ADDRESS BY J. STROM THURMOND, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AT WORLD OUTLOOK CONFERENCE, BOB JONES UNIVERSITY, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1950.

It is a privilege to have a part in this timely and appropriate World Outlook conference, dedicated as it is to a better understanding among Christian men throughout the earth. In the foreshortened world of today, no conscientious man, however insignificant he may feel himself to be, can fail to assume his share of the responsibility for the dilemma in which we find ourselves.

Free discussion among men of all nations is one of the greatest hopes we have for the eventual achievement of permanent world peace. People who understand each other thoroughly do not like to fight among themselves. The very real danger we face today of another world conflict has been brought about, in part, by the isolation and insulation of the Russian people, who are kept so remote from world opinion that their ideas of other nations are warped and biased.

On the whole, men everywhere are slowly and painfully learning to adopt a true world outlook—a viewpoint which includes the needs and desires of all nations, and not merely the selfish purposes of one or a few. In this age of atomic and biological
weapons, of planes that fly faster than sound and may soon reach
2,000 miles an hour, and of rocket missiles that may cross oceans
at far greater speeds, we cannot afford points of view that are
narrowly national or sectional. There must be unity of thought
among Christian men of the earth.

Many of you here are visiting the Southland for the
first time. I hope you will have the opportunity, during your
visit, of learning something of our manner of life, our attitudes
toward each other, and our viewpoints toward the nation and the
world. The South has been a badly misunderstood section of the
United States for a great many years. Many of the things that
have been said about us are simply not true, and many others are
half-truths.

In spite of what you may have heard, we southerners
think of our states as an integral part of the United States, and
not as a section to be considered apart. Outsiders are more likely
to look upon us as a separate entity, distinct and unique, than
we are. The viewpoint that sets the South apart comes more
frequently from outside our borders than it does from southerners.
Our people are proud, and they love their native soil, but they
think of it primarily as American soil.

The widespread misunderstanding of the South by others
is based on many conditions, some of them deep-rooted in the past,
but it never ceases to amaze southerners when they encounter it among persons believed to be well-informed. Recently a widely-known and respected United States Senator visited our capital city to make a speech. His friends, showing him around the city, were soon aware that he was almost too flabbergasted to speak. The conditions he saw were so vastly different from his preconceived notions that he could hardly believe his eyes. One would have thought he was visiting a foreign country thousands of miles away.

During this conference there has been serious discussion about conditions in many parts of the world. This morning, I want to tell you something about our beloved Southland, which has contributed so much to the building of this nation--the real South, the true South, as I know it and love it--the great region which has been so often misunderstood.

You hear a good deal these days about States' Rights. Sometimes the South's critics imply that we use this political term as a shield behind which to hide while we seek our own way. Nothing could be further from the truth. The principle of States' Rights is as important to Oregon or Ohio as it is to Alabama or Arkansas. It is a governmental principle going back to the very fundamental concepts upon which we have built our democracy in
America. It means simply local self-government—the right of the people of a State to manage their own internal affairs.

This basic right is guaranteed by the United States Constitution in its "Bill of Rights."

The historic devotion of the people of the South to this great American principle is particularly significant today; because we know this concept to be the strongest governmental bulwark we have against the threat of dictatorship in this country. No fascist or communist dictator could ever take over the United States without first destroying the principle of States' Rights.

We are fully aware of that fact, and we do not want the nation to forget it. There can be no communistic regime in America so long as we maintain the system of checks and balances in government which our founding fathers so wisely wrote into the Constitution.

To understand our feeling for this principle, one must remember the contribution of the South to the building of this nation. From the Southern States came the first call for a Declaration of Independence. It was the great Southerner, Thomas Jefferson, who wrote that immortal document. What the sage of Monticello proclaimed by pen, another great Southerner, George Washington, won with his sword.

From the South came the movement resulting in the
Constitutional Convention of 1787, and the principles it adopted came from plans drawn by James Madison of Virginia and Charles Pinckney of South Carolina. Of the first 25 Presidents, the South contributed 10.

Not only in the affairs of government, but in economics, science, agriculture, education, religion, social development, and every phase of human progress, the South made full contribution to the building of the nation.

The War Between the States, however, set our progress back immeasurably. When the war ended we were subjected to the bitter Reconstruction period. We experienced first hand the ordeal of a conquered and occupied land, without the benefit, mind you, of a Marshall Plan. Our economy was wiped out, and we had to rebuild on the foundation of a shattered civilization.

The slaves who had been freed as a war measure were left with us as a millstone round our necks. Penniless, ignorant, unable to make their own way, they were an overwhelming part of the dislocation and destruction left in the path of war.

Throughout the long years since that time, we of the South have cared for the Negroes in our midst, and the progress made by that race is a tribute to the efforts of Southerners, and of Southerners alone.
Since the War Between the States, the economic under-
privilege of the South has known no color line. Both races have
suffered in the economic struggle to overcome artificial barriers
to our recovery and growth imposed upon this part of the nation
from without. The wonder is not how little we have done, but
how much we have been able to do for our people under crushing
handicaps.

It was not long after reconstruction that a freight
rate structure was instituted with discriminatory sectional
differentials, a system devised to prevent the threatened growth
of industrial competition for the North and East. These freight
rates were arranged so that, until very recently, manufactured
goods cost, for example, 39% less to ship from New York to
Charleston, South Carolina, than it cost to ship the very same
goods the other way, from Charleston to New York. The effect of
this was to keep the South in a "crown colony" status, producing
raw materials for the industrial East, but unable to obtain
industries to raise its low economic level.

