Migration and National Defense

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THE GREAT POPULATION MOVEMENTS which have played such an important role in the development of this country had their roots in the shifting pattern of economic opportunity. During the nineteenth century, millions of Europeans left poverty and the restricted horizons of the old country to seek a place in the expanding life of America. The pioneer West offered the farmer and the prospector wider opportunities than the already crowded areas of the eastern United States. The rapid development of mass production during the nineteen twenties caused a continuous flow of population from rural areas to expanding metropolitan centers. These migrations, fundamentally a product of an expanding economy requiring for its development tremendous human resources, have had a profound effect on the spirit and structure of American democracy.

Today the American people are again on the march, moving in response to tremendous industrial expansion, mobilizing in areas of economic opportunity. Since September 1940 the national defense program, which has brought employment to the highest level in the Nation's history, has stimulated the migration of thousands of workers to centers of shipbuilding and aircraft production, to the cities where heavy industry is concentrated, and to large-scale construction projects.

The geographic pattern of defense migration has been determined by the differing impact of defense activity on the various parts of the country. While nonagricultural employment for the country as a whole increased by less than 10 percent between May 1940 and May 1941, the increase in New England and in the Great Lakes and South Atlantic regions was substantially greater. On the other hand, in the West Central and Rocky Mountain regions, the increases were much less. Spectacular gains were reported in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Indiana, Maryland, and Virginia, in each of which nonagricultural employment, as estimated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, increased by more than 20 percent

Bureau of Employment Security, Research and Statistics Division.
U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Indexes of Nonagricultural Employment.

during the year. The smallest increases occurred in typically nonindustrial States, such as Iowa, Minnesota, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and the Rocky Mountain States. It is noteworthy, however, that employment in New York State increased only 6 percent.

More than half of all defense contracts allocated from June 1, 1940 through April 30, 1941, were concentrated in 6 States containing one-third of the Nation's population. Exactly 80 percent of the contracts were concentrated in 13 States containing exactly half of the total population. Contracts during this period were awarded in the highly industrialized areas suitable for the production of aircraft, ordnance, and ships. The greatest dispersion of contracts occurred in locating Army camps and large plants for the manufacture of explosives and ammunition; typically, these projects have been built in rural areas.

Detailed understanding of the character of the migration arising out of the defense program is of importance in planning for national defense needs and for the period of readjustment which will follow. Not only does migration have a vital effect on the supplies of labor and on industrial production in certain areas, but it also creates many-sided social problems arising from sudden increases in population.

Causes of Migration

There is ample evidence that the migration stimulated by the defense program has already been substantial. It is apparent, however, that only in small part has this migration been planned or directed by community agencies with the specific object of meeting local labor shortages. While particular industries and communities requiring labor have made their needs known generally, it has been virtually impossible to control the response to such publicity. Workers have migrated in excessive numbers to certain points; very often a demand for certain specific types of workers, usually skilled, has resulted in an influx of workers of all types into a particular community. At other points, however, migrants have been generally successful in obtaining employment, and the volume and type of in-

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migration has not been greatly out of line with economic opportunities offered in the area.

There is no doubt that much of this migration has served a valuable purpose in meeting labor shortages, but a great deal of it has been unnecessary, wasteful, and costly, both for the individual worker and for the community to which he migrates.

The regular reports to the Bureau of Employment Security and the special reports on defense migration into selected areas,2 obtained at the request of the House Committee on National Defense Migration, indicate that migration is most frequently attributable to lack of employment in the home community, to increased employment in defense areas, and particularly to wage differentials between those areas and the communities from which the migrants came. Newspaper publicity, advertising, rumors, reports spread by friends and relatives, are frequently noted as stimulants to migration. The Washington State Employment Service reports that "the migration of unskilled job seekers is extraordinarily responsive to publicity. Skilled workers have some assurance of employment in their own communities and are less likely to move in response to rumors." Newspaper publicity on projects in Tacoma and Scattle was said to have "unleashed an avalanche of undirected migration.'

California reports that a large proportion of workers are brought into the area by rumors and newspaper publicity. "This is particularly the case with unskilled agricultural workers and workers from the South Central States."

