45.

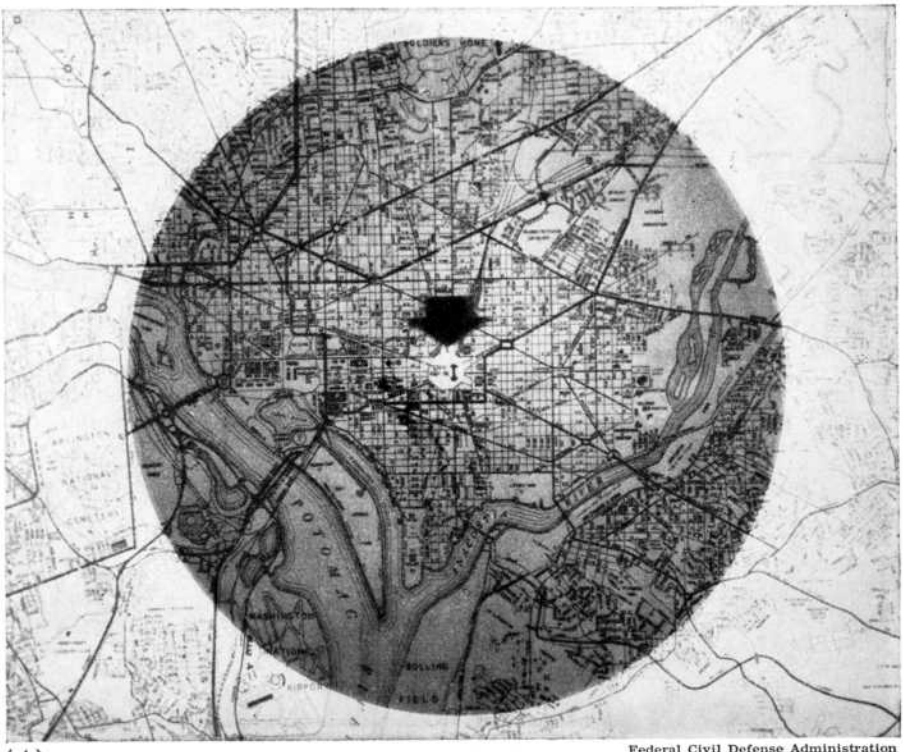
Military Organization and Domestic Mobilization

"Midnight Ride of Paul Revere" by Grant Wood is reproduced through the courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art with the permission of the Associated American Artists. Radar outpost, painting by Ken Davies, courtesy of the Anaconda Company

THE military organization and domestic mobilization of the United States are the two essential elements for the defense of American national security. These two elements have greatly changed in the past twenty years. Before World War II the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Council, the United States Information Agency, the Civil Defense Organization, and most other defense agencies and activities did not exist. The nation had a rather simple defense structure. The President dealt directly with the Secretaries of State, of the Army, and of the Navy; on most occasions he dealt with them individually rather than in concert. During peacetime the military forces had little influence on foreign policy.

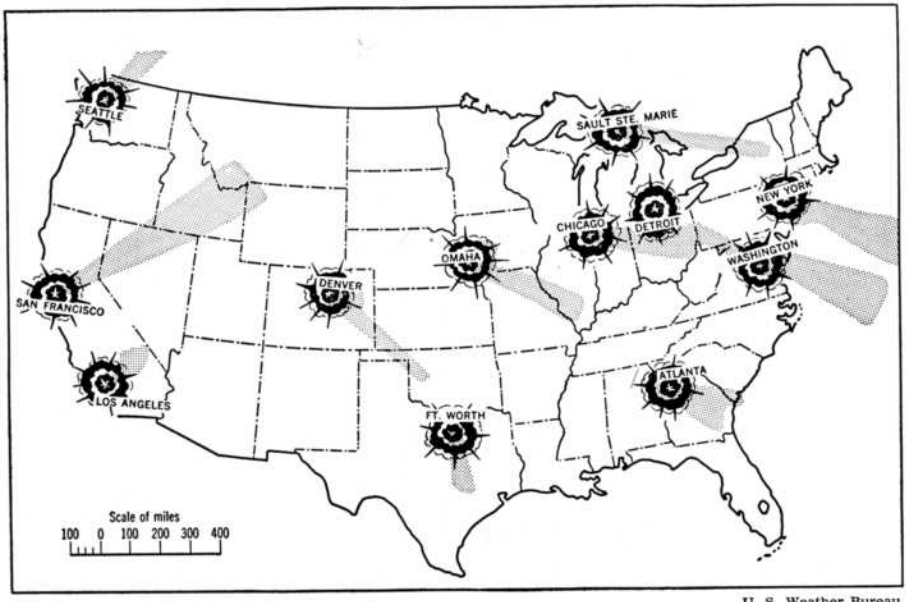
However, the character of international relations has altered so much in recent years that the United States has had to make vast changes in its organization for domestic security. Today the military, diplomatic, and

Warnings of War: Then and Now. Paul Revere could warn his townsfolk by horse after receiving a signal from a watchtower. Today they must be warned by lonely radar outposts in the farthest reaches of the Arctic wastelands.



