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Joseph F. Carroll

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# POLICE SCIENCE

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## PULLING TOGETHER

JOSEPH F. CARROLL

Major General Joseph F. Carroll is Deputy Inspector General and Director of Special Investigations in the office of the Inspector General. He was first assigned to this office as a civilian in December, 1947, received his USAF reserve commission in February, 1948, and was ordered to extended active duty. On August, 1950, Major General Carroll was promoted to his present rank and is now a member of the Regular Air Force. Formerly an Inspector with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which he first joined in 1940, General Carroll was an Assistant to the Director of the FBI when he was transferred to the USAF. During his service with the FBI, he had been assigned to various field offices and in the Washington headquarters handling many problems of espionage and sabotage investigations and had held temporary assignments with other administrative units in Washington.

This address was delivered at the Third Annual Arson and Fire Prevention Conference in New Orleans, Louisiana, in July, 1954. Because of its special significance to all law enforcement officers, we are especially pleased to be able to publish it at this time.—EDITOR.

The letter which I received inviting me to be with you on this occasion, carried a letterhead which arrested my attention. On it were inscribed the words, "Department, State Fire Marshal." I presume we are all much alike—the commonplace tends to immunize us against that which is often truly significant. To me, a stranger to your daily tasks, the title, "State Fire Marshal" raised many images. I commenced to realize that in this Department, the people of the great State of Louisiana have reposed their safety insofar as the fire hazard is concerned. To this extent, the State Fire Marshal and his supporting components become the defenders of the State.

Thereupon, the image of the State manifested itself to me, and I thought of Louisiana as 1/48th part of a great nation. I thought of Louisiana not as an independent entity, but as a unit under a constitutional system, a unit in which is invested all of the powers of government except those which Louisiana and the other states have, in their wisdom, delegated to a national government. I commenced to realize that for all practical purposes and except for invasion, the safety of Louisiana lies in the hands of its own people; that peoples of the great and populous communities must assign their responsibilities to persons of their choice and in whom they can confidently place their safety. And so, therefore, in examining my invitation, I was impressed with the fact that I had been called upon to speak to the representatives of a great State and a great people, who, in the discharge of their duties to their own people, bear 1/48th of the burden also of defending and protecting an entire nation. Now I see in full perspective, the immensity of the trust with which you are charged.

In times like these, I think it is important that we assess both our assets and our responsibilities. The strength and the greatness of any nation depends upon a variety of factors, not the least of which are its people, its land, its riches, and its facilities. The State of Louisiana looms large on the horizon of our national assets. The Port of New Orleans ranks second among all the ports of the nation in the amount of traffic

which it controls. The waterways of the Gulf not only provide the nation with the means of traffic to all areas of the world, but they give us safe harbor and provide us with the places where ships can be fabricated which become the sinews of a strong national body. America today is the greatest seafaring nation of all time. Her safety, her security, her prosperity, and her well-being depend, in terms that cannot be adequately measured, upon the strength of her vessels and the safety of her harbors, and the security of her bases. With the full enjoyment and utilization of the assets of which Louisiana can be justly proud, there goes a corresponding responsibility. Those assets must be protected. They must be preserved. In the larger sense, they must be protected not only for 1/48th part of the nation, but the entire nation. Therefore, the responsibilities, which the people of Louisiana have reposed in the State Fire Marshal and his subsidiary and affiliated organizations, is a very real one.

If I were to tell you that we are now at war, you would no doubt have visions of long-range bombers carrying their missiles to our shores. If I were to tell you that we have been invaded, you would experience the image of marching armies supported by massed tanks penetrating our sacred soil. If I were to tell you that the country is undergoing a revolution, you would be entitled to visualize civil strife and men on the barricades. If I were to tell you that the nation has been sabotaged, you might have visions of atomic or thermonuclear explosions bringing destruction to our vital defensive and offensive installations. Although these calamities have not occurred, in a way we are at war, we have been invaded, we have been sabotaged, a revolution is in progress.

The war in which we are now engaged was declared in 1848 when Karl Marx, in his Communist Manifesto, issued his summons to class warfare. This call to revolution, spawned from the mind of Marx, urged upon the world a particular kind of revolution—a “Communist revolution,” and “revolution in permanence,” was to be “the battle-cry.” We have been invaded by armies that do not wear uniforms nor advance in military formation. We have been attacked by a force who plans to willfully and maliciously undermine our institutions, subvert our citizens, and steal the secrets of our national strength. It is largely from this backdrop of history that I am addressing myself to you today. And, it is in full knowledge of the present dangers that you, and the 1/48th part of the nation you represent, become so vital to our national survival.

Since we here this morning are keenly alert to Communist plans for internal interference with the defensive capabilities of our nation, it is only right that we give special thought to our responsibilities in order that we may rededicate ourselves to the task of ensuring industrial production free of enemy inspired delay and interference, and an Air Force always prepared, always in existence as a “Power for Peace.”

