October 25, 1944
2:49 p.m.

HMJr: Hello.

Operator: Arthur Sulzberger.

HMJr: Hello. Hello.

Arthur Sulzberger: Yes. Hello, Henry.

HMJr: Arthur.

S: Yeah.

HMJr: I don't know whether you noticed on page nine of your paper ....

S: No.

HMJr: It says, "Threat from Reich said to spur Nazis. Front line GI's say our talk of stern fate for vanquished keeps many from quitting." And then down at the bottom it says, "The plan of Henry Morgenthau ...." and so forth and so on. I wondered if that was the result of my talking with you Sunday. I didn't see how it could be.

S: I don't know. I sent you word that we had made the inquiry.

HMJr: Yeah.

S: But ....

HMJr: I didn't get the word.

S: Well, it only went forward to you last night.

HMJr: Oh.

S: Or it may even be this morning.

HMJr: Yeah.

S: And I -- very frankly, I had not seen this.

HMJr: Do you ....

S: No, this is UP -- couldn't be.

HMJr: Oh.

S: This is United Press, Henry.

HMJr: Oh. Oh.

S: So ....

HMJr: How was the inquiry -- what was the -- how did it come out -- the one you made?

S: I haven't gotten the answer yet.

HMJr: Oh. Oh, you just sent it?

S: Yeah, I -- as soon as you called me, I got busy and sent word.

HMJr: Oh.

S: And explained fully and asked them to see Eisenhower and get a statement ....

HMJr: Oh.

S: .... which the press room -- that I felt very certain that it had not caused any action and I hoped the General would be able to say so.

HMJr: Oh, that would be wonderful.

S: And that if he wouldn't speak for publication ....

HMJr: Yes.

S: .... but would say it privately, that I would like that too because I knew you would like to have it.

HMJr: That's right.

S: Is that right?

HMJr: Sure. Well, I thought that it might have gone and this was the answer ....

S: No.

HMJr: .... and I just couldn't believe it.

S: Well, you see, this is the United Press.

HMJr: Because I knew if you got something like that, you'd rather bury it than print it.

New York Operator: Hello.

S: Busy on here, operator. Hello? Hello?

HMJr: Well, Arthur ....

S: Yeah.

HMJr: .... anyway ....

S: Hello?

HMJr: .... I got over what I wanted.

(Interruption on wire.)

S: Just a minute, Henry, hold on 'till we get clear on this wire.

HMJr: All right.

S: Hello? Operator.

Operator: Operator.

S: Please get off of here. I'm busy on this wire.

(Further interruption)

2:59 p.m.

HMJr: Hello.

Operator: Mr. Sulzberger.

HMJr: Hello.

Operator: Go ahead.

HMJr: Arthur.

Arthur Sulzberger: Yes, Henry.

HMJr: I guess all of New York and Washington were on that wire.

S: Apparently, yeah.

HMJr: But anyway, I got what you said.

S: Right.

HMJr: And I will look forward to it.

S. Right.

HMJr: And ....

S: Right and I'll -- I'll send you a copy of the message that I sent.

HMJr: Everything all right with you?

S: Everything's fine, yes.

HMJr: That's good.

S: We're getting some very interesting repercussions to that editorial.

HMJr: You are?

S: And apparently it sort of made it a -- gave it a certain respectability in certain groups.

HMJr: You mean ....

S: I mean our endorsement.

HMJr: Oh, no question about ....

S: Yeah.

HMJr: No question about it.

S: And there's some response in that way.

HMJr: Well, I -- I think that -- you know these things and then I think Senator Ball's coming ....

S: Yes.

HMJr: .... following that was most useful.

S: Very, indeed.

HMJr: Yeah.

S: All right, old man, I'll let you hear from me.

HMJr: How do things look in the State of New York? What do you hear?

S: I think very, very much "touch and go" but I've had no recent report.

HMJr: Neither have I.

S: No.

HMJr: Okay. Bye.

S: Bye. Bye.

October 25, 1944
2:53 p.m.

Operator: Go ahead.

HMJr: Hello.

White House Operator: All right, sir.

Admiral Leahy? Mr. Morgenthau?

HMJr: In person.

L: Admiral Leahy speaking.

HMJr: Don't tell me the lunch didn't agree with you.

L: No, because it was fine. It was a grand lunch. Well, what I wanted to know is if I can send an officer over with that paper to you.

HMJr: Yes, sir.

L: The trouble was they put three zeros after each one of those numbers. They have been eliminated now so it's correct.

HMJr: (Laughs) Thank you.

L: You're quite welcome. I'll send it right over. Can you get him by the Ogpu all right?

HMJr: Is that nice? I haven't got one-third as much Ogpu around my place as you have.

L: All right. I'll send it right over.

HMJr: I'll have him -- yeah, I'll see that he gets in.

L: I'd like to see that he gets to deliver it ....

HMJr: Well, if he comes to my entrance ....

L: Yes, I'll send him there.

HMJr: Right.

L: Fine. Good bye, sir.

October 25, 1944
3:05 p.m.

TRANSPORTATION OF JEWISH REFUGEE CHILDREN TO PALESTINE

Present: Mr. Pehle
Mr. Heller
Mrs. Epstein
Mr. Schwarz
Mr. Leavitt
Mrs. Klotz

H.M.JR: What is this thing I am going to have today?

MR. PEHLE: You shouldn't have been bothered with it. I will tell you what it is. They have got some certificates from the British for the admittance into Palestine of some ten thousand people, including from France, Belgium, and Switzerland, some two thousand or three thousand children.

Now, this is the Palestinian group and they are very anxious to move into Palestine right away quick, and they want our help. Since they are friends we will certainly do what we can to help them. I just had Commander Becker over from the War Shipping, and it is very, very tight. Every bit of passenger shipping we have is being used.

H.M.JR: From where to where?

MR. PEHLE: They want Allied shipping, you see. This would be from Marseille to Palestine, and it isn't directly to save lives, it is to take these children out of France to Palestine where obviously they will be better taken care of; and they are also worried about losing their religion where they are. Some of them are being educated in the monasteries there. I told them to play that down.

MRS. KLOTZ: It doesn't mean a thing.

MR. PEHLE: It doesn't mean much. I can see why they want to use the certificates up. I think that is sound. But when you start measuring this with the war effort and the need for shipping - and Becker tells me everything we have in the way of passenger shipping is used - and it is going to be used even worse when Germany surrenders because we are going to have all those troops to bring back, and all of them to go to the Pacific--

H.M.JR: What nationality are these children?

MR. PEHLE: They are refugee children whose parents, largely, are dead, who have been taken care of in Christian homes, and in Catholic monasteries.

H.M.JR: Where were they born?

MR. PEHLE: In Germany, Austria, Poland, and all over. Some of them even in France.

MRS. KLOTZ: The best break in the world these kids would get would be in Palestine.

MR. PEHLE: Of course, and I think the orphans, particularly, ought to go to Palestine; but having to go to Palestine within the next six months I don't think is a life or death matter.

H.M.JR: Can you tell them we will look into the thing?

MR. PEHLE: Certainly, but they are very hot on it. I haven't had a chance to tell them how tough the shipping thing is, and I think we can quiet them down a little bit.

H.M.JR: I thought this was a combined group.

MR. PEHLE: JDC were here because they happened to be here anyhow, and they are financing everything. There is Heller of UPA, Mrs. Epstein of Hadassah, particularly interested in children, and Moe Leavitt and Schwarz of JDC.

(Mr. Heller, Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Schwarz, and Mr.Leavitt enter the conference)

H.M.JR: Mr. Heller, have you had to sing any more for a bum supper?

MR. HELLER: I hope you saw your boy successfully after you left Chicago?

H.M.JR: Yes.

MR. HELLER: I hope everything goes well with him.

H.M.JR: Well, I am glad to listen.

MR. HELLER: Well, we are here for something with which we are sure in advance that you have the greatest sympathy.

We have received from the British Administration ten thousand three hundred visas for Palestine, in addition to those that had already been issued. And they were given as the result of a great deal of urging on the part of the Jewish agency in Palestine that there were large numbers of people who need immediate transportation to Palestine.

In a succession of cables that have come to us and to various other agencies, we were told first of the distribution of the visas; to the Balkans, five thousand, others distributed around the Orient.

But the main item in which we are interested is that of thirty-two hundred of them which were assigned to France and Switzerland. There are more than eight thousand children in private homes, in monasteries, some of whom are in Switzerland as a result of the arrangement that was made through the War Refugee Board by the JDC, and whom we have promised to take out as quickly as we can. A large number of the children are orphans without any permanent place of residence. And in Palestine they want to take in fifteen hundred of these children a month, first, until they have thirty-two hundred of them in.

Our primary difficulty is in the matter of transportation, as it always has been. And it was our hope that the Government would find it possible, under present conditions, to assist by making some type of transportation available for these children.

We know some things have been done in the past to help under conditions which were not precisely similar, but not too dissimilar, and we had a talk this morning with Mr. Pehle and went into considerable length into the matter.

It was our hope, Mr. Morgenthau, that it might be possible, perhaps, to speak to the President about this. Also, with your assistance if you thought it was a wise thing to do, we have a letter which has been prepared to address to him, asking him to help us or to give some Directive in regard to this transportation.

H.M.JR: Well, this Refugee Committee is set up for that purpose, by him, to take that very important problem off his shoulders, and so far I think we have been able to handle the thing without referring anything to him.

So I think between Mr. Hull and Mr. Stimson and myself, and Mr. Pehle, we ought to be able to handle a matter of this kind.

MR. HELLER: If you think it is advisable to proceed in that way, we will certainly do so.

H.M.JR: I wouldn't take it up with the President because - well, with three ranking Cabinet officers and Mr. Pehle on the job, if we can't do it we ought to all be fired. Now, I don't mean that we could do it tomorrow, but it is a thing - it is one thing to turn ourselves inside out to save lives, I think, which we have done again and again, and will continue to do, but it is another thing to move people, children, who at least have a shelter over their heads and who, I take it, are getting three good meals a day.

MR. SCHWARZ: We are not certain of that. The information is that they are not being properly cared for, neither in the way of food nor medical treatment, and certainly not in the way of education or training.

H.M.JR: To be frank, with the war going the way it is, shipping is tighter right now than it has been, almost, at any time. After all, we have American troops waiting on the German border for shells which they can't get for lack of shipping. You have to weigh that against thirty-five hundred children who are not in danger of dying.

MR. PEHLE: Mr. Secretary, since I saw them this morning I had Commander Becker over from the War Shipping Administration to go into the shipping thing and he will check into it very carefully. He was very helpful to us in the past. He knows the thing very well.

He did say, however, that shipping is terribly tight, worse now than before, and that even with the end of the German war it will get worse, because of all the troops there who have to be brought back, all the troops that have to go to the Pacific. And on passenger ships, of course, even much more so than on cargo ships, everything that is available is being used, and the only possibility is that they find some ship that, for some reason, isn't being used. But right now he says it is very, very tough to get shipping.

MR. LEAVITT: Is there any traffic at all in the Mediterranean?

MR. PEHLE: He is checking that, whether there is traffic that could be combined with something coming back.

H.M.JR: We will do everything that is humanly possible to do, but I don't want you people to think it is something we might do over night. As I say, the military situation - it is one thing to go to the military and ask them to take care of some of the refugees around Bari, or something

like that, where it is a matter of life and death and they are starving, but in this case I think we will all have to be a little bit patient.

MR. HELLER: We wouldn't want to press beyond anything that would go along with the military situation, of course.

H.M.JR: I understand, but we will press just as hard as we can, I give you my assurance, up to the point that it is a question of moving these children or moving some ammunition. And you want the ammunition to go first.

MR. HELLER: Of course we do.

H.M.JR: That is what the situation is. And Mr. Pehle already, since you have seen him, has seen somebody from the War Shipping Board. I can assure you that all of us will work very hard on it.

MR. HELLER: I am sure you see the precise situation. These children are all orphans, so far as we know, whose parents are dead. The parents in most cases put their children in these places and were themselves then deported. They were children taken out of their hands by friendly people who tried to save them, but they are there now without their parents and without anyone who is near them who has any specific interest in them. Of course, that has a tremendous emotional appeal, I think, to every person.

H.M.JR: These are the same five thousand we have been trying for two years to get out of Switzerland?

MR. LEAVITT: They would include a great many of them.

MR. HELLER: And in France, in homes.

H.M.JR: I would love to see them playing out here in the streets of Washington.

MR. HELLER: So would we all.

MRS.EPSTEIN: There is a place ready to receive them. That is why we are so eager to get them there.

H.M.JR: And I am sure Palestine will take wonderful care of them.

MRS.EPSTEIN: Oh, yes.

MR. HELLER: They would cease to be a problem then, so far as the world is concerned. They have a thorough plan for them.

MRS.EPSTEIN: We had thought that perhaps the amount of shipping required to bring relief material to them in France might be - there might be some kind of a balance struck. Of course, after they are in Palestine there is no more relief problem.

H.M.JR: I would be very much afraid to bring it up. If it was brought too much to their attention they might stop it. I assure you the shipping is very tight.

MRS.EPSTEIN: Even I know, from the papers.

H.M.JR: If food is getting to them in reasonable quantities, my advice is to leave well enough alone, having Mr. Pehle press continuously to try to find a way to get them out of France into Palestine. And he never lets up.

MRS.EPSTEIN: Thank you, Mr. Morgenthau.

MR. HELLER: Thank you, sir.

October 25, 1944
4:12 p.m.

Operator: I'll get Henry -- Mr. Kaiser on and call you back.

HMJr: Yes.

4:14 p.m.

HMJr: Hello.

Henry J. Kaiser: Hello.

HMJr: Henry Morgenthau.

K: Yeah. Henry Kaiser.

HMJr: (Laughs) Well, Henry to Henry.

K: All right. Well, I went over everything. I was there two hours.

HMJr: Good heavens!

K: And I didn't -- of course, didn't read it. He said there were some things that were wrong in it.

HMJr: Yeah.

K: And I said of course it was long and probably would require lots of -- would require some eliminations and naturally would require some corrections and -- but I don't think they're going to do it Friday.

HMJr: No, I gather not.

K: And I think that they -- that they will take the part that I talked about ....

HMJr: Yeah.

K: .... maybe, and then they'll reiterate it in yours.

HMJr: I see.

K: See the point?

HMJr: I see.

K: That is as I see the plan right now.

HMJr: Yeah.

K: And that's as they -- and that was the way it was indicated to me.

HMJr: I see.

K: It would be reiterated.

HMJr: Well, that's that much better.

K: Well, of course, the more you repeat a thing, the more people finally believe it.

HMJr: Yeah.

K: Is that right?

HMJr: That's right. Did he say where he'd give this job speech?

K: No. He -- the way I -- I rather got it that there is something else in Chicago now ....

HMJr: Yeah.

K: Of course, I couldn't be too inquisitive.

HMJr: No.

K: And -- I rather got the idea it would be Boston.

HMJr: Yeah. Well, just as long as he gives it.

K: Well, you have work to do on it and keep on working on it.

HMJr: I will.

K: Because -- and then you'll have to do this -- I think you'll have to make some alterations and so forth.

HMJr: Yeah.

K: And I again called Sam and pointed out that the reason for inserting this was to take all the sting out of any part of it.

HMJr: Yeah. Yeah.

K: Because it gives an alternate.

HMJr: Yeah.

K: I just talked to him fifteen or twenty minutes ago.

HMJr: Good.

K: And I talked to Anna about it as well.

HMJr: Yeah.

K: And I had it with me.

HMJr: Yeah.

K: (Laughs)

HMJr: Okay.

K: I don't know of anything else I could do. Do you know?

HMJr: Not a thing. Take care of yourself.

K: All right.

HMJr: I'll see you after the election on your post-war plans.

K: That's right.

HMJr: All right.

K: That's right. Now, if there's anything else, why, you let me know.

HMJr: I'll do that.

K: I just -- you know what I think about it.

HMJr: I know.

K: But I don't sign them.

HMJr: Well ....

K: Or give them, do I?

HMJr: Good luck.

K: All right.

HMJr: Good bye.

K: Thank you. Good bye.

Material on Business: 25

October 25, 1944.

Dear Mrs. ~~Pratt~~ Trude

Thank you very much for the material which you were so good as to send me by Special Delivery. This arrived promptly yesterday, and I am most appreciative of your courtesy in seeing that I received it.

With thanks again, and cordial regards,

Sincerely,

(Signed) H. Morgenthau, Jr.

Mrs. Trude M. Pratt,
245 West 11th Street,
New York 14, New York.

GEF/dbs

From Miss Pratt, N.Y.C.

10/25/44

Material on Business:

Pamphlets

"Round Up of Campaign Facts"..page 5, 6.

"The Wealth of Our Nation."

"The Democratic Digest"....June July 1944..page 4
October, November..Page 12

"Men At Work."

"For What the Hell Should We Apologize."..page 4

"The Record Shines Through." ..Pages 12, 13, 17, 23, 36.

"Business Men for Roosevelt."

Mimeograph Sheet.."Know All The Answers"..~~pa~~ # 9, #10, #11, #17

Speeches

"Why Business is for Roosevelt."

"Full Employment."

Missing when rec'd by Secy "Jobs for All" (Robt. Wagner's October 5th speech)

The Following Press Research Releases:

Volume 1 #3, page 4, 5

Volume 1 #5 page 4, 5

Volume 1 #7 entire release.

Volume 1 #10 page 4

Volume 1 #12("Reconversion.")

Volume 1 #11 (Who's for Full Employment?")

Volume 1 # 18(Full Employ ment.)

Missing when the material had left from Secy

Memorandum for Speech on Business

1- As we see this speech its primary function is to get votes. It must be of interest and importance to the woman who is buying the food for tomorrow's dinner, to the small manufacturer, to the soldier and to the big businessman.

2- We think this speech should be completely on the offensive. We see no need for any rebuttals to the Dewey mouthings regarding bureaucracy, overmuch paper work, government interference.

To speak to the businessmen of America is to speak to the American people. For to deal with the problems of our businessmen is to deal with our food, our clothing, our shelter, our insurance, our recreation. The prospects for profit of the businessmen of America are the direct responsibility of the whole country --- of government, labor, the farmers --- for we are all of us the consumers of the products and services which business provides. At the same time the welfare of the American people --- and in fact the welfare of the

peoples of the whole world --- is a matter of vital concern to the businessmen of America. The welfare of the peoples of the world is the measure of the markets for the products and services of business. That is why business has a direct stake in the standard of living of the American people and of the peoples of the whole world.

If there is any one idea that has become thoroughly accepted as basic in business thinking as a result of our experience of the last fifteen years it is that jobs and profits are two sides of the same coin. Men and women working produce income for themselves, profits for business, and the bigger their income, the bigger the income of all of us, the better the profits of business and the higher the purchasing power of the people. The more we make and the more of what we make people can buy --- the higher our standard of living.

I know that in this campaign there are some who spout with longing for the dear old days. But these are not businessmen. Because businessmen are hard headed, businessmen are realists, businessmen know that we live in a new world, a world being shaped by this great liberating war in which we are engaged and which we are winning because of the wholehearted support, direction, management and guidance of businessmen. Why talk about the dear old days when the top we could reach in the value of total national income was (1929 figure)? In 1944 we're going to double that. In 1929 the value of the annual

product of the average worker in American industry was $_____. In 1944 the value is $_____.

There are too many people who take it for granted that the peak in national income is being reached in 1944. I don't think so and I don't think that the businessmen of America by and large think so. If we're going to have a national product of 186-billion dollars or so this year, there's no reason why we cannot look forward in the years to come to a national income of 200-billion dollars and more as we go into full peacetime production for America and to fill our orders from the rest of the world.

No one can call war a blessing but it can be a tremendous educational and liberating force. This war has taught American business and American industry how to raise its sights, how to shoot for higher goals, toward further horizons than we ever dreamed possible in 1929 or in 1939.

American business has learned not only how great is its strength but also how deep is its responsibility. Surely no man in America can deny the tremendous role which business and businessmen have played not only in the production of our armaments and of our civilian supply, but also in the management of our entire war effort. Just as men like Andrew J. Higgins and J. Louis Reynolds of this committee and Henry Kaiser have shown what businessmen can do in expanding our production and enlarging our horizons, so under the leadership of one of the great business genuises of our time, Donald Nelson, businessmen

have directly participated in the management of our production for war. The job, that American business, American industry and American production have done is keenly appreciated by our Allies.

Use a Churchill quote regarding our production.

Use a Stalin quote regarding our production.

At the peak of our ill-fated boom days of 1929 we reached a national income of $_____. We exceeded that figure in 1930? But in 1944 we have a national income of 186-billion dollars.

We know now that with our increased productivity, with the greater output per man working, we can supply all the goods the American people bought in 1939 and still have somewhere between 15 to 20 million people out of work. The question is - can we in peacetime, continue our wartime production levels and maintain and increase -- yes, increase -- our wartime incomes?

We can do it. We have the plant, the machinery, the skill, the manpower, the know-how -- and above all, we have the will and the clear vision of a new and greater prosperity ahead.

From an article by Andrew J. Higgins in the November 1944 issue of "Reader's Scope", a monthly magazine.

"Can anyone question our power to produce more goods than any nation ever did in all the world's history? Our tanks and guns and ships are part of the answer. Only part -- for the thrilling fact is that with this stupendous armament production we have actually kept civilian goods output up to the highest peacetime levels. Imagine it -- in the midst of the greatest war of all time Americans have been eating better, living better than ever

before. Now turn our wartime factories to making cars and refrigerators and washing machines and radios and building new homes. Can anyone question our ability to supply the goods?

"But what about demand? Will people be able to buy all these products pouring out of our farms and factories? The businessmen's answer is emphatically 'Yes!' For Americans have more money saved than ever before. Our servicemen and women are assured of mustering-out pay and unemployment insurance. Our war workers who may be temporarily displaced while industry is converting back to peacetime production, are covered by insurance which will tide them over with pay. There will be no street corner vendors, no bonus marches, no breadlines, no depression. Instead, American industry faces a pent-up demand which it will not be able to satisfy for years to come.

"What is more, we are assured of a world-wide demand for our products for a generation or longer. The devastation of the war must be cured by rebuilding, feeding, clothing the peoples of the world. American business will do the lion's share of that job. But this time we are going further. We shall not only help the world get back on its feet, we are going to help these peoples to become bigger customers for our products than they ever were before. That is because the United Nations have committed themselves to liberating every corner of the world and raising the standard of living of all peoples.

"Just as confidence in the future is necessary for the businessman, so security is an essential for the consuming public.

We are going to enter the postwar world with our people sure of old age pensions, unemployment insurance, the right to organize and bargain collectively, and the ending of economic discriminations. That is going to mean readiness to buy -- buy new clothes, new cars, new homes, more food, better vacations, greater leisure, higher education. All this is good for business.....

"We are heading toward a new world in which a rising standard of living in this country -- and all over the globe -- is part of our national policy. That means customers -- ready and willing to buy goods. And that's why business will be good."

Roosevelt said in 1936: "I believe, I have always believed, and I always will believe in private enterprise as the backbone of economic well-being in the United States."

When we get to talking in technical terms and using economic phrases, we sometimes forget just what is involved when we talk for example of our markets. You and I and the 130 million people in America and the two billions elsewhere in the world are the markets for the products of our industry, of our farms and mines just as we are also the markets for the products of other countries. When the American housewife walks into her corner grocery and can order a wider selection of foods, better, healthier, more varied foods, from our country's farms and processors and from other countries too, she and her family represent an expanding market. When your child and mine can have good solid shoes and socks and clothes with frequent changes of linen, with the variety and styling that our young people demand, that represents an expanding market for the products of our mills, our farms and our factories.

When we can move millions of American families out of slum dwellings and sub-standard farm houses into new, modern, electrified homes with the latest in kitchen, plumbing, refrigeration and heating facilities, that represents an expanding market.

But we have still other markets to serve -- the huge foreign markets whose demands will be greater by ten or twenty times than they ever were in our history.

Use Stalin quote regarding Soviet need for our products in postwar period.

Remember that abroad they are going to need our steel and our aluminum and our copper products, they're going to need our machine tools and our machines, our automobiles and trucks, our typewriters and our radios, our wheat and our beef and our cotton.

I see American business in the years to come engaging in a foreign trade in which our exports will reach 25 or 30-billion dollars a year and with tariff barriers down and our income expanding, I see our imports from abroad rising steadily, going up constantly and increasing as the nations abroad begin to repay the long term credits with which we will assure this foreign trade.

Now how are we going to make this market secure? I think we shall do it by making sure that every man and woman who wants to work has a job at which to work productively. I think we're going to do it by making sure that everyone who is out of work and who is willing to work is not reduced to beggary or apple-selling, through the operation of a national unemployment insurance system.

We are going to do it by increasing the security of the American people, and particularly are we going to do it by adopting as our national policy a rising wage level. I do not subscribe to the idea that we have reached our top in production and I refuse to entertain the suggestion that we have reached our top in national income. To assure markets for our products we need the widest possible distribution of that income and that means that we must all work for higher wage levels which will assure a market for the products of our industries and our farms.

That national policy will guarantee to the farmers of this country a huge and eager market and fair prices for their products.

In this new world we are creating small business has a particular role to play. If you want to understand the function of small business in our economy, just think of those charts the drug stores display with the blood system of the body. Those tiny capillaries that carry the blood to every cell of the body are just as important as the big veins and arteries. If the capillaries stop functioning the supply system is disrupted, limbs and organs shrivel and the body weakens and dies. That's how I see small business in our body economic. Without small business our nation could not have been built and it could not today exist. Not only is small business the supplier of bigger enterprises -- in peace as well as war -- but small business is the chief market of big enterprise.

Frankly, I think that the problem of small business has been made a political football when as a matter of fact we are dealing

here with the major sector of our business community without which big business in this country cannot exist.

It is small business which has the big job of making our post-war economy function. We know that big factories can produce more, we must make it possible for our smaller plants to keep up their wartime rate of production. The task of distributing more goods than the American people have ever consumed is going to be the special job of small business - wholesalers and retailers and small service establishments -- as well as bigger business.

Small business has the greatest opportunity for expansion and for prosperity in the postwar years. With rising national income and growing consuming power, with the new products we see, on the horizon, small manufacturers, small wholesalers, small retailers, small service establishments are going to blossom and grow. They will give employment to hundreds of thousands of our boys who are fighting for us today.

For the protection of the American consumer and the American businessman, both small and large, the government through its anti-trust activities makes it possible for small business to exist and flourish together with large enterprises.

Introduce aid to business generally of various government agencies including:

RFC
Department of Commerce
Smaller War Plants Corp.
Surplus Disposal, etc.

The aid which the smaller War Plants Corporation has extended to small factories should be carried over into the period of re-conversion providing technical assistance, production engineering,

loans, re-financing, etc. Also endorse S.1913 which makes available technical assistance in operation of small business -- financing, guidance in location, inventory control, marketing, promotion, advertising, etc., services which Department of Agriculture gives the farmer. Big business can buy the specialized services of trained people. We must make similar services available to smaller business.

This is not regimentation. A man always has a right to fail in business. In the years between 1900 and 1939 some 16,000,000 businesses opened their doors and some 14,000,000 closed them. (TNEC Monograph 26 on Problems of Small Business.) We cannot afford this waste. We must distribute more goods at lower costs to more people. That means we must all help to make business more efficient, and since most business is small business, especially in distribution, business must not be the bottleneck in the expanding economy.

The return to peace will open the doors of opportunity wide to new business and the expansion of old enterprises. Take our export business alone. At the peak, in (year) it reached $_____. In our first peacetime year I estimate it will reach $_____. It is going to mount higher as other countries begin to expand their markets for our goods, as they start trading their products with us and with the rest of the world.

Of course there are some who don't share this optimism and this vision of America's future. One of our leading aircraft manufacturers not so long ago announced his postwar program in these terms: "Shut the damn plants down".

And not so long ago one of our leading manufacturers of motor cars speaking before the National Association of Manufacturers took the perspective that we can look forward to a peacetime income of 100-billion dollars a year. We know how that at that figure we are going to have an unemployment of close to 20 million people in this country. I don't know how much of a market for his cars this manufacturer expects with unemployment at that level. But I think we can assure him of a much better market and far more customers for his cars. When we had 15 million people unemployed in the United States, we sold only ___?___ motor cars. When we cut that unemployment in half we sold___?___ motor cars. When we practically eliminate unemployment and double our national income of 1939, I think that we have a market for ___?___ motor cars.

These men of little faith in American industry and in America's future are going to meet a challenge from the American people, from the small businessmen of America andfrom the veterans of this war.

These men of little faith will have to justify themselves to their own stockholders, to their own boards of directors.

There are far bigger profits ahead for American business than these men dream of. There's much greater income ahead for the American people than these men seem willing or anxious to admit.

But we know that business is going to be good because we are taking the steps that will insure its well-being. We are going to make it possible for the veterans of this war to go into business if they want to -- and we are going to help them make good.

We are going to help them by helping to raise the standard of living of the American people and also the living standards of the rest of the world.

I assure you that no businessman in the United States is going broke today because of the taxes he has to pay. Yet business is paying the highest taxes in its history. Taxes are big or small only in relation to national income. If business is good, if profits are high, if wages are rising, if prices are kept at a competitive level, then taxes are not a burden. Let the philosophy of the Hoover era take hold and the dog-eat-dog attitude come back into business and the anti-labor lords sit in the places of power, then in truth the American people will have a heavy burden of taxes.

The same is true of our debt. In a shrinking economy our national debt can pull us down to disaster. In an expanding economy the national debt becomes lighter, and lighter to carry and pay off.

\#\#\#\#\#\# \#\#\#\#\#\# \#\#\#\#\#\#

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Actions Speak Louder Than Words!

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ROUND-UP OF CAMPAIGN FACTS

What the Democratic Administration Has Done

- To Save Our Country from Foreign Foes
- To Increase Prosperity—for All
- To Insure Rights of Free Citizens for All Americans
- To Assure Jobs for EVERYBODY
- To Establish a Secure Post-War World

Democratic National Committee

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TALK IS CHEAP!

Talk and promises come easy — especially to Republicans in election years.

But the American people want action.

From their experience they know they can expect performance from the Democratic Party.

They know that facts and figures don't lie.

Here, in brief, are the facts and figures on one of the greatest success stories of all time—the story of a nation that found new strength, new courage, and new hope under an inspired Democratic leadership dedicated to the welfare of *all* the people.

What Hurts the Farmer Hurts Everybody!

Three Republican administrations watched the farmer sink deeper and deeper into debt and the depression "blues" . . . and did nothing.

Farm debts grew bigger and bigger . . . farm incomes smaller and smaller.

In 1929, at the peak of Republican "prosperity," the net income of American farmers was less than $7,000,000,000.

By 1932, under Hoover's policies—or want of policies, it had fallen to $2,000,000,000—down by more than two-thirds!

At the same time the precious topsoil on millions of acres was being washed away, or blown away in spreading Dust Bowls.

All of this, said the Republicans, was an "Act of God." Nothing could be done about it. It would be wicked for counter-measures to be taken by any public agencies, the instruments of a free people's will.

It was up to the farmer to stop floods and the spreading Dust Bowls. If his income shrank and he fell into debt, that was his own fault. If he lost his farm through foreclosure, that was just too bad.

What Harding-Coolidge-Hoover couldn't do for the farmer, President Roosevelt's Administration did.

All Time High!

Between 1932 and 1939, farm income *doubled*. And by 1943, stimulated by Democratic policies, farm income reached an all-time high of $14,000,000,000.

The Administration energetically attacked the farmer's problems:

★ Between 1932 and 1942, the Government loaned $2,500,000,000 to American farmers.

★ The burden of farm interest was cut in half . . . interest on Federal loans was reduced from 10% to 5% and since 1937 to 4%.

★ Farm mortgage debts have been cut by $2,000,000,000.

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Even the face of the land itself was improved and brighte the Roosevelt Administration.

★ More than 540,000 miles of hard-surfaced roads were bu nine years of Democratic Administration—almost *doub* Republican record in the preceding nine years.

★ 2,000,000 farms have been electrified since President R velt took office—*three times as many as during the* *previous Republican Administrations.*

★ Over 30,000,000 acres of eroded and depleted land wer claimed and saved—through a program which included estation and the building of more than 350,000 flood-con dams and reservoirs, many of them producing electric po and water for irrigation.

Faith That Paid Off

Because the Democratic Administration has faith in the Americ farmer—and has backed up that faith with the most effective far program in history—this is what happened . . .

—In a single decade of Roosevelt Administration, crop yield increased over 25% per acre.

—Farm incomes were raised to parity with city incomes.

—When the war came, the American farmer was able to keep this the best-fed nation and to make ours the best-fed arm in the world!

ho Hurt Business . . . and Who Saved It?

Do you remember the great depression of 1929, brought on by ee Republican Administrations?

Do you remember how business begged for help when

—32,000 businesses went bankrupt in one year?

— 5,102 banks closed for a loss of $3,259,658,000?

—15,000,000 were jobless and penniless?

In 1933 . . . thanks to Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover . . . millions f American people were broke. Scarcely any business could borrow noney enough to keep going. Bankers—their confidence shattered by Hoover—were afraid to lend money.

The Government Invests in the People

The Roosevelt Administration *saved* Business and the system of Private Enterprise. The Federal Government stepped in—and invested money in the welfare of the American people. The Government invested money in materials to build roads, public buildings, bridges, dams, and new homes to take the place of slums. This made business for the industries hardest hit by the depression—the industries that, in normal times, make heavy equipment for new factories, railroads, and so on. This new business created jobs. The workers on such jobs, along with others employed on public works, spent their money for food and shelter and clothes, thus making more business and more jobs.

The Government bought unsaleable stocks of food and gave it—or sold it at low prices—to the people who could not afford to buy. This money went to the farmers who spent it in the stores, thus creating more business and more jobs.

The Government provided direct relief and work relief for those who could find no jobs in private enterprise. This money, too, was spent by people, making new business all over the country.

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This is what the Government loaned business directly—th
the Reconstruction Finance Corporation:

—Almost $4,000,000,000 to the banks to help them ba
their feet.

—Almost $1,000,000,000 to the railroads.

—More than $151,000,000 to the insurance companies.

To little business the R.C.F. loaned $1,290,000,000.

In ten years, 11,600 small businesses were helped and the e
bankruptcy came to an end.

Undoing the Work of the 'Great Engineer'

Business and industry began the difficult up-hill pull from
abyss into which they had been dumped by the Great Engineer.
duction of goods for industrial use rose from $1.5 billion in 193
$6.9 billion in 1940—almost a five-fold increase.
Production of goods for consumer use increased *by half*—fr
$42.4 billion in 1933 to $65.7 billion in 1940.
In addition the Roosevelt Administration initiated:

—Laws eliminating cut-throat competition.

—A new era of Labor-Management cooperation.

—Measures to curtail the paralyzing power of giant monopoli
and cartels.

All business—*old* and *new*—*big* and *small*—has been restored t
activity and health under the Democratic Administration, a firm an
energetic supporter of all legitimate enterprise.

Making Jobs . . . and Protecting Them

In September, 1944, General Eisenhower broadcast the following message: "From this battlefront American fighting troops send their grateful thanks to the workers of America for having made this the best equipped fighting force in all history."

In 1932, the Hoover Administration had driven 15,000,000 of these same American workers to the breadlines . . . and was hounding and outlawing those who were organizing to better their lot. The achievements of the Democratic Administration in the field of labor since 1933 account for our progress.

This is how it was done:

★ By guaranteeing the worker's right to organize and bargain collectively.

★ By putting a floor under wages and a ceiling on working hours.

★ By abolishing the sweatshop and child labor.

★ By establishing Government machinery to enforce these laws.

★ By insuring workers against want and suffering through old-age insurance, unemployment insurance, and aid to the crippled, needy, and blind.

★ By setting up a vast slum clearance and low-cost housing program.

Today, the average factory worker is earning $43 a week, an all-time high.

Republican economic policies were designed — to quote Calvin Coolidge — for the "fostering and protection of large aggregations of private wealth."

Democratic economic policies are designed—to quote President Roosevelt—so that "No American need ever again be hungry or cold or in want."

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Getting Organized for Victory

As far back as 1935 the Roosevelt Administration began strengthening this country's defenses to meet the rising Fascist menace abroad. The first step was the rebuilding of a U. S. Merchant Navy. To replace the rusty, undersized merchant marine we inherited after twelve years of Republican rule. And so—at the President's request—the Congress passed the Merchant Marine Act in 1935. There

—1,800 merchant ships went down the ways in 1943 (in 1935 we built *just 7 ships*).

—2,000 more ships will be launched this year.

This is the famed Bridge of Ships which kept our armies and those of our allies supplied with fighting equipment. This is the Bridge of Ships that has made Lend-Lease so vital a contribution to Victory.

Enough and On Time!

The same planning—early enough, sound enough—went into the entire program of war production . . . of building the Army and Navy . . . of producing food and raw material for all our war needs.

★ American industry produced twice as much in 1944 as at the peak of the 1929 "boom" . . .

★ The goal of 50,000 airplanes a year set by President Roosevelt in 1940—and sneered at by Dewey—was passed within a year . . . more than 100,000 airplanes will roll off the production lines this year.

★ The U. S. Navy is today the biggest and most powerful in the world . . . our Army is the biggest and best equipped in our history . . . our far-ranging Air Force has no match in the world, in any category.

★ America's farm program, planned and guided by the Democratic Administration, was geared to the needs of national defense long before Pearl Harbor . . . our farmers were ready with substitutes for many things formerly imported—soy beans, peanuts, hemp, etc., to replace products from the South Pacific and elsewhere.

The foresight and preparedness of our present administration made this country strong and confident . . . ready to strike back with a powerful counter-attack when our enemies opened fire on us.

Protection at Home, Too

The battle on the home front was also won.

Inflation, usually one of war's great evils, was checked by

. . . Price Control, to hold down run-away prices on all essential commodities.

. . . Rationing, to assure everybody a fair share of available civilian goods.

. . . Wage stabilization.

. . . Equitable taxation.

. . . Prevention of profiteering.

. . . War against black markets.

In terms of prices charged during the last war, Government planning has saved the American people $87,000,000,000 in this war. . . .

Or $169 per person since Pearl Harbor—at a cost of only $1.82 each—for an individual net gain of $167.18.

The Battle for the People's Rights

On another sector of the home front, careful preparation won the day. In the last war this country had a fit of hysteria about "aliens." During that hysteria, large sections of the American people suffered an invasion of their basic civil rights—organized labor, various religious and minority groups.

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★ In 1940, all aliens were registered, which protected aliens and put the finger on enemy aliens. . . . Nearly 5 aliens were registered. Of these, 946,410 were cla 'enemy aliens'. . . . By the end of 1943, the Departm Justice had found only 9,000 of these dangerous enoug interned for the duration.

★ The Fair Employment Practices Committee was estab to implement and protect the rights of all minorities . . . has enabled 1,335,682 Negroes to get war jobs . . . and become a permanent body if the efforts of the Demo forces win out.

★ Labor gave up none of its rights—except the right to s . . . which was relinquished voluntarily.

