

Post-war planning.

Full Employment Security
Building America.

POST-WAR PLANNING

FULL EMPLOYMENT

SECURITY

BUILDING AMERICA

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POST-WAR PLANNING

President Roosevelt has declared that "We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows."

To win the war, American energies are now directed toward the development of a vast production program, toward the mobilization, as swiftly as possible, of all the resources of the Nation, in materials and personnel, and toward aid for the democracies of the world in our joint struggle against aggression.

To win the peace, we must prepare now—even while we are concentrating on winning the war. In a very real sense, the clarification of the objectives in the onward march of freedom-loving people is an essential part of our war effort. We are intent on winning this war to safeguard our lives and our liberties and to make possible the "pursuit of happiness"—the full fruition of our hopes and plans for progress and development.

We must fight the despotisms and all their forces, not only with greater force but with ideas and faith. We must develop and hold out to the enslaved people now under the heel of the dictators a better way of life than we or they have had.

One thing is sure: We are not going back to where we were. One of the few certainties in the world is inevitable change. We could not stop the march of progress if we wanted to. We are going forward with restored confidence in the democracy and liberty which underlie our civilization. But we *can* do something about the direction of the changes that will follow victory. For that reason, we propose to plan ahead.

In November 1940, the President requested the National Resources Planning Board to undertake a study of what was then called post-defense planning. Later (January 4, 1941) the President wrote: "I am glad to know that the Board is proceeding with the development of plans and proposals for the post-defense period. These plans will, of course, involve many Federal agencies and cooperation with State and local governments and private citizens, and

I hope all executive agencies of the Government will assist you in collating proposals for my consideration.”

In this work, the Board recognizes the principle recently stated by Governor Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts, who, on appointing a post-defense stabilization board for his State, said, “Although the most pressing job at present is speeding up production of defense materials and strengthening our armed forces, it is imperative to begin planning for the tremendous economic and social readjustments which must be made after the war. Knowledge that careful plans are being laid for the future will have an important bearing on defense work itself because there is nothing like confidence of security for strengthening morale, and thus giving renewed energy to wartime production.”

PLANS AND PROGRAMS

In discharge of its responsibility, the National Resources Planning Board serves as a clearing house to gather ideas and plans, to stimulate appropriate independent action by other public and private agencies, to bring together individuals who are interested in harmonizing their views, and to furnish the President with information and assistance on the formulation of policies on these matters.

The elected representatives of the people will, of course, make the decisions on policies and methods for meeting the problems of the post-war period. The Congress has already provided appropriations for the inauguration of needed studies by this Board and for the preparation of post-war plans by various other agencies in the Executive branch. With full public discussion and appraisal, the Congress will determine the appropriate policies and how they shall be put into action.

It is the established policy of the National Resources Planning Board to carry on its work in cooperation with Federal and other agencies having operating responsibilities. This is not in any sense duplication of the work done by others, but putting the various plans and pieces together and, of course, filling in many gaps.

The Board will not attempt to make plans for other agencies within their field of independent responsibility. It will seek, as in the past, to persuade other agencies to prepare plans and to draw these plans together. The Board needs and requests help and cooperation of official and unofficial agencies and bodies in assembling the plans for dealing with the needs of the post-defense period.

In fields where no formal interdepartmental committee has been established, the staff of the Board maintains close relations with all interested agencies. Wherever possible, major studies are performed directly by the appropriate agency rather than by the Board's own staff. In addition to the cooperative relations existing in specific fields of interest,¹ the Board and its staff is keeping in close touch with post-war planning work throughout the Government and by private agencies.

PRELIMINARY OBJECTIVES

In previous publications three purposes of post-war planning have been emphasized:

1. *Full employment.*
2. *Security.*
3. *Building America.*

In specific terms, the central objectives of our post-war planning may be summarized as follows:

1. We must plan for full employment, for maintaining the national income at 100 billion dollars a year, at least, rather than to let it slip back to 80 or 70 or 60 billion dollars again. In other words, we shall plan to balance our national production-consumption budget at a high level with full employment, not at a low level with mass unemployment.

2. We must plan to do this without requiring work from youth who should be in school, the aged who should be relieved if they wish it, and women who choose to make their contribution in the home, and without asking anyone to work regularly in mines, factories, transportation, or offices more than 40 hours a week or 50 weeks a year, or to sacrifice the wage standards which have been set.

¹ A recent view of the many agencies already at work is contained in *Post-War Planning in the United States*, George B. Galloway, 1942, 20th Century Fund, N. Y.

3. We must plan to decentralize post-emergency activities as far as possible; to use to the utmost our system of modified free enterprise with its voluntary employment, its special reward for effort, imagination, and improvement, its elasticity and competition; and to advance cooperatively under national and governmental leadership.

4. We must plan to enable every human being within our boundaries to realize progressively the promise of American life in food, shelter, clothing, medical care, education, work, rest, home life, opportunity to advance, adventure, and the basic freedoms.

5. We must plan to make *Building America* the keynote of the post-war program, including both development of our national resources to add to the national estate, and service activities, which will increase the vitality, health, skill, productivity, knowledge, and happiness of the American people, and thus together end unemployment and add to our wealth and well-being.

Full employment is a key to national prosperity as well as individual welfare in the modern world of power, machinery, labor specialization, and technology. The full employment we Americans seek must be, at the same time, free employment, unless we are to accept a new kind of economic slavery and lose those freedoms without which even material prosperity is not worth the price to men who cherish freedom and the dignity of man.

In this time of crisis, when we are fighting to defend our freedoms and our rights, our way of life, and our scale of values, we must not fail to take stock of the problems of full employment which we shall face again, when this world war is over, and we can turn once more from defense to peace, confident of our national security.

