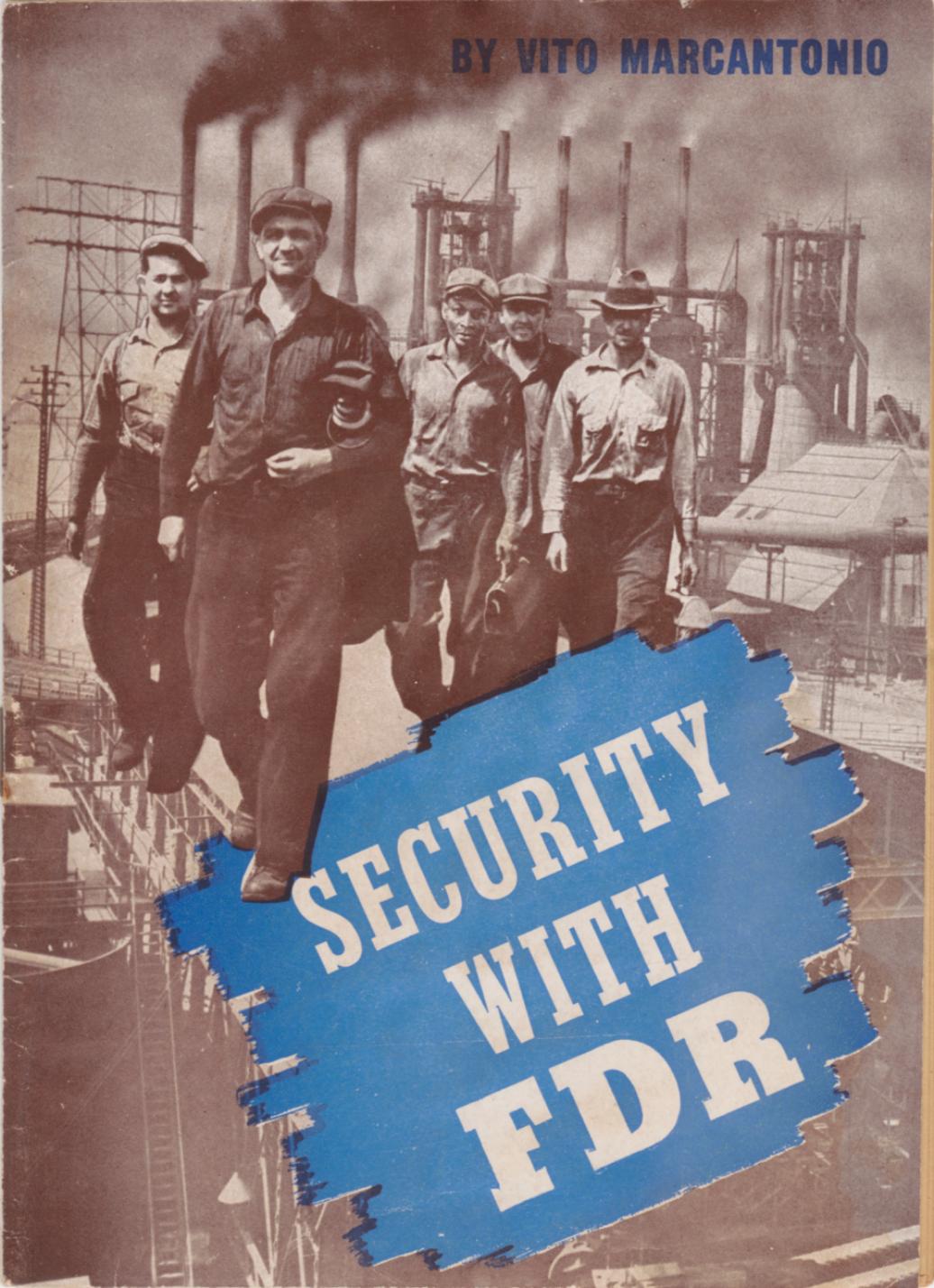


BY VITO MARCANTONIO



**SECURITY
WITH
FDR**

SECURITY WITH FDR

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FOREWORD
By
MAX BEDACHT

ISSUED BY NATIONAL FRATERNAL COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT (SPONSORED BY
MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER)

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SECURITY WITH FDR

FOREWORD The National Fraternal Committee
for the Re-election of President

Roosevelt, sponsored by members of the International Workers Order, has issued this pamphlet for the purpose of making available to citizen-voters during this crucial election campaign, the record of FDR's contributions to the nation's social security.

We, as members of the IWO, long supported and fought for greater social security in America. We endorsed, supported and helped achieve the various security measures which have become a part of the laws of our land: the Wagner Act, the Social Security Act. Now we support the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social Security Bill (S. 1161). In 1940 we supported Vito Marcantonio's federal aid and security bill. Today, we support reconversion and postwar legislation such as the recently defeated Kilgore-Truman Bill. We continue the fight for that type of legislation despite the temporary success of the anti-Roosevelt forces in Congress, for adequate reconversion laws are a deep, immediate and postwar need.

