ADDRESS OF J. STROM THURMOND, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AT THE REUNION OF THE IVY DIVISION, AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, SEPTEMBER 4, 1948, 11:00 A. M.

GENERAL BARTON, VETERANS OF THE FOURTH DIVISION, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Few honors have come to me since I entered public life which I prize more highly than this privilege of addressing "the fighting men of the fighting Fourth Division". I am especially proud to be here at the invitation of your brave war-time Commander, General Barton, whose friendship I value most highly. Search the archives of the War Department from cellar to attic, and you will find no combat unit in our military history which has distinguished itself on the battlefield with greater heroism and with more strategic accomplishments than the Ivy Division.

On D-Day, June 6, 1944, the 8th Infantry Regiment of the Fourth Division became the first allied unit to battle the Germans on the Normandy Beaches. It was your division which broke through to the vital road center of Ste. Mere Eglise to relieve part of the 82nd Airborne Division to which I was attached. This relief came after the 82nd had accomplished its mission, but had been isolated for 36 hours. As you can well imagine, I shall never forget that occasion, and that is another reason I am happy to participate in your reunion in Augusta.
Your courageous division fought without pause until, by V-E Day, the Fourth had rolled into the vital heart-land of Germany. The division suffered 21,550 casualties, and to your everlasting credit, the Fourth Division from June 6, 1944, through May 8, 1945, expended 16,682 tons of artillery ammunition and 6,087 tons of infantry ammunition. Your division is truly one of the great fighting units of our American armed forces.

The Fourth Division, like many others, was de-activated soon after the war ended. This folding up of our fighting machinery before the peace was written has had serious repercussions. Today I want to discuss with you for a few minutes the problems which confront the peoples of the world in their search for a lasting peace.

No audience in America is better qualified to consider this problem and to act on it than the veterans of the Fourth Division who contributed so much in two world wars to the cause of democracy. Make no mistake about one thing, the peoples of the world do not want another war. Wars are brought on by small selfish groups of political leaders who develop greed for power and world domination.
The irony of our present situation lies in the fact that had it not been for the fighting Fourth and the other American divisions, the men of Moscow would not be alive today to again threaten world peace. Had not American fighting forces and American resources been fully utilized to break the back of Nazi power, the Hitlers, the Goerings, and the Goebbels would have done the liquidating instead of being liquidated.

Instead of appreciating what this nation did to save their own country and their own heads, Stalin, Molotov, and Vishinski have done nothing since we cracked Hitler's war machine but scheme and plan to extend their own sphere of influence. They have constituted themselves as a road block against world peace.

The Soviets have practiced every known brand of international intrigue and diplomatic double talk. They have wormed their way into the little countries of Europe on the basis of being a friendly ally. Within a few months this "friendly ally" has converted these helpless little countries into Russian puppet states and the people there have been enslaved under the iron rule of Moscow.
Nothing has come out of our victory in World War II more heartbreaking to me that what has happened to the peoples of the little countries like Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland and Poland. These peoples celebrated on V-E Day, because they believed home rule and liberty would again be theirs to nourish, to cherish and to enjoy. Instead, they have merely had the heel of one dictator taken from their necks and the heel of another dictator placed on them.

As Americans we must calmly and realistically face this problem -- this threat to peace and happiness of all mankind. Communism now threatens to engulf all of Europe to the English Channel, and succeeding in that, we may fully expect their campaign to spread with greater force in all parts of the world.

What's going on in Berlin today is just so much window dressing for bigger things to come. Russia is using Berlin for more important plans in expanding her hold on Europe. She would, of course, like to take over Berlin for psychological reasons, but she is more interested in controlling the Rhur.

This situation in Germany cannot longer continue. If the blockade in Berlin is removed, we should once again sit down with Russia at a conference table and determine if there is any chance of adopting a peace treaty with Germany.
It has now been over three years since Berlin fell, and even a preliminary peace treaty with Germany has not been drafted, because the Soviets refused to cooperate.

If at another conference we can make no progress with Russia in Drafting a peace treaty for Germany, then there is no alternative but to recognize the Soviet Union as a potential enemy state.

As matters now stand, we are in war that is not war, and we are in peace that is not peace.

I think all of us will agree that unless there is some break in the present tense international situation, there is no escape from ultimate conflict. Therefore, it is our duty to exploit every possible compromise of our differences with the Soviets. As long as there is a ray of hope of getting Stalin and Molotov to cooperate with us for peace as they did in waging war, then we should continue to seek to find some ground on which we can stand in writing a peace treaty with Germany. But we should keep in mind always that a policy of appeasement was tried by Chamberlain with Hitler and it did not work. We can compromise honest differences of opinion, but we must not compromise principle, or appease Russia just because Russia threatens another war. The only way to deal with Stalin is in a two-fisted manner, and he must be made to realize that we are not too proud to fight.
Our best insurance for peace is to be prepared for war. Any other course, in the light of present world conditions, would be to flirt with national suicide.