With total war we are building up our production to unprecedented heights. We have more men and women at work, more wheels turning, more power being used, more freight moving, more shipways full, more goods being turned out, more workers in training and getting jobs, more commodities being purchased than ever before in our national history. In spite of awkward blockages here and there arising from the hasty and unbalanced character of this advance, we shall go on along these same lines,

building up our total production until the Axis collapses and the threat of aggression against us is ended.

POST WAR AGENDA

We know, however, that though we shall achieve full employment and high income in the war period, we shall not be able to raise the standard of living of many of us. More and more of the capacity of our factories will have to turn from producing consumers' goods to producing war goods. It takes very simple arithmetic to make us realize that we must get along without many of the things we want and perhaps a few of the things we need, if enough planes and tanks and bombs are to be turned out for ourselves and our Allies. We know, too, that if we pay for as large a part of the cost of war as possible now, through taxes; and if in addition, we all, each in accordance with his ability, lend the Government another substantial part of our income through the purchase of war stamps and bonds, we will be helping the country and ourselves as well, by preventing inflation and keeping costs down. Every one of us is ready and eager to make his or her part of the national sacrifice necessary to back up the armed forces. Every one of us is ready to make his or her sacrifice for our country and our free, democratic way of life.

The people of this country can willingly and unitedly make these sacrifices because they know that they hold within their grasp the possibility of achieving progressively the new freedoms and rights which modern conditions make both possible, and imperative. The National Resources Planning Board feels sure that it is time now to proceed from generalities to particulars, from aims to methods. It therefore proposes an agenda for post-war action. This agenda attempts to set forth the main fields of activity in which advances will be needed in order to attain the values set in the freedoms and rights here listed. It states the problems in each field, and outlines some of the measures which offer solutions. It will not satisfy those who claim to have one perfect solution for our problems

which they assert will, single-handed, set all right that is wrong. The Board has little faith in such an easy path to utopia. For most of us it seems self-evident that many inter-related measures will be needed to achieve the economic, social, and international readjustments required to bring about the goods of peace-time production and plenty we want to achieve. What then, are the main items on the post-war agenda?

I. Plans for Demobilization

The demobilization of the armed forces of the Nation must be as carefully planned as their recruitment. The Selective Service Act of 1940 directed that arrangements be made for the return to previous employment of all men called for service with the armed forces of the Government. A Reemployment Division in the Selective Service System directs the work of reemployment committees in various localities which cooperate in replacing selectees released from service. This Division is planning for the future demobilization of armed forces and also is studying potential employment demands in the post-war period.

Much more thought will be given to the problem of the way of demobilization than has been hitherto thought necessary. The defense and war programs have involved tremendous efforts to develop new skills and trained personnel for a great variety of industrial activities.

The same procedure, including programs of vocational education and reeducation, both in vocational schools and in industry, might be adapted, and retained, for the purpose of preparing men to assume jobs in industry after they are released from the Army or Navy. To withhold a certain number of service men from the labor market for a period of training might help prevent the glutting of that market, in addition to providing them with skills and training needed for industrial occupations.

Neither from the point of view of the Nation's responsibility for the men who have been fighting its battles, nor from the point of view of the dangers to the whole economy from curtailed consumer purchasing power, will we be

content this time to give each man \$60 in cash, and a ticket home. Every reasonable provision will have to be made to insure that these young men shall be enabled to take up their places in civilian life with only the inevitable loss of time which their service will entail. Plans for vocational training, for higher education for those fitted for professional careers, for maintenance during the course of training or education, must be considered. Also, protection of the insurance rights of service men, under our social insurance systems, not only for those who left covered occupations to enter service, but of those who enter covered occupations after the war, must be guaranteed. In all these problems we have the benefit of Canadian and English experience, where many such provisions are already written into law. In addition to such provisions for the appropriate groups of men, it is possible that the idea of a dismissal wage or allowance, proposed in relation to those employed in industry, is also applicable to demobilized men from the armed forces.

What of the other, even larger, problem of the demobilization of our war industry? Our total war effort will loom much larger in the national economy than it did in 1918. The men and machines who are making tanks and jeeps and bombs are going to be almost as 'out of a job' as the soldiers and sailors, when victory comes. They will present many of the same problems, and their sudden dismissal, in its effect on the labor market and on the volume of consumer-purchasing power, would aggravate the dangers to our national economy. Indeed, it is arguable that it would be less wasteful to continue some war production beyond absolute military necessity rather than to halt it all precipitately at the same time. Not alone would the immediate worker in war industries thrown out of work be affected by hasty industrial demobilization but transportation workers and the suppliers of raw materials for war production would also be affected. It is possible that some whole industries created to meet the Nation's need will appropriately be the Nation's charge as they retool and convert for peace-time pursuits. There will be war-boom

towns for which an orderly procedure of progress to peacetime status should be mapped.

In all the planning for demobilization, military and industrial, we must not for a moment lose sight of the fundamental importance of preventing the downward spiral of unemployment, decreased consumer buying power, drops in production levels and in opportunities for investment. Every step taken must purpose to save us from the fateful consequences of slipping back into that abyss. Given time and a chance to get started, we know that the mighty impetus of pent-up consumer demand will spur the productive machinery of the country to great new feats of production. We must be resourceful and courageous to devise the methods which will enable the country to accomplish demobilization and transition to peacetime production in its stride. The deferment of spending, through the purchase of war stamps and bonds will contribute to our safety in post-war days. A dismissal wage, possibly to be paid in installments, over a period of time, may seem a wise national safeguard. Nation-wide extension and liberalization of our unemployment compensation system might accomplish the purpose without the introduction of new machinery. Use of the projects for public works, which are described later in the pamphlet, to fill in any gaps in employment opportunity and to make wider and more efficient use of national resources, may be appropriate in the period of adjustment. Plans for demobilization must take precedence over longer range objectives because the ability to meet the immediate post-war situation wisely will determine whether we shall have the opportunity to pursue an orderly progress toward our long-range goal.

Studies now under way by this Board and by various government agencies will provide much of the factual material needed for D-day plans.

