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Annual Message to the General Assembly

Strom Thurmond

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ANNUAL MESSAGE

OF

J. STROM THURMOND

GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA

TO

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

STATE CAPITOL

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

JANUARY 10, 1951
ANNUAL MESSAGE

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TO

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

STATE CAPITOL
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
JANUARY 10, 1951
As I come before you once again to report on the condition of the State, it is difficult for me to give full expression to my emotions, marking as this occasion does the severance of our pleasant official relationships.

It has been my privilege and honor to serve South Carolina in many capacities for over a quarter of a century—I have observed both the strength and weakness, the good and bad, in our economic, social and governmental structure. There has grown within me an ever increasing respect for and devotion to the traditions, the institutions, and the people of our State. I have never been more conscious of this love for South Carolina than I am at this hour.

Within a few days I shall relinquish the helm of government, and it is deeply satisfying to me, as I know it is to every other South Carolinian who believes in good government, that during the next four years we will have as Governor one of the greatest living statesmen of our generation.

At personal sacrifice and without hope of reward other than the desire to serve the State which has honored him so many times, James Francis Byrnes becomes Governor almost by acclamation. South Carolina in this difficult period can well use the services of this distinguished son, whose long career of splendid public service has extended even to the four corners of the earth. I have cooperated with him during the closing months of my administration, to the end that when he takes office he can, with a minimum of delay, inaugurate his program for the betterment of South Carolina. After next Tuesday, as a citizen in the ranks, I shall do whatever I can to make his administration a success.

When I became Governor four years ago, the economy of the nation was turning in the direction of peacetime activity. We in South Carolina envisioned immediately ahead of us the greatest opportunity of development and progress which our State had known in more than 100 years, provided we did the things necessary to take advantage of it.
For decades our State had operated under an adverse balance of trade, with a mono-basic agricultural economy requiring us to produce raw materials in large part to get the money to buy finished products made elsewhere. As a result, we as a people were faced with a multitude of health, welfare, educational and economic problems, many of which were beyond our means and our strength to solve.

To bring about for the people of South Carolina a better standard of living and a more abundant life, it was obvious that our State needed substantial business and industrial establishment and expansion. This was necessary in order that our agricultural economy would be balanced by a productive manufacturing and marketing economy.

We have encouraged further modernization and diversity in our agriculture, including the development of an expanding livestock and dairy program, and a healthy agriculture continues as our economic bedrock.

At the same time, we realized that the business and industrial development of South Carolina, as the means of raising the economic ceiling of opportunity for our people and their economic level of life, was of prime importance to our progress, and it was to this goal that so much of our governmental effort during the past four years has been devoted. To the best of my ability and energy, I have, as governor, engaged in selling South Carolina and its many advantages to the business and industry of the nation.

At the outset, I resolved that the first step in reaching this goal was the setting of our governmental house in order. Business and industry is not likely to locate in a State which does not have a stable, honest and efficient handling of its public affairs. I also believed it essential to success that we take immediate steps to bring about the improvement of our educational system, our health services, and our social conditions. Industry must depend upon skilled workmen, and business will not likely be attracted to communities where the children of their employees cannot be well educated, where hospital and health facilities are lacking, and where adequate law enforcement is not provided. It was imperative, as well, that confidence in our fiscal and labor-management policies be built up, for the success of our efforts depended upon convincing those con-
sidering establishment or expansion in our midst that the large
capital outlays which they would be called upon to make in
South Carolina were safely invested here.

In my inaugural address, I laid before the General Assembly
and the people of our State a comprehensive four year program,
which I believed was necessary to the attainment of our goal
of economic development and building a greater State. As
the result of cooperation between the executive and legislative
branches of our government, backed by public opinion, an almost
unbelievable amount of our program has been carried out.

