ADDRESS OF J. Strom Thurmond, Governor of South Carolina, and States' Rights Democratic Candidate for President of the United States, at Beaumont, Texas, October 30, 1948.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

I am glad that I have been privileged to spend the remaining days of the campaign in Texas. The principles of local self-government which we are seeking to preserve in America are deeply ingrained in the spirit of the people of Texas. I have seen overwhelming evidence that Texans will never give up their constitutional privilege of controlling the internal affairs of this State in a manner acceptable to its people.

We believe that Texas need not give up that privilege, and we believe that many thousands of Texans are going to use the voice of the States' Rights Democrats to keep Truman, Dewey, or Wallace from destroying that privilege.

A vote for the States' Rights Democrats next Tuesday is the only manner in which you, as citizens of a sovereign state, may act to prevent the most drastic usurpation of your right of local self-government ever attempted in this country.

It is the only manner in which you can prevent the imposition of the un-American FEPC and the other civil wrongs proposals. For President Truman, Governor Dewey, and Henry Wallace have all promised the racial minority machine in the big-city
states that they will impose these measures upon you. They have
made this promise in spite of the United States Constitution,
which says that such measures may only be enacted within the
states, by the vote of the people of those states.

Truman, Dewey, and Wallace, who have pretended
that they are able to guide the destinies of the entire world, have
thus shown that they have little or no respect for the rights
of their own people at home.

These are not idle words, my friends. Let me
remind you that we are now engaged in an effort to restore the
German people to a kind of democracy which will make it impossible
for another Hitler to take them over. To prevent that, we are
insisting that the states of Germany be restored, that the people
be given representative government again, and that the principle
of government by the consent of the government be perpetuated in
Germany. We are making it certain that the power of government
be decentralized, for we know that Hitler came to power by centraliz-
ing all powers in Berlin.

The Russians, on the other hand, prefer to establish
a powerful central government in Germany. Once it is set up, they
plan to control it with their own stooges.

All Americans support and encourage the effort of
the United States to prevent the return of centralized government
in Germany.

But we must not become so absorbed in the problems of democracy in Europe that we forget how to maintain it at home. And today in the United States we are confronted with the spectacle of three candidates for President who have all committed themselves to a program that would centralize government in Washington.

They have all three promised to take away the rights of our states, and to give the government in Washington a control over our people which no one ever dared to suggest before.

Centralized control would serve the ends of a selfish minority machine which desires to impose its racial theories on the nation regardless of the Constitution. That machine has succeeded in persuading Truman, Dewey, and Wallace to serve as their agents.

Centralized control would also serve the aims of the Communists who are invading our government offices today. And the Communists are working through the racial minority machine to get the kind of centralized power they must have if they are to be successful.

Thus Truman, Dewey, and Wallace have become the agents for a virtual revolution in the American form of government,
and for changes in our way of life which would be felt most keenly in the Southern states, but which would be disastrous in every state.

When I saw what happened under these three candidates at Philadelphia, my faith in the American people underwent a severe test. But I am happy and proud to say tonight that the campaign of the States' Rights Democrats has given me a new and abiding faith in the American people.

I believe with all my heart that the people are going to use the voice of the States' Rights Democrats to prevent this effort to convert our government and our way of life into something fit only for the Communists!

We Americans have been able to protect our personal liberties by keeping the power of government close to home -- close to the state legislature, close to the counties and the communities, and close to the individual voter himself. We have done it in one way and in one way only -- by preserving that portion of the Constitution which reserves all rights to the States that are not granted by them to the Federal Government. If it were not for that provision of the Constitution, we would have no way of preventing any man or group of men from taking over our central government and crushing all our rights under a dictatorship.
If the Constitution is violated in this respect, as Truman, Dewey, and Wallace all propose, it would matter little what excuse was given. No excuse is good enough to justify the destruction of the principle of local self-government.

The three candidates have sponsored their unconstitutional program by giving the excuse that it will bring about racial equality. They have refused to listen to reason when the states most drastically affected have spoken against them.

The States' Rights Democrats oppose this attempt to enforce the false racial theories of the minority machine, because we know that they cannot be made to work in the South. But we have constantly refused to permit the racial issue to dominate our campaign, despite the efforts of our opponents to smear us with their attacks.

We have taken the position that the racial questions involved are secondary to the broad principles of Constitutional government that are under attack. For these principles guarantee the American way of life in every state.

And we have taken the position that the most vicious of these proposals -- the Fair Employment Practices Act -- better known as the FEPC -- would have an immediate effect upon the people of every state. This law would put American business men into
involuntary servitude to a Federal pattern, by forcing them to employ unsuitable persons. It would put the American working man into involuntary servitude by forcing him to stay on the job alongside persons he objects to, and by forcing him to take those persons into his labor unions.

When you force a man to pay a salary against his will, you are destroying his personal freedom. When you force a working man to associate with objectionable persons at the risk of being fined or imprisoned, you are destroying his right to choose his own associates.

Yet Truman demanded that Congress pass this law. Dewey sponsored it in New York and sent Senator Ives to Washington to sponsor it there, and is now promising to force it upon the nation.