The primary mission of your Air Force is two-fold. First, its very existence is designed to deter the use of military force by nations endeavoring to impose their policies on others; secondly, it must be prepared, if necessary to repel the forces of aggression, and to protect and preserve the integrity and vitality of the nation. To implement this mission requires the training of air personnel; the maintenance of flying services, facilities, and tactical operations; the procurement, storage, and sup-

ply of materiel; and the proper housing, hospitalization, and processing of troops. Any delay or cessation in the performance of these important functions, owing to loss of facilities or materiel or sacrifice of personnel will have a serious effect upon the accomplishment of that mission. Hence, to the end that such mission interference may be reduced to a minimum, if not eliminated entirely, the U.S. Air Force is committed to the establishment of an intensive, all-inclusive program of security designed to safeguard the well-being of installations, equipment, and personnel.

Since the planes we fly, the gasoline we burn, the weapons and munitions we fire, all are supplied by factories and installations in the forty-eight States, many of the more important ones situated in Louisiana, the operational efficiency of the Air Force is, in great measure, dependent upon the uninterrupted flow of these supplied from the producer to appropriate Air Force installations. Necessarily, any interruption in the steady supply of materiel and equipment to the Air Force will proportionately affect the operational mission. Therefore, it follows that the Air Force is dependent on you the civilian authorities in whom the people have reposed their trust, to maintain the peace and dignity and safety of the community, free of violent disturbances and uncontrolled fires.

While there are many facets to your varied responsibilities, all of you have one thing in common—you are engaged directly or indirectly in the law enforcement business. It is to these law enforcement aspects of your responsibilities that I address myself now.

In a speech in 1790, the Irish statesman John P. Curran, said:

“It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become a prey to the active. The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance, which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt.”

From this statement we get the quotation, “Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.” Vigilance, the guardian angel of our democracy, is a requisite of special significance to those of us in the law enforcement business.

In the midst of international confusion, and at a time when the security of our nation demands a sensitive degree of vigilance on the part of all of us, your organization is meeting to discuss its common problems, and, no doubt, to plan for the days ahead when new problems will challenge the strength and ingenuity of law enforcement across the nation.

Vigilance by American law enforcement was perhaps never challenged more acutely than in World War II and the days which preceded it. You will recall that with the Nazi rape of Poland in 1939, the continent of Europe became a boiling cauldron of fear and hate. The countries beyond the immediate reach of the Nazi armies had already begun to feel the impact of this situation. The Fifth Column of the enemy swung into action. It looked upon the U.S. as a ripe breeding ground for dissent. It knew well the indifference of some of our people who would laugh off or otherwise minimize this threat. The picture of so-called American goosesteppers who raised open arms in salute to a power-drenched dictator was a spectacle of disgust which we hope will never again appear on the American scene.

With American aerial, land, and naval might fighting the battle abroad, law enforcement at home dug in and emerged victorious over the hidden enemy within our borders. Law enforcement in the western hemisphere banded as one, pulled together and defeated the spy, the saboteur, their hirelings, and henchmen. The bastion of liberty was strong because of the vigilance and devotion to duty of thousands of men such as you—and most important, the job was done without abrogating the God-given inalienable rights of the individual.

The pattern of history has already begun to repeat itself. We face another even more dangerous totalitarian threat at home and abroad today—communism.

We have, of course, faced the threat of communism for years. But for years it was a threat of communism apparently content to proceed as far as possible toward the goal of taking over the world by subversive means.

This threat, however, has been intensified by recent events into something immeasurably more deadly and more immediate. One of these events was the atomic explosion on Soviet soil, indicating that the communists had developed an atom bomb. The other event took place in Korea where communism ripped away its mask and was revealed as something more than merely a rival ideology. By its unprovoked attack on ROK, communism stood revealed as a heartless, power-thirsty aggressor supported in its lust for world domination by a ruthless and mighty military machine.

Communism as such came into being with the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848. It took root and began to spread in Russia and in many other countries. In 1917, Communist Parties all over the world received tremendous impetus with the revolutionary establishment of Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia gave communists all over the world their first fatherland—providing for the transfer of their loyalties and allegiance from the lands of their physical birth to the land of their ideological birth. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union became the model party to which all other Communist Parties in the world look for guidance—and they get it. Specifically, they get four things: International leadership, international recognition, international cohesiveness, and an international blueprint for world conquest.

World War II demobilized and destroyed the hateful bastions of German Nazism, Italian Fascism, and Japanese Imperialism, but Russian Communism emerged from the war more powerful than ever and Soviet Russia the strongest nation in Europe. Since the end of the war, the USSR has moved rapidly and ruthlessly, albeit cleverly, in extending and consolidating its power in the world. Many governments have toppled, and communist dictatorships have taken their place. More than one-third of the people of the world today are suffering under the communist concept of government—by count 809,814,000 people are enduring some form of slavery under the brutal control of communism.