Under President Roosevelt, all the people are protected in all rights, *all* the time.

Unprecedented steps have been taken to safeguard the welfar the families of all Americans, men and women, serving in the arm forces.

—Soldier's pay was raised from $35 to $50 a month.

—Modest but adequate allotments were provided for depe ents.

And Our Way of Life Kept Improving

In spite of the extraordinary demands made upon us by the grea est war of history, careful planning made it possible for our standar of living to rise *during the war.*

National income—wage, salaries, returns to farmers, shopkeepers and businessmen—has reached a total of $178,000,000,000—the highest in our history, and the highest in the history of the world.

G. I. Joe—First in Peace

As far back as January, 1943, the present Administration began focusing public attention on the problems of the returning G. I. Six months later, President Roosevelt spoke to the nation about the soldier—the man who has been "compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us."

In that speech, the President proposed a program that would ease the veteran over the first hurdle of readjustment to civilian life, suggesting specific ways to help the returning soldier find his place economically in society.

The President's address dealt first with mustering-out pay. Acting on his suggestion, the Congress passed a bill on January 26, 1944, to provide graduated payment of sums from $100 to $300 to all discharged veterans, depending upon length of service.

The remainder of the President's plan was incorporated in the bill now known as the G. I. Bill of Rights—passed by the Congress on June 14, 1944. Here's what your boy is entitled to:

★ If unemployed, he can get $20 a week up to 52 weeks.

★ If he wants to go back to school, he gets $500 a year for tuition—expenses for books and lab fees—and $50 a month to live on if he's single. If he has dependents, he gets further allowances.

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★ If disabled in line of duty, he gets a real opportunity to
a trade or profession of his own choosing. The Ve
Administration will take care of practically all his exp
including $80 a month for subsistence if single—an
married veterans, $90 a month, plus $5 for each child.

★ And—of course—complete medical care.

In addition, this Bill provides for financial help to soldiers g
into business or farming. For example—

★ He can get a guarantee of 50% of loans up to $2,000 to
used for the purchase of business property, a farm, or to
equipment, or to be used for the construction or purch
of a home.

The Administration is already setting aside lands and providi
practical assistance to veterans who want to farm.

. . . And for the G. I. looking for a job, there is the Board of Ve
eran's Placement Service set up by the Government. This Board w
secure priority on jobs in many industries—and will take an ene
getic part in the Government's planning for full employment i
Post-War, U. S. A.

Practical Democracy at Work

Equally important for the entire Nation is the War Department's demobilization plan for releasing men from the armed services after Germany's surrender.

Once military needs have been met, *demobilization will take place in accordance with the wishes of the men and women in the armed forces.* That's a new high in practical democracy.

The War Department sent experts into the field to obtain a cross-section of the thinking of enlisted men. And on the basis of majority opinion, the Demobilization Plan was worked out.

In war and in peace, America's fighting men and women hold an A-1 priority in our Government's concern.

anizing the Peace

t time, the peace was born *after* the war—*and died!*
is time, we are preparing for peace as we prepared for war—
e the event.
his time, a lasting peace is being forged in the fire of war itself
because of the foresight, the wise and experienced leadership of present Administration. Its goal is peace and prosperity for all!
America's present foreign policy goes back to March 4, 1933—to
esident Roosevelt's first Inaugural Address. In that speech the
esident formulated a new approach to foreign nations—The Good
eighbor Policy—the opposite of Dollar Diplomacy and "Yankee
mperialism."

Ten years later, September 17, 1943, the President went even
urther in this direction: *"The policy of the Good Neighbor has shown such success in the hemisphere of the Americas that its extension to the whole world seems to be the next logical step."*

Even before the words were spoken, the President had acted to give substance to the idea—

★ The Atlantic Charter—with its clear statement of the Four Freedoms—began the job of uniting all freedom-loving people in a mighty United Nations force to crush our fascist enemies.

★ At Teheran, the leaders of the three great allies mapped out the plan of final attack upon Fortress Europe—and it is working—working brilliantly. At Teheran, they mapped out also a plan for peacetime cooperation—a practical and integrated plan that will work. It is based upon President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy.

★ At Quebec, in September this year, with the end of Nazi Germany in view, emphasis shifted to full-scale planning for the knockout war against Japan.

And these post-war plans are not just paper plans. They already have flesh and bones—

★ *November 1943*—Thirty-three United Nations and eleven associated nations met in Atlantic City under the aegis of UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Ad-

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ministration). On a global scale, they laid out a p
relieve suffering and devastation in war-swept
work of the UNRRA will be vital to the restora
nomic life abroad—thus helping to avoid post-wa

★ *July 1, 1944*—Forty-four free nations gathered at
Woods, New Hampshire. Their aim: to obtain st
currencies on the world exchange.
Why?
Well, if each nation's money has a stable value, pe
engage in foreign trade without fear of being paid in
likely to change value at the drop of a hat. And if nat
trade freely, industry boom.

★ *August 8, 1944*—The United States and Britain reac
accord on oil problems. Of is important to almos
industry in the world. Nations have gone to war ov
But in this agreement—both countries are assured
share of the world's oil supplies at agreed prices.

★ *September, 1944*—At Dumbarton Oaks, the Allies m
determine: the kind of peace and the kind of world
organization we want.

What All This Means on Main Street and R. F. D. No. 1

The business of these conferences may seem far removed from
daily concerns. But let's see.
What is needed for post-war prosperity—your prosperity?

★ First, a sound and enduring peace—friendship with
allies.
Why?
Not only because every decent human being wants to live
peace . . . but also because industry and business need a stable
world if they are to expand. And business expansion means
jobs—more and more jobs.

★ Second—a helping hand to devastated lands and friendly
neighbors.
Why?
Because our prosperity depends on whether people abroad
can buy our products or not. If they slump into depression,
we follow them. If they prosper, we prosper.

★ Third—preparing at home for full employment—cooperation among Government, Industry, and Labor.
Why?
Because that's what free enterprise really means today. Any other interpretation of 'free enterprise' means anarchy and chaos—cut-throat competition—overproduction in one field and underproduction in another.
The Democratic way spells prosperity.

Post-War, U.S.A.

What about the third requisite for peace and plenty—prosperity for all?

In his message to Congress in January, 1944, President Roosevelt gave the answer:

"THIS REPUBLIC had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights—among them, the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

"As our nation has grown in size and stature, however—as our industrial economy expanded—these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

"We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. 'Necessitous men are not free men.' People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

"In our day these economic truths have become accepted self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race or creed.

"Among these are:

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The Economic Bill of Rights

"THE RIGHT to a useful and remunerative
in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the natio

"The right to earn enough to provide adequate food a
clothing and recreation;

"The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products
a return which will give him and his family a decent living

"The right of every business man, large and small, to trad
in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and
domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

"The right of every family to a decent home;

"The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity
to achieve and enjoy good health;

"The right to adequate protection from the economic fears
of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

"The right to a good education.

"All of these rights spell security. And after this war is
won we must be prepared to move forward, in the imple-
mentation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness
and well-being."

—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, *January, 1944*

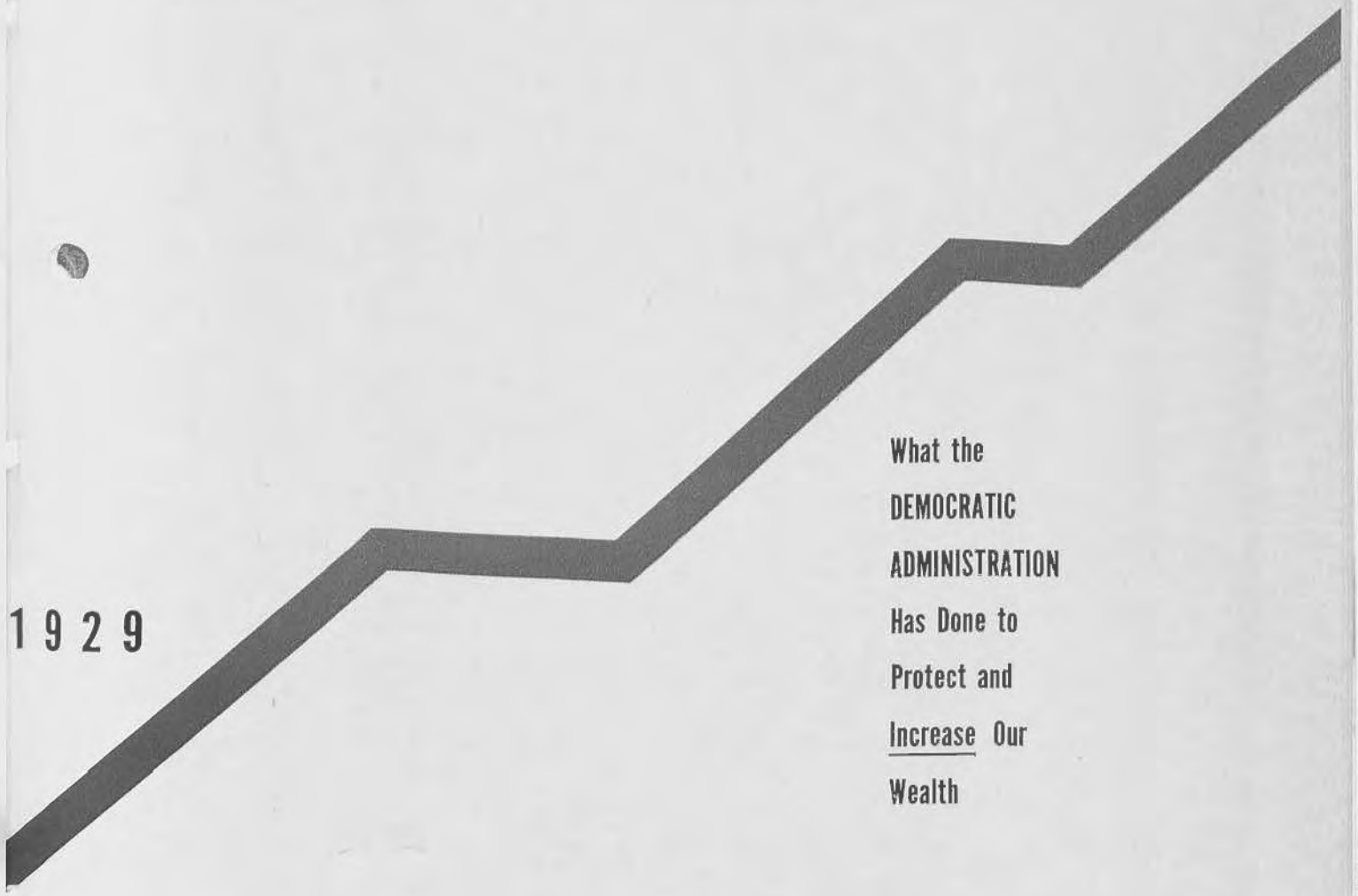
Action
not promises—
that's the record!

For Victory, Peace, Jobs—
Vote the Democratic ticket—
national, state, and local

ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS!

THE WEALTH of OUR NATION

1943



What the DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION Has Done to Protect and Increase Our Wealth

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The Choice Is Up to YOU . . . CHOOSE!

As the armies and navies of the United Nations drive swiftly toward victory, our nation comes face to face with the most amazing choice in history. We are, today, the richest nation in the world: *the richest nation in all history.* By the end of 1944, the American people will have saved as much as a *hundred billion dollars* in cash and bank accounts, almost *ten times* what they had only five years ago!

In addition, American *Business* has another fifty billion dollars in savings laid away for peace.

Our nation has increased its factories and its efficiency so much that we now produce almost twice as much as in 1929; three and a half times as much as in 1933, when the present Democratic Administration took over the legacy of breadlines left by the Republicans.

If used wisely, our money and our power to produce can make the years right after the war the best years in history for *all* Americans.

If used unwisely — or by selfish men — these very advantages can lead to unheard-of misery and a ragged army of 19 million or more unemployed.

Prosperity depends on creating jobs for *all* who want them; jobs which produce a high standard of living for *everybody;* and wages which make it

possible for each to buy his share of goods. To achieve such prosperity in peacetime requires the united efforts of business, labor, agriculture, consumers and GOVERNMENT.

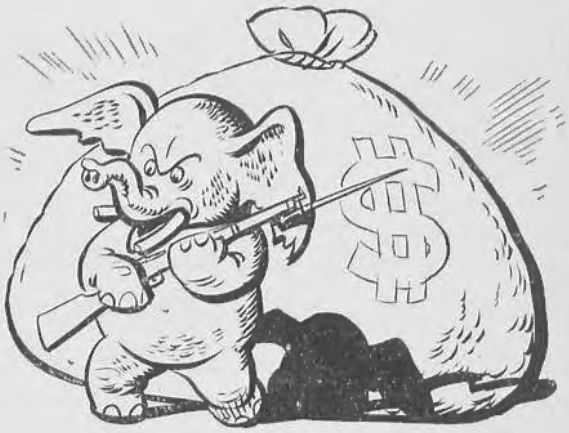
This Administration's economic policies have brought us out of the greatest depression in history—*brought us out in such good condition that we are winning the greatest of all wars*—a total war requiring every ounce of strength and every split-second that efficiency can gain.

At the same time, these policies have prepared us for the greatest prosperity of all time.

This could not have been done if the Administration had clung to the outmoded financial policies of the Republicans who, for twelve long years before Roosevelt, refused to look reality in the face.

These Republican policies were designed—to quote Calvin Coolidge—for "the fostering and protection of large aggregations of private wealth."

They did not, in fact, accomplish even this narrow purpose. For they were as little suited to modern times as the Maginot Line to modern, mechanized, war. These policies led us down the spiral stairway of depression—down and down—until 1933—when the people took the government out of the paralyzed hands that had held it all too long.



A REPUBLICAN LEGACY
. . . paralysis by DEBT

In 1933 neither businesses nor individuals could pay their debts. They were therefore losing their hard earned savings, their property . . . and their jobs.

Banks were closing—depositors lost heavily.

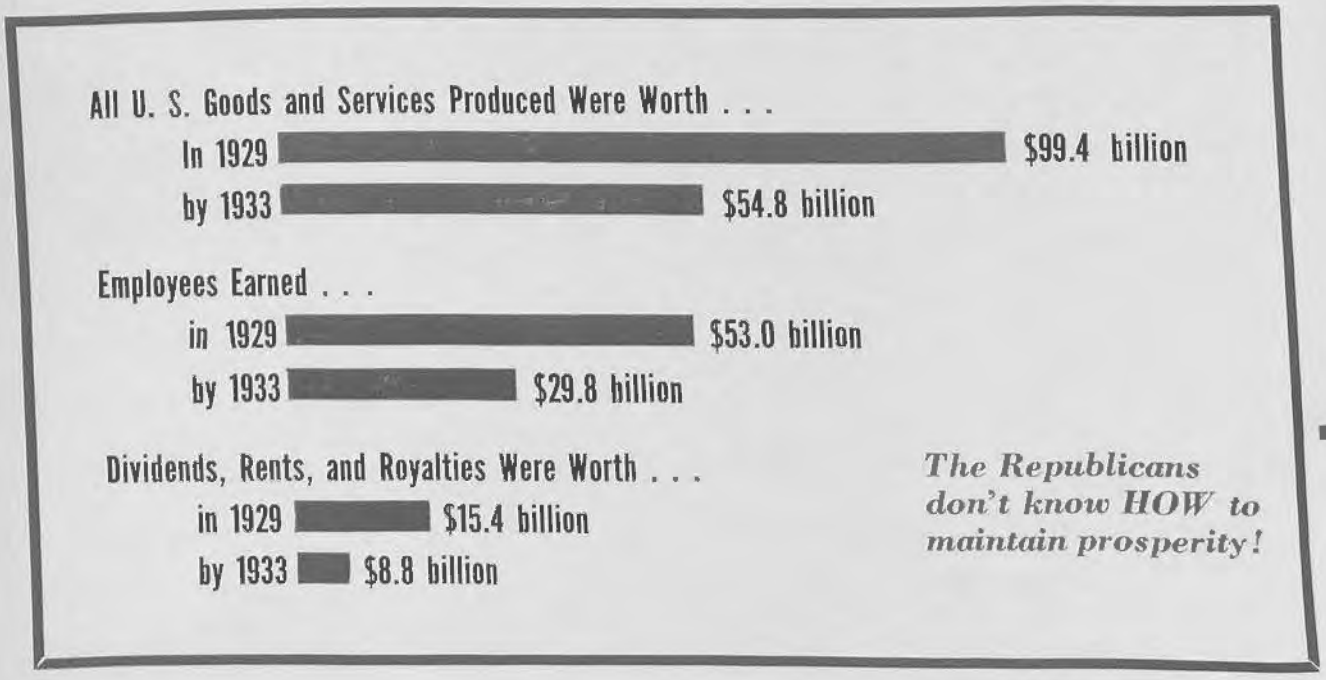
Farms were being lost — and more breadwinners became breadliners.

Homes were being lost—and families put out in the streets.

Factories closed—and the best of American workers could find no jobs.

Businesses went bankrupt—bond holders and creditors were left without income.

The jobless and homeless could no longer buy. So business lost customers, and it could no longer produce the goods the country needed, nor make money.

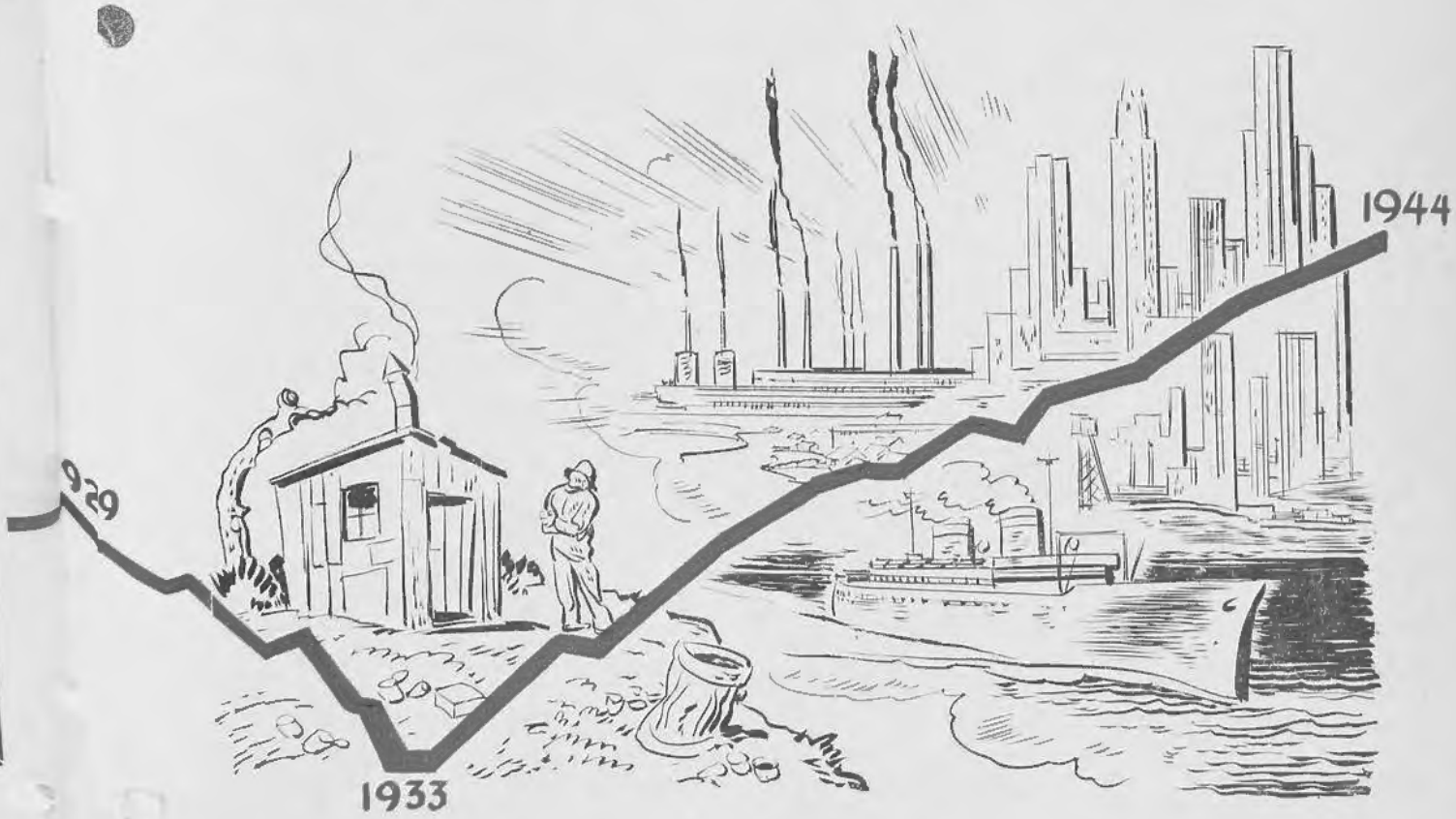


What the DEMOCRATS Did...

The economic policies of the Democratic Administration put business, farmers and consumers on their feet once again:

1. They stepped in to save farms, homes and businesses for their owners.
2. They made it possible for business to borrow money and get the wheels turning once more.
3. They provided jobs by increasing the *real wealth* of the nation; building schools, roads, dams and other national assets which raised the American standard of living.
4. They increased *buying power,* thus creating markets for industry—and jobs for men and women.

All the money spent by the Democratic Administration was invested in America's future — the most profitable investment in our history!



1. How Democratic Economic Policies saved THE BANKS

During the "prosperous" nineteen-twenties there was no single year in which fewer than 376 banks failed, *more than one a day!*

When the nation, under the helpless Republicans, slid down the depression spiral, banks failed by thousands; more than *five a day* closed their doors during 1931 and 1932 —3,750 in all. The deposits of these banks totalled $2,400,000,000 and most of the money was lost to the depositors.

When President Roosevelt took office he immediately declared the famous "bank holiday." The "holiday" period was filled with furious activity in Washington. On its third day, Congress passed the Emergency Banking Act which authorized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to buy preferred stock in banks that needed help. Government backing brought confidence—and deposits. The panic was checked. When the holiday ended, in four days, most of the nation's banks immediately went back to normal business.

The Administration, however, wanted to make sure *that no more such "holidays" would be necessary*. At the President's suggestion the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation was established in June, 1933. Most

banks are now insured, every depositor in them has his account insured up to $5,000.

Because of *Government* backing, confidence in banks is steady and sure, and banking methods are far better than they ever were under Republican Administrations. The result is that during the last *ten* years just 333 banks have failed—fewer bank-failures in *ten years* under a Democratic Administration than used to fail *in one year* under Republican Administrations! And because of Federal insurance, scarcely any money has been lost to depositors.

It has not cost the nation any money to save the banks. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has shown a profit which would satisfy any business. Out of the $3.4 billions it has lent to banks and trust companies, or put into their stock, the RFC has been repaid all but half a million. Most of this half million is now invested in good, sound preferred stock.

It didn't take *money* to save the banks. It took the right kind of Administration!

2. How Democratic Economic Policies helped BUSINESS

In 1933, after 12 years of Republican Administrations, the American people were broke. And scarcely any business could borrow enough money to keep going. *Everybody was afraid to lend money.*

So the Government stepped in—and invested money for the people of America in their own future.

The Government invested money in materials to build roads, public buildings, the great dams and new homes to take the place of slums. *This made business for the industries hardest hit by the depression;* the industries that make, in normal times, the material for *new* factories, railroads, and so on. *This new business created jobs.* Their workers, along with the others employed on public works, spent their money, thus making *more* business and *more* jobs.

The Government spent money for food which it gave—or sold at low prices—to the people who could not afford to eat. *This gave the farmers more income and gave more business to the retailers.*

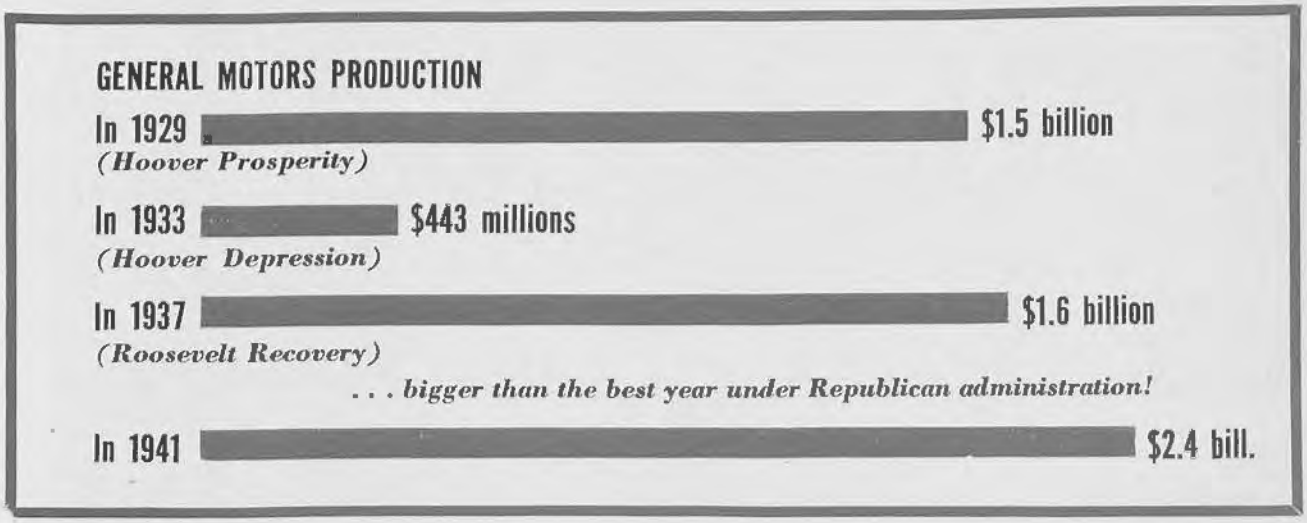
The Government spent money on direct relief and work relief. This, too, was spent by people, *making new business all over the country.*

Here is the business result of Government lending and spending:

"Producers' goods (for factories, etc.) increased three times—from $3.1 billion in 1933 to $6.9 billion in 1940.

"Consumers' goods" increased by half—from $42.4 billion in 1933 to $65.7 billion in 1940.

And here is what happened to one great automobile company as a result of Hoover vs. Roosevelt economic policies:



And here is the significant story of a new enterprise during the Roosevelt years:

In 1933, the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation was a little company, just taken out of receivership by a new management. Its total assets were less than $200,000. It employed fewer than 300 people.

The company risked all during the depression to produce a great new transport plane. By good management and engineering skill it began to make money *in 1934* Under the policies of the Democratic Administration it was able to achieve the rewards of enterprise. In 1939 Lockheed's total sales were $35,000,000 and the company employed 7,000 people. In 1940 sales were $45,000,000—and Lockheed was ready to undertake its present huge part in helping produce the planes that have all but driven the Nazis and Japs from the skies.

Whether *old* business or *new*, business did *very* well . . . under Democratic economic policies.

---

3. How Democratic Economic Policies saved OUR HOMES

During the Republican years of the depression (1929-1932), more homes were lost by foreclosure than ever before or since in our history. Banks and insurance companies were loaded down with real estate which they did not want, and could not manage efficiently.

The Roosevelt Administration then stepped in to take over mortgages and insure loans. It invested in mutual savings and loan associations to strengthen them.

Savings and Loan associations have prospered because of this Government backing. Since 1933 they have lent more than eight and a half billion dollars.

Meanwhile, the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) came to the rescue of people who were defaulting on their loans and in danger of losing the roofs over their heads. Through June, 1936 (when the HOLC stopped making new loans), it had lent over $3 billion to more than a million people. Interest on these loans is never more than 5%.

Practically all this money has been paid back or is being paid back. After providing for all losses in the past and possible losses in the future, the Corporation had on October 21, 1943, a deficit of only 4% of the total loans made. The American people can be trusted! And they have been trusted by the Democratic Administration.

4. How Democratic Economic Policies saved OUR FARMS

Depression began for the farmers in 1920, when the bottom dropped from under prices and the value of farm land started its downward plunge. Taxes were high and farmers staggered under a burden of thirteen billion dollars of debt, most of it borrowed during World War I at very high rates of interest.

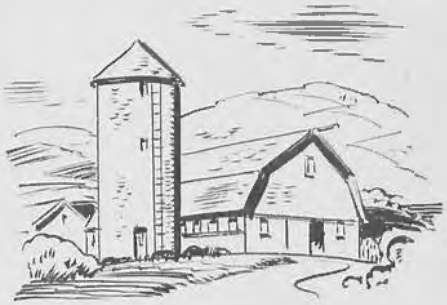
There was little or no relief during the 1920's and the situation grew much worse after 1929. Farmers who had hung on doggedly during the hard times of the twenties finally went to the wall. Nearly half a million families lost their farms during 1930, 1931, and 1932.

One of the first acts of the Roosevelt Administration was to put all the agencies which Congress had created to lend money to farmers, under the Farm Credit Administration. The activities of the Federal Land Banks were expanded, and the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation was created. The organizations which provide short-term and intermediate credit to farmers were given more money to lend, and made more efficient.

From 1933 through 1942, the Land Banks and Federal Mortgage Corporation lent $2.5 billion. Interest was never more than 5%, and after 1937 only 3½% and 4% was charged. This lightened the farm burden a great deal, for — before the Roosevelt Administration — interest on farm loans had been as high as 10%.

Farm mortgage debt went down steadily all during the pre-war years of the Roosevelt Administration.

The Farm Lending agencies, under the Roosevelt Administration, did not foreclose the loan of any farmer who was doing his best. Loans were foreclosed only when the farmer showed bad faith, got hopelessly in the hole through poor management, or abandoned his farm. But the American farmer proved a *good* risk. The Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation and Land Banks have operated at a profit during the last ten years.



At the same time, the Administration has helped to raise the farmer's income so that — even before the war — he was beginning to get a living wage for a day's work.

The Administration has also made it financially possible for farmers *to save their soil* — which was blowing away and washing away at a shocking rate during the early thirties. They were also helped, with Government money, to produce the food America actually needs.

These two programs — the one to hold the soil, the other to bring farm production into line with the needs of the nation — have been as important in winning the war as our ability to build tanks and airplanes.

THE DOUBLE MIRACLE

Our war production is miracle enough. It is doubly miraculous that while we have been able to produce planes, tanks, arms and ammuntion, feed our allies —*we were still raising our own standard of living at home.*

The American people are going short today on only a few things—the "consumer durables" such as automobiles, refrigerators, new houses. *We have more of everything else than at any time since Republican politicians led us into the Great Depression.*

There is praise for everyone in this accomplishment: for the farmers, the workers, management—and for the men in Government who had to plan this "double miracle," and get everybody *to work together.*

We could not have had such production except for the Democratic Administration's policies and experience *which had kept business going* through the thirties and enabled the factories to make steady gains in efficiency.

We could not have had such production except for the policies and experience *which had helped farmers to save their soil, and produce what the nation most needs.*

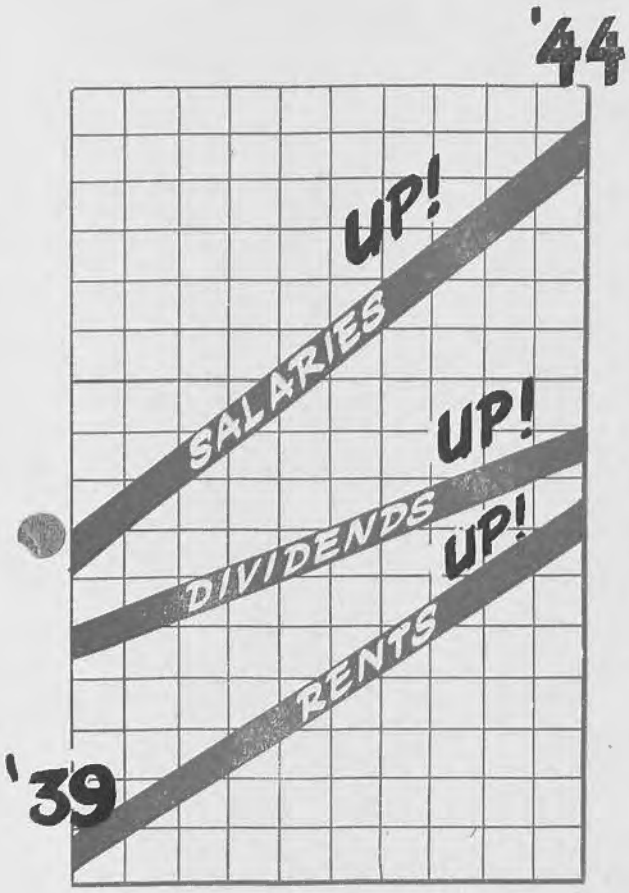
Had the outbreak of war found us in the condition to which we had sunk, under three successive Republican Administrations, we would have been worse than unprepared.

We would—in all probability—not have been *able* to prepare at all. We would not, today, be winning the war on every front!

PREVIEW of PLENTY

Today we are looking at the possible world of tomorrow. For what is happening *now* shows what full employment can do for the nation when we no longer have to turn out arms.

The average factory worker is earning $43 a week as against $24.58 in 1939 — up 75%.



More important, $21,000,000,000 a year has been added to the income of Americans *simply because there are now more people at work.*

Rents and royalties have risen from $13.4 billion to $27.8 billion.

Working capital has risen from $26.4 billion in 1939, to $41.6 billion at the end of 1943.

These gains can only mean one thing if they can be held after the war—Prosperity! And they *can* be held—under Government policies which *help* high production and full employment not just *talk* about it.

What About the Debt?

In 1940, Americans owed *less to each other* than they owed in 1929!

Private debt declined by $30 billion between 1929 and 1933, and rose very little thereafter. This decline in debt, in borrowing, was one of the main causes of the hard times of the depression. (When borrowing falls off sharply, it means

that the country's money is not being fully used. And when money is not being fully used, factories cannot produce what is needed. There are too few jobs to go around, and consumers can buy only a fraction of what they would ordinarily demand.)

The Government borrowed money from the people of the United States during the depression because private business could not.

The Government borrowed $19 billion, between 1929 and 1940, from the American People. The result was a fuller use of factories, more production, more jobs and more business — a higher standard of living for all. Business grew steadily better from 1933 through 1937, sagged a little in 1938, and has climbed steadily since that time.

While the *Government* debt increased during the depression by $19 billion (and remember, it is the American people themselves who own the Government bonds) the *private* debts of American people decreased by *more* than the $19 billion; decreased by $30 billions as a matter of fact. So the American people and their Government actually owed *less* at the end of the depression than they owed in times of prosperity.

251 BILLION DOLLARS COST OF THE DEPRESSION

The cost of depression is far greater than the cost of public debt! What this nation lost in *one* year of depression — in 1933 alone — was over *13 times* as much as the interest on all money borrowed by the Government in the last ten years.

The cost of the depression to the nation was at least $251.0 billion. That is the estimate of goods — of *real* wealth — that we lost when our factories closed down.

Then came the war, to the winning of which we pledged all our resources.

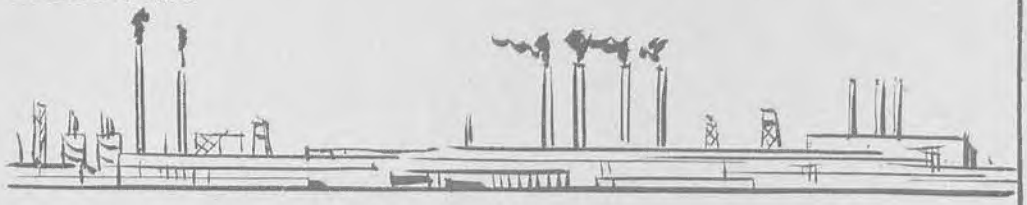
We owed ourselves $19 billion before the war. On December 31, 1943, we owed ourselves $169 billion —the cost, to that date, of preserving our liberties.

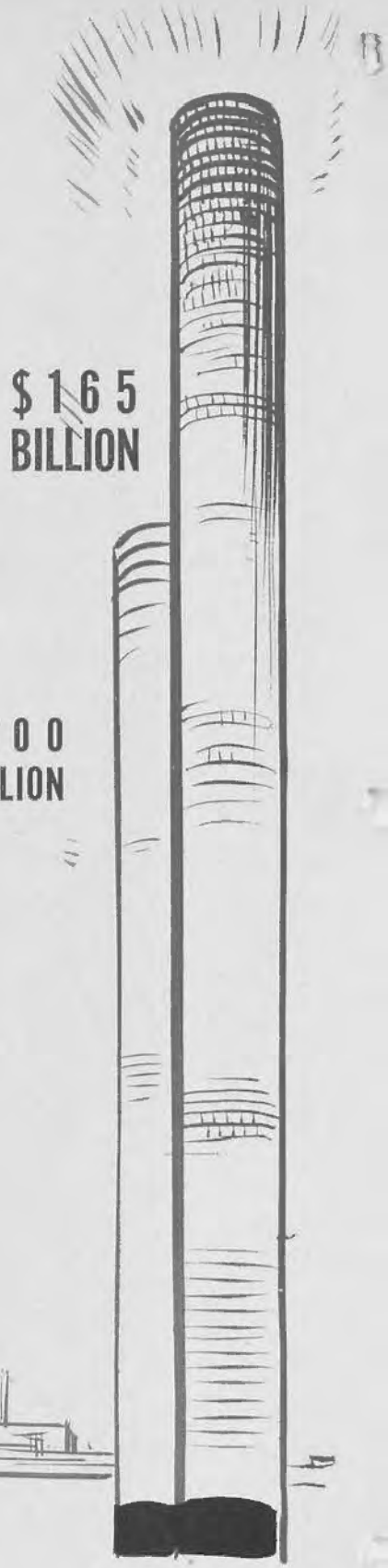
It is estimated that the interest on the post-war debt — the interest paid *to the American people* on their Government bonds — will be about $5 billion a year.

This is only *one-twentieth* of the selling price of all the goods and services we produced in 1929. It is less than *one-thirtieth* of the $165 billion production necessary for full employment after the war.

Full employment and a high level of production are enabling us to win the war. *Full employment and a high level of production after the war will enable us to carry the money-cost of the war.*

With all-out production and employment after the war we can balance the budget and reduce the national debt.





INTEREST ON NATIONAL DEBT $5 BILLION

TODAY'S SAVINGS . . . and YOUR JOB TOMORROW

By putting a ceiling on war-prices to prevent inflation, and by borrowing from all who are earning more than they can spend for their fair share of wartime goods, the Democratic Administration has enabled the American people to save billions of dollars for their own prosperity tomorrow.

We have seen that business has its share of savings: approximately $52 billion. Consumers have at least a *hundred billion dollars* in savings! Over thirty million people are buying war bonds regularly through the payroll savings system.

Today's savers are tomorrow's customers. The public alone has already saved enough to buy all the goods and services that were produced in 1929, for civilians, business *and* government.

but prosperity must be for everybody or it is prosperity for nobody!

The Republicans have only tried to make the rich *richer* . . . and are still trying! They believe in letting the rich "take care of the poor," instead of in *everybody* sharing our prosperity.

The DEMOCRATIC Administration has proved it knows HOW to create real prosperity for EVERYONE!