I do not intend to review that program in detail. I have at­
tached, as an appendix to this message, a recapitulation of our
accomplishments, and you can read it at your leisure. What
we have done has borne great fruits in business and industrial
development, in the comparatively short period of time since
our program was undertaken. The results are apparent on all
sides, and in every section of our State. Our standard of living
has been raised, even beyond our hopes in so short a time. Our
economic position in the life of the nation has become significant
and important for our size in area and population. Our spiritual
and human resources, released in increasing measure from the
bondage of economic underprivilege which long bore so heavily
upon them, are adding immeasurably to our cultural and social
life.

A little over a month ago I had occasion to report to the Con­
ference of Southern Governors, held at my request as their
chairman at Charleston, on the economic development of the
Southern States. I have attached that report as a second ap­
pendix to this message. We are now a part of the section of
the nation which is developing fastest and which offers the
greatest opportunity for economic expansion. I feel confident that
we in South Carolina will keep our shoulder to the wheel, and
will press on with our sister Southern States, in working out our
future in the months and years to come.

One of the important phases of our program for good govern­
ment was the modernization of our election laws. This was
important so that the people of South Carolina might more
effectively exercise their right of franchise, and make their
government, state, county and local, properly responsive to their
will as expressed at the ballot boxes.
In addition to the enactment of the comprehensive election law passed in the 1950 session, the General Assembly submitted to the people two constitutional amendments dealing with the right to vote. One dispenses with the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, and the other does away with separate registration as a prerequisite to voting in municipal elections. The result of these amendments is to permit all qualified voters to vote in all elections, by presenting their county registration certificates alone. Our people showed their approval of these amendments, by carrying them overwhelmingly in the November general election.

I earnestly recommend that this General Assembly, responding to the expressed will of the people, complete the amendment process, by forthwith ratifying these amendments.

Another statewide amendment submitted by the General Assembly to the people in the November general election, and carried overwhelmingly, was that eliminating the constitutional restriction upon the area of school districts. The proper development of our public school system, and our ability to equalize educational opportunity and facilities, depends to a considerable degree upon the efficient consolidation of our existing school districts where necessary. This amendment will remove the present constitutional barrier to such consolidation.

I also earnestly recommend that this amendment be ratified as early as possible, so that the county and school authorities may speedily proceed with their consolidation programs.

At this time in our State's history it is fitting that the General Assembly should take cognizance of the lack of power and authority in the office of Governor under our Constitution and statutes, and the absence of an integrated executive branch of our State government.

Responsibility and accountability to the people for the execution of laws and the administration of the public business requires that the Chief Executive should possess the power necessary to see that the laws are executed and the public business efficiently administered.

The Constitution recognizes this principle when it says that the Governor shall possess "the supreme executive authority." In actuality such authority does not exist.

The Constitution itself provides for the popular election, statewide, of a number of the important administrative officers
of the state government, who function under their own individual mandates from the people, and are not accountable to the Chief Executive for their administration of the public business. Others are elected statewide, under statutes enacted by the General Assembly. Still others are elected by the General Assembly itself. Over the years the General Assembly has created something like 100 administrative agencies to perform specific functions, which agencies are in practice more legislative agents than executive agents. These agencies are rarely made responsible and accountable to the Governor, as Chief Executive. The power of the Governor to make interim appointments in the case of vacancies in state offices is severely circumscribed.

When the people elect the Governor, they believe that they are electing the head of their state government. The laws of the State should be administered statewide by an integrated executive branch, headed by the Governor. A line of command from top to bottom should be established in the executive branch, so that there will be corresponding responsibility and accountability from bottom to top. The executive should be accountable to the General Assembly and to the people for the administration of the public business and the execution of the State’s laws, and this accountability can only exist when the Executive has the authority upon which accountability can properly be predicated.

Our State is engaged in many services to the people, and proper functioning of its many fields of activity and service depends upon proper direction and coordination. We should adopt measures to give the necessary executive power and authority to the office of Governor, so that the Governor can perform the functions the people expect him to discharge. He should no longer be left in the position of having to be virtually a super-lobbyist in order to get things done in the executive branch of our State government.