We must see to it that this figure is not increased by 160 million more—160 million Americans.

Remember that the Soviets have effectively gained control of much of the world, and that although 37 out of every 100 persons in the world are under communist domination, and that although the Soviets have for the past 12 years increased their tributary territory at the alarming rate of 44 square miles per hour, they have

accomplished most of this without unleashing their armies across their own borders. They build trojan horses, they create Fifth Columns, they divide and conquer from within.

Communist Parties all over the world are being continually exhorted to hurry the establishment of a "People's Democracy" in all countries where the communists are not now in power.

The destruction of the U.S. Government is the main aim of those who follow Marxist-Leninist principles because the U.S. and its allies represent the last citadel of democracy. Its destruction would hasten the communization of the world.

Today the U.S. is faced with the realization that there exists in our midst a formidable segment of the international communist conspiracy, which knows no equal in the history of mankind.

I do not intend to presume upon your good will by discussing the C.P. USA. You, I know, are familiar with its organization, its successful infiltration, its aims and objectives, its subservience to Moscow, and its avowed intention to support the USSR in the event of armed conflict between the U.S. and that country. The problem of combating this internal communist threat is one for all the American people. It is one of special magnitude for those engaged in the law enforcement profession—of special magnitude because law enforcement must ferret out and expose the subverter, must erect defenses against his insidious attacks, and do so in the American way without infringing upon the Constitutional rights and privileges of the individual. This is no easy task. There is an exceedingly delicate balance to be maintained between the urgent dictates of security and the vital requirements of democracy.

It is one of the ironies of the organization of society that the most "successful" police systems prevail where there is no law at all—just the police who are the law. We call such a system a "police state."

A police agent in a totalitarian state is unencumbered by a Constitution, a Civil Rights, or anything so complex as courts, appellate courts, and appeals from appellate courts. And even where there is a semblance of a judicial system as we know it, you have all noted, I am sure, that in dictatorship states the arrest, the trial, the conviction, and execution merge so rapidly that the system of justice involved makes a mockery even of the old expression, "Let's give him a fair trial before we hang him."

One of the deadliest and most efficient police systems in the history of all times was established on this earth about 700 years ago under an incredible despot named Genghis Khan who could neither read nor write. The great Khan had no law except his own. He ruled by murder and devastation one-half of the then known world. But it was said of his dominion that a maiden of tender years alone and unescorted could ride with a sack of gold the length and breadth of his nomad empire from Armenia to Korea and from Tibet to the Volga, and no one would dare to molest her if she carried the protective credentials of the great Khan. Yet under that practically perfect police system there was chaos, destruction, mass murder, and the loss of property on a scale so stupendous that historians stand off in bewilderment at it even to this day.

In our own time we have witnessed three or four such police systems. Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin have tried hard and have come close to emulating this Genghis

Khan. While Hitler and Mussolini are done, Stalin and his successors' chapter in history is not yet closed, and his police system even now is going stronger than ever. The dread that hangs upon the world while Soviet despotism lives may end in a catastrophe that could make Genghis Khan look like a juvenile delinquent.

The Communist police system began in December 1917 when the Soviet regime was just a few weeks old. Then was created the All Russian Extraordinary Committee for Struggle with Counter Revolution and Sabotage. This name was quite a mouthful so it was commonly known by its Russian initials VChK, rendered colloquially as Cheka. The Cheka was an investigative body with sweeping powers. At the end of 1918 the Cheka was reorganized from an organ of investigation into an organ which, as described by the Soviet Minister of Justice K. P. Gorshenin, also resorted directly to extra-judicial measures of coercion (without reference to the courts), thus assuring swift and of necessity cruel repression of the enemies of the Soviet State. The police agent thus became a combination of investigator, prosecutor, judge, jury, and executioner. This combination of functions in one man may have been easy on the tax-payers' *pocketbook*, but it was mighty rough on the *taxpayer*.

Since then the Cheka has been successively renamed GPU, NKVD, and finally MVD, and with every change of initials, its organization and functions have expanded until today it consists of a compact, highly disciplined, well trained, well armed internal police army whose members are fanatically loyal to the party leadership—this in addition to an all pervading network of part time and full time undercover agents, with untold numbers of spies and contacts in every walk of Soviet life. It is unfettered, omnipotent police power reduced to practical organizational form—the State in the full sense of Lenin's definition of the State as a machine for suppression. It is naked, unchecked coercive power in the hands of the unscrupulous few who impose their will on the helpless multitude.