(*A*)

Federal Civil Defense Administration



(*B*)

U. S. Weather Bureau

civil authorities must be constantly in touch with one another and always on the alert. The United States is engaged at a great number of different places in the world in both peaceful and warlike moves; simultaneously, it

must keep its own territory and economy in a perpetual state of readiness for an absolute struggle for survival.

THE CHANGED NATURE OF WARFARE

Today the United States lives in the shadow of hostile aircraft that are expected to be carrying nuclear weapons. In spite of American interceptor planes, various types of missiles, the radar warning net, and the small army of civilian skywatchers, American military leaders admit that in case of an enemy air raid a number of the attacking craft might penetrate American defenses and succeed in dropping bombs. If they did, the industrial centers of the United States might be gravely damaged. Figure 112 maps the areas that might be destroyed or endangered by a dozen hydrogen bomb bursts on certain places.

Even supposing that the United States succeeds in avoiding war, contemporary international politics forces a degree of planning and utilization of resources not before realized. The tools of war are highly developed, so that the armed forces are continuously interested in fundamental scientific research and the fabrication of special equipment. Economic and psychological warfare have become necessary adjuncts to the armed forces and diplomacy. Resources flow out continuously along these channels; for instance, the well-being of the Indonesians and the attitudes of the Egyptians have become important to American policy, whereas at one time the diplomats and warriors of America would scarcely have conceived these to be anything but domestic problems of the peoples cited.

Beyond even these interests abroad, American forces have been engaged in "little wars" and must be prepared for more of them. Korea, the primary example, cost the nation more casualties than World War I. The Indochina crisis of 1954 almost became another little war, as did the Berlin blockade of 1948–1949, the Trieste dispute of 1945–1954, the Formosan crisis of 1955, and the seizure of the Suez Canal in 1956. No sure prediction of where a great war would begin is possible; a great war could happen as a result of any of these smaller conflicts. In these areas the soldiers and diplomats must work side by side, because no one knows which of the two will be called on for their skills from one month to the next. Today, therefore, the armed services of the United States are a vastly different organization from what they were in 1940.

Figure 112. Potential Effects of Hydrogen Bomb Raids Against the United States. (*A*) Potential effects of a burst over the Capitol at Washington, D.C. The shaded portion shows the three-mile radius in which destruction would be complete. The thermonuclear detonation would also cause moderate damage out to seven miles and light damage as far as ten miles. The bomb is of the type exploded in the Marshall Islands in 1952. (*B*) Fallout areas from simulated bombing of twelve critical locations. Based on the wind data prevailing Monday morning, September 10, 1956. The shaded areas would be made deadly by radioactive fallout from explosions over the twelve places and would have to be evacuated immediately for days or weeks. Changing daily wind patterns make most of the country a potential fallout area.

THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

The military establishment of the United States consists of three services —the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force—all subject to a unifying Department of Defense. The chain of command in the Department is diagrammed in Figure 113. The leading trait of the American military establishment is that the Department of Defense itself, and each of the three services likewise, are all controlled by civilian chiefs, in every case a Secretary. There is, however, one major difference among these chiefs: the Secretary of Defense is a member of the Cabinet, but the Secretaries of the Army, of the Navy, and of the Air Force are not.

Department of Defense

The Department of Defense, which is supreme over the entire American military establishment, is largely a coordinating office, an agency that performs staff and auxiliary tasks for the three services. In spite of the powers vested in it, and the functions entrusted to it, the Defense Department proper is the smallest in the federal government, having on January 1, 1956, only 1,883 employees; indeed, it is accurately termed the "Office of the Secretary of Defense."