The full development of the executive branch would require constitutional changes, but much can be done by legislation and under the State Reorganization Act.

In the interest of good government, and based on my own experience, and at the close of my term when no one can infer that I am seeking additional power, I most earnestly urge that the position of Governor be restored to its proper place in our system of government in South Carolina.
I want to take this opportunity to mention briefly the fight which was waged while I was Governor against proposed Federal legislation, the inevitable effect of which would have been the destruction of the powers reserved to the States and to the people by the Bill of Rights in the United States Constitution.

At Tallahassee in February, 1948, the Southern Governors followed the mandate of Thomas Jefferson, which is a traditional doctrine of the Democratic Party, to fight for the rights of the States and local self-government.

When we raised our voice in resistance to federal assaults upon these reserved powers, our sound position was never challenged upon the merits. Indeed, it was obviously impossible to do so. Issue was never even joined on the merits. Instead, the opposition sought to smear us by the charge of race prejudice freely hurled throughout the nation, and for a time the fundamental issue was obscured.

In the end, however, people everywhere have become increasingly aware of the danger of federal invasion of the fields and functions of local government, by the assertion and attempted exercise of powers denied to the national government by the United States Constitution. They have become aware anew of the vital importance of the principle of states rights as the bulwark against the concentration of all governmental power in the national government.

They now realize that such concentration of power would ultimately mean Socialism in America instead of free enterprise. And they are determined that our form of government shall be preserved as written in the Constitution and not whittled away.

South Carolinians have shown that we put fundamental principles above blind loyalty to temporary party leadership, and today there is a new respect for South Carolina and the South in the political life of the nation. I shall always be proud of the fight which our people made, and we can take great satisfaction in the fact that the principles which we upheld have gained nation wide recognition once more, because they are right and they are fundamental.

Today the American form of government, and even our national existence, is threatened by a state of war which has been forced upon us by the aggression of the rulers of the Soviet Union.
A powerful force has arisen in the world which is a greater threat to our democracy and free way of life than has ever emerged since the flag of freedom was planted in America and the Holy Bible brought to these shores as the bedrock of our faith and our civilization.

To meet this challenge to our liberty, and even to life itself, vast powers must be given to the federal government, acting under the war powers clause of the Constitution. The power to wage war is the power to wage war successfully, as was pointedly stated by the late Chief Justice Hughes, for otherwise the Constitution itself would be lost.

Whatever the cost we must meet this menace to our freedom. There is no middle ground in this battle against Communist aggression. There must be unity on the American home front.

To bring about such unity, those who would swing the nation either to the left or to the right must bury their ambitions. Our present national leadership can make a vital contribution to unity by avoiding basic domestic proposals which divide our people.

To win the battle against Communism, we must martial and employ the total resources of every part of the nation, and of all the people.

Too much time has already been lost. There has been too much partisanship and too little statesmanship in Washington. Some of us cannot understand why, despite the expenditure of so many billions of dollars, we have been caught with our defenses down, and experienced in Korea the most humiliating military defeat in America's history. But this is no time to beat our bosoms in despair and criticism. We must profit by our mistakes and resolve that they shall not be made again.

Laying aside past domestic differences, it is our duty as American citizens to rally behind the President, who is Commander-in-Chief, in the strengthening of our national defense. Our national leadership must have the undivided support and the constant prayers of our people in the awful responsibilities which must be borne in the days ahead.

We must build back our military strength and build it fast, because we now know that the men in the Kremlin respect only one thing—military might. We must prepare for all-out war, and while so doing pray that sanity will return to those who
seek to gain dominion over the whole world—that peace on earth may even yet be restored.

I know I speak the sentiment of South Carolina when I say that we have closed ranks in this critical hour. As the result of the progress we have made since World War II, our State is in a position to make a greater contribution to the defense of the nation than at anytime since the War Between The States.