In a civilization like ours we can have true prosperity only when *everybody* can buy the things he needs. The people get the goods and services that provide a high standard of living; business makes profits because of the huge volume of production and sales. It is *real* prosperity because it is prosperity for *all.*

It is to be reached by plentiful jobs, plentiful production and buying power where it will do the most good—*in the hands of the people.* It can be maintained by providing proper incentives for all—business men, farmers, wage-earners and consumers alike. It can be fostered and protected only by a Government that helps to fight the economic forces that cause depression.

These have always been the objectives of the present Administration. They were never the objectives of Republican Administrations which aimed at helping the rich get richer *but only succeeded in helping everyone get poorer.*

In the time of peace to come, the Democratic Administration will continue to bring a higher standard of living to everybody. And the record proves it knows how to reach its determined goals: how to protect and *increase* our nation's wealth.

THE DEMOCRATIC DIGEST

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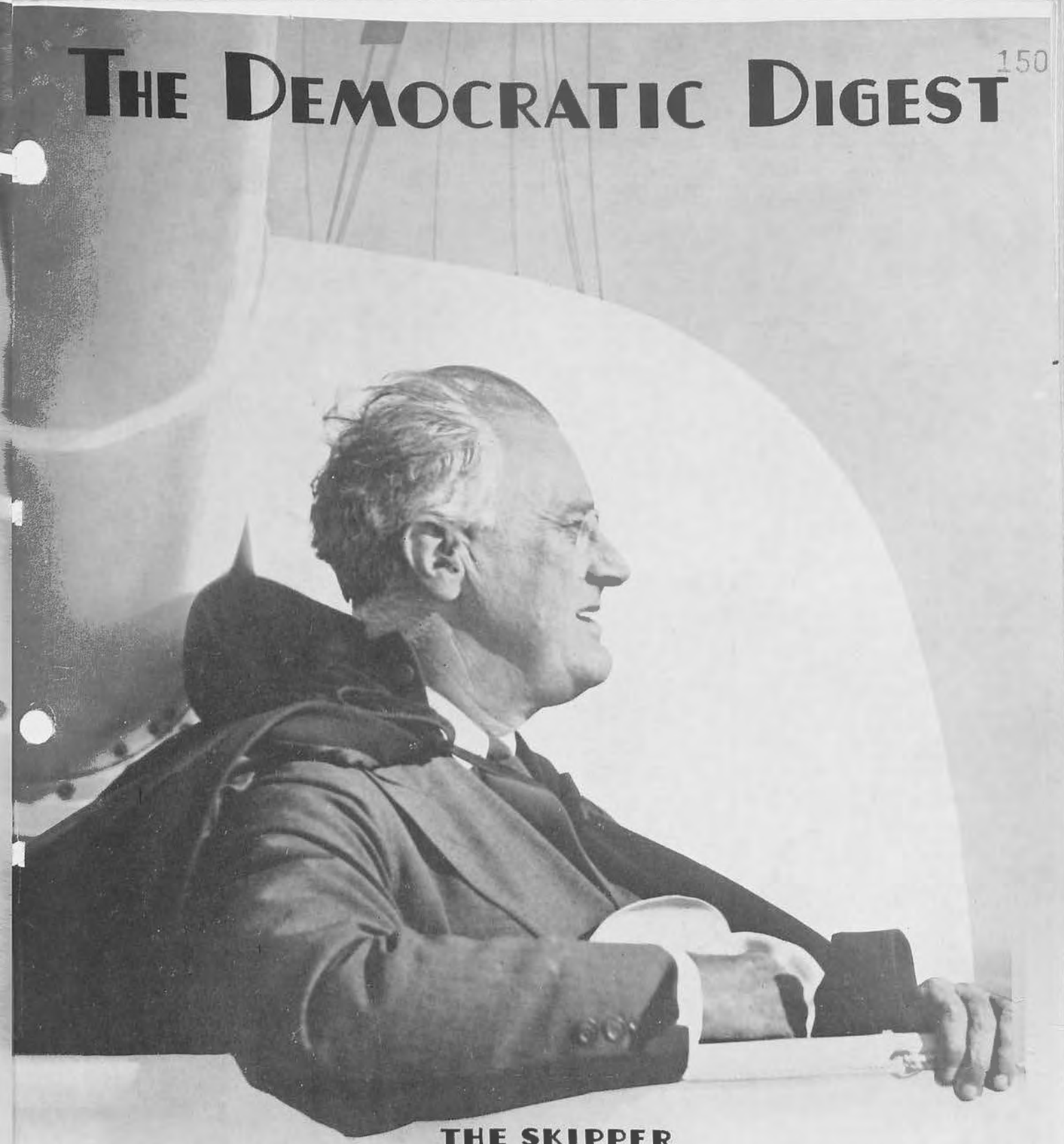

THE SKIPPER

THE DEMOCRATIC DIGEST

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Digest By-Lines

SENATOR SAMUEL D. JACKSON is Permanent Chairman of the convention and Democratic nominee for governor in Indiana. (Page 12.)

SENATOR ELBERT D. THOMAS, of Utah, is Chairman of the Senate Labor Committee and was one of the delegates from this country to the recent International Labor Organization Conference in Philadelphia. (Page 14.)

SENATOR HARRY S. TRUMAN, of Missouri, is Chairman of the Senate Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program. (Page 16.)

JOSEPHINE SCHAIN is Women's Division consultant on international relations and was the first U. S. woman delegate to a United Nations Conference—the Conference on Food and Agriculture held at Hot Springs, Virginia. (Page 18.)

C. MILDRED THOMPSON is Dean of Vassar College and recently returned from London where she attended the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education as a U. S. delegate. (Page 27.)

RILLA SCHROEDER is a widely known Washington newspaper woman and magazine writer who is especially well informed on post-war planning. (Page 24.)

ELLIS MEREDITH has been an active and articulate Democrat since the 1890's. A Denver newspaper woman, she was at the press table at the 1908 Democratic convention in the Colorado city. (Page 26.)

BETTY GOODWIN, a former National Broadcasting Company editor and commentator, is handling radio in the Women's Division Publicity Department. (Page 28.)

FRANCES G. SATTERFIELD is Director of Research and Materials for the Women's Division and has charge of exhibits and Campaign Schools for the convention. (Page 9.)

CORNELIA K. TOWNLEY is now on the Women's Division staff and was for-

In This Issue

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Page 10—Harris & Ewing.

JUNE-JULY 1944

Women's Hearts Will Tell Them . . .

This is the first war in which the women of America have had the vote. It was just twenty-five years ago—only a year or so after American women had at last gotten their husbands and sons back from the trenches of France, where they had gone to fight a war to end all wars—that Congress passed the National Suffrage Amendment. And it was just twenty-four years ago that Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Suffrage Amendment, and women everywhere in this broad land could, for the first time, cast their ballots.

IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN . . .

Perhaps, had the women been able to vote in that momentous election of 1918, there might have been no second world war. Perhaps women, whose sons and husbands were dying in "No Man's Land," might have had the foresight to realize that to win a war, and to win a peace, a Commander-in-Chief must have support—the support of the people of his country. Perhaps women might have given him that support, might have sent back to Congress men of his own party who believed as he did and who would back him up in those beliefs. Perhaps, if the women had been voting, the Republicans would not have gained control of the Senate by one vote, and would not have been able to make Henry Cabot Lodge head of the Foreign Relations Committee—Henry Cabot Lodge, whose bitter, unrelenting hatred of Woodrow Wilson made him a bitter, unrelenting foe of everything Woodrow Wilson stood for, and especially of Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, the only plan which could have prevented World War II.

Perhaps . . . but we can never know. Today, we can only look back on the closing years of the last war and murmur, "It might have been . . ." Today, we can only look forward to the closing years of this war and say, with emphasis, "It must not be . . . again."

THE ONLY ISSUE . . .

To women, there is only one issue in this campaign. It is this:

"Which leaders, which party, can get this war over quicker, and with the least loss of life, and bring my son, my husband, my sweetheart back to me?

"And, once this war is over, which leaders, which party, can best prevent this dreadful thing from happening again?"

Women are not going to be fooled when they hear Republican leaders say:

"Let's take the conduct of the war out of the campaign. Wars belong to the military."

They know the conduct of this war has been superb. They know that the Republicans want to take it out of the campaign because—on the whole—there is nothing about it to criticize. They know that the Administration works hand-in-hand with the military leaders—leaders, incidentally, chosen for their jobs by the President—and that back of our burgeoning victory on the battlefronts lies not only the precision planning and shining strategy of the military, but the boundless vision of an Administration which set the wheels of industry whirring on weapons in the amounts needed to win this war.

Women are not going to be fooled when the Republican leaders say:

"Our foreign policy is not the policy of any party. It is the policy of the American people."

They know that our foreign policy has been brilliant. But they know, too, that it has been built up step by step, stone by stone, by a wise and skillful Secretary of State and by a President who has had the dash and daring to fly to the ends of the earth to shape it and give it meaning by talking with the leaders of the great countries fighting with us in this war. They accept our foreign policy—it *is* the policy of the American people—but they give credit for it where credit is due—to this Administration.

WOMEN WON'T BE MISLED . . .

Nor are the women going to be swayed when the Republicans parade their bogey man of bureaucracy.

They reply:

"It's a big war. Millions of our boys are overseas. We need millions of workers to back them up. We don't want one worker less in Washington—or anywhere else—if it will in any way endanger the lives of our men or the swiftness of our victory."

To the Republican cry of waste, the women of this country declare:

"Get the guns to our boys. If a better gun is invented than the one they have—get the better gun to them. Give them the best parachutes, the best life rafts, the best bombers. Give them everything you can, as quickly as you can, to protect them . . . to save their lives. If speed makes waste—we still want speed."

No—American women are not going to be misled in this campaign. Women keep their eye on the ball. When they go to the polls this fall to cast their first vote in wartime, to cast the vote which marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of their coming of age as citizens, to cast the majority of the votes for the first time in the history of the country, they are going to be asking only one question:

"What is best for my man in uniform?"

Deep in their hearts the women of America know there is only one answer to that question:

"Keep on the job the men who are running this war and fighting to win this peace. They've got everything on their cuff. They know what it is all about. Give them every support. Send men to Congress who will back them up. But keep them on the job. This is no time for a change."

Presenting the Permanent Chairman

A COMPARATIVELY new name in national politics—but no novice at either politics or government—Senator Samuel D. Jackson of Indiana has been named Permanent Chairman of the Democratic National convention.

The choice of Senator Jackson for this position was the first act of the newly created convention Executive Committee, and his name, of course, will be presented to the convention, along with the names of the other permanent officials, before he actually takes over the gavel.

Senator Jackson is the Democratic nominee for governor in Indiana. At the present time he is serving out the unexpired term of the late Senator Frederick Van Nuys which ends next January.

Still in his forties, Senator Jackson has been active in Hoosier party work for many years. He was chairman of the Democratic State Convention in 1936, and before coming to Washington as a Senator was Indiana's Attorney General.

Senator Jackson is a veteran of World War I and now has two sons in the service, Pfc. James W., who is in New Caledonia, and Pfc. Robert I., who is stationed at Fort Jackson, Columbia, South Carolina. His youngest son, Samuel, Jr., is 10. Senator Jackson was married to Anna Fern Bennett in 1914.

SENATOR JACKSON

MRS. CONKEY

. . . and the Convention Hostess

A WARM welcome to the Windy City—and comfort and entertainment as far as war-time restrictions make them possible—this is the hospitality program for the hundreds of women who will attend the Democratic National convention in Chicago toward which Mrs. Conkey, Convention Hostess, and her staff have been working for many weeks.

Mrs. Conkey, who is Illinois National Committeewoman, was likewise the Convention Hostess in 1940, and out of the experience of that convention she is putting into practice many ideas for better service.

She is now serving her third term as a member of the Board of Commissioners of Cook County, and in this position she directs the welfare work of the county. The last time she ran for the office she received strong endorsement from many civic and philanthropic groups, and from many individual Republicans.

This past year Mrs. Conkey has been in the national limelight through her appointment by President Roosevelt as a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation held at Atlantic City in November, 1943.

She recently spoke before the White House Conference of women's non-partisan organizations who met to make up a roster of women qualified to serve at conferences on post-war.

Meet the Keynoter . . .

And His Family . . .

Kay, 12; Bill, 6; Breene, 15; Mrs. Kerr, and Bob, Jr., 17

THERE are two subjects on which Oklahoma's genial Governor Robert S. Kerr is especially articulate—politics and his family. As keynoter at the National Convention he will tell delegates, alternates and other Democrats there—and the rest of the country by radio—what he thinks about the momentous campaign ahead, and set both its pitch and its pace. And any time, anywhere, he likes to talk about his four children and his wife and their part in his political life.

All the Kerrs Campaigned

When he ran for governor two years ago the whole family was in the campaign until the last precinct was in. That is, all but Bill, who was then only four, and who toppled off to sleep on the couch in headquarters about midnight murmuring "Kerr still leading."

Bob, Jr., drove miles during the campaign throughout the countryside putting up placards and posters for his father. Breene turned out sticks on his electric machine to nail up the posters. Kay and Bill both attended rallies and begged to make speeches. Though they all worked hard they were confident right from the first that their Dad would win because their Dad, of course, can "do anything."

They all entered with zest into life in the Governor's Mansion, which, however, has not proved too different from their life on their big farm six miles outside of Oklahoma City, since the big entertainments and gatherings which usually become the lot of a Governor's family are curtailed because of wartime. Recently, though, Bill, who is now six, and is both enterprising and quotable, got his fingers into the state's official business. When Bob, Jr., was home this Christmas from military school, Bill became fascinated with his big brother's memorandum book in which he keeps the names and phone numbers of the young ladies of his acquaintanceship, and Bill deviled his mother until she dug up a memorandum book for him. Two days later he proudly showed it to his father and he not only had in it the names of most of the little girls in his own room, but some in the second and third grades as well.

It was not until several days later, when heads of the various departments and institutions in the state told the Governor that they never could get through to him on the private line he had reserved for official business at the Governor's Mansion, that he discovered his covered number was the one Bill had exchanged with his girl friends. So heavy was the traffic on this line that when the Governor wanted to put in a private call he had either to go to the office or hunt up a phone booth.

Scrambled Eggs and Business

Mrs. Kerr campaigned extensively with the Governor, visiting almost every county in the state, and since they have moved to the Governor's Mansion, she has been busy meeting again the people they met. She says she never knows whether there will be three or thirty for a meal, but is usually able to manage. Much of the state's business, she reports, "is carried on over scrambled eggs and apple fritters."

As a girl, Mrs. Kerr was ambitious for a musical career. It was at a civic club in Ada, Oklahoma, when she was the soloist, that she met young Bob (*Continued on page* 31)

Mark "X" On the Spot . . .

Seven women have alread
won the Democratic nom
nation for Congress. F
others—as The Digest we

MRS. MARY T. NORTON, ***Thirteenth Congressional District, New Jersey,*** is rounding out her twentieth year in Congress. "Aunt Mary" to the reporters on Capitol Hill, she's always good for a story and is one of the most frequently quoted members of Congress. "Elder Stateswoman" to her colleagues and her party, she's active and effective both on the floor of the House and in Democratic councils, and her opinions are respected and her advice sought. She's the first Democratic woman elected to Congress, was head of the District Committee and unofficial "Mayor of Washington," and is now Chairman of the important House Labor Committee.

MRS. RUTH G. FILLINGHAM, ***Seventeenth Congressional District, Illinois,*** owns a 400-acre farm settled by her great grandparents, and though she hasn't worked in the fields "since year before last" she knows how to run a tractor or handle a plow. When she was in Norfolk, Virginia, recently to visit her Navy son before he set off again on a destroyer escort, she worried about the soy beans. She's widely known for her work to reduce the number of one-room schools in Illinois—she attended one herself—and to generally improve rural education, and for the many positions she has held in state organizations.

EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS, ***Congressman-at-Large, Illinois,*** is the daughter of the famous mid-Western sculptor, Lorado Taft, and the wife of a former University of Chicago professor, Paul Douglas, who is now a fighting Marine captain in the South Pacific. Many trips abroad pushed back her horizons and taught her in a compelling way what Nazism and Fascism meant. Back in Illinois, her knowledge of foreign policy won her a statewide reputation, and the state chairmanship in international affairs for important organizations. Nevertheless, when the men leaders of the party asked her to run for Congress, she was so surprised she could only murmur: "This is so sudden."

MRS. ELSIE STANTON, ***Tenth Congressional District, Ohio,*** believes that perseverance pays. Defeated when she ran for Congress in '38, she's trying again. Mrs. Stanton says she's a Democrat "because it's the party of the rank and file—the party that has for its chief aim better living for all the American people and not for just a few." She is a member of the Wellston Civil Service Commission, is Jackson County Chairwoman, a member of the State Executive Committee, and President of the County Democratic Club. There are five Stanton children—one of them in the armed services.

o press—had announced themselves as candidates, but their te primaries or conventions had not yet been held. On se pages are the women who have been nominated, and will ask the voters to mark "X" after their names November 7.

MABEL GILLESPIE, *Second Congressional District, Nebraska,* is the first woman to be elected to the Nebraska Legislature, and was four times reelected. Reared on a farm, she knows what 10-cent corn and 2-cent hogs do to the farmer's pocketbook and to his standard of living, and she wants to represent him in Congress. She has also worked in the past for labor legislation. Her first political meeting, when she was a candidate for county chairman, was attended by only three people. She won the election by two votes. In 1940 she was named delegate-at-large to national convention by 57,000 votes.

HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS, *Fourteenth Co gressional District, California,* is a liberal leader a one of the most glamorous figures in American politics. Wife Melvyn Douglas, screen star, who is now an Army captain in t Burma-India-China theatre, she made her own name distinguished Broadway and on the concert stage. Miss Gahagan defeated sev men for the nomination with support which came from such amazing assorted groups as the CIO, the Railway Brotherhoods, housewives a organized women's groups, foreign language blocs, and Hollywo celebrities. Her neighborhood meetings, where she talked to wom in their house-dresses, won her many votes.

MARIE M. BICKERT, *Eighth Congressional District, Pennsylvania,* comes from a family that has been Democratic for over one hundred years. Almost since the day she could vote she has been working for the Democratic party, and has been a Precinct Committeewoman for sixteen years, a member of the State Committee for eight, a member of the Philadelphia City Committee for four, and until recently was State Vice Chairman, a post she held for four years. Her district is one of the largest in Pennsylvania, has a big farm vote, and, since the war brought defense plants to the area, a growing labor vote.

The four Democratic women who are running f Congress whose state primaries had not been hel as The Digest went to press are:

MRS. HATTIE W. CARAWAY *of Arkans* (primary August 8), is a candidate for reelection to th Senate. She's the first woman ever elected to the Senat and has been twice reelected. She is opposed by four me in the primary.

MRS. ELIZABETH BELEN, *Sixth District, Michiga* (primary July 11), was a member of her state legislatu for one term, and also served as State Vice Chairman. Thr men oppose her.

MRS. CECILIA GARVIN, *Third District, Wisconsi* (primary August 15), is Juneau County Democratic Chai man, a post traditionally held by men, and is also her hus band's partner in the real estate business. She is unopposed

MISS ELIZABETH HAWKES, *Tenth District, Wis consin* (primary August 15), is a practicing attorney. Sh plans a vigorous campaign. She is unopposed in the primar

Convention Headline

MRS. CHARLES W. TILLETT
Assistant Chairman of the Democratic National Committee

DEMOCRATIC women will start this biggest of all women's campaign years at the Chicago convention. Approximately 500 women will be delegates and alternates. The women of the party have been given equal representation on the Executive Committee—the Committee which plans and directs the convention. And they have been assured an equal voice with the men on the important Platform and Resolutions Committee, as well as participation on all of the other major convention committees.

Playing a leading role in national politics is no new story for them, for Democratic women were active in party work years before they could all vote, and women have been attending conventions as delegates for thirty-six years.

This year, however, pre-convention indications are that women's opinions will count for more, and their influence will be more widely felt than ever before.

First, they will again sit in equal numbers with the men on the Platform and Resolutions Committee. Democratic women won this right for the initial time in 1940, although they had been admitted as alternate members to the platform deliberations in 1936. It was not until this year's convention—1944—that the Republican party permitted a woman from each state to serve on this significant, policy-making committee.

Second, two women have a major part in the business of the convention—Mrs. Charles W. Tillett, first woman elected Assistant Chairman of the National Committee, who will head women's participation both at the convention and in the campaign, and Mrs. Dorothy McElroy Vredenburgh, 28-year-old Alabama Young Democrat, who is the first woman ever named Secretary of any National Committee. At the present time Mrs. Vredenburgh is also National President of the Young Democrats. She has been in Chicago for weeks arranging for the convention. Both Mrs. Tillett and Mrs. Vredenburgh will likewise be Temporary Officers of the convention when it opens. This will be the first time that a woman has served as Assistant Temporary Chairman or as Temporary Secretary at a convention.

And finally, women in equal numbers with the men sat on the Arrangements Committee which planned the convention. These women met with the men members of the committee in Chicago several weeks before the convention opened to choose the keynoter and help decide other matters.

1908 Opened the Door

Women's role in 1944 is a far cry from that momentous convention day in 1908 when five women delegates appeared in Denver to present their credentials. The women who paved the way were Mrs. Sarah H. Ventress and Mrs. H. J. Hayward of Utah; Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford and Mrs. Catherine Cook of Denver; and Mrs. Harriet J. Hood of Wyoming. They represented Western states which allowed women to vote long before a national suffrage law gave all women that privilege—and responsibility.

In 1912 Mrs. Anna B. Spitzer of Colorado Springs was a delegate and Miss Gene Kelly an alternate for Colorado when the convention which nominated Woodrow Wilson met in Baltimore. Miss May Awkwright Hutton of Washington State was likewise a delegate at this convention.

When 1916 came around people had become aware of the rising demand of women for suffrage. Already Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Montana, Nevada and Alaska had granted women the right to vote, and Illinois had yielded on presidential voting at least. As a result, when the convention met in St. Louis 16 women delegates and 8 alternates voted in the balloting that nominated President Wilson for a second term. Miss Mary Foy of California had the distinction of serving on the important Credentials Committee.

"Women's States" Won in '16

Among the ardent women workers in the party at this time was Mrs. George Bass, who was among those sent to notify President Wilson of his renomination, and who had become chairman of the new Woman's Bureau of the Democratic National Committee in 1916. Since only women in the Western states could vote, Mrs. Bass was in the Chicago headquarters during the campaign, but in 1917 established offices in Washington, D. C. Incidentally, it was the Western states—Mrs. Bass' "women's states"—which won the election for President Wilson.

The Democratic convention had gone on record in 1916 favoring woman's suffrage, and on September 30, 1918, President Wilson himself made a personal appeal to the Senate to pass the resolution making the Nineteenth Amendment a possibility. Republican Senators Borah and Wadsworth were the only Senators representing suffrage states who voted against it. When it was finally passed, it was too late for the 1919 legislatures to act on it, and the women despondently wondered whether they would have any real say-so in the 1920 convention and election.

A Say in Party Affairs by 1919

In January, 1918, however, Mrs. Bass had offered a resolution at the meeting of the Democratic National Committee

rom the Past . . .

By FRANCES G. SATTERFIELD

to appoint women as associate members from each state, and at the 1920 convention in San Francisco the gallery just above the platform was assigned to these associate members of the National Committee. Mrs. Bass sat on the platform below them. One day the gavel was handed to her to preside over a session—a distinct tribute to the "Lady Democrats," as many then called them. Twenty-five states and territories had sent women as delegates and six others had sent women alternates—about 300 in all. Fifteen women were on the roster of officers of the convention, and about 30 had places on committees.

It was also at this convention that Mrs. Izetta Jewel Miller seconded the nomination of John W. Davis for the Presidency—another first for women.

Among other contributions, the women had drawn up and submitted four planks for the Platform Committee. When Senator Carter Glass read the platform with these four planks he leaned forward and shouted, "And if there is anything else the women want, we are here to give it to them." Unfortunately, it was not as easy as that. This same convention, however, was urged by Attorney General Homer S. Cummings to go home and adopt the "50-50" plan of organization, giving women equal representation with men in all party councils.

Throughout the convention there was an undercurrent of excitement as the women worked for the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, impressing upon all the delegates the necessity of having their states ratify it if they had not already done so. One of the most active workers was Miss Charl Ormond Williams, delegate from Tennessee, who had been elected to serve with Cordell Hull on the Democratic National Committee, and who was later the first woman Vice Chairman of any major political party. After the convention she went on to Dayton, Ohio, to attend the notification ceremony of Governor John M. Cox, and it was there that she received a telegram from the Governor of Tennessee telling her he was afraid Tennessee was not going to ratify the amendment and to come at once. By then, thirty-five states had ratified, and one more would give women of the United States the vote. Miss Williams hurried home and became chairman of a steering committee which pushed the amendment through to victory on August 18, 1920. Thus, sixteen million women achieved voting status.

"None—Thank God!"

In the spring of 1922, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair came into the Women's Division of the National Committee to build up an organization for the coming congressional campaign. As is often the case in political organizations, all of Mrs. Bass' records had been destroyed, and Mrs. Blair began to build from scratch. She wasn't exactly swamped with encouragement. Out of 3,000 letters she sent to county chairmen asking for the names of women on their committees, she received seven replies. Of these, one said, "None, thank God!" while another said, "We haven't any, and don't propose to have any." It was the Democratic women's clubs that got to work and got out the women's vote that year.

Mrs. Blair refused to be discouraged easily, however, and so at a meeting of the National Committee which preceded the 1924 convention she asked that the states name eight

MRS. DOROTHY McELROY VREDENBURGH
Secretary of the Democratic National Committee

delegates-at-large to the convention, each with one-half vote, and that half of these delegates be women. Her resolution was passed and a total of 492 delegates and alternates were on hand when the convention opened at Madison Square Garden that June.

Ideas on Issues? Of Course!

The women had their own Platform Committee, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was chairman. She tells the story of sitting all night outside the closed door of the room where the Platform Committee was meeting, waiting to get some man to take her sheet of paper inside to present the women's suggestions to the committee.

It was at this convention that many precedents were broken. Mrs. LeRoy Springs of South Carolina was not only made Chairman of the Credentials Committee, but her fellow delegates placed her name in nomination for Vice President.

Mrs. Blair was the first woman to be elected First Vice Chairman of the National Committee and she served as head of the Women's Division from 1922 till 1928. Before the convention at Houston in 1928, a resolution was passed by the National Committee asking that women be admitted to membership on the Platform Committee, but that was still more than the men were willing to grant and nothing came of it.

Ex-Governor Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming, now Director of the United States Mint, was elected First Vice Chairman in 1928 and succeeded Mrs. Blair as Director of the Women's Division. With her came Miss Sue White of Tennessee as Executive Secretary. The women who were active in party circles became (*Continued on page* 33)

VOTES FOR WOMEN?—Twenty-five years ago scenes like this were not unusual as women campaigned earnestly for the right to cast their ballot.

Milestones In Democratic Women's Progress— In Their Party . . . . and Their Government

1869—Wyoming gave women the vote for the first time. The bill was introduced by William H. Bright, President of the Democratic Council, at the instigation of his wife and her friend, Mrs. Esther Morris. This was at the very first Territorial council session—21 years before Wyoming was admitted to statehood.

1908—Women attended Democratic National Convention in Denver as delegates for the first time in either political party.

1914—Colorado became first state to give women equal representation with men on political party committees. Law passed after statewide campaign waged by Democratic women.

1916—Women's political influence recognized by Democratic party when Woman's Bureau of Democratic National Committee was established to work with women in the Western states where they had the vote.

President Wilson made a number of outstanding women's appointments, most important of which were: Mrs. Annette Abbott Adams, Assistant Attorney General; Miss Mabel Boardman, Commissioner, District of Columbia; and Mrs. Helen Gardener, Commissioner, United States Civil Service Commission. (Mrs. Lucille Foster McMillin now holds the post of U. S. Civil Service Commissioner.)

1918—September 30. President Wilson made a personal appeal to the Senate in favor of woman suffrage.

1919—The Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee, anticipating the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment permitting women to vote, voted on September 27, 1919, to admit women to membership. It was not until four years later that the Republicans gave women this recognition.

1920—Women became associate members of the Democratic National Committee, and had a special reserved section at the San Francisco convention—four years ahead of the Republicans. At one session Mrs. George Bass presided. Women delegates served on committees and as convention officers, and Mrs. Izetta Jewel Miller seconded the nomination of John W. Davis for President. Women also presented their platform planks to the convention.

Miss Charl Ormond Williams was elected Vice Chairman of the Democratic National Committee—the first woman of any political party so honored.

August 18. Nineteenth Amendment became law when Tennessee ratified the amendment, making it possible for 16 million women to vote.

1924—Democratic National Committee passed resolution asking states to send eight delegates-at-large to convention—half of them to be women.

First Democratic woman elected to Congress—Mrs. Mary T. Norton of New Jersey. Later (1931) she was first woman to serve as chairman of a House Committee. Since 1937 she has been chairman of the powerful House Labor Committee.

Mrs. LeRoy Springs of South Carolina served as first woman chairman of Credentials Committee, and was also the first woman presented for the Vice Presidency. At this convention the women had their own Platform Committee, with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as chairman.

1925—First woman elected governor of a state—Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross, Wyoming.

1932—First woman elected to United States Senate—Mrs. Hattie W. Caraway, Arkansas.

First woman named member of Platform Committee—Mrs. Jean Springstead Whitemore, Puerto Rico.

1933-1944—Firsts for Women in Federal Appointments Under Roosevelt Administration:

First woman member of a President's Cabinet—Miss Frances Perkins.

First woman U. S. Minister (to Denmark)—Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde. (Second woman U. S. Minister to Norway—Mrs. J. Borden Harriman.)

First woman Director of U. S. Mint—Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross.

First woman Assistant Secretary of U. S. Treasury—Miss Josephine Roche.

First woman U. S. Assistant Treasurer—Mrs. Blair Banister.

First woman appointed to U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals—Miss Florence Allen.

First woman member of Social Security Board—Miss Mary W. Dewson. (Second woman, Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward, now holds the post.)

Chairman, Consumers' Advisory Board, NRA—Mrs. Emily Newell Blair.

First woman named U. S. Delegate to United Nations Conference—Miss Josephine Schain, Conference on Food and Agriculture.

Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward and Mrs. Elizabeth Conkey named U. S. Delegates to United Nations Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation.

Dean C. Mildred Thompson named U. S. Delegate to Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London.

Only woman member of the National Defense Advisory Commission, first defense agency set up by the President in 1940—Miss Harriet Elliott.

First woman member of U. S. Court of Tax Appeals—Miss Marion Harron.

First woman member U. S. Employment Compensation Commission—Mrs. Jewell W. Swofford.

1936—Philadelphia convention passed resolution requesting each state to appoint a member and alternate to Platform Committee—of opposite sex.

1940—Chicago convention passed resolution asking each state to appoint two members of Platform Committee—one to be a woman. For the first time a woman made a major speech to a national convention—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. For the first time the Director of the Women's Division addressed a national convention on policy—Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister.

1943—Mrs. Charles W. Tillett elected Assistant Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the first woman so honored.

1944—Mrs. Dorothy McElroy Vredenburgh appointed Secretary of the Democratic National Committee, the first woman to hold this post.

VOTES FOR WOMEN!—In November scenes like this will be enacted millions of times over as women—outnumbering men for the first time in history—cast the majority of the ballots.

THE FARMER . . .
Yesterday—Today and Tomorrow

By SENATOR SAMUEL D. JACKSON *of Indiana*

The Democratic party has taken the farmer off the road to ruin. It has returned him to the highway which leads to freedom and prosperity and it will keep him on that way.

Platform Promises . . . and Performance

At the turn of 1932, the American farmer, affording to the nation its basic industry, yet sorely distressed, looked beseechingly toward the Democratic National convention and hopefully awaited its agricultural platform. He was not disappointed. He was offered constitutional measures that could bring him, for his basic farm commodities, prices in excess of cost. He was assured complete restoration of agriculture, better financing of farm mortgages, the extension and development of the farm cooperative movement, and efficient control of crop surpluses. *The spirit of these pledges was made the letter of their fulfillment.*

Four years later, the farmer approached the portals of the Philadelphia Democratic National convention with confidence. The agricultural plank of the 1936 platform favored judicious commodity loans on seasonal surpluses and assistance, within federal authority, enabling the farmer to adjust and balance production with demand, at a fair profit.

These objectives, too, were achieved. The 1940 Democratic platform dealt at length with "the land and the farmer." It emphasized that the economic survival of the family-sized farm was of paramount importance. It recognized that although the existence of the American farm is affected by the vicissitudes of the market, crop rotation and diversification, weather hazards, insect plagues, and the like, still all farmers could be aided and millions saved by the strong arm of our party, extended with sympathetic purpose through the processes of governmental administration. *Time proved these concepts to be sound.*

Yesterday . . . Disaster Ahead

Twelve years ago, agriculture was on the brink of ruin. All of our citizens were then crowded to the precipice, but the farmer stood nearest the edge. His prices were at ruinous depths—only 62 per cent of what they had been before World War I. His cash receipts were down to four billion plus—less than one-half what they had been three years previously. Farm foreclosures were rampant. The farmer's family was forced from the furrow to the bread line. Many of those who remained on the soil earned a bare subsistence. Farm fertility was drained. Conservation and fertilization were unthinkable. Mountains of cheap cotton, corn and wheat, did neither the farmer nor the city man any good, for hungry masses could not buy. Uncontrolled surpluses were waste rather than abundance. *Everything was gone except the strong heart of the American farmer and his faith in the Democratic party.*

That dozen of years ago, what eye could have seen the war clouds of World War II? What ear could have heard the cannon's roar? What prophetic vision could have told us what lay in our path?

Some have said this is a war of the factory and the production line. But when the war shall have been won, as won it will be, the American farmer will be entitled to the first and best of the glory for victory on an equal footing with our heroic men-at-arms and our valiant production workers.

Today . . . A New High in Prosperity

Agriculture has shattered all records for war food production. The millions in our armed forces are the best fed and clothed in the world. The farmer has sent food for our Allies overseas in quantities that meant salvation. Meanwhile, civilians have had better diets than ever before.

The Democratic party is justly proud of its well rounded national farm program. By it, the farmer has lifted himself out of that worst depression. He has regained his firm footing in the national economy. His soil and his production resources are in order. By means of this program, he has not only met the challenge of war, but he has fortified himself against the years ahead. *He is ready for the reconstruction and the peace!*

Last calendar year, agricultural production was nearly 30 per cent higher than the average for the last five previous pre-war years, and nearly one-half larger than the average during the first World War. The average of all farm prices in 1943 was 182 per cent above that of 1932, and greater than the 1917-18 average. The farmer's cash receipts reached the all-time record of 19 billion dollars plus, an increase of more than 300 per cent above 1932, and nearly 60 per cent above the 1917-18 average. Because of national price control, the buying power of 1943 farm income was 75 per cent higher than in 1917 and 1918.

A Sound Program . . . Striking Results

The secret of the farmer's comparative prosperity has been the fact that the program of this Administration was directed toward fundamentals. It aimed at helping the farmer build a sound, productive and flexible system of agriculture. True, some of the early measures were temporary emergency steps; some were outmoded by fast-changing world patterns. *But as a whole, our program was centered constantly at one target; namely, balanced abundance of production and fair returns to the farmer in the market place. The blueprints called for equality of opportunity and a just basis of cooperation with industry and labor.*

We built a permanent nationwide farm program, including conservation of resources. Soil conservation and soil fertility walked with seven-league boots. New seedings of legumes and grasses were made on more than 38 million acres in a single year. Application of lime and fertilizer involved 20 million tons. The farmer made better use of his land. By the spring of 1944, over 1000 democratic, locally controlled soil conservation districts had been established. They covered over two and a half million farms with a combined area of more than half a billion acres.

Fertility stored in the soil by conservation programs brought the harvest of farm production for present war years. This conservation work, in contrast to what occurred through

World War I, enabled the farmer to care for his soil while producing nearly half again as much as he did during that war period.

Cash . . . and Credit

The program reached for needed cash and placed it back into the farmer's pocket. Meanwhile, this Administration was finding good markets for him at protected prices. Government payments to the farmer supplemented his income, helping him to make adjustments in his farming patterns, the while improving the good earth.

Commodity loans enable farmers to hold surplus production off the markets in time of plenty and save these surpluses for the time of need. This is the ever-normal granary principle at work through our governmental processes. Corn and wheat in the farmer's granary enabled him to make the first great upward surge in meat, milk and egg production when the world plague of war engulfed us. *The fact is that through the end of 1943, commodity loans had totaled more than three and three-fourths billion dollars.*

In 1933 farmers were in desperate need of credit of all types. Emergency financing was the first step. Mortgage foreclosures had to be stopped and working capital was requisite to further existence. This Administration met the challenge of those cruel circumstances. The Farm Credit Administration made production loans and long term loans to farmers on a sound business basis at fair interest rates. This system is now a vital part of this nation's armament for war and assurance for peace. During World War I, there was a devastating increase in long term debts—too late appreciated. Now with the encouragement of the Farm Credit System, the farmer is reducing his mortgage indebtedness out of his improved income. He is ready to meet the post-war period.

Not all farmers were in a position to obtain commercial loans. Agencies of the Farm Credit System offered many of these farmers needed emergency loans. The farmer is back on his feet, and, like the good citizen he is, is paying off his debt with regular and easy stride.

Up to the beginning of this year, the Farm Security Administration made loans totaling over 800 million dollars to nearly one million farmers who were unable to get credit elsewhere. These farmers were good risks. More than 86 per cent of the principal has been repaid. During the recent war years, this Administration's loan and purchase program has walked step by step at the farmer's side.

Electricity Extended

During the early 1930's, everyone had electric power, it seemed, except the farmer, and if anyone in our economy needed it, it was he. *By the end of last year, nearly half the farmers of this country were equipped with electric lights and power.* This can be largely credited to the efforts of this Administration through its Rural Electrification program. The government advanced 480 million dollars in loans. These were used to build 400 thousand miles of distribution lines, servicing well over 100 million rural consumers. This extension of power is realized by the farmer far beyond his power to express appreciation. This work of the present Administration alone would merit the farmer's vote of approval and demand for its uninterrupted continuation.

Wider Markets at Home and Abroad

Throughout all the twelve years of the Administration of the Democratic party, ways have been found to increase markets for farm production. Research was intensified in both production and marketing fields. The result outstrips the magic and the miracles of the ancients.

Programs to enlarge both home and foreign markets developed into enormous efforts such as the food stamp plan, school lunch programs, direct purchases for Lend-Lease, and the like.

Through all this, it has been brought about that the farmer has had the major voice in running his own affairs and controlling his own destiny. *From the beginning, the farmer and his organizations have helped build the national farm program, have participated in its decisions, and have played a major role in administering it.*

The American farmer has risen. This he has done on his own power. But his rise was made possible by the national farm policy of the present Administration in Washington. The framers of that policy, placed in a position of governmental authority by the instrumentality of the Democratic party, had learned and understood the farming problem. They recognized the principle of equality for agriculture. The same sound policies that enabled the farmer to meet the test of war will enable him to meet the problems of the years ahead.