Studies are being made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of demobilization experience after November 11, 1918; of trends in productivity per man-hour and of the size, age, and composition of the labor force. Data collected by the Bureau on labor force requirements for various kinds of

work will be useful in projecting training and vocational needs in the post-war economy.

The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce is giving special attention to shifts in productive activity occasioned by the war and defense programs and the possible transitional requirements in both consumer and producer goods. The possible extent of a "backlog" of consumer demand following the immediate cessation of the defense program is being examined.

The mobilization of our resources has involved the establishment of Government controls over allocations of materials, prices, and priorities to meet war problems. The demobilization of our war effort and the shift from full employment on defense to full employment in peace will involve some of the same kind of problems. The adaptation of the Government controls to these ends must be planned ahead.

By the end of the war we may well have price controls and rationing looming very large in the consumer economy. Will it be wise to drop these and other wartime controls at once when peace comes, or will some degree of control be needed to prevent chaos in the transition period? Should priorities controls be maintained in order to insure that the most essential consumer needs are filled before the competitive scramble for scarce materials is allowed to take over? Also, how much of the war material that will be on hand can be salvaged for peacetime use, and how shall it be distributed? These are some of the questions that will have to find an answer almost as soon as the last shot is fired.

Plans can be laid now in order that we may have an orderly and economical procedure for demobilization. Even as the attention of a large number of Army officers and civilians should in peacetime be given to the problems of wartime industrial mobilization, so in time of war production we must think about demobilization for peacetime.

II. Private Enterprise and Planning

Post-war planning is by no means the task of governments alone, but also the opportunity and the responsibility of

private enterprise. How to shift from the war expenditure of some 70 billion dollars to a peace economy without upsetting the national recovery is a job that will require the joint cooperative efforts of industry and government, of labor and of agriculture.

The National Resources Planning Board has undertaken to stimulate interest and activity in post-war planning by agencies and individuals outside as well as inside the governmental circle, beginning a year ago.

Many business leaders have been active in this field, notably Mr. Charles E. Wilson, of the General Electric Company. Mr. David Prince's discussion upon this subject has had wide circulation throughout the country. The National Planning Association is now devoting special attention to the business aspects of the post-war problem and an elaborate program of inquiry and action has been set up.

The Department of Commerce has organized a special committee for the consideration especially of the business aspects of this whole problem, and important results may be expected from this undertaking.

The groups of organized labor are showing deep interest in what is coming after the war and the status of the vast army of industrial workers in the coming period of reorganization and readjustment. The same is true of the farmers. The activities of the Departments of Agriculture and Labor in this area are very important.

It cannot be too strongly stated, or too often, that government alone can no more win the peace than it can win the war alone. The shifting of the national income from one-half war expenditure or even more; the shifting of millions of war workers, the conversion of many industries; the shifts of capital; the reorientation of many communities from a war to a peace basis—these vast undertakings require the fullest cooperation, the broadest goodwill, the keenest intelligence, and the soundest judgment of the Nation. Without this, colossal mistakes may be made which will offset many of the gains of the war. War will bring us freedom from brutal aggression. Peace should bring not only the cessa-

tion of war but the inauguration of an era of prosperity, continual gains in national production and continual and corresponding gains in the standard of living and in the satisfaction of the higher values of human life.

Inquiries and reports from business groups indicate wide study of the problems which industries will face at the close of the war. For some industries the road to be taken will undoubtedly be a return to just what they were doing before conversion to war products. Is there anyone who thinks we will not want a tremendous number of private cars after the war—and radios—and washing machines, and any number of articles which are a part of the American way of living? There will be improvements, no doubt, and new models, but we were not at the end of the motor age or the electrical age when the war started.

In addition to study of the problem of physical conversion to peace-time production, far-sighted business leaders are looking also at problems of policy. With the understanding we now have of the relationship between consumer purchasing power and business prosperity, it is important to re-examine price and wage policies. A carefully considered national policy in the field of patents and patent rights, to insure the full social use of inventions, is in order for post-war guidance.

Government policy, also, needs reexamination to insure that it operates to encourage a healthy development of private enterprise. It can be helpful by making available to business the results of research and analysis of population trends, consumer spending, industrial location policy, etc. Wherever possible it can set and hold to a course of policy, and refrain from fickle and changeable action. It can frame a tax policy which will help to maintain consumer demand by lightening the burden on low-income levels, by reduction of consumption taxes, and by a corporate tax policy designed to promote investment. It can undertake public projects which will open new channels for investment, such as development of transport facilities, urban redevelopment projects, and the like.

We may look forward to broad zones of industrial development in the post-war period, once our attention and energies are fully applied to our overlooked opportunities for broader productivity. The present war crisis is releasing unexpected possibilities in the form of new uses of natural resources and in new types of inventiveness and skills. No such impressive demonstration of the American industrial potential has ever been made—a revelation in which human skills and natural resources are happily blended. Wisely utilized in the post-war period, these new developments, typical of American industrial genius, will be of incalculable and lasting value.

III. Public Activities

The timing of public activities to reduce the intensity of booms and depressions has long been advocated by economists.

Public works.—In 1931 Congress adopted the policy “of arranging the construction of public works as far as possible in such a manner as would assist in the stabilization of industry and employment through proper timing of such construction.”

The President has stated repeatedly that we must slow down on expenditures for development projects which are not related to war in order that our full national energy can be concentrated on the war effort, but he has also pointed out that now is the time to prepare the plans so that the projects which are temporarily “put on the shelf” or in “the pantry closet” can be ready when our energies can again be used for the development of our national resources and of our standard of living.

The National Resources Planning Board is responsible under the law for bringing together the 6-year programs of Federal agencies and the current record of those programs has been duly made public. In addition, a public works reserve is being developed now. This will include programs of useful public work projects and public services planned by State and local governments.