We will make our full contribution in winning this struggle which has been forced upon the free world by a totalitarian Communist regime whose lust for world power exceeds that of Napoleon, the Kaiser, Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo combined.

Let no one doubt that a united American people will win in the end, and that our liberty and our institutions will be safeguarded for our children and our children's children. To this end, it behooves the Congress to see that the measures enacted to win the war contain provisions which automatically return to the people, when the war ends, all extraordinary powers granted to the federal government in this hour of crisis. War powers should be limited to the duration of the war by the legislation creating them, and the existence of constitutional government thus insured when peace has been restored.

In closing, I am profoundly grateful to the people of South Carolina for the privilege of serving them as Governor. I have sincerely appreciated the cooperation which I have received from the members of the General Assembly, and the other duly elected representatives of the people, in the handling of our public affairs. I shall ever remember our pleasant associations together.

Members of the 89th General Assembly have a rare and unusual opportunity of serving at a time when through cooperation so much can be accomplished for our State and its people. I extend to you my congratulations upon the trust and confidence your people have placed in you. In your important deliberations in the days ahead I wish you God speed.

May the richest blessings of Almighty God be upon you and our new Governor, and upon the great State of South Carolina in the years to come.
APPENDIX I.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE 4-YEAR PROGRAM

Reorganization of State Government

Machinery set up for reorganization of the State government to increase efficiency and economy. Several reorganization plans passed, including consolidation of eight fiscal agencies and adoption of central purchasing, which alone will save taxpayers millions of dollars annually.

Industrial Development

More than one billion dollars expended or announced for investment in new industries and expansions, creating 60,000 new jobs, with new annual payrolls of about $125,000,000.

Ending Abuse of Pardon Power

Pardon power removed from the Governor. Before this was done, no paroles or pardons granted except on recommendation of State Probation, Parole, and Pardon Board. Not a single "leave of absence" granted to any prisoner.

Penal System

Modern penitentiary building program initiated. Industrial School for Negro Girls constructed.

Seaports

Seaports developed through State Ports Authority to encourage commerce. Charleston now highest ranking South Atlantic port, jumping from 58th place to 23rd in the nation.

Education

Education raised to highest level in State's history. Best teacher salary schedule in State's history adopted. Public school funds increased more than $15,000,000 annually, or an increase of 85%. Permanent 9-months state-supported school term enacted. Survey completed to determine school needs. State Department of Education reorganized for greater efficiency.
Provision made for counties to reorganize school districts, resulting in reduction of number of districts by approximately 340. Division of school house planning re-established. Twelfth grade added to high schools. Provision made for State to pay County Education Superintendents.

Special education services increased, including addition of professional personnel for instruction in hard-of-hearing cases and in speech correction. Vocational education program accelerated. Funds for colleges, adult education, Negro schools, libraries, and school bus transportation greatly increased. Southern Regional Education Plan, originated by Southern Governors' Conference, adopted to provide training in medicine, dentistry, and veterinary science heretofore unavailable.

**Elections**

New election law passed, providing for single registration for all county and state elections, a single secret ballot for general elections, provision authorizing counties to use voting machines, and punishment for fraud and corruption. Primary laws re-enacted to protect integrity of political party membership and sanctity of the ballot. Constitutional amendment removing poll tax as prerequisite for voting approved by vote of people.

**Agriculture**

State farm market system initiated, with one market completed at Pageland, a large central market almost completed in Columbia and planning started on three others. Provision made for an improved livestock sanitation program. Foundation Seed Organization created to distribute higher grade seeds to farmers. Committee appointed to promote the export and sale of South Carolina flue-cured tobacco. Funds for agricultural research work greatly increased, including research in cattle diseases, crop pests and diseases, peach diseases, water management, poultry culture, dairy and beef promotion and watermelon diseases. 4,100 miles of farm-to-market roads paved.
Natural Resources

Study of fresh water resources made.
Water pollution control Authority created.
Forest resources resurveyed.
Forest fire control extended to state-wide basis.
Planting of pine seedlings increased from 2 million to 35 million annually.
Forest conservation program expanded.
Act passed providing for fish and game protection in Santee-Cooper lands and waters.
Fishing laws strengthened.

