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ADEQUATE NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS

I. INTRODUCTION

In the struggle to win the peace in which we as a Nation are now engaged, we must not overlook the fact that our prestige on all international matters will in the final analysis depend upon the efficiency with which we attend to our own national security. Hence, one of our first and chief concerns is that we immediately take such measures as will guarantee our adequate national preparedness.

It is said that national preparedness must be handled on a non-partisan basis, but such an approach will not be effective. Under our system of party government, national preparedness must be bi-partisan to be adequately provided; for only in this way will party responsibility for its efficient accomplishment exist, and without party responsibility, under our form of government, the risk is run that everybody’s business may prove to be nobody’s business, and not get done. Our great political parties must work together to see to it that we are not once again found unprepared if and when a new global conflict shatters the uneasy peace of the world; and they should each assume an active responsibility for seeing that the job is done. Patriotism, not politics, must be the level upon which the solemn, and often disagreeable and thankless, task is undertaken.

II. WHY PREPAREDNESS IS ESSENTIAL

As early as the days immediately following the American Revolution,
when our Army was permitted to dwindle to a few hundred men, George Washington felt impelled to warn that "to be prepared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving peace", and that "a free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined; to which end a well-digested plan is requisite". Nevertheless, a state of chronic unpreparedness has always been our chief military characteristic.

Twice in our lifetime we have seen this state of unpreparedness on our part jeopardize the very existence of our way of life; and only broad oceans, strong allies already engaged with the common enemy, and a kind Providence, gave us the time necessary to organize our potential military strength and throw it in the breach. On both occasions, aggression failed because America had the time to mobilize. Any future attack by an aggressor Nation will, without question, be brought to bear first upon this Nation, since past aggressors have suffered defeat by allowing the United States time in which to prepare and gear its economy to the requirements of war. In this age of atomic weapons, guided missiles, jet propulsion, supersonic speeds, and bacteriological warfare, the element of time for us to prepare will be hours or minutes, rather than months or weeks. We must be ready long before the need is upon us or it will be too late.

When the combat stage of World War II came to an end, the United States was the greatest military, naval and air power the world had ever seen. Almost at once, however, we allowed our strength to fall away from us, and our armies and navies to be dismantled in the rush for demobilization. At a time when war can strike without warning and with devastating force, our ground forces have
uncommitted only 2 1/3 combat divisions available for duty. Our air and sea strength are somewhat more formidable, but both are dwindling so rapidly that they cannot long be regarded as protection against possible attack. Still engaged in the struggle to win the peace, we have weakened our influence at the council tables by stripping ourselves of our armed might.

Only a few days ago, General Eisenhower, as Chief of Staff, told a Congressional committee that our Army is now a poor second to Russia's, that while war within the next 12 months is not regarded as a probability, it is reckoned as a possibility, that the Army now exerts far less "pressure for peace" in the world than when it was the world's greatest fighting force, and that further reduction of the Army would endanger the safety of the Nation.

This state of affairs not only affects the position of America as a world power, but it also seriously endangers the prestige and strength of the United Nations, which is the embodiment of our hopes for a peace based upon justice and cooperation, rather than violence and desolation. This Nation has committed itself to a position of leadership in the endeavor of building the United Nations into an effective instrument for ending appeals to arms in the settlement of international conflicts. The United States will remain a world power only as long as it maintains military and naval forces adequate to its national security, and in a large measure the strength and prestige of the United Nations depends upon the strength and prestige of the United States.

We cannot, and do not wish to, and do not need to, retain and maintain a war-sized Army, Navy and Air Forces. We can accomplish every legitimate
purpose by devising and putting into effect a well-planned and comprehensive pro-
gram of adequate national preparedness. We will thus guarantee our own national
safety, preserve our position as a world power, and fortify the prestige of the
United Nations, so vital to its success.

