Millions of American workers are toiling at this very hour to produce the ever-mounting quantity of implements needed to win the war for freedom and a decent way of life and to end the threat of tyranny over the peoples of the world. These workers have developed and expressed a desire for the most vigorous prosecution of the war to an uncompromising victory over the axis. American working people have a vital stake, and they know it, in the common cause to make secure for all time the principles of self-ordered freedom and individual human hope, as a pattern of society and political association.

A vast army of 11,000,000 American working men and women are now engaged exclusively in the task of supplying the planes, the ships, the guns and the tanks needed for victory. These millions of patriotic, hard working men and women are operating many plants around the clock.

They are gaining successes all along the production front and are ahead of schedule. Their output per man has increased rapidly, their skill and speed are phenomenal and are devoted whole heartedly to winning this war. Their numbers are increasing week by week and month by month. By the end of next year that army of 11,000,000 will be 22,000,000 or more, working around the clock exclusively on war production, and they will surpass all records in the world's history. Their production is unconquerable.

This is markedly a war of mechanical production and we in these United States have the manpower, the mechanical equipment and the materials to make the implements with which to accomplish the downfall of the dictators and the working people of the United States of America are wholeheartedly associated with every effort for victory for the united nations.
A statement.

Miss Perkins foresees a rapid change in the trend of the war as a result of developments in the American labor movement.

The stress is not upon the growing strength of the labor movement—this we can ransify with statistics—but upon the NEW SENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY SHOWN BY THE TRADE UNIONS, THE WORKERS IN THEIR LOCALS, THE LABOR PRESS, AND THE LABOR LEADERS.

Stress: Labor's vigilance at the point of production. Labor utilizing its freedom to point out errors and to make suggestions for ever greater and more efficient production. (a few examples would help, but not essential).

American labor is rapidly assuming the political responsibility for the liberation and advancement of the workers of the whole world, American labor is more and more utilizing its opportunities and freedom toward that goal.

This new international consciousness American labor is rapidly developing is expressing itself not only the most vigorous prosecution of the war to an uncompromising victory over the Axis, but holds equally important promise for the peace to come.

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One hundred and eighty thousand absences a day! Twenty thousand workers lost to production forever! One hundred and eight thousand more permanently deprived of at least a part of their skills and abilities.

That was the cost in manpower of industrial accidents during 1943. And it will be worse in 1944, if we don't do something about it. And we can do something! Safety experts - men who know - claim and have proved that ninety percent of industrial accidents can be prevented.

And the United States Department of Labor, with 4 years of success in carrying the message and the techniques of safety into many of the Nation's war production plants, knows this is true. But no single group can do the job alone. It demands the active efforts of every manager, every supervisor, every worker! To lay this problem before the American people, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins has called
together Mr. Charles E. Wilson, Executive Vice Chairman of the War Production Board, and President of the General Electric Company ... Mr. John F. Frey, President of the Metal Trades Section, American Federation of Labor ... Mr. Clinton S. Golden, Vice Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, and assistant to the President of the United Steel Workers of America ... and Mr. Verne A. Zimmer, Chairman of the Department of Labor's National Committee for the Conservation of Manpower in War Industries. Both Mr. Frey and Mr. Golden represent labor on that Committee.

SECRETARY: We Americans are a wasteful people. Our abundant resources, our consuming desire to get things done ... these have made it possible for us to convert a wilderness into the world's mightiest industrial empire with little thought of cost. But we are learning a lesson.

Now we must conserve. We have done a fairly good job of conserving ... in some lines. Our industries treasure their scrap. Our housewives carefully save paper, fat, and tin cans. We travel less and deny ourselves the comfort of extra heat to save precious oil. But now we're up against a real problem ... we must conserve our manpower. Paper ... fat ... metal ... oil ... these are raw materials ... and raw materials are useless unless they can be converted into the supplies and weapons of war. And that takes manpower. Our manpower reserves are getting lower while the demand for manpower mounts. We cannot, we simply cannot afford this year the two and one-half million time-wasting ... manpower crippling ... industrial injuries we
experienced in 1943. We must stop them. Mr. Zimmer, you have
headed up our safety drive for the past 4 years; you have had
an opportunity to view this problem nationally. Why ... why
is the annual toll of accidents continuing to increase despite
a generation of organized safety experience?

Miss Perkins, I believe the answer can be summed up in three terms -
safety ignorance, safety indifference, and safety inertia. Safety
ignorance because a large number of managers and workers still do
do not know that most accidents can be prevented. Safety indifference
because many more feel that the urge for all-out production excuses
inattention to accident control. Safety inertia because of a rather
natural but unfortunate tendency toward hesitancy to accept the
disciplinary measures necessary for an effective plant safety pro-
gram. So widespread is this lack of knowledge and concern with
safety that during the first 3 years of our program, we found that
only 20 percent of the plants contacted maintained accident fre-
quency records. Mr. Wilson, here, knows full well that a record
and analysis of accidents is the first move toward control.

That is absolutely true, Mr. Zimmer. You cannot undertake intelligent
action unless you first know the facts, and records are essential
to a knowledge of the facts. Now, about this accident record, I'd
venture the opinion that the war ... as in the case of so many other
of our shortcomings ... has not caused the situation, but merely
highlighted a condition which already existed. I dare say the
plants which had safety programs ... good effective programs ...
before the war, still maintain them. It is the greatly expanded
plants, and the plants which have sprung up during the past few
years, which are causing the major problem. Perhaps their failure
in this respect is somewhat excusable. After all they have had
enormous problems, merely getting into production, and keeping
pace with the ever-mounting demands of our war machine.

Zimmer: There is no denying that, Mr. Wilson. But somehow these firms must
be made to realize that safety - the prevention of that 90 percent
of their accidents - has a direct bearing upon one of their biggest
problems today - the manpower necessary to operate the plant they
have built.

Golden: I'd like to elaborate on Mr. Zimmer's thought, Miss Perkins.

Secretary: Certainly, Mr. Golden, go right ahead.

Golden: I heard just recently of a firm which had been hunting for months
for a good machine operator. They finally had to hire and train a
man just out of vocational school. They forgot all about safety in
the training, and within an hour after that man went on the job he
was dead ... killed because he didn't know how to stay clear of
danger. That is criminal waste!

Secretary: It certainly is, Mr. Golden. I don't believe that Mr. Wilson would
condone anything like that. I recently read in the paper that his
firm, General Electric, has two plants in heavy operations which have
each worked over two hundred million manhours of work without a
single industrial death. That is a fine record, Mr. Wilson.
Thank you, Miss Perkins. I know the company is proud of those records. To get back to your point, Mr. Zimmer: I agree that management in these new or recently expanded plants must realize the importance of safety and their responsibility for it. That's elementary. In practically every State in the Union, the existence of a workmen's compensation law proclaims society's charge that management is responsible for injury caused by work accidents.

That responsibility is to the worker, Mr. Wilson. But in these times doesn't management have even a deeper responsibility - a responsibility to the Nation to make every effort to prevent injury to its allotted share of the country's dwindling manpower?

Absolutely. Here's a point to consider though. Management cannot discharge its responsibility without men to make a program operate. Has your department done anything to help out in that line, Miss Perkins?