To make these programs and projects useful and effective at short notice the Board last year put forward eight recommendations, one of which has reached the point of action by the Congress. For the advance preparation of needed surveys and investigations, programs and comprehensive plans, engineering plans and specifications, and legal studies, appropriations are needed under an amended form of the Employment Stabilization Act (H. R. 5638 and S. 1617). A public works reserve is designed to prepare a shelf of non-Federal projects available for use as needed—as a capital budget in normal times, and a backlog for an emergency. In the States of New York and Virginia, and in many others, systematic and energetic steps are being taken to prepare a notable post-war program of works. Cities are also developing plans for the post-war period on a very considerable scale.

But there are many broader opportunities than individual public works. There also exist certain projects and opportunities for investment of capital which do not offer a chance of profits large enough to attract private capital, or even 100 percent return of investment. Yet they involve utilization of resources and manpower, improve standards of services which will contribute to national health and productivity, and in many cases, the stimulation of outlet for private investment. Such projects are suitable undertakings of government. They can round out the development of a healthy productive society, filling in the gaps left by our profit-motivated system of private enterprise, and contributing to the fullest use of all our resources and the improvement of the standards of living. This is not a new role for government. Activity of this category has been a growing part of the business of government since early days. Public building of roads, canals, bridges, subsidies to railroad construction; and, in the field of services, public education, care of destitute and dependent persons are examples of ways in which we are accustomed to see government play its part in the economy. What is needed now is no new system, but a clear realization and bold determination to push govern-

mental enterprise into lines where it is needed and can be most helpful in achieving those ends we seek.

1. *Urban conservation and development.*—High in the list of such projects stands urban redevelopment. At this point we do not anticipate in this country the kind of physical destruction that is going to make the rebuilding of cities imperative in England, Holland, Russia, China, and in Germany and Japan too. But it is interesting to find that the English, when they are talking about the rebuilding of London, are planning no mere restoration. They seem determined to draw one happy byproduct from the tragedy of wanton destruction, by building better than they did before. They plan to build in relation to modern needs, and in line with a master plan. But without this goad of absolute necessity, it has long been clear to those who have studied the problems of our cities in relation to their functions in modern life, that a program of large-scale replanning and rebuilding is needed. A little housing here, and a little housing there, while of benefit to the fortunate few who can live in them, does not get at the real problem. This is the problem of laying out all the physical facilities of the city in accordance with a plan designed to meet modern conditions. Such plans would require government action and financing, especially in the early stages.

After the war we can rebuild our housing facilities and really get at the job of eradicating the slum and blighted area from our cities, great and small. A unit of the Board's staff is developing materials on needed steps in Government procedures, metropolitan cooperation, land acquisition, etc., to implement a new action program, and in this work is building on the previous reports of the Board.² Procedures are now being worked out for the progressive planning of the many facilities which are required for

² *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy, 1937; Urban Government, 1939; Urban Planning and Land Policies, 1939; Housing—The Continuing Problem, 1940; Federal Aids to Local Planning, 1940; and Public Land Acquisition: Part II, Urban Lands, 1940.*

modern urban living by the National Housing Agency and other organizations, both public and private.³

2. *Rural works and land use.*—In rural areas there are corresponding opportunities for new enterprise: conserving our soil, rebuilding and operating our forest resources, developing the range, and opening recreational developments. The Land Committee of this Board has developed statements of criteria to assist in the evaluation of public work proposals. The Committee's staff is at work measuring the extent of changes in agricultural land use and acreage requirements in order to provide our population with an adequate nutritious diet.

The Secretary of Agriculture has created an Interbureau Coordinating Committee on Post-War Programs with representatives from various agencies within the Department of Agriculture. A subcommittee on agricultural-industrial relations is concerned with the influence of future industrial activity upon agricultural production and welfare. Another is studying the problems of maintenance of desired levels of income for agriculture in relation to high levels of domestic consumption and industrial use of farm products.

A second subcommittee within the Department of Agriculture, called the Public Work Reserve Coordinating Conference, is concerned with the development of a shelf of public works projects to meet the needs of rural areas. For one thing, increased attention will be given to the restoration and development of the physical resources upon which agriculture depends. Soil conservation, flood control, reforestation, irrigation are all required phases of a program to enable the Nation to pass on to future generations not a depleted but an enriched soil base. In the second place, there is a need for many new and improved public facilities for people in rural areas: Public schools, hospitals, and sanitation and recreational facilities. Thirdly, much remains to be done in bringing electric power to the Nation's farms and in improving rural housing standards.

³ The objectives stated in the pamphlet, *Better Cities*, prepared for the Board by Charles Ascher, point the way to important advances.

In addition to the Interbureau Coordinating Committee, in Washington, the Secretary of Agriculture has set up nine regional committees throughout the United States made up of representatives from various agencies of the Department. These regional committees will carry on the same kind of work for the region as the national committee and will serve as a link between Washington and State and local planning bodies.

3. *Water resources and industrial development.*—The success of the Tennessee Valley Authority in encouraging private business in the area which it serves naturally suggests similar programs for other drainage basins to provide multiple-purpose development of their resources. Such programs may provide a way of stimulating both the social and economic progress of industries and areas in the United States. Many plans already exist for such development and others are in the making; but they need to be tied together and put in orderly programs if they are to be effective promptly upon the return of peace. The undeveloped resources of the United States provide material for vast increases in our national income and for significant changes in the growth of industries and of areas.

4. *Transportation.*—There will be major developments in the transportation field after the war in order to provide a mainspring for other kinds of developmental work throughout the Nation. The forthcoming report of the Board, *Transportation and National Policy*, provides a basis for further post-war transportation plans. New rail facilities, particularly terminals, new highways, new airways and airports, new shipping facilities, will all be required, with new equipment and operating techniques fitted to the rapid advances in technology.