Intensive recruiting campaigns undertaken by employers, involving advertising and scouting for labor, have in the main been directed toward obtaining skilled workers in specialized branches of industry. While accounts of such activities occur frequently in the State labor-market reports, it would appear that workers obtained in this manner are only a small proportion of the total number of migrants. Migration of skilled workers

in response to activities of the State employment services in recruiting workers also accounts for a small proportion of the total number.

Migration to Construction Projects

One of the earliest and perhaps most widely publicized of the defense migrations occurred in connection with construction projects, usually located outside populous urban communities. The building of Army camps has required large temporary supplies of labor; the construction of huge new plants for the manufacture of explosives and ammunition has led to initial in-migration of construction workers, supplanted later by a different type of labor needed for plant operation. Influxes of construction workers into sparsely settled areas have caused boom towns to spring up overnight, with workers housed in barracks, tents, and trailers.

The workers migrating into these towns fall into two chief groups. First are the skilled workers trained in construction crafts, many of whom are imported on contract, with definite jobs assured. Even those who have come without the assurance of definite jobs usually do not encounter difficulty in finding employment. The only State which noted any unemployment of skilled construction workers was Florida, which in February 1941 reported that "publicity given various projects in the lower east coast section has resulted in an influx of skilled workers who are not needed and who do not remain in the area for any great length of time."

Skilled construction workers are a highly mobile group and migrate over an extensive territory. They do not usually take root in the community to which they come but are ready to pull up stakes and move on at the completion of a particular project. A great many of these workers are referred to particular jobs through the unions, which allocate workers to jobs on a Nation-wide scale. Many come from highly urbanized districts. New York City, for example, reported the temporary migration of 22,000 skilled construction workers to Army projects outside the State.

The second important group of migrants to sites of defense construction consists of workers from the surrounding countryside, who have migrated to these temporary projects in great numbers. While some have been found to have

¹ The bulk of the detailed information summarized in this report covers the first 4 months of 1941 and is obtained from three sources—the monthly labor-market reports received from the employment security agencies in all States, the labor-market surveys made during recent months in specific local areas, and special reports on defense migration which the Bureau of Employment Security, on behalf of the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, requested in March 1941 from 20 important defense areas. Up to the end of April, 12 States had responded to the request, namely, California, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New York, and Washington.

considerable ability as carpenters and have obtained skilled or semiskilled jobs, the majority were unskilled workers, usually farm laborers by occupation, who have been hired as "hammer and saw" men supplementing the more highly skilled labor imported from greater distances. On those construction projects which have been located in isolated rural areas far from any large urban supplies of unskilled labor, the workers from the farms have been especially successful in finding temporary employment. On the other hand, when the projects have been located in or near cities, where large numbers of unskilled unemployed workers were available, only a relatively small proportion of the rural migrants have found work.

Some of the most important construction migrations have occurred in the Southern States, all the way from Virginia and West Virginia to Florida and extending as far West as Texas and New Mexico. A large influx of construction workers has been noted in Virginia, especially into Alexandria, Radford, Norfolk, and Newport News.

From all over the Southern States workers have been migrating to centers of defense construction activity. Five thousand West Virginia workers were employed at the Hercules plant in Radford, Virginia, while 700 workers from North Carolina went to the same point. Extensive migration has been reported into Louisville, Kentucky; Spartanburg, South Carolina; Tullahoma, Tennessee; Milan, Tennessee; Camp Wheeler, Georgia; Mobile, Alabama; and Camp Blanding, Florida.

Similarly, large construction projects in other areas, such as Ravenna, Ohio, and Joliet, Illinois, have attracted thousands of migrant workers. In Charlestown, Indiana, 95 percent of the 8,500 migrants were said to be skilled construction workers imported for the construction of a large powder plant. The Maryland State Employment Service reports that 15,000-20,000 workers migrated into the Baltimore-Annapolis area during the period of defense expansion; most of these workers were skilled in the construction trades. On the Pacific Coast, the State of Washington reports that 8,000 of the total 34,000 workers who migrated into the Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton area from September 1940 to the end of April 1941 were members of building-trades unions and had been sent into the area largely through the unions. In California most of the estimated 15,000-16,000 migrants into the Central Coast counties area between September 1940 and February 1941 were construction workers. Approximately 10,000 of these were experienced and skilled, generally recruited through trade-unions; nearly all of them found work. The remaining 5,000-6,000 were mainly agricultural workers, few of whom obtained employment.