There is no more patriotic citizen in this Republic than the farmer. He has given his sons to the wars. He has sent his daughters to the industries. He has bought War Bonds. He has prospered his country by his industry, he has honored it by his integrity, and he has strengthened it with his fidelity.

The Farmer Will Not Forget

Some men fear that the American farmer is ungrateful to this Administration for what it has given him. We do not believe it.

The American farmer will remember the Democratic party and its co-partnership with him when election day rolls around in November.

Memo to the American Farmer—

During these war years you've not only fed America—and fed her well—but you've gone a long way toward sustaining her fighting Allies. The amounts of food you've harvested have been stupendous—almost unbelievable. And you've done it with manpower and machinery shortages, and under wartime handicaps. You deserve full credit for this magnificent achievement. But—weren't you better able to reach these greatest production goals in history—and as a result double farm income—because nine years of the Roosevelt Administration had:

Given you a backlog through the Ever-Normal Granary Program?
Protected the fertility of your land through soil conservation?
Found markets for your products?
Saved thousands of your homes from mortgage foreclosures, and reduced mortgages on your farms to their lowest point in years?
Put thousands of acres of arid land under irrigation?
Furnished you credit at a rate of interest you could afford to pay?
Made it possible for thousands of you who were tenants to own your own farms?
Resettled and rehabilitated many of you who needed assistance?
Electrified hundreds of thousands of your homes and barns?

And right now, you have a post-war guarantee, through the Commodity Credit Corporation, of support prices for at least two years after the war, and, because of this Administration's foreign policy, of world markets for your products.

THE WORKING MAN . . .
Yesterday—Today and Tomorrow

By SENATOR ELBERT D. THOMAS *of Utah*

THE war and post-war problems are of such vital interest to us all that we are prone to be thoughtless of the past. That is especially true for those of us who have steady jobs, good wages and healthful working conditions. But, after all, the present and the future can be but a promise. It is from the past that we must get our assurances and from which we must plan our accomplishments. When people are thoughtless of the past and not worried about the future, they are generally content with the present. That contentment may cause us to forget. *What I shall say, therefore, is said "lest we forget."*

The Working Man in '33

Contentment among workers was completely lacking in 1933. There was unemployment. There was the kick-back. There were long hours and low wages. Industry, agriculture and mining were, in the sight of the law, of purely local concern, and the federal government seemed to have no interest in the problems of workers in any fields excepting those of foreign and interstate commerce.

A legalistic attitude had tied our minds to such an extent that we thought it more important to have respect for a legal fiction which had no basis in fact than to provide for the general welfare of the people. Then, with a change in our national leadership, there came, in rapid succession, a change in attitudes. The kick-back was prohibited. The National Labor Relations Act, which gave workers the right to bargain collectively, and the Wage and Hour Act, which put a floor under wages and a ceiling on hours, came into existence. Social Security laws were enacted. All were sustained by the Supreme Court. The theory, therefore, that something could be done to provide better attitudes, better wages and hours, better working conditions and security for collective bargaining became a reality. Sentiment was brought to focus against company-controlled unions, and civil liberties were made a fact in our national life instead of an oft-forgotten theory. *The worker was "freed," if I may use that expression, by having his labor and tools recognized as capital which should be protected.*

It is a far cry back to the day when the eight-hour law for miners was contested on the score that not to allow a miner to work twelve or fifteen hours a day, if he chose, was destructive of his liberties. Other persons' liberties were forgotten. Freedom for one is only proper and possible in society so long as such freedom does not interfere with the freedom of others. It is now recognized by the state and by society that a tired worker is a hazard to his fellow workers. Society believes, too, that it is well to measure labor by its results, production and accomplishments.

Labor as a War Asset

It is in the light of those accomplishments that I want to measure labor as an asset to our great country in this time of stress. Never has a country produced as America has done in getting ready for and in fighting this war. Never has a country responded as the 130 million Americans have responded to a unified endeavor to destroy the wrongdoers among nations and the aggressive leaders in those nations. No one can, therefore, doubt the ultimate outcome of this great war.

When President Roosevelt called the Industry-Labor Conference following Pearl Harbor and my motion in the conference that there should be no strikes or lockouts and that all disputes should be settled by peaceful means became the order of the day, a new type of unity came into our land—a unity which can only be recognized by a deep student of history who knows its great lack in times before the present, even during war times.

I can hear someone say, "But the promise not to strike has not prevented strikes." Of course it hasn't! There have been "quickies," there have been the equivalents of the "sit-downs" and there have been some major strikes. Human nature, our economic life, the complexities of industrial labor relations and advantage-taking among leaders can never be overcome by a promise. But certain ideals were set, and those ideals have been respected by the large majority of the workers.

The strikes that have occurred have made headlines, and some people in this country have tried to make political capital out of them.

Everyone agrees there should be no strikes in wartime. But when we consider strikes, let us consider them against the whole picture of labor's record in wartime. When we do that, we find that man-hours lost on account of strikes, taken all together, are a very small fraction of the total man-hours worked in war industries. *We find that less than one-fourth of one per cent of the manpower actually used in war production has been lost by strikes in this war.* And at the same time we find that labor has increased its productive hours by more than 75 per cent.

Few people realize how well the machinery for settling wartime labor disputes without strikes or lockouts has been working. The National War Labor Board, created by the President after the Pearl Harbor Industry-Labor Conference, and entrusted by Congress in the War Labor Disputes Act with the administration of the program for settling disagreements between labor and management, has quietly settled more than 6,700 dispute cases since it was established.

But these are not figures for headlines.

I think it can be said—and said unhesitatingly—that labor has made a tremendous contribution to the success of this war. To the working man—together with the men of industry and of government—goes the credit for the magnificent number of planes and tanks and guns that are flowing out to all battlefronts to the soldiers of all of our Allies as well as our own.

I think it can be said, too, that the Roosevelt Administration helped unite the worker with his employer in this tremendously great war effort, and thus helped to make the production record possible.

Labor's Rights Are Secure

Labor's problems no longer concern the gaining of certain rights. Those rights are with us in law, and now, thank goodness, in custom. It was interesting to note how a great gathering like the International Labor Conference at Philadelphia said so little about the problems of collective bargaining, and wages and hours, and the rights of labor; yet said so much, in contrast, about the welfare of the laborer, about his education, housing, social security, his leisure time and vocational guidance, health and general welfare.

The year 1944, when compared with 1933, viewed in the light of attitudes as far as the worker is concerned, is as different as day is from night. All of the problems are not settled, but the 50 million American workers know what they did not know in 1933. They know that under the Roosevelt Administration their rights have been made secure. They know that their welfare is of vital concern to their government. They know, too, that the welfare of labor is a concern of most of the other governments of the world. And because of all this, they know that such an objective as full employment, for example, is no longer considered an idle dream; it is now in the definite realm of possibility for the future.

Labor Has Come Through

When this war came on, labor, like every other group of patriotic Americans, put aside many of its peacetime standards. They have stayed long hours at jobs that have been hard, have been nerve-wracking, have been back-breaking. They've done it without complaining. And they've done it not without sacrifice.

Have you ever consulted anyone who knows about the hazards of industry under war pressure when untrained employes come into industrial life? If you have, I think you discovered that since the war began there have already been over 30,000 persons who have lost their lives in war industry and over 200,000 who have been permanently injured. Those persons represent quite a sacrifice in the war effort. *Let us give credit where credit is due. Without those sacrifices, the tremendous production which has assured victory for us could not have been accomplished.*

We have used the term "total war," and every speaker who advocates the sale of War Bonds points out to us, who are potential Bond buyers, that our money is needed to support the boys at the front. Just how long wonld those boys at the front last if they didn't have the home support? What good is an army without its reserves? What good is a navy without its home-manufactured supplies?

Where can we draw the line between the person who is giving his all in the war effort and the person who is holding back? The line must be drawn between individuals. It is the only one that should separate a slacker from one who is willingly doing his duty.

What of Tomorrow?

There are going to be many problems for the worker to face after this war is over—big problems. The question, of course, which is uppermost in the minds of everyone who is now in a war plant is "what about my job when we stop making planes and tanks and guns?"

The Administration has done a great deal of thinking and planning for the days after the war. The Baruch plan, for instance, draws up a full demobilization blueprint for the change-over of both men and machines from war to peace. Any plan which provides for the speedy reconversion of industry from war to peacetime production provides for the speedy making of jobs.

As war plants shut down, of course, there are bound to be lags in employment as we tool up for peace. For this period there is already one big accomplished fact for the workers—unemployment insurance.

Under which philosophy of government do you think a working man and woman would be safer in post-war America—the philosophy of the Roosevelt Administration which made possible the unemployment insurance which is going to tide him over the reconversion period ahead, or the philosophy of the Republican party which demonstrated in 1931 *and* 1932 *that its solution for a problem of this kind was to turn the worker over to community charity—to the breadlines and the soup kitchen?*

In the last twelve years the people of America have gained back confidence in their government. It has accomplished much for their welfare, and they have faith that it can accomplish more. Particularly does the working man have faith in his government today. He remembers that in 1933 the cries of the unemployed and distressed were not uttered in vain. He remembers that when they asked for bread they were not given a stone. He knows that under this Administration the working man has gone forward to new horizons and to greater self-respect.

The Roosevelt Administration has remained coustant in its endeavor to expand the people's welfare. The people, I believe, will remain constant in support of that Administration.

Memo to the Working Man—

Tojo and Hitler guessed wrong. They did not know that free labor—working hand in hand with free industry—could out-work and out-produce the men and women of any dictatorship. They know now how wrong they were as the tanks made in Detroit and the airplanes made in Seattle and the guns made in Rock Island are blasting them into retreat in Normandy and Russia and on Saipan.

American labor has delivered in this war. All America realizes this. But, isn't it true—you working men and women—that you have been better able to deliver because this Administration had:

Bettered your working conditions?
Abolished the sweat shop?
Furnished you with bargaining tools?
Put a floor under wages and a ceiling on hours?
Given many of you better housing?
Translated civil liberties into reality?
Assured you security in your old age, and unemployment insurance when you need it?
Made your paycheck go further by holding down the cost of living, and made your savings safer by its unrelenting battle on all fronts against inflation?
And finally—
Given you new and increased self-respect?

There are two philosophies of government in this country. One—the philosophy of the Democratic party—has given more to those who had too little. The other—the philosophy of the Republican party—has given more to those who already had an abundance.

Today, the Democratic party looks to the future in terms of the *right* of all to a remunerative job, to adequate food and clothing, to a decent home, to protection from the economic fears of old age.

The Republican party, keeping very quiet about its past, says it looks to the future in the same terms as the Democratic party, but that "it can do everything better."

Under which party—and which philosophy—do you think the working man and woman of America could face the future with the most confidence?

THE BUSINESS MAN . . .
Yesterday—Today and Tomorrow

By **SENATOR HARRY S. TRUMAN** *of Missouri*

FOR twelve long years this country of ours has heard the reverberations of warnings of disaster to our economic way of life. These warnings have proved to be only the echoes of the voices of the princes of privilege who exploited America under the protective wings of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover.

Let us pause and look back to March 4, 1933. On that day a man of destiny became the President of the United States. When he took office the industrial giant which is America was shackled in the chains of economic chaos and depression. Tools of production which had made this nation great were idle. Business was bankrupt. Farm prices were at rock bottom. People were starving in the midst of plenty. The greatest army of unemployed in our history was walking the highways and byways of our land. *There was fear that democratic government could not survive in the face of economic crisis.*

Stability and Economic Security

With inspired leadership, Franklin Roosevelt proceeded on the foundation that the only thing to fear was fear itself. Boldly and almost overnight he restored the financial structure of this nation and brought the real meaning of free enterprise into being once again. Out of the dark shadows of the conditions that necessitated the banking holiday he guided this nation to financial stability and for the first time provided economic security for all—producers and consumers alike. By rescuing the farmers from bankruptcy, by putting millions of people back to work, he restored to the business man his greatest market.

Legislation was immediately passed revamping the whole banking structure and insuring deposits up to $5,000.

The Securities and Exchange Commission was created to assure investors and legitimate business that they would no longer be a prey to speculators and the manipulations of special interests.

Direct loans were made to business, both large and small, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Long-term, low-interest loans stimulated private investment, particularly in the construction industry.

In every possible way this Administratiun strengthened the entire economic structure upon which business rests.

What About Free Enterprise?

Yet for twelve long years we have heard that industry and free enterprise have been strangled by this Administration. What are the facts? In the nine years immediately preceding this war the rate of growth in number of business enterprises was greater than in any period since 1900. The number of business firms per capita was at an all-time high.

We hear much about the good old days of the 1920's and about the prosperity of those years. If we look back now we realize all too well that it was prosperity for the few, and pittance for the many. The American people will never again put up with that for the simple reason that they cannot afford to—either as a nation or as individuals.

The Democratic party has always stood for the principles of free enterprise, for the belief that all men should have the same equal chance in this nation of ours to share in the good things of life to be earned through hard work. Free enterprise does not mean that the privileged few are free to exploit the many. Free enterprise does not mean that the privileged few may be free to charge exorbitant prices and to pay substandard wages.

The Democratic party has always stood for a good, sound economic business system for the United States, based upon the principle that each individual is free to have his own business and enjoy the fruit of his endeavors and labor.

Every care has always been taken in setting up our tax programs so that business would be given a chance to grow and that funds would be available for future development. These things the Democratic party intends to incorporate in any legislation to be written in the future.

We want to protect business.

But we shall not grant special privileges to monopoly.

Was This Ruin?

In restoring confidence and prosperity the President with his sound leadership has overlooked no segment of our society. The interests of every group were considered and aided. There are those who assert that business under Roosevelt has been ruined. Just what form did this "ruin" take?

Business activity in 1933 increased 10.5 per cent over 1932. In 1934 another increase of 8 per cent was made. In 1935 business was 4.5 per cent higher in the early months and stepped up in the later months to 17 per cent over the same months in 1934. Business in 1936 showed further progress with an increase of 16 per cent over 1935. Again in 1937 a 6 per cent increase was shown. The past five years have shown so much business expansion that it is not necessary to quote statistics to any reasonable man.

Our national income in 1943 reached the staggering figure of 150 billion dollars, almost four times the 40 billions in 1932, the last year of the Hoover Administration.

Does this sound like ruin?

The magnificent record of this Administration cannot be discredited by the carping of a small group of selfish men. The facts cannot be denied—the record speaks for itself. Capital has been provided for the stimulation of all branches of industry; banking and finance have been put on sure footing. The small business men of the nation have been given loans on a businesslike basis. Under the provisions of the RFC Act, individual loans had been made to approximately 21,000 firms up to March, 1944. Of this number, approximately 19,000 loans were for amounts of $100,000 or less.

That Post-War Reserve Question

Some corporations have tried to convince the American people that taxation will not leave them enough to stay in business after this war. Witness the recent testimony of the Under Secretary of War, Robert P. Patterson. He testified that by the end of next year the large corporations will have a post-war reserve of more than 42 billion dollars.

Think of it! Two billion more than our national income of 1932!

This reserve is larger than the public debt was at the time the President was using public funds to put this country—including the corporations—back on its feet.

Industry Was Ready for War

Because of the leadership of a great President it was possible for American industry to regain strength and economic vigor following the dark days of 1932. It was upon this strength and vigor that our production has been built—a production which has given us such fabulous figures as 184,000 airplanes, 60,000 tanks, almost 37 million tons of shipping, and 31 billion rounds of small arms ammunition—a production that spells doom to our enemies.

Friend of Little Business

Throughout this period of war this Administration has been watching out for the interests of the little business man. The war has been a difficult time for some small businesses. For this reason, the Administration has made grants available to those plants which could not produce war products. These grants have come from the RFC, the Defense Plants Corporation and the Smaller War Plants Corporation. The Smaller War Plants Corporation was set up by legislation with the one thought in mind of keeping the little men going through these difficult times when small plants manufacturing for civilian needs have suffered.

But this Democratic Administration is determined that this small business will be given every opportunity to get back on its feet and become again one of the solid foundations of America.

Determined also that small business shall not be discriminated against in the conversion from war to peace production, the Administration has already provided that government loan agencies shall provide assistance to small business for war demobilization, contract terminations and conversion to peacetime operations.

Unwinding America From War

The problem of converting America from war to peace is one to which this Administration has given deep thought and study. The Special Senate Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, which I have the honor to head, has made extensive studies in this field. The reports of the National Resources Planning Board, which the President sent to Congress, make special recommendations on the transition period. The Baruch Report, which was made public in February of this year, charts a course for us to follow.

Every effort is being made to prepare to swing America's vast war machine from wartime to peacetime production in as orderly and systematic a way as possible—and as soon as reports from the battlefronts make it safe for us to do so.

For example, war contracts will be rescinded as soon as goods are no longer needed, contracts already under way or partly completed will be paid for immediately so business will have working capital for pay rolls and purchasing material, surplus war property will be disposed of, and provisions will be made for liberal credit to manufacturers resuming civilian production.

This Administration has already set up machinery to do some of these things. Legislation now before Congress will enable it to do others. *You can be sure that the Administration which wound America up to war with such speed and efficiency can be trusted to unwind it for peace.*

Business Confidence

American business has every reason for confidence in the Democratic Administration and its proud record of twelve years of achievement under President Roosevelt. That achievement has heartened our Allies and put strange fears in the heart of the Nazi and Japanese aggressors. They had not believed that America could turn from peacetime production with such speed to become the arsenal of democracy. Business, management and labor are to be congratulated on this all-out effort that is now sending into the battlefields of the world the finest equipment to the fighting men of America and our Allies.

Memo to the Business Man—

When business was completely prostrated in 1933, it called loudly to the government for help. And it got that help, both by such direct methods as a revamped banking system and loans to business, and indirectly by increased foreign trade, and increased consumer purchasing power.

In 1936 we had what the newspapers were calling "Roosevelt Recovery," and by 1940 financial pages were commenting that never had there been three successive years when the average profit of industry had been as high.

Then came the war. And American business and industry, strengthened and revitalized after nine years of the Roosevelt Administration, were ready for a production job that will go down in history as one of the miracles of these fighting years. To the men and women of government who first made the plans, to the men and women of business and industry who blueprinted and directed them, and to the men and women of labor who turned them into the weapons that are winning the war—the entire world is grateful.

Even in a democracy at war it has been necessary to place upon you, as upon the whole country, many restrictions. And yet these restrictions—including price control—have not hurt business.

Your profits are at an all-time high, after taxes. Business failures are at an all-time low.

In many ways, in fact, price control has helped you. For example, it has kept down the cost of many of the materials you must buy to turn out tanks and planes and guns. It has kept down the prices of the necessities everyone must buy. But, most important of all, price control and the whole Administration program to prevent inflation and the resulting post-war deflation is one of your best guarantees of continued prosperity after the war.

One more thing.

When President Roosevelt asked business and industry to take on the stupendous production job needed to win the war, he called many of your own leaders to Washington to direct it. They are still here. They are not only directing the job of producing for war, but they are helping to make the plans that will reconvert your business or your plant to peace.

Your balance sheets don't lie. How would they tell you to vote?

The A, B, C's of Our Foreign Policy

Built on the Past, Apace with the Present, and Keyed to the Future, This Administration's Record in International Relations Has Been Courageous, Forthright, and Clearly Defined.

By JOSEPHINE SCHAIN

ON D-Day the thoughts and prayers of all America were with the fighting men of our invasion forces as they splashed out of the Channel waters onto the sands of Normandy. They knew that in establishing a beachhead these men were paying the great price that freedom might be maintained in the world. Stores closed, sports events were cancelled—all sensed that it was no time for bands and hurrahs. It was a time for heart searchings and resolution. A heavy responsibility rested upon the shoulders of the middle-aged because millions of young men were again paying with their lives for the failure of the present generation to organize the world on a basis of law and order.

The words of Woodrow Wilson challenged the nation:

> **"I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it."**

Shall this happen a third time? Shall the price that these young men and women are paying in Europe, in Asia, on a score of fronts, be tragically paid in vain? The foreign policy that we choose to pursue is our answer to that question.

From the day President Roosevelt first defined the Good Neighbor Policy in his inaugural address on through to the recent announcement that the United States is ready with a plan for world peace and security, this Administration has hewed a clearly-defined path for the nation to follow.

Our Neighbors to the South

The Monroe Doctrine forbidding interference by European powers in the affairs of this hemisphere has been a cornerstone of this country's policy since it was pronounced by President Monroe in 1823. We paid little attention, however, to the international relationships that were being molded until 1889 when an Inter-American Conference was held in Washington.

WHEN JAPAN'S FATE WAS SETTLED—
President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek at the Cairo Conference, Nov. 22-26, 1943.

From 1889 to 1933 the United States dominated relationships in the Western Hemisphere. The "big stick" came into play and bitterness and conflict resulted. When this Administration took office in 1933 to supplant Republican imperialism with the Good Neighbor Policy, the attitude of South America toward the United States was mainly one of antagonism. President Roosevelt promptly announced that in the future the United States would be opposed to armed intervention in Latin American affairs.

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires in 1936 agreed on fundamental principles basic to an enduring peace. Chief among these was the understanding that when peace was threatened the governments would consult together to prevent war.

The crucial test came September 3, 1939, when war broke out in Europe. A meeting of Foreign Ministers followed immediately, and plans were outlined for the joint defense of the Americas. At later meetings policies were adopted forbidding the transfer of territory on this continent from a European power to a non-American power, controlling Fifth Column activities and recommending that the republics sever relations with the Axis powers.

> **The Good Neighbor Policy paid dividends many times over after Pearl Harbor. An unfriendly South America, with its vast shoreline, would have been a severe liability to the United States. Instead, all but one country—Argentina—worked and consulted with us for the defense of this hemisphere.**

Our Neighbor to the North

The traditional friendly cooperation between Canada and the United States has been advanced under the Roosevelt Administration by exchange visits between the two heads of governments. Joint defense plans have been worked out and other forms of cooperation developed. The results can best be measured in the words of W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, in an address before the British Parliament on May 18, 1944. He said:

"The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly cooperation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a powerful one."

The Problems of the Pacific

The beginning of our association with the Far East dates back to the days of the clipper ships. The first vessel bearing the flag of the United States, the "Empress of China," sailed for Canton in 1784 in search of the fabulous riches of the Orient. Thus began a commerce which built the foundation for Sino-American relations and consolidated our interest in the doctrine of the freedom of the seas—the

right of ships to travel unmolested on the oceans of the world.

Japan kept her doors closed to the world until the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1854 Admiral Perry negotiated a treaty with the Japanese and opened her doors to the world.

Our Open Door Policy was fashioned through a hundred years of negotiations with the East. Under this policy we have endeavored to keep the doors open to trade with all the nations in that part of the world. The purchase of Alaska in 1867 and the acquisition of the Philippine Islands after the Spanish-American War gave us an added concern in the Pacific area. The airplane has now given great importance to Alaska as a route to the East.

Today's war has, of course, highlighted our interest in the Pacific. This Administration has already stated many of its policies aimed toward the establishment of order in this area:

It has upheld the doctrine of the freedom of the seas in the Pacific.

It has stood for the maintenance of the integrity of China, thereby blocking Japan in its desire for a stranglehold on China.

The Oriental Exclusion Act has been amended so that it no longer discriminates against the Chinese.

The United States has signed a treaty with China abolishing its former extraterritorial rights under which foreigners were given the right to live and work in China exempt from the laws of that country.

The Philippine Islands have been promised independence as soon as the war is won.

Friendship with the Soviet Union has brought into the Pacific area a powerful force for the development of international cooperation.

A closer relationship has been built up with Australia and New Zealand.

At the Cairo Conference in 1943, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek agreed on a policy for the Pacific after the war is won. Japan will be stripped of the islands which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first world war. These include the islands mandated to Japan by the League of Nations as well as those taken by force—such as the Philippines and Dutch East Indies. All territory taken from China is to be returned. Korea is to become independent.

Recognition of Russia

The Roosevelt Administration recognized the government of the U.S.S.R. after sixteen years of severed relations, thus adding another chapter to the traditional friendship between the two countries.

Russia's dramatic campaign against the Nazis has fully proved the wisdom of friendly Soviet-American relations.

In contrast, Mr. Dewey, with characteristic lack of vision, said on January 20, 1940:

"Insofar as the present Administration has adhered to the policies of its predecessors it has met with the general approval of the American people. But it has occasionally strayed from the path. A conspicuous and most unfortunate departure was the recognition by the New Deal of Soviet Russia."

Economic Causes of War

One of the first acts of the Roosevelt Administration was to substitute economic cooperation for economic warfare in the world of trade.

The Smoot-Hawley all-high tariff passed during the Hoover

WHEN GERMANY'S FATE WAS SETTLED— *President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin at the Teheran Conference, November 27-December 1, 1943.*

Administration added a serious handicap to the already depressed condition in the country. Foreign concerns could not afford to sell their goods in the United States and as trade is a two-way street, we could not sell abroad. Hence unemployment mounted. The Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act advanced by Secretary Hull, first passed in 1934 and since thrice extended, opened the avenues of world trade and increased foreign markets for the products of the United States.

This Administration has demonstrated that economic cooperation is the best basis for friendship between nations. The trade agreements have now become an essential bulwark of the kind of peace that Americans desire.

The Atlantic Charter

An unprecedented meeting of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill took place "somewhere in the Atlantic" on August 14, 1941. On that day they signed the Atlantic Charter in which they outlined their hope for a peacetime world in which greater justice would prevail for all men. The Charter states these principles:

(1) No aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise;

(2) No territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

(3) The right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live;

(4) The enjoyment by all states, great and small . . . of access . . . to the trade and to the raw materials of the world;

(5) Improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security;

(6) To all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries;

(7) All men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

(8) The abandonment of the use of force.

This Charter became part of the Declaration which, in 1942, created the United Nations as a bulwark against the Axis powers.

Conferences of the Big Four

At Moscow in October, 1943, the foreign ministers of the four Great Powers met and announced a Joint Four Nation Agreement. Plans for an international organization

of all peace-loving states were outlined; close cooperation, not alone to shorten the war but to see that peace is secured, was agreed upon, and a number of political questions of importance settled. This cleared the way for the Cairo and Teheran meetings.

At Cairo the fate of Japan was settled.

At Teheran determination was expressed to finish the war shoulder to shoulder and to work together to fashion an enduring peace. There the representatives of the three Great Powers agreed upon three constructive points:

1. The timing of military operations.
2. A bid to the German satellite nations to leave the Nazi camp.
3. The assurance to Iran of her freedom.

They also recognized the necessity of jointly seeking a solution of the causes of war.

The Four Freedoms

In an address to Congress on January 6, 1941, the President concluded with a masterful appeal for the Four Freedoms as basic to the new world order. He said:

> **"In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.**
>
> **"The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.**
>
> **"The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.**
>
> **"The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.**
>
> **"The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments * * * (so) that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression * * *."**

Conferences of the United Nations

In May, 1943, the first United Nations Conference was called to order at Hot Springs, Virginia. There representatives of the forty-four nations met in the Conference on Food and Agriculture to outline recommendations to bring Freedom from Want to people everywhere.

In November, 1943, representatives of the same nations met at Atlantic City in the Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation to work out plans for the relief of areas devastated by the war.

A Conference of Allied Ministers of Education was held in London in April, 1944, when again representatives of many nations considered restoration of educational facilities destroyed by the Axis.

Delegates to the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference met July 1 at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to frame plans for international stabilization of monetary matters and organization of a world bank.

The Cooperation of Congress

From the days of George Washington there has been discussion between the Senate and the Executive Branch of the government over foreign policy because authority overlaps under the Constitution. The Roosevelt Administration has worked diligently through conferences with members of Congress to develop a cooperative spirit to prevent differences between the two branches of the government in planning for peace.

One result of the effort has been the embodiment in the Connally Resolution of the wording of the Moscow Agreement.

Pattern for a New World Order

As the war blasts on to its final chapter, our foreign policy proposals draw a pattern for a new world order. The President announced the middle of June that the United States was ready with the first draft of a post-war organization for world peace and security. Secretary Hull has sent invitations to China, Great Britain and to Russia to begin conferring on the outlined plan. The President said:

"It is our thought that the organization would be a fully representative body with broad responsibilities for promoting and facilitating international cooperation, through such agencies as may be found necessary, to consider and deal with the problems of world relations.

"It is our further thought that the organization would provide for a council, elected annually by the fully representative body of all nations, which would include the four major nations and a suitable number of other nations. The council would concern itself with peaceful settlement of international disputes and with the prevention of threats to the peace or breaches of the peace.

"* * * We are seeking effective agreement and arrangements through which the nations would maintain, according to their capacities, adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and of making impossible deliberate preparation for war, and to have such forces available for joint action when necessary."

What of the Republicans?

Events have demonstrated again and again the vision and wisdom of the conduct of our international relations by President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull. The evolving foreign policy of this Administration glows in contrast with the utter failure of the Republican Administration in the twenties. A plank has been adopted by the Republican National convention which follows strikingly their pattern of 1920. Let Mr. Willkie speak:

"The Republicans won the election of 1920. A Republican President, claiming that he in no way repudiated the party's platform, immediately after the election announced that the League of Nations was dead. A Republican President elected under the proposed platform of 1944 could, with equal integrity, announce that the United States would not enter any world organization in which the nations agreed jointly to use their 'sovereign' power for the suppression of aggression. And every effective world organization proposed could be rejected as a 'world state'."

Who Built This Foreign Policy?

Today we all know we are winning this war. Victory will come to us more quickly and more surely because it is built on the eleven years of brilliant and skillful foreign policy of this Administration—a foreign policy consistent and far-sighted from the day the Good Neighbor Policy was inaugurated in March, 1933, to the day in May, 1944, when Secretary Hull announced that with the President's approval he has invited representatives of Great Britain, Russia and China to Washington to begin discussions on the kind of peace structure we need after the war.

> **This Administration's foreign policy, and the test it has stood in the world crises, is its most important accomplishment. It is easy now to say that it is the policy of all the American people and not of any political party, but someone had to build that policy, and the Roosevelt Administration is the administration that did it.**

Program for Chaos

Newspaper Columnists and Democratic Leaders Comment on the Republican Platform and Candidate

SENATOR JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, ***Chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, on the keynote speech:***

"One will search the speech in vain for any realization of the hopes that might have been aroused by this appraisal of the times. Definitely Governor Warren laid down no program for the future, and unless the platform committee of the Republican convention does the unexpected, the country will again be invited to a change of leadership upon the specious promise that the Roosevelt policies can be carried out better by the critics who don't believe in them anyway than by their originators under whose leadership America has actually reached its highest standard of production and achievement.

"Certainly the over 22 million who voted for Willkie in 1940 find nothing to arouse their enthusiasm in the declaration of Governor Warren that the Republican party wants a 'just and lasting peace.' Governor Warren has told the assembled delegates that 'whatever the exact procedures' for such a peace, he does not believe any sound American political party should say more.

"The hearts and minds of America demand more. And what the Republicans apparently offer will be of little satisfaction to the soldiers now fighting this war and for whose right to vote in the coming election the Republican governors, notably the prospective nominee, did little to protect. Nor will it provide any hope for their parents and families who anxiously await their return to a world which offers some promise of a positive program to banish war."

On the acceptance speech:

"Except for the formal attacks upon the President and the Administration in the conventional manner of a party spokesman, the acceptance speech of Governor Dewey was a rather strong endorsement of the President's course. 'Thank God for General Marshall and Admiral King' says the Republican candidate. The people, I think, will be inclined to say 'Thank God for Roosevelt who put them there.' "

WALTER LIPPMANN, ***Columnist, on the platform:***

"* * * This platform, quite apart from its intentional ambiguity on foreign policy, is as regards domestic affairs as reckless and as mischievous as irresponsible politicians dared to make it. It is a blueprint for post-war inflation. It is an invitation to all the pressure groups, a permit to all weak-minded and chicken-hearted candidates for office, to plunge the country into the chaos of an uncontrolled and uncontrollable inflation of prices and wages.

"The authors of the platform pledge themselves to 'maintain the value of the American dollar' and to 'regard the payment of government debt as an obligation of honor which prohibits any policy leading to the depreciation of the currency. We shall *reduce* that debt as soon as economic conditions make such reduction possible.'

"But how do Senator Taft and his colleagues propose to discharge this obligation of honor and to reduce the debt?

"They propose to reduce the debt by reducing taxes: 'as soon as the war ends'—mark the words—all the present rates of taxation are to be brought down to the level to cover—again mark the words—'the normal expenditure of government in the post-war period'. Thus they do not intend to reduce the debt. Moreover, they do not intend to maintain tax rates capable of exercising any control of that vast accumulation of inflationary purchasing power which will be most dangerously explosive precisely in the period just after the war ends. As the platform pledge of a party allegedly devoted to sound money, this demagogic promise about taxes is a disgrace." * * *

"These deadly dangerous promises to reduce taxes and to raise wages and farm prices are set in a platform which promises by implication to remove all the wartime controls before demobilization and reconversion are completed. There is not one line, not one word, in the whole platform which recognizes honestly the need of civilian control and sacrifice in wartime. Only the soldiers, it appears, are expected to sacrifice their convenience to the nation.

"If this is the spirit and the substance of the Republican post-war domestic program, Mrs. Luce will have some explaining to do when her GI Joes come home to find a country so selfish, so sunk in its own materialism, that it did not have the discipline and decency to deal with the obvious danger of a post-war inflation."

ERNEST LINDLEY, ***Columnist, on the acceptance speech:***

"In the conduct of a great war, military affairs are intertwined with international politics and diplomacy. The coordination of all these activities to achieve victory and hold it can be achieved only by the head of the government. This is not, as Dewey implies, civilian 'intervention' in the military conduct of the war. His use of the word might in itself be taken as an indication that he does not grasp the nature of war or the duties of the President."

GOVERNOR ROBERT S. KERR, ***Democratic keynoter, on the platform:***

"The Republican platform is the great unsolved mystery of 1944. They've covered practically everything that they've had in platforms as far back as 1920 and they've established a new world's record in talking about a durable and lasting peace without giving the people a single sentence showing how they intend to achieve it."

On Governor Warren's withdrawal from the GOP Vice Presidential race:

"Being a member of the family, he appeared to be willing to act as one of the pallbearers but he sure walked out on them when they tried to put him into the casket."

EVERY CHANCE TO LIVE . . .

Your GI Goes Into Battle With All of America's Inventive Genius and Enterprise Protecting Him

By CORNELIA K. TOWNLEY

FROM the day our boys put on their first GI uniforms, they have had the best training, the best equipment, the best food, and the best care of any fighting man in the world. When American boys hit the sandy beaches of Normandy or the rocky shores of Saipan, they were equipped with every device that American mechanical and inventive genius could give them to protect their lives, and they were thoroughly and completely trained to use that equipment.

When our airborne troops floated down into France, each man had with him enough K-ration to last five days, and he knew that back of him were the tremendously efficient and well organized facilities of the Quartermaster Corps keyed to split-second accuracy to keep him fed.

When a GI is injured, he not only has medicines to treat himself, but a "pill roller" frequently reaches him almost as soon as he falls.

The Best Training and Equipment . . .

While our enemies have talked about secret weapons and threatened us with them, our fighting men have been equipped with the best weapons modern science has been able to devise, and they are trained to make the best use of them. General Marshall has a demonstration team in each war theater showing troops how to operate the new weapons, while here at home still other teams are being trained to demonstrate still other new weapons soon to be issued.

Indicative of the attitude of those who train our fighting men is a sign in one of the Army Air Forces' training buildings at Yale University which reads: "Be damn sure that no American soldier is killed or injured because you failed to instruct him properly."

The Best Supply System . . .

But no amount of training could have been sufficient to bring about the wonderful record of successes on the far-flung battle fronts without the splendid supply job that is being done by our Army — the greatest military supply and service job in world history. In four years, the United States has built enough cargo tonnage almost to double the size of the world's ocean fleets, and these ships have been getting the stuff to our men where it is needed, when it is needed. The first great test came with the invasion of North Africa and the Mediterranean. One reason that operation caught the Germans off balance was that they did not believe we could organize the supply for such a huge expedition so quickly. That campaign not only taught them how Americans can fight, but how fast American materials can flow across ocean, mountain, and desert.

During the past winter, the Army Service Forces were busy day and night preparing for the greatest task of all, the invasion of Western Europe. This is a test of supply as well as men, both in the initial landings and in how fast our supply depots can be set up to enable our armies to push deep into Europe.

Precision supply is just as important to success in modern warfare as precision bombing. And precision supply means that, in addition to guns and the weapons of war, our fighting men are getting the food, equipment, and medical supplies that are so necessary.

General Somervell, head of the Army Service Forces, is justifiably proud of the supply job the ASF has done in meeting the needs of the greatest and most far-flung organization that any people has produced at any time on earth. When we read of bulldozers and tanks being landed on invasion beaches, and landing strips being laid within a few hours after our men go ashore, we believe the General when he says, "The impossible we do at once; the miraculous takes a little longer."

The Best Food . . .

Concentrated, fortified, and packaged to withstand moisture, insects, and decomposition, U. S. Army invasion rations are the most nourishing and sustaining fighting foods on any front. If one of our boys bails out of a plane or is lost behind enemy lines, he has right in his uniform a full five days' supply of concentrated rations of the highest quality.

Even in combat, the soldier can have hot food. With their K-rations, combat troops are supplied with chemical pills which, when lighted, produce heat without giving off flames or smoke to reveal their position to the enemy. Mobile field kitchens are set up behind the fighting lines where, in temporary mess tents or mess halls, troops beyond range of the actual fighting area eat meals similar to those served in this country, except that they utilize dehydrated and non-perishable foods.

Special Service units and mobile post exchanges follow immediately behind the fighting men and provide them with the semi-necessities of life—razor blades, shaving soaps, toothpaste—which are free to the men whenever they are in combat.

. . . And Letters From Home . . .

Knowing that, next to food, mail from home is the greatest morale factor to our fighting men, the Army Post Office

takes the mail right to the battle fronts. Besides ships, planes and trains, our Army Postal Service has regular mail routes using canoes, rowboats, dog teams, reindeer teams, camels, and native runners. For the first time in history, it has worked mails on planes, sacking and pouching while in flight, and has even developed a parachute route in Greenland. On D-Day, some of those men who stormed the beaches of Normandy received letters from home, and before we had established our beachheads in France equipment for processing V-mail had been landed and was in operation.

The Best Medical Care . . .

Our fighting men today have a much better chance of being fit when they go into combat, and of being restored to health if wounded, however severely, than did any of their predecessors. At home and abroad, our Army has been free of the epidemics which crippled previous armies. The Army is taking every step known to science to prevent disease from winning any campaign against our soldiers. There were only three cases of typhus in the entire North African campaign, and tetanus has apparently been wiped out. Special efforts are made to reduce accidents by education, training and safeguards, and the fatality rate from disease and injury is lower than it has ever been.