III. HOW PREPAREDNESS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED

Let us consider some of the things which such a program of prepared-
ness must include:

1. Uniform Hemispheric Armament and Training.

There is now pending before the Congress a bill to provide for
standardization of armament and training in this Hemisphere to make South America,
Central America and North America a complete unit in case of war. The value of
hemispheric defense was proven in World War II, and it should be provided for now,
and not after war breaks out.

2. Unification of Armed Services.

Legislation is also pending to unify our armed services under a
single Secretary of National Security. The necessity for unity of command in the
field was conclusively demonstrated in World War II, and I am convinced that the
principle should be extended to the War and Navy Departments as an integral part
of our Preparedness Program.

3. Closest Coordination Between Those Responsible for Our Foreign
Policy and Those Responsible for 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 be-
tween the officers and agencies which frame our foreign policy and those responsible for the strength, condition and disposition of our armed service. This will enable us to gear our military strength to our considered foreign policy, and prevent the growth of a vacillating foreign policy geared to our military strength which policy in itself is a symptom of weakness and could lead to war.

4. **A Worldwide Intelligence Service.**

Hitherto we have lived largely to ourselves as a Nation, secure in the belief that we were adequately protected from attack because of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Now, however, we realize that this is no longer true, and that the most distant point on the face of the globe is only hours away by air. It is today vital to our security that we create a worldwide intelligence service on a career basis. Such a service would function for all departments of our government alike, the diplomatic and the economic, as well as the military. One of its functions would be the coordination and proper evaluation of all information collected and reported by any agency of the government. Pearl Harbor graphically illustrated the critical importance of coordination and evaluation of intelligence.

5. **Support of Merchant Marine.**

We entered World War II, as we had earlier entered World War I, deficient in cargo ships, and had to depend on the shipping resources of our allies until our construction program overcame the deficit. We all vividly recall how close the submarine campaign of the enemy came to victory in both wars.

We are an ocean power and realize the importance of utilizing the
Oceans as highways to our objectives. Our basic concept of national defense is that the engagements, the operations, and the inevitable destruction of war shall take place as far as possible from our territory. Hence, we must be prepared to project our power overseas; and we must be equipped to supply our forces by sea as well as air transport. Moreover, we must have the ships necessary to bring from abroad, both in peace and in war, the critical raw materials necessary in the manufacture of our war needs.

We have emerged from World War II once again with a great merchant marine. We must recognize its indispensable position in our preparedness program, see to it that it is not again junked or scuttled, and devise ways and means of keeping it functioning on the seas.


Our side won the race to develop the atomic bomb as an instrument of destruction. Had our enemies won, what a different ending World War II might have had! The havoc wrought by the proximity fuse, developed by the Navy in conjunction with the Office of Research and Development, startled the forces of the Axis. Designed to protect surface vessels from air attack, it played a strong part in turning the tide in the Battle of the Bulge, and in defense against the buzz-bombs and V-2 rockets. It is possible that without this fuse the suicide kamikaze attacks upon our Fleet at Okinawa might have succeeded in their objective.

In the recent war we saw the development of radar, electronic devices of various types, recoilless weapons, pilotless aircraft, and the be-
ginning of warfare with guided missiles and atomic bombs. Science will make even greater advances and have even greater application in any future war, not only in the atomic field, but also in the fields of electronics, radio-activity and biological agents. These examples and many others demonstrate that the turning point of modern wars will depend more and more on the earliest development of new weapons, or new uses for, or perhaps new defenses against, existing weapons. Hence, under present day conditions, we must provide for constant peacetime research and development to stay ahead of the rest of the world. A permanent and well-supported agency to this end is an imperative part of our program.

7. Decentralization and Dispersal of Industries.

The geographical location of the next Pearl Harbor will be determined by industrial, rather than military or naval, concentration. We shall be living in a fool's paradise indeed if we do not recognize this fact and make our dispositions accordingly.