We must be prepared for total war. This means that if war comes all our manpower must be available for national service. The old concepts of making war—even those of World War II—are already becoming obsolete. We can no longer wage war by borrowing money, because we still owe the 300 billions we borrowed from the last war. We cannot again depend upon the slow, gradual utilization of our manpower, and our financial and industrial potential as we did before. In this atomic age, there will be no time for the recruiting of war workers and for the negotiation of contracts for the manufacture of armaments. Total mobilization must embrace all our scientific, industrial, and manpower resources, in accordance with an instantaneous pattern of conversion.

It will be a fatal error if we do not at once begin to educate the civilian toward a full acceptance of his duties and responsibilities in the event of war. It will be fatal if we do not at once write the legislation for a plan of instant total mobilization, which would be self-activating upon the declaration of a national emergency.

Such steps as have been recently taken by Congress toward strengthening our national defense are in the right direction.
The armed services have been unified under the direction of a Secretary of Defense, with three civilian Secretaries for the three services. All three commands, in fact, are now to be housed under one roof in the Pentagon Building. Although the new unified system falls short of the ideal, it will serve to eliminate many of the evils of duplication, lack of cooperation and rivalry, which have lessened the efficiency of our war potential in the past.

The Congress, in lieu of a Universal Military Training act, has provided a peacetime draft, under civilian direction, and a plan for a shortened one-year voluntary training period for 18-year-olds in the regular Army. The draft will serve to build a larger regular mobile striking force, and the voluntary system will gradually build up the number of trained men in the civilian components.

In addition, provision has been made for a Civilian Defense organization, based largely upon the experience of the last war, which is to be put into effect in the various states as rapidly as possible.

These programs undoubtedly have their value, and they do represent an effort to approach a state of preparedness. But we must not stop here.
We should begin at once to develop a total mobilization plan and have it ready to put into effect by establishing a proper government agency of civilian executives to carry it out. This agency should be separate and distinct from the armed services, and its top men should be leaders in every field of civilian life which will be effected in war mobilization. This board would work out, in advance, plans for utilizing every industry, every scientific laboratory, and every natural resource in the event of war. With the full cooperation and understanding of the public, it could maintain a perpetual inventory on all our resources, and make certain that they were ready for instant employment should the enemy strike.

We must see to it that our armed forces remain effective on the ground, on the sea, and in the air. We must also see that such organizations as the National Guard, the Organized Reserve, and the Naval Reserve are promoted, so that trained personnel will be almost immediately available to expand standing armed services.

In this connection, a report has recently been made in Washington recommending that the National Guard be federalized and taken away from the control of the States. I am opposed to this proposal and I will resist it with every available means. Removal of the National Guard from State control would violate the basic principles of our government and weaken our national defense.
The National Guard is an effective force within the confines of its present organization, but it can and should be strengthened. Another significant step leading toward instant mobilization is the proper encouragement of scientific research and development of modern weapons. In the recent war we saw the development of radar, electronic devices, recoilless weapons, pilotless aircraft, guided missiles, and the atomic bombs. Turning points in the war were very frequently the successful use of new weapons.

I am told that the Army today, because of insufficient funds, has procured little new equipment, but is still living off World War II stocks. They are lacking in many items of equipment, such as recoilless weapons, satisfactory anti-tank guns, and electronic devices.

Adequate attention should be given, whatever the cost, to the development of new weapons, and to the support of scientific research necessary to their development.

Next on the list should be a world-wide intelligence service. We are told that the next war will come without warning. Hence, it is vital that we know the enemy's intentions as nearly as possible. An intelligence service, whose scope is world-wide, should be provided to coordinate and evaluate all information collected by all agencies.
Another necessity is for closer coordination between those responsible for our foreign policy and the heads of our armed services. The complexity of the modern world and the increased telescoping of time and space make it vital that the closest possible relationship exist between the officers and agencies which frame our foreign policy and those responsible for the strength and condition of our armed forces. America does not want a vacillating foreign policy geared to dubious military strength. Instead, we need a military force sufficient to back up a firm foreign policy.

A strong Merchant Marine, too, is imperative. We entered World War II deficient in cargo ships, and as a result the submarines nearly cost us our victory. We must be prepared to project our power overseas, and to bring from abroad the critical raw materials we need. Let us see to it that the strong Merchant Marine we have developed is not again junked or scuttled.

To be adequately prepared for an emergency, we should have an accurate knowledge of our raw material resources. This calls for a detailed inventory of what we have within our borders, and a like inventory of what can only be obtained from without. We are rapidly becoming a "have-not" nation with regard to many raw materials. Included in this category is the minerals from which...
fissile material is made, as well as alloyable ores needed in the manufacture of steel capable of standing extreme heat. Hence, our production of atomic energy and jet-propelled engines may depend on importing and stockpiling those materials.