At the front, the proportion of those recovering from wounds has been at a record high. Official records show that less than 1 per cent of the American wounded on D-Day who reached medical stations died—the figure for the last war was 8 per cent. Safeguards unknown in 1918 have been provided against shock, mental breakdown, influenza, typhus, tetanus, gangrene. Even abdominal wounds, 60 per cent of which were fatal in the last war, are being healed in a great majority of cases.

Most deaths in World War I were caused by shock, loss of blood, and infection rather than by wounds. Now blood plasma stops shock before it can get started. Sulfa drugs defeat infection. Together they tide the patient over the first 48 hours, and when he reaches the evacuation hospital, the doctor has more time to consider treatment.

The soldier takes the new medical weapons right with him into battle. An easily removable first aid packet, a package of sulfadiazine tablets to take, and sulfa powder to dust on open wounds are fastened to his belt.

"Pill Roller" on the Spot . . .

As each company goes into battle, it is accompanied by company aid men. The soldiers all sing the praises of the front-line "pill rollers," as they call them, who roam unarmed where the casualties—and bullets—are thickest. They give emergency aid to the wounded, administer an opiate to relieve pain, and attach an emergency medical tag to each casualty. This identifies the soldier and describes the nature of the wound and the treatment given. Litter bearers advance directly behind the attacking companies, direct the walking wounded to the nearest aid station, and pick up those who cannot walk.

Battalion aid stations are established about four hundred yards behind each battalion, where records are made of all cases and their disposition, initial dressings are checked, splints applied, and blood transfusions administered. Dried plasma is easily portable, requires no refrigeration, and is packaged to be ready to use in four minutes.

The greatest need of the seriously wounded is still and always *time*. Today ambulance tanks and planes, amphibian ambulances, motorized laboratories, mobile operating rooms, cross country hospital units, mean the difference between death and life. Field and evacuation hospitals provide adequate medical, surgical, and nursing care. When necessary, men are moved back to more specialized base hospitals.

Back From Battlefields by Plane . . .

The wounded from the Normandy landings have received magnificent care. The evacuation chain set up by Major General Paul R. Hawley, head surgeon of the European Theater of Operations, works smoothly. Giant "flying hospitals", equipped to accommodate 18 wounded men and make the cross-Channel flight in two hours, are flying casualties from the Normandy battlefields to England. LSTs are shuttling back and forth across the Channel, carrying much needed supplies to Normandy and bringing back their cargo of wounded men.

Reporters found a minor epic in the return of the wounded to English ports on the day after the first assault. Some of them walked off the ships, with their uniforms torn and their bandages hastily applied, but swiftly and safely carried out of the battle zone. Others came on stretchers, carried by litter bearers. Many spoke of the fine work done by medical men on the beaches. Said one man: "They're right in there, giving morphine and bandaging wounds while the bullets whiz past their ears." Others told of difficult operations performed on pitching LSTs by the Army and Navy doctors.

When recovery is uncertain or if convalescence requires at least 120 days, wounded men are brought back to military hospitals in America. But the wounded are returning from the battlefields of France in better condition than the medical officers ever expected, and the evacuation pace moved so swiftly that some patients were back in the United States within two weeks after D-Day. There have been cases of wounded men reaching the country faster than the report of their wounding, of a cheerful "Hi, Mom!" over a long-distance telephone informing a mother of her son's safe return.

Our Wounded Get Well . . .

The Army has been able to cut the convalescent period of wounded men in half, and return them to active duty in better physical condition than before. Convalescent centers have been set up in strategically located sections of the country. They retrain soldiers for return to military duty and do vocational, aptitude and functional testing in order to give men adequate guidance on the vocational possibilities open to them in terms of their disabilities.

The Navy and the Marine Corps have an equally effective medical set-up. How superbly this machinery is working is told in the recovery statistics. About 97 per cent of the Army, Navy, and Marine wounded since Pearl Harbor have recovered, and 60 per cent of all Marines wounded on Guadacanal had *returned to duty within a year.* No injured fighting man is mustered out until the medical authorities are convinced he is completely equipped to meet life. In great hospitals scattered throughout this country, battle-scarred men of all services—Army, Navy and Marines—are being rehabilitated by the finest medical treatment it is possible to give them. Neuropsychiatric cases

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NO STREET CORNER APPLE STANDS . . .

This Administration Has Planned—and Acted—to Assure Your GI Every Break When He Is Mustered Out

By **RILLA SCHROEDER**

WHEN a GI gets his discharge papers and packs his uniform away in moth balls, he is a veteran. One of these days there are going to be 10 million-odd of them. Already there are over a million. These are the men who, to quote the President's speech of July 28, 1943, "have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us." These are the men who have paid the price of war. The rest of us, perhaps, have had to put up with a few inconveniences, a few hardships, but our sacrifice has been picayune compared to theirs.

In that same speech the President said that he had assured these men that we, the American people, were not going to let them down. That this time there would be no apple selling on street corners. That this time we would have plans ready, instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient and ill-considered job at the last moment.

That promise is being kept. There are plans now that we, the people back home for whom these men have made their sacrifice, have put into law to take care of the veterans' special problems.

Two Kinds of Sacrifice

The men now being discharged and those who will be discharged in the future fall naturally into two groups:

1. The men who have made the sacrifice of health, of physical well being, those with "service connected disabilities."
2. Those whose sacrifice has been confined to loss of educational, business or employment opportunities.

The first group is not necessarily limited to men who have seen action on the fighting fronts. A "service connected disability" is defined as any disabling injury or disease suffered by a man or woman in the armed forces while in the service, provided only that the injury or disease did not result from the mau's or woman's personal misconduct. The definition is pretty broad. It takes in accidents, injuries, etc., suffered while on furlough or off duty. It includes disabilities aggravated by service in the armed forces, old injuries and ailments not considered serious enough at the time to exclude the man or woman from service. It includes, of course, those actually injured at the front, those whose disabilities are the direct result of action.

For this first group we are all agreed there is nothing we can do that would be too much. There is not one of us, perhaps, who has not met one of these boys on the street and inwardly blessed ourselves out for the grumbling we have done from time to time. That boy without a leg, that lad with the empty sleeve—against the petty discomforts we have endured their sacrifice looms too great to be put into words.

The second group may not, perhaps, have made so definite a sacrifice but their sacrifice is still far beyond anything that we, as civilians, have been able to give. There are the tangibles, the actual months or years they have put into the service, the separation from home and family. The intangibles are harder to define. There is something that military life does to a man or woman. It is a negation of much of his or her training from childhood up. Part of it is good, of course. It teaches discipline, builds the man or woman up physically. It does, however, unfit them even if only temporarily, for civilian life. Ask any veteran. The readjustment is difficult even under the best of conditions.

In helping the veteran make this readjustment the American people have a sacred obligation. It is, as the President has said, an American obligation, and we must meet it as Americans.

Cash in His Pocket

So . . . what have we done?

First there is the mustering-out pay to which all veterans are entitled. It isn't a great deal but it gives the veteran a breathing spell before he has to go out and get a job. It means a few dollars in his pocket. It means a new suit of clothes.

In his July 28 speech the President listed mnstering-out pay as the first item on his six-point veterans' program. Acting on his suggestion, Congress passed the bill on January 26, 1944, and the President signed it February 3, 1944. The Act provides a graduated payment of from $100 to $300 for all veterans, depending on length of service. Not much, but it isn't intended to be more than a stop-gap. Its effect as a morale-builder has already been noted by those handling veterans' problems.

An Income Until He Gets a Job

The second item on the President's program was unemployment compensation. This item may seem out of place at the present time and in the light of the manpower shortages. Any veteran can get a job. Any reasonably able-bodied worker can get one. As war production is decreased, however, it will become increasingly important. Already there are cut-backs and areas with labor surpluses. Unemployment insurance, a vital part of the Administration's program since '32, has proven its value over and over

again both to the individual and to the communities.

Under the so-called GI Bill of Rights passed by a Democratic Congress on June 14, 1944, any honorably discharged veteran who has served for a period of 90 days and who is unemployed and registered with the United States Employment Service is entitled to an allowance of $20 a week for a period up to 52 weeks. There are some disqualifying provisions but they are minor. On the whole, they would exclude a veteran only upon reasonable grounds.

A Chance to Go Back to School

The GI bill covered the third recommendation of the President, i. e., education, with a broad program of education for the veteran who gave up his schooling to join the armed forces. It allows $500 a year tuition, expenses for lab fees and books, and $50 a month (if single) subsistence. Further allowances are made for the veteran's dependents. It is limited to veterans who were under 25 years of age when they joined the armed forces and is available for one year up to the length of time the veteran served since the passage of the Draft Act.

This program is open to all veterans who qualify as to age and service—the question of disabilities does not enter into the picture.

A Way to Learn a Trade

For thuse with service connected disabilities, however, there are further opportunities and there are no disqualifying provisions as to age, etc. The only requirement is that the veteran must be pensionable: at least 10 per cent in line of duty. Congress has authorized the Veterans' Administration and provided the funds wherewith to do it, to offer to all veterans in this group the chance to learn a trade or profession. Practically the only limitation is that he must make application for this training within six years after the end of the war. Subsistence is provided and all expenses of tuition, etc., are paid by the Veterans' Administration. Within reasonable limits the veteran is allowed a choice of the trade or profession he undertakes to learn. Training courses may last as long as four years but must be terminated within six years after the end of the shooting.

Subsistence allowances are $80 a month if single, $90 a month if married, with $5 for each child and $10 for each dependent parent. There is no ceiling on these payments. For example, a man might have a wife, ten children and two dependent parents. That would be $90 plus $50 plus $20, or $160 a month altogether.

The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Federal Security Agency gives vocational rehabilitation to veterans whose disabilities are non-service connected. The mentally as well as the physically disabled are eligible for training under this program. This program is, also, open to families of veterans since it is available to all persons injured in industry or by accident or illness, or through congenital defects.

Medical and Hospital Care

In accordance with the President's recommendations for improved and liberalized hospitalization, rehabilitation and medical care for disabled members of the armed forces, the GI bill authorized an appropriation of 500 million dollars for the construction of hospital facilities for veterans—this in addition to those already available or under construction. All honorably discharged veterans are entitled to hospital and out-patient medical and surgical treatment for service connected disabilities and for non-service connected diseases and injuries if beds are available and the veteran is financially unable to pay cost of necessary treatment or care.

A Loan for a Home, a Business, a Farm

As one step in the veterans' rehabilitation program, Congress, in the GI bill, has provided that any honorably discharged veteran may secure from the Veterans' Administration within two years after his discharge a guarantee of 50 per cent, up to $2,000, of a loan to be used in the purchase or construction of a home, for the purchase of a farm and farm equipment, and for the purchase of business property. Interest for the first year on that part of the loan guaranteed is to be paid by the Veterans' Administration. No security is required.

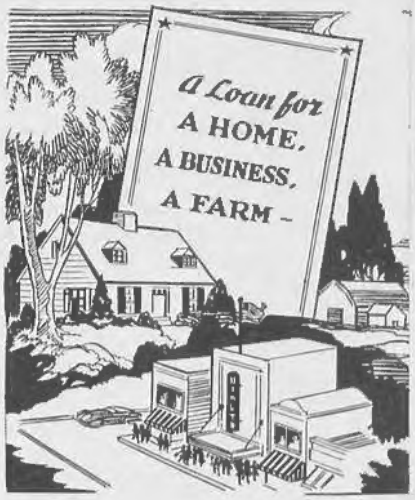
Since the GI bill was designed primarily to return the veteran to civilian life, it takes into full consideration the matter of jobs. This is, of course, only a part of the Administration's larger program of jobs for everyone. Veterans, however, it is agreed, should come first. There have been a number of bills and proposals which would give them preference in government service as well as industry.

Help in Finding a Job

The GI bill created a Board of Veterans Placement Service which is to cooperate and assist the veterans employment service of the United States Employment Service in finding jobs for the ex-GIs. The Administrator of Veterans Affairs is chairman of this Board and has direct authority and responsibility for carrying out its policies.

The Veterans Administrator is also head of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration set up by Executive Order of the President February 24, 1944. The agency has general supervision of the activities of all government agencies concerned with retraining and reemploying both war veterans and war workers, including everybody affected by the cessation of hostilities or reduction of the war program. It is also their job to advise with Congress on legislation needed for this program.

Prior to passage of the GI bill this agency had begun work on an over-all veterans employment program. It had, among other things, outlined procedures to establish veterans' information centers in practically all communities. At these centers the veteran can get information on all his rights and benefits, and be told where he might, as well, get a job in the community. These centers, of course, will be primarily for advice and reference. Eligibility for benefits or special services will be determined by the appropriate agency. But such a center will give the veteran one place to which he can go and find out where he stands and will save him the discouragement of being sent from place to place. The need of such a central clearing house has been stressed by the various veterans' organizations and by individual veterans who complain of having received the "run-around" when in search of work or other help.



A Pension for the Disabled

The sixth point of the President's program —pensions — was not included in the GI bill. It had been covered in other legislation.

Generally speaking, a World War II pen-

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Inches of Liberty . . .

By ELLIS MEREDITH

THE Jefferson Room in the Congressional Library has a frieze made of quotations from his writings. On the west side is this inscription:

"The people of a country are the only safe guardians of their own rights, and are the only instrument which can be used for their destruction. Our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves—that too of a people with a certain degree of instruction."

On the opposing east wall are these fateful words:

"The ground of Liberty is to be gained by inches."

Recall the dark days of 1918, when the Germans were driving steadily toward Paris, week after week, the Allies fighting as desperately as if they felt their liberty slipping from them with each inch lost. Think of that summer and of this one, for the Germans who were turned back 26 years ago are in Paris today. The fighting must be done over again.

Truly, the ground of Liberty may be gained by inches, but it can be lost by furlongs. It can be gained in the field and lost in the forum. November 11, 1918, brought not victory but in truth an Armistice—"a brief suspension of hostilities, a truce."

The election in November 1918 scarcely caused a ripple of interest in the rest of the world. Yet had that election gone differently civilization might never have had to drink the bitter brew of this global war.

Lost by One Vote

Had the election gone differently in my own state—Colorado—the history of the last quarter of a century might have been changed. That year the control of the Senate and the powerful Foreign Relations Committee was at stake. The Democratic party was sure of its candidates in enough states to preserve the status quo IF Colorado returned John Franklin Shafroth. He remained in Washington to help carry on the fight for the Woman Suffrage Amendment, and when he got home campaigning was practically impossible because of the epidemic of flu. In the meantime Lawrence C. Phipps, a wealthy importation from Pittsburgh, had been putting on a well-financed campaign for months. Shafroth was defeated. The Democrats lost control of the Senate by one vote.

It doesn't decrease the bitterness to recall that T. H. Newberry, who subsequently resigned to escape expulsion, and A. W. Fall, whose disgrace is part of the shameful Harding Administration, were both elected that year and added to the Foreign Relations Committee, of which Henry Cabot Lodge was made Chairman. Borah, Brandegee, Moses, Johnson and others who rejoiced in the name of the Irreconcilables were also members.

A majority of the American people had expressed themselves in favor of a League of Nations. In the meantime, "a strange and ominous combination of Republican reactionaries and Progressive isolationists" had been formed. The former professed to fear "that the League might function to keep the United States out of necessary capitalist wars; the latter that it would function to draw the United States into them." To complete the confusion, each group offered reservations when the League came up before the Senate for ratification. Some of them may have been honest, but the net result was to scuttle the one hope of a better way for this weary world.

The Harding Perfidy

Harding had been a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This helps to explain his triangular position, in which he approved the League, with reservations, suggested some other kind of a League, and finally denounced any League at all. The Bitter-enders assured the voters that the election of Harding would put an end to the League. But 32 distinguished Republicans, including Hughes, Taft, Butler, Root, Hoover and other eminent men, basing their convictions on their interpretation of the 1920 Republican foreign policy plank, signed an appeal for the election of Harding as "the surest way to bring America into an effective League to preserve peace."

As a result, one of the 1920 campaign slogans which undoubtedly garnered many ballots was, "A vote for Harding is a vote for the League." Yet, the ink on the election returns was still damp when Harding told a group come to help him celebrate, "The League of Nations is now deceased."

The loss of a League, not necessarily the League which failed because having put our hands to the plow we left it to rust in the furrow—that loss has sent us fighting for lost inches on all the continents of the Eastern Hemisphere and the islands of the seas.

Only Five Votes a Precinct

What rankles in the heart of this Colorado woman is the knowledge that a change of only five votes in each precinct in that state would have changed the election returns there. With what little extra effort those five votes could have been secured!

The voting rate in Colorado is high. Colorado people would say they have the "instruction" Jefferson thought necessary. Having been a state vice chairman, I give much credit to the committeewomen who are generally depended on for getting out the vote. These precinct officials are elected on the Primary Ballot which nominates the state ticket. As elected officials they take their jobs seriously. Many a committeewoman has taken care of children, or sat by a sick-bed while the voter went to the polls. They have provided transportation for the disabled, and reminded the laggard that the polls were closing. We win or lose elections in precincts, sometimes by one vote.

Will History Repeat Itself?

This year's election parallels the elections of 1918 and 1920. The party in office then and now was and is committed to world cooperation.

The Republican National convention has again written a foreign policy plank which indicates they would favor some sort of world organization. Already their standard-bearer for 1940, Wendell Willkie, has labeled it as "ambiguous," and compared it to the foreign relations plank on which Harding was elected. Seventeen Republican governors have qualms about it. "If the trumpet (*Continued on page* 31)

Education for the Youth of Europe . . .

By C. MILDRED THOMPSON

When Miss Thompson, who is Vassar's Dean, was first asked on the long distance telephone by the State Department to go to London for the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education there, she was too overcome to give an immediate answer. She requested time to think it over while she was eating her lunch and call back. Miss Thompson is in her sixties, and rather frail. She knew that if she went she'd have to fly—probably in a bomber—and she'd never been up in a plane in her life. Then suddenly, as she was eating, the thought struck her, "Why, this is war. And here's the first really important thing I've been asked to do. Of course I'll go." So she called the State Department and said yes, and within two or three days she was out over the Atlantic in the biggest bomber she'd ever seen.

She's now back in this country, and in this article she tells briefly about the machinery the conference set up to begin work on one of the most significant of post-war jobs—replenishing the educational resources of Europe devastated by the Axis.

TO women, education has long been one of the functions of society closest to their interest and their competence. Women are concerned with education not only because they are the directors of the life of young children and in that way exercise great influence upon education, but they have also participated directly as professional workers in this field in this country and elsewhere for many years. Education is practically the oldest profession which women in any large numbers have entered.

In post-war planning, especially insofar as that planning may concern peace, women are deeply and broadly interested. After the last war, as now, many women's organizations sprang up or developed out of existing organizations to discuss and plan terms of a peace both just and enduring.

The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education was concerned with both of these subjects—education and planning for peace. It is full reason, therefore, why women should not only be interested but have part in any work which furthers education in the countries of our Allies and also which may promise to take us along the road toward constructive peace. I was proud and pleased, therefore, when the State Department asked me to serve, with five distinguished gentlemen, on the United States Delegation to collaborate with the Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education in London.

Planning Now a Year Old

The Allied Conference of Education was started in 1943 in London under the leadership of the British Board of Education. Meeting with the representatives of the British Board of Education and of the Foreign Office were representatives, usually the Ministers of Education, of the Allied countries which had exiled governments or representations in London. The following countries constituted the membership of the Conference: Great Britain, with representatives also from the Scottish Board of Education, from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and India; France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece. China and Russia were represented by observers—the same way the United States was represented until this year when the full delegation was sent over.

The Chairman of the Conference was the brilliant young Minister of Education of Great Britain, the Right Honorable R. A. Butler.

Work May Soon Be On United Nations Basis

In the past year the Conference has been busy working through Commissions to determine the needs of various countries in rehabilitating their educational and cultural resources after liberation. These Commissions dealt primarily with the subjects of books and periodicals, scientific and laboratory equipment, films and visual aids.

While the members of the American delegation were in London the Conference as a whole was primarily concerned with formulating a new plan to organize the work as an activity of the United Nations instead of leaving it to the Conference of Ministers of the special countries, as it has been in the past. Under the leadership of the American delegation a draft constitution was proposed and was adopted by the Conference in full enthusiasm for the proposal.

This tentative draft was submitted by the Conference to each of the forty-four nations so that when and if the draft constitution is adopted the new organization for educational and cultural reconstruction will proceed.

Congress to Be Asked to Act

The main principle of such an organization was fully supported by the officers of the State Department who were responsible for the appointment of the delegation so that Americans might have a part in planning education in Allied countries as the invading armies are driven out. The plan is now in the hands of the State Department where it is subject to examination and modification. If the plan is approved it may in due time be submitted to our Congress for action.

The whole work of the Conference seemed to me of first importance in our post-war planning for two reasons. *First of all,* it would mean that the United States would be participating, if the constitution is approved, with our Allies in trying to provide constructive bases of peace, since education is in itself one of the profound services for peace. *In the second instance,* the work of the Conference was important because it may mean, if the organization functions as we hope it may, that many students, professional workers and scholars for research may come to institutions of learning in this country to secure the training which their countries cannot provide for them.

If the United States seizes this (*Continued on page* 31)

New York State Women Open '44 Campaign

By BETTY GOODWIN

WHEN the Democratic women of New York State gathered in Syracuse on June 22 for their first big meeting since 1940 they got right down to business and no frou-frou. A highlight of the meeting was a half hour talk by Mrs. Roosevelt, who also participated in answering questions from the floor in the packed ballroom of the Onondaga Hotel.

Other speakers were Miss Doris I. Byrne, new State Vice Chairman and former Deputy Secretary of State, who called the meeting; Miss Grace Reavy of Cohoes, who was presiding officer; Mrs. Charles W. Tillett, Assistant Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who spoke on "Strengthening Our Democracy," and Miss Josephine Schain, the Women's Division's able adviser on international affairs, whose topic was "A New World Order." The round table discussion, peppered with lively questions from the audience, followed, and then there was a showing of the Democratic National Committee's campaign movie, "Lest We Forget." Guests on the platform, against a maroon curtain with the sparkling letters, "Syracuse Welcomes Mrs. Roosevelt," were Democratic state leaders and women candidates.

Delegates attended from all over New York state . . . some of them, due to transportation difficulties, had no time to find hotel rooms nor to check into them. So the sight of women Democrats filing into the ballroom with their suitcases in hand was not unusual. Here and there in the audience were women who had brought small children rather than miss the meeting. A touch of glamour, which might well be picked up by others, was the use of pink spotlights for the speakers' platform. And—the spotlights were arranged to shine up at the faces of those on the platform, not shine down on them. This is a piece of flattery well known in the theatrical profession and always makes faces look fresher and more youthful than any other type of lighting. And who are we to object to that result . . . despite our serious political interests?

COUNTY LEADERS MEET IN MORNING

While the official conference was confined to a single afternoon session there was a preliminary meeting of county leaders in the morning. Mrs. Tillett and Miss Byrne both attended this and among the comments made by the others in attendance were these:

"Our duty is to hold the line for our boys until they get back from the war. We can't have a lot of gas to visit all our communities but we can keep in touch with each other by correspondence. That's what we're doing . . . writing a lot of letters."

"If you have just ten good women workers in each county, that's all you need. Ten good, hard, earnest workers can turn the trick."

"Our biggest asset is that we have a splendid group of young women. Wives and sweethearts of service men. Believe me, these women want to get out and work to preserve a fine world for their men. And their enthusiasm has given us all a lift."

AFTERNOON SESSION FULL

At the afternoon session Mrs. Roosevelt entered down the middle aisle, followed by a representative of the Camp Fire Girls. In her customary tireless fashion, our First Lady had spent the morning touring community projects in Syracuse. As one of the local papers said in a page one banner line, "Mrs. Roosevelt Tours Syracuse on Foot." Mrs. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., wife of the Secretary of the Treasury, accompanied Mrs. Roosevelt and sat on the platform. Here are some of the things Mrs. Roosevelt had to say on "Women's Responsibility Now and in the Post-War World":

"A democracy is never any better in the broad field than it is in each community unit.

"The world is growing smaller—it is becoming a little world, in which the way people feel about each other is going to matter a great deal. American women must work to create friendliness among women in other parts of the world. We must not be suspicious of each other.

"Before this war we, as a people, didn't really think about what was going on. Norman Davis, our delegate to the Disarmament Conference, once told me something I've never forgotten, although he may have forgotten he said it. He told me that he had hardly ever received

AT NEW YORK CONFERENCE

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt arrives to address the statewide meeting of Democratic women at the Onondaga Hotel, Syracuse.

any communications from the people of this country telling him what they wanted him to do.

"It is not enough to perform our individual duties as citizens. We must make it our job to see that everyone else in our communities register and then votes, and we must see that they are educated so they can vote wisely."

Mrs. Tillett emphasized:

"This year party work is more than party work. It is part of women's contribution to the war effort and the preparation for an enduring peace. It is part of women's contribution to the post-war world we want.

"We women like to think that Ibsen's famous play, 'The Doll's House,' is out of date. In that play he shows how hard a woman had to struggle to become an independent thinking human being. Our views of a post-war world are no more real than a row of doll houses if we don't pitch in and see that the Democratic party wins—the Democratic party which represents our views on securing peace, our views on security benefits for all."

Miss Schain made these points:

"We are now determining what is going to be happening in the world for the next twenty-five or fifty years.

"The republics of this hemisphere have faith in the foreign policy of this Administration. And I wonder if we really appreciate . . ."

(At this point one of the eager photographers flashed a picture of Miss Schain, whereupon she chuckled and said in a sort of aside that pleased the audience: "This is rather disturbing, to have a camera come right up in front of you when you're thinking of hemispheric conditions." Then she continued . . .)

"I wonder if we really appreciate what it has meant to us to have the cooperation and good will of these countries. We have not had to send an army or a navy to fight for us to the south. Think what it would have meant to have Axis agents sabotage the Panama Canal, for instance.

"After the first world war we paid two billion dollars for relief in Europe. Now we are being asked to spend only one and one-third billions for relief in Europe—much less, because all the nations of the world are working together. As, for instance, in the United Nations Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation."

Miss Byrne said:

"The woman who stays at home is fighting the war, too. Her battle is the battle of the home front, an important part of which is the coming election. Only through our vote can we maintain the democratic institutions for which our boys are fighting and to which they hope to return.

"Wives and sweethearts of service men in a great many counties in New York state are now engaged in distributing postcard applications to be mailed to service men and women by their families. We are giving out thousands of these cards because we believe every service man and woman, regardless of party affiliation, should be allowed to vote. The miles our women are walking seem little enough to do for men who may be deep in the foxholes of France or high in a palm tree, chasing Jap snipers. These fighting men of ours have very little time for extensive correspondence with the War Ballot Commission in Albany. Nothing can make voting easy for them —under our difficult state law—but our postcard applications save them at least one dreary step in the routine."

Jane Jeffersons Active in Colorado

Promoting women of proven ability for public office has become one of the campaign aims of the Jane Jefferson Clubs of Colorado, according to their President, Mrs. George E. Saunders, who is now serving her second term.

Recently all members of the club, which is a statewide organization, received cards asking them to fill in the names of other members whom they felt had the experience and background to qualify them for public office. The club then plans to urge these women to seek Democratic nominations for the offices they can fill and will, of course, back them for election.

"We feel that women are entitled to equal representation on party tickets," Mrs. Saunders says. "Particularly do we believe it is so this year, when women are serving in all branches of the armed forces, on assembly lines and in many other ways doing work to win the war."

This past winter the Colorado Jane Jeffersons have been studying post-war problems. In recent months they have been devoting part of their program time to a discussion of issues of the coming campaign, and to reports of accomplishments of the Administration. The May program, for example, was a report on how the OPA has successfully held down the cost of living.

The Program Chairman is Mrs. Reid Williams, and her committee consists of the following women: Mrs. Florence Kramer, Mrs. Joan Medill, Mrs. John Griffith, Mrs. Allen Moore and Mrs. Lon T. Fidler.

This year, Mrs. Saunders reports, the Jane Jefferson Clubs have done considerable volunteer war work. The Denver club was recently presented with a citation from the Surgeon General of the U. S. Army for having sold $13,500 worth of war bonds—enough to purchase a hospital car. The club publishes a quarterly bulletin under the editorship of Mrs. Irene Templeton.

MRS. GEORGE E. SAUNDERS

Two "baby Jane Clubs" have been organized during the past year—one at Greeley, the other at Glenwood Springs.

Fund Raising In San Francisco

The Northern Division of the California Federation of Democratic Women's Study Clubs sponsored a card party at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco recently, with a two-fold purpose: to give war workers an evening of relaxation, and to raise campaign funds. Miss Margaret Miriam Krsak, Vice President of the group, served as program chairman.

Mrs. T. A. Burnett of Glendale is President of the Federation.

Texas Club Voices Wholehearted Support

The Houston-Harris County Woman's Democratic Association has sent its Democratic Women's Day check to national headquarters. Mrs. Verne P. Maddox, President of the group, wrote:

"Please accept this check for $133 as this club's donation to the National Democratic Campaign fund. It is a pleasure to know we are taking a small part in our Democratic Party. So I, in behalf of our club, pledge our full and wholehearted support."

Missouri

FIRST DISTRICT WINS CONTEST

The First Congressional District of Missouri is the first district in the state to complete the women's campaign organization in each of its sixteen counties.

Mrs. Chester Hoover of Laclede, First District President, has been awarded the cash prize offered by Mrs. Lawrence McDaniel, Democratic National Committeewoman, and sponsor of the contest.

Suggested by the Women's Division of the National Committee, the organization plan calls for the appointment of four women chairmen in each county to direct the following campaign activities in cooperation with their county leader—Registration, Public Information, Finance and Speakers.

As *The Digest* goes to press, Missouri leads the country in number of counties completely organized under the plan.

NINTH DISTRICT WOMEN MEET

Democratic women of Missouri's Ninth Congressional District met in Fulton on June 13 to hear and meet national, state and county candidates. More than 200 men and women were present.

Speakers at the sessions included Senator Bennett Champ Clark, William L. Nelson, and other candidates. Mrs. J. V. Billings, Missouri Federation President, was heard at the afternoon session.

Mrs. Harry Sanders, former State Vice Chairman, was a principal speaker. She declared that women have the ammunition with which to answer critics of the Administration. They have the facts, she said—the record of this Administration's achievements. She quoted National Chairman Robert E. Hannegan, saying:

"We must bring the truth to the people so that in the November election America will choose a leadership consecrated to winning victory in the war, victory in the peace, and victory in preserving the stability of the country."

Connecticut Federation Meets in New Haven

Several hundred delegates and visitors attended the statewide convention of the Connecticut Federation of Democratic Women's Clubs held in New Haven late in May. The all-day session was opened with a welcome by Mayor John Murphy of New Haven.

Other speakers on the program were J. Raymond Walsh, former Harvard professor, who stressed the necessity for getting voters registered; and Leigh Danenberg, publisher of the *Bridgeport Herald*.

The Federation President, Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, presided at the meeting. She urged the women to keep themselves well-informed on campaign issues so they could refute Administration criticism.

Federation officers elected were: *Honorary President*, Mrs. Fannie Dixon Welch; *President*, Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse; *First Vice President*, Mrs. Ward Duffy; *Second Vice President*, Miss Mary Doyle; *Third Vice President*, Mrs. Alice Daskam; *Fourth Vice President*, Miss Margaret Connors; *Recording Secretary*, Mrs. David McCoy; *Corresponding Secretary*, Mrs. Louijune Moran; *Treasurer*, Mrs. Wilimena Reid.

Wyoming Democratic Women Active

A statewide, closely-knit women's campaign organization is the goal of state leaders in Wyoming. Mrs. Lucille B. Wiley, State Federation President; Mrs. Dean Covert, State Vice Chairman, and Mrs. P. J. Quealy, National Committeewoman, are cooperating to achieve this efficient set-up in this wartime campaign year.

With club groups working side by side with the regular party organization, Mrs. Wiley feels the best results will be attained. At present special effort is being put forth for a successful Democratic Women's Day drive. Mrs. Wiley will send a monthly letter to all Democratic women workers in the state as a means of furthering the drive, and keep them informed on work being accomplished.

Democratic State Chairman W. A. Norris plans to attend Federation meetings in every county before the primary election, and is lending his fullest support to the women's campaign organization.

OVER THE TOP

Platte County, Wyoming, has met its Democratic Women's Day national quota of fifty cents a precinct. Mrs. Dorothy Holladay, President of the Platte County Democratic Women's Club sent the check in to National Headquarters.

California Women Meet

The Southern California Women's Division of the State Central Committee sponsored an all-day conference on June 28 to discuss national and state conventions and to present a program to help Democratic workers campaign more effectively for the November election.

Pennsylvania Women Meet At Institute of Government

Girding for the campaign, the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women held an Institute of Government in connection with its eighteenth anniversary convention in Altoona, Pennsylvania, June first, second and third.

Keystone state Democratic women, more than 500 strong, met in a pre-campaign conclave at which speeches by Judge Marion J. Harron of the United States Tax Court; Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward, Social Security Board member, and Mrs. Charles W. Tillett, Assistant Chairman of the Democratic National Committee were made on the "Post-War World."

Senator Claude Pepper addressed the concluding banquet session. Accompanying him was Mrs. Pepper, who frequently makes speeches for the party herself. Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, the state's well-known National Committeewoman, was toastmistress. State Chairman David L. Lawrence and other state leaders attended the banquet. Mrs. Rhoda Awkerman, convention chairman, presided. Co-chairman of the convention was Mrs. Edith Oler Hannigan, President of the Altoona Club.

Pennsylvania Democratic women subscribe to the policy of being fore-informed, fore-armed. Besides the various addresses on the post-war world, the home front and the war front, a panel discussion on the cost of living was held at which Mrs. Ruth Grigg Horting, recently-elected State Vice Chairman, presided.

The youthful and efficient Mrs. Myrtle H. Beard of Reading was elected President of the Federation, succeeding Miss Marion Stone. Other officers elected for the coming year were: *First Vice President*, Miss Marie Bickert; *Second Vice President*, Mrs. John J. Kane; *Third Vice President*, Mrs. Ramsey Black; *Fourth Vice President*, Mrs. Jean Grove; *Fifth Vice President*, Miss S. Cecilia Dougherty; *Sixth Vice President*, Mrs. Rhoda Awkerman.

Federation Regional Directors sponsored a luncheon as one of the main events of the convention. Discussions on organization, emphasizing especially the activities of fund-raising, registration, speakers' bureau and publicity were featured at this session.

The Federation has cooperated actively in observing Democratic Women's Day —annual fund-raising drive sponsored by the Women's Division of the National Committee. Recently the Federation sent its check for $150 to National Headquarters.

INCHES OF LIBERTY

(Continued from page 26)

have an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to battle?"

The whole world is taking time out to watch the campaign going on in the United States with anxious eyes. "Once burned, twice afraid"—they ask what we are going to do. We ask also.

It is not merely a party ticket at stake. It is the hard-won inches of our liberty. Does this seem indefinite and far away? Men have died for these ideas by the hundreds, perhaps by the thousands, in the few minutes it has taken to read these lines—many, many more in the time it has taken to write them.

Most people think "My vote doesn't amount to much. Why bother?" Yet in Colorado in 1918 each vote cast, or not cast, turned out to be a matter of world import. In 1944 it may be your state, your district, your precinct, your own or your neighbor's vote that shapes the course of world history. Just forget sentiment about the hand that rocks the cradle. The hand that casts the ballot is the hand that rules the world—that ballot is the best way to protect that all-important, too oft-forgotten cradle.

EDUCATION FOR THE YOUTH OF EUROPE . . .

(Continued from page 27)

opportunity we shall be performing a double service: (1) helping our Allies out of their chaotic and helpless condition in which they will be left as the invader is driven out, and (2) encouraging the development of our own educational resources so that we may be the center of educational and cultural life of the future. For the kind of intellectual and artistic experience which used to carry our American students abroad we should, in the coming years, provide centers of music, art, research, as well as technical and professional training, such as formerly could have been found only in the centers of learning of the old world.

Therefore I am looking forward eagerly to the possible completion of our work in London. If the draft which would set up the new organization is ratified by our own Congress and by the governments of the other United Nations we may soon be cooperating in the field of education. The more activities of joint enterprise which we carry on in this way the more easily may a general United Nations Organization be established and continue to live, growing more useful year by year to establish and preserve conditions of justice and decent living which we hope may come at the cost of the great sacrifices now being made.

MEET THE KEYNOTER . . .

(Continued from page 5)

Kerr, then a struggling lawyer. They were married five months later, living first in Ada and then on their farm, where most of the children were born.

Mrs. Kerr feels that there is no limit to the value that can be placed on the right kind of a home. She thinks children have a better chance of growing up into useful, happy and progressive citizens if they "live in an atmosphere of harmony, culture, education and religion"—and she has tried to make this sort of a home for them.

The entire household, Mrs. Kerr reports, naturally gravitates around the Governor. Born in a log cabin in what was then Indian territory, he grew to his six feet three inches and most of his 245 pounds on his family's farm and was then successively farmer, school teacher, lawyer, oil operator, drilling contractor, oil company president, and Democratic National Committeeman before his election as Governor.

Frieda Miller Heads Women's Bureau

For years it would seem Frieda Miller has been serving an apprenticeship for exactly the position President Roosevelt appointed her to the other day—Director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. She succeeds Miss Mary Anderson, who is resigning at 71 after twenty-five years in the post.

During the World War Miss Miller was Secretary of the Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League, and in this post she was in constant touch with the American labor movement during its period of greatest expansion and on through the very difficult years of attack by the open shop movement and industrial depression.

In the spring of 1923 she went abroad as a delegate to the International Congress of Working Women, and she spent the following year studying labor conditions in England, Germany and Austria.

On her return to New York in 1924 she obtained what was perhaps some of the best training for her new position when she became a factory inspector for the Joint Board of Sanitary Control of the ladies' garment industry. In the next few years she made a study on conditions for homes for the aged on Welfare and Staten Islands for the State Charities Aid, and a study of chronic sickness among social dependents for the New York Welfare Council. In 1929 she became director of the Division of Women in Industry and Minimum Wage for New York State, and in 1938 was named State Industrial Commissioner of New York by Governor Herbert Lehman. She was the second woman to hold this job—the first was her good friend, Miss Frances Perkins.

The interests of Miss Miller and Miss Perkins had another counterpart when in 1936 they were the two delegates from the United States to the International Labor Organization Conference in Geneva, Switzerland.

During the past year Miss Miller has again been abroad—this time as special assistant to Ambassador Winant in London. She resigned this position when the President appointed her to the Women's Bureau post.

At the Woman's National Democratic Club

ELLIS MEREDITH, Club Editor

COME AND BRING A GUEST

The club rooms will be open on Monday afternoons from two to six, and they are as nearly cool and as pleasant as any place in Washington during what is euphemistically termed "the heated season." Along about four-thirty tea will be served, and members are urged to come and bring their friends. A number of our members are away or will be during parts of July and August, but many more are remaining in town. It is hoped that those who stay on will improve the opportunity to get better acquainted with their club. There is much talent among our members which often goes undiscovered until something happens to bring it out. Many of us have traveled widely, and with a keenly observing eye.

