

## LEND-LEASE

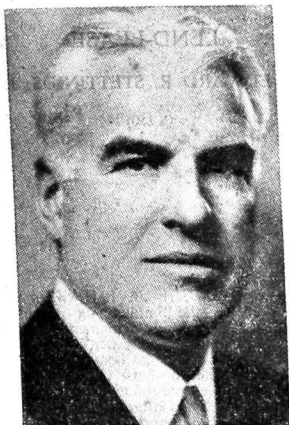
By EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.

(\$ 150)

Lend-Lease began early in 1941, when Congress passed H.R. 1776—the famous Act providing that defence material of any kind—armaments, ships, food—might be put at the disposal of other Governments anywhere in the world, without cash payment, for purposes “essential to the defence of the United States.” The first transfers of defence material to Britain were arranged for three hours after the Act became law; two years later expenditure under it had reached eleven thousand million dollars, and a further six thousand million dollars had been earmarked for supplying aid to the United Nations.

One day in August 1941 Mr. Stettinius, who for over a year had been in close touch with defence output as Commissioner for Industrial Materials, was asked by President Roosevelt to take over the administration of the Lend-Lease Programme. This is the record of his first two years' work. He tells the full story of Lend-Lease: how the idea of the plan first rose after the exchange of destroyers and naval bases between Britain and America in 1940; how American opinion was prepared for the Act; how American production multiplied by leaps and bounds to meet the defence needs of Britain, the U.S.S.R., China, and the smaller nations that are fighting Nazi world-domination.

Mr. Stettinius tells also of his visit to Britain to see Lend-Lease in action; and does full justice to the achievements of “Reverse Lend-Lease,” under which the British Commonwealth has made itself responsible for an enormous volume of aid to the U.S.A. in pursuit of the common struggle.



#### THE AUTHOR

EDWARD REILLY STETTINIUS, son of a brilliant Wall Street financier who directed the purchase of munitions for the Allies and later for the U.S. armed forces in the First World War, was born in Virginia in 1900. Helping others was always one of his favourite occupations, even in his days at the University at Virginia, where in term time he conducted a self-help bureau to aid needy students to find jobs, and during holidays did missionary work in the Ragged Mountains. Entering industry instead of the ministry, to which at one time his thoughts had turned, he worked with General Motors and later with the U.S. Steel Corporation, which he left in 1939 to enter Government service as a member of the Defence Advisory Committee and chairman of the War Resources Board. In 1941 he became Administrator of Lend-Lease, and during his three years in that office—which he held until he became Under-Secretary of State in 1944—he was responsible for distributing £4,652,000,000 worth of material to the War fronts of the world. Two of his closest friends are U.S. Army General Marshall, and his predecessor as Lend-Lease Administrator, Harry Hopkins. The Second World War leaves him little time for interest outside his work—and his family, a wife and three children.

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A PENGUIN SPECIAL

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# LEND-LEASE

*Weapon for Victory*

BY  
EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.



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IN MEMORY OF MY FATHER

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS

whose example of distinguished service in the cause of the United States and of our Allies in the last war has been a constant inspiration and source of strength to me.

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PRINCIPLE

THE life-blood of our democracy is the free exchange of ideas. That fact is symbolized in the first of the Four Freedoms—Freedom of Speech. It is our affirmation of the right of every man to speak his mind on any subject. But it also affirms another and equally important right—the right of every citizen to know the facts on all matters that vitally concern him.

Lend-Lease is a new and important development in the foreign policy of the United States. The American people have a right to know how it came into being, what it is, and how it works. That is the reason why I have taken the time during the war to set down in book form the origin and development, and the significance as I see it, of our aid to the other nations battling the Axis and of their aid to us.

In time of war, of course, there is certain information which must temporarily remain secret. Our supply plans are a part of our war plans, and our supply routes are part of our fighting lines. It is no more possible, for example, to tell how many Lend-Lease planes we are going to send to Russia or to Australia next month, and by what route we propose to send them, than it is to tell where and how many planes we are sending abroad for our own pilots to fly. Knowledge such as this must be kept from our enemies until they learn it to their sorrow in the skies over their heads. With this necessary limitation, I have tried to tell the full story of Lend-Lease.

