaigns in our country. What
has been uncovered of communist permeation in our
part. is very small indeed in relation to the head-
lines which have been accorded to it - and the fears and
apprehensions aroused in the our abiding. The most
fellows blatant who has been in their head-lines - has
not uncovered a single communist in an important
part - part. The Amer people are still left in the
dark as to the exact number of actual disloyal
and subversive who have been dis used from part.
series - There is an attempt made to pass off a
large "catch-all" type of disloyals for various reasons.

- and by implication - answer

6/ It goes without saying - ^{160M} in every country

It is inherent - Shays answer Kremlin -

Amer. people united against - Labor - Press - Army

Why should people try to play-up - Aid themselves?

Who stands to benefit?

- Certainly not free people U.S.

The reactionaries - Fascists - fundamentalists - Hyphs

can to throttle -

deliberate confound

- Turn on ~~us~~ people into a water - Snoops -

informers - Vig. hunters - Nazis -

- All demagogues ride into power -

~~went there~~ ~~and~~ ~~a~~ ~~admission~~

clergy

(a) This fly - can - + an atomic seeds - Prof. Louis H. a as a st. Chemist.

H. T. said circles are all right not

7/ It is now high time that we citizens are all together - not
 any on the first type of disloyalty - which should not be undertaken - especially
 on the second type of disloyalty - a well - those who, in the
name of democracy, resort to (alien & anti-democratic lines.
beckon us to fight Communism in the U.S.

For there, too, whether willingly or unwillingly, as enemies /
Ammer! - blindly or knowingly des loyal!

"Commitments are not the only factors which will put us all in mental strait-jackets" (Guthrie Jackson - 1950)

8/. What does it mean to be loyal to America - is a positive way - not merely negatively in by refusing subversives - is in attempting to guarantee world doctrine -

doctrina →
America - means Civil Right guaranteed by Constitution U.S.
Those who violate them, under whatever name, are disloyal
to America.

① no abridgement of freedom of speech or the press
(~~Justice Louis D. Brandeis - 1927.~~) (h.2v)

(2) "No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself -" That has just 1 month

of law and of Congressional Investigations Committees (6)
"Congress was not designed to determine whether an individual is innocent or guilty of crime or other misconduct. That is what courts are for." (Prof. Chafetz).

An investigation Com. must not be an inquisition Com.
or a prosecution Com.

① Sen. McCarthy - sneered - 5th Amendment - the framers, the Constitution & Bill of Rights - wise men - & as great patriots - did not sneer at it.

I am inclined to think that Sen. McC. - would not hesitate - cross-examine witnesses -

② And speaking of forth-coming investigation - taken for a ride
The Com. when Chairman + firm. counsel - as to the investigation -
- did not submit - impartial Com. - investigate fully
and selected a counsel - ~~without Karlson's use~~ "done a great job" - tried to raise money to re-elect McC. - and fought with 3 Harvard prof

Figure this out - for clear, on in people's judicial procedure

- 9/ Loyalty to Am. ① Am. Leadership - prestige - suspect
" " ② ~~non-combustible~~
" " ③ Present an easy / life, free with others
10/ " " " are Civil Liberties - in the best way / best

"Many free countries have lost their liberty,
and we may lose hers. But if we shall, as it were
protest plum, not that I was the last to desert,
but that I never deserted her." >