Mrs. William H. Davis, chairman of the Program Committee, is arranging for this series of informal Monday afternoon meetings. Our first speaker, Mrs. Rose Yates Forrester, who was a delegate to the ILO (International Labor Organization) conference, recently gave a very interesting account of the Philadelphia meeting. Her long experience in the Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor has taught her the value of clarity and brevity of statement.

There is still uncertainty as to exact dates and speakers, so the complete program series cannot be presented at this time, but during the next few weeks we may be certain of stimulating afternoons. Mrs. Hale T. Shenefield, Mrs. Francis B. Sayre and Mrs. Edward B. Meigs have each made themselves responsible for one afternoon, and as all are abundantly able to speak well on many subjects, members are always glad to hear from them.

Dr. Jane Perry Clark Carey, who won her Ph.D. from Columbia University on her book, "Deportation of Aliens From the United States," has been asked to discuss this subject—which is so full of human interest. Dr. Carey got on especially well in her investigations because she speaks many languages. She was the first woman to receive the Robert Noxon Toppan award in constitutional law.

Mrs. Lloyd Dewey, the former Dr. Ann Hulse, Professor of Economics at Hunter College, will also be a Monday afternoon speaker. Mrs. Dewey is War Information Chairman for the A.A.U.W. and also cooperates with the National Roster of the War Manpower Commission.

Then there will be the returning convention delegates—Mrs. Curtis Shears, Miss Meredith Howard and Mrs. Hugh R. Thomas—and probably some visitors who will want to tell about the Chicago convention.

So . . . it looks as though the club has a profitable as well as an entertaining summer ahead, in spite of thermometers and barometers and "continued fair and warmer" predictions.

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Mrs. Bates Warren

NEW MEMBERS

It is always a good sign, for those who still have faith in anything so outmoded as signs, when new members come into an organization at the end of the club year—the period when programs and the regular round of activities are suspended. Therefore, it was a special pleasure when Mrs. Wayne Chatfield-Taylor, who is still serving as chairman of the Membership Committee, announced three new members: Mrs. David J. McGuire, Mrs. Ralph Gates and Mrs. Nathaniel Dyke.

Mrs. McGuire is an out-of-town member from New Jersey, and Mrs. Gates is doing yeoman service at the Women's Division of the National Committee.

THAT DWINDLING DEBT

There are those who think a small debt is no disadvantage on a property, but Mrs. William L. Clayton is not one of them. Before accepting the nomination for the presidency of the club she announced that the debt must be reduced $10,000 by next January and that every member of the Board of Governors would be expected to serve as a member of a special Finance Committee until this money is raised. Mrs. Bates Warren is the new Finance Committee chairman, but the Governors will be held to their promise.

However, there are glad tidings. The club has paid $7,000 on its debt, leaving in round numbers $22,000 which will be steadily reduced as time passes. The happiest day in the life of many a church or club is that on which the mortgage is burned. There are optimists in this club who look forward to bidding high for the privilege of scratching the match on the day when the club celebrates its freedom from debt.

BONDS OF FREEDOM

Despite lowering skies, the indoor party given by Mr. and Mrs. Clayton instead of the garden party originally scheduled was a complete success. Mrs. Clayton, who says she is accused of being "financially minded," felt that the closing social gathering of the club year should be tied up with a demonstration of club loyalty to the country. A very large committee served as Bond saleswomen under the direction of Mrs. Ernest Daniel, chairman, and Mrs. St. George Sioussat, vice chairman. More than $350,000 in War Bonds were sold. Since then, the sum has been raised to considerably more than half a million dollars.

Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross, Director of the Mint; Mrs. Sayre, past President of the club; Mrs. Hale T. Shenefield and Mr. Clayton made brief addresses.

Senator Alben W. Barkley came, as he said, "in his wife's name." He spoke eloquently on the evils of inflation, having been in Germany after the last war where he saw what havoc it wrought on the German people, especially the middle class group.

Another unexpected and most welcome guest was Mrs. Maurice McAshan, just back from Rio de Janeiro. The Clayton are always perfect hosts, but the arrival of their delightful daughter certainly added to the occasion.

CONVENTION HEADLINES FROM THE PAST

(Continued from page 9)

aware that there was much political education to be done among the women and set out to widen the scope of women's interests. Mrs. Ross was particularly interested in young voters and still considers herself a "godmother" of the Young Democrats. Work during these "out" years was unusually difficult, but more and more the women leaders became aware of a growing restlessness and the desire of the people for new leadership.

A Voice in the Platform in '32

When the Democrats met in Chicago in 1932 for their convention, they came knowing that they had a good chance to win if they could get a strong candidate. They did. They nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt. Over four hundred women delegates and alternates were on hand and applauded loudly when Senator Barkley reminded the convention that "the Democratic party is made up of men *and* women." Evangeline Booth of the Salvation Army delivered the invocation that officially opened the convention, the first woman ever to officiate in that capacity, and Mrs. Jean Springstead Whittemore of Puerto Rico was the first woman member of the Platform Committee.

Mrs. Caroline O'Day, the late Congresswoman from New York, offered the only amendment to the platform that was accepted. It put the party on record in favor of "continuous responsibility of government for human welfare—especially for the protection of children."

Education to Responsibility

After Governor Roosevelt's nomination Miss Mary W. Dewson came into the Women's Division to direct the women's campaign—and to set the pattern for Women's Division organization through the years of the Roosevelt Administration. It was she who through the reporter plan, and later through the six-point program, began the most intensive plan of educating women to their responsibilities of citizenship ever inaugurated by any political party.

The Chicago convention had seen Democratic women continuing their political progress, and in Philadelphia in 1936 even greater strides were made. The women got to work early and at their request Governor McNutt of Indiana presented the resolution to the convention which they had written requesting that each state name both a member and an alternate member of the Platform Committee, to be of opposite sex. When the resolution was presented there was not a dissenting voice, and Miss Harriet Elliott wrote, "the walls of Jericho" had at last fallen. North Carolina immediately called a caucus of its delegates and elected Miss Elliott—who later became nationally known as the woman member of the President's National Defense Advisory Commission—an alternate to the committee. The principles of seven of the eight planks prepared by the Women's Advisory Committee at this convention were written into the party platform that year. In addition, when sixteen Vice Chairman were named to the National Committee, eight of them were women.

The Program Expands

Women leaders at this convention, and in headquarters during the campaign which followed, were Miss Dewson, who had then become Chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Women's Division; Mrs. James H. Wolfe, who became Director of the Division in 1934, and Mrs. June Fickel, who was Assistant Director.

From 1936 to 1940 Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister of Michigan was Director and Mrs. May Thompson Evans of North Carolina Assistant Director of the Women's Division. They continued and strengthened the educational program set up by Miss Dewson and by 1940 women's participation in party affairs elected about 500 women delegates and alternates at convention.

It was then that women made what political reporters called "the greatest advance in women's political history since suffrage" when they were given equal representation and equal say on the Platform Committee for the first time by either party.

It was also at this convention that for the first time in history the wife of a President—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt—addressed the delegates, and that a woman—Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister—discussed a matter of general policy. Mrs. McAllister made a speech which presented to the whole convention the point of view of Democratic women.

Women's role at the 1944 convention will be built on years of recognition in party affairs—recognition which in almost every case has preceded and superseded that given by the Republican leaders to the women of their party.

Alabama's Woman Secretary of State

MISS POOL

Miss Sibyl Pool, youthful and attractive, is Alabama's new Secretary of State. She was appointed by Governor Chauncey Sparks to fill out the term expiring January 1, 1947, after the resignation of Howell Turner, who accepted a position as a member of the State Board of Pardons.

Miss Pool, who was twice elected to the Alabama State Legislature, was its only woman member. She comes from Linden, in Marengo County, and was the secretary of the Farm Bureau there before she went to Montgomery, the state capital, as a legislative clerk. When a member of the legislature from Marengo County resigned, the County Democratic Executive Committee elected Miss Pool to fill the post.

She became so interested in her work the short time she was in the legislature that she determined to run in the primary, which she did, and was elected to a four-year term in 1938. She was again elected in 1942. While in the legislature she concerned herself primarily with welfare and farm measures.

As Secretary of State, her responsibilities are heavy. Especially during an election year is her office a busy one, as candidates both in the primaries and general elections must file with her their declarations for candidacy, expense accounts, and, of course, all general tickets are filed and final returns tabulated in the office of the Secretary of State.

In addition to the details relating to codes, acts, reports, commissions, and other phases of the state's business which cross the desk of the Secretary of State, that office is more or less considered as a general information bureau, and thousands of inquiries are answered each year.

NO STREET CORNER APPLE STANDS

(Continued from page 25)

sion is paid to any honorably discharged veteran who has a disability of 10 per cent or more if his disability resulted from disease or injury incurred in (or aggravated by) active service. The amount of pension ordinarily payable ranges from $10 a month to $100 (with an addition of 15 per cent recently allowed by Congress) depending upon the degree of disability; i. e., 10 per cent, $10 a month; 20 per cent, $20 a month, and so on up to 100 per cent or $100 a month. If a veteran is 100 per cent disabled and needs regular aid and attendance there is an additional allowance for that.

Certain specific injuries draw a so-called statutory pension which is paid in addition to the amount allowed for the percentage or degree of disability. For instance, the statutory rate for blindness in one eye is $35 a month, but as that particular disability is rated at 30 per cent ($30 plus the 15 per cent increase), a veteran blind in one eye draws a total of $69.50 a month.

Other statutory pensions are (with the exception of the two cases noted they are the total monthly allowance, statutory pension plus percentage or disability rate):

Loss of both eyes	$175
Loss of one leg (plus percentage rating of from 40 to 90 per cent)	35
Loss of two legs	150
Loss of one arm (plus percentage rating of from 40 to 90 per cent)	35
Loss of two arms	150
Loss of one arm and one leg	150
Loss of two legs and one arm	175
Loss of two legs and two arms	250
Loss of any two extremities plus one or both eyes	250

Loss of "use" is considered the same as actual loss in specific disability payments.

Certain diseases—tuberculosis, ulcers, nervous disorders, etc., also rate pensions, provided they were not acquired through the soldier's misconduct. These may draw anything from 10 per cent ($10 plus 15 per cent) to 100 per cent ($100 plus 15 per cent).

Pensions for deaths incurred in service in line of duty are payable to widows and minor children. Parents are pensionable if dependent, but dependency must be proven in their case, whereas wives and children are automatically considered dependent and no need or private income limitation is involved.

Death pensions (to date there have been a limited number of such claims filed with the Veterans' Administration) are as follows:

Widow but no child	$50
Widow with one child ($13 for each additional child)	65
No widow but one child	25
No widow but two children ($10 for each additional child)	38
Mother or father	45
Both mother and father (each)	25

Non-service connected death pensions have been granted for a number of years to widows and children of World War I veterans. They were exteoded to the widows and children of veterans of World War II on May 27, 1944. These are for cases where veterans with service connected disability (they do not have to be of a pensionable degree) die from other causes. The rates are:

Widow	$35
Widow with one child ($5 for each additional child)	45
Child	18
Two children	27
Three children ($4 for each additional child)	36

Veterans of World War II have also been included, as of May 27, in the non-service connected pension ($50 a month) paid the totally disabled. These pensions are payable only to veterans who served 90 days or more and who are permanently and totally disabled and whose annual income, if unmarried, is not over $1000 a year, or, if married or wit minor children, $2500.

EVERY CHANCE TO LIVE . . .

(Continued from page 23)

are often hospitalized for a year or more before the men are discharged. Men with artificial limbs are taught fully how to use them before they go back to their families and friends. The blinded are taught some trade with which they can earn their living before they are sent out into the world. This story of rehabilitation is one of the great stories of the war.

Speed and large scale production have been the primary characteristics of this global war, but our leaders are not allowing the magnitude of our operations to obscure the fact that our armed forces of over ten million are made up of *individuals*. And they are doing everything possible to bring those individual GIs home quickly and safely to the wives and mothers who are so anxiously awaiting their return.

Who Are the Bureaucrats?

By* CHESTER BOWLES, *OPA Administrator

Every one of us in government work here has been called "bureaucrats" at least once. It's a label that gets pinned on us whether we've just come to work in a new wartime agency or spent years here behind a desk in a peacetime bureau.

What really worries me about crying "bureaucrat" is the attitude behind it. The fellow who pins that label on every one usually doesn't feel any responsibility or he thinks of us here in government as different from himself and from anyone else in the country. That means he thinks of government as separate from the people, something in which he has no part.

That's not only a bad but a dangerous attitude. It means many capable men have no interest in serving their government.

I believe the war has done a lot to change that attitude. There are men and women working down here in every war agency. Many of them left better paying jobs, homes, families and friends to help their government meet the war emergency.

Work Far Into Night

I've seen them, in OPA, and in every other agency, working far into the night. Most of them have learned for the first time what a tremendous job good, efficient government can be.

We have also, some of us for the first time, come to have a new respect for government employees who in peacetime handled this tremendous job of government. We have seen how their efforts are often hampered by the very size of the job—and thwarted by needless red tape and unwieldy administrative techniques that can and should be corrected. * * *

As the present emergency ends, the government's war agencies will be gradually disbanded. It is my hope that some of the able, efficient, public-spirited persons who served their government in war can be persuaded to continue serving it in peace. They will always be needed—if ours is to be, as it must be, an efficient, truly democratic government.—*Washington (D. C.) Daily News.*

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

Calendar of Events for Women

(As of July 6, when *Digest* went to press)

MONDAY, July 17—3:00 P.M.

Meeting of the Democratic National Committee, Stevens Hotel.

TUESDAY, July 18—3:00-5:00 P.M.

Tea for women delegates and alternates, National Committeewomen and State Vice Chairmen. Women's Division Headquarters, third floor, Stevens Hotel.

WEDNESDAY, July 19—9:00-9:30 A.M.

Coffee and doughnuts will be served at Women's Division Headquarters, third floor, Stevens Hotel.

9:30-11:00 A.M.

Democratic Women's Campaign School will be held at Women's Division Headquarters, third floor, Stevens Hotel. Topics and speakers are:

"CAMPAIGNING IN WARTIME"—*Mrs. Charles W. Tillett, Assistant Chairman, Democratic National Committee.*

"GETTING OUT THE VOTE"—*Robert E. Hannegan, Chairman, Democratic National Committee.*

"REGISTRATION—FIRST STEP TO DEMOCRATIC VICTORY"—*Mrs. James McGranery, Pennsylvania.*

"GETTING THE SOLDIER REGISTERED"—*Miss Doris I. Byrne, New York.*

"YOU CAN'T RUN A CAMPAIGN WITHOUT MONEY"—*Mrs. Albert E. Hill, Tennessee.*

"PUBLICIZING THE NEWS"—*Mrs. Wayne Coy, Indiana.*

"RADIO—A CAMPAIGN TOOL"—*Miss Betty Goodwin, New York.*

"CAMPAIGN TIME IS SPEAKING TIME"—*Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, Michigan.*

"THE DEMOCRATIC DIGEST"—*Mrs. James H. Wolfe, Utah.*

12:00 Noon

Convention convenes. Stadium.

5:00 P.M.

Mrs. Conkey will entertain National Committeewomen at an informal dinner. Crystal Room, Palmer House.

8:00 P.M.

Convention session. Stadium.

THURSDAY, July 20—9:30 A.M.

Breakfast. Grand ballroom, Stevens Hotel. The Democratic women of Chicago will honor Mrs. Mary T. Norton of New Jersey.

12:00 Noon

Convention session. Stadium.

3:00-5:00 P.M.

Visiting Democratic women invited to Marshall Field & Company for a tea and fashion show.

8:00 P.M.

Convention session. Stadium.

FRIDAY, July 21—9:00-9:30 A.M.

Coffee and doughnuts will be served at Women's Division headquarters, third floor, Stevens Hotel.

9:30-11:00 A.M.

Democratic Women's Campaign School. Women's Division headquarters, third floor, Stevens Hotel. Topics and speakers are:

"STREET CORNER SPEAKING"—*Mrs. Charles Poletti, New York.*

"THE IMPORTANCE OF ELECTING A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS"—*Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Washington, D. C.*

"THE FOREIGN POLICY THIS ADMINISTRATION BUILT"—*Miss Josephine Schain, New York.*

"WHY WOMEN WILL VOTE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN 1944"—*Mrs. Kathryn Malstrom, Washington.*

"BUREAUS AND BUREAUCRATS"—*Mrs. Hale T. Shenefield, Washington, D. C.*

"WHY THE FARMER SHOULD VOTE THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET"—*Mrs. Hannah Weiser, Illinois.*

"NO APPLE SELLING FOR OUR RETURNING VETERANS"—*Mrs. Roland Howell, Louisiana.*

"CAMPAIGNING IN NEIGHBORHOODS"—*Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, California.*

12:00 Noon

Convention session. Stadium.

8:00 P.M.

Convention session. Stadium.

On Your Mark!

Are Each of These Four Campaign Committees a Going Concern in Your County?

1. REGISTRATION AND VOTING

Only registered voters can vote and only ballots in the box count . . .

2. PUBLIC INFORMATION

You'll miss a bet if you don't make the widest possible use of the radio and newspapers . . .

3. SPEAKERS' BUREAU

With tire and gas rationing, there'll be more small neighborhood meetings and you'll need more speakers than in the past . . .

4. FINANCE

Everybody knows you can't run a campaign without money . . .

Write for the Women's Division Campaign Handbook, "TOOLS FOR VICTORY"

THIS YEAR . . .

There's more work to do . . . It's harder to do . . . than ever before. And . . .

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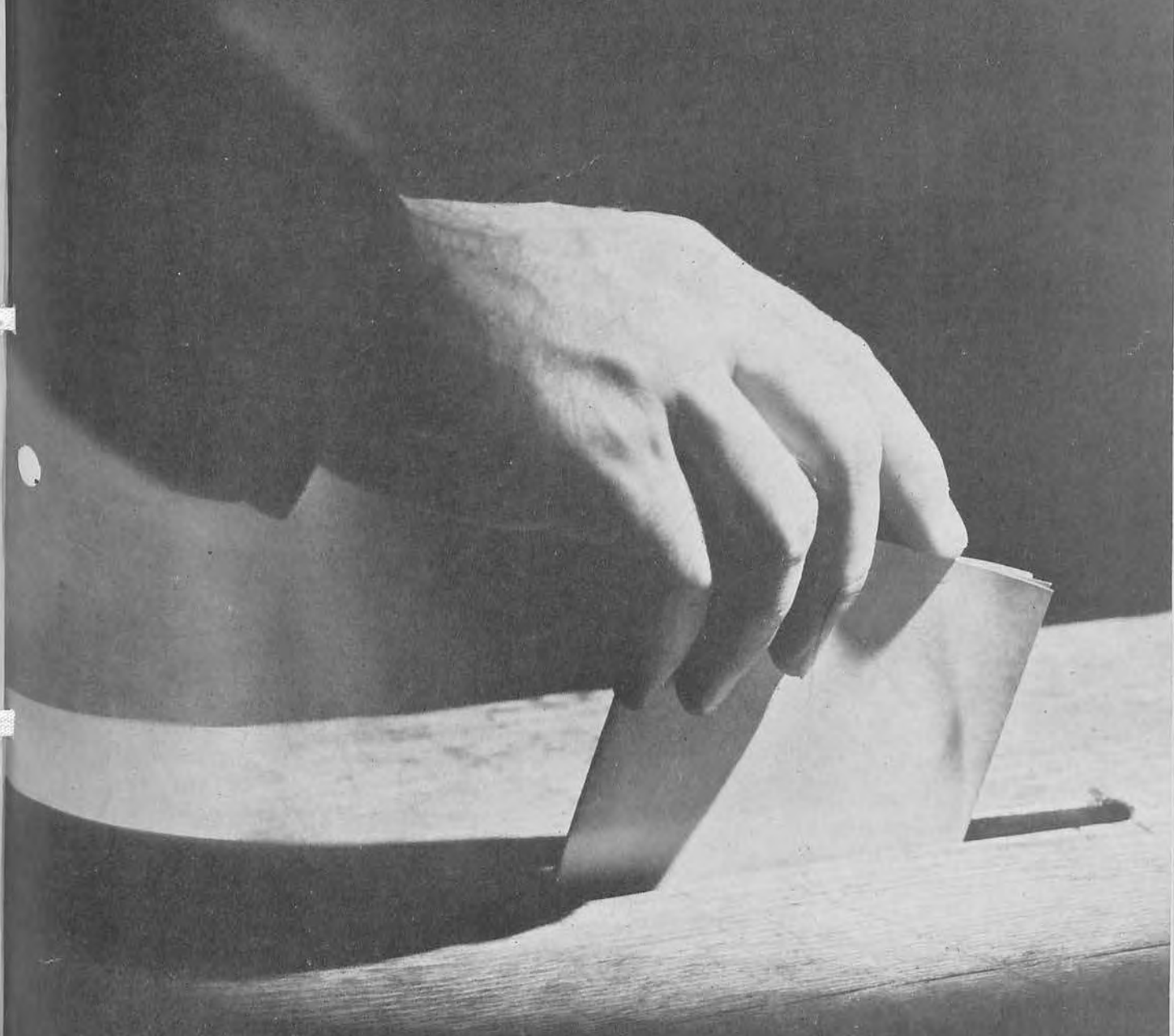
The Democratic Digest

October-November 1944



For want of a vote a precinct was lost,

For want of a precinct a county was lost,

For want of a county a state was lost,

For want of a state a country was lost.

THE DEMOCRATIC DIGEST

Vol. XXI OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1944 Nos. 10-11

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THE WOMEN'S DIVISION,
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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There Aren't Any Votes That Don't Matter

Never has every single vote been as important as in this Presidential election of 1944. Forecast after forecast has indicated a light vote—some predicting it will go as low as 39,000,000. This is almost 10 million votes under the 1940 total.

A light vote lessens the chances for victory for the Democratic party. Party leaders are confident that the larger the vote turned out, the better the chances for electing the President and Mr. Truman, and also electing the men and women who are running on the Democratic ticket for offices from the Senate to the County Court House.

The 1942 election returns should be a red flag for the Democrats. Then, with a vote that was only 5,000,000 below that of 1940, Republicans elected governors and senators in twelve states by close margins. Democrats could have won all of these offices by getting out only from one to twenty-eight votes in each election district or precinct in ten of the states, and by getting out from seventy to one hundred and fifty-five votes in the election districts of the other two states.

One more Democratic vote in every other precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Senator in Idaho.

Eight more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Senator in Michigan.

Eighteen more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Senator in West Virginia.

Twenty more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Governor in Michigan.

Twenty-four more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Governor in California.

Twenty-four more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Governor in New Hampshire.

Twenty-four more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Senator in Illinois.

Twenty-five more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Senator in New Jersey.

Twenty-seven more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Governor in Colorado.

Twenty-seven more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Governor in Pennsylvania.

Twenty-eight more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Governor in Kansas.

Seventy more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected the Democratic candidate for Senator in Massachusetts.

155 more Democratic votes in each of Connecticut's 169 towns would have elected the Democratic candidate for Governor there.

What happened in 1942 can be told in round figures this way: Of the five million voters who stayed home, 3½ million were Democrats while only 1½ million were Republicans.

A handful of votes can change the whole course of history. Five more votes in each Colorado precinct in 1918 would have returned John Franklin Shafroth to the Senate. Senator Shafroth's election would have given the Democrats control of the Senate. Instead—with a majority of only one vote—the Republicans organized it, and placed Henry Cabot Lodge at the head of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee. And from this position he led the fight which scuttled the League of Nations—the only plan which could have prevented today's world war.

In this 1944 election a handful of votes could again shape our destiny. There aren't any votes that don't matter. In a close election, any vote—your vote—your neighbor's vote—that vote you didn't get out—could have an influence that flowed out far beyond your precinct, your state or even your nation.

On November 7—Every Polling Booth Is a Battle Station

PRECINCT DAY . . . Franklin D. Roosevelt as he addressed party workers over the radio on October 5, 1944.

The Candidate Speaks . . .

Statements and stands of the President in his first two campaign speeches

ON RECONVERSION: "The keynote of all we propose to do in reconversion can be found in one word—'jobs'.

"We shall lease or dispose of our government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land, on the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise to give jobs to the greatest number.

"We shall follow a wage policy which will sustain the purchasing power of labor—for that means more production and more jobs."

ON WARTIME CONTROLS: "When our enemies are finally defeated we all want to see an end at the earliest practicable moment to war-time restrictions and war-time controls.

"Strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences have been written into our war-time laws. Those who fear that war-time measures, like price and rent control and rationing, for example, might be continued indefinitely into peace time should examine these laws. They will find that they are all temporary—to expire either at an early fixed date, or at the end of the war, or six months after the war, or sooner if the Congress or the President so determines."

ON COMMUNISM: "I have never sought and I do not welcome the support of any person or group committed to Communism, or Fascism, or any other foreign ideology which would undermine the American system of government or the American system of free competitive enterprise and private property.

"That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war and will, I hope, continue to have with the Soviet Union. The kind of economy that suits the Russian people is their own affair. The American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which will follow the war—and in keeping that peace."

ON THE DEPRESSION: "The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic party was responsible for the 1929 crash and depression, and that the Republican party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal.

"Imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery—but I am afraid that in this case it is the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud.

"* * * In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a mixed audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I think I would use is that word 'depression.' "

ON FALA: "These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks upon me, or my wife, or my sons—they now include my little dog, Fala. * * * I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods about myself—such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to object to libelous statements about my dog."

G.H.Q. for the Campaign . . .

The Democratic National Committee is just a little superstitious about its campaign headquarters. The three past successful Presidential campaigns have been directed from the Biltmore Hotel in New York City. So the National Committee is back at its old stand for this most important of all campaigns in 1944.

Mrs. Charles W. Tillett, Vice Chairman and head of the Women's Division, at work with her secretary, Mrs. Katherine Walton.

The Women's Division reception room is one of the liveliest places in the whole headquarters.

National Chairman Robert E. Hannegan often has lunch at his desk to make the most of every moment between now and election day.

Don't Gamble With Your Grandson's Future!

YOU see them on every passenger train these days—young mothers traveling back and forth across the country, journeys that finally end near some port of embarkation where goodbyes are said. Always there are small children with them—babies, often fretful under new and strange routines; small boys running up and down the aisles, in sailor suits "just like daddy's."

Ask any of these young mothers what they think is the most important consideration in this coming election and they will tell you:

"We must elect as President the man we feel will be most certain to do everything possible to see to it that my little boy doesn't have to go to war some day as his father has had to do now.

"We don't want to see pictures in the papers twenty-five years from now of other young mothers holding up their baby boys to receive their father's posthumous medals."

As simply as that can be stated the issue for women in this campaign.

Even long before Pearl Harbor the Roosevelt Administration set in motion wheels to turn out some sort of international organization to prevent another world war—whether we actually were to be drawn into this one or not.

The meeting between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on the North Atlantic, out of which came the Atlantic Charter; Churchill's visits to Washington; the meetings at Casablanca, Quebec, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran—at all these meetings plans were laid, steps were taken toward creating some sort of world understanding and cooperation to prevent this horror and waste from being inflicted upon humanity again.

World "Constitutional Convention"

In Washington, at Dumbarton Oaks, officials of the foreign offices of the four strongest nations in the world have just finished erecting the framework for a security organization—holding a kind of world "Constitutional Convention."

A number of columnists writing in American newspapers today have observed the similarity between this session at Dumbarton Oaks and our own Constitutional convention at Philadelphia in 1787 out of which was born the United States of America.

The most bitter and most often heard charge against the Dumbarton Oaks conference from the President's opponents has been that its proceedings were conducted in secrecy.

In a recent column Walter Lippmann pointed out that the Philadelphia convention in 1787 spent four months in secret session, reaching an agreement on a frame for our government, and that the Dumbarton Oaks conference, after only a few weeks in secret session, had done a job that, "by any reasonable standard, must be judged both effective and remarkably rapid."

John Fiske, American historian, in his "Critical Period of American History," describes our own Constitutional convention in Philadelphia in 1787 and its deliberations.

"The doors were locked, and an injunction of strict secrecy was put upon everyone. The results of their work were known in the following September (the convention got under way in May) when the draft of the federal constitution was published. But just what was said and done in this secret conclave was not revealed until fifty years had passed, and the aged James Madison, the last survivor of those who sat there, had been gathered to his fathers. He kept a journal of the proceedings, which was published after his death. * * *

"The Federal convention did wisely in withholding its debates from the knowledge of the people. It was felt that the discussion would be more untrammeled, and that its results ought to go before the country as the collective and unanimous voice of the convention. There was likely to be wrangling enough among themselves, but should their scheme be unfolded bit by bit, before its parts could be viewed in their mutual relation, popular excitement would become intense * * * and an end would be put to that attitude of mental repose so necessary for the constructive work that was to be done."

Framework for Peace

On October 9 out of Dumbarton Oaks came the announcement giving the world the broad principles of the recommendations made for a post-war security organization. The blueprint calls for this machinery:

1. A general international organization to be known as "The United Nations," with each of the proposed agencies a part of this organization.

2. A General Assembly composed of representatives of all the peace-loving nations based on the principle of sovereign equality, with each nation having one vote. It would meet once a year, debate the broad problems of peace and security, control of armaments, and admit and expel members.

3. A Security Council composed of the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China, and "in due course" France, as permanent members, with six other members elected for two-year terms. This Council would have the power to order the use of armed forces to make its decisions stick, after peaceful methods have failed. The armed forces of the Council would include special air detachments capable of lightning blows against any future aggressors.

4. A Court of International Justice for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

5. An Economic and Social Council which would consist of eighteen member nations, none permanent, holding three-year terms. Its purpose would be to promote international economic activities and humanitarianism to remove the causes of war.

Any international agreements entered into by this nation will, of course, as provided in our Constitution, be submitted to the United States Senate for ratification. This is why it is so important to elect wise, far-seeing, internationally-minded men to the Senate at this time. It must not happen again, as it did in 1919 after World War I, that a little band of wilful Senators, moved by partisan antagonism toward the man who sponsored the plan, can destroy it. There must be no Henry Cabot Lodges and Jim Watsons in this situation.

Dumbarton Oaks is entirely consistent with the Roosevelt Administration's foreign policy for the last twelve years. It has grown out of the hearts and minds of American statesmen who have been responsible for our Good Neighbor policy, the reciprocal trade agreements, Lend-Lease, UNRRA, the whole, far-seeing, patient program (*Continued on page* 22)

You Say, Mr. Dewey . . .

There is only one way the American voter can judge a party or a man, Mr. Dewey, and that is by the record. It is not what you *say*, but what you have *done*—or *not* done—and what your party has *done*—or *not* done—in the past that counts.

In this campaign you've made a lot of promises, Mr. Dewey. You've said "Me, too" to most of the New Deal. You've been all things to all men. You've made many statements that even the least informed voter knows are not true. The voter has only one recourse. And that is—look at the record. Here it is:

We heard you, Mr. Dewey, when you said that our problem is to prevent a future war. We heard you, but we haven't forgotten what happened when the Republicans voted—

60 per cent against the treaty to join the World Court requiring a two-thirds majority in the Senate (1935).

And we all remember what the Republican Senators did to the League of Nations.

●

We heard you say, Mr. Dewey, that our housing had fallen down so badly we would need to build more than a million homes a year for years to come, but:

After years of the Hoover depression, when men couldn't keep their homes, let alone keep them *up*, Republicans voted against measures to help housing in these proportions:

67 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against the Wagner Housing Bill creating an over-all U.S. Housing Agency (1937).

100 per cent of *your* Senators voted against the National Housing Act Amendment which would have reduced down payments and interest rates (1938).

100 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted for liquidation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (1943). (This was the Dirksen Amendment, which was dropped in conference.)

Whom do you mean by "We," Mr Dewey?

●

Mr. Dewey, you say you are proud of labor, and will jealously guard their right to full employment, a high wage level, and the right to strike, but:

86 per cent of *your* Senators voted against the maximum hour, minimum wage bill. The law was passed by an overwhelming majority of Democrats (1937).

56 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against curbing inflation through establishment of a control on prices. Lack of control would have cut in half the buying power of wages (1942).

93 per cent of *your* Congressmen a year later voted to cut the appropriation for Price Control so much that its efficiency would have been seriously curtailed (1943).

98 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted to kill a roll-back of prices by refusing the subsidy necessary to its accomplishment (1943).

83 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against the Administration policy of securing voluntary cooperation from labor and for a drastic regulatory anti-strike bill (1941).

Isn't this concern for labor something rather recent, Mr. Dewey?

Mr. Dewey, you say you believe in democracy, but:

90 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against a federal ballot simple and accessible enough that our armed forces all over the world could have been sure to have a voice in whether you and your fellow obstructionists would get control of government (1944).

72 per cent of *your* Senators voted the same way (1944).

89 per cent of *your* Senators voted to emasculate the reconversion-demobilization bill, allowing benefits for returning service men (1944).

Were you afraid it might be democracy with a capital "D," Mr. Dewey?

●

Mr. Dewey, you say that we must have price support for the farmer, but your party's representatives voted against measures to aid the farmer in these proportions:

65 per cent against the Farm Relief Bill which was later invalidated by a Republican Supreme Court (1933).

71 per cent against the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act which provided for the start of the Farm Security Administration, then known as the Resettlement Administration (1935).

76 per cent against the Soil Conservation Act (1936).

85 per cent against the Farm Relief Bill which included crop insurance and the Ever-Normal Granary (1938).

85 per cent against parity payments (1940).

74 per cent against funds for the Commodity Credit Corporation to make crop loans to support farm prices (1940).

73 per cent against an increase in funds for rural electrification (1943).

85 per cent against increasing payments to farmers for soil conservation (1943).

These are the figures, Mr. Dewey. What would you have done? Fought with your Congress?

●

You say, Mr. Dewey, that we shall never go back to the days of dog eat dog and laissez-faire, but:

74 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against the Securities and Exchange Act (1934).

And by the way, Mr. Dewey, who are your backers?

●

You say, Mr. Dewey, that the government must be concerned with the welfare of ALL the American people, but:

71 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. (This Act, besides general relief measures, provided for the start of the National Youth Administration.)

The "Tired Old Men" *did* something for American Youth, Mr. Dewey.

Mr. Dewey, you say you would have been all out for preparation for defense, but:

88 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against the establishment in 1933 of TVA. The Tennessee Valley is now one of the mightiest war production areas in the country.

54 per cent of *your* Senators did likewise (1933).

90 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against improving Guam harbor (1939).

65 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against a 20 per cent increase in Naval Armament (1939).

97 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against an increase in airplane production (1939).

75 per cent of *your* Senators voted against providing stockpiles of strategic war materials such as tin, rubber, chromium, etc. (1939).

87 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against lifting the prohibition on the shipment of arms to the hard-pressed democracies then fighting the Axis (1939).

86 per cent of *your* Congressmen voted against allowing our ships to carry this vital aid right into their ports, when their own shipping was too crippled to do it (1939).

85 per cent of *your* Congressmen were against Lend-Lease (1941).

68 per cent of *your* Congressmen were against the Selective Service Act (1940).

86 per cent of *your* Congressmen two months before Pearl Harbor were for disbanding this Army then in training (1941).

83 per cent of *your* Congressmen four months before Pearl Harbor were against giving the Government authority to mobilize industrial resources for defense (by draft if necessary) (1941).

97 per cent of *your* Congressmen four months after Pearl Harbor voted against two power projects on the Missouri River which the Army-Navy Munitions Board was urgently requesting as necessary (1942).

Isn't your hindsight better than your foresight, Mr. Dewey?

Mr. Dulles Tips G.O.P. Hand

Too little attention has been paid to a recent statement on the possibility that the Senate may wreck the hopes of the world for lasting peace.

The statement was made by John Foster Dulles, spokesman for Republican Presidential candidate, Thomas E. Dewey, on foreign affairs, in a letter to a prominent member of the Connecticut Women Voters League.

Discussing the prospect of Senate approval for a peace program, Dulles wrote that such approval would "come more readily if Gov. Dewey is President than if Mr. Roosevelt is re-elected."

The significant part of the letter was the reasoning on which Dulles based this conclusion. He said he had been to Washington and talked with all the Republican members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee except Gerald P. Nye, of North Dakota, and that there was "admittedly much diversity of opinion among them."

"I think they'll go far to back up a Republican President," Dulles wrote, "but I'm pretty skeptical as to what will happen if Mr. Roosevelt is re-elected, in view of the very bad relations which exist between him and both houses of Congress."

Read that again, and see what it really means. Doesn't it mean that the Republican Minority in the Senate is prepared to block a lasting peace program if Roosevelt is re-elected, but that if Dewey is elected, the Senate Republicans may try hard to do right by their country and the world?

That is a responsible Republican spokesman speaking—a man who has talked intimately with the Republicans in the Senate, who knows how they feel and probably will act.

What is your reaction as a voter? Is it that we should elect a Republican President to keep the double-talking Senate Republicans in line? Or should we throw those Republicans out and elect President Roosevelt with an overwhelming Democratic Senate which really believes as he does in fighting for a lasting peace? * * * PM. October 11, 1944.

Senator Ball Makes a Decision

Senator Joseph H. Ball, Minnesota Republican, and one of the most liberal members of his party, has announced that on the basis of Thomas E. Dewey's peace stand thus far in the campaign he can't campaign for him.

Senator Ball, one of the sponsors of the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill resolution which asked that the Senate let the world know the United States would collaborate with other nations to organize for peace, made his statement on September 29. It read:

"It is my deep conviction that the foreign policy of the United States, particularly our firm intention to join with our present Allies in establishing a strong and effective international organization having real authority and power to maintain peace, is by far the greatest issue facing the American people in the November 7 election.

"The lives of future generations and security of our liberties are at stake.

"That issue is far more important than the political success or failure of any party or person.

"I have read or listened to all of Governor Dewey's speeches and statements to date. He has not yet convinced me that his own convictions on this issue are so strong that he would fight vigorously for a foreign policy which will offer real hope of preventing World War III against the inevitable opposition to such a policy.

"That being the case, I would violate my own deepest conviction if I were at this time to try the campaign for Governor Dewey. * * *"

The D. A. Fakes the Evidence—

ON September 23, President Roosevelt, in describing Republican campaign strategy, used the phrases "callous and brazen falsehood," "ridiculous campaign falsification," and "insincerity and inconsistency." These charges were not lightly made. They describe the reckless attempt of the Republicans to garner votes by spreading fear, confusion and disunity.

It is up to the Democrats to help sincere and honest voters make their choice for the Presidency in 1944 on the basis of facts. Here they are:

PREPAREDNESS

DEWEY . . .

says we were not warned of danger and not prepared for war and quotes as proof the following lines spoken by the President at Chicago, October 5, 1937:

> "How happy we are that the circumstances of the moment permit us to put money into bridges and boulevards—rather than into huge standing armies and vast implements of war."

. . . THE TRUTH

Dewey did not quote the words that followed immediately:

> "I am compelled and you are compelled, nevertheless, to look ahead. The peace, the freedom and the security of 90 per cent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining 10 per cent who are threatening a breakdown of all international law and order."