Industrial Migration

The national defense program has increased production of heavy ordnance, machinery, and machine tools in the metal-working centers of the Northeast and North Central States.

Aircraft production up to the present time has been centered in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Seattle on the West Coast, and in Connecticut, Long Island, northern New Jersey, Buffalo, and Baltimore in the East. Shipbuilding activities center in San Francisco and Seattle in the West, in Boston, New York, New Jersey, Baltimore, and Norfolk in the East.

The volume of migration into many of the industrial centers has been very great; other important centers have been relatively little affected. There has also been considerable variation in the occupational characteristics of migrants among the different areas, a variation corresponding in some degree to the economic opportunities offered in Thus, in the western part of the those areas. country, where for the most part new plants have been erected in areas of little or no industrialization and with small reserves of industrial labor. there has been large-scale employment of thousands of semiskilled and newly trained workers from other States. In the more densely industrialized East, where large reserves of unemployed workers were readily available for training or immediate employment, the need for the importation of industrial workers in the early stages of the defense program has been confined to the more highly skilled groups. Consequently, there has been relatively less in-migration of newly trained semiskilled workers.

In spite of this difference between areas, it may be stated that throughout most of the country the majority of migrants to industrial communities are semiskilled and unskilled workers. Many are agricultural workers drawn from the surrounding territory; others come from depressed industrial and mining communities. A considerable number ob-

tain employment in unskilled factory work or urban construction. It is reported that employers in aircraft and other industries are importing rural labor in preference to unskilled labor already in the area. In some areas many of the unskilled migrants do not succeed in getting jobs, but so far relatively few have become stranded or caused a serious community problem. The majority are said to have sufficient funds to leave the area if they do not find jobs within a short time

Migration of skilled workers to industrial areas has served an important function in supplying the necessary labor for the highly skilled machine and metal-working operations. Skilled workers in these occupations migrate over greater distances than do less skilled groups. They have frequently been known to travel halfway across the continent or even greater distances in response to favorable job opportunities. Migration of such wide range has been stimulated by aggressive recruitment practices of certain employers who have scoured the country for workers, sending out recruiting agents and advertising in many scattered areas. As in the case of construction workers, a large proportion of skilled industrial workers appear to migrate in response to definitely assured job opportunities: most of the States report that even if they come without such assurance they have little difficulty in obtaining work.

The migration of both skilled and unskilled workers to the primary centers of defense production has in turn created secondary migration to smaller communities. Youths from the farms migrate to factories and shops in the small towns to take the place of more experienced workers who have left. Employers in the smaller communities complain that these localities are being drained of experienced workers because of the ability of employers in the large centers to pay higher wages. Ten States report significant migration of this kind.

Information from State employment security agencies (summarized below) indicates the general pattern of migration occurring in the great industrial areas.

Focal points of migration.—Migration into the New England region is centered in the State of Connecticut, where, as early as September 1940, an influx of workers from New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and the remaining New England States was noted. A survey made by the Associa-

tion of Manufacturers of Hartford indicates that 15 percent of the workers added by manufacturing establishments in the Hartford area within the past year were last employed out of the State. Most of them came from other parts of New England.

A survey made by the State Unemployment Compensation Division in five important areas (Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Waterbury) shows that an average of 21 percent of new registrants with the employment services in these five areas were last employed in other States.

Most of the out-of-State migrants are reported to be unskilled, although it is stated that "most of the migratory workers who remain in Connecticut are apparently absorbed by the manufacturing and construction industries. . . . It appears that any workers skilled or semiskilled in metal trades will be readily absorbed by Connecticut industry. The unskilled will not be so readily absorbed by manufacturing, although some are being employed as factory labor and on construction projects. We believe that many of the unskilled workers drift into the State and if they do not immediately secure employment leave for other defense areas."

Migration within the State was also extensive. Small communities are losing skilled workers to Bridgeport and Hartford; during the first few months of the defense program there was a constant migration from lower-wage communities to the defense centers. In February, however, the movement was "apparently not as considerable as formerly, and presumably, wage rates in the lower paid areas are being brought more into line."