All of the social security measures which we have advocated as essential to America's progress we have found expressed in President Roosevelt's win-the-war and postwar security program and proposals. That is one of the fundamental reasons why we consider FDR's re-election necessary to the nation's advancement. That is why we believe every American citizen should take part in the campaign to assure FDR's re-election. We, as individual members of the IWO, call upon our brothers and sisters, our friends, neighbors, shopmates everywhere, to rally to support of the President. We urge you to read this pamphlet and then to distribute it widely. REGISTER NOW to vote for FDR on November 7.

MAX BEDACHT



Military and political destruction of German-Japanese fascism is the basis of world security. After victory, there must be jobs for all.

"Whatcha thinking about Joe?"

"Ob, my gal, my job, the kind of a place I'm gonna live in—when this is all over."

This bit of conversation took place during a lull in one of the battles for France.

The sober fact is that the question of jobs sticks in the minds of our boys in service as they move forward to Berlin and Tokyo in ships, planes, jeeps, tanks, 'chutes and afoot. While fighting, between shell-bursts, they talk about their past jobs and their future jobs—what they like or expect and whether those jobs will last two months or a lifetime.

As the great struggle against Fascism reaches its climax, the

GI Joes and Jims are thinking: "What kind of an America, what kind of a job, what kind of a chance will I find when I get home?"

Wherever the men in Europe, engaged in battle to the death against Hitlerism, have emerged from their underground cellars and their silence, they have drawn together and clasped hands on a pledge for political and economic SECURITY!

And in the United States?

• An Innocent Word •

While our boys are blasting huge holes in the Nazi lines . . . at home there are some men who would blast huge holes in the security of these heroes.

Our soldiers, sailors, airmen, war workers are pouring forth a hurricane of fire and steel to free a world . . . in America there are some men who would pour forth a torrent of misery in our own people's ranks.

It is time to name names and make decisions! It is time to recognize those who would lead us on to a better America, an employed America, an America of peace and security and opportunity—and those who would return us to 1930 "normalcy." Normalcy—an innocent word—hiding hungry bellies, empty and rotting factories, breadlines, evictions, shoes without soles and babies without milk—and a "normal" party for a "normal" unemployment of some 17 million "normal" Americans. (Normalcy, thy name is Republican Party! Thy prophet is Dewey!)

Against the (1930) "normalcy" program for a postwar America we have the program of our Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, who, as the leader of the nation, said in his message to Congress on the State of the Union last January:

"The one supreme objective for the future can be summed up in one word: Security."

The President's message contained America's second "bill of rights." Our forefathers—faced with the threat of slavery—swore out a bill of democratic rights, of free speech and free worship and free press. Today, having known economic hardships, another bill

of rights has been given to the people; a document to insure them their stake in America.

• FDR's New Economic Bill of Rights •

"The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation. . . . The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living. . . . The right of every family to a decent home. . . . The right to adequate medical care and to opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health."

There are eight *rights* in this magnificent charter for free men.

To the old and the sick and the ill, the President has insisted on the "right to adequate protection from economic fears." To the youth he has pledged "the right to a good education."

This is the America of the future, desired by GI Joe and every citizen, the America of humming machines and rich, good earth; the America of happy men and women, of carefree homes, of children assured of their future and the aged assured of the nation's respect and a decent subsistence.

This is the kind of an America the people want. There's no guesswork about this postwar world. There's no magic, no mysterious formula about social security—the answers have been written plainly. A few facts will illustrate that.

Take the Kilgore-Murray-Truman Bill. It said: Let us have a centralized agency to plan demobilization and full employment after the war. What happened? The anti-Roosevelt forces eliminated that!

The Kilgore-Murray-Truman Bill said: Let the government pay unemployment compensation with a \$25 maximum a week to returning war veterans until they find jobs. But the anti-Roosevelt forces were alarmed. This was making America a land of "lazy bums," fat cigars for every worker and a Du Pont paunch to boot. No, let the States take care of that—from a half buck to \$14 for a couple of weeks. So the Republicans doomed federal unemployment insurance for two years to our boys who will come home through death.



FDR's New Economic Bill of Rights pledges full security for the common man, without which there will be chaos in the postwar world.

Forward-looking Congressmen, following the President's lead, said: why not give federal insurance for displaced war workers who are now unprotected by unemployment insurance? This would include government workers, members of the Merchant Marine, self-employed workers and those working in plants of less than eight employees. The GOP answered with one phrase: "States' Rights." Try to eat States' Rights and any good dietitian will tell you it's a sure combination of ulcers, pellagra, malnutrition and just plain starvation.

The Kilgore-Murray-Truman Bill asked for a policy of retraining war workers to peacetime jobs; it called for federal transportation funds to essential workers going home or to new jobs. The party of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Mr. Herbert Hoover said: Nothing doing—that's socialism! and threw it out.

The Roosevelt supporters in Congress urged: At least, let's increase the allotment for discharged soldiers and boost their unemployment insurance. And the GOP, with oodles of Du Pont dough to fondle in their campaign fund, smirked: "Now, aren't you really asking too much?" And they killed that, too.

• One or the Other •

There's your choice of postwar programs: One as the President and the people want it; the other as Dewey and Hoover want it.

There's no guesswork about either one of them. You will get one or the other.

