

THE DEFENSE PROGRAM

A Handbook for Speakers

This booklet is distributed for the convenience of speakers on our Defense Program. It follows frequent requests for background and source material. Speakers wishing further information on specific phases of the Defense Program should consult the list of pamphlets and literature appearing on the last page.

Division of Information

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This is an all-out effort—nothing short of all-out effort will win.



Our country is going to be what our people have proclaimed it must be—the Arsenal of Democracy.



The urgency is *now*. . .

The great task of this day, the deep duty which rests upon us is to move products from the assembly lines of our factories to the battle lines of democracy—Now!

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Franklin D. Roosevelt".

March 15, 1941.

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World Revolution—The Facts

During the 1930's America hoped for peace. But while we hoped, China and Ethiopia were invaded, and other nations began to rearm. Bigger armies and bigger navies—more planes, more guns, more tanks—became the order of the day.

Austria fell; then Czechoslovakia. Poland was invaded, and war spread throughout the world. Countries which had believed in solemn promises were invaded from without and betrayed from within.

Denmark, Norway, Holland, and Belgium fell in rapid succession and war came closer. Overnight we were faced with the danger that neighboring islands and possessions of these conquered countries would fall into Axis hands.

Then France fell, and Britain, alone, stood between us and a hostile world revolution—a revolution dedicated to overthrow everything our democracy stood for. We could no longer shut our eyes or practice wishful thinking. We had to face

the facts and make a decision. We had to choose between a world of democracy and a world of terror.

America's Answer

America gave its answer in June 1940. That answer was the Defense Program.

Speaking of the great undertaking, President Roosevelt promised:

“It will be the bulwark of our own defense.

“It will be the source of the tools of defense for all democracies who are fighting to preserve themselves against aggression.”

The representatives of the people in Congress passed the laws and provided the money. Under powers outlined in the Constitution and the laws of the country, the President was entrusted with the conduct of the program. As extra eyes and hands, he appointed defense agencies to speed the work.

What Is the Job?

The task before us is tremendous. First, the President, as Commander in Chief, with the help of the Army and Navy, has had to decide what America needed to be able to defend itself. This meant the number of guns, planes, tanks, and ships. Questions of when they are needed and where they are needed have had to be answered at the same time.

Our First Goals

America set certain minimum goals.

From a peacetime strength of less than 200,000 men, our Army had to be raised to a strength of 1,750,000.

Tanks, guns, trucks, clothing, ammunition, food, and housing had to be provided for these men, with enough extra equipment for 500,000 more.

A two-ocean Navy had to be created to protect us in the Atlantic and Pacific.

Cargo ships had to be delivered from our yards to carry food and weapons abroad, 1,153 of them between the middle of 1941 and the end of 1943.

American manpower, American machines, and American materials had to turn out 50,000 planes a year, plus material for our own use and the use of the anti-Axis powers of the world.

But goals were merely the first step. The second and most important was to obtain these items. We had not been producing them. In fact, at the beginning of the war, there were as many men employed in producing artificial flowers in this country as there were in manufacturing explosives.

In asking our airplane industry to turn out planes at the rate of 50,000 a year, we are asking them to build in 12 months two-thirds as many planes as have been built in this country from the date of the first airplane flight at Kitty Hawk in 1903.

The Beginning Is Made

From June 1940 to November 1941, the Congress appropriated 63 billion dollars for defense. Great Britain has orders in our factories for 3½ billions more. Against this total of more than 66 billions we and the British spent in this country last year a little over 4 billions for defense. This represented less than 6 percent of our national income in 1940. Currently we are devoting about 15 percent of our resources to the defense effort, and upon present schedules we shall have raised this to a little over 25 percent by the end of next year.

We must remember, however, that Great Britain and Canada, with less than half our population and income, are putting 50 percent of their resources

into war production and that Germany may be spending as much as 60 percent. We must remember, too, that while we spent only a little more than a billion for our Army and Navy in 1939, Germany spent 10 billions.

OPM—Key to Production

Doing the job means obtaining the raw materials, training our manpower, harnessing, directing, and coordinating the Nation's industrial capacity.

This job was assigned to the Office of Production Management.

Its job is production. It plans how the arms are to be manufactured—in what plants—what plants must be converted—what new ones built to bring America's production up to requirements. To facilitate these many jobs it has established various divisions.

Its Production Division has expanded every aircraft plant in the Nation. Floor space for producing planes, engines, and propellers has been increased from 17 to 44 million square feet since the start of the defense job in June 1940—as much space as 15 office buildings the size of the 70-story RCA building in New York's Radio City. The backlog of aviation orders has grown from 2 billion to more than 6 billion dollars in the same period.

In the merchant ship program, 165 new ways have been provided for. Contracts have been let for every one of the 2,831 ships for our two-ocean navy, and 968 are now under construction.

Enough new machine tools have been installed in our factories since the beginning of 1940 to double the output of the machine tools operating at the beginning of the period. New defense plants and additions to establishments turning out defense

goods number 2,756, with total Government and private commitments amounting to \$4,726,000,000.