Mr. Zimmer can tell you about that.

Yes, Mr. Wilson, we have done something about it. For nearly 3 years we have co-sponsored with the United States Office of Education a nationwide program of safety training for supervisors. Nearly 50,000 students have already completed that course, returning to their plants fortified with practical knowledge of how to control work accidents. More recently we have developed a 20-hour course, which has already reached some 300 thousand
foremen. We found this training a necessary follow-up to our work in fostering the establishment of safety programs in war plants.

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It seems to me that opportunity for similar training should be made available to union men, men who could undertake some responsibility for safety in the ranks of organized labor. I realize that management has the primary responsibility for safety, but certainly the workers has tremendous stake in the work... after all, he is the man who suffers most directly. And labor unions have much to offer in the job of making industry safer.

SECRETARY: There's a great deal in what you have to say, Mr. Frey. Labor has demonstrated its ability to participate in many phases of production. Mr. Zimmer, aren't we doing something along the lines Mr. Frey suggested?

ZIMMER: Yes, we are. Of course, John, union representatives have always been free to enroll in these safety training courses. And just recently, out in Detroit, there was a course with the entire class made up of union men. We're getting under way with special "pilot" courses in various sections of the country - to determine whether the 96-hour course or the 20-hour course is most suitable to give your union men the background they need to contribute most effectively to safety.

FREY: Any cost attached to these courses?
The students have to guy the text material ... ten dollars' worth at
the most. The tuition costs are defrayed through the Office of Edu-
cation.

SECRETARY: Mr. Golden, you wanted to say something?

GOLDEN: Yes, Miss Perkins. I wanted to point out the value of this joint
management-labor committee arrangement in the field of safety. The
man on the job often has some pretty good ideas concerning his own
job. These committees help bring out suggestions which might other-
wise never be expressed. What is your opinion on that, Mr. Wilson?

WILSON: There is no doubt about the value of the worker's ideas, Mr. Golden.
And smart management draws them out and uses them. One of the best
safeguards ever devised for punch presses came out of a worker's
suggestion up at General Electric. One of our men had just lost a
finger in a press. We had a plant safety committee - including
some workers - which investigated the accident as a regular part
of its routine.

ZIMMER: That's a good practice, Mr. Wilson. It not only uncovers causes
which might otherwise remain unknown, but it educates the committee
members in the value and techniques of safety.

WILSON: Well, it certainly gave one of the men on the committee a liberal
education in the need for some safeguard on that press. And he
set out to provide the safeguard. After considerable study, he
designed a mechanical feed, which made it unnecessary for the worker
to reach under the ram on the press. Thus there was no reason for
the operator's fingers to be exposed.
GOLDEN: Did you put the idea to work?

WILSON: Well, I must admit there was some hesitation. The feed was going to cost about two or three hundred dollars a press. But we finally decided to try it out on one machine.

FREY: Did it actually eliminate the need for the operator's reaching under the ram to feed the stock?

WILSON: Yes, Mr. Frey, it did. And more than that, production on the press doubled! Since the operator didn't have to reach in so far to feed the stock, he could work faster.

FREY: And I imagine that the operator, knowing that his hand was safe, hesitated less?

WILSON: That's right. After that we lost no time in equipping every punch press in the shop with the new feed.

ZIMMER: That certainly shows what can be accomplished through the joint effort of management and labor. It illustrates another point, too - that safety, properly applied, leads to speedier, more efficient production. It's surprising how many industrial managers who are all in favor of safety, still hold to the long disapproved notion that safeguards and safe practices actually slow down operations.

GOLDEN: That probably stems from the old days when guards and rules were new, developed in haste and built without much thought.

ZIMMER: That's right. That's when safety was an unwelcome duty, before management realized that it was an integral part of efficient production.
FREY: There is no doubt that smart management realizes the value of safety and the part that workers can play in the field. But the cooperation of unions - as distinguished from individual workers - is still a relatively new field. After all, the union represents the workers as a body, and union safety committee men often prove more effective than individual workers. For example, I remember one plant where the union overcame a long standing resistance to the wearing of certain uncomfortable, but absolutely essential, protective equipment.

ZIMMER: You have a good point there, John. The men will often pay more attention to a representative of their own union than they will to a fellow worker with no official connection. What do you think, Mr. Wilson?

WILSON: There is no doubt that the unions can contribute greatly in the field of safety. Of course, they must realize that it's a field in which correct action often requires an understanding of technical problems. I hope, therefore, that the Department of Labor will continue to offer organized labor, as well as plant management, every opportunity to learn the basic principles and techniques of safety, and that unions will take advantage of that opportunity.

SECRETARY: I believe they will, Mr. Wilson. Our time is drawing to a close, gentlemen, and I'd like to sum up for our listeners the points which we have made during the discussion. First of all, we are agreed that accidents - with their wastage of manpower, productive
time, and labor skills - must be reduced, if we are to see this war through to an early and victorious end. Next, we have concluded that to management falls the primary responsibility for stopping accidents, and that good management undertakes that responsibility because good safety is efficient production. Then we all agree that worker participation in safety is essential to a sound program, that the unions have much to offer, and that they can best fulfill their opportunity if they seek a knowledge of safety. Mr. Zimmer has made the point that 30 years of organized safety work have resulted in the development of safety organization methods and accident prevention techniques which can be used successfully by almost any firm. Through the Department's National Committee a knowledge of these techniques is available generally to management and labor. In other words, we have available all the material and all the tools. Our job - the job for management and labor - is to put them to use. So, let's set a safety goal - one million accidents lost in the next 12 months. We have met all our other goals. We can meet this one by united and persistent effort.
N X ANN: For every American, today, January 18, is the most important date thus far in the new year, because it sees the opening of the Fourth War Loan Drive. We go now to Washington where we proudly present the Secretary of Labor, Miss Perkins, who will tell us how important it is to buy more bonds. Miss Perkins —

PREMINS: I am very glad to be here today, in response to Secretary Morgenthau's invitation to talk briefly to you about the Fourth War Loan. Let me emphasize first that the goal is fourteen billion dollars worth of bonds. Fourteen billion dollars over and above what we are now buying on payroll and other purchase arrangements. Every family in the United States that can possibly afford to do so will wish to buy extra bonds at this time when our troops are attacking in Italy and the Pacific and are poised for the attack on the German stronghold in Europe. This is a people's war and the means with which we fight it must come from all the people. This is a democratic way to raise the money that is needed. The farmers of this country know all about working out their taxes. They wanted roads in their townships, but they didn't have the money to hire other people to build roads for them. So in town meeting they voted that every man would spend two or three or four days working on the roads. That's the way we built our country roads from Maine to Oregon.

Now wage-earners and others have a chance to work out their bonds and taxes for the war. Most people were working five days a week
before the war. Now they are working six days. That extra
day's pay makes it possible for most people to buy more bonds
at this time.

Furthermore, the very great increase in the number of
people who are employed and the large number who have been
taken into the armed forces have created opportunities for
promotion or transfer to a better-paying job in some war industry.