Many agencies in the Government are directly concerned with these post-war transportation plans. The Public Roads Administration is at work on interregional highway studies and other projects; the Interstate Commerce Commission has many responsibilities in the field. The United States Maritime Commission, which has enlarged its 10-year-old program for the construction of many merchant

vessels, is planning the eventual demobilization of emergency shipping construction and considering the possible place of the United States in international shipping in the post-war world.

IV. Services

But the public works programs alone are not likely to be sufficient to meet a post-war crisis. There is a wide variety of service activities for the direct benefit and welfare of citizens which must and can be expanded if we are to realize the standards of living and well-being that we desire and that our national income makes possible.

1. *Health, nutrition, and medical care.*—Increasingly in the last few years the United States has come to realize that one of its greatest resources is a healthy people. The medical examination of young men for service in the armed forces has indicated many gaps in our program. In the first place, a healthy nation depends upon a proper diet with adequate nutritional standards. Because of the war emergency, special efforts have been launched by the Office of Defense, Health, Welfare and Selected Activities to inform our people about dietary needs. The Agricultural Marketing Administration has been broadening its efforts to bring nutritional foods to low-income and needy families. With the help of our recent knowledge of vitamins and other developments in nutrition we can plan more definitely than ever before to make sure that every person in the United States has the proper amount and kind of food.

Our advances in preventive-medicine technique have already done much to eliminate the sources of infectious disease and to prevent the spread of contagious disease. The United States Public Health Service, in cooperation with State and local government health departments, has led the way. Nonetheless, there remains much to be done to provide adequate health education and to bring about a more completely satisfactory preventive practice. Moreover, a number of recent inquiries, under both public and private auspices, have revealed that large portions of our population do not receive proper medical and dental care.

Experimental cooperative programs, developed by the Farm Security Administration in a number of rural counties, have shown the possibility of much more effective use of present health resources. Many groups have come to the conclusion that some form of health insurance, added to our existing social insurance set-up, will be necessary to meet adequately the needs of lower income groups. Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, and many other countries have all adopted this measure. In some way we must plan to insure that every person in the United States receives the medical attention he requires in order to maintain bodily health.

2. *Education.*—The goal for our educational efforts must be the provision of training for every child and youth, the kind best adapted to his abilities and in the amount calculated to develop his maximum usefulness to himself, his community, and society. We know that we are yet far short of reaching that goal. Educational opportunities are not equal in the United States but vary greatly between regions and even within States, and curricula have not always been adapted to the needs of the individual student or to the needs of the new groups, which the fact of almost universal school attendance through secondary school has added to the public school population. We expect our educational system to impart to all a sense of our cultural heritage and of responsibility for participation in our democratic society. In addition, education should prepare each person to take his proper place in productive effort; and either through the educational system or otherwise, youth must be given an opportunity to participate in and contribute to social accomplishment. The future of our democracy depends in large part upon the provision we make for training youth in the ways and needs of our society.

A unit of the Board's staff, on Youth and Educational Problems, has assisted in the preparation of desirable plans in this part of the broad area of the social services in cooperation with other agencies of the Government.

Especially must we plan to bridge over more successfully than we do now the gulf between youth and maturity. Youth as it enters the zone of maturity with all the doubts and fears of the novitiate should be able to see stretching out before it the minimum securities as well as the adventures of human life. Youth should not look into a future dominated by fear—in an atmosphere of brutal hazing, so to speak—but look forward with confident expectation to social justice, liberty, fair participation in the gains of our common life, to a job, to status, to recognition dependent on ability and intentions and will, not on the prestige of others. Much more serious consideration of this problem is urgent, and indeed, is under way. Various types of approach are of great significance. We may reasonably look forward to and diligently plan for important modifications in the transition from the status of youth to the status of maturity and full participation in the duties and responsibilities and opportunities of American life.

3. *Recreation.*—Today our society accepts the 40-hour working week as the standard length of time for a man's productive efforts. During the war period this may have to be lengthened, although the basic 40 hours remains. Our present knowledge of fatigue indicates that short working days may often be more productive per worker than long ones. In the post-war period doubtless we shall return to the 40-hour workweek, and even look forward to the time when increasing production and technological improvements will make possible shorter hours. But this is not the only reason why we must be concerned about ample recreational facilities for men's leisure-time activities. We cannot expect youth to grow into useful, productive citizens of our society unless they have had satisfactory recreational opportunities. In this age of high specialization in industry, recreation must, for many people, fill the need for creative expression, which was offered by a man's job in earlier days. We must build our facilities, both within and near our great urban centers. Also, we must provide competent recreational leadership. We know today that recreation

is a matter of more than park space and play equipment; it is participation in group enjoyment and group activity, development of handicrafts and hobbies, community enterprises, dancing, organized athletic events, etc. The desire of all to enjoy and use natural locations of scenic beauty alone or in company must be recognized and satisfied. We have made a beginning, especially in recent years, toward achieving these ends. In the post-war period we shall have new opportunities to bring recreational facilities and services to all, within our national income limits.

4. *Other service activities.*—With increasing leisure and advancing standards of living there will unquestionably be greater demands for library services. Our modern civilization has already taken important steps toward making art, music, and the theater a part of the life of all citizens, instead of a luxury for a few. We must promote the development of our artistic resources and their universal enjoyment.

5. *Research.*—One of our very greatest national resources, the use of our special skills in scientific and specialized investigation, has already contributed notably to technological advancement. Our hopes for ever-higher standards of living depend in no small part upon the continued support of scientific research and free inquiry. At the end of the war we shall have more skilled workers than ever, and we shall know who and where they are. It will be possible, accordingly, to intensify and develop science and technology even more notably than in the past. The special research reports of the Board, and the *Roster of Scientific and Technical Personnel* set up by the Board and the Civil Service Commission, are important steps in this direction. The War Manpower Commission will be able to take a broader view of our scientific personnel than has ever before been possible.