But the American people may thank their stars that the millions who are going to vote for the States' Rights Democrats, will succeed in preventing either Truman or Dewey from enacting this vicious law!

At a time when the principles of democracy are being opposed by the principles of Communism all over the world, Truman and Dewey have sponsored a piece of legislation which would open the doors of our defense industries to the Communists. If they enact it, the Communists will find it easy to place their agents in every
secret corner of our munitions plants, including the atomic laboratories.

Thus a working man who prides himself on being a loyal American, may find that he is being forced to stay on the job with a Communist, because that Communist has grabbed the job by claiming his rights under the FEPC. And a loyal plant manager would be forced to employ persons sworn to steal the secrets he is trying to protect.

The States' Rights Democrats are dedicated to the determination that we shall defeat the FEPC in this election. By doing so, we shall make it possible for the Southern states to continue their steady advance to new levels of prosperity. We shall make it possible for our states to continue unabated the program which every one of them has for greater happiness and better standards of living among all races.

We are going forward in the South. We are bringing in new industries, developing our ports and harbors, increasing our public facilities. Here in Texas, under a cooperative program designed to develop all your resources, you are attaining standards of living never dreamed of before.

But you are doing so by exercising the right of your state to solve its own internal problems without dictation.
from Washington. No one can say to what heights your people may
climb if they are permitted to continue to enjoy the American
privilege of private enterprise and the right of local self-govern-
ment.

But once you yield those rights to a centralized
government in Washington, you will never again be able to guide
and develop your state according to the needs and the best interests
of your people.

My friends, there is no need for us to change our
way of life to conform with a federal pattern, at a time when we
are just beginning to enjoy the fruits of long and sometimes painful
efforts to make progress.

We must lift up our voices together in a new
testimonial to our faith in ourselves, and in our ability to handle
our own affairs in an efficient way, with justice to all men.

That is the only way in which we can resist the
usurpation of our rights by those who have no better motive than
that of cheap political gain. It is only through the ballot box
that we can bring about a purification of our political system, by
which two great political parties have been debased for selfish ends.

I have always been a staunch advocate of the two-
party system. I believe in it to the limit. I think it is the best
means Americans have of maintaining that balance which is the best guarantee of equal justice for all.

But when two major parties offered to violate the Constitution in their platforms this year, I knew that the two-party system faced its greatest test since the beginning of political parties. I knew that for the first time, neither of the two major parties had taken a stand for the fundamentals which guarantee our liberties.

Such a condition cannot be permitted to continue if the democratic way is to be preserved in America. We should have two great parties -- yes -- but at least one of those two parties must be a bulwark for the principles of state sovereignty, and for the guarantee to personal liberty it represents.

In the hundred years since it was organized, the Democratic Party has been most faithful, until this year, to the Constitutional provisions upon which our freedom is based. The fact that the party repudiated its historic position this year was a stunning blow to all loyal democrats.

But we have not lost our faith. We do not believe that the year 1948 must be the last year in which the Democratic party serves the great democratic function for which it was founded.
The States' Rights Democrats have grown to such proportions in the past three months, that Americans now know we have the strength and the determination to save representative democracy in this country. They now realize, that whatever may be the outcome of this election, in the years to come the principle of the rights of states will live as long as the American government remains a democracy.

The great bloc of votes that will come to the States' Rights Democrats will protect and cherish for all time the principles that have given mankind the greatest personal dignity he has ever known.

Our campaign is based on the belief that we can prevent either Truman or Dewey from winning a majority of the electoral votes. In that event, the House of Representatives will choose a President who is dedicated to the preservation of local self-government.

But even if we should fail to cause the election to be thrown into the House, we shall have accomplished our most important objectives -- to rebuild the Democratic Party, to prevent passage of the un-American force bills, and to restore the Southern states to a position of respect from every political party.
My fellow Americans, if ever there was a need for a dramatic demonstration in this world of the value of the democratic way of life, that need is greatest now. The hopes and prayers of all mankind are centered on the belief that some kind of world federation, or world understanding, can bring an end to the cycle of war and destruction in which we live.

If any sort of world unity is ever achieved, it can only be based on full respect for the rights of all countries to regulate their social institutions and their domestic economies in freedom, without dictation from outside. That kind of freedom forms the basis for our own system of self-determination and self-government here in America. If we utterly abandon this principle within our own boundaries, we cannot hope to lead the world toward that larger unity that must come some day.

The world situation is dark indeed. It is not made brighter by the wholesale assault upon constitutional government being made by Truman, Dewey, and Wallace.

But there is a ray of hope. The campaign of the States' Rights Democrats is like a bright beacon of hope for the American way of life. Its light is reaching now into every state. The promise it offers is that we shall not permit our Constitution to be invaded, and our rights of self-government destroyed.
Americans must draw the line today. There can be no fence-straddling on this issue. A vote for Truman, Dewey or Wallace, is a vote for the FEPC and the other un-Constitutional measures. But a vote for the States' Rights Democrats is a vote for the preservation of our right to manage our own affairs within our states.

There is no middle ground.

Let all those who believe in representative democracy turn now to the States' Rights Democrats, with the firm conviction that here is the real salvation of the Democratic Party, and the only bulwark of the American way of life.