When you talk over how much more you can put into war bonds,
don't think about the question of whether you are better off
than you were a year or two years ago. Ask rather whether
you are today better off than you were before the war started
in Europe. I know you are working harder. I know that you
are meeting a lot of inconveniences, but not much really. You
and I expected it to be harder. I know that there are things
you used to buy that you can't buy any longer. I know that
American workers have responded magnificently to the request
to put 10 percent of their wages in bonds. But I know also
that when you really consider the question of how much you have
to eat and to wear, of how many times a month you can go to the
movies, of what you have to spend for tokens and at the drugstore
fountain in comparison with what you could spend three or four
years ago, you will agree with me that most families can afford
to buy more bonds in this drive.

When you do, you will be helping to curb one of the
things that has been plaguing you - the rising cost of living.
True enough the cost of living didn't go up nearly as much this last year, as it did the year before. The Government needs to do everything in its power to bring prices under even better control. You can help. If we buy all the little luxuries -- the things we don't absolutely have to have -- we help to make prices go up. If we buy more bonds, we help keep prices down.

Today when people are making more money than ever before in this country's history, they have several responsibilities in connection with that money. One is to spend the day of victory by helping the attack. Do it with every dollar not needed for the bare necessities of life. Dig deep into the weekly wages and buy those extra bonds. When you back the attack, you help a soldier on the front. Last year your bond money may have helped pay for machine guns. Do you realize that for every hundred machine guns sent overseas, 85 must follow as replacements. And let me remind you, too, of a second important responsibility you have. It is to the future. Those bonds you buy are the safest investment in the world today. They help safeguard your post-war financial security. When the men come home from their work this evening, sit down and work out a plan. Decide at once -- this opening day of the drive -- how much extra you'll invest.
Radio address of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins at Town Hall, New York City, 11:15 a.m., Tuesday, January 19, 1943.

I have listened, as this audience has, with great interest to Sir Henry Bunbury's intelligent and comprehensive analysis of the social insurance plan proposed for Great Britain in the report of Sir William Beveridge. The plan advanced in the report has stimulated thought and study in all the United Nations for its aim is to achieve freedom from want for the individual, one of the great freedoms for which we and our allies are fighting today in all parts of the world.

The Beveridge Report, of course by implication, immediately invites us in the United States to consider our own system of social security which, as I said in my annual report, should be considerably extended and developed to cover all workers. I reached this opinion out of an experience with the program which began when I had the honor to be Chairman of the President's Cabinet Committee which made the report on which the Congress based our social security law.

The need for this extension and development of our system was emphasized by President Roosevelt in his annual message to the Congress on January 7, when he said: "When you talk with our young men and young women, you will find that with the opportunity for employment they want assurance against the evils of all major economic hazards—assurance that will extend from the cradle to the grave, and this great Government can and must provide this assurance."

The contribution rate in the United States for a comprehensive contributory social insurance system at the outset would be about 10 percent of payroll, which would be shared equally by the employees and employers. For the first ten years of such a system there would be no necessity for the government to contribute out of general revenues since the receipts would exceed the disbursements. However, when the total cost began to exceed 10 percent, because of the increased old-age retirement benefit rights being built up, the government could well pay for the excess until eventually there would be equal tripartite distribution of the cost.

In addition to a unified national contributory social insurance system, there would be the necessity for an improved public assistance system to furnish supplementary protection to needy persons. The main features of a more adequate public assistance program would be liberalization of the present needs test, larger Federal grants to low income States, liberalized definition of a dependent child to include children who are dependent for any reason whatsoever, and a so-called fourth category of persons now excluded from existing categories of the aged, blind and dependent children. This fourth category would include for the most part physically disabled persons.

The administration of such a more adequate public assistance system would continue to be the responsibility of the State governments although it would be required that the State government unify its administration of the various public assistance categories. While the cost to the Federal Government of a more adequate public assistance system would of course be greater than that of the present system, this additional cost would decline as the contributory social insurance system came into full operation.
A unified contributory social insurance system for America would differ from that proposed under the Beveridge Plan in the following major particulars:

It would not alter industrial disability insurance, i.e., workmen's compensation now covered by the States.

It would provide against the loss of earnings from ill health and disability.

It would provide for children's allowances only as dependents' allowances in connection with the payment of benefits for the various hazards against which the breadwinner was insured, whereas Beveridge would pay children's allowances regardless of whether the breadwinner had suffered any of the hazards insured.

It would provide for contributions and benefits as a percentage of wages, instead of flat rate contributions and benefits.

The amount of the weekly (or monthly) benefits under such a contributory social insurance system for this country would be as liberal or more than that proposed under the Beveridge Plan. Under the Beveridge Plan a flat rate benefit (according to sex and age) according to previous British experience and pattern would be paid regardless of the amount of the wage loss, whereas under an American plan there would be a minimum benefit with increases above that minimum related to the wage loss. However, under the Beveridge Plan it is proposed to pay disability and unemployment benefits as long as disability or unemployment lasts, whereas under an American plan they would be paid for 26 weeks or at the most 52 weeks.

Under the Beveridge Plan of contributory social insurance the coverage would probably be more extensive than that contemplated under an American plan. However, under an American plan of contributory social insurance practically all employees would be covered for all of the hazards, and farmers, professional persons, and other self-employed persons would be covered in the case of old-age, retirement benefits, permanent total disability benefits, and widows', orphans', and dependent parents' benefits.

About one-half of the total cost of the contributory social insurance system and the national public assistance system proposed under the Beveridge plan would be financed by contributions from employers and employees and one-half out of the national exchequer. The proportion of the total cost of an American plan financed out of general revenues would probably never exceed one-third, since the disbursements for public assistance would decrease as the disbursements for social insurance increased.

A basic question is whether a comprehensive system should be set up now, so that benefits will be immediately available at the end of the war to assist in alleviating the hardships of that readjustment period, or whether changes should be delayed until these hardships are actually occurring for millions of families.

Provided expansion is undertaken now, social insurance can play a dual role in the economic readjustment and reconstruction that will be necessary when the war ends. On the one hand, it can provide protection to individuals and families against the loss of income which they may suffer for one reason or another after the war, when a decline from the high levels of wartime
employment would increase greatly the incidence of risks leading to such losses. On the other hand, from the standpoint of the economic system as a whole, social insurance can aid in maintaining consumer purchasing power if national income exhibits a tendency to shrink and thus can assist in maintaining employment at higher levels.

If such extension is undertaken now and if our services are able correspondingly to provide for disability unemployment, retirement, retraining benefits, specialized protected employment benefits from public works operations, and astronomic and developed employment placement service for use in the period of demobilization it can be of inestimable value. The sense of security which returning soldiers and sailors will have because their families are protected as well as themselves, if such a system is put into its beginning operations now, will do much to stabilize our political and social development in the future.

The demobilization of those now employed in the wartime industries and their reassignment to peacetime production would be cushioned against the doubt and dread, fear and uncertainty with which today so many persons view that period.

Under an expanded program, larger benefits would be available to support the temporarily unemployed and their dependents until they get new employment in peacetime production. Larger annuities would be paid to the aged workers who, though normally they would have retired in 1940, remained at work until the end of the war. Permanently disabled persons, cripples, chronically sick, injured (non-industrial), too young to be eligible for old-age benefits, would for the first time be able to obtain similar benefits. Workers who are temporarily disabled by illness would be eligible for weekly benefits. When sickness entails hospitalization, payments would be available to ease the heavy burden of the cost. Finally, the widows, orphans, and other survivors of workers who die could continue to receive benefits which would, in large measure, replace their loss of support.