The Secretary of Defense is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; he is a member not only of the Cabinet but also of the National Security Council and of the Defense Mobilization Board in the Office of Defense Mobilization. The law creating the office forbids the President to select any person in the armed forces; however, Congress waived this prohibition in 1950 in the case of General Marshall. The aims of this post can be seen in the choice, in 1953, of the President of the General Motors Corporation, Charles E. Wilson, as Secretary; the incumbent is expected to handle primarily the business concerns of the armed forces, and not to have a large share in deliberations regarding military operations save as they are related to such matters as supply. Beneath the Secretary, and chosen in the same manner, is the Deputy Secretary, who heads the Department in the Secretary's absence.

The principal work of the Department is carried out under the direction of nine Assistant Secretaries of Defense, all named by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The functions of their posts are apparent from their titles: (1) Comptroller; (2) Manpower, Personnel and Reserve; (3) Legislative and Public Affairs; (4) International Security Affairs; (5) Research and Development; (6) Applications Engineering; (7) Supply and Logistics; (8) Properties and Installations; and (9) Health and Medical. Two of these offices merit especial note. The Assistant Secretary for Legislative and Public Affairs is in essence the lobbyist for the Department; that is, he is responsible for bringing the wishes and needs of the Department to the ear of Congress, especially while the budget is being drafted. The Assistant Secretary for Supply and Logistics has one duty that illustrates an important goal sought in unifying the services. Each

of the services, of course, requires thousands of different items of supply, down to nuts and bolts for the engineers. Before unification was accomplished, each service had its own supply catalog; these catalogs included numerous items with identical functions but slight differences in structure, so that distinct orders had to be made for each service. This Assistant Secretary has the task of preparing a single catalog for all three services so as to achieve the savings that will result from single large orders.

The Secretary of Defense relies upon two other bodies for counsel. One is the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The composition of the JCS was described in the preceding chapter. The JCS are the prime source of military advice for the President and the National Security Council as well as for the Secretary of Defense. Moreover, as a group they hold supreme command over the armed forces of the United States. They determine what shall be the disposition of the forces, what tasks the forces shall carry out, how supplies shall be allocated among the forces, and who shall command specific areas. The second body that advises the Secretary of Defense is the Armed Forces Policy Council. It consists of the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary of Defense; the Secretaries of the three services; the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and any other government official whom the Secretary may summon to the meetings of the Council as an interested party. It seeks to correlate policies of the three services.

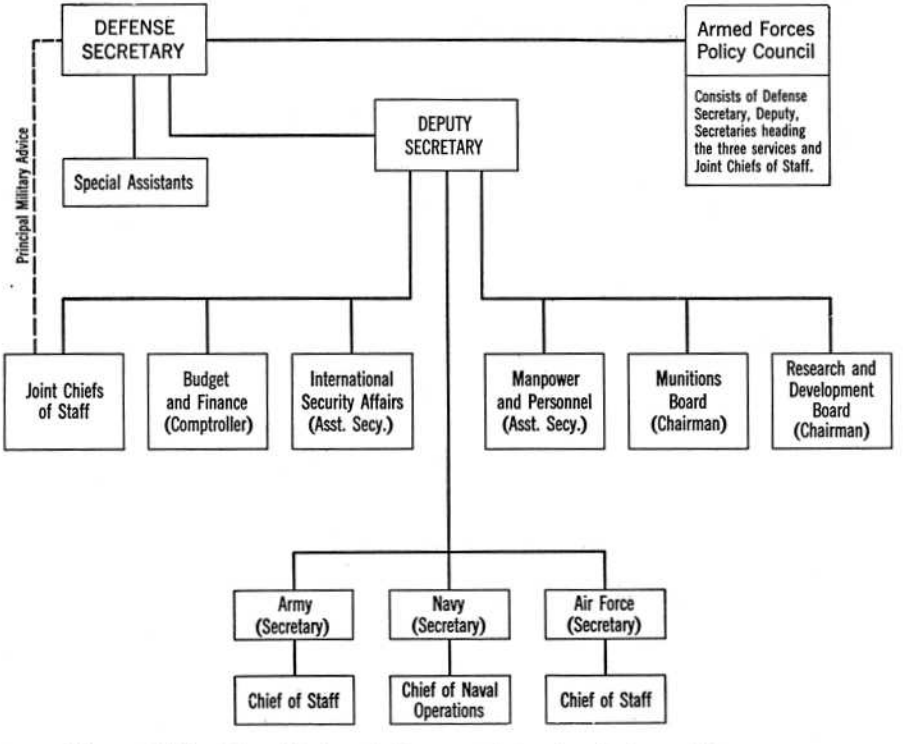


Figure 113. The Chain of Command in the Defense Department.