Materials for Defense

When production began to roll, the demand for materials—steel, copper, aluminum—skyrocketed. Experts were called in to expand facilities—to increase critical imports—to build up stockpiles. But our needs ran ahead of supply . . . and still do.

The Government faced the fact that there were not enough of certain materials for both the Defense Program and civilian use. In some cases, there were not enough for defense needs alone.

First Things First

Defense comes first. A system of priorities was worked out to guarantee that vital materials were used where they were needed most.

Thus the Army and the Navy have said that they need airplanes first. Airplanes require aluminum—lots of it. So do battleships and machine tools. Therefore, our war goods and the means to produce them get first priority on this vital material.

Certain civilian uses are essential, too, if the Nation is to continue to function. That is why repair parts for radio transmitters also receive early priorities.

Assuring the Supply

On practically all of the important metals, military demands are so great that when they have been met there is not a large enough quantity remaining to satisfy all civilian demands. Hence it was necessary to give some agency responsibility for seeing, first, that enough of these materials was set aside to meet all military requirements and, second, that the

remainder was apportioned equitably among the many civilian demands.

This responsibility has been vested in the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board, a seven-man group headed by Vice President Wallace.

SPAB has primary responsibility for allocating all raw materials, fuel, power, and transportation. It is a policy-making body rather than administrative; it lays down the broad policies on which problems will be met and leaves to other defense agencies the task of executing those policies. It began its task by taking steps to increase the production of basic materials, took steps to get an over-all statistical picture of the Nation's essential needs, both military and civilian, and directed that priorities assistance should not be granted for building construction jobs except where National Defense or the public health and safety were vitally affected. SPAB also laid down the policy under which construction of new manufacturing plants to meet purely civilian demand must be postponed until after the emergency, and paved the way for straight-out allocation of scarce materials to industries.

New Weapons—New Materials

No defense program can be built on a 1918 basis. In a thousand laboratories throughout the Nation, America's leading scientists are developing new weapons, new materials, new substitutes. Through an Office of Scientific Research and Development, their work is coordinated and supervised.

Subcontracting to Spread the Work

America's demand for total defense cannot be met by using only a few plants and businesses. Every idle tool and every idle man means waste in Amer-

ica's program. Defense work must reach out to include the small factories and business units.

That is the task of the Division of Contract Distribution of OPM.

First things must come first. That means that some industries using essential materials for nonessential items face serious shortages and even shut-downs. This division is helping large companies holding defense orders to work out subcontracts with smaller companies. More than that, it has established the machinery so that those plants facing priority shut-downs can retool and prepare to turn out defense items. Example: Certification of the washing-machine industry as capable of turning out 17 different defense items including bomb-fin assemblies and antiaircraft gun mounts.

"Market places" have been established where small manufacturers can come to talk and study, first-hand, the "bits and pieces" needed for our armament program.

Trained Men for Defense

Machines need men. But more than that they need men who are expertly trained. Otherwise they are so much waste metal.

Finding the right men for the right job is the duty of the Labor Division of OPM. The program is well under way. Surveys have been made of available manpower; vocational training courses have been undertaken. Actual on-the-job training was started in many plants so that as new machines became available there were men to man them without loss of time. Four million American workers have taken their places on defense production lines and millions more will be needed.

While only 60,000 workers received vocational

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training during the World War, more than 1,500,000 have been trained since the present emergency.

Mediation

The stress of the Defense Program and the millions of workers in new jobs threw a tremendous strain on labor relations. The President, therefore, created the National Defense Mediation Board, where labor and management sit down around the conference table and thrash out their problems. Out of 101 cases received in over 7 months of operation, the men have been returned to work in all but 3.

Defense Buying

There was a colossal job of purchasing facing the United States. The Division of Purchases of OPM does not do the actual buying, but assists the Army and Navy in buying goods at the right time and at the right place. It has worked out an advance buying program so that the food, clothing, and equipment bought for a million and a half men don't dry up civilian supplies of the same goods.

Imagine a daily market basket that holds 1 million pounds of meat, 600,000 pounds of potatoes, half a million pounds of fresh fruit, 500 tons of fresh vegetables, and \$50,000 worth of bread. In the last year and three-quarters, the Army has gone shopping for 55 million pairs of socks, 25 million pairs of pants, 18 million shirts, and 11 million pairs of shoes, and in the last 4 months it has bought more woolen underwear than the entire country normally uses in 1 year.

America Moves

A nation is only as strong as its lines of communication. Railroad, air, water, and highway transport

must be coordinated to meet the emergency load. That is the duty of the Division of Transportation. Equally important is the task of keeping vital communications geared to defense. Through the Defense Communications Board, we are prepared for any emergency.

Better Homes for Workers

America's defense workers must have homes—good homes for themselves and their families. But in many instances the Defense Program brings thousands of workers into communities too small or too crowded to take care of them.

The Division of Defense Housing Coordination is solving that problem. By working with existing governmental and private housing agencies it is providing defense homes which protect the health, working ability, and family life of defense workers. More than 45,000 new defense dwellings are now available for defense workers and contracts have already been awarded for 100,000 more.