No one can doubt that a better standard of living for the millions of the depressed populations of the world and the maintenance of reasonable and expanding standards of living for those who already have subsistence and a free opportunity for each man to achieve a fully satisfying standard by work and intelligent foresight—are all essential both for an economy of comfort, out of which a long peace may come, and for sustaining such a world economy by a consumer and exchange capacity complementary to the enormous productive power which the organization of world industry for war has shown to be inherent in the machine system of production.

In 1937 at the Textile Conference of the International Labor Office, (in circumstances where the textile industry was almost in collapse because its productive capacity had greatly exceeded the capacity of the world to consume textiles), I pointed out the unsatisfied millions of people in the world who knew neither tent, shelter, nor the clean luxury of bed sheets and towels or bandages for wounds or furniture, or adequate clothing. I pointed out that if every one in the world might by his own labor and activity earn
and achieve at least the equivalent of cotton cloth for 2 shirts or a sarong each year in addition to present comfortable standard of 30 lbs. per capita consumption in the U.S.A., that the cotton supply of the world would have to be increased 5 1/2 times.

The ordinary man in the free world to come must have opportunity to earn his livelihood in useful pursuits. He needs to live in a world which makes provision for the disadvantaged groups of the community—the young, the old, the sick, those without adequate bargaining power and those whose family resources make it impossible for them to develop fully their innate capacities.

In a free world the resources of science, of management, of organizing capacity and of statesmanship need to be harnessed to produce a constantly rising level of living.

The general sense of security, which the ordinary man would get from continuity of income provided by needed types of social protection would provide a better life for the great mass of the world’s people. Knowledge that these programs are in operation would give a sense of security to all who are protected, a sense of security which is the most potent antidote to fears and worry over the uncertainty of the times. Therefore, the postwar period can be anticipated as a period of steady economic and social improvement when the standards of living can go up, when families can plan for their homes, the education of their young, the development of their culture and their comfort.

There can be no question of our ability to pay for an adequate system of social security at this time. Indeed, we can hardly envisage an equally propitious time to introduce postponed spending. The funds paid into social security contributions flow back to those who pay and to the whole social improvement of society. This is a period when for reasons of preventing inflation it is desirable to withdraw purchasing power from the market. The postwar period will be a time when we want to release purchasing power to prevent too severe deflation. The income of workers and the income of employers can today bear the price of this increased contribution.

Under these conditions I can see no reason for delay. We can at any moment— we should at this moment—start to implement our pledge that this shall be a world free from want.
Address by

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Interdepartmental Safety Council, Banker Hall, N.W.C.A.
February 11, 1933

At this Fifth Annual Meeting of the Federal Interdepartmental Safety Council, which, quite wisely, I think, is this evening joined with the Council of Personnel Administration, it seems pertinent for the purpose of orientation to quote verbatim from the opening paragraphs of my address at the first organization meeting held on June 18, 1937. At that initial session I said:

"The purpose of today's meeting is to establish definitely a permanent Interdepartmental Safety Council, one that will carry on year after year with a program of action, a method of measuring results and of revising new methods of preventing accident.

"Late in 1935 I brought to the attention of the President the fact that the accident experience generally among Federal departments and bureaus was perhaps higher than the comparative experience in private industry, and that while a few of the major departments had well-organized units, on the whole there appeared to be a lack of concentrated effort along the lines of accident prevention. As a matter of fact, I was prompted to do this because I had recently set up in the Department of Labor a unit specifically devoted to the promotion of industrial health and safety, and in carrying out that promotional work we were sometimes embarrassed by reminders from industries and States that the Federal Government itself was somewhat lacking in a diligent effort to prevent accidents among Government employees.

"With an enviable Federal accident experience record casting its shadow over the years to come, I am taking it upon myself to sound a call to arms. This summons is in the form of a proposal - a proposal which may seem too ambitious to some; too modest to others - a proposal which will involve widespread cooperation, unfailing effort, and painstaking diligence, but one which will pay a fabulous dividend in an amazingly brief time.

"This proposal is that the Federal Interdepartmental Safety Council declare a definite objective, a goal toward which all departments and agencies shall strive - A REDUCTION OF AT LEAST 40 PERCENT IN THE DEATHS AND INJURIES TO GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES BY JUNE 30, 1938. There is no reason why we should not in those five years expect a 40 percent decline in the accident and death rates. This is only comparable to what well organized industrial effort in this field has done, and with the greater, we may say, incentive to the Government to make these savings of life than there is even to industrial leaders, who always have the urge of making it pay, it seems as if this 40 percent is by no means too great."
I would like nothing better than to be able to tell you tonight that we have reached the goal, but it wouldn't be true. The fact is we somehow got off the beam and are now cruising in the wrong direction, according to that reliable instrument utilized by all safety program pilots known as the accident frequency rate. I understand that Mr. Wayne Coy will later supply some log entries which will show certain embarrassing details about this deviation from the course charted five years ago. It doubtless is the duty of the Budget Office to be realistic about figures and I have no doubt that a candid analysis of accident losses under Federal operations will serve to reawaken us to the problem end to the need to do something about it.

When this Council came into being there were 21 departments or establishments forming the major employment exposure in the Federal service. The overall five-year record now reveals that only 10 of these show any reduction in accident frequency rate, while 11 experienced increases. Unfortunately, some of these increases were of major degree or extent. Only 2 of the 21 Government departments or divisions can today boast of attaining the goal of a 40 percent reduction in accidental deaths and disabilities. It is significant that with one or two exceptions the departments now showing reduction of accidents were those which established and maintained definite safety programs along the lines of those typical of the large private enterprises.

It may not be entirely fair to draw exact comparisons between the accident rates of private industries and those of Government agencies, even though the exposures and operations are in themselves comparable. We all know that effective accident prevention work in private industry had as its chief motivating force, savings in workers' compensation or liability expense. It was plainly good business from the dollars and cents angle for a privately operated industry to cut down heavy monetary losses occasioned by injuries to employees. Industry found that in the field of accident prevention perhaps more conspicuously than any other field it was wise to spend in order to save. Not so long ago an executive in a well managed plant advised us that an analysis of his safety program showed an expenditure of $14 annually per employee, an investment that yielded a saving of $4 per employee. Questionably one of the chief reasons for the Government's tardiness in developing concentrated formalized accident prevention effort, is the under our traditional system of operation, the spotlight of cost in money and time is not focused upon the responsible departments individually or even as a group. This is because the separate departmental budget requests disclose no items relating to accident compensation expense. Instead, a single branch of the Government asks for and receives the necessary funds to make the payments due to the injured employees or their dependents. Indeed I believe it is only since the advent of the Interdepartmental Safety Council that there has been assembled a detailed analysis of accident frequency, severity and cost, and tabulated according to departments or divisions of the Government. This is by no means a criticism of the U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission, and indeed quite the contrary, for I am glad to say that the Commission has done a splendid job in analyzing the Government accident record and, I understand, has accomplished this comprehensive and enlightening piece of work with very meager additional facilities. These records, which will be commented upon by Mr. Coy, will, I trust, serve as the basis for further realistic remedial action in the future. These tabulations should not be pigeonholed as mere statistics. They are as matter-of-fact and as realistic as entries in a bank book. I think we
can all agree that although the Government, unlike private enterprise, does not operate for the purposes of profit, this is no valid reason for inattention to the monetary as well as the human cost of accidents to its employees. The problem is that the Government, as the largest self-insurer in the world, has not fully recognized that hundreds of self-insurers in private industry found out long ago — that a dollar spent on safety saves 50 or 95 in disability compensation.