The unified services

Presumably today the United States has but a single military organization for national security, which might be loosely termed the armed services, operating under the direction of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Actually there are three distinctive military Departments, those of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. Yet, largely because the Secretaries of these Departments are not in the Cabinet, and because the Secretary of Defense is in the Cabinet, the military Departments are one step removed from the eminence they formerly occupied.

Unification of the services, accomplished by acts of Congress in 1947 and 1949, aimed at preventing some of the disagreements and struggles that used to break out between the services when they had direct access to the President and to Congress, and when they had no unity of command save through the President. One area of disagreement comprised military operations themselves. During a war the conquest of a given piece of land redounds to the advantage of the conquering force, increasing its prestige and sometimes the amount of money that Congress will appropriate for its future operations. Too, being the first to employ a new type of weapon can win honor in the eyes of the public. During World War II in the Pacific there was considerable rancor between the Army and the Marine Corps respecting zones of activity. The Army and the Navy vied with one another for the use of their respective air arms. The Army Air Force won fame through being the first to drop an atomic bomb. Today, owing to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, many of these conflicts have been eliminated. Yet the Navy has refused to surrender its air force, and all three services are competing vigorously for nuclear weapons.

The second area of dispute supposedly removed by unification was that embracing congressional appropriations. Prior to unification the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, each with Cabinet status, could and did bring pressure directly upon the President, the Bureau of the Budget, and Congress, for additional funds. Presumably after unification the single Department of Defense was to handle all requests for money. Yet each service has its financial office to draft its budget, and each has a legislative representative, or lobbyist. In the first years after unification Congress tended to vote each service an approximately equal sum. However, it is unquestionable that since security plans now emanate from a unified source, the budgets submitted by the armed forces more and more reflect their proportionate shares in defending the United States. Since 1948, the proportion expended by the Air Force has greatly risen, whereas the share of the Army has declined.

The following paragraphs contain a short description of each of the military services. It should be observed how, in spite of certain differences in names, the services possess relatively parallel structures:

The Army: Under the Secretary of the Army are an Under Secretary, and Assistant Secretaries for Financial Management, for Manpower and Re-

serve Forces, for Civil-Military Affairs, and for Logistics, all of whom are civilians. The principal military figure in the Department is the Chief of Staff. The leading military advisory body of the Department is the Army Staff, which is the planning agency for army operations. The Army Field Forces, which are under the direction of the Staff and the Chief of Army Field Forces, make up the Army as a military arm. The Field Forces have the assistance of various technical services, such as those under the Quartermaster General (which provides food, clothing, and other equipment), the Chief Signal Officer, and the Chief of Engineers. In the United States the Army is administered through six Army Areas, with headquarters in New York, Maryland, Georgia, Texas, Illinois, and California. There are comparable offices in the District of Columbia, Hawaii, the Canal Zone, Puerto Rico, and Alaska. The principal task of the Army is to maintain the ground forces of the United States. The Army also has certain important civilian duties, most of which are executed by the Engineers Corps, such as improving the navigation of rivers, building dams, and operating such enterprises as the Sault Canal. The Army, as the map in Figure 114 discloses, has troops in numerous sectors of the globe.

The Navy: Beneath the Secretary of the Navy are an Under Secretary, and four Assistant Secretaries, one each for Material, Financial Management, Personnel and Reserve Forces, and Air, all civilians. The leading military officer is the Chief of Naval Operations; the principal advisory body is the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. Whereas the Navy is concerned primarily with sea forces, it includes also a land force, the Marine Corps, which is headed by the Commandant of the Marine Corps. Too, during war the Navy may be joined by the Coast Guard, which is ordinarily in the Treasury Department. The Navy includes certain technical services such as the Bureaus of Aeronautics, of Medicine and Surgery, and of Ordnance. The Navy is administered through ten naval districts in the United States and four more in American possessions. The Navy today has few civilian duties; however, it does govern as a trust territory the Mariana Islands, including Saipan, that were captured from Japan during World War II.