Nor did Dewey say that he was quoting from the famous "Quarantine Speech," for which the President was reviled as a "warmonger," and in which Mr. Roosevelt said:

> "When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease."

DEWEY . . .

was obviously not aware of the dangers threatening this hemisphere. He demonstrated this by his attitude toward strengthening the victims of Nazi aggressors. As late as 1941—after the fall of France, after the air blitz over London—he opposed the vitally important Lend-Lease Bill. He said on January 10, 1941:

> "The President's so-called defense bill (Lend-Lease) would bring an end to free government in the United States, and would abolish Congress for all practical purposes." It would allow the President "to give away the whole Navy, to give away every gun in the Army, to give away every American airplane."

. . . THE TRUTH

We still have free government and Congress still continues to function as it has year in and year out since our country was founded. The Russians held off Hitler at Stalingrad. China is still in the war. Yet we were able to launch a rather successful invasion of Europe. And the American Navy—the most powerful Navy the world has ever seen—is steadily rolling back the Japs toward Manila and Tokyo.

DEWEY . . .

did not have enough faith and confidence in American industry and labor to think they could produce 50,000 planes a year when the President asked them to. Mr. Dewey stated publicly at Dallas, Tex., May 27, 1940:

> "To produce 50,000 planes a year will take a plant about four and a half times as large as our present plant, including all plant capacity now under construction. Experts estimate that it would take at least four years to accomplish this."

. . . THE TRUTH

Mr. Dewey and his experts notwithstanding, this is what free American industry and free American labor have to show:

U. S. WARPLANE PRODUCTION

1941 (estimated)	19,000
1942	47,873
1943	85,946
1944 (estimated on basis of current production)	100,000

DEWEY . . .

contends the Roosevelt Administration did "absolutely nothing" to prepare the American people for war.—Des Moines, September 11, 1944.

. . . THE TRUTH

Has he forgotten the giant appropriations for the army, navy and air forces which, beginning several years before the war, President Roosevelt asked for in every annual budget and in several special messages and which the majority of the Republicans consistently opposed?

Has he forgotten Bill Knudsen and the National Defense Commission which held its first meeting on Memorial Day in 1940?

Has he forgotten the overage destroyer deal and the bases in this hemisphere we bought with them?

Has he forgotten the Selective Service Act, and the fight this Administration put up for its extension?

Has he forgotten Lend-Lease?

Has he forgotten the President's oft-repeated warnings, month after month, year after year, that the war was approaching the brink of this hemisphere?

And—has Mr. Dewey forgotten those 50,000 airplanes?

Perhaps he would rather not remember his own party's record of opposition to all of these measures in Congress—or the statement of John Foster Dulles, his advisor on foreign affairs whom he would make Secretary of State, who said, on March 23, 1939: "Only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplates war on us."

DEPRESSION

Whose depression?

DEWEY . . .

says:

"It was the New Deal that kept the country in a continuous state of depression for seven straight years. They lived in a depression. It was the New Deal that made, that managed to make a three-year depression last eleven straight years."—Philadelphia, September 9, 1944.

. . . THE TRUTH

Look at the record on national income:

1932	40 billions
1939	70 billions
1943	150 billions

Look at the record on business activity:

In 1933 there was 10.5 per cent more business activity in this country than in 1932, last year of the Republican regime. In 1934 it increased another 8 per cent. In 1935, 4.5 per cent. In 1936, 16 per cent. In 1937 another 6 per cent—all this long before the war.

Total industrial production in 1939 was 64 per cent higher than in 1932; automobile production was 187 per cent higher.

Average price of all listed bonds was up 19 per cent in 1939 over 1932. Department store sales in August, 1940, were almost at the 1929 level.

Look at the record on farm income:

On the brink of ruin in 1933, by 1939 the farmer's cash income was $7,711,000,000—a rise of 65 per cent. Cash income of wheat producers was up 98 per cent; of cotton producers up 32 per cent; of tobacco growers, 100 per cent; dairy farmers, 37 per cent, and growers of meat animals by 95 per cent.

Then—look at the record on employment:

Agricultural employment at its highest point in 1929 was a little over 31 millions. In 1932, it had reached a low of 23 millions. By 1939, after six years of the Roosevelt Administration, it was within 7 per cent of its 1929 level.

Industrial employment at its pre-depression high was 31,149,000. By 1940 it was not only back to that figure but had exceeded it by 635,000 workers.—N. Y. Times Financial page, September 10, 1944.

"The highest employment figure this country ever reached prior to 1941 was 46 million people. This figure includes everyone gainfully employed. It was reached only 3 times—1929, 1937, and 1940." Special Senate Post-War Planning Committee, June 12, 1944.

LABOR

"We all know certain people will make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor—who even attack labor as unpatriotic. They keep this up usually for 3 years and 6 months but then for some strange reasons they change their tone—every 4 years—just before election day."—President Roosevelt, September 23, 1944.

DEWEY . . .

says: (just before election day—and without being taken seriously by Joe Pew, Jr., and Ernest T. Weir—leaders of the open shop movement)

"Where are we today in the field of labor? We are adrift. There is no course, no chart, not even a compass. We move when we move at all to the shifting words of the caprice of one man." Seattle, September 18, 1944.

"We need a drastic change in government policies which now incite labor disputes and place handicaps on responsible labor leaders in their work." Portland, September 19, 1944.

. . . THE TRUTH

During the last twelve years labor has come into its own through legislation which was opposed by most of the leading financial supporters of the Republican party:

The sweat shop was abolished.

Workers were furnished with bargaining tools through the NLRB.

Wages were raised and hours shortened through the Wage and Hour Act.

Working men and women were assured security in their old age and unemployment compensation when they need it through the Social Security Act.

Employers in war industries and the Federal government have been forbidden through the FEPC to discriminate against workers because of race or color.

The right to belong to a union made secure, union membership has increased from three to thirteen million.

DEWEY . . .

(just before election day) in Seattle on September 19, 1944, makes one of his most "careless" statements:

"The New Deal is exclusively responsible for most of the serious wartime strikes."

. . . THE TRUTH

The President and all responsible national labor leaders have consistently and openly opposed strikes and tried in every possible way to prevent them.

Those strikes that have occurred have resulted in a loss of less than one-fourth of 1 per cent (or 1/400) of the manpower used in this country in 1943.

DEWEY . . .

(just before election day) in Seattle says that the number of strikes increased by one-third after the Smith-Connally Act was passed:

"That law—the Smith Act—will expire with the termination of the war, as it should. The provisions of this law and other New Deal interferences with free collective bargaining should never be renewed.

"Here is the first thing to be done. We must have from the ranks of labor, an active, able Secretary of the Department of Labor."

. . . THE TRUTH

The President opposed the Smith-Connally Bill, and vetoed it. It was passed over his veto. House Republicans voted 131 to 48 for it. Why didn't Dewey speak out against the Smith-Connally Bill when it was before Congress if he didn't approve of it?

As to his own Secretary of Labor in New York State, Dewey did not choose him from the "ranks of labor," and he waited almost a year after he was elected before he appointed *anyone*.

THE NEW DEAL

DEWEY . . .

endorses the New Deal. In Philadelphia on September 7, 1944, he says:

> "Of course we need security regulation. Of course we need bank deposit insurance. Of course we need price support for agriculture. Of course we need unemployment insurance and old age pensions and also relief whenever there are not enough jobs. Of course the rights of labor to organize and bargain collectively are fundamental."

. . . THE TRUTH

The Republican party was in power for twelve long years before this Administration was elected in 1932. During those twelve years they never made a single move to enact any of these reforms. When the Roosevelt Administration proposed them, they fought them at every turn. The majority of House Republicans voted against the Securities and Exchange Bill, against the Work Relief Bill, against the conference report on the Wage and Hour Bill.

DEMOBILIZATION

DEWEY . . .

charges the Administration is plotting to keep men in the Army to save money. On September 7 in Philadelphia, a full day after the release of the Army Demobilization Plan, he declared:

> "He (General Hershey) said we can keep people in the Army about as cheaply as we could create an agency for them when they are out. * * * For six months we have been hearing statements from the New Deal underlings in Washington that this was the plan. Now it is out in the open. They have been working up to it. They are afraid of the peace."

On September 8 at Louisville, Dewey repeated this charge—and this was two days after the Army Plan was announced, a plan based on the wishes of the men themselves.

On September 16 at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, Dewey again repeated this charge nine days after the plan was announced.

. . . THE TRUTH

Dewey quoted as his authority General Hershey, Director of Selective Service, whose job, after all, is to get men into the Army and not out of it.

Secretary of War Stimson stated the War Department position in this way on October 5, 1944:

> "There are only two things that will affect the speed of demobilization of the Army. One is the military necessity of retaining sufficient troops in service to quickly and permanently defeat Japan. The other is available shipping. Except for these two limitations, the Army is arranging to return those eligible for demobilization as quickly as possible. No economic or political factors enter into that planning."

President Roosevelt completely nailed the fallacy in Dewey's charge in his address of October 6. He said that bills providing for the national program of demobilization and post-war adjustment introduced last May and now the law of the land contained the following provision:

> "The War and Navy Departments shall not retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment."
>
> "And," the President pointed out, "that provision was approved by the War Department and by this Administration months ago."
>
> Then the President said: "It seems a pity that reckless words, based on unauthoritative sources, should be used to mislead and to weaken the morale of our men on the fighting fronts and the members of their families here at home."

POST-WAR PROGRAM

DEWEY . . .

says:

> "By waging relentless warfare against our job-making machinery my opponent succeeded in keeping a depression going 11 years, long years, twice as long as any previous depression in our history, and the somber, tragic thing is that today he still has no better program to offer. That is why the New Deal is afraid of peace." Philadelphia, September 7, 1944.

. . . THE TRUTH

Two days before this attack, the President had outlined the tasks ahead in the following words:

> "There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same skill and intelligence and devotion which have already led us so far on the road to victory. There is the task of finishing victoriously the most terrible of all wars as speedily as possible and with the least cost of lives. There is the task of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace, once established, will not again be broken. And there is the task which we face here at home—the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace. * * *

On October 3 the President signed the bill creating the Office of War Demobilization and Reconversion. He stated:

> "So far as the bill goes, it is quite satisfactory. * * * But I feel it is my duty to draw attention to the fact that the bill does not adequately deal with the human side of reconversion."

TAXATION

DEWEY . . .

contends that under this Administration, tax laws have been used to discourage high wages. As an example, he said at Albany, N. Y., on October 3, 1944:

> "A Treasury agent went into the (Lincoln Electric Company) plant and announced 'A man who works with his hands should not be paid as much as $5,000 a year.'"

. . . THE TRUTH

According to a Treasury Department news release dated October 6, 1944, Mr. Dewey was evidently quoting James F. Lincoln, President of the Company, who accused Jesse F. Gregory (the Treasury agent) of making such a statement. Mr. Gregory not only never made the statement, but has two witnesses to the fact.

The Treasury Department has never had any such rule. In fact, in this case the government's final notice to the Lincoln Electric Company permitted deductions for payments in excess of $5,000 each to 129 factory workers and 41 foremen who worked with their hands.

As the GI's Want It . . .

By RILLA SCHROEDER

A PLAN for bringing the boys home after the shooting is over has been completed by the War Department and is all ready to go into operation. It is a GI plan. For the details the War Department went to GI Joe, himself. The Department reasoned that the subject was one upon which the GIs had been doing a lot of thinking. It concerned them more closely than anyone else and, in all fairness, they had a right to be consulted. Moreover, the Department was convinced that the men who were wearing Uncle Sam's uniform, who were serving, would have a more objective, less selfish viewpoint than civilians. A few months, a few years in the armed forces, teaches a man the score. He learns to think of his buddies as well as of himself.

Experts were sent into the field to talk to Joe. Thousands of soldiers, both in this country and overseas, were interviewed, and the views they expressed were accepted as the basis of the plan.

Win the war, win both wars, the GIs told the War Department, and then fighters and fathers first—the fighters who've been at it longest. Ninety per cent of the men consulted said that was the way it should be. And so it is.

Shift to Pacific Theater

When the war against Germany has ended, the military might of the United States will be transferred from the European to the Pacific area. Military requirements in the European and American areas will be drastically curtailed, while tremendous increases will be made in the Pacific.

This emphasis on the Pacific will mean the transfer of men from war theaters no longer active, or from the United States. It will mean the transfer of supplies. And these transfers will mean ships. There is no overland route across the Pacific. Men and supplies must go by water. All available transportation will be needed for this tremendous undertaking.

Of necessity, the need for ships in the Pacific will mean fewer ships with which to bring men back from Europe. The GIs know this. They knew it when they said win both wars first. They know how many ships it takes to move an army across the water. They remember those long convoys, those thousands of ships it took to get them across the Atlantic. But "win both wars first," they said. "We can wait."

The GIs know, too, that even after the firing has stopped a limited number of American troops will be needed in Europe for a time. The war will not be won entirely when the German armies surrender. Deep as is their desire for home, the GIs are willing to stay until the job is done.

However, even with the war in the Pacific not yet won and the job still unfinished in Europe, there will be thousands of GIs no longer needed. These are the men who can go home. And these, the GIs say, should be the fighters and the fathers.

Standards for Selection

Picking fighters and fathers by units would be impossible. It has to be done on an individual basis, rather than by groups, and this is the basis upon which the War Department has built its plan for sending the GIs no longer needed back home.

In order that the selection should be entirely impartial, the Department, following the suggestions made by GI Joe, has worked out a series of standards based upon the individual's service record and number of dependents. As part of the plan, an adjusted service rating card is being prepared and will be issued to all enlisted men after the defeat of Germany. On this card will be scored the following four factors, and these factors will determine Joe's immediate chance for going home:

1. Service credit, based upon the total number of months of Army service since September 16, 1940.

2. Overseas credit, based upon the number of months served overseas.

3. Combat credit, based upon the first and each additional award to the individual of the Medal of Honor, Distinguished Service Cross, Legion of Merit, Silver Star, Distinguished Flying Cross, Soldier's Medal, Bronze Star Medal, Air Medal, Purple Heart and bronze service stars (battle participation stars).

4. Parenthood credit, which gives credit for each dependent child under 18 years up to a limit of three children.

The value of the credits will be announced after the end of the war in Europe. In the meantime, they are being given constant study. The Department will be ready, when the German armies surrender, to begin making their selection. The men will start coming home just as soon as selection has been made and the ships are available. It is emphasized that the rapidity with which the men are returned will depend in no small measure upon availability of transportation. Thousands of ships will be required to supply the Pacific armies. Those armies will have first call upon all shipping. Everything else must wait. Ships will be needed to transport millions of fighting men, millions of tons of landing barges, tanks, planes, guns, ammunition and food—and over longer supply lines than those to Europe.

The War Department says that this means that most of the ships and planes used to supply the European war theater will be needed. Ships on their way to Europe at the time the German armies give up will continue on to the Pacific carrying troops and supplies for that distant campaign. Very few will turn around and come back to the United States. The Department, therefore, will not be able to bring back immediately all the GIs who have been fighters and are fathers. It may be months before many return.

Post-Hostilities Educational Program

For those months while they are waiting, the Department has plans for the GIs. Soldiers serving in the Army of Occupation or awaiting shipment home will have an opportunity to go ahead with their education or tu receive practical training for civilian jobs. For months the Department has been working on this post-hostilicies education program and it, too, is now ready to go into immediate operation as soon as Germany falls. The GIs will have complete freedom of choice in selecting their course of study, but will be encouraged to enroll in classes teaching subjects that have a bearing on their individual post-war plans and ambitions.

Classes open to the GIs will range from the sixth grade through second year college. In *(Continued on page 22)*

The Republicans Can't St

BUSINESS and FINANCE. These are the New Deal measures which brought the country out of a state of panic, gave industry the highest profits it has ever enjoyed, and brought prosperity to business, big and little.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (1933) guaranteeing individual savings up to $5,000, restored confidence in our banking system. In the four Republican years before this law was passed, there were 8,302 bank failures; in the 12 Democratic years since, bank failures have totalled only 538, and loss to depositors has been kept down to almost nothing.

Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans were increased and made to small enterprises as well as large—to banks, railroads, insurance companies—staving off threatened bankruptcies until national recovery was under way. After President Roosevelt took office, up to the time of the war, the RFC had loaned to business enterprises $293,500,000, and 89% of it has been repaid; 81% of all pre-war RFC loans have been collected.

The Public Utility Act of 1935, and rigid **Enforcement of the Anti-Trust Act** and the **Broadening of the Powers of the Federal Trade Commission** put a curb on dangerous concentration of economic power in the hands of monopolies and holding companies, policing free enterprise for little business as well as big. Since 1933, anti-trust cases brought into court have averaged 300 a year; before that they averaged 34 a year.

The Securities and Exchange Act (1934) outlawed dishonest dealing in securities, giving new confidence to investors.

The Gold Reserve Act (1934) and the **Silver Purchase Act** strengthened monetary and financial stabilization.

EMPLOYMENT. These are the measures that put money back into circulation by giving jobs to those who had been standing in breadlines under Hoover. By 1937—and again in 1940—employment was as high as the 1929 peak.

The Public Works Administration (1933) helped states and communities to put men to work on needed public works—roads, power plants, water systems, schoolhouses, public buildings, etc. Of the 822½ million dollars loaned to counties and towns by the PWA, 80% has been paid back and the government has made a net profit of 14 million dollars.

The Work Projects Administration (1933) converted the manpower of jobless millions into public improvements and services.

The United States Employment Service provided free assistance to the unemployed to get them back into jobs; has served, during wartime, to utilize the nation's manpower to the utmost; will help returning soldiers to get back onto pay rolls.

AGRICULTURE. These measures put farming—hardest hit of all industries—back on a paying basis and gave to the farmer his fair share of national prosperity.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (1933) helped the farmers to work out an over-all production program which keeps farm prices stable and conserves the nation's soil by crop rotation and other good soil-building and soil-conserving practices.

The Ever-Normal Granary provided for storage of reserves in good years for use in years of crop failure. The program, well established before the war, helped us provide ourselves and our Allies with food supplies needed for victory.

After fighting every single New Deal measure part for eleven long years; after deciding in 1940 that the most popular New Deal policies, the Republican take over the whole New Deal. So Mr. Dewey is to snag some of the votes that will not stray from the

But the American people know what man an the last twelve years. They know that every Administration has had the single unwavering pur Roosevelt—of making life more secure and more a persuaded that a party which does not really belie every turn—could administer them better than the

In three national elections the American peop not change the leaders who gave them the New De depression and established these much-needed social

The Farm Credit Administration's expanded services made long and short-term loans available to the farmers hard hit by depre so that their production was not held up for lack of funds. T lending services also helped stimulate our war production.

The Commodity Credit Corporation (1933) was used to help sup farm prices, and a pledge has been made to farmers that the will carry out that purpose to keep prices up to parity for years after the war.

The Federal Crop Insurance Corporation (1938) removed the incre farmer's risk from crop destruction and failure.

The Surplus Marketing Administration kept surpluses from glutting market; provided food for the needy and for school lunch progr

The Rural Electrification Program (1935) brought electricity to a m farms at low cost. REA loans to cooperatives are being repaid ahead of schedule—$75,970,000 this year when only $59,4 was due.

The Farm Security Administration (1935) "gave a new start in life thousands of impoverished farm families, instructing them in b farming methods and loaning them the money they needed to them out.

The Farm Tenant Act and **Rural Resettlement** provided loans tenant farmers buy their own land, relieving one of the great our rural problems, that of farm tenancy.

LABOR. Measures which brought a fair deal working men and women include:

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 set minimum wages below a worker could not be paid; maximum hours above which he not be required to work; outlawed child labor.

The National Labor Relations Act (1935) gave labor the legal r bargain collectively and to defend itself against unfair labor pr

The National Labor Relations Board was set up for the purpo enforcing the Act and to settle labor disputes in fairness labor and management.

Unemployment Insurance, under the Social Security Act, provid of-work pay to bridge the fearsome gap between jobs.

The Democrats' New Deal

s; after smearing the New Deal itself in whole and in st to accept, for campaign purposes, at least a few of finally decided in this campaign that they'd better just g on a sort of counterfeit New Deal platform, hoping ve, humanitarian principles of the New Deal.

ty are responsible for the social and economic gains of nitiated and carried through to completion by this urpose synonymous with the name of Franklin D. the Average American Citizen. And they cannot be measures—a party which has fought them bitterly at ch originated them.

emonstrated their support of the New Deal. They will ought the country swiftly and surely out of its worst omic reforms.

CONSERVATION. **These measures have meant billions of dollars to this country by conserving and building up its natural resources.**

The Soil Conservation Act (1935) gave practical help to farmers by showing them how to use scientific methods of building up and conserving their land.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (1933), set up as a model power project, has electrified farms and villages for hundreds of miles around it, rved the water resources of the valley, and produced great qu es of super-phosphate fertilizer.

Construction of Huge Flood Control and Irrigation Projects, authorized by various flood control bills, brought modern advantages to many communities and gave us a national power plant adequate for our war production needs.

Drought Control and Drought Relief Programs gave new life to the famished Dust Bowl, putting parched ground back into production.

Establishment and Improvement of National Parks and Monuments meant to this country recreational advantages unexcelled in the world.

HOUSING. **By these measures the New Deal attacked the nation's housing problem, made acute by the building slump and by the unchecked growth of city and rural slums.**

The Federal Housing Administration (1934) put the building industry back on its feet; enabled thousands of families with moderate incomes to buy new homes or improve their old ones.

The United States Housing Authority (1937) slum clearance program removed whole neighborhoods of sub-standard homes where disease and crime were breeding, and replaced them with clean, modern, low-rent dwellings.

The Home Owners' Loan Corporation (1933) helped stabilize 1,400 savings and loan associations with HOLC and U. S. Treasury funds; made direct loans to a million families whose homes were threatened with foreclosure. The government has received almost 52 million dollars in dividends on its investments in associations, and 16 million dollars from its investments in Federal Home Loan Banks. Nearly 300,000 home owners who borrowed from the HOLC have repaid in full, and 400,000 more are making monthly payments ahead of schedule.

The Federal Savings and Loan System (1933) chartered new savings and loan associations for home financing.

The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (1934) insured investments up to $5,000 in thrift and home-financing institutions. Today it protects nearly 3,700,000 investors.

YOUTH. **The New Deal recognized this country's obligation to its youth by passing the following measures:**

The Civilian Conservation Corps (1937) provided healthful, useful jobs for thousands of unemployed boys. This work increased the value of our country's natural resources by 600 million dollars by planting trees, improving forests and parks, eradicating insect pests, and helping with erosion control.

The National Youth Administration (1935) enabled thousands of students to stay in school by providing them with part-time work, and helped thousands of others toward employment by job training.

SOCIAL SECURITY. **Measures that have meant more security for Americans and their families:**

The Social Security Act (1935) gave the American people a sense of security against illness and poverty, from childhood through old age. It embraces a maternal and child health program, a child welfare service, a crippled children's program and financial aid for dependent children; social insurance to cover industrial workers, unemployment compensation and reemployment service; assistance for the needy blind and vocational rehabilitation for the physically disabled in industry; old age assistance for the needy aged, and old age and survivors insurance against future need; and extension of the Public Health Service.

WORLD COOPERATION. **The following measures laid the foundation for permanent peace in the world community of nations.**

The Good Neighbor Policy (1933) built up friendly cooperation between the United States and its neighbors in this hemisphere.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program (1934) introduced a practical, workable plan for world trade on a cooperative basis.

The Lend-Lease Program (1941), an historic demonstration of practical good-neighborliness, proved to be the most important factor in preventing the German and Japanese aggressors from attaining their goal of world domination.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has already put into practice the theory of cooperation among nations.

The Roosevelt Administration has proven, through its leadership, that this country can unite with other nations of the world not only in the conduct of total war, but that even in the midst of war, plans are being made for international cooperation which have laid the basis for an enduring peace. Already the United States has participated in world conferences on food and agriculture, relief and rehabilitation, education, monetary policies and labor, and the conferences at Dumbarton Oaks erected a framework for a world organization to keep the peace.

Women Can Thank Roosevelt . . .

During the last twelve years America's women have stepped up and out. They are no longer only servants in their house. They are citizens of the world.

By SUSAN B. ANTHONY II

LAST week as I stood outside the Easton, Pennsylvania, war plant where my mother works, waiting for her to come off her shift, I watched her fellow workers as they streamed out the factory gates. Women far outnumbered men in the crowd—older women like mother who were obviously housewives, young girls in their teens and twenties, and some women who looked as though they were pre-Pearl Harbor workers—the regulars.

I wondered if these women realized that in a few short weeks they must do as great a job in replacing men at the polls as they are doing now in replacing men on the production line. They need to replace the missing votes of our servicemen who were deprived of the federal ballot when the Green-Lucas bill was killed.

When mother came out I asked her: "These women are a good cross-section of housewives and single working women, how do they feel about the election? Are they going to vote for Roosevelt?"

"Many of them are—but some, however; a good number—don't know the Roosevelt record on American women. They don't know the record of labor and social legislation that has been won by the Democratic party for them, for their husbands and for their children."

American women should know the facts about the Democratic party's achievements for them since 1933.

Meet the "Forgotten Woman"

It is well known that Franklin D. Roosevelt ended the era of the "Forgotten Man." It is not well known that President Roosevelt also ended the era of the "Forgotten Woman," the Dark Age of Republican neglect from 1920 to 1932, and began the "Golden Age" for women in 1933 extending to today—and tomorrow if he is re-elected.

After the steep ascent of the 72-year struggle for woman suffrage, our women attained their hard-fought goal, and they attained a peak of unity and organized action.

Then came the Dark Age for American women, the years of Warren Gamaliel Harding, Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover.

In these twelve years the forward march of women was very materially slowed down. It received little or no encouragement from the Republican leaders in the White House and in Congress. Search the *Congressional Record* through during those days and you will find no legislation such as that which set up the Woman's Bureau of the Department of Labor under the Wilson Administration. Nor in the records of the Republican administrative departments will you find any decisions of comparable significance to that of the First National War Labor Board which in 1918 in more than 50 cases upheld the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Less for Women in the '20s

Women, who had flocked into war industries in great numbers during those years America was engaged in defeating Germany the first time, went back into their homes, and the problems of the woman worker were pushed into the background.

At the same time—during the twenties—the number of women in important governmental positions dwindled in comparison to the number who had held top jobs during the Wilson Administration.

And throughout all this period, so far as legislation was concerned, women's special interests were almost completely forgotten.

Then President Roosevelt came into office. He definitely did not forget the women of the country. He remembered them—and with action.

From 1933 to 1944 this Administration has telescoped greater gains for women into eleven years than they had won in the preceding 100 years.

Nurseries—For the first time in our history, the largest and hardest working group of citizens—the housewives—have been recognized and given a helping hand in their tasks of caring for children.

Before 1933, there were only 262 nursery schools in the entire nation caring for 4,000 children, chiefly those of the upper class whose parents could afford high tuition. Today, there are almost 2,000 nursery schools, financed by the Lanham Act, caring for 50,000 children in key war areas where mothers are being released for vital war work. And there are 1,000 recreation centers for school-age children—organized programs that attempt to prevent our children from becoming casualties of this war.

School Lunches—This year more than 4 million of our children will receive low cost or free nutritious lunches at school, because of the school lunch program of the Department of Agriculture, begun in 1933. The Democratic party has consistently fought for this program and this year $50,000,000 was obtained from Congress to ensure that the youngsters will get good food.

Dependent Children—Before the Democrats took office in 1933, dependent children in families where fathers had died, deserted or just departed, were left to the mercies of the penurious Mothers' Aid Laws in the states that provided starvation support for only 283,000 needy children. The Roosevelt Administration, under the Social Security Act of 1935 (Aid to Dependent Children Section), obtained funds that tripled the number of children receiving care, so that more than 800,000 are enabled to stay with their own mothers instead of being farmed out to strange and unknown institutions or foster families.

Mothers and Babies—We can point with pride also to the Maternal and Child Welfare service under the 1935 Social Security Act which has enabled every state in the Union to have a full-time operating maternal and child health division.

The results are impressive. The infant death rate has dropped from 58 per 1,000 live births in 1932 to 47 in 1940. The maternal death rate dropped from 63 per 10,000 live births in 1932 to 38 in 1940. There has been a decline of 38 per cent in deaths among children from 1 to 14 years, 77,500 in 1933 to 47,900 in 1940.

Service Wives—And in the war, since 1943, more than 300,000 wives and infants of servicemen have been served under the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care program. Thirty million dollars has been allocated to provide free medical and hospital treatment for wives of servicemen in the four lowest pay grades and their children up to the age of one year.

Homes—The bulwark of American family life is the American home. This Administration saved millions of homes from foreclosure, made it possible for millions of citizens to own their own homes for the first time, moved thousands of families from the slums into new, clean places to live, saved farm homes throughout the country and brought to many farm wives the conveniences of electricity.

Working Children—Child labor was prohibited for the first time in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 which bars the employment of children under 16 in interstate commerce.

Working Women—And now what is the record of our party for the ever-growing number of working women?

Since 1932, the number of working women has increased from less than 11 million to more than 17 million. The Administration has consistently carried through a policy of no discrimination because of sex whether the jobs be in public or private employment.

Equal pay for equal work—was the War Labor Board decision of November 1942, marking a real milestone for working women.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 set floors to wages and ceilings to hours for women workers and men workers alike, lifting up to decent levels the starvation wages that had been the lot of many American women.

The right to bargain collectively in unions of their own choosing was granted workers for the first time in history in the National Labor Relations Act which is a Magna Charta for workers regardless of sex or race.

The Social Security Act of 1935 protects women workers against the perils of unemployment and old age.

Women in Uniform—And in this crucial war in which we are engaged, American women have at last entered that most inner of male sanctums—the armed forces—not as auxiliaries but with full status. Today more than 200,000 women serve in the WACS, WAVES, SPARS, Marines and Army and Navy Nurse Corps.

Physicians—Women physicians, under the bill sponsored by John Sparkman, Alabama Democrat, and passed in 1943, finally attained full commissions and status as Army doctors.

Women in Government—Never has any Administration given women the recognition in government positions as has the Roosevelt Administration. During the last eleven years the country has seen its first woman Secretary of Labor, first woman Minister to a foreign country, first woman Director of the Mint, first woman Assistant Secretary of a government department, first woman Assistant Treasurer, first woman appointed to a Circuit Court of Appeals, first woman member of the Social Security Board, first woman member of the Court of Tax Appeals, first woman member of the Employees' Compensation Commission—and women as delegates to most of the United Nations conferences which are shaping the post-war world.

Party Responsibility—Within our party, as well as in these national measures I have described, women have attained equal status. The Democratic party led the way in calling for equal representation of women with men on all party committees. Eighteen states now have the fifty-fifty principle written into law. Twenty-one have equal representation on some but not all party committees.

Great-niece of the famous suffrage leader, Miss Anthony is rapidly becoming an authority on women in today's world. Her first book, "Out of the Kitchen—Into the War," summarized women's war activities. She is now working on a second book which will discuss women in the post-war world. Written under the direction of the Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research at Bryn Mawr College, Miss Anthony will collaborate in this second book with Dr. Ann W. Shyne.

During this campaign Miss Anthony is speaking at meetings and on radio forums for the Roosevelt Democratic Women's Committee in Philadelphia. Her husband, Captain Henry H. Collins, Jr., is in France with the AMG.

Judge the Future by the Past

Today when Americans are preparing to cast their ballots for President and Vice President, for the party of their choice, it is not enough to look backward complacently at the record. Women must look not only at their work in the war of today, but at their work in the world of tomorrow, their rights to a job and the rights of their menfolk.

The road ahead is as clear as the record behind us. As wives and as workers, women have a right to expect jobs for their men and themselves, after the war is over. The Democratic party stands for post-war security for all, regardless of sex or race. The Kilgore-Murray Bill would seek to guarantee this. The Murray-Wagner-Dingell Bill, based on recommendations made by the Social Security Board, would seek to extend the principle of social security to protect the American mother during and after pregnancy, as well as her husband in injury or illness.

In the past years of the Roosevelt Administration, women have been progressing from being servants of the house to citizens of the world. No single group in America has a greater stake in the re-election of the President.

For in the last analysis, the status of women depends upon the relations of this nation with the other nations of this world. In these years of war when the American woman has been sacrificing her husband or her son to the struggle to annihilate fascism, she has been sustained by two deep-rooted convictions:

First—She is determined that there will be victory over fascism.

Second—She is determined that the tragic blunders of the last post-war era will not recur. American women remember the Republican days of 1920 to 1932—the days of the renunciation of the world's hope for a lasting peace. They are determined that those days have gone forever.

The path to peace is clear. It has been formulated by the President at Cairo, Teheran and at Dumbarton Oaks. It will be translated into action for the welfare of women and for the world, if American women, the decisive force in 1944, register their decision for Roosevelt at the polls.

Women on the Ballot in '44

THIS is indeed women's year. Not only are there going to be more women's ballots cast in this campaign, but there are going to be more women's names listed on those ballots—listed as candidates for Congress, for major state offices, for state legislatures and for county posts.

Reports to *The Digest* indicate that throughout the country—in this twenty-fifth year of suffrage, and seventh Presidential campaign since the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment—more women are running for public office than ever before. Twelve women's names will appear on the Democratic side of the ballot for Congress. At least twenty others are running for major state office on the Democratic ticket, that is, offices like Secretary of State, State Treasurer, State Auditor and State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Information received from thirty-nine states shows that fourteen women will go before the voters as Democratic candidates for their state senate, while one hundred and eight Democratic women are running for seats in their state legislature. And the totals of Democratic women running for county office, of course, which are not available, would undoubtedly add up in the thousands. In Lawrence County, Indiana, an all-woman slate of ten candidates has been nominated.

EYES ON CAPITOL HILL

Two New York state women have won Democratic nominations to Congress since the last issue of *The Digest* went to press. They are Miss Jean Walrath of Rochester, who is running in the Forty-first District, and Mrs. Charlotte Demorest Curren of Elmira, a candidate in the Thirty-ninth District.

Miss Walrath, a newspaperwoman of 13 years' experience on Rochester and Buffalo papers, is the first woman to be designated for Congress in her district. She is a charter member of the Rochester chapter of the American Newspaper Guild, and secretary-treasurer of the chapter. Her interests center chiefly on education, social welfare, minority groups, and progressive civic activities. Descended on her mother's side from pioneer settlers of the West, and on her father's side from pre-Revolutionary War settlers of the Mohawk Valley of New York, Miss Walrath has a background of both farm and city life in upstate New York.

Mrs. Curren has always been active in affairs connected with farming and education. For years she was trustee in her school district. She is a member of the County Board of Farm and Home Bureaus and Junior Extension; a member of the Big Flats (Chemung County) State and National Granges; the Associated Country Women of the World; and is a former vice chairman of the Chemung County Democratic organization. Before her marriage Mrs. Curren taught school. After her husband's death she managed and operated the 400-acre family farm for six years. In her spare time, Mrs. Curren has done some writing, and has had poetry, sketches and short stories published.

The ten other women who are Democratic nominees for Congress—sketches on all of whom have appeared in previous issues of the magazine—are: *California*: Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, 14th District; *Connecticut*: Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, 2nd District, and Miss Margaret E. Connors, 4th District; *Illinois*: Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas, at Large, and Mrs. Ruth G. Fillingham, 17th District; *Nebraska*: Mrs. Mabel Gillespie, 2nd District; *New Jersey*: Mrs. Mary T. Norton, 13th District; *Ohio*: Mrs. Elsie Stanton, 10th District; *Pennsylvania*: Miss Marie M. Bickert, 8th District; *Wisconsin*: Miss Elizabeth Hawkes, 10th District.

ON TO THE STATEHOUSE

Of the twenty women who have received Democratic nominations for important offices in their statehouses, six are running for the key position of Secretary of State. In New Mexico Mrs. Cecelia Tafoya Cleveland seeks her second term, and in Washington Mrs. Belle Reeves is unopposed for her third term. Both Mrs. Cleveland and Mrs. Reeves have established enviable records in office. In South Dakota Miss Goldie Wells of Webster, who has previously served two terms in the post, is running this year. Friendly, energetic, capable, Miss Wells served her state well during her former tenure of office.

Three newcomers to the office have won nominations in their states—in Massachusetts Mrs. Margaret O'Riordan of Boston, Democratic National Committeewoman, seeks the office, the first woman in her state to do so. Mrs. O'Riordan feels it is a job a woman can do successfully. She likens it to good housekeeping, since it requires constant application to careful, orderly procedure. Mrs. O'Riordan has had considerable background for the office, having had a successful business career, and also headed up the State Registration Office for two years, handling the licensing of such professions as doctors, nurses, pharmacists and others. She is the mother of four daughters, and very recently became a proud grandmother.

Miss Emily Rose Kneubuhl of Minneapolis is the Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate for Secretary of State in Minnesota. Well known in civic, educational and political circles, Miss Kneubuhl has also organized and directed schools of political education for the Minnesota and National League of Women Voters, and directed City Manager Charter campaigns not only in Minneapolis, but in Rochester, New York and Cincinnati as well. She served for two years as national executive secretary of the Federation of Business and

MISS JEAN WALRATH

MRS. CHARLOTTE D. CURREN

MRS. BELLE REEVES

MISS EMILY R. KNEUBUHL

MRS. GENEVIEVE NICHOLS

Professional Women's Clubs. In 1936 and 1937 she was a special assistant to the Administrator of REA.

In Iowa Mrs. Genevieve Nichols of Iowa Falls is the Democratic candidate for Secretary of State. Mrs. Nichols has a long record of party service, and for many years served as Hardin County Vice Chairman. She has also actively engaged in the civic and cultural affairs of her community and her state.

DEMOCRATIC WOMEN ASKING A HAND in other phases of their state's business include five nominees for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction. In Colorado, Mrs. Inez Johnson Lewis of Denver is seeking her ninth term—having already served the longest consecutive term of office of any Colorado state official. In New Mexico Mrs. Georgia L. Lusk is a candidate to succeed herself, having previously served two terms, and in Washington Mrs. Pearl A. Wanamaker is a candidate for her second consecutive term. Before assuming the post, Mrs. Wanamaker had a long and distinguished career in both houses of her state legislature.

In Kansas, Mrs. Page Manley of Elk City seeks the office, and is the only woman candidate of either major party for a state post. Mrs. Manley has an extensive educational background, having attended four universities and taught school for 14 years.

Miss Violet M. Eastman of Helena is Montana's Democratic candidate. She also has an outstanding scholastic background, having attended five universities. She has taught in high schools and normal colleges, and has also been a high school principal.

TWO DEMOCRATIC WOMEN HAVE WON nomination for the post of State Auditor.

(Continued on page 21)

MRS. ALICE D. WAGNER

MRS. MINNIE M. SCHWINGER

MRS. PAGE MANLEY

MRS. JULIA LYNCH

New Faces On the National Committee

EIGHTEEN new women members of the Democratic National Committee took office following the Chicago convention. In the last issue of *The Digest* the new National Committeewomen for Puerto Rico, West Virginia, California and Vermont were presented. On this page are sketches of four of the other new leaders.