There is another story buried in the accident experience record of the Federal Government, less vivid perhaps than money cost, but one of even greater importance. I do not refer to the story of human suffering imposed by injuries and deaths among workers in the Federal Service, although it would seem that the Government has an obligation even greater than that of private industry to take cognizance of the humanitarian phase of the accident problem. I have in mind rather the most compelling single motive for accident prevention today both in and out of Government service — the conservation of our manpower for the purpose of winning the war.

Eighteen months before Pearl Harbor I undertook to launch a Nationwide drive for accident prevention in defense industries. Under the aegis of the Department of Labor we enrolled in this program several hundred of the top-flight industrial safety engineers to carry directly into thousands of contract plants the proof that work accidents can be prevented and to supply on-the-spot technical assistance in accomplishing this objective. In dispatching these safety experts on their plant to plant missions our instructions included this thought:

Do not try to sell safety to industrial plants merely on the basis of saving money for management, or even to save the worker from physical suffering. Rather, put up to management the urgency of an imminent shortage of skilled manpower and emphasize the point that accidents prevented today mean full production tomorrow.

As events transpired the need to keep workers off the casualty list was even more imperative than we recognized at the time. Today thousands of industrial operators now for the first time are setting about in a serious way to check the rising toll of work accidents. Stemming from the same motive, hundreds of semi-public organizations are concentrating efforts upon the reduction or elimination of off-the-job accidents which are cutting down our supply of production workers. As we all know, the Government is in such the same position as private industry, and it is hard put to recruit, train and maintain the gigantic force of employees necessary to carry on essential functions of a nation at war.

Like private industry, the Government, too, has its problem of lost production through sickness, absenteeism, turnover, and accidental injury. These afflictions do not cure themselves but all of them can be reduced in potency by positive action. They are problems that lie definitely within the sphere of personnel management, and that is why I believe it is a happy thought to have joined in this meeting the Federal organizations dealing with accident prevention and with personnel matters generally.

In those governmental agencies where, like the Labor Department, the
work is largely of a clerical or nonhazardous nature, the accident problem
is subordinate to those other factors which contribute to lost time or re-
duced effectiveness, it would perhaps be unrealistic to maintain in those
establishments a separate accident prevention unit headed by a trained safe-
ty engineer. Doubtless the personnel officers in those agencies can ade-
quately supply the necessary supervision and attention to accident preven-
tion, particularly since the Safety Council stands ready to furnish consultative
service on the control or correction of any existing special hazards or
exposures. On the other hand, some of our Government agencies are carrying
on work of a distinctly hazardous nature. This fact is not well known by
the public, which generally pictures Government employment as white-collar
or desk jobs exclusively. The truth is that even in peace times the Fed-
eral Government employs thousands of workers in trades, occupations and
crafts in which accident exposure is at least as high as that existing in
any private industry. In 1936 a survey of occupational classifications in
the Federal employment showed that 23 per cent of the total number of Fed-
eral employees came under the trade and manual occupational group. It is not
probable that the war has greatly changed this percentage figure, for while
the employment of managerial, administrative and clerical help has tremen-
dously expanded, so, too, has employment in the trade and manual group.
Many thousands of persons in the trade and manual group are employed di-
rectly on the production of ships, arms, equipment and supplies for our
armed forces. The great majority of all other employees in the clerical,
technical and general administrative occupations are performing work defi-
nitely essential to the successful conduct of the war, or in carrying on
the necessary day to day business of Government.

It is only plain common sense that every possible effort should be
made to guard against unnecessary loss of time and talent due to injuries
in the course of employment.
December 9, 1942.

Dear Miss Perkins:

You will no doubt be interested to know that your important contribution to the United Hospital Fund broadcast from Washington has already resulted in material aid to this campaign.

Returns show that this broadcast was given wide attention and was received with great sympathy and interest.

It is with deepest appreciation that we acknowledge your kind and effective cooperation.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
Radio Chairman.

Miss Frances Perkins,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.
January 3, 1940

Dear Madam Secretary:

Enclosing herewith complete press release of last Sunday night's broadcast, containing remarks of all speakers.

Thanking you for your kind cooperation,

Sincerely yours,

Miss Frances Perkins,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

Enclosure

Miss Granik,
Director.
"AMERICA'S OUTLOOK"

THE AMERICAN FORUM OF THE AIR, heard every Sunday night over the coast-to-coast network of the Mutual Broadcasting System, arranged, produced, and directed by Theodore Granik, well known attorney and pioneer in education discussion, presented as its program on December 31, 1939, from 8:00 to 9:00 P.M., "America's Outlook."

Prepared addresses were delivered by the following:

FRANCES PERKINS, Secretary of Labor, speaking on the "Outlook of Labor."

JAMES L. FLY, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, on "Communications"

EUGENE MEYER, Publisher of The Washington Post, speaking on "The Press."

W. GIBSON CAREY, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, speaking on "Business."

SAM A. LEWISohn, Art and Music Patron, speaking on the "Outlook for American Culture."

FRANK GRAVES, Commissioner of Education, State of New York, and President of Phi Beta Kappa, speaking on "Education."

PROFESSOR WALTER F. CANNON, of Harvard, President, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, speaking on "Science."

MILBURN L. WILSON, Under Secretary of Agriculture, on "Agriculture."

BRIGADIER GENERAL FRANK M. ANDREWS, Assistant Chief of Staff in Charge of Operations and Training, U. S. Army, speaking on "National Defense."

GOVERNOR PAUL McNUTT, Federal Security Administrator, speaking on "Youth and Social Security."

Mr. Granik presided as Chairman. The program was presented in the Broadcasting Studios in the New Department of Interior Building, Washington, D. C. The remarks of the speakers (Perkins, Carey, Lewisohn and Graves speaking from New York; Fly, Meyer, Wilson, Andrews and McNutt from Washington; Cannon from Boston) follow.
OUTLOOK OF LABOR

SECRETARY OF LABOR FRANCES PERKINS: The New Year finds American industry well on its way toward higher levels of activity and with the outlook excellent for a continuation of the upward trend. Improvement in economic conditions was substantial during the past year and wage earners, management, farmers, merchants and investors benefited accordingly.

Total non-agricultural private employment as of November last was 34,703,000, an increase of more than 1,300,000 over the same period in 1938 and a rise of more than 8,500,000 over March 1933. Weekly payrolls of factories reporting to the Department of Labor amounted to $193,092,000 last November, an increase of nearly $33,000,000 weekly over the previous year and a rise of the huge sum of more than $120,000,000 weekly over March 1933.

Non-farm residential building construction which stimulates employment in many other lines, amounted to $1,700,000,000 last year, an increase of $400,000,000 over 1938, and the enormous advance of $1,500,000,000 over 1933.