V. Plans for Security

Personal insecurity has gone hand in hand with an insecure and troubled world that has led to war. In the peace we seek after the present hostilities, we must plan to give to the individual in society the sense of security he has lacked.

When full employment is established, many of the problems of insecurity disappear. But not all, for there will still be many gaps in that continuity of income which is essential to security. In recent years this country has taken important steps toward providing certain reassurances to persons unable by the force of circumstance to provide adequately for themselves. Compensation schemes for injury and death arising out of a man's occupation have been in force in nearly every State for a number of years. In the last few years we have added unemployment compensation, old-age and survivor's insurance, and special assistance for the blind, the handicapped, and dependent children, and special aid for dependents of those in the armed services. Work relief, social insurance, and public assistance, both special and general, have been our answer to the challenge of dependency. These schemes of social security need expansion and improvement.

We propose to plan our national activities so that they will insure the maximum utilization of our most important resource of all—our manpower. If we do so, we may look forward to a minimum of dependency upon general public welfare measures. We wish to use all who are capable of and available for work in our national productive effort.

There will continue to be some unemployment in view of technological development bringing us higher levels of output. The immediate labor displacement will have to be carried by the community until it can be reabsorbed elsewhere in our productive activity. There will be periods of movement from one kind of employment to another, and seasonal fluctuations in the level of employment. We must see to it that we have an adequate system of security for all persons affected by such changes.

Whether employed, partially employed, or unemployed, every family is in need of certain indispensable requirements of food, shelter, clothing, and other comforts. We shall be able to provide them in the post-war period. We plan to do so. The forthcoming report of the Board's Committee on Long-Range Work and Relief Policies will provide a basing point for the further development of welfare plans.

The Administrator of the Federal Security Agency in July 1941, appointed an intra-agency committee on long-range planning. This committee has begun the preparation of long-term programs for the development of community services in the fields of education, welfare, health, nutrition, recreation, and public welfare. Much of the work in the preparation of these plans is done within constituent organizations of the Federal Security Agency and then cleared through the Agency.

A subcommittee within the Department of Agriculture is concerned with the adequate provision of welfare services to the rural population. Methods for raising the general standard of living of farm people are under consideration, as well as programs for providing adequate nutrition, education, and medical care.

In many of the fields of service we have been outlining, the Federal Government is already an active participant, often a partner of the local and State units who are the traditional agents for these services. In the field of education, the Federal Government contributes to many types of vocational training. In a variety of ways it contributes to most of the insurance and assistance programs.

If we are to make progress in achieving real equality of opportunity for all the people of the country, in all parts of the country, it is probable that it will be wise to call upon the more widely and fairly based Federal financial resources, to a greater extent than we have so far. Loss of local control over these services is not necessarily implied in such a step. Our experiences during the last decade in the realm of public welfare have shown how much progress can be made by fruitful cooperation between Federal, State and local governments. But we are a Nation, more and more closely knit by development of communications and industrial growth. We must extend the advantages of our public services equally to all the people of the country.

VI. Labor

We have suggested the types of measures necessary to a basic foundation for the standards of living of our people.

Above those minima is the good life which is sought by all. If this objective is to be achieved we must give serious attention to the study of living and working conditions. What are proper working conditions? What are just wage rates? What are fair working hours?

Furthermore, we must consider how to secure democratic participation of working people in deciding these important matters. How do we establish labor relations with management which will secure the public interest? How do we retain the advantages of competition and yet establish a degree of orderly relationship in the labor market? How do we plan for the flexibility which comes with workers moving from one neighborhood or community to another, and at the same time prevent the maladjustments of aimless wandering? How do we establish more adequate training so that our younger workers can readily find their way into productive work? What types and skills of workers will be demanded in the post-war period? In short, how shall our democratic purposes be made effective in daily working relations?

VII. Participation in Planning by Various Governments

In the development of post-war programs, a wide range of participation is sought. There is need for plans and action programs not only on the national level but also by States, communities, private citizens, local enterprises, and professional groups. Each area can look ahead to participation in the national post-war effort previously outlined; new housing, power and rural electrification, expanded highway, railroad, and airport facilities, reclamation and conservation projects, new industries, adequate educational, health, welfare, nutritional, recreation, and cultural facilities and services. What post-war developments each area can undertake will depend on its needs and the ingenuity and foresight with which it places the use of its resources to provide for them. We look forward to notable developments in many sections of the United States, hitherto relatively underdeveloped. We have just begun the optimum use of many of our potential resources.

For many years the State planning boards and numerous city and county planning agencies have inventoried the resources of their areas and studied the problems involved in their more effective use to increase living standards and provide full employment. A vast amount of research has also been done for specific areas by other governmental agencies, Federal, State, and local. Plans and action programs have been prepared by all these agencies. Correlation of available information and plans for the development of each part of the country with due regard to resources and manpower will produce a substantial backlog of post-war plans for upbuilding the Nation.

Each city and county can contribute to post-war reconstruction by starting now with the preparation of plans for the material development and service activities which are needed to make it a prosperous community. The National Resources Planning Board therefore urges the appointment of official planning agencies or groups, where these do not exist, to undertake this task. Through regional and State planning agencies, and through the field offices of the Board, assistance can be had in relating local planning activities to State, regional, and national programs. Special advice can be obtained from various Federal and State agencies concerned with technical problems. It is hoped that each local area will prepare plans for post-war developments, including (1) reconstruction of blighted areas and new housing; (2) highways, airports, rail and bus terminal facilities; (3) industrial development; (4) conservation and improved use of land; and (5) health, educational and recreational facilities and services.

In response to the Board's appeal, notable advances are already being made by State and local governments in preparing plans for the post-war period, when very important readjustments must be made in many of our communities.

VIII. Sound Planning, Finance, and Fiscal Policies

There are those who find in any policy of public work or publicly supplied services only a form of wasteful spending.