One of the greatest paradoxes of all times is the fact that H. G. Yagoda who headed the GPU through its period of greatest expansion, and who for years literally held the lives of Stalin and other Kremlin leaders in the palm of his hand—together with the lives of millions of plain citizens—ended as the victim of the very instrument he had helped to fashion—shot by one of the firing squads he had trained, convicted as a traitor under the same procedure he had devised and used against thousands of others.

Yagoda was succeeded in 1939 by Lavrenti Beria who by his organizational genius and ruthlessness brought the NKVD and the MVD to a position of unparalleled oppressive police power. In the doing he aggrandized unto himself such personal power that he vied with Georgei Malenkov for the throne vacated by Stalin's death.

The retributive justice signified in Yagoda's liquidation by the vicious system he did so much to create received startling reaffirmation when Beria, too, met a similar fate at the hands of the same carnivorous system he had mastered for so many years. Never forget, however, that while Yagoda and Beria are no more, the police system they developed lives on, and the MVD is still supreme in Communist countries.

Law enforcement in our country calls for a far better man than the agent in the police state nation. Here the law enforcement officer must be a man conscious of his responsibilities; a man of courage, physical and moral; of professional competence;

of integrity and ethics; of patience and understanding; a man of heart and soul as well as brain. Here the law enforcement officer must be a man who has the training, the instinct, the intelligence, and delicate judgment to make, frequently under dangerous circumstances, split-second decisions of propriety and legality of his actions which subsequently are often subject to the leisurely, calm, and studious, and sometimes split-opinion review of our judicial authority. That is why law enforcement in this country must be recognized as a profession. I can think of no more demanding nor important assignment in life than that which you men have since it is your task to protect your community and society as a whole against the criminal and the subverter, to identify and apprehend the guilty, to protect the innocent, and to do so with full practical recognition of the rights, privileges, and dignity of the individual.

The difference between the way we enforce the law in this country, and the way the police state operates is not just a difference of *modus operandi* or technique. It is founded upon a vital difference in ideology; a radically different way of life.

In this country the people are sovereign, and all the powers of those who govern are derived from the governed. The powers which the governed yield are given freely and by choice. They are not extracted. And those powers can be taken away from those who would abase them and abuse them as readily as they were yielded originally. All power resides in the people, and this is the origin of the ennobling ideal that the people are supreme. This is the essence of sovereignty, and that kind of sovereignty does not exist in the police state.

These are the broad limits of the powers of those who represent the state, and they may not be extended or enlarged except through channels which a sovereign people have established. The abuse of powers in our society is redressable—but not in a police state. It is this concept of sovereignty, together with its daily and rigorous enforcement that has led us to the axiom that those who govern are the servants of the governed—not their masters as in the police state. In our society those who represent the machinery of the state must sell themselves to the people, while in a police state the people must sell themselves to the agencies of the state.

Our administrative, legislative and judicial processes have been secured against the invasion of caprice, whim, and prejudice. It is the people who are not only the givers of power but the final arbiters of the exercise of that power. No man or group of men may decide that what is good for him or for them must also be good for all others, including those who must be sacrificed in the process, and that no sacrifice is too great if the leader wills it. It is this fundamental principle which makes us a nation of laws and not of men, and it is the vigilant observance of this principle which distinguishes us from the police state.

The issue between us and communism was clearly described not very long ago by General Matthew Ridgeway, then United Nations' Commander in Korea, when he said the issue is simply whether or not the power of western civilization as God has permitted it to flower in our own beloved lands shall hold its own against an aggressive communism; whether the rule of men who enslave their citizens, torture their prisoners, and denude man of his dignity shall displace the rule of those to whom the individual and his individual rights are sacred; whether we are to survive with God's hand to guide and lead us, or to perish in the dead existence of a Godless world.

The underlying basis of communism is a dynamic, dialectical materialism. Communism propounds a materialistic interpretation of history. It recommends a violent revolution. It advocates the smashing and the annihilation of the state. It demands the destruction of religion, and the liquidation of all who disagree with them. It is dedicated to the banishment of the morality of western civilization. And like the Nazis, it plans the systematic disappearance of entire classes of people. It operates under the most wicked principle that the end justifies the means. It has for its goal the establishment of a stateless, classless, Godless, worldwide system.

This is what communism has to offer Americans. This is the offer we reject. Compare this basic communist philosophy with the basic idea of American democracy so aptly summed up in these famous lines from our Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

We live at such a critical juncture in the history of the human race that we must recognize that the law you uphold is the high watermark of western civilization.

The fundamental heritages and traditions of our country are largely in your keeping. You must approach your work with zeal and earnestness. Yours is a service and responsibility which requires dedication.

And in this dedication of self to duty there must be constant recognition of the basic democratic philosophy inherent in the famous words of Thomas Jefferson: "The God who gave us Life, gave us Liberty at the same time." And remember the price of that liberty is eternal vigilance.