Public Health

Funds for State Health work increased by 300%, making possible vast extensions of many state health services.
Provision made for construction of $10,000,000 teaching-hospital clinic at Medical College.
More than $6,000,000 provided to counties for hospitals and health centers.
State Board of Health reorganized to add representatives from dentists, pharmacists, and nurses.
$500,000 cancer-clinic program instituted.
Program inaugurated to train doctors for rural areas by awarding them scholarships.
Standards for hospitals established, and provision made for their inspection.
Formula set up for distribution of Federal health funds.
Increased funds provided for State Mental Hospital and State Training School for Feeble-Minded.
Law enacted providing for enrichment of corn meal and grits sold in State.

Public Welfare

Appropriations for public welfare increased by more than 50%, providing increased payments for needy aged, blind, dependent children, and handicapped persons.
Additional trained welfare personnel employed, resulting in extension of child welfare services to more counties.
Public Welfare Act amended to provide aid to dependent children under age 18 if attending school.
Improvement made in operation of Industrial Schools with regard to personnel qualifications, curricula, and physical plants.

**Labor**

Industrial Commission reorganized to better protect awards to working people in cases involving compensation for injuries and death.

Area Trade School System established to enable workers to acquire skilled training and thereby increase earnings.

Occupational disease law passed providing benefits to persons suffering from diseases contracted because of employment.

Improvements made in state laws relating to wages and hours of workers.

Employment opportunities increased through industrial development and creation of 60,000 new jobs.

Promotion of better understanding between management and labor resulting in one of State's most harmonious periods in its industrial history, with man hours lost through industrial disputes being less than one-tenthousandths of 1%—the finest record of any state in the nation.

**Highways**

Highway system developed second to none in the country, with construction of more than 5,300 miles of highways.

Uniform rules of the road act passed.

Drunken driving laws strengthened.

School driver education program accelerated to promote highway safety.

**Constitution Revision**

Revision plan instituted for out-moded State Constitution, and Commission appointed to bring the Constitution up to date.

**Liquor Control**

Control of liquor traffic greatly improved by imposing graduated liquor surtax, channeling excessive liquor profits amounting to about $5,000,000 annually into State Treasury.

**Recreation and Parks**

Recreation and state parks promoted, with establishment of several new state parks, including purchase of property in the Piedmont area for a new state park for Negroes.
Park program developed to its highest point, with more than 2,000,000 visitors using the facilities during the past year—nearly twice the total using parks in any other southern state.

Libraries

State library program expanded, extending service to 200,000 more persons and building library book stock to more than 1,000,000 volumes.

Institutional Building

State institutional building program made possible by allocation of over $12,000,000 in surplus funds for badly needed construction, a large portion of which as yet remains unexpended by the institutions to which allocated.

Legislative Reorganization

Legislative reorganization instituted with establishment of legislative council to streamline law-making process.

Dual Office Holding

Enforcement of constitutional provision against dual office holding.

Microfilming of Records

Provision made to expedite record keeping in State Government by authorizing microfilming of records.

Veterans

Increased funds provided for veterans' service work.

Provision made for education of children of deceased or disabled veterans of World War II.

Tax exemption provided for homes designed for wheel-chair living acquired by paraplegic veterans.

Refunds provided to veterans who paid license fees before going into service and did not get full benefit of them.

Surplus War Property

Surplus War Property Agency created, saving the State, counties and cities approximately $9,000,000.
National Guard

Support of National Guard increased to provide badly needed armories and garages.

Taxes

Tax on household goods used in the home eliminated.
Committee appointed to study state tax structure.

Equal Rights for Women

Influence of women in public life enhanced by appointment of more women to office than in any other similar period in State's history.