The concentration of important industrial establishments will put a premium on sudden attack, whereas decentralization of giant industries and a more general distribution of the past of our industrial economy upon which our war effort will depend, will tend to protect our productive capacity, and render a sneak attack less destructive in a military way, and consequently less likely.

The nature of modern war dictates that the industrial system of the Nation be dispersed, and that underground location of those industries most vital to our war potential be planned against the hour of need.

8. Stock Taking, Stock Filing, and Conservation of Natural Resources.
We shall not be adequately prepared for an emergency unless we have an accurate knowledge of our raw material resources, a detailed inventory of what we have within our borders, and a like inventory of what can only be obtained from without and where obtainable. The present study of our own natural resources is particularly important because we expended them so freely in the winning of World War II.

We were told by the President in his State of the Union message this year that we are rapidly becoming a "have-not" Nation as to many of our minerals. Included in this category is the raw stuff from which fissionable material is made, as well as alloying ores needed in the manufacture of steel capable of standing extreme heat. Hence, our production of atomic energy and of jet-propelled engines may depend in the near future on importing these raw materials, and stock piling them from time to time as we are able to locate and obtain them.

Only a few days ago, the Navy ascertained that it was so short of oil that it could not cope with an emergency at the present time, and must buy 3,000,000 barrels from the Near East to meet its requirements. By this means, it was estimated that in six months' time East Coast naval stocks could be increased to "a position compatible with the Navy's obligations for national security".

Furthermore, our increased national income has brought about increased consumption of our domestic production to the extent that we will now have to import minerals and metals which formerly we were able to export. For instance,
we formerly produced enough lead to care for our needs and permit us to export about 100,000 tons a year, while now we are short about 300,000 tons annually. To a lesser extent, we face the same situation with zinc, copper and petroleum, which in the past were among our chief sources of wealth.

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 these resources determined to be vital to our war potential, to locate resources for import in other parts of the world and arrange for their acquisition, and to stockpile such resources, not only to increase our war potential, but also to permit war production to begin at the very moment of attack.

All this must be done now, and long before war comes, and adequate legislation should be enacted as early as possible to enable such a program to be carried out on a practical basis.


It is beyond the scope of this discussion to deal in a technical way with the problem of setting up the fighting forces on which we shall count to guarantee our safety in the post war world. So much depends on information not generally available, and so many changes can occur from day to day with the development of new weapons, or new ways to employ old ones, or new defenses to existing weapons, that necessarily this subject must, and can with confidence, be left to the armed services to handle in the light of their experience in World
War II, which should be invaluable in planning for the future.

We do know, however, that the day of so-called "push button warfare" is not here yet, and that we shall have to remain effective on the ground, on the sea and in the sky in order to be able to say that we have not gambled too much with the defense of our country.

Any future major war in which we may become involved, though it may be defensive for us at the outset, must eventually become an offensive one. Not only this, but the superiority of armies is determined now, as always, less by numbers than by such things as organization, training, leadership and national spirit.

We must be careful to see that our standing Army is a well-trained, well-equipped and highly mobile striking force, that our Navy is a strong, well-balanced and well-manned outfit, and that our Air Force is second to none in training, equipment and constant development. We must also see that such organizations as the National Guard, the Organized Reserve and the Naval Reserve are fostered, so that trained personnel will be almost immediately available to expand the standing armed services.

Finally, we must enact and have ready a fair and efficient selective service law, dovetailing with our other preparedness legislation, to provide immediately the reinforcements and replacements which will be necessary to bring the war to a speedy and successful conclusion.

It is well for us to remember that our ability to strike back quickly and successfully will do much to discourage the ambition of a potential aggressor.
and organized military, naval and air components designed to do this will exert
strong "pressure for peace," to use General Eisenhower's phrase.