Manufacturers also enjoyed an increase in profits during 1939, the net gains of leading manufacturing corporations in the first nine months of the year being about double the profits earned in 1938. This contrasts sharply with the losses which were being shown by most concerns in 1933.

It is estimated that American farmers received $7,625,000,000 from marketing of their products last year. This represents an increase of 63% during the last seven years. Cash farm income slumped to a low mark of $4,682,000,000 in 1932.

Despite these significant gains, unemployment has not been eliminated. Rather, it has been reduced, mitigated, and modified. Among the programs designed to overcome unemployment which have emanated out of the Department of Labor's continuous study of this problem are the following:

First. An immediate recommendation early in 1933 that there be some quick relief in the way of federal appropriations to assist the states and localities in meeting
primary relief needs of the people who were then unemployed and had been unemployed for a long time in the emergency of general depression.

Second. A program of straight public works. The recommendation for it and the justification for it, and the basic figures and information came out of the Labor Department. The conception of finding special work for those who could not be absorbed on straight public works also sprang from a meeting of labor leaders, government officers, and others in the Department of Labor early in 1933.

Third. The Wagner-Peyser Act, which established well equipped, free public employment offices, also came from recommendations of this Department as a method of taking care of the effective placement of persons looking for work where there was work to be had, so reducing the loss and waste of poor placement of the job hunting.

Fourth. The labor sections of the NIRA were contributed by this Department and its advisers in an effort to offer employment opportunities and labor protection in private industry.

Fifth. The Public Contracts Act, which required not over 40 hours and a fair minimum pay on Government contracts in manufacturing. This Act sprang out of the recommendations of the Department, advised by a conference committee of State labor department officials and labor leaders.

Sixth. The Wage and Hour Act, which was the first effort to establish on a Federal basis a floor to wages and a ceiling to hours. This grew directly out of the recommendations of this Department, advised again by a conference of State labor department officials and labor representatives following the abandonment of NIRA.

Seventh. Unemployment compensation, which is an adjustment for the loss of wages due to the accident of unemployment. Again this had its origin in the studies and recommendations of the Labor Department and its advisory committees.

Eighth. Contributory old-age insurance for the future and Federal assistance to the States for providing old-age assistance to aged needy persons. These programs were adopted partly to enable the elderly to leave the labor market and so offer more employment to persons at the peak load of their responsibilities.

Ninth. Limitation on the employment of young persons under 16 years in the NIRA.
and later in the Public Contracts Act and Wage and Hour Act. These provisions were aimed partly at keeping the immature workers out of the labor market and so offering more jobs to those in middle life.

Tenth. The basic information and recommendations for the development of the CCC as a form of constructive educational employment for young persons. This, too, had its inception in the Department of Labor.

COMMUNICATIONS IN 1940

CHAIRMAN JAMES LAWRENCE FLY: If the field of communications were to be characterized in a word, that word would have to be "progress." Yet even we who have lived through most of this great advance have a tendency to take the benefits of our far-flung communications system for granted. It may, therefore, be fitting to recall that it was only a quarter of a century ago that the first transcontinental telephone conversation was held. But ten years ago the average time required to make a toll call was about three minutes. Today, 93% of all long distance calls are completed without the caller leaving the telephone. And the advance in the telephone industry promises to continue unslacked.

Through the use of telephone wires great networks of radio stations have been set up. The first radio broadcast station, KDKA, Pittsburgh, it may be remembered, began operation in 1920. Since that time radio broadcasting has come a long way to where it now has a tremendous impact on our national life. There are more radio sets in the United States than in all the rest of the world. With rapid strides the industry moves forward. Television shows ever-increasing possibilities. Radio engineers are speculating on the improved interference-free and noise-free service possible through a different type of broadcasting known as frequency modulation. And facsimile broadcasting—a service by which one day your morning newspaper may come to you through the air—is being improved.

It was in 1844, five years before the Gold Rush, when the first telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore was constructed. The telegraph soon followed
westward trek along the lines of the land grant railways. Of late years, this industry has suffered grievously from telephone and air mail competition from without, and from cut-rate inducements and duplication of facilities from within. However, public expenditure of a hundred and thirty-three million dollars for telegraph service in one year indicates its importance to the nation. It is hoped that in the new year some way will be found to solve the telegraph problem; and to put these important members of the communications family on an equally firm basis, thereby strengthening even further the foundations of our communications system as a whole. For it is a vast and complicated machinery which must ever move forward in step with the social, economic and defensive needs of our country. And as it progresses, its activities will always be correlated with those of the extensive international system. By means of this system, with its hundreds of channels, by radio, by telegraph, by telephone, by radio telephone and radio telegraph, or by cable, a private message or news of greatest significance is relayed to and from the far corners of the world almost instantaneously.

The important role of communications in modern warfare is all too obvious. In this country, however, we prefer to contemplate the system of communications as an instrument of peace. In the constant light it radiates, the cloak of mystery cannot long enshroud international events. The American citizen of 1940 is an alert, well informed citizen of the world, with an independent judgment on international problems. It is therefore something more than the sincere wish of all of us that the year to come will see the world's great communications machinery allowed to do its important part in weaving more firmly the ties of understanding among the peoples of the world.

THE PRESS

MR. EUGENE MEYER: I am asked, as we stand on the threshold of a new decade, to say a few words on "The Outlook for Journalism and a Free Press in the United States." Prediction is always dangerous. It is unusually so at this moment. But we can assert with some confidence that as long as the United States retains
as traditional ideals, the newspapers of this country will be doing their part.

No American newspaper is perfect. All are conducted by fallible human beings affected by individual outlooks; limited in their knowledge, hampered by the scant leisure for reflection which is an inevitable condition of daily publication.

Newspaper men and women, like those in other walks of life, are rising to the challenge of the times. They realize that all institutions having large powers are under scrutiny. The right to exercise power must be justified by the responsibility with which it is exercised. The safeguards with which the liberty of the press was surrounded by the Bill of Rights cannot be used as a protection against criticism where criticism is proper.

Publishers and their staffs are aware of the increasing social importance of their calling. They appreciate the educational values for good or for evil, of the press. They recognize that it is up to them to justify the guarantee of a free press, which is written into the Constitution.

In the six and a half years that I have been publisher of The Washington Post I have seen many evidences of this growth of professional responsibility in what is called the Fourth Estate. Partly because there is still room for progress in this direction, there is every reason to anticipate such growth in the future.

I have mentioned the Constitutional guarantee of a free press. It is well to remember that this guarantee does not stand alone in the Bill of Rights. It is one of a series of associated provisions in the first amendment to the Constitution. It reads as follows:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

The grouping together, as essential democratic rights, of freedom of
religious faith, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press was not mere accident. They are associated rights; they stand or fall together. If one were undermined, the others would all be jeopardized.

Above all things the press must endeavor to be unbiased and fair in the presentation of the news. When feelings run high, as they do today on many subjects, the press can be a great stabilizing force if it remains impartial and dispassionate in giving its readers the facts on all public questions. Such fair-mindedness can contribute to the solution of our many problems and thereby justify the role of the press in modern civilization. This desire to be fair has been steadily growing. There is every reason to expect continued growth. The basic element in impartiality is tolerance; never has the country been in greater need of this spirit of "live and let live" than it is today. By being tolerant themselves, the newspapers can exert a great moral force and help reason instead of passion to prevail.