Sound planning is not spending but saving. Sound planning of natural resources conserves and develops them. Sound planning of human resources likewise conserves and develops human effort. Soil and oil, coal and timber, do not suffer from planning but from the lack of it. Attention given to education, to health, to recreation is not waste but investment in human resources. Full employment and continuing income are not forms of national waste which must be cut down, but forms of national saving of our basic resources.

An individual, a city or a nation is penny-wise and pound-foolish, if it does not look to the conservation of assets, and the most prudent forms of their development.

The outlays required to rebuild America, to provide needed social services, and to maintain full employment can be provided from the enormous income which the full utilization of our rich, productive resources, material and human, makes possible.

The workers of the United States can produce annually under a system of full employment more than 100 billion dollars' worth of goods and services, once we are organized for it. In other words, a national income of well above 100 billion dollars is perfectly possible. Indeed, it is probable that this amount will be very greatly expanded (in terms of 1940 dollars). The central problem is that of manpower, resources and effective organization, through which increasingly higher standards of living are entirely possible.

A modern nation cannot avoid balancing its total production-consumption budget. This can be done at a low level with a great deal of unemployment, inefficiency, and suffering; or it can be done at a high level with full employment, high efficiency, and a better living for all.

The full employment and prosperity which comes with the war effort prove that we can have a full employment system and balanced production-consumption budget at a high level if we are determined to have it so, because we have the necessary manpower resources, productive plant, and organizing ability.

The following table will illustrate the growth of national income and employment:

National Income and Employment.

	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Total employed (millions).....	45.5	46.7	50.5	54.1	58.6	61.8
Man-hours (billions).....	90.5	93.8	107.7	121.0	134.0	138.0
National income (billions of 1939 dollars).....	71	77	88	94	100	105

Estimated for 1942, 1943 and 1944. Revised August 28, 1942.

IX. Plans in the International Scene

From this point on, the American people will never again make the mistake of believing that we can have prosperity while the rest of the world collapses; or peace while the rest of the world is at war; or freedom while the rest of the world is being enslaved. It is therefore assumed that after the war our international policy will conform to our desires for peace and the elevation of human dignity everywhere.

The Department of State, the Board of Economic Warfare, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and other agencies are concerned with the international post-war economic collaboration. These groups are at work collecting and analyzing data on post-war international conditions and relations, and forecasting alternative plans for appropriate action. Other peoples are at work on post-war plans, and the International Labor Office has set up a special division on this subject.

The broad range of discussion on post-war plans in England, growing out of its 2 years of experience of national danger, was reviewed last Fall by a representative of the Board who was sent to England for that purpose. Since then, there have been changes in some of the personalities and the structure of the English post-war organization, but the aims and determination to plan wisely for their post-war situation remain unaltered.

In addition to the important work carried on directly in the English Government, the Nuffield College group is

engaged in carrying on a Reconstruction Survey, a study of the movement of population and industry in England, as well as other post-war problems. P. E. P. (Political and Economic Planning) is producing much stimulating material, some of it in the form of brief, popular broadsheets. Many other groups—political party organizations, religious groups, regional planning groups—and individuals are coming forward with programs and suggestions. A new journal, *Agenda*, is devoted entirely to discussion of post-war planning developments.

In Canada the study of post-war problems is centered in the work of an Advisory Committee to the Cabinet Committee on Demobilization and Re-Establishment. This advisory group known as the Committee on Reconstruction is made up of leading citizens not otherwise connected with the Government. It has been at work since March 1941, carrying on research into the large problems of the domestic aspects of the post-war situation. More recently a special committee of the Canadian Parliament, on Reconstruction and Re-Establishment, has been appointed and has started its work. In Australia similar steps have been taken.

In many, if not most, of the governments in exile there are organized groups and studies under way with regard to the internal as well as the international aspects of the situation they face at the end of the war. The Belgian Commission for the Study of Post-war Problems was organized in London in January 1941. Seven sections were established and are at work on different problems. A Division has now been organized in the United States. The work of the Central and Eastern European Planning Board, with membership from Czechoslovakia, Greece, Jugoslavia, and Poland gives very encouraging promise of a cooperative attempt to solve the difficult problems of that area. In May 1942, the joint economic committees of this group inaugurated a program of research into certain phases of their common economic problems. Work is under way also on planning for reconstruction in Norway. China organized a Central Planning Board in 1941 which

has drafted a Three-Year Program for War-Time Reconstruction. Along with other governmental and private groups in China it is also studying problems beyond the war. The work of many of the inter-American groups also embraces the situation after the war, as well as present problems.

This enumeration, while not complete, suggests the wide extent of current study in the countries of the United Nations concerning the problems which will become pressing at the close of the war. There is a growing appreciation of the international importance of a United States of America with its economic house in order after the war. While the studies of the National Resources Planning Board are concerned primarily with the domestic area of the post-war scene, there is the fullest cooperation with groups in the State Department and the Board of Economic Warfare in their work in the international area.

DEMOCRACY CAN PLAN

There are those who maintain that however valuable planning may be, democracies are constitutionally incapable of planning anything important. The idea that only autocrats and despots can plan is a "lie that has become a legend." The truth is at the opposite extreme. Democracies can plan most successfully for the interest of the commonwealth. The best plans are not made by command and executed with the lash. The basis of planning is not violence but reason; and the condition of most successful operation is not force but persuasion, *cooperation*, common participation in an effort for a common goal. The more complex the operations of society, the more difficult does it become to direct men by threats, blows, prisons, and death. Both modern technology and modern knowledge of organization look with contempt on the whip and the firing squad as accelerators of production.

That a democracy cannot see well, cannot learn well, cannot plan or execute anything well is only one of those ancient survivals which label the man who utters them as

either ignorant or unfriendly to the democratic system itself. The truth is that a cooperative society in which the consent of the governed is the ruling principle and practice is able to plan more successfully than any competing form of political organization.