In Newport News, Virginia, an important ship-building center, figures published by one of the shippard companies show that in December 1940 there were on the pay roll 8,302 Virginians, or approximately two-thirds of the total employment. Of the remaining third, 2,176 came from North Carolina, 344 from Pennsylvania, and 267 from South Carolina. Only four States were not represented on the pay rolls.

In the Great Lakes area, Ohio and Michigan, both important industrially, have attracted a large number of migrant job seekers, while at the same time there has been out-migration on a smaller scale from Ohio to such places as Charlestown, Indiana, and to parts of Pennsylvania. Ohio notes an influx of thousands of unskilled

workers from Kentucky and Tennessee into industrial centers such as Cincinnati, Ravenna, and Canton. It is stated that "over 7,000 applications for work from such persons were received by 58 Cincinnati firms during January." Several local offices reported in January that in the smaller cities unskilled and semiskilled workers were leaving for industrial centers within Ohio or in nearby Michigan. In February a similar movement among the skilled workers, especially machinists and tool makers, was noted.

In Michigan, Detroit has been the center of attraction for migrant workers from nearby Middle Western States (especially Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio) and from Kentucky and Tennessee. During the 8-month period ended March 31, 1941, nearly 11,000 workers from outside the city registered with the Detroit central placement office. One-third of these migrants were said to be semiskilled, and 1,900 skilled, 1,500 clerical and sales workers, 1,450 unskilled, and 600 professional and managerial workers.

In the Middle West some important new plants manufacturing defense materials are being erected. Wichita, Kansas, is rapidly becoming one of the Nation's leading centers of aircraft production. Large numbers of young men from various sections of Kansas and a steadily increasing number from adjoining States have migrated to the city for work in the aircraft factories.

Along the Pacific Coast there has been a vast population movement, both within the area and from outside the area, affecting California, Oregon, and Washington. The total number of workers coming into four areas of California (Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, and the Central Coast counties) from August 1940 to April 1941 has been estimated at 168,000, about one-half of whom migrated from outside the State. The California State Employment Service early in May 1941 considered that the peak of this in-migration had not yet been reached.

In three of the areas, Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco, new employment opportunities have occurred largely in aircraft manufacturing, general factory work, and shipyard and construction projects, while in the Central Coast area employment was predominantly in construction work. For the four areas combined, the largest group of migrants, approximately 40 percent, were semiskilled workmen or trainees

with little experience. About 15 percent were skilled experienced workers, and the remainder unskilled. However, approximately 84,000 migrants, or 50 percent of the total, came from outside the State, and the great majority were skilled, semiskilled, or trainees. The unskilled migrants came from within the State, and were "mainly harvest-hands, many of whom have been following California crops in recent years." These unskilled workers were largely unsuccessful in finding work. It was further stated that "practically all skilled metal-trades workers looking for work have found it and skilled construction workers have been almost as successful."

Washington estimates that of the 34,000 workers entering the Seattle-Bremerton-Tacoma area about 7,000 were imported for work at the Bremerton Navy Yard; most of these were journeymen mechanics. Another 8,000 were members of construction unions and were presumably skilled or semiskilled. No estimate was made of the percentage of unskilled workers. It was stated that the majority of migrants into the area had found work.

Areas less affected by migration.—Some of the heavily populated industrial areas, especially those in the East, have been relatively little affected by mass migration, though they report some interchange of skilled workers with other areas. In some cases this lack of in-migration may be attributed to the existence of large reserves of unemployed workers in the immediate vicinity; in other cases lack of a large volume of defense activity may be the explanation.

A report on the Boston metropolitan area indicates that, in spite of a considerable amount of defense activity, there has been no sizable in-migration. "The defense industries have, until this time, utilized the labor supply within a 25-mile radius. The Boston metropolitan district has, to date, been able to supply all the semi-skilled and unskilled labor required and has also been able to fill orders in the majority of the skilled occupations."