The story of inter-allied supply through Lend-Lease and Reverse Lend-Lease is world-wide. It concerns every battle-front and all the United Nations, but it is only one part of the story of this war. If I seem in this book to have neglected the great accomplishments of the men who are responsible for organizing, training and supplying the American armed forces and the magnificent achievements of American fighting men and their commanders on land and sea and in the air, it is not because I would over-emphasize the rôle of Lend-Lease in bringing us victory. I have, in the main, written only of that side of the war with which I have been directly concerned. This book is the story of Lend-Lease. Some day the other aspects of America's participation in this war will be described.

in full, I am sure, in the records written by the commanders of our armed forces and by the civilian officials who are rendering such memorable service to their country.

I cannot let this book be published without first explaining that the Lend-Lease Administration itself is only a small part of the Lend-Lease machinery which we have built up for sending war supplies to the other nations fighting the Axis. The Munitions Assignment Board, the War Department and the Navy Department are entrusted with the Lend-Lease munitions programme. American arms production is allocated by military men on the basis of military strategy. Lend-Lease in merchant shipping is the province of the War Shipping Administration. The War Production Board and the War Food Administration make the allocations of our industrial resources and of our food for the Lend-Lease programme. The Department of Agriculture buys Lend-Lease food; the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department buys Lend-Lease industrial items; the Maritime Commission builds Lend-Lease ships. The State Department negotiates the Lend-Lease Agreements which set forth the terms under which our aid is given.

Just as the policy of Lend-Lease is an expression of the will of the American people as a whole, so the carrying out of the Lend-Lease programme is in truth a combined operation of the United States Government as a whole, in which most of the Executive Departments and agencies and the Congress participate.

The Office of Lend-Lease Administration itself has played a dual rôle. First, we have been concerned with the requests from our allies for the host of industrial supplies and raw materials, the food and other agricultural commodities, the ships, the shipping services and repairs, and the many other supplies and services which are as necessary as weapons in waging war. But we have had another and equally important duty. That is to keep watch over Lend-Lease operations and policy in every field, and to report regularly on all phases of the programme to the President and to Congress. Our records are the point at which the over-all story of the aid we have given and received under Lend-Lease is concentrated. It is for this reason, and not because the Lend-Lease Administration would desire to receive the credit for all that appears in these pages, that I have presumed to tell this story.

The Lend-Lease Administration is an organization which I shall always be proud to have led. It is composed of men of many different skills and backgrounds. There are civil servants who have been in the Government for many years, to whom we look for that indispensable know-how of Government operations without which such an agency could not possibly function. There are Army and

Navy officers whose long experience in the strategy of supply is of constant aid in making Lend-Lease a vital weapon of war. There are business men, lawyers, bankers, engineers, economists, and men from other walks of life, many of whom have come to Washington at great personal sacrifice. Upon them we have leaned heavily for that practical and technical knowledge in a multitude of different fields without which our plans could not possibly be turned into realities.