In a democracy public and private agencies are not rivals, each seeking to master and dominate the other. They are all trustees for the community serving all the people, promoting personal happiness and the common good. We are able to pull together the plans of private enterprise and public activities as well, in joint undertakings, big and little, simple and complex, personal and corporate; in the end producing our vast national wealth.

Planning Now

There are those who contend that we should not plan now, but should wait until the end of the war and then begin to plan. To wait until the war is over will be to wait until it is too late. When the war ends, some 70 billion dollars of war expenditure must be diverted into peace channels; when the war ends, 30 million war workers must be brought back again to tasks of peace. Great industries must be reorganized and reconverted. Many communities with war industries must be reorganized. Vast dislocations of men, materials, capital, must be relocated.

In all these fields work is under way. It is not glamorous or headline activity. But if patiently and steadily the steps of formulation, discussion, revision and blue-printing can be pursued, the end of the war will find us ready to implement the ideas and ideals of our people in positive post-war action. This is the only way social progress has ever been achieved. It is the way in which we shall win the new rights and freedoms of man after this war.

Of course the claims of men and materials for victory should and must have priority, but there is still room and need for careful reconsideration of the problems that are certain to come with peace, before the armistice brings that battling to a close. Labor, business, agriculture, instinctively recognize this as true and begin to make their prep-

arations. All countries in the world recognize this and are making their various kinds of plans for the after-the-war period.

Post-war preparation is not utopian planning. The real utopians are those who refuse to recognize the necessity of taking thought in advance, who foolishly believe that somehow the 30 million war workers will automatically fit into some perfect pattern of employment, in some great miracle of performance.

This is a free country where men may think as they like and express their views, but many prefer to take thought in advance of the hour when trouble will descend upon us. It is a tragic truth that nations have been ready to prepare to any extent for war, but have not taken the time to prepare for peace. Hence the possible gains of the war have often been lost in the aftermath of the war.

Some may say: "How can you know, in view of the uncertainty of world affairs, about the time and terms of peace; how can you know what to plan for?" The answer given by any general staff in time of war or peace must be that we plan for a variety of contingencies and hope to be ready to meet whatever comes. We do not know when the war will end or where the treaty of peace will be signed, or what its terms will be. We do know, however, many of the conditions we must face, no matter what the outcome of the struggle or when. We know that the national income must be drawn back again into the channels of peace, in terms of military and civilian demobilization, in terms of industrial conversion, in terms of very extensive reorganization of industries and areas and interests of many kinds. This cannot be scoffed away. We know that it is possible to maintain a national income of around 100 billions, and to establish standards of living in accordance with this national level of productivity. We know that the propositions set forth in our Bill of Rights, and reaffirmed in the Board's five objectives, can be made first charges on the national income in times of peace and can be achieved within the limits of our national income and within the compass of a free society.

The state of the world at large is difficult to prognosticate, but we count upon a jural order of the world from which the shadow of aggression will be removed. We reckon that the United Nations and others may live in peace with each other for an indefinite period. The Atlantic Charter points the way to general peace and prosperity.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING ABOUT

Let planners make no mistake about the nature of this titanic world-enveloping struggle. It is not merely a war of words, or of empires, but a fundamental battle over the ideals of civilization. The many and the few are again at grips, determining whether an aristocratic or a democratic, fraternal view of life, shall prevail. Free government is at the bar and on the firing line.

Free society is flexible society. If it contains within itself the seeds of destruction, it also contains the renewing and reconstructing power of human intelligence, the human fraternal spirit. The regenerating democratic qualities are stronger in last analysis than the dark powers of fear, hate, cruelty, ignorance. Intelligence and idealism are not weak, but strong and expansive, creative in the real sense of the term.

The program of democracy is forward and upward. It is the vision of what man might attain by human invention and adjustment in the modern world; it includes the standards of living, the intellectual advantages, the sense of security, the cultural and spiritual gains, the flowering of personalities too often crushed in the mad rush, the fraternal sense of participation in a world in which the many have been thrust out or forgotten on its outer fringes.

Before us lies, not some unrealistic utopia, but a common-sense world of struggle in which human and material resources have been organized for the joint purpose of maximum productivity, and fair diffusion of the resulting gains.

OUR FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS

We look forward to securing, through planning and cooperative action, a greater freedom for the American people. Great changes have come in our century with the industrial revolution, the rapid settlement of the continent, the development of technology, the acceleration of transportation and communication, the growth of modern capitalism, and rise of the national state with its economic programs. Too few corresponding adjustments have been made in our provisions for human freedom. In spite of all these changes, that great manifesto, the Bill of Rights, has stood unshaken 150 years. And now to the old freedoms we must add new freedoms and restate our objectives in modern terms:

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND EXPRESSION, FREEDOM TO WORSHIP, FREEDOM FROM WANT, and FREEDOM FROM FEAR, these are the universals of human life.

The translation of freedom into modern terms applicable to the people of the United States includes, as the National Resources Planning Board sees it, the following declaration of rights:

1. THE RIGHT TO WORK, usefully and creatively through the productive years;
2. THE RIGHT TO FAIR PAY, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift, and other socially valuable service;
3. THE RIGHT TO ADEQUATE FOOD, CLOTHING, SHELTER, and MEDICAL CARE;
4. THE RIGHT TO SECURITY, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident;
5. THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN A SYSTEM OF FREE ENTERPRISE, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies;
6. THE RIGHT TO COME AND GO, TO SPEAK OR TO BE SILENT, free from the spyings of secret political police;
7. THE RIGHT TO EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW, with equal access to justice in fact;
8. THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION, for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness; and
9. THE RIGHT TO REST, recreation, and adventure; the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization.



NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD
PAMPHLETS

(For sale by the Superintendent of Documents)

After Defense—What? 5 cents

After the War—Full Employment 5 cents

Better Cities 5 cents

The Role of the Housebuilding Industry 5 cents