The Air Force: Subordinate to the Secretary of the Air Force are an Under Secretary; an Assistant Secretary for Financial Management; an Assistant Secretary, Manpower, Personnel and Reserve; an Assistant Secretary for Matériel; and an Assistant Secretary, Research and Development. The foremost military personage is the Chief of Staff, who presides over the leading advisory body of the Air Force, the Air Staff. There are a Vice Chief of Staff, three Assistant Chiefs, and five Deputy Chiefs, most of whom are in charge of technical agencies. The Air Force is administered through seventeen Commands, the most notable of which are the Strategic Air Command, which handles air operations that are designed to be an end in themselves; the Tactical Air Command, which executes operations that join with ground or sea forces in achieving their goals; and the five overseas Commands—United States Air Forces in Europe, Far East Air Forces, Alaskan Air Command, Caribbean Air Com-

Indian Ocean
AUSTRALIA
INDONESIA
SUMATRA
MALAYA
Singapore
Bangkok
Rangoon
Calcutta
890 Mi.
385
658 Mi.
INDO-CHINA
THAILAND
BURMA
INDIA
TIBET
SINKIANG
CHINA
2112 Mi.
Saigon
Hainan
Hong Kong
Shanghai
662 Mi. Peiping
OUTER MONGOLIA
Urga
Kiakhta
Irkutsk
L. Baikal
3587
MANCHURIA
1425 Mi.
SOVIET
Yakutsk
1288 Mi.
Arctic Ocean
BORNEO
CELEBES
Sarawak
Kuching
Manila
LUZON
PHILIPPINES
1419 Mi.
3304 Mi.
Formosa
Okinawa
860 Mi.
Seoul
KOREA
1307
Vladivostok
550
1583 Mi.
1418 Mi.
SAKHALIN
Tokyo
1565 Mi.
Kuriles
1904 Mi.
Guam
Saipan
Tinian
1485 Mi.
Attu Mi.
Bering Sea
Nome
ALASKA
Aleutians
Kodiak
Juneau
Yukon
Arctic Circle
Fairbanks
Anchorage
Wrangell
Mt. McKinley
3242 Mi.
Nakel I.
1106 Mi.
Midway I.
Eniwetok
Kwajalein
Shall Is.
Equator
Gilbert Is.
Howland
Baker I.
Phoenix Is.
Line Is.
Fanning I.
Christmas I.
Samoa
Tutuila
Upolu
Apia
Suva
Fiji Is.
Noumea
New Caledonia
Loyalty Is.
Brisbane
Sydney
Melbourne
Adelaide
Perth
Darwin
NEW GUINEA
Port Moresby
Guadalcanal
Solomon Is.
1325 Mi.
1606 Mi.
1864 Mi.
1844 Mi.
5045 Mi.
4836 Mi.
1312 Mi.
3005 Mi.
Honolulu
Johnston I.
Pearl Harbor
2604 Mi.
Palmyra I.
5245 Mi.
6514 Mi.
5115 Mi.
Tasman Sea
TASMANIA
Tahiti
Tuamotu
NEW ZEALAND
Auckland
Wellington
Christchurch
Vancouver
Seattle
San Francisco
UNITED
Edmonton
Calgary
Eielson
Elmendorf

United Press Associations

Figure 114. United States Bases Abroad.

mand, and Northeast Air Command. Because the Air Force is a newly created service, it has not been burdened with civilian obligations.

Personnel

On June 30, 1955, there were over 2.9 million personnel on active service in the armed forces of the United States; of these, about 1.1 million were in the Army; 660,000, in the Navy; 960,000, in the Air Force, and 205,000, in the Marine Corps.

In terms of command and obedience, military personnel can be divided into two broad groupings. The upper and smaller consists of commissioned officers, from generals and admirals at the top to second lieutenants and ensigns at the bottom; they hold their ranks through a commission issued by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The larger and subordinate grouping comprises the enlisted men, the upper ranks of whom are the non-commissioned officers; they receive their appointments through warrants from their superior, commissioned officers. There are two aspects of military personnel that merit particular comment: recruitment and discipline.

Recruitment: The recruitment of enlisted men differs considerably from that of commissioned officers. Military forces have two classic means for procuring enlisted men: by conscripting them, and by inducing them to volunteer. During most of its history the United States has filled its military ranks with volunteers. Such personnel are desirable in one important respect: presumably they have entered the service of their own free will, so that they will make a profession of military service and will remain in it until they have reached the age of retirement. On the other hand, volunteering does not usually provide enough recruits, especially in the United States, where until very recently enlisted men of the armed forces occupied a low social status. Furthermore, volunteering does not provide all the special skills and aptitudes that the armed forces need, and it may draw men who should remain in their civilian posts. Hence today the United States secures most of its enlisted personnel through the draft, based on the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1948 and its amendments, which established the present Selective Service System (SSS). In this respect the United States is similar to other countries in the world. Table 25 shows the draft age and required service in other nations.