To the man who gave me my first job, John Lee Pratt of Virginia, I shall ever be grateful for giving up his well-earned retirement at "Chatham" to serve us, so faithfully with his sound judgment. And to the others I am no less grateful—to Thomas B. McCabe, who ably carried many heavy burdens as Deputy Administrator and who acted as Administrator during my trip to Britain; to Bernhard Knollenberg, distinguished lawyer and Librarian of Yale, who joined us relatively late but has served effectively as Senior Deputy Administrator; to Oscar S. Cox, our General Counsel, whose advice has always proved so very helpful; to the Deputy Administrators, Arthur B. Van Buskirk, who has so ably headed the Operations Staff, and Philip Young, who has served Lend-Lease so well since the beginning; to our Senior Assistant Administrators, Major-General Charles M. Wesson, John E. Orchard, William V. Griffin, Laurence J. Martin and their staffs; to my special assistants, John D. East, Hayden Raynor, Samuel D. Boykin, and Ira C. Hopkins; to our Assistant Administrators, Charles Denby, Rupert Emerson, John N. Hazard, Joseph M. Juran, Harry M. Kurth, Robert J. Lynch, H. C. L. Miller, James W. Pope, J. Franklin Ray, Jr., G. Ruhlend Rebmann, Jr., William M. Simmons, Lt.-Commander Donald Watson and their staffs; to our Associate General Counsel, George W. Ball, and the other members of the legal staff; to our consultants, Brigadier-General George R. Spalding and Dr. George B. Waterhouse; and to all the others who have served the Lend-Lease Administration so well. To the men who have served Lend-Lease so loyally and effectively as heads of the overseas missions—W. Averill Harriman, Frederic W. Ecker, Walter S. Robertson, Charles A. Ferguson, Livingston L. Short, Blackwell Smith and all the others—we in Washington owe an enormous debt. They and their able staffs have been our indispensable eyes and ears abroad.

It would be impossible for me even to begin to name the men throughout the other departments and agencies of the Government whose magnificent co-operation has made possible the carrying out of the Lend-Lease programme.

This book is in a very real sense the product of all these men, both

inside and outside the Lend-Lease Administration. Without their imagination, their resourcefulness, and their devotion to duty, there would have been no Lend-Lease story for me to tell.

EDWARD R. STETTINUS, JR.

*"The Horse Shoe"*

*Rapidan, Culpeper County, Virginia,*

*September 18th, 1943.*

The manuscript of this book was written during the spring and summer of this year. When I was appointed by the President as Under-Secretary of State, my active direction of Lend-Lease affairs ended. But I have been urged by my associates to continue with the plans for publishing this book so that the American people might know the full story of Lend-Lease.

E. R. S. JR.

*Washington, D.C.*

*October 15th, 1943*



## INTRODUCTION

LEND-LEASE is a weapon of war. It was forged at a time when the freedom-loving peoples of the world were in mortal peril.

It has been tested in the fire of war now for over three years, and it has proven a powerful weapon for victory. In the midsummer of 1942, when I was serving as Lend-Lease Administrator, I visited Britain in order to see the Lend-Lease programme in action. Then the United Nations were still on the defensive all over the world. But American tools and raw materials were already reaching the arsenals of Britain in great volume. The flow of weapons from the United States, although still only a thin stream, was rising as we prepared for our first combined offensive—the landings in North Africa.

With the help of Lend-Lease, the British food crisis had been mastered, although vigorous efforts would still be necessary to keep food stocks from again falling below the danger point. Reverse Lend-Lease, in the summer of 1942, was still in its beginnings. American forces were just then arriving in substantial numbers in Britain. We had still to make our first all-American air raid over the continent. But British workmen were already busy building with British materials the camps, barracks, airfields, hangars, machine shops and other installations which our forces would require. And machinery was rapidly being perfected for providing to our forces, without any payment by us, the many thousands of war supplies that we would need from British sources.

Now in April of 1944, it is my privilege to be in Britain again. Two years have worked profound changes. All Britain has been transformed into the greatest military base in the history of the world. Day after day our combined air power has been delivering tremendous blows over the continent. And in this island fighting forces of many United Nations, under a unified allied command, have been welded into one powerful fighting team. Their equipment represents the pooled resources and war production of many nations. Through Lend-Lease, reverse Lend-Lease, and other forms of mutual aid, we have seen to it that these forces are equipped to deliver the hardest possible blows against the enemy.

These same two years have worked profound changes on all the other supply fronts of the war. In the summer of 1942, Burma

had just fallen and the last land supply route into China had been cut. Today a great aerial highway has been built from India to China—American, Chinese, British and Indian forces in Burma are pushing through a land route once more. Australia, New Zealand and the Middle-Pacific islands, which were so gravely imperilled in the summer of 1942, are today secure supply bases from which our forces are penetrating Japan's island defences with one swift thrust after another. What was in 1942 a thin trickle of supplies sent to Russia through Iran and around the dreadful North Cape has today become a torrent of Lend-Lease aid to support the massive offensives of the Red Army.