New York, where defense activity has not been great, submitted a statement similar to the Boston report: "Our recent inquiries indicate that there is no significant amount of in-inigration of manual labor into New York State seeking defense employment. There is rather some outmigration to other defense areas, notably Con-

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necticut." Particular note was made of the migration of 22,000 skilled construction workers to Army projects outside the State, as well as the exodus of a number of carpenters, plumbers, and metal-trades workers to points on the East Coast from Massachusetts to Florida. Up-State New York, likewise, seems to have been little affected by in-migration, although recent information indicates that such a movement may now be beginning. An aircraft corporation in Buffalo reports that 1,000 of the 4,800 persons added to its pay roll since the beginning of the year came from outside the Buffalo-Niagara Falls area. Roughly, 250 came from western New York State or northwest Pennsylvania; about 150 were from New England, eastern New York, New Jersey, and from industrial and mining centers of Pennsylvania; other areas contributed approximately 600 workers, most of them from Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, and Ohio. A shortage of skilled metal-trades workers in up-State New York is attributed to the migration of such workers from smaller towns to the larger cities in the State.

Philadelphia, up until very recently, has observed little in-migration. Reports received during April, however, indicate that migration is accelerating. "Approximately one-half of those moving into the uptown areas are from out of the State. Of the total number moving in, 37 percent are classified in skilled trades. . . The remaining 63 percent are mostly semiskilled workers with very few falling into unskilled categories. number of persons moving into the uptown area during the first 3 weeks in April will more than double the number moving in during the month of March." The Pennsylvania reports make frequent references to migration of skilled and semiskilled workers, particularly in the metal trades, from smaller towns to larger centers within the State. Workers from the anthracite area are reported seeking work in New York and New Jersey, and workers in the Johnstown area have migrated to sections of Ohio and West Virginia.

There has been no appreciable migration of workers into New Jersey since the inception of the defense program, in spite of considerable defense activity there. The State attributes this fact to the chronic housing shortage; persons obtaining employment in defense areas prefer or are forced to commute long distances rather than take up residence near the place of their employ-

ment. A more important factor may be the existence of large labor supplies in New York and Philadelphia, within commuting distance of certain sections of New Jersey.

St. Louis, Missouri, although outside the eastern industrial area, reports a condition similar to that observed in Boston, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. The local labor supply apparently has been ample to care for the large amount of reemployment in connection with the defense program. "Generally speaking there has been no marked migration of workers to or from the St. Louis area . . . Movements of workers into the St. Louis area have not been so noticeable as out-migration."

There appears to have been relatively little migration into Chicago, which like New York has thus far been under-exploited as a producer of defense materials.

WPA surveys on industrial migration.—Studies conducted by the Work Projects Administration during April, May, and June of 1941 on migration into Akron, Ohio, Chicago, Illinois, Detroit, Michigan, and Fort Wayne, Indiana, tend to corroborate the reports received from the State employment security agencies in the Middle Western industrial area. Considerable in-migration was found in Detroit and Fort Wayne, where industrial activity resulting from the defense program had been intense. Chicago, as yet relatively untaxed by the defense program, experienced only a small influx of workers. Lack of migration into Akron, the site of important defense industries, was attributed to the presence of large local reserves of unemployed workers who had been thrown out of work during the 1937 recession.

Migrants into all four areas were very successful in locating employment. Only in Chicago was there a substantial amount of unemployment among migrants, and even there, 80 percent of the migrants were working at the time of the survey. It was concluded that the defense program had not brought a large mass of unneeded workers into the surveyed areas and that migration on the whole had been a realistic response to available opportunities.

Migration into Washington, D. C.—As the center of expanding Government activities, Washington, D. C., is experiencing a large volume of in-migration differing in character from the

kinds that have been discussed. It has been estimated that the population of the District of Columbia has increased by 65,000 between May 1, 1940 and March 1941. Some 3,000 to 4,000 new Federal employees, a large proportion imported from outside the Washington area, are being added to pay rolls each month. Most of these workers are employed in low-salaried white-collar occupations.

Areas of Out-Migration

In general there has been a steady out-migration of workers from the Mountain States and drought areas to the Pacific Coast and to other centers of defense activity. Large numbers of these workers have completed defense training courses in the metal trades and other skilled or semiskilled occupations, and have found employment in aircraft and other industries on the Pacific Coast. Out-migration has also been noted from Wisconsin and Minnesota. All these States have so far been little affected by the defense program, and employment opportunities have been relatively less favorable than in other sections of the country. Reports from States ranging from Montana in the North to New Mexico in the South, from Nevada in the West through Missouri in the East, show how this territory has lost workers to the industrial areas of the Middle and Far West. Most of the workers migrating have been skilled or recently trained semiskilled.