This all happened the summer of 1944 in Congress. The hatchet-men were overwhelmingly Republican. Consider . . . if the GOP can do that NOW when we have still to march into Berlin and Tokyo, when we have some 11 million soldiers overseas . . . what would they do if Dewey were elected?

The President and his supporters in Congress are determined that an America which amazed the world with its productive energies in wartime; that built up the mightiest labor force in history; that achieved mass employment—must continue to do just that in peacetime. We must not allow a partisan, ruthlessly selfish group to deceive America into surrendering its great destiny—a destiny *all* of us—labor, management, government, the people—have made possible.

Roosevelt's program has already resulted in one post-war guarantee—the GI Bill of Rights. This is a long, long cry from the miserable and reactionary \$60 pittance that servicemen received as their demobilization "security" and ticket home after the last war. The Bonus March on the Capitol in 1932 which ended in the disgraceful battle of the Anacostia Flats where starving World War veterans were mowed down and slugged at the behest of Dewey's sponsor Herbert Hoover, must not happen again!

Today the veteran of the second World War can look forward to a whole series of guarantees that the government will not forget its responsibilities to him. He can depend on the Selective Service Reemployment Division to aid him in getting back his job or finding a new one; he will have in the Veterans' Administration an institution pledged to help him rehabilitate; he knows that under the Roosevelt Administration there are: the Vocational Rehabilitation and Training Division of the Federal Security Agency; a policy of free education at government expense; a system of hospitalization to readjust him mentally and physically for the future, quickly and

scientifically. He knows that the Administration is with him, heart and soul.

• There Is No Guesswork •

He will receive not \$60 as his demobilization pay but \$300; and in every step of his life into the peacetime economy of the nation, he will find the Administration already geared and willing to help.

With regard to these benefits, established through passage of the GI Bill of Rights, there is no guesswork. With regard to the security GI Joe (your father, your son, your brother) and the whole nation would enjoy through the Roosevelt policies, there is no guesswork either. A goodly section of this pamphlet will array a mass of facts to prove what FDR *has* done and to establish that he will assuredly do more when given the opportunity.

With regard to the fate of the nation under a Dewey-Republican regime, there's not a shadow of doubt. The defeat of the Kilgore-Murray-Truman Bill foreshadows the whole direction of Dewey's Republican policy: *an attack on every front upon the standards of living and the security of the people.* This attack is veiled under phrases about "Beurocracy . . . States' Rights . . . public debt . . . dictatorship . . ."

There's no fact however solid that the GOP reactionaries and Dewey will not try to twist to their liking in order to blame something on FDR.

Their frame of mind is illustrated by the draftee from a remote mountain district in the South. He was taking his intelligence test in camp.

"What does R.F.D. stand for?"

"Ranklin Felano Doosevelt," he answered promptly.

The above humorous transposition of unrelated facts is not half so amazingly silly as Dewey's recent statement about the "Roosevelt depression."

The GOP strategists must be pretty well out of ammunition to try to hoax the American people into the idea that the Coolidge-Hoover depression of 1929-1932 began with Roosevelt who took office in 1933.

This sort of "strategy" has been known before.

"What's your idea of strategy?" asked the C.O.

"When you're out of ammunition keep right on firing," answered the trainee.

• "Such Small Portions" •

The Republican reactionaries are out of ammunition but their strategy is to keep right on firing against FDR.

Sometimes their contradictory gripes and beefs against FDR's program becomes positively "funny." Like the GI private who wrote to his mother: "The food in this camp is absolute poison" and then he complained, "and such small portions!"

"FDR's program is poison," cry the GOP crowd, and then they add, "and such small portions!"

It would be naive for us to expect the anti-Roosevelt forces to tell the public their real reasons for foaming at the mouth when they hear about FDR's program of social security for the American people.

If they would tell the truth it would be that they're afraid it will bring too much democracy and too little profits.

Their excuses are more elaborate, like the GI private who speared his fifth pork chop and seventh potato.

"Brother, you sure like your chow," sneered a man next to him.

"You're wrong," replied the private, "I'm simply devoted to bicarbonate of soda."

If you tell Dewey's big backers that they "sure love their profits," they answer with equal loftiness, "We're simply devoted to Free Enterprise."

And then they try to tell us that "THAT MAN" who champions our Four Freedoms is opposed to Free Enterprise.

• The Roosevelt Way •

The plain fact is that FDR wants free enterprise for the whole nation. His program is a long range program of security for all.

The Administration's welfare program goes further even than postwar transition security.

One of the most fundamental legislative measures ever to be advanced for the social security of the nation is the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill (S. 1161), a measure in line with the 8-point Bill of Rights—a bill that will bring the victory GI Joe won abroad into his own home.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill guarantees to you, your wife and to your children, complete medical care—general practitioner's services, specialists, consultant and laboratory services (including X-Rays, appliances and eyeglasses) and also necessary hospitalization care, leaving the choice of doctor and hospital entirely to you.

This Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill also proposes to guarantee to you, your wife and to your children a weekly income while you are ill and unable to work; and should you become totally and permanently disabled you will receive a regular monthly income for life.