WASHINGTON

The "Evergreen" state's new National Committeewoman, Mrs. Kathryn E. Malstrom, has had a long and distinguished career both in politics and in business. She is now rounding out her twelfth year in the State Senate, where she has served on the important Education, Appropriations, Judiciary, Banking and Rules Committees. She is currently chairman of the Education Committee, and, during a special session, headed the Appropriations Committee.

Mrs. Malstrom has reluctantly decided to forego running for re-election. In the meantime, she recently was elected Clerk of the Court of Pierce County where Tacoma, her home city, is located. For eight years she has also served as State Committeewoman in her county.

Before becoming a state senator, Mrs. Malstrom successfully managed her family's drug business and played an active role in the mercantile and civic affairs of Tacoma. During that time she was vice president of the Independent Merchants' Association.

Married at an early age, and the mother of three children, Mrs. Malstrom first turned her interests and energies to the work of the Parent-Teacher Association, particularly its legislative program. The financial support of education led her to an earnest study of taxation laws and the influences for the promotion of better educational facilities. For many years she was president of the Washington Congress of Parents and Teachers.

Mrs. Malstrom has also found time for active work in civic and women's groups—the Council of Federated Women, the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters, and the American Red Cross.

OKLAHOMA

"I went into politics just as soon as women were given the franchise," says Mrs. O. H. Cafky, "and I've never missed a precinct, county or state meeting since." She was the first woman elected Vice Chairman of Beaver County, and the second Democratic woman in Oklahoma to serve as State Vice Chairman. Until her recent election as National Committeewoman, she has been Vice Chairman for the Eighth District.

In addition to her party work, Mrs. Cafky has participated in the civic, philanthropic and cultural activities of her state. She has served as Regent of the University Preparatory Schools for seven years, and as Regent of the Chickasha College for Women for four years. At present she is a member of the State Library Board.

She has also been active in the state and national Federated Clubs, the Daughters of 1812, and P.E.O. She is a past treasurer of the State Federation. At present she is serving as Home Service Chairman of her Red Cross chapter.

Mrs. Cafky is the mother of six children. She believes that all things begin at the precinct grass roots, and is now working hard to achieve complete precinct organization in Oklahoma.

TEXAS

Mrs. Hilda B. Weinert has been a leading figure in Texas party work for many years. Before assuming her post on the National Committee, she served as State Vice Chairman.

In addition to her political activities, she has long had a keen interest in educational affairs and child welfare. Before her marriage she was a member of the faculty of the Seguin High School. She is now entering her nineteenth year as a member of the Seguin Board of Education and her fifth term as President of the Board. She is also a Regent of the Texas Lutheran College at Seguin.

Mrs. Weinert is also a Director of the Gonzales Warm Springs Foundation for Crippled Children, and the Texas Historical Association of Pioneer Women; an executive board member of the Guadalupe Chapter of the American Red Cross; member of the State War Chest Commission; the Child Welfare Committee; and Chairman of the County Traffic Safety Commission. In 1936 she was a delegate to the International Prison Congress in Berlin.

Mrs. Weinert's husband is H. H. Weinert, rancher, banker and independent oil operator. They have one daughter.

FLORIDA

Mrs. Neil Alford's first elective political position came in the year that women were admitted to the ticket in Florida. She was the first woman elected on the State Democratic Executive Committee from Duval County, and held that position until she became National Committeewoman. She is also Finance Chairman for the (*Continued on page 22*)

MRS. CAFKY

MRS. ALFORD

MRS. MALSTROM

MRS. WEINERT

Service Wives Organize for Roosevelt

THOUSANDS of young women—Republicans and Democrats alike—whose husbands are fighting to win the war are uniting here at home to win the peace through a national organization—Servicemen's Wives to Re-Elect Roosevelt.

Founded and headed by Mrs. John G. Palfrey, Jr., daughter of Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt and the late Major Kermit Roosevelt, and granddaughter of President Theodore Roosevelt, the organization, which was only started the last of August had, by the first of October, expanded into 35 states, while its national headquarters at 9 Sutton Place in New York City was being deluged with mail from servicemen's wives in all of the 48 states.

Twenty-two-year-old Mrs. Palfrey, whose husband is a Corporal in the U. S. Army Signal Corps, and is now attending Officers' Candidate School, expressed the objectives of the service wives' organization this way:

"Our main concern is a lasting peace. We feel that President Roosevelt is the only American qualified by experience to lead us during these next four years when the peace will be made. Our husbands are fighting to safeguard our vote; we feel that we must vote to safeguard their peace."

Tell Wives How to Get Ballots

The organization feels that servicemen's wives have been overlooked in this campaign, and they are concentrating on telling them where and how they can secure ballots and vote. Many organizations and individuals are working to see that servicemen receive applications for ballots, but little thought has been given to the problem of the thousands of service wives who are away from home and who must either register where they are and vote, or secure an absentee ballot to vote where they have previously been registered.

Mrs. Palfrey and her workers are anxious to contact every serviceman's wife who is eligible to vote and who is in favor of keeping President Roosevelt in office. The only qualification necessary to membership is to be for President Roosevelt, and be willing to get in touch with other wives of men in uniform. National headquarters have fliers and other information about registration and absentee voting for civilians which will be sent to servicemen's wives on request.

Stage Roosevelt Rally

The group is not limiting its activity, however, only to answering letters and sponsoring organizations in other states. On October 6 they held a Re-Elect Roosevelt Rally at Carnegie Hall in New York City, with Quentin Reynolds, noted war correspondent and radio commentator as the principal speaker. Others who appeared on the platform were Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt, Mr. and Mrs. Irving Berlin, Mrs. Charles Poletti, wife of the former Lieutenant Governor of New York, who is now a Colonel in the U. S. Army and a regional commissioner of AMG, Orson Welles and Helen Jepson, well-known operatic soprano. Mrs. Poletti presided in the absence of Mrs. Palfrey, who was ill. Paulette Goddard, screen star, and wife of Captain Burgess Meredith, was mistress of ceremonies.

National Vice Chairmen of the League are Mrs. Henry G. Fowler, whose husband, Lieutenant-Colonel Fowler recently returned from 22 months in the South Pacific, and whose only son, Lieutenant James G. Fowler, was killed in action in Italy; Mrs. Raymond D. Gozzi, wife of a Lieutenant (j.g.) in the U. S. Coast Guard Reserve; Mrs. Robert Siffert, whose husband is a Lieutenant with the U. S. Medical Corps; Mrs. Horace Bresler, a secretary, whose husband is a Sergeant with the Army in the South Pacific; Mrs. Charles G. Bolte, whose husband served with the British Army in the King's Royal Rifle Corps, was wounded and invalided out of the Army; Mrs. Robert B. Ellison, whose husband is a Captain in the Field Artillery in the Third Infantry Division, and has been through five invasions from Africa to France; and Mrs. William I. Coddington, daughter of Mrs. Charles W. Tillett, Vice Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Mrs. Coddington's husband is a Major in the U. S. Army Air Forces, and is now stationed in England. He was recently awarded the Air Medal and the Purple Heart.

MRS. JOHN G. PALFREY, JR.

Win With Fliers

Fliers which pierce the smoke-screen of Republican misrepresentation are now available for distribution at the Women's Division of the Democratic National Campaign Headquarters, Biltmore Hotel, New York City.

The fliers, which are printed from the widely-circulated booklet, "The Record Shines Through," carry the same heading as the pages in the booklet, which is "No Negative Smokescreen Can Obscure the Positive Record." After dispelling the Republican charges, the flier uses the tag line, "Don't Let Smoke Get in Your Eyes."

Fliers are available on the following criticisms: "New Deal Pipe Dreams," "Fourth Term," "Sending Our Boys Into Foreign Wars," "Bureaucracy," "Regimenting Agriculture," "Roosevelt's War," "OPA Bungling" and "It's a Good Foreign Policy, But—".

At the Woman's National Democratic Club

ELLIS MEREDITH, Club Editor

DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S DAY

The Club's observance of the Day—September 27—was highly successful, with an enthusiastic group of men and women eager to hear and applaud. The knowledge that literally millions of people all over the country were listening in to the radio program, in large and small meetings across the nation, added to the zest of the occasion. It was truly a national affair, with generous responses to the "Mile-of-Dimes" appeal sent out by the Women's Division, and more coming in from members who were absent. It made real the campaign atmosphere lacking in this voteless community, where we may be "residents" but never feel like real citizens, with power as well as responsibility.

At the conclusion of the broadcast a buffet supper was served and then the audience gathered around the speakers' table, where Mrs. South Trimble, Jr., presided with much grace and dignity. The speakers of the evening were Mrs. James P. McGranery, a brilliant young lawyer from Philadelphia, and wife of The Assistant to the Attorney General; Congressman John Sparkman of Alabama; with an "extra" by the editor of this page. Mrs. McGranery spoke with much feeling of the women who led the suffrage movement in its early days. She dwelt on the power in women's hands today, and the fact that however this election goes, women will be held accountable. Ordinarily there has been a larger vote among the men than among women, taking it the country over. This year it is estimated that the women may cast as much as 60 per cent of the ballots—a grave responsibility.

Congressman Sparkman is one of the Members of Congress who is truly a Representative of the United States—not just a Congressman from one District. His speech to the Club gathering might well be made into a radio recording and repeated all over the country. After giving the votes in Senate and House on the bills for national defense, he reminded his hearers that many of these men are those with whom Mr. Dewey would have to work if elected. However, if the voters perform their duty as Mr. Sparkman defined it, Mr. Dewey will be spared that embarrassment.

KINDERGARTEN STUFF

There is a kindergarten game
  That children like to play—
"Look at little Jane—or Jim—
  Now they'll show us the way!"
And Tommy Dewey learned quite young
  To play that pleasant game;
"So now," says he, "I've watched F.D.
  I'll go and do the same.
I've looked his plans all over,
  It's a record to endorse:
I'll do the things that he has done,
  Of course I will, of course.
Of course I'll have insurance
  For banks that might go flat;
I don't see why A. Mellon
  Could not have thought of that:
It was an easy thing to do,
  Why didn't Andy do it?
It was just like the Democrats
  To go and beat us to it!
Of course I'll have a Navy
  That no country's can out-rank,
A whole lot better than the one
  That Warren Harding sank.
Of course I'll have an S.E.C.
  Security forever—
Why didn't Coolidge cook that up?
  At finance he was clever.
And then there is the T.V.A.,
  We did our best to stop it,
But nothing we could say or do
  Would make the nation drop it;
So now the only thing to do,
  The best that I can figure,
Is just to build some more of them,
  Better ones and bigger!
And how we hailed the Engineer,
  Who'd end all poverty—
The first hope it might ever end
  Came with the C.C.C.,
Which Hoover might have thought of
  Instead of turning mourner,
And waiting for the apple man
  To come around the corner.
We must forget those sorry days,
  That doleful, dreadful time
When every other man you met
  Was asking for a dime!

"I've got some headaches of my own:
  I don't know what to do
With these Republicans who think
  That Roosevelt is true blue.
And there's the Isolationists;
  I simply can't afford
To play with them too much nor yet
  To throw them overboard.
And O, my Statisticians,
  Who dig things up for me—
I'd be a lot more happy
  If with facts they did agree.
I know it is an adage
  That figures do not lie—
But liars sure can figure,
  They don't even have to try.
When I suggested turning over
  Command in the Pacific
To General MacArthur I thought
  The idea quite terrific;
Beside the compliment to him,
  I think I need not state
I'd like to have him sidetracked
  Before nineteen forty-eight;
But then I met an old sea-dog,
  Who sadly said to me,
'There's many a durn fine soldier's
  A land-lubber on the sea,
And take it from me, kindly,
  As an able leatherneck,
You better get your sea-legs
  'Fore you hit the quarterdeck.'
I've had a lot of notions
  That turn out not so good—
Either I don't understand them,
  Or I'm not understood.

"So I must follow Franklin's lead,
  Only do it better—
That is the only way to show
  That I'M the real go-getter.
I'm going to care for everyone,
  The kids, the sick, the old;
I gotta, if it takes the last
  Of Ft. Knox's store of gold;
Where he built folks four-room houses,
  I'll build 'em six or seven—
He offered them a chance on earth,
  I'll have to offer heaven.
I'll make his dinky 'grants in aid'
  Look just like chicken-feed—

"Just there I heard a warning voice
  Saying 'Take heed, take heed!'
And when I hear those solemn tones
  My zeal oozes and relaxes—
How can I do all these fine things,
  And yet reduce the taxes?"

—*Ellis Meredith.*

WOMEN ON THE BALLOT IN '44

(Continued from page 17)

In Arizona Mrs. Ana Frohmiller of Phoenix is a candidate for her tenth consecutive term, and is one of the state's best vote-getters. In North Dakota Mrs. Alice D. Wagner of Sanborn is the candidate. Mrs. Wagner is State Vice Chairman and helps operate her 960-acre family farm. She is the mother of two sons, one in the South Pacific.

THREE WOMEN ARE CANDIDATES FOR State Treasurer: In Michigan, Mrs. Minnie M. Schwinger of Saginaw; in North Dakota, Mrs. Julia Lynch of Lidgerwood, and in Idaho, Mrs. Ruth Moon of Pocatello.

Mrs. Schwinger had a long record of party service in her county and district before her election as State Vice Chairman. While her husband was in the state legislature she was Treasurer of the House and Senate Club. She was also Treasurer of Michigan Young Democrats.

Mrs. Lynch has been active in women's organizations for many years and has served as state chairman of the A.A.U.W. and department president of the American Legion Auxiliary.

Mrs. Moon has had a successful business career in auditing and tax work. In 1919 she and her husband, a public accountant, opened their office, specializing in all forms of special taxing units in Idaho. Since her husband's death in 1935 Mrs. Moon has carried on the business and is familiar with all phases of state finance.

OTHER STATE OFFICES TO WHICH Democratic women have been nominated include that of Reporter of the Supreme and Appellate Courts of Indiana, for which Mrs. Clara Ward of Indianapolis is candidate. She is the mother of seven sons who are all serving overseas.

In Colorado, Mrs. Una Self Williams of Lakewood is a candidate for Regent of the State University.

In Minnesota Mrs. Viena Johnson of St. Paul was drafted as the endorsed candidate for the office of Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner on the Democratic-Farmer-Labor ticket. Mrs. Johnson was a member of the Platform and Resolutions Committee at the 1944 Democratic convention in Chicago.

ASPIRANTS FOR STATE SENATE

As *The Digest* went to press, reports were not quite complete on Democratic women nominees for state senates and state legislatures. According to information received, there were fourteen women running for seats in their state senates. They are: *Colorado*: Mrs. Eudochia Bell Smith. *Connecticut*: Mrs. Mary F. Gallagher, Miss Minna Gieddes, Mrs. Margaret C. Hurley, Mrs. Ruth T. Welles. *Georgia*: Mrs. Rebecca Laing Rainey. *Indiana*: Miss Ruth Evalyn Lake. *Massachusetts*: Mrs. Ruth D. Burke. *Michigan*: Mrs. W. D. Knapp. *New York*: Clare L. Touhey, Mrs. Leona R. Hyland. *Ohio*: Miss Margaret A. Mahoney. *Tennessee*: Mrs. John Wiley Lashlee. *Utah*: Mrs. E. E. Erickson.

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHT WOMEN are candidates for state legislatures: *Arkansas*: Mrs. Ella B. Hurst, Miss Alene Word. *California*: Mrs. Lucile Gleason, Miss Anga Bjornson, Kathryn T. Niehouse. *Colorado*: Miss Nadine Stewart, Mrs. Ethel M. Hunter, Mrs. Mary Spencer, Mrs. Elizabeth Pellet, Mrs. Fern Miller, Mrs. Lenora Griffen. *Connecticut*: Mrs. Helen Zbikowski, Mrs. Antoinette Dunne, Mrs. Margaret Casey, Mrs. Sophie Liss, Miss Marie Namnoun, Mrs. Mary E. Flynn, Mrs. Maude O. Gerth, Mrs. Wilamina M. Reid, Mrs. Lucy E. L. Hall, Mrs. Norma Mitchell Steele, Mrs. Helen Kihn, Mrs. Dorothy M. Satti, Mrs. Agnes E. Kreysig, Mrs. Elizabeth G. Falk, Mrs. Mina L. Clock, Mrs. Anna Skopek, Mrs. Bertha M. Massey, Mrs. Estelle Farmer, Mrs. Blanch O'Conner, Mrs. Madeline Bixby, Mrs. Sophie C. Kline, Mrs. Jane T. Tedesco, Mrs. Mary Garaventa, Mrs. Katherine D. Crimmins, Mrs. Helene B. Sisson, Mrs. Margaret Cobb, Mrs. Gladys Weinberg, Mrs. Clara O'Shea, Mrs. Mary D. Case, Mrs. Lillian Jasmin, Mrs. Catherine D. Cahill, Mrs. Sarah Bradie, Mrs. Ida Thomas, Mrs. Helen B. M. Schnorrenverg, Mrs. Virginia Rossi. *Georgia*: Mrs. John B. Guerry, Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin. *Indiana*: Isabel B. Russell, Mrs. Oda Wiley, Miss Betty Malinka, Miss Margery L. Smith, Mrs. Bernice Allen, Mrs. May Morrissey, Mrs. Robert Allen, Miss Emma M. May. *Kansas*: Mrs. Cora W. Shelton. *Massachusetts*: Edna Lawrence Spencer, Elizabeth L. Dowling, Rita M. Moylan, Florence E. Cook. *Missouri*: Mrs. Lulu W. Burns, Mrs. Mable Aeschliman, Eula Bowman Shanks, Mrs. Georgia Daniel Irvine, Luna Butler, Gertie Young, Edna M. McKaughan, Mrs. J. Hardin Smith, Jr. *New Mexico*: Mrs. Calla Eylar, Mrs. Ollible C. Dickinson. *New York*: Mrs. Catherine Dutton, Mrs. Mary A. Gillen, Miss Alicia R. O'Connor, Mrs. Elizabeth Ring, Lulu G. E. Willems, Ruth R. Stebbins. *North Carolina*: Mrs. Giles Cover. *Ohio*: Elizabeth Gorman, Mary K. Sotak, Mrs. Grace Clifton, Mrs. Ruth

A Vote for Full Victory

Helen Keller placed her "listening fingers" over the mouth of Vice President Wallace so she could follow what he was saying when she met him recently.

HELEN KELLER will vote for the first time this year—and that vote will go for President Roosevelt.

This great woman, who became deaf, dumb and blind when she was nineteen months old, and then later in life conquered her handicaps to take college degrees, write books and articles and win all manner of special honors, says she will cast a ballot this year because, as she puts it:

"I feel that it is an imperative duty as a woman to use my vote to support President Roosevelt in this most crucial moment of American history."

She continues:

"We need a man of wide experience and profound training of many years to deal with the incredibly many-sided problems both in strategy and in bringing about the international cooperation which is the only sure hope of a stable, progressive world.

"I feel that in view of the immense part women have in the war effort," Miss Keller says, "it is up to them to vote for full victory and a lasting peace, that will do justice to the dreadful ordeal their sons and husbands and brothers have borne. We women must make our purpose known through our ballots.

"Another reason I am voting for the President," she concluded, "is that I believe in his splendid contributions to large-scale social welfare. He has been marvelous, helping the blind to lift themselves above unhappy dependence to usefulness and to have a share in normal living."

Kiser, Lillian Luthanen, Hazel Aeschliman, Mrs. Edith Webber, Mrs. Anna O'Neil. *Oklahoma*: Mrs. Grace Michelson, Mona Jean Russell. *Pennsylvania*: Mrs. Emma Bray, Gladys Penrod, Anna M. Brancato, Mary A. Varallo, Josephine C. Coyle. *Texas*: Jewell Helpinstill, Mrs. Jimmie Hinds, Miss Pauline Yeldermann, Mrs. Neville H. Colson, Miss Elizabeth Suiter, Mrs. Florence Fenley, Miss Rae Files. *Utah*: Mrs. C. L. Jack, Mrs. Clara L. Jarvis, Mrs. Della L. Loveridge, Mrs. Vern Weiler Bennion. *West Virginia*: Mrs. Nell W. Walker. *Wisconsin*: Mrs. Mary O. Kryszak, Mrs. Beatrice Durnin, Mrs. Aileen B. Mortenson.

DON'T GAMBLE WITH YOUR GRANDSON'S FUTURE!

(Continued from page 5)

of replacing Republican "big stick foreign policy"—a policy of tariff walls, economic imperialism, and blustering egotism—with an attitude of friendly understanding and cooperation.

The fact that the conference was held at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington—the fact that the rest of the world trusts us and wants to work with us on establishment of world security—is the outgrowth of this policy.

Governor Dewey and the other Republican leaders now say—somewhat belatedly—that they, too, believe in the foreign policy of the Roosevelt Administration, although they still hold out for tariff walls in their platform.

But what proof is there of their sincerity? There just isn't any. A party and a man can only be judged by their records. And behind Mr. Dewey, the men who are running the Republican party today are the same men, with the same philosophies, whose administration was responsible for or condoned the economic exploitation of South America, for sending marines into Nicaragua, for the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill, which was one of the most powerful factors in creating the international economic unrest and mistrust that eventually led into another world war. Mr. Hoover is still there—right in the picture.

This is no time to listen to avowals of principles which these men have fought, consistently and bitterly, for years. This is no time for an inexperienced man, with the kind of backing Governor Dewey has, to take over our foreign affairs and by blundering, however well meant, to upset and wreck all that has been done during these last twelve years. This is no time for a change.

Don't gamble with your grandson's future!

WHEN MRS. OLIVE GRISMER, Los Angeles socialite and civic leader, was asked to be financial chairman of the California Democratic Women's Division of the State Central Committee, she smiled and shook her head. "I'm afraid I'd be a failure," she said, "for I've always given—not asked."

That Mrs. Grismer did not fail is attested by the hundreds of dollars she has collected by means of fairs, teas and other fund-raising plans. For Mrs. Grismer has the quality that inspires women to work with her and for her.

As the wife of W. A. Harper of the Harper Publishing Company, she lived in New York and Washington. In later years she was married to the late Joseph Grismer, playwright and producer. Mrs. Grismer has two children, Major J. W. Harper, U. S. Army Air Corps, and Olive Grismer Briscoe.

AS THE GI's WANT IT . . .

(Continued from page 11)

addition to academic subjects, courses in mechanical and technical subjects will be given, and practical training in trades and vocations will be provided for men who plan to go directly into civilian employment after their discharge.

Selection Plan for Other War Theaters

While the program of selecting and returning men from Europe is being put into effect, the plan will be applied, also, in other active theaters such as the Southwest Pacific. Naturally, until Japan is defeated there will be no surplus units in the Pacific. Military requirements will demand an increase rather than a decrease in fighting units. There will be, however, individuals who can be spared, and these will be returned home as soon as it is practicable.

Simultaneously with the selection and return of men in the overseas theaters, the same selective formula will be applied among troops stationed in the United States. Such troops will, however, serve as the main reservoir for replacements as, in general, their priority scores will be lower than those of the men overseas. And especially those who have seen combat duty.

Priority of release for members of the Women's Army Corps will be determined by the same system as for the rest of the Army, but treating the Corps as a separate group. However, those whose husbands have been released and who want to get out to join their husbands will be granted their discharge upon application. The question of credits will not be considered.

The War Department plan for sending GI Joe home is orderly and fair. It is based, first of all, upon consideration of Joe as a human being. It is the result of months of planning and thinking, and in both GI Joe, himself, has had a part.

NEW FACES ON THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

(Continued from page 18)

State Women's Division. Mrs. Alford says she "inherited politics." Her father, the late B. H. Flournoy, was a Democratic leader in his home community before such positions were elective. Mrs. Alford was one of ten children, and family political discussions were frequent in her home circle.

The mother of two sons, both in military service, Mrs. Alford is the wife of a practicing physician in Jacksonville.

She is a past president of the Duval County Federation of Women's Clubs; past state chairman of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs; past president of the Jacksonville Motion Picture Council, and active in many other civic groups including the U.D.C., the Y.W.C.A., the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the Jacksonville Beautification Association.

In addition, Mrs. Alford has owned and operated a millinery shop and greeting card business in Jacksonville for ten years.

In 1933 Mrs. Alford organized an ambulance corps for the Red Cross and served as its captain for eleven years. She is also a member uf the American Legion Auxiliary.

Her prime interest now is to see that women get to the polls on election day. To that end she is planning a statewide organization tour.

Democratic Women's Day in '44

In some forty thousand precinct meetings, in hundreds of county and city-wide rallies, and at home with their families, Democratic women throughout the country tuned in on the 1944 Women's Day broadcast on Wednesday, September 27.

Called "The Hour of Decision," the broadcast presented the stories of several typical Americans who are going to vote for President Roosevelt and Senator Truman. The stories were related by three other distinguished Americans—Ethel Barrymore Colt, singer and daughter of Ethel Barrymore; Leon Janney, screen and radio actor; and Mrs. F. P. A. (Mrs. Franklin P. Adams), wife of the noted columnist and star of "Information Please." The narrator for the program was Howard Lindsay, co-author and star of "Life With Father." After relating the stories of the typical Americans, all of those on the program told why they were supporting the President, too.

Mrs. Charles W. Tillett, Vice Chairman of the National Committee, closed the broadcast with an appeal to Democratic women to get out the vote.

Among states which held rallies in every precinct were Pennsylvania, Illinois, Tennessee and North Dakota. Indiana had meetings in all of the precincts in Marion County where Indianapolis is located, and county meetings in other sections of the state. Minnesota also scheduled county meetings. New York, California, Florida, Montana and Missouri were other states sponsoring special Democratic Women's Day programs.

As *The Digest* went to press, reports on the Day were still too scattered and incomplete to give a detailed accounting.

The next issue of the magazine will carry this information; also the annual Honor Roll listing counties throughout the country that have gone "over the top" in meeting their national quota of fifty cents a precinct.

Though the Day is over, the drives continue. Many states, counties, precincts and club groups who have not completed their quotas plan to carry on their fund-raising efforts right through the campaign period, and will make reports to National Headquarters as soon as they reach their quotas.

Dewey and the Myth About Little Pigs

One of the mysteries of our time is the myth about little pigs being "plowed under" back in 1933. The myth persists like the fairy tale about George Washington and the cherry tree, although you could dig up the whole corn belt and not find any little pigs plowed under.

What happened was that at the plea of farm leaders like Ed O'Neal of the Farm Bureau and Earl Smith of the Illinois Agricultural Association, the government took six million little pigs that farmers couldn't feed and killed them a few months early. The little pigs provided 100,000,000 pounds of meat for people on relief. Killing them also saved 75,000,000 bushels of corn in a drought year, so the net result was more bigger pigs in 1934.

It was as simple as that. Then Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace told all about it on a national radio program two years later. But the myth remains so strong that just a year ago when Gov. Thomas E. Dewey asked the Midwest to kill its pigs so New York cows could eat corn, he added: "But I advocate that you eat them instead of plowing them under."

It's still a puzzle why Mr. Dewey fell for this myth after ten years.

PHOTO CREDIT LINES

Cover—Ewing-Galloway
Page 3—International News
Page 4—St. Louis "Post-Dispatch"
Page 21—Acme

DID YOU READ THIS ONE?

"Don't change to a Trojan Horse in the middle of a war."—Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in address before the Hollywood Democratic Committee.

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"When Governor Dewey was out in these parts he promised he would appoint a western man to his Cabinet. Everyone naturally at once thought of Herbert Hoover, who has generally been regarded as Governor Dewey's political godfather. * * * Mr. Hoover, I understand, would be entirely acceptable to Bertie McCormick and the rest of Mr. Dewey's isolationist supporters. He isn't a 'tired old man' because the American voters have given him a long rest."—Mr. Ickes in Hollywood speech.

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"I do wish Mr. Dewey would stop behaving as though his youth were something he achieved by his own effort. After all, it's only an accident of birth."—Dorothy Parker, noted author.

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In Billings, Montana, Thomas E. Dewey complained: "The wool stockpile is a sword of Damocles over the heads of American sheepmen. Yet Mrs. Dewey hasn't been able to buy a wool sweater for over a year."

If it had been Mrs. Roosevelt she would have knitted sweaters for her boys.—PM.

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"The things they've been saying about Fala are Fallacies."—Quentin Reynolds on "Information Please."

A Man's Record Is What a Man Does

Thomas E. Dewey's campaign promises must be judged by the record of his party *and his performance as Governor of New York State.*

He is responsible for:

1—A soldier vote bill which makes it extremely difficult for soldiers to vote.

2—An attempt to reduce State aid to education by $7,830,000.

3—Stalling anti-discrimination legislation.

4—Setting aside $15,000,000 for New York corporations—who might lose *some* profit through renegotiation.

5—A cut in the appropriation for child care and nurseries.

6—Adoption of a bill, practically outlawing minority stockholders.

7—Killing the resolution to investigate the spread in milk prices.

8—Defeat of commercial rent-freeze legislation.

9—Defeat of bill to investigate life and fire insurance companies.

Three Reasons Why Women Should VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT

1. BECAUSE under his leadership your fighting man has the BEST chance of coming home—and coming home SOON.

The shorter the war, the quicker the victory, the better the chance of your fighting man coming through alive and uninjured. In the last hour of the last war there were 1,026 American casualties on the Western Front. In this war the fighting front stretches around the world. Every hour it is prolonged means sadness in many times a thousand homes. It does not stand to reason that a change in leadership at this time—with a new Commander-in-Chief who would be a stranger to our military leaders—would *shorten* the war. There would inevitably be a period of uncertainty—if not actual delay—while the new Commander-in-Chief and the generals and admirals settled down to a working agreement. It might even *lengthen* the war.

2. BECAUSE more than any other American today he has the wisdom, the experience and the world stature to qualify him to represent this nation in a world-wide movement to prevent World War III.

Already President Roosevelt's leadership has resulted in the beginnings at Dumbarton Oaks of the first practical, workable blueprint for the organization of world peace since President Wilson's plan was wrecked by the Republicans in Congress. Inevitably four nations will sit down around a table to work out the final details of the peace. We know who will represent Great Britain, Russia and China. Who would be better qualified to represent the United States, a mature man whose statesmanship has been tested again and again, and who has an inexhaustible knowledge of world politics, world geography, world economics and world history—or a youthful, former county prosecutor with an indifferent record of less than two years as the governor of one of our states?

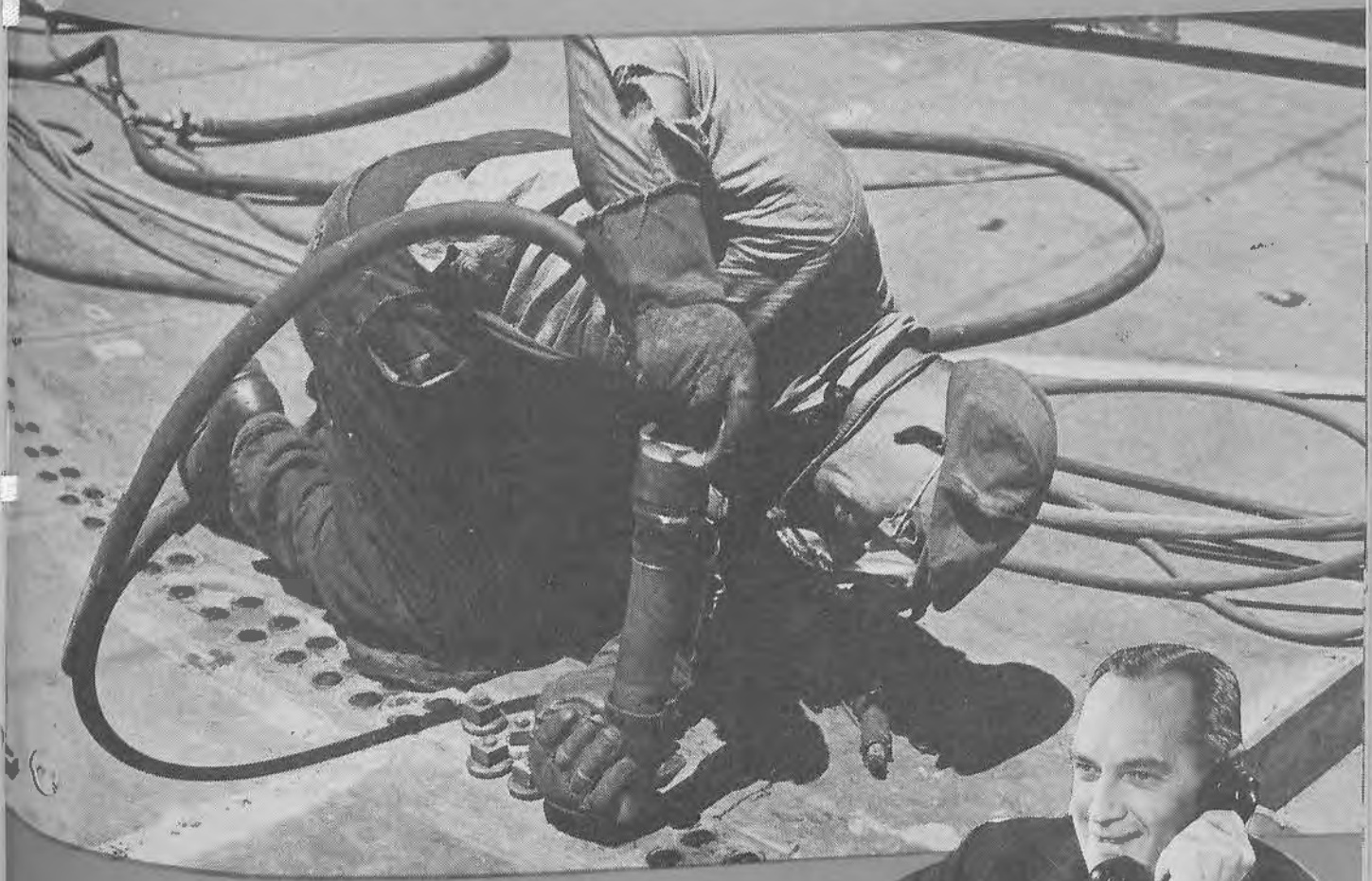
3. BECAUSE he profoundly believes that your fighting man—as well as every other man and woman—should have a job after the war and he has demonstrated that he has the HEART, the CAPACITY and the WILL to see that he gets it.

In every plan for the period right after the war President Roosevelt has demonstrated that he is most interested in the human side of demobilization—of the right of every man to a job. Simply, his plan is to give industry every opportunity to provide that job—but to offer government help if industry can't do it alone. After all, it was President Roosevelt who took the veterans of World War I off the street corners where they had been selling apples. And he will see to it that veterans of *this* war never even have to *set up* street corner apple stands.

CAST YOUR BALLOT

For Your Fighting Man . . . Your Children . . . Yourself

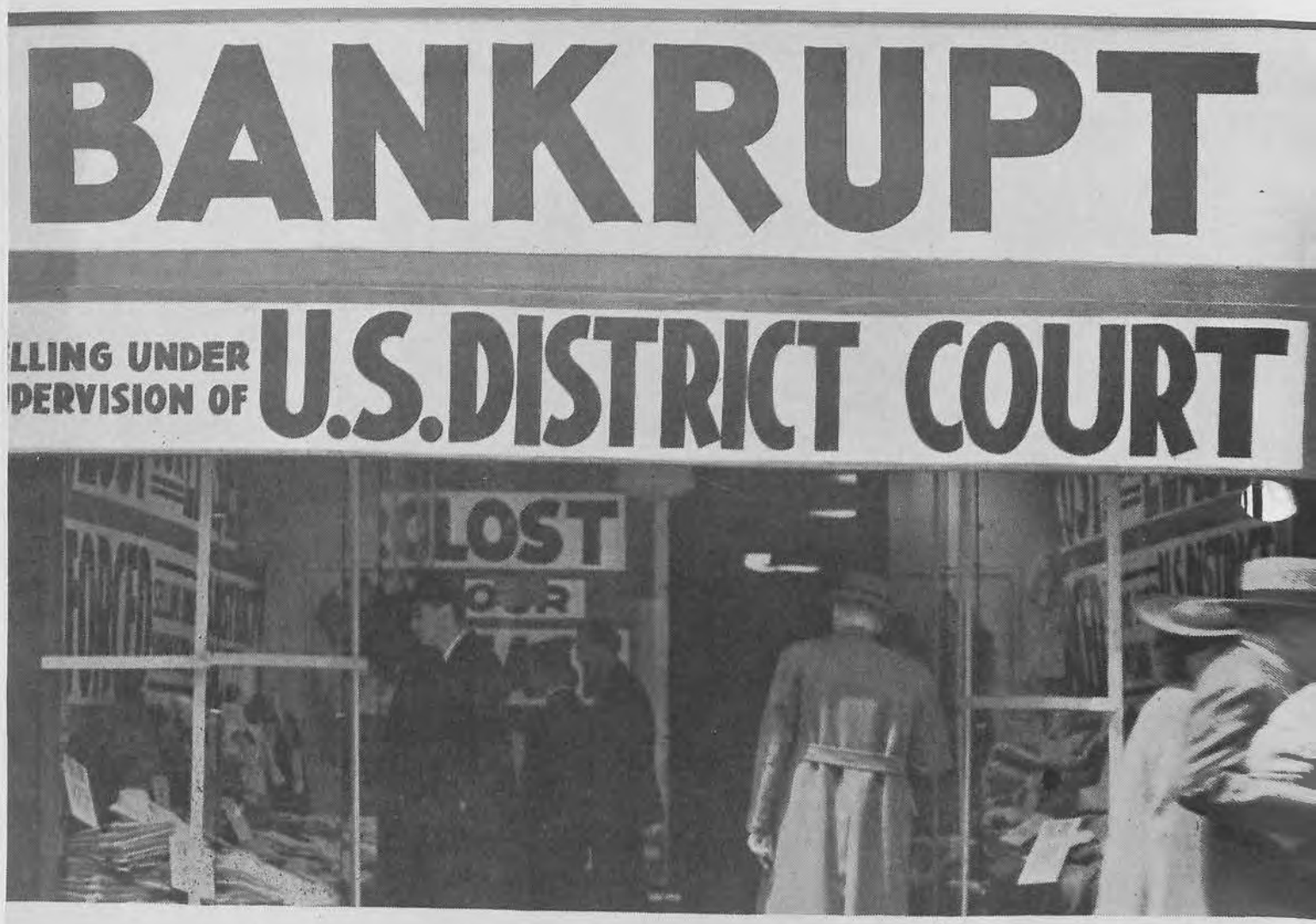
A REPORT ON HOW THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION HELPS AMERICAN BUSINESS



MEN AT WORK

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

HAVE YOU FORGOTTEN THE DEPRESSION?



Were You working for one of the 32,000 companies that went bankrupt in 1932?

Did You have your savings in one of the 2,300 banks that suspended payment during 1931?

Were you one of the 15,000,000 unemployed who were calmly regarded by the Hoover (two-chickens-in-every-pot) Administration as an "inevitable economic development"?

Was your business forced to the wall by unrestrained cut-throat business practices?

THIS WAS REPUBLICAN "PROSPERITY"