We must, in the national interest, set up machinery to take stock of our natural resources and see just where we stand. Then we must make plans to import for domestic use those materials in which we may run short in time of war. This presupposes the requisite measures to conserve those resources vital to our war potential, to locate supplies for import, and to stockpile where possible, so that full war production may begin at the moment of attack.

I have outlined to you a broad and comprehensive preparedness program. I am no new convert to a strong national defense. At the 1947 Governors' Conference in Salt Lake City I expressed fear over the turn of international affairs and urged many of the proposals I have advocated here today.

The Governors at Salt Lake City adopted a resolution I offered with reference to national defense. As I have pointed out, Congress has enacted some of the proposals recommended by the Governors in their Salt Lake City meeting. We are on the way to rebuilding the fighting machine we junked too soon after our victory over Germany and Japan.
We have learned the bitter lesson that Stalin respects only one thing, and that is military power. When during the last war it was proposed that the Pope be consulted on a certain matter before the Big Three conference, Stalin bluntly asked -- "How many divisions has the Pope got?"

As our military strength is depleted, our relations with Russia deteriorate. If Stalin and his heir apparent, Mr. Molotov, become convinced that we mean business, that we are going to reestablish our military power, then I am firmly convinced progress will be made toward writing a peace treaty with Germany.

This in itself would not necessarily prevent another war, but it would certainly remove a situation which could almost overnight catapult the world into war.

What we have done in recent months has already strengthened our hand at the international conference table. If we let the world know that the United States intends to assume its new responsibility of world leadership, we will not only strengthen the hand of those who represent us at the foreign ministers' conference table, but we will assure to the United Nations the power necessary to enforce peace and put down international lawlessness the world over.
We must give the United Nations both moral and physical support. If the dream of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt for world order through international cooperation is realized, then the United Nations needs something more than lip service.

If the Soviets were not sincere in becoming a member of the United Nations, if she is determined to use her veto power to such an extent as to make the organization impotent in preserving law and order, then the quicker the United Nations adopts a firm policy and treats the Soviet government as a belligerent and violator of the peace of the world the better it will be for mankind.

We have had thousands of years of war and we cannot expect to form an organization which overnight will assure world peace. We must during these formative years protect it from losing the respect of the world just because one member will not trust it or respect it. We all know if the United Nations should go the way of the League of Nations the cause of peace will be set back at least 100 years.

In the United Nations lies the hope of the world to prevent its destruction by new forms of warfare, many times more deadly and devastating than any ever used before. The United Nations is confronted with a severe test, and in the critical months ahead it must have the active support of peace loving people everywhere.
Two great and powerful forces are in conflict
the world over. One force knows no God. It scoffs at liberty. It despises freedom. It has no respect for the rights of human beings. It makes the state the absolute master of the people and there is no appeal from the totalitarian power that dominates the State.

The other force respects God. It is rooted in liberty. It lives on the fresh air of freedom. It respects and glorifies the dignity of the human being. The people are the master of the state and from the verdict of the people there is no appeal.

One force is Communism. The other force is Democracy.

We in this country are determined that we shall do all in our power to promote the American way of life under our democratic concepts of government, under which we have grown into the greatest nation on earth.

Come what may, we in the United States are going to preserve our American way of life regardless of what may happen in other parts of the world. By keeping the torchlight of freedom ever burning within our shores, we will make it possible for it to burn again in other lands where liberty has perished.

Twice in 25 years we have sent armies to fight on European battlefields. We sought no territorial expansions. Europe had nothing that we wanted. We fought in the cause of freedom and democratic rule.
The Fourth Division did not sacrifice 25 thousand casualties, and this nation did not pour out our great resources, to destroy the Nazis in order to have Communism arise as another totalitarian threat to world domination.

Our present foreign policy is based on the same underlying principles on which we participated in two World Wars.

First of all, we intend to preserve a strong and powerful America. Our primary concern is to permit nothing to happen anywhere in the world, where we can help it, which would threaten our peace and security. The second objective of our foreign policy is to do what we can to strengthen the forces of democracy in liberated and conquered countries. Our third objective is to support the United Nations to the fullest degree possible to the end that this great international organization can promote law and order among nations and in the end outlaw war from the face of the earth.

The United States has but one foreign policy -- the American foreign policy. Partisan politics must stop at the water's edge.

Any candidate for the high office of President who seeks to win votes by interjecting the foreign policy of this government into a national political campaign is not worthy of being an American, much less being considered for the high office of President.
Those of us who are determined that this nation shall have a rebaptism in the doctrine of States' Rights and Jeffersonian Democracy have resolved that the American foreign policy shall not become an issue in this campaign.

We stand with Stephen Decatur when he said --

"My country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be right; but right or wrong, my country."

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