Before and after childbirth women workers get 12 weeks income, plus medical, surgical and hospital costs, under the terms of S.1161.

Old age and survivors' insurance benefits are provided in S.1161, which represent substantial advances over the provisions of the present social security law.



The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social Security Bill (S. 1161) is the most important of the measures based on FDR's program, now in Congress.

The Bill also makes all benefits available to an additional twenty-five million workers who are now excluded—agricultural workers and independent farmers; domestic workers; professional and small business men; employees of non-profit organizations; maritime workers, and others. For the first time, men and women in the armed forces will become eligible for all social security benefits, and they will receive credit for the time spent in service.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill sets up a uniform national system of unemployment insurance, with increased benefits and broader coverage than is now provided inadequately, by the forty-eight different state laws.

The new social security bill proposes to create a nationwide system of employment offices to help soldiers and civilians find jobs in private industry. The provisions of the measure include safeguards against any form of economic coercion or forced labor in choosing jobs.

This is the Roosevelt way for a postwar security. This is the democratic, the human way for reconversion and demobilization programs. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill would open a new era for America in economic stability, in free and enlightened medical, cultural and spiritual values.

The Dewey-Republican idea of solving the postwar security problem is to disband security measures. Dewey's program is much like the famous Civil War day's Bungtown (Ohio) Riflemen whose company by-laws declared: "In case of war, this company shall immediately disband."

• Hoover Is Satisfied! •

Some Americans may be inclined to be skeptical toward the idea that Dewey, if elected to the presidency, would—or even could—disband the social security program established under the Roosevelt Administration. We Americans naively tend to the attitude that once a thing is written into law, it is eternal.

But the fact remains that in this election campaign our social security gains are at stake. All we have to do to lose them is to elect the wrong man: Dewey. We would be certain to suffer an economic set-back under Dewey, because he is Herbert Hoover's



The W-M-D Bill extends medical, hospital, and laboratory services to every working man and woman, and to their families as well.

political protege. Hoover dominates the Republican Party which nominated Dewey. Both Drew Pearson and the Hearst INS have reported that Hoover expressed satisfaction with Dewey's nomination. We should recall, in this connection, that in 1941 Dewey suggested that Herbert Hoover should become a life member in the United States Senate!

Dewey follows Herbert Hoover's policies with respect to the nation's economy and its security program. It is important therefore that we fully understand what were the consequences of Hoover's policies to the nation when Hoover was President. Let us remind ourselves of the economic disasters into which Hoover led us and from which Franklin Delano Roosevelt rescued us.

• The Record: FDR vs. GOP Ruin •

The people during those Republican days heard about the car in every garage but they walked on thin soles—and thousands did not even have soles. The Republicans talked of a chicken in every pot, while men—willing, eager and talented men—sold apples. Hoover said prosperity was "around the corner." But the only thing

around the corner was the relentless landlord, the unpaid mortgage, the foreclosed farm, the idle factory.

President Roosevelt was swept into office by a hungry, desperate people on a pledge for action. Within a few weeks after his election he acted. A conference of organized labor and industry and public officials urged that the government:

Provide unemployment relief; that it cut drastically the number of hours a man had to work; that it insure minimum wages at a decent level; that it abolish, at once, child labor; that it set up machinery to adjust disputes between industry and labor; that it provide cultural and recreational centers for the people.

These were not stock demands. They had to be acted on quickly. And the President acted. Within a year many of these proposals were legislated into the life of the land. Most of these recommendations later became part of the national policy, the way of life for America.

How well we recall the screams of the Republicans, the howls of rage from the reactionary press and the wail of tears over the great "waste" of Federal Funds when the President said if industry could not provide jobs, the government must. On April 23, 1935 he outlined a program for four billion dollars in public work relief. On May 6 of the same year the government set up the Works Progress Administration.

• The Human Values •

The WPA is gone now, absorbed in a great era of production, in a vast wartime crusade to destroy the fascist Axis. We hope there never will come a time when this tremendous productive machine—a machine that employs more than 46 million men and women and is creating a national income never known by our people—will fall apart as it did in 1930. And our government already is determined that this nation must insure the same level of employment, the same, even higher level of living in peacetime as in wartime. But now we are concerned with the years when America was at war with itself and hungry men demanded work. And industry could supply only signs from one end of the country to the other reading: "No Jobs."

Americans went to work for the government instead. There is no way to measure the human values that the WPA restored to this country, of people who were able to eat again and pay rent. True, it was not the kind of security that men dreamed about, it was not the best America was capable of, but it was the first smash at mass unemployment and at mass hunger that any administration had ever attempted. It restored hope. It raised morale. It made men walk with courage again.

In 10 years the government invested \$13,000,000,000 to safeguard the future of America. It INVESTED the money. It did not "waste" it as the rugged Republican individualists lament. Was it waste that 8,500,000 men with 30,000,000 dependents worked again? Was it waste that 644,000 miles of highways and 77,000 bridges were built? Was it waste that 800 airports were built or repaired; that 1,500 nursery schools and 400 recreational centers sprang up in every city and town? Was it "waste" that public buildings were repaired, painted and erected? Was it "waste" that writers, artists, actors, lawyers, doctors continued their skills, made use of their talents, wrote a new history of cultural achievement?