A Healthier America

America is losing its fat and building its muscle. It is working harder. In many communities, facilities for health and recreation are sadly overtaxed. An Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services has been established to help keep America healthy and strong during the extra demands of the defense effort.

Getting Our Money's Worth

When materials and goods are scarce and more money is in circulation, things cost more. Our dollars no longer buy as much as they did. The Office of Price Administration was established to protect

the consumer and make sure that defense goods do not skyrocket in price.

Where prices of goods have risen because of increased demand, ceilings have been established. Where materials have been scarce, new production has been arranged. If these measures are not sufficient, more drastic ones will be necessary.

Total War

Total war employs all weapons. The newly created Economic Defense Board protects and strengthens our international economic relations. It has a potent method in our buying power abroad.

In an embattled world, food is as much a weapon as guns. For that reason, the Office of Agricultural Defense Relations has launched the "Food for Freedom" program to raise American farm production to record levels so that the democracies can have the milk, butter, cheese, eggs, and meat they need.

The United States and all the countries of the Western Hemisphere, including the South American Republics, have much at stake in the world struggle. To aid in our common problems, the President appointed a Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. This office has speeded South American copper and oil northward, and United States machinery southward in a common Defense Program, both military and economic.

How You Can Help in Defense

Every one of our 132,000,000 citizens has a place in the Defense Program. Though you may not be a worker in a defense industry or a member of the armed forces, there are many ways you can aid.

Under the direction of the Office of Civilian Defense, there is a double job to be done.

First, the American people must organize for civilian protection. This includes air-raid warning and repair squads, demolition and bomb units, and other protectionary forces. Thousands of men and women are needed for training to meet disasters which we pray may never come.

Second, there is a chance for those who wish to serve in other ways—to enlist for the task of bettering the health, economic security, and well-being of our people. Civilian volunteer defense offices are being set up in every community. Here every citizen, young or old, rich or poor, man or woman, may learn their part in the Defense Program.

Volunteer nurses' aides, for instance, must be enrolled and trained. There are vast opportunities for volunteer workers in the fields of public health, recreation, education, nutrition, housing, and child welfare. Service can be rendered at home by conserving vital materials and foods. Organized groups already functioning in the Defense Program, such as the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, and various Service Organizations, are in need of recruits.

Civilian defense is being carried on through hundreds of State and local defense councils. If you wish to know your part, go to your nearest Civilian Volunteer Office or local council. There is a job for you!

America Saves

The Defense Program requires materials—more materials than we have ever used before.

That means that America must conserve. It cannot waste or burn or destroy anything that can be converted into supplies for defense factories. In every home and every community is waste that can be turned into guns and tanks and planes. The

scrap metal in one old automobile, for instance, will make 120 30-caliber machine guns. The paper that is burned every day is vitally needed for packaging defense materials.

We must learn to conserve what we are actually using—to make each item last longer and do more. Tires are one example. Rubber is vital to defense. Yet by exercising a little extra care, the motorist can make tires last longer and thus release hundreds of thousands of pounds of rubber for defense needs.

We must be willing to accept substitutes. There will be more glass and wood and enamelware in our kitchens and less stainless steel and aluminum. There will be fewer rubber refrigerator trays, less chromium trim, fewer nonessential metal gadgets for our homes.

We must be content, also, with a smaller supply of heavy items which consume steel and other materials. Automobile production has already been cut 36 percent. Refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and other items have been curtailed.

We must be ready to accept simplification. This means fewer models and fewer needless sizes, for these require men and machines now needed in defense.

Let Us Face the Facts

We have made a beginning. But we must face the facts.

Germany has a jump on us of 8 long years, and with every conquest she is gaining more raw materials, more factories, more manpower with which to produce the implements of total war. During the past year and a half Greece and Yugoslavia have fallen, and Russia is being battered.

America is still a long way from total defense.

William S. Knudsen, Director General of the Office of Production Management, has said that he considered "the defense effort to date not satisfactory enough to warrant hopes that everything is all well."

A Challenge to America

This is a challenge to America. We must make a choice. We can continue at the present rate and sometime, perhaps years from now, our production will grow big enough so that the Nazi menace will disappear—or we can get rid of our fat, harden our muscles, pitch in, and get the whole business over more quickly. That means total effort for total defense. This isn't going to be easy. It means plenty of sweat and plenty of sacrifices. The United States has dedicated itself to the job. We must be prepared to make the sacrifices essential to retaining our freedom.

What is our ultimate goal? The President has expressed it with this statement:

"In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

"The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

"The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

"The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

"The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to com-

mit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.”

These are the Four Freedoms we are striving to protect by making America “The Great Arsenal of Democracy.”



Basic information material, including policy statements, press announcements, pamphlets, administrative detail, and up-to-date statistics, is available on the following subjects:

Agriculture

Army

Civilian defense

Conservation

Contract distribution, subcontracting, farming-out

Defense housing

Foreign policy

Labor, labor training, labor supply, mediation

Materials

Navy

Nutrition, health, and welfare

Prices and consumers

Priorities

Production

Purchasing

Transportation

These may be obtained from your local defense council, or from the Division of Information, Office for Emergency Management, Washington, D. C.

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