The public desire for accurate and full information will guarantee the freedom of a press that has these two essential qualities: fairness and tolerance.

The very urgency of our problems has accentuated the national impulse of newspaper men toward self-improvement. The progress made in recent years by the press is the best guarantee of still greater progress in the future. Our press has long been the best in the world. But in the immediate future I feel certain the free American press will more than ever justify the confidence of our people, and will play an ever-increasing part in moulding the future of our Nation.

BUSINESS

MR. W. GIBSON CAREY: Tomorrow our National Greeting will be Happy New Year. As we say it there will be gladness in our hearts. Subconsciously some of the elevation of Christmas will still be in our attitudes. Peace on earth, Good Will toward men!

But 1940 will have three hundred and sixty-six days. I am supposed to say
something as to how we shall fare during that period and I am supposed to say it from the business viewpoint. Truthfully, there isn’t such a thing, in any definite sense. Some men in business are optimists and some are pessimists. For this reason I intend talking simply as an American citizen.

We can and we will make a lot of progress next year. I’m an optimist on America. What God did for us in location, climate, size, resources and natural beauty can’t be beaten. What our forefathers did was marvelous. What we’ve done of late years is a crime, not so much against ourselves as against our children. We men haven’t had courage, energy and foresight enough to keep America on a safe track. I’m sure of this because my mother-in-law told me so. Ex­cuses don’t go with one’s mother-in-law. It’s a good thing they don’t.

In 1940 the men and women of America have a job to do, and they are going to do it together. In the first place, we’re going to stop knifing one another like a bunch of bolsheviks. Maybe the trouble is we have too many of that breed here. In the second place, we’re going to work to produce goods and services so we can all have the share we earn. Trying through government or propaganda to control the major conditions of life, including who gets what, isn’t American. Worse than that, it doesn’t work. A good many million unemployed know that from sad experience, and yet many of them don’t really understand. They think capital is on strike, or some have too much, or business leaders are all Republicans or some such stuff and nonsense. The truth is, we’ve socialized and experimented ourselves into a stalemate with laws, innuendo and bad will. We can get along very nicely from now on without the innuendo and bad will. As for the laws, some of them are splendid; some too restrictive and burdensome. We have a selective job to do.

It may amaze you to hear me say that I am not much interested in the eighty billion dollar national income about which some people talk so blithely. What I want to see is our entire nation back at work. I also want to see us start toward a balanced budget. We haven’t paid our way in so long that many of us think that isn’t necessary any more. This error springs from a belief in
pump-priming. Unfortunately, economic pumps don't work that way, at least when politicians do the priming.

If we stop telling employers and employees just how to greet one another and just what to say, if we stop scaring everyone who has a ten dollar bill, if we stop talking of leisure and spending and talk rather of work and saving, this country has the greatest future in history. Then we can have one hundred billion dollar national incomes because we've earned them. We can at least make a start in that direction in 1940. To do this, we must, of course, stay out of any foreign war.

I have said things tonight which some people may not like hearing, but I am not blaming anyone. The truth is we are all somewhat at fault and I am here to take my share.

And finally, all I have said is in the American tradition and on behalf of America's future. In my heart and mind are

Peace on Earth, Good Will toward Men

and

Happy New Year.

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICAN CULTURE

MR. SAM A. LEWISohn: America's zest for culture has been a natural offspring of her zest for life. Our youthful enthusiasm for every activity which we follow is one of the most attractive features of the American scene. This zest, this enthusiasm, is behind our revived interest in painting and sculpture, our revived interest in music and literature, not to forget the theater and the dance. It should be a refreshing influence on the gifted individuals who are coming to us from every part of the world. I feel confident that the creative energy of these men will be invigorated by the American environment. For zest is contagious.

Besides, of course, we possess an enormous native talent which is only just beginning to assert itself. Certainly in literature and the drama there has been
some very pungent material written. In painting, for a young country it is surprising what interesting work has been produced, as yet more by individuals than by cohesive groups. The so-called "regional" art, in which there is an enormous interest springing up, has promise of providing a vigorous infusion to the old forms.

When it comes to audiences, there is no question as to the intensity and breadth of the awakened interest. Never before have weekly periodicals of enormous circulation carried articles and photographs depicting the fine arts and musical personalities. Art books reproducing everything from Giotto to contemporary Americans have an unprecedented circulation. Indeed, there has never been such an interest in books on art.

In literature, best sellers are not confined to meretricious fiction, but include some of the most solid and excellent of our authors.

The attendance at the Stadium Concerts at the College of the City of New York last summer was one of the largest in its history, and programs of comparatively severe classical music attracted more and more listeners. What was particularly pleasing was that such an austere personality as the great Finnish composer Sibelius should have had such an appeal.

The deep interest evinced by this city, with its broad cultural background, in the finest quality of music has been most gratifying. Of course it is not confined to this city alone. The large audiences in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and all over the country at stadiums and popular gatherings, attest to the enormous interest in the very best of music on the part of the public.

One of the most interesting developments has been the large number of visitors at art museums, particularly those which exhibit the works of recent masters. The attendance at the more sensational exhibits of the Museum of Modern Art of this city, such as those of the current Picasso, Van Gogh and Surrealist art exhibits, has been enormous. But almost more encouraging has been the attendance throughout the country at the traveling exhibits of this Museum.

Another development of outstanding importance is the great interest aroused
In the developments centering around the work fostered by the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department in Washington under that gallant figure, Edward Bruce, never in the history of this country has there been such an outpouring of work in the field of murals. They range from vivid folk chronicles of deep America to profound allegorical interpretations of our underlying philosophy. Some of the results have been outstanding landmarks in the history of mural painting in this country.

Finally, I must mention the astounding work done by the radio in the cultural field, and the gratifying response. Who would have thought 30 years ago that millions of people in this country could have been provided with the very best in music and, what is more remarkable, actually listen to it with keen enjoyment and interest. To me this seems the most promising development of all. It is proof of our cultural rebirth, and it is proof that we have modern facilities to satisfy the awakened appetites for the best in culture.

AMERICA'S OUTLOOK IN EDUCATION

Dr. Frank Pierrepont Graves: To many of us the war now raging in Europe finds its basis not so much in economic difficulty as in a fundamental difference in the way of life of the nations involved. To a dictator it is the immediate consideration of material well being which is of paramount importance—or perhaps even more than that, it is the use of the moment for the aggrandizement of an individual. In times of danger and stress, however, truly democratic nations ever remember those timeless values which they have come to cherish through ascending years of cultural development. They have become actively aware, for instance, of that personal liberty and mental and spiritual freedom which they have accepted without conscious thought, for it has been of the very air they breathe and of the soil from which they gain their living.

And so it is that we are beginning to be acutely aware of powerful forces struggling for dominance in American education—and in that struggle democracy is the pawn. On the one side we have that force which since the beginning of the
machine era has brought to itself increasing importance and has entered our schools and colleges through vocational and technical education. On the other, we have the formerly traditional education in the humanities with the more recent addition of pure science. In over-emphasis on the technical we encourage our schools and colleges to produce dictators and fit subjects for dictators. In a narrow conception of the humanities we chance a medieval separation of learned and illiterate classes. Either extreme is not without its peril for democracy, but having broken the aristocratic bonds of traditional education, we must now seek to escape from the toils of a mechanistic and totalitarian training.