• Our Greatest Task •

No! This was investment for America. It was more. It was the principle of federal responsibility for the welfare of its citizens becoming a part of the nation's fibre. Men knew that here was a government interested in them, a government who felt their needs and admitted its obligation to their wants.

"Our greatest task," the President said then, "was to put people to work."

Millions had literally been starving. The WPA put them to work.

• The Wagner Act •

No discussion of the President's achievement in Social Security can either be genuine or complete without that great Magna Charter of labor, the Wagner Act. When men attempted to better their conditions by organizing, as was their constitutional right, under the Republican administration they were met with an industrial policy



of open hostility—a policy aided and encouraged by the Republican Administration. But worse than that, they were often met with guns and labor spies and open warfare. Americans fought Americans, and workers were beaten and terrorized. What more courageous and far-reaching act than a policy by the government which would unfetter the worker, free him from his fears, permit him the right to organize?

Such an act was the Wagner Act—or the National Labor Relations Act—which told the rampant, profit-swollen and hard-headed employer: The American worker has the right to better his conditions. If he wants to organize into a labor union of his own free choice, this right is guaranteed by law. You dare not use threat or violence. You must end forever your labor spies, your system of intimidation, your strikebreaking goons, your company unions.

It was a historic day for labor. It was a historic day for all America. This Wagner Act was not legislation for a special class; it was a principle of a free and democratic nation. Let industry look at its ledgers. Does it see any red ink, any loss of profits? No, because a free labor is the best guarantee for a healthy industry. The records prove that. Only the most stubborn and blinded reactionary will deny it. But for the working people of America, secure in the knowledge that their government was protecting their labor rights, not by words but by federal law, it meant another Declaration of Independence.

• Hope for the Farmer •

The Roosevelt administration held out new hopes for the farmer too. We recall the Coolidge-Hoover era of our farmers before 1933—an era of rotting wheat and unplanted corn, an era of millions of acres wasted, of forests becoming deserts, of farmers ground under by mortgages, of foreclosures and ruin. Even under the “boom” days of Coolidge in that year 1929—with its paper inflation and its coupon clippings and its great big crash—the American farmer earned less than \$7,000,000,000. Hoover cut it down to a mere \$2,000,000,000. The farmer was going the way of his crop, he was literally being destroyed.

But between 1932 and 1939—before the war—the American



S. 1161 provides more and better security to more people in case of sickness, old age, unemployment, or death of wage earner.

farmer had **DOUBLED** his net income under a policy of government aid; the national farm income by 1943 was \$14,000,000,000.

How was it done? It was done by a sound plan, by a workable program. The government established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) to rescue the farmers from the depression. Later under the New Deal, the low income farmers found their greatest source of help in the Farm Security Administration.

A government under Hoover—who posed as a humanitarian because in 1918 he said: “feed the starving people of Belgium,”—told the hungry farmers of America to feed their starving mules instead. The list of achievements for the farmer since the AAA is long and good to read, but a few highlights will tell the story:

Between 1932 and 1942 the government through its special agencies loaned the farmer \$2,500,000,000 to get on his feet again (and incidentally, to feed his starving mule). It cut the farm mortgage debt by \$2,000,000,000. Reclaimed millions of acres of fertile land. It reforested the nation. It built 540,000 miles of hard-surfaced roads to help them out of the mud. It put electricity into 2,000,000 farms, three times as many as the combined Harding-Coolidge-Hoover administration managed. Through the Rural Elec-

trification Administration, it lined 600,000 miles of farm area with electricity.

Dams and reservoirs and irrigation. Fertilizers and seed and new soil. A Soil Conservation Service, an AAA, an FSA, a TVA—initials, the cynics, the reactionary Republicans sneer. But to the farmer, to the city worker, to the small businessman, to the whole country, these initials spelled out more food and more prosperity and more happiness.

• Small Business Saved •

And what about the small business man? What happened to him when Roosevelt took the reins of government? He began to sell again and buy again and stay in business. In 1932, Hoover dared to call for support from small businessmen, 32,000 of whom had failed that very year! The “To Let” and “Going out of Business” and “Bankrupt Sale” signs blanketed store windows and small enterprises all over America under the Republican administration. But the small businessman, the retailer, the “little fellow” found that Roosevelt was his best friend; that here was an administration which listened to him, which fought off the gougers and the insatiable big boys with their unlimited check books and their fear of competition. With men going back to work, with increased buying power, with funds made available for them to borrow, with the wheels of commerce turning once again, the small businessman **REMAINED** and **PROSPERED**.

It may be interesting to note here that Big Business, many of whom hid under their beds in fear of their citadels falling down; who banged their fists on glass-topped mahogany desks and swiveled around in anger at this “revolutionary,”—discovered—hmmm,—things weren’t so bad after all.

It will be enough to give as an example just one industry—the great General Motors Corporation. In the year of the Hoover depression, GM earned \$443,000,000. Under Roosevelt, in 1937, the corporation found it had earned \$1,600,000,000, more than under its “best” Republican year. In 1941, GM swallowed hard, grit its teeth and made a mere \$2,400,000,000.