The central administration of the Selective Service System is entrusted to a Director and a Deputy Director, along with several assistants and a number of divisions. Most of the work of the SSS, however, is carried out on the State and local level. There is a headquarters for the SSS in each State, with a State director chosen by the President upon the recommendation of the Governor. The State headquarters coordinate the work of the local boards, of which there is at least one in almost every county of the nation. The local board, made up of three or more members resident within its jurisdiction, makes the initial decision as to whether an individual is liable for military service. Decisions of the local board may be carried

to an appeal board, of which there is one in each federal judicial district. Decisions of these boards may be brought to what amounts to a court of last resort, the National Selective Service Appeal Board.

By law, each American male between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six must register with his local board, and he may be called to service when he has attained the age of eighteen years and six months. Deferments may be granted upon certain grounds, such as physical, mental, or moral incapacity; the economic dependence of his family upon the registrant; provable conscientious objection to war; or the fact that the registrant practices a trade or profession that makes him more valuable as a civilian. Today the armed forces administer a test to college students; those achieving a sufficiently high score are permitted to continue their studies, on the theory that their training in college may be of greater value to the country. Conscripted soldiers must serve on active duty for two years, then be in the reserves for six more years.

The recruiting of officers is solely on a volunteer basis. In peacetime the majority of officers are trained at any of the various schools designed for that purpose. The federal government itself maintains one academy for

TABLE 25. DRAFT AGE AND TERMS OF SERVICE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES[1]

Country	Age (Years)	Service (Months)
Australia	18	3
Belgium	18	18
Canada	Depends on Volunteers	
China (Communist)	Unknown	Indefinite
China (Nationalist)	18	Indefinite
Denmark	20	12–18
France	19	18
Germany (West)	18	Undecided[2]
Greece	21	24
Italy	18	16
Japan	Depends on Volunteers	
Korea (North)	17	Indefinite
Korea (South)	18	Indefinite
Netherlands	18	20
Norway	19	16
Philippines	20	10
Portugal	20	4–22
Spain	20	15–18
Sweden	20	10
Switzerland	19	4
Turkey	20	24
USSR	16	24–60
United Kingdom	18	24
United States	18½	24
Yugoslavia	19	24

[1] As of July, 1954. Adapted from *U.S. News and World Report*, July 2, 1954, p. 28, and revised.

[2] Draft law passed in 1956 provided no term of service.

each service, where officers are educated for their tasks. Most of the students in these academies are appointed by the Senator or Representative of their State or district. There are other schools authorized to train officers, which students may attend voluntarily. Many colleges, including all land-grant schools, have Reserve Officers' Training Corps establishments. During a war, soldiers may receive commissions as officers on the field. Conscripts with unusual aptitude may be selected for preparation as officers. Individuals in particularly essential professions, such as medicine and dentistry, may usually—almost invariably in wartime—obtain a commission simply by applying for it.

Discipline: The discipline exacted by the armed forces is much more rigorous than that demanded in any phase of civilian life, with the possible exception of penitentiaries—which are under a species of military rule. Disciplinary requirements vary from one country to another—those of the Soviet Union are much more strict than those of the United States. Discipline in the American armed forces is based upon the Uniform Code of Military Justice, passed by Congress in 1950. These laws set forth what are military offenses and what their punishment shall be. Violators of military law may be arrested by the military police maintained by each service and tried by the courts-martial of their service, which are supervised by the Judge Advocate General of each service. There are three types, or levels, of courts-martial: summary, special, and general; they try cases, respectively, that are roughly analogous to civil crimes known as summary offenses, misdemeanors, and felonies.

Procedure in a court-martial is quite different from that in a civil court. There is no jury; the judge or judges hand down the decision. A general court-martial has several judges, in the same manner as the United States Supreme Court. Until recently only commissioned officers might sit on a court-martial; today, however, non-commissioned officers may participate in the trial of an enlisted man. It is a standing principle that no person is to be tried by anyone of lesser rank; hence officers are tried only by officers. The accused may have counsel, and may produce witnesses; he is entitled to hear the evidence against him.

Military personnel are not exempt from the jurisdiction of civil courts, and may be tried and sentenced by them for offenses against civilian criminal law. Indeed, since many acts are crimes under both civilian and military law, military personnel may be tried and sentenced in both civilian courts and courts-martial for the same act without undergoing double jeopardy, since they have violated the laws of two distinct jurisdictions. Convictions in courts-martial that affect a general or an admiral, or that involve a death sentence, may be appealed to the United States Court of Military Appeals, which has been described in Chapter 27.