10. Total Mobilization

During World War I, we borrowed to the extent of approximately
30 billions of dollars. During World War II, we borrowed about 10 times that
much, and today we owe in excess of 250 billions. It has been the history of
our past major wars that each has cost approximately 10 times as much as the
preceding one. It is extremely doubtful if we can finance another war on the
basis on which we have financed the others, and it is well within the realm of
possibility that we may have to call into national service every man, woman and
child of the Nation, whether a combatant, war worker, or not, in order to see that
our war production is ample and also that our population is clothed and fed. In
any event, we know that if and when war again strikes America, it will be in the
form of total war, and must be met by total mobilization of our scientific,
industrial and men power resources.

We should not leave total mobilization to be written or put into
effect if and when war comes. No man or group of men should be left to decide
such a vital matter under the shock and confusion of the outbreak of atomic war.
On the contrary, we must write into law now the legislation necessary to carry it
out, and such legislation should be made self-activating upon the declaration
of the existence of a national emergency or state of war.

Total mobilization must embrace the instant conversion of all indus-
dustry to war production, in accordance with plans and arrangements worked out
in advance with each industry, and revised at regular and frequent intervals.

It must also embrace the instant availability on a war-time basis of experienced personnel to operate all war plants and converted industries, in accordance with plans and arrangements worked out in advance with representatives of the working men and women of the Nation, and revised at regular and frequent intervals.

Our ultimate military strength and basic sinews of war consist not only of superior men and superior quantities of raw materials, but also of our matchless skilled labor, industrial know-how, and productive capacity. I have already referred to the importance of decentralizing and dispersing our industrial plant to protect it from destruction, and it is just as important to our defense that this same industrial plant be ready to swing into action the instant war comes, for upon it our whole security structure depends.

We must also see to it that we have available at once an already organised civilian defense set-up on a nation-wide basis, because local disaster will certainly accompany the initial blow or blows against us, and we can not know where these blows will fall until they land.

We must revise, reduce to law, and have ready for immediate and automatic activation the measures necessary to insure efficient control of prices, priorities and rationing of all civilian goods and of the foods in which shortages are likely to develop because of the requirements of the armed services; and to regulate wages and limit profits, so that as nearly equal contribution to the war effort as possible will be made by each of our citizens.
No one without intensive study could possibly do more than to indicate the general subjects which must be dealt with in providing total mobilization to meet total war, but it is of the utmost importance that our people, and particularly our responsible leaders, give thought to this challenging problem, and exert the pressure of public opinion necessary to cause it to be faced and solved.

11. Universal Military Training

Universal military training, substantially in the form recommended recently in the report of the President's Advisory Commission, will accomplish so many essential results for the Nation's program of preparedness that it will be difficult to formulate a well-rounded and comprehensive preparedness program without it.

We are told, however, that Universal Military Training is peace-time military conscription as practiced in European countries, and is therefore un-American and will tend to have a militaristic effect upon our civilian population. This objection overlooks the fact that the only think which Universal Military Training will have in common with military conscription is that it is not voluntary. Moreover, it is based upon the premise that because European Nations have done a thing in a certain way, the method and result will be the same when it is done in America by Americans. The whole course of our history disproves that assumption.

If a program of peace-time national preparedness is necessary to our national security - and I do not believe that anyone will seriously question its
necessity - it is surely not un-American to provide for the equal sharing of the peace-time obligations of citizenship in a land founded upon the principle of equality.

We have never thought that military training has a militaristic effect upon our people. Such has not been our experience with the military academies or colleges of which our country has so many, nor with the state militia organizations, or the C.O. or the C.O.T.O. If it be interposed that attendance upon or service in these was voluntary, certainly this was not true in most cases of service in the armed forces during the recent war, and yet nearly 14 million of our men and women served for periods up to 7 years, hastened back as soon as possible to civilian pursuits, and are now generally better and less warlike American citizens than they were when they entered the service. As one who spent 5 1/2 years in the service in World War II, I know of my own knowledge that this is true.