Yes, industry, too, has reason to appreciate FDR.

The truth of Roosevelt is that he made a nation alive again—worker, farmer, small business and big business. He united the nation spiritually. He forged it together economically.

• Saving Our Homes •

Not only did the Administration build thousands of new homes, go a long way in eliminating slums, create fresh and clean and scientifically-designed housing projects from coast to coast, but it **SAVED** those homes from being mortgaged into evictions. Roosevelt set up the Home Owners Loan Corporation—the HOLC—only three months after his first inauguration, a move which saved the homes of millions of Americans—saved them from being lost forever. Go back to those years of Hoover. Recall the evictions, the 1,000 homes being taken over by the banks **EVERY DAY**, the desperate, fruitless search for credit, for loans, for something to keep the roof overhead, to maintain the house.

The Roosevelt administration told the homeowner: "These mortgages of yours are much too heavy for you to shoulder. We'll give you a new type mortgage that's easier to manage." Offering a single mortgage at only 5 percent to be repaid in monthly installments over a period of 15 years, the government with a single act smoothed out the heaviest lines in the worried brow of the average American homeowner.

And to the banks which held heavy-interest mortgages that were not being paid (it was enough to find money to eat those days, much less pay a mortgage) the government said: "Let us have those heavy mortgages that are worrying you so much. We'll give you government bonds in exchange."

The banks sighed—a very, very heavy sigh—of relief. This simple homeowners' aid saved more than a million homes between 1933-36; loaned more than \$2,000,000,000 to banks and lending institutions, which in turn saved many small banks laden with unpayable mortgages and saved hundreds of millions of dollars for homeowners; set up an insurance corporation to protect depositors in savings and loan associations against loss—and not a single depositor has yet to lose a cent in savings.

Under the impact of war, the government's housing program has

developed into a mighty avalanche of stone, steel, wood and brick. Though peacetime housing programs had to be laid aside temporarily, the government's war plan to build housing for 4,000,000 new migratory war workers underlined its basic program for a permanent, peacetime America without slums.

Congress in 1943 at the request of another Roosevelt administration agency, the National Housing Agency, ordered that all temporary, public-financed housing be torn down within two years after victory except where government and community agreed on the need for this temporary housing.

Here was another step toward the realization of decent homes and decent environment.



S. 1161 supplies medical care, hospital expenses, and maternity benefits six weeks before and after birth of a child.

• FDR and the Youth •

And the march goes forward. It goes forward on the strong shoulders of a youth that was saved from disaster by a vast reconstruction program under the New Deal. Today, many of these youth are now leaders in the battle for existence against fascist slavery. They lead millions of young men who but for the national policy

of preserving our youth might have become fertile soil for defeatism, for weakness, for the dregs of cynicism.

Once these leaders of liberation on the global battle front were called forgotten men. "Bums," the Party under Hoover called them. America remembers these "bums," the army of disillusioned youth, the restless and the roaming, hitching their way from city to city in search of work, in search of a hope. They lived in hobo jungles, they hung around street corners,—they left their schools and their homes and dropped their dreams of love and a future.

There was no work for this army of forgotten youth—but their government called them "bums." President Roosevelt mobilized these young men into the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Young men, who under a Republican administration rode the freight rails, now turned out 25,413 miles of new truck trails. These "bums" who lived without hope now laid out 15,241 miles of telephone lines; they cleared 18,531 miles of fire-breaks and spent 686,709 man-days fighting forest fires; cleared 15,617 miles of roadside and built 620 lookout houses and fire towers. They planted almost a hundred thousand acres of trees and they erected 420,633 erosion dams.

• Reservoir of Manpower •

The Adjutant General of the U. S. Army on Sept., 1942 called the Civilian Conservation Camps "a splendid group of young men and a great reservoir of manpower for the armed forces." In the all-out test of democracy versus Hitlerism, these "bums" gave their answer to Hooverism too—they are crusaders for victory, whose faith was restored on March 9, 1933—five days after the President had taken office.

Two years later the President followed up his first act in rehabilitating the nation's youth. Now the government meant to train them, to educate them for their place in industry. "They must have their chance in school, their turn as apprentices and their opportunity for jobs, a chance to work and earn for themselves," Roosevelt said on Jan. 26, 1935.

In eight years of National Youth Administration activities—the NYA—the boys and girls from America's hardest-hit depression

homes found a new place in the nation. Some 2,667,000 of them were given work and trained for better jobs; another 2,134,000 of them were enabled to remain in school. They were paid while in training; they were subsidized for their education in high schools and colleges. The record of the NYA's achievement in providing America with furniture and household goods, with tools, shoes, with canned foods and medical articles, and human skills is a priceless contribution to the well-being of our nation. Today America is stronger in wartime because of these youth, stronger in physical forces to destroy fascism, stronger in the spiritual and moral unity of the young men and women of America who under the NYA found their stake in our country.

• Social Security Act •

This is what a far-sighted, progressive, humanitarian Roosevelt Administration did for the "bums," the forgotten men, the disinherited youth of Herbert Hoover's regime. Unless we remember—the heroic new GI generation will become under Thomas E. Dewey, the "tramps of 1945."