CIVILIAN MOBILIZATION

Civil defense

Civil defense is the task of protecting the civilian population in the event of direct enemy attack upon the United States that would bring

problems of mass evacuation from the cities, public panic, looting, and other disorders consequent upon the bombing of metropolitan centers. It is assumed that a considerable part of this work will be undertaken by the regular military forces. However, these forces are numerically too few to handle the population if many cities were raided simultaneously. During World War II organizations of this type in the warring European countries made significant contributions to the work of their armed forces. Such an organization also existed in the United States; however, owing to the fact that no enemy bombing planes ever reached the United States, civil defense officials then had little to do beyond enforcing "dim-out" and "black-out" regulations.

Civil defense in the United States today is a task shared by national, State, and local authorities. The chief national office is the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA), an independent agency. The chief executive of the FCDA is the Administrator, who, with the Deputy Administrator, is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The FCDA carries on studies of such matters as the effects of bombing upon the individual human being, and the best form of air-raid shelter. It maintains a system of defense communication linking all parts of the nation.

In the main, however, the FCDA is an office for coordinating the work of State and local civil defense agencies. That is, civil defense in the United States is decentralized; this type of organization is not only in keeping with the federal traditions of the country, but also assures that a single bomb cannot destroy the head of civil defense throughout the country. Each State is expected to establish its own civil defense body and to inform the citizens about it; the FCDA helps to train the State leaders. It also makes financial contributions to State civil defense undertakings; however, it does not pay the salaries of State officials or buy land for their use.

In an actual emergency the FCDA acquires vast powers; for instance, it may take any property needed for civil defense purposes without regard for existing laws. It can also direct any other federal agency to surrender its resources for the necessities of civil defense. The work of the FCDA is supplemented by that of the Ground Observer Corps, made up of civilian "skywatchers" who report the approach of any aircraft in their vicinity to the district headquarters which they serve. This headquarters then determines whether the aircraft is friendly or hostile through its charts of scheduled flights in the area. Should the plane be either hostile or unknown the headquarters notifies the nearest Air Force base which then dispatches American aircraft in pursuit.

The national economy

Modern war, it has already been pointed out, demands not only valorous and well-trained soldiers but also a productive national economy. The country must have machinery, resources, transportation, and men; beyond these elements it must have an agency that brings them together at the right place and the right time. The Office of Defense Mobilization (ODM) in the Executive Office of the President is the agency that is designed to coor-

dinate the national economy for purposes of national security. Its principal officers are the Director and the Deputy Director, each appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Many of its other officers are either heads of government agencies, leaders of private organizations, or professional men.

The ODM includes four major divisions, whose aims are apparent from their titles and their personnel: (1) the Defense Mobilization Board, comprising the Director of the ODM as Chairman; the Secretaries of State, Defense, the Treasury, the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor; the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors; and the Administrator of the FCDA; (2) the Health Resources Advisory Committee, made up of several members of the medical profession; (3) the Science Advisory Committee, containing both practical and theoretical physical scientists; and (4) the Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee, with representatives from both private industry and labor unions. Working through these and several other subordinate offices, the ODM aims at procuring the most efficient use of all aspects of the national economy so as to obtain the greatest possible industrial output for security needs.

Industry: The federal government encourages industrial expansion so as to cope with the demands of national security. The pattern for the expansion is established by the requirements of the Defense Department; thus the identity and interests of the Secretary of Defense may influence the outlines of this expansion. One of the most pressing issues has been the size of the industrial base for national security, that is, whether it should include many or few plants. Under the leadership of Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson, the government adopted the policy of having comparatively few plants, that is, a narrow base, for its defense production needs. Inasmuch as modern weapons become obsolete quickly, the government has decided to keep only a relatively small amount of them in reserve to bear the shock of the first enemy assault, relying upon the ability of its arms production base to supply its needs almost from the outset of hostilities.

To lessen the fiscal burden of industry in constructing these plants, the government has authorized their owners to compute a very high depreciation rate (depreciation being deductible from corporation profit taxes) so that the plants can be speedily "written off." Too, the government has instituted a system of priorities and allocations, administered by the Business and Defense Services Administration in the Commerce Department, that enables the owners of these plants to have first call on scarce raw materials. Finally, the government has recommended that industry stockpile its machine tools, which are perhaps the most essential implements in industry since they make the machines and tools that produce the goods themselves.