When I was in England in 1942, Britain's armies were struggling to hold Rommel at El Alamein, while planes and tanks were rushed across Africa and around the Cape of Good Hope for the offensives to come. Today the whole of Africa has been cleared of the Nazis; the Mediterranean supply line has been reopened; and the combined forces of many United Nations are fighting up the boot of Italy. The volume of reverse Lend-Lease, particularly from the nations of the British Commonwealth, has likewise grown to great proportions, as millions of American fighting men have gone overseas. This aid from our Allies has become a vital element in our logistical planning.

While in England, I have visited one of our finest American bomber bases. Formerly a great R.A.F. base, it was turned over to us under reverse Lend-Lease, with runways, machine shops, hangars, mess halls, barracks and all the other necessary installations, and I have heard from American officers here many instances of the tremendous variety of military equipment and essential services which have been made available to us by Britain.

In my trips to this country I have found that the British people often speak of "Lease-Lend" rather than "Lend-Lease". I can well understand this confusion, for we had the same difficulty in Washington for many months until the phrase "Lend-Lease" was uniformly adopted. I have thought it best to preserve that phrase in the present edition. It is now firmly imbedded in the American speech, and it now represents, to us, something of which we are very proud. In reality, however, the name is not important. "Lend-Lease", "Lease-Lend", "Defence aid", "Reciprocal aid", "Reverse Lend-Lease", "Mutual aid", "War aid"—all of the names for the various inter-allied supply programme, are but different ways of expressing one and the same idea. That is the principle of using the combined resources of the United Nations so as to bring the greatest possible force to bear against our common enemies.

## INTRODUCTION

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Lend-Lease is a vital mechanism of war supply, but is also, as I visualize it, something of even greater importance. It is a concrete recognition of the truth that the freedom-loving peoples of the world can defend their freedom only by working together and fighting together.

That is how we have turned the tide of Axis aggression; that is how we shall win unconditional victory over our common enemies; and that is how, in a spirit of co-operation and mutual confidence, we can preserve in the peace to come the freedoms for which we now fight with all of our combined strength.

EDWARD STETTINIUS, Jr.

*American Embassy,  
London, England.*

*25th April, 1944.*

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by David E. Lilienthal

CHAIRMAN OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY scheme is the greatest piece of constructive planning which any of the traditional Democracies has undertaken. It has excited the imagination and earned the admiration not of America only, but of the world. Mr. Lilienthal, Chairman of the body which has carried it through, here tells the full story of the happiness and prosperity which it has brought to a formerly desolate area.

Here are some opinions:

*Sir Harold Harley:* "I am most grateful for the chance of reading it. It gives detail information about the working of the scheme, its organization and finance, and I feel it will be read in this country. . . . It is an extremely useful example of what might be done in other places . . . the biggest experiment which has been made in a democracy in recent years."

*Vice-President Henry A. Wallace:* "Of all the books which I have read during the twelve months, Lilienthal's on the TVA is to me the most exciting. It describes a new democracy in terms as real as a juicy steak. . . . It describes by actual illustration how the people of the Tennessee Valley have made the job of developing and using all resources—land, forests, minerals, and water—their own job. It is the only substantive story of real democracy in the administration of a resource development programme."

*Charles A. Beard:* "A book of living lines, historical and prophetic, on a great American experiment in the use of science and natural resources in the civilization of a vast area. David Lilienthal has won himself a place among the first citizens of the Republic."

*Stewart Chase:* "The book has a long range importance and will be read by students all over the world for years to come."

*Louis Brandeis:* "This is an exciting book, to cheer any reader discouraged by portents of the past twenty-five years. It is the record of a truly great achievement in the process of healthy development."

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