Social Characteristics of Migrants

The monthly labor-market reports contain little information on the social or racial characteristics of migrant groups. However, the special reports on defense migration from selected areas indicate that migrants have been typically white male citizens in the younger and middle working ages, between 20 and 50. Many are reported to be heads of families, but most have not moved their families with them, frequently because of lack of adequate housing facilities. The migration of Negroes, so characteristic of the World War period, has not occurred in large numbers.

Problems Arising From Migration

The migrants have brought many problems with them. The concentration of thousands of workers at the sites of large-scale construction projects in sparsely populated areas has resulted in serious shortages of shelter and sanitary facilities. In most cases the accommodations for housing and feeding were sufficient for only a part of the workers. In at least one instance, an influenza epidemic affected half of the construction crew at a large Army project. In other cases, unsanitary conditions and intense suffering were reported. Since most of the projects have been rushed to completion in a short time, these emergency situations did not persist.

The problems arising from the migration of workers in search of factory employment in defense industries have not been self-liquidating. In addition to the usual problems of adjustment to a new environment, the migrants, in common with residents, have been confronted with shortages of housing and community facilities. In some cases in which country towns and small cities have grown in a few months to accommodate thousands of migrants, local housing, water-supply, sewagedisposal, schools, and recreational facilities, and other services have proved inadequate. There are many reports of workers sleeping in "hot beds," so called because they are occupied in three 8-hour shifts by three different individuals. It is feared that overcrowding and unsanitary conditions may lead to serious epidemics when winter sets in.

A special problem has arisen in connection with the migration of young men to be trained in centers of defense employment. These men frequently leave home without money enough to maintain themselves during the period of their training and until they become self-supporting. This period may vary from 4 or 6 to 14 weeks, during which they may be without money for food and lodging, with consequent damage to their health and morale.

Outlook for the Future

During the first year of operation of the defense program, the resulting migration, considerable in volume, has been in the main a movement of lesser skilled and inexperienced workers and has involved a general trend of population from rural to urban communities and from areas of low to areas of high wages. Although much migration has involved interstate movements of workers over considerable distances, there has been a substantial volume of short-range migration from one community to another within the same general

locality. During this period, skilled workers have migrated over an extensive territory, often have had work promised in advance, and have usually been successful in finding employment. Less skilled workers have migrated usually from the surrounding territory and have had greater difficulty in becoming established. Large-scale migration to temporary construction projects has occurred, as well as more permanent migrations toward areas of industrial production.

The character of migration into an area has been determined not only by economic opportunities offered by the defense program, but also by the general type of labor supply available in the surrounding territory. Thus, where large groups of agricultural workers are seasonally unemployed, defense areas have experienced in-migration of these workers. Where defense activities are located near depressed manufacturing or mining communities, a different type of ir-migration has been noted.

Large numbers of unemployed migrants have been reported chiefly in defense areas experiencing influxes of seasonal, habitually migrant agricultural labor. Up to the present time, however, there is little evidence that migration of other categories of workers into industrial centers has resulted in large-scale unemployment for the migrant groups. It is nevertheless probable that such in-migration may lessen employment opportunities for local workers. Insofar as migrants obtain work that could be adequately performed by local labor, migration is to that extent unnecessary, and economically inefficient.

As the defense program progresses, there may be significant shifts in the present pattern of migration. Certain major construction projects are being completed, with accompanying dissolution of the temporary towns established by migratory construction workers. New communities will begin to participate in the defense program and may find it necessary to import labor. In other areas, supplies of workers adequate for the initial stages of the defense program may have to be supplemented from outside. The dislocation of consumer-goods industries by defense priorities may result in shifts of unemployed workers from one locality to another as well as from one occupation to another. On the other hand, it may be possible to reduce some of the unnecessary migration that has taken place by more complete and efficient utilization of local labor supplies.

Migration will continue to play an important role in the national economy during the coming months. It should be kept at a minimum and directed in such a manner as to serve the best interests of the defense program and the working population.