Civil Defense

Civil defense law enacted, providing for organization to assist in development and operation of local civil defense efforts, South Carolina becoming one of first states to recognize and act upon this urgent necessity.

Finances

State Government operated on a balanced budget, and sound and business-like methods insisted upon.

State's credit rating increased from A to AA, enabling State to save as much as $2,000,000 a year in interest charges on highway bonds alone. $5,000,000 highway bond issue of October 31, 1950 sold at lowest rate of interest State has ever received on bonds of more than 10 years' maturity.

Hidden appropriations resulting in "secret spending" eliminated by insisting upon inclusion of all items in State Appropriation Bill.

State's fiscal operations placed under new Budget and Control Board for greater unity and efficiency in the handling of financial affairs.

State Government operated on strictly cash basis—not one penny borrowed for operations during past 4 years.

No unpaid bills, notes, or financial encumbrances of any kind left to successor, despite vastly expanded and improved State services to our people, and provision made for a large scale improvement program at our State institutions.
Address by J. Strom Thurmond, Governor of South Carolina, and Chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference, at opening of the Conference November 27, 1950, Fort Sumter Hotel, Charleston, South Carolina.

I am deeply gratified today to extend the hearty welcome of the people of South Carolina to the members of the Southern Governors' Conference. I hope that when you leave us, it will be with the knowledge that our hospitality is as real today as it has been ever since Charleston was founded nearly 300 years ago.

One of the greatest honors of my life has been to hold the chairmanship of this Conference, and I shall leave the position this year with an abiding sense of a richly rewarding experience marked by noble and pleasant associations.

We meet today in an atmosphere of impending danger to our great nation. At no time in the past five years has the threat of another world war seemed so real. We are faced with the unpleasant prospect that Soviet Russia has apparently entered upon a scheme to drain off our military and economic resources by nudging her satellites into acts of aggression while remaining aloof herself.

Our one consolation at this moment is that the Korean war, with its awful sacrifice of American lives, has demonstrated that the members of the United Nations can and will back up their declarations for peace with military might. This is one of the most significant developments of our century, and we may now confidently hope that we have taken a long step toward the outlawing of war.

The recent trend of world events has forced us to re-examine our state of preparedness for all-out war. Twice in our lifetime we have seen our state of unpreparedness endanger the very existence of our way of life. Broad oceans and a kind Providence have twice given us time to prepare, but in this age of atomic weapons, and biological elements, planes that fly faster than sound and may soon reach 2,000 miles an hour, and rocket missiles which may be launched from one nation to another at far
greater speeds, we cannot hope to have time for preparation if war breaks out again.

In the light of this certain knowledge, an adequate civil defense program must be a paramount concern of the states. It is hoped that the present conference will shed new light upon that urgent subject. For the nation as a whole, we must insist upon immediate action for better preparedness. Such a program should include a plan for total mobilization of all our resources; effective fighting forces for ground, sea, and air; the adoption of universal military training for adequate preparation of our fighting men; acceleration of scientific research; a more effective intelligence system; the coordination of foreign policy with military policy; an effective plan for total hemispheric defense; complete support and development of our merchant marine; more adequate stock-piling of strategic materials; decentralization of industries for greater protection; and efficient control of subversive activity which can lead to sabotage.

Supplementing these military measures should be the continued encouragement of production methods which counted so heavily for us in World War II. The production genius of American should be fully alerted to the immediate possibility of large-scale war, so that its powers may be turned upon a full war economy with no loss of time.

In this latter effort, the role of the states in the Southern Governors' Conference can and will be a far greater one than it was at the beginning of the last war. Southerners have always unreservedly responded to the nation's calls to arms with courage and patriotism. Because of the vast production needs of World War II, we found that our home front potential was no less important. The war plants which spread out over the South realized the possibilities of a wealth of resources and native ability which the nation did not know we possessed.

It is apparent today that the South's industrial potential is going to be realized to the fullest, whether for peace or war.