But if what the President accomplished for the young was constructive and rewarding, his achievements in the field of social security for the old, for the unemployed, for the widow, is indeed an epic of advancement. Here was the time-worn demand of a democratic people come true—security!

The Social Security Act, passed by Congress in 1935 and amended in August, 1939, is a national law. It is aimed at preventing and relieving the misfortunes and tragedies that result from unemployment, from old age, blindness, and death. Children left without support or proper care are provided for; the health of a community has become the nation's responsibility.

The Republicans have never learned—they still cry: "let the states handle the problem." Before the Social Security Act became national legislation, the problem was handled by the states, by the local communities—and it was handled badly.

What is the principle involved in this struggle to have the government responsible for the social welfare of its citizens? It is



Tell your Congressmen that the people of this country support the W-M-D Bill (S. 1161) and that you want to see it passed, too.

simply this: that in a democracy conscious of its strength and obligations, every citizen is part of its structure; that if one has no means of support, the government is responsible for his upkeep, his health, his daily needs. This is not charity; this is a duty of democracy. The indigent and the weak, the unemployed and the orphaned children—these are the people of today and tomorrow. The unemployed and the unemployable had contributed their energies to building the nation and producing its goods; they were the backbone of the civilian army, they were the source of the producers of tomorrow—and no state, no city, no township could properly provide them with the adequate, even the minimum security they needed.

Only the federal government with its vast resources and national functions could measure up to the task. President Roosevelt understood that. He saw the need to expand the benefits, improve the machinery of social security, mobilize the states to share its obligations.

The program HAS been expanded. Benefits HAVE been raised. Restrictions which limited the people to such federal aid HAVE been removed.

• Ten Security Programs •

The Social Security Act, made up of 10 distinct but coordinated programs, may be listed under these three headings:

Social Insurance

- a) Employment security which included public employment service and unemployment insurance.
- b) Old-age and Survivors Insurance.

Public Assistance to the Needy

- a) Old-age assistance
- b) Aid to the needy blind
- c) Aid to dependent children

Health and Welfare Services

- a) Child welfare services
- b) Services for crippled children
- c) Maternal and child-health services
- d) Retraining for disabled workers
- e) Public health services

True, only the old-age and survivors insurance are administered entirely by federal government; the other nine are operated by the states *with federal cooperation and financial assistance*. It remains in scope and aims a national program, nonetheless, a program of assuring social liberty to the unfortunate victims of economic breakdown, illness or old age. This is a program of democracy at work as President Roosevelt first created it and later expanded it. It remains the foundation for our nation's entire system of social welfare; it is a system that the Republicans called "utopian" and "unworkable"; it is a program embedded in the framework of the country which the GOP would undermine and destroy.

• Benefits Derived •

Now let us examine the benefits (still too low and which a measure such as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill would improve) which stem from our present social security laws.

Employment security means first of all a job—but it goes further than that. It means the right of a worker to get something to live on when he has lost his job or been laid off. This unemployment insurance has saved thousands of families when wage-earners

found their incomes gone. It provides regular weekly payments and every registered worker who meets the state requirements (which in turn must conform to the Federal Social Security Act) will receive from \$5 to \$15 a week for 16 weeks—though in some states it is less.

After a man reaches 65 he is entitled to old age monthly benefits; his wife too will receive those benefits when she is 65; his children are entitled to monthly insurance aid if they are less than 18 and still in school. Should the wage-earner die, widow and children receive aid, and if he has no wife his dependent parents will receive the insurance when they are 65.

We offer this summary of our major social security history because Americans must refresh themselves now and then with the vast over-all change in the nation's social structure since the Roosevelt administration steered it out of chaos and despair. We must not grow complacent on these gains—they are far from enough. We must not accept them as milleniums—our people need and deserve far higher benefits.

It is in this light that we compare the America of today with FDR and the social security act, and the America of Hoover with no law but that of the jungle—the strong stamping out the weak, the rich eating, the poor starving. This is the stark picture Americans must recall and repledge themselves to a future that will never know such open disregard for its people. We must not empower a Dewey to lead us back to forgotten Hoovervilles!

• Mrs. Thompson of Cleveland •

A recent story that appeared in the nation's press tells the social gains of our people in warm, human terms. It was about Mrs. Mary Rex Thompson, 32, widowed wife of a Cleveland war worker. Mrs. Thompson has two children, one aged four, the other a one-year-old. She became the recipient of the one-millionth monthly insurance benefit in force under the old-age and survivors insurance program. Her first monthly check was \$58.49 and the checks will continue every month until Jerald Robert, age 1, will be 18 years old. Consider the story, think of it in terms of hundreds of thousands of Mrs. Thompsons and "Jerald Bobs."

Altogether the payments on the social security account of her husband may total \$15,000. Mr. Thompson paid \$145 in taxes over a period of 7½ years prior to his death, and his employer paid an equal amount on his account. The deep human comfort this form of social security means to Mrs. Thompson is evident in her statement to Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward, one of the three members of the Social Security Board, who came from Washington to deliver her the check.