Resources: The government fosters the discovery and exploitation of the great number of resources necessary for the conduct of warfare today. For example, through the Defense Minerals Exploration Administration in the Interior Department the government subsidizes projects aimed at the finding of new mineral resources. To assure the government an adequate amount of the resources needed for industrial production, the General

Services Administration, supervised by the Office of Defense Mobilization, purchases and stockpiles the minerals that may be in short supply in the United States. During the Eisenhower administration the stockpiling program was somewhat slackened in favor of one stimulating the erection of productive facilities.

Transport: The government seeks in many ways to augment and to coordinate the transportation facilities of the nation that may be necessary for defense purposes. The grants-in-aid from the Bureau of Public Roads to the State governments have been intended not only for the promotion of business but also for defense needs, especially since the railroads have discontinued service on many unprofitable lines. The Bureau of Safety and Service in the Interstate Commerce Commission makes programs regarding transport and storage and issues allocations and priorities for their use, except in the case of pipelines, aircraft, and coastal shipping. The Defense Air Transportation Administration in the Commerce Department fills this purpose with respect to aircraft. In time of war the problems of supplying adequate transportation are multiplied several times, because such materials as liquid fuels and rubber become so essential to the armed forces that their civilian use must be restricted; highway travel is then limited, so that rail and water transportation must shoulder a far greater burden of freight and passengers. It may be predicted that in case of war, although the government will not actually take over these properties, it will place them under tight controls.

Manpower: One result of the changes in military techniques during the past century has been a greatly augmented demand for manpower. Armed forces are much more numerous than they were, even in proportion to the entire population, and the material requirements of the armed forces necessitate another army made up of industrial workers. Today the principal agency for recruiting industrial manpower in the event of war is the Office of Manpower Administration in the Department of Labor. At present this office is little more than a skeleton; its regional directors, for example, are those of the Bureau of Employment Security. This duplication of function reveals, too, that one of the chief purposes of this office is to allocate defense contracts in such a manner as to relieve conditions of severe regional unemployment. In the event of a full-fledged war this Office would doubtless gain increased power, so that laborers would be under about the same number of controls as were imposed upon them during World War II.

Civil discipline and morale

One of the principal tasks for the government during a war is to convince the civilian population that it must support the national security program. The government has two general methods for achieving these ends—the stick and the carrot, or, in other terms, force and moral suasion. The American government has never been obliged to use force in dealing with the mass of the American people with respect to a war; however, it has the machinery at hand in the event it is needed: martial law. Martial law is not to be confused with military law; military law is that body of rules

which controls the behavior of military personnel, whereas martial law is a group of regulations imposed by military authorities upon the civilian population.

Martial law has rarely been invoked in the United States; during World War II it was used in Hawaii, when that territory seemed in imminent danger of invasion by the Japanese. (After the end of martial rule there, the Supreme Court declared that it had been unconstitutional.) Under martial law ordinary courts are suspended, and only special military courts function. Martial law itself is not based on any code; it is derived solely from the intermittent proclamations of the commanding officer to the civilians concerned. The federal courts have shown great hostility to martial law; they have ruled that whenever there is access to civil courts martial law cannot prevail. Through ordinary civil procedure, of course, the government has less stringent methods for compelling public obedience to the requirements of national security; it can imprison a man for failing to register with selective service officials, or for raising prices above their statutory levels.

The government would far rather use moral persuasion for upholding civilian discipline and morale. It is less expensive, and incurs little resentment. After all, whereas they may disparage the government in power, practically all Americans are loyal and patriotic. The United States is not, like European countries, saddled with a national police that is devoted to ferreting out "political" crimes. Moral suasion takes the form of "selling" the war to the citizens; that is, they are shown that "justice" is on the side of the United States. During each of the recent world wars the government established agencies for persuading Americans of the rightness of the American cause; in World War II it was known as the Office of War Information (OWI). To a great degree the OWI did little more than supplement the work of the myriad unofficial and unpaid individuals who convinced other individuals that they should give further efforts in behalf of national security. Today there is no parallel to the OWI; however, should war break out, such an agency would quickly emerge.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What changes in the organization and procedures of national defense have occurred principally since 1945?
2. Considering the damage that would occur were a hydrogen bomb to be exploded in New York, do you regard the civil defense system as adequate to cope with the situation? What changes would you suggest?
3. In your opinion, does the character of warfare today make distinctions between enlisted men and officers more or less necessary than they were fifty years ago?
4. What measures are taken in peace and in war to gear the economy to the needs of national security?
5. What is martial law? Do you think it advisable to place the entire nation under martial law at the very beginning of hostilities, considering the expected character of a possible future war? Explain your reasoning.
6. Is the American obligation of military service less or more onerous than that of Great Britain, France, or the Soviet Union?