It may truly be said that the South is leading the nation in the march of progress. In the fields of agriculture, commerce, and industry—the foundation stones of our economy—the states from Maryland to Texas are gaining more rapidly than any other region of the country.
The South is no longer “the land of yesterday.” It need not even be called “the land of tomorrow,” for it is already a changing South—a land of today, of challenge being met and of opportunity seized.

Despite the overwhelming obstacles of a devastating war that was followed by one-sided tariff restrictions and discriminatory freight rates, the South has waged a successful uphill struggle to cast off her colonial status and to achieve a balanced economy. The courage, energy, and ability of our people, combined with our great natural advantages, 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 may find 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, and it is gratifying to realize that much has been accomplished, and our final goal is now in sight.

With this barrier on the way out, business and industry are turning southward in ever-increasing numbers. In almost every field of endeavor, the South has set the pace for the nation during the past decade.

In 10 years, the 15 states of the Southern Governors’ Conference have enjoyed an increase of approximately 100 billion dollars in total business volume. This was an increase of 350%, compared with an increase of 300% in the other states of the nation.

During this decade, sales of utilities increased 400%, compared with a 300% increase for the other states. 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.

The most impressive increase of the decade was in manufacturing. The Southern states increased their sales of manufactured products by almost 28 billion dollars, a 500% increase compared with a 350% increase in the other states of the nation. In 10 years the South’s industrial growth was 44%—14% higher than that of the nation.

Our own State of South Carolina has recently reached a position near the top in industrial gains. In value added by manu-
facture, South Carolina registered an increase of 370%, compared with a national average of 204%. In South Carolina during the past four years, we have witnessed the coming of new industries and expansions costing over $425,000,000, which have created for us 50,000 new jobs and $100,000,000 annually in new payrolls.

Industry has many good reasons, for turning southward. We have a mild, healthful climate, making for better working efficiency, with a good distribution of rainfall throughout the year. We have a plentiful 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, including plant sites, construction, and power, are generally lower. We have an abundant supply of raw materials, such as cotton, forest woods, clays, sand, and minerals. And finally, the South offers the nation's most promising market for industry's goods.

Because of all these advantages, the South may expect its industrial growth to continue with little change over the next few years. A survey published last year showed that industry has completed plans to spend 41 billion dollars for expansion by 1954, and that the total capacity of industry will be increased about 50% in the next decade. The South's share of this expansion should be substantial.

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. Cotton and tobacco systems of farming are being balanced with livestock. The one-mule farmer is being replaced by an efficient business man who operates modern farm machinery and equipment.

Acreage devoted to cotton in the South has been cut almost in half, without decreasing total production of the crop. The land taken from cotton has been put into production of food and feed crops, and as a result, a new "king" is rising on the southern scene. His name is "Livestock".

Twenty-five years ago, only about 20% of farm income in the southern states came from livestock. This figure has now grown to about 40%.
Many agricultural leaders believe the South can find a new source of wealth in livestock production. Our pastures are good the year round. Livestock can harvest the pasture crop themselves, saving labor, reducing costs, and enriching the land.

These agricultural changes have brought greater returns to southern farmers, and farm cash income has more than tripled in the South in the last 10 years, increasing much faster than it has in the other states.

This new farm prosperity, coupled with new business and industrial payrolls, has brought us rapidly rising incomes. The 15 states of the Southern Governors' Conference during the past 10 years, enjoyed an increase of 180% in per capita income, compared with an increase of 146% for the nation as a whole.

The average man in the South has more money to spend today than he had 10 years ago, and that means that he can pay more taxes and support better state services. As tax sources increase, Southern state governments are assuming greater burdens of public service in education, health, welfare, and the like.

Education is a good example of this trend. In 1939, the 15 Southern state governments were paying about 45% of the cost of their public schools. Last year they were paying more than 57% of the school costs. By comparison, the average state government in the nation is carrying only 42% of its school burden.

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

On this newly-found road to high standards of living, the southern Negro is marching upward alongside his white friends. Economic under-privilege has known no color line in the South, and opportunities to improve and progress have been limited in the past for both races.