Mrs. Thompson was unaware that she had this protection until notified of it after her husband's death. "I thought that social security was just for old age," she said. "Those monthly family payments make all the difference. They will enable me to keep my children with me and give them my personal care."

"Without them (social insurance benefits) I would have to get a job," Mrs. Thompson continued.

• A Graphic Picture •

Mrs. Thompson gets these benefits because she has children under 18 years in her care. Widows over 65 will also receive benefits



Useful work, adequate income, medical care, freedom from money worries, are the foundation of a stable economy in our country.

whether or not they have children. This is what Mrs. Woodward called a Federal family insurance program, which is now paying out monthly benefits in excess of \$220,000,000 a year.

Mrs. Woodward provided a graphic picture of the million benefits in force:

418,500 retired workers receiving \$9,846,000 a month;

122,000 wives above 65, of retired workers, receiving \$1,518,000 a month;

109,000 widows of insured workers with children under 18, receiving \$2,155,000 a month;

288,000 children under 18 of deceased or retired workers, receiving \$3,550,000 a month;

58,000 widows, 65 or over, of insured workers, getting \$1,172,000 a month;

4,500 aged dependent parents, of insured workers, who died leaving no widow or child under 18, receiving \$59,000 a month.

Glance at those figures again. They do not include the \$65,350,000 paid out to 450,000 workers who died without leaving a survivor who was immediately entitled to monthly benefits. The figures represent progress for America; they are symbols of an era which began under Roosevelt and which has still to reach its peak.

"In many families," Mrs. Woodward pointed out, "checks like these, small as they are, make the difference between normal family life for America's future citizens and the tragedy of broken homes and separation of children from their mothers and brothers and sisters."

No honest and sensible person would say that our social security system is perfect. But it is the beginning, it is the first long step toward greater benefits for more Americans. The Social Security Board has recognized the inadequacies of the legislation and has recommended to Congress that its benefits be extended to 20 million people now excluded from the social security law—people in agriculture, domestic service, small businessmen and professionals and in other noncovered employment.

The setting up of a Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) to abolish racial and minority discrimination in jobs, is

still another social security plank in the President's program, as is his political fight against the undemocratic polltax system which disfranchises millions of Negroes and poor white citizens in the South.

This nation has proved its skill, its courage, its adaptability in the face of Hitler and Hirohito's challenge. It showed that it had the machines, the energies, the people to produce miracles in planes, tanks, ships and guns. It showed that the people, faced with a life and death test, could unite behind a single purpose in a common cause—victory over fascism.

• Switching Their Votes! •

We are now, militarily, in relation to Germany, in the final stages of that struggle. The defeat of the Nazis is so imminent at this writing that it may already have been accomplished by the time you are reading these lines.

At this crucial moment in history, America must decide whether it is to move forward and win the peace through lasting security or lose it through a political blunder by putting into the presidency Mr. Dewey, who will undo all the great works of our great Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt.

We do not approach this question from the viewpoint that Dewey is a Republican and Roosevelt is a Democrat. This contest is no usual partisan struggle of Democrats *versus* Republicans, *ins* against *outs*, men against political machines. The considerations before us are the momentous ones of finishing the war militarily by crushing the armies of Germany and Japan, exterminating fascism, and solving the all-embracing problem of establishing a lasting peace. These considerations rise above narrow Party aims of winning *offices*.

There are tens of thousands of Republican voters (and eventually perhaps millions) who, recognizing this fact, are switching their votes to Roosevelt in the course of the campaign. These practical-minded citizens realize that the basic issue is that of saving the nation, not just one of restoring a Republican to the White House.

• It Will Come •

The battle of November 7 must be fought for as earnestly, as totally, as vigorously, as any campaign waged in Europe and the Pacific. The election of President Roosevelt will not come by pressing a buzzer. It will not come by sitting at home or looking hopefully out of your office window. It will not come by merely wanting FDR re-elected. It will come by doing your duty as believers in his policy of full employment, full security, lasting peace. It will come only if you work for his victory, participate in the battle.

Indolence and indifference or neglect may write the induction papers of every male child five years of age today. You must preserve his future—his very life—by registering and voting, rallying your friends, your neighbors, your community behind Roosevelt who guaranteed that child's future at Teheran, and plans and works for his security at home.

Wherever you live, whatever work you do, in whatever organization you are active, join the battle to hold the line for America and extend its promise.

Every home is a fortress for tomorrow! Every union, every plant,



Jobs, security, health, freedom from want—
all depend on the re-election of Franklin D.
Roosevelt and passage of the W-M-D Bill!

is an arsenal of America's postwar struggle! Every social, fraternal, national group, civic organization is an Army in the struggle! You are a fighter in this army. There is a job to do between now and Nov. 7. Whatever your equipment, whatever your talents, use them to the fullest. Enlist your family and fellow-worker, your store-keeper and downstairs neighbor in the Battle of the Ballot. Warn him against a tomorrow under a Dewey who likes the yesterday of Hoover.

This is a great war that must be won as decisively as that against the Axis. We dare not lose it!

So mobilize now! Act! Set your election sights for Lasting Peace, for Jobs, for Lasting Security! Re-elect our Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt!

THE END

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