Another galling yoke upon the South was the high tariff
enacted during the Benjamin Harrison administration. This forced
us to buy finished goods in a protected market while we had to sell
our raw materials in an unprotected market at low prices.

As a result of these factors and our distressing poverty, the economic level of life in the South was barely enough to support one race, yet it sufficed for two. They literally ate out of the common pot. Despite this poverty, the Negro in the South, with the help of his white neighbors, has made greater progress than any race in a similar period in the history of man.

We in the South know that the solution of the racial problem in our states will follow the solution of our economic problems, and will not be accomplished by any other means.

With both races living side by side in harmony, we have struggled steadily forward toward our goal of economic security. The courage, energy, and ability of our people have brought us close to the day when a balance between agriculture and industry will make the Southern states the envy of the world.

We are finding new confidence for the future in the fact that we are winning our battle for equalization of freight rates. Removal of this barrier has been a primary objective of the Southern Governors' Conference since its inception. For several years I had the privilege of fighting the battle of freight rates as Chairman of the Conference freight rate committee, and this past year I had the honor of serving as Chairman of the Conference.
It is gratifying to realize that our goal of freight rate equality is now in sight.

With this barrier on the way out, business and industry are turning southward in ever-increasing numbers, and it may truthfully be said that the South is leading the nation in the march of progress.

During the last decade, the South has enjoyed an increase of approximately 100 billions of dollars in total business volume. Sales of utilities increased 400%, compared with a 300% increase for the other states of the nation. Life insurance sales were up 157%, compared with 126% for the nation. Business telephones increased 113%, while they increased only 74% in the nation as a whole.

These barometers of business progress were out-distanced by our progress in manufacturing. During the last 10 years, we increased our sales of manufactured products by 500%, compared with a 350% increase for the other states, and our industrial growth has been 14% faster than the nation's.

Our own State of South Carolina has recently reached a top position in industrial gains. During the last four years alone, South Carolina has witnessed the coming of new industries and expansions costing about $700,000,000. This tremendous growth
has created 60,000 new jobs with new payrolls amounting to more than $125,000,000 a year.

Industry has many good reasons for turning southward. We have a mild climate, with plentiful rainfall. We have an ample supply of friendly, capable, energetic people who are outstanding producers, easily trained. Our tax structures are generally favorable to industry, and our state governments are stable, helpful and hospitable. Costs of operation and construction are generally lower. We have abundant raw materials, such as cotton, forest woods, clays, sand, and minerals. Finally, the South offers the nation's most promising market for industry's goods.

Because of these advantages, we may expect our industrial growth to continue unabated over the next few years.

Recent revolutionary changes in our agricultural life fit remarkably well into this picture of industrial expansion. Farmers are gaining ground in their battle to conserve and improve their soils. Crop yields and quality are improving. One-crop systems are giving way to diversification, with particular emphasis on livestock. We have doubled our income from livestock in 20 years, and many leaders see in this crop a shining future for agriculture in the South.

These agricultural improvements have brought greater
returns to our farmers, and they have more than tripled their cash income in the last decade, as well as their per capita income.

The Southern States as a whole have occupied positions near the bottom in many national ratings, but this picture is changing. As our income rises, our state governments quickly reflect the demand of their citizens for increased services.

On this newly-found road to higher standards of living, the Negro is marching upward along with his white neighbor. In 1900, only 31% of the Negro population of school age was attending school. Today that percentage has more than doubled.

Negro infant and maternal deaths have been steadily declining. In 1900, the average Negro had a life expectancy of only 33 years. Today he may expect to live to be 60. Tuberculosis, pellagra, malaria, and typhoid—all diseases encouraged by unsanitary environment—have shown remarkable decreases in recent years.

Economically, the Negro is beginning to become a taxpayer and to assume his share of the burden of progress.

As a result of this remarkable progress, the South is no longer "the land of yesterday." It is a changing South—a land of today—a land of challenge being met and opportunity seized.

It is the confident belief of Southerners that this New South will
soon come into her own and take her rightful place in the nation's economic life.

In this **upward** march, the role of institutions like Bob Jones University is of tremendous importance. The necessity of training young men and women for **Christian** leadership was never more keenly felt than it is today. We may raise great towers to the sky, build power plants and highways, spread vast factories over the land—but after all, each of these is built for the service of mankind, and **none** of them may eclipse the Christian service one man may render to his fellows.

I have known Dr. Bob Jones and his son for a long time, and I have watched the growth of this great school with the greatest personal satisfaction. I consider it one of the finest institutions in the world, and I want to congratulate Dr. Jones for the determination and leadership by which he has made it possible.

The Christian training our youth may acquire here should not stop with the diploma. If we are to meet the challenge of today, we must continue to grow in knowledge and skill **after** college. In these times, the forces of evil have learned to acquire skills of every degree, and they are offering stiff competition to those who would promote Christian fellowship and brotherhood. The training such forces have acquired must be met with unceasing
devotion to the development of Christian educational attainment based on the ideals of Christian living.

Let us remember these things as we near the end of this great conference, and let us see that our world outlook is a Christian outlook.