It is also contended that modern war has rendered large numbers of men obsolete; but this contention overlooks the significant fact that, although World War II was the most mechanised in history, nevertheless it required the largest armies.

Finally, it is urged that Universal Military Training will be wasteful; but its cost, while large, does not compare with the cost of war, and especially of defeat. If we could have shortened World War II three and one-half days, the saving in cost would have paid for the training of a million men for a whole year.
The program of Universal Military Training is designed to produce the following results:

a. In the event of an emergency the machinery will already exist whereby the Nation can rapidly mobilize and train its wartime citizen forces.

b. In peacetime, it will enable the Nation to maintain its Regular and Reserve Armed Forces at the highest level of readiness on a voluntary basis, because of the previous training of most enlistees.

c. It will afford the opportunity of choosing individuals with demonstrated capacity as leaders and giving them further training.

d. It will train and develop, throughout the country, a pool of persons with special skills required in modern warfare.

e. It will provide in each community men trained to assist in repelling invaders, and in coping with the disaster, demoralization and destruction attending the initial blows of sudden or sneak attacks.

f. It will offer real educational values to those undergoing the training, including extensive vocational and trade instruction, and it will afford an opportunity of reducing illiteracy, which ordinarily would preclude military service.

g. It will result in the detection and correction of many physical defects ordinarily undetected until beyond help, and will improve the national health by the physical benefits accruing to the trainees.

It is obvious that Universal Military Training will be unvaluable in implementing the measures which will be taken to guarantee organized military
strength and provide for total mobilization, because there will be created an enormous pool of men available for the armed services as well as men trained for industrial work and civilian defense duties.

I am convinced that Universal Military Training will strengthen our war potential in personnel in advance of war with a minimum of dislocation of the lives of our people and the peace time economy of the Nation, and that whatever the cost we cannot afford to do without it.

12. Control of Sabotage, Sedition and Subversive Activity.

The success of the enemy in World War II in the use of the Fifth Column as a military weapon is well known to all. By means of sedition and subversive activity, coupled with sabotage of defense installations, supposedly powerful armies were so softened and thrown into confusion that they suffered comparatively easy and stunning defeat. When we entered the war, however, the counter-measures set in motion crushed the Fifth Column, and we were remarkably successful in controlling subversive activities and preventing sabotage.

In considering this important field of our preparedness program, we should remember that the Fifth Column will not await a formal declaration of war any more than military attack does now, and our Preparedness Program must provide for the control of sabotage and subversive activities in peace as well as in war.

It is vital to preparedness that we recognize that there can be no divided loyalty in this country, that the hyphenated American is no American at all, and that regardless of creed, racial strain or national ancestry, our people must face the future on the basis of a common and exclusive American nationality.
No man can be a loyal and patriotic American unless he is an American and nothing else.

As Theodore Roosevelt once said:

"We must not stand merely for America First. We must stand for America first and last; and for no other Nation second — except as we stand for fair play for all nations."

No Fifth Column can breed with success among a people who believe in Stephen Decatur's immortal words:

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

That belief guided those who participated in the birth and early days of this Nation; it must guide today those to whose charge the future of the Nation has been committed.

**IV. CONCLUSION**

Our generation is now responsible for the safety of the United States of America in a troubled and turbulent world, and for the discharge of its proper obligation to exert power and strength for the cause of winning the peace. Our first concern must be the taking of effective measures to safeguard our own freedom from aggression. It is an undertaking and an opportunity which challenges our best thought and effort, and I am confident that we as a Nation will meet the challenge.

Our cause is the cause of peace. The common sense and patriotism of the American people are our most effective weapons in the struggle to underwrite the peace.
Twice during our lifetime we have witnessed our young men and women go out upon the battlefields of the world to fight for this cause. Most American families today are mourning some little white cross on a distant isle or continent. We must not make those crosses monuments of a lost cause. If we fail in this struggle, we cannot account to the dead of two world wars. We can and must win the peace.