I venture to say that in the first half of this century the progress of the southern Negro, with the assistance and encouragement of his white neighbors, has been greater than that of any race of people in world history in a similar period. In 1900, only 31% of the Negro population of school age was at-
tending public schools. In 1940, that percentage had more than doubled, and the latest census will show even greater gains.

In the matter of sanitation and health, the southern Negro has made even more impressive progress. Infant and maternal deaths have been steadily declining since 1900, with particularly sharp decreases in the past two decades. In 1900, the average Negro had a life expectancy of only 33 years. Today, he may expect to live to the age of 60, and his life expectancy has forged ahead much faster than that of white people.

We have been especially successful in combatting the diseases which 50 years ago took such a high toll of Negro life in the South. Tuberculosis, pellagra, malaria, and typhoid—all of which are encouraged by an unwholesome and unsanitary environment—have shown remarkable decreases since 1900, demonstrating what sanitation, better care, and education can do.

In past years, because of the South's poverty, the Negro as a taxpayer has been able to contribute little to the public services upon which his progress depends. Today, he is finding everywhere in the South new opportunities which eventually will enable him to carry his share of the burden.

An illustration of improvement in the economic condition of the Negro race may be found in the occupation of farming. In South Carolina, all Negro farmers began 80 years ago as tenants or share-croppers. Today, many of them own their farms, and many others are buying them. The last farm census showed nearly 18,000 Negro farm owners in South Carolina. Of all owners, 31% were Negro, which is a high percentage when you consider that the proportion of Negroes in our population is 42%.

In other occupations the story is very much the same. One young South Carolina Negro operates a large funeral home, a taxicab business, a filling station, a grocery store, several public buses, a night club, and a farm. Many others have been successful in business enterprises in recent years.

The great tragedy of our day is that agitators from outside the South have violently distorted the facts of the Negro's progress to serve their selfish ends, and that they have sought to use him as a minority bloc voter in an effort to control elections within the states. Our people and the nation must be made aware
of this political trickery. We must avoid minority blocs controlled by outside leaders dominating our elections, else our progress in the South will be dealt a crushing blow.

It was the Southern Governors’ Conference which spearheaded the movement against the so-called Civil Rights Program. Meeting in Tallahassee in 1947, the Southern Governors sounded a clarion call for the people of the South and the nation who love freedom and Constitutional government to unite against this iniquitous program. The fight against this betrayal of the South by the Democratic Party was carried to the Philadelphia Democratic National Convention and into the 1948 Presidential election. The seeds we sowed are now bearing fruit. The people are beginning to realize the dangers to our form of government which lurk in the President’s Civil Rights Program. If the President has the political sagacity his friends credit him with having, he will correctly read the election returns of 1948 and follow the advice of James A. Farley by abandoning his Civil Rights Program, which breeds disunity at a time when we need unity.

Both our races are set back every time there is radical agitation of racial problems. It is our hope that most southern Negroes will not listen to these false leaders and that they will realize their best opportunity for progress is a continuation of the harmonious cooperation which has brought both races so far along the uphill road.

Upon this cooperation depends our realization of the dream of a “New South”—a South of opportunity and high standards of living for both races.

There have been many “New Souths.” There was the New South of the adventurous English, French, and Spanish, who saw in it a treasure trove to be looted; there was the New South of the land-grant holders, who made of it a vast and luxuriant plantation to be exploited by slave labor; there was the New South of the great resident planters, who created from it a new and more gracious way of life; there was the New South of the carpetbaggers, who saw in it a gigantic opportunity to steal and plunder; there was the New South envisioned by Henry Grady, Wade Hampton, and others who sought to build a quick new world from the ashes of the old, a world which was destined
to remain unborn for many decades; and, finally, there is the New South of today, a living, moving, growing, changing South that is fast justifying the faith of the millions who have staked their lives on her promise.

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