Happily both parents and advisers are today beginning to lay less stress upon educating children for the mere getting of jobs. They are seeing the forces for dictatorship crowd out the liberalizing and enlightening study of such subjects as literature and history and the pure sciences. Tomorrow they will know, through the bitter error of what has gone before, that enlightened personality, broad knowledge and sympathy, scientific processes of thought, and cultivated tastes are those attributes which must be expected of our youth and which our educational system must consciously promote.

America's outlook today is the brightest in its history. Too long have we been content with our accepted role of materialistic and mechanical supremacy. Now we have in our province the preservation and development of civilization in a world ravaged by irrational greed and violence. We must accept the torch which has thus suddenly been thrust upon us and we must train American youth not only to guard its flame but to bring it to even fuller and steadier brilliance.

Our schools and colleges are accepting the challenge. If the present international crises should lead, as we all hope, to a union of peoples which would free for education the vast resources now horribly wasted in human slaughter, our institutions could give American youth still greater educational opportunities. Our national economy should ever bear this in mind. In a democracy such as ours, every individual man and woman is called upon to help decide questions of national
and international importance. Every citizen, in varying degree, is expected to be a leader in those human relationships in which he is competent. In spite of its limitations and shortcomings, our vast educational system has had incredible success in the last few decades in preparing our citizens for the greatest responsibility and opportunity with which men and women were ever entrusted. And to the morrow we look for a completely cooperative program in which forces now clashing in educational policy and practice will find their proper spheres of usefulness.

To every American, old or young, we shall hope to bring the maximum opportunity to satisfy the profoundest desire for spiritual development and intellectual power.

THE OUTLOOK FOR SCIENCE

DR. W. B. CANNON: The topic assigned to me is America's outlook for science. The outlook for science in any country depends primarily upon whether the conditions for the activities of scientific workers are advantageous or not. In that respect no doubt the United States, compared with other countries of the world, now stands almost alone as a favored nation. In justification of that statement let us look for a moment at the conditions best suited for successful scientific effort.

First, there must be freedom of research. Experience has repeatedly proved that as a rule the most significant discoveries, those which are disruptive, which break through barriers and open new vistas, result from the individual, deep-delving interests of the truth-seeker. If important consequences are expected, therefore, his attention must not be narrowly confined to immediately useful prospects, nor to a so-called "nationalistic science," nor to the support of any group of political or social ideas.

In some foreign countries freedom of research has been severely hampered. Careful observations, opposed to accepted doctrines, have been roundly denounced.
not being orthodox. Creative investigators, having to their credit illustrious achievements and enjoying international renown, have been discharged from their posts, subjected to indignities and exposed to exhausting privations. How fortunate are we in the United States to be free from such repression and injustice, to be permitted to push our inquiries without check or hindrance wherever we may wish, and to publish our results without the obnoxious intrusion of a censor!

A second favoring condition for scientific progress rests on the support which it receives, both material and moral, including respect for past achievements and a trust that its methods will assure further benefits. These propitious conditions are commonly found in universities. In foreign countries some universities have been utterly destroyed, others have been closed, and still others have lost their social value as sanctuaries for scholars where search for new knowledge is untrammelled. Again, in this country, note how privileged we are. Not only in universities, but also in research institutes, and in the laboratories of great industrial plants the activities of scientific investigators are warmly appreciated and favored. Furthermore, among intelligent citizens is widely diffused a well established confidence that scientific imagination, experience and skill, if applied to problems, will bring satisfactory and helpful answers. In that confidence large funds have been set aside to meet the financial needs of scientific studies. From the foundations, every year, many hundreds of thousands of dollars are distributed in order to promote the interests of productive investigators. The material and moral significance of this support is incalculably stimulating.

A third condition which is to a very great degree advantageous to science in our country is our non-involvement in war. War itself limits freedom of research. Scientists whose labors might yield new knowledge serviceable in lessening human ignorance and distress and increasing human welfare are compelled, during a war, to cease their free enterprise and to concentrate their attention on problems of military importance. Also, during a war, vast resources which, if
applied to scientific research, would bring enlightenment, comforts and conveniences into the lives of hosts of the less privileged, are appallingly wasted in wanton destruction. In Japan and Germany, France and Finland, in former Austria and Czechoslovakia, in England and her scattered dominions, warfare has forced scientific workers away from their individual interests and occupations and mobilized them into the service of the fighting forces. In other nations, bordering on the nations now at war, fear and the basic impulses of self-preservation have spread widely and destroyed the possibilities of calm attention to scientific study. Counting aside most of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where active interest in serious research has scarcely awakened, we find that the United States remains as almost the sole country in which, without fear or obstacle, the precious liberty of learning still prevails.

We should look upon our good fortune not only with deep satisfaction but also with a deep sense of responsibility. We have full freedom in our inquiries, we enjoy unsurpassed opportunities and generous grants for scientific investigation, we are not oppressed by the overwhelming demands of warfare, in laboratories throughout our land are thousands of well trained investigators. Surely the torch of science has fallen to us Americans. In the present darkness of the world we must carry it onward for the good of all mankind.

AGRICULTURE IN THE NEW DECADE

UNDER SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE M. L. WILSON: These last few hours of a decade are a time for long thoughts. And this night no Americans will be thinking longer thoughts than the farm people. The nineteen thirties have marked a turning point for American agriculture.

In the nineteen twenties, the foundations of rural life were crumbling though the rest of the nation was on a short-lived spree of prosperity. In the first years of the 'thirties, all the people joined the farmers in despair. The foundations of economic life and the security of society were going to pieces under
our whole civilization in those dark days. We ate the bitter bread of our past mistakes.

Farm people and city people came to understand that things were different now from what they had been when we had an open frontier of good free land, when the world was eager to get our goods. In no branch of American society were the changes more profound than in agriculture.

The farmers had been trying through the 'twenties to obtain national action that would help them adjust to the new conditions and overcome some of the disadvantages they were under because the rest of the nation refused to face the new facts. In the late 'twenties the representatives of all the people in Congress conceded that national action was necessary in justice and in wisdom, but the Executive head of the Government at that time refused to grant approval. In the 'thirties both legislative and executive acted on behalf of the whole people and in the interest of the general welfare to bring a variety of assistance to help farm people in overcoming the evil results of past mistakes. There was help in adjusting production, balancing income as between farm and city, conserving the soil and water resources which are the fundamental basis of all our living, and conserving our rich human resources of rural people which were going to waste because of rural poverty.

Now as we start into the fifth decade of the Twentieth Century, the 1940's, farm people are learning to use democratically and efficiently new methods of working together to achieve these purposes. It is a new situation for American agriculture. And a promising situation, on the whole.

Slowly, and with setbacks here and there, the farm income has climbed upward from the rock bottom depths of 1932. With the exception of 1937, farm income this year stands at the high point of the decade. Farm production is abundant for all the needs of our own people, and for all the markets that are open overseas. More than four million farm families are taking part in the local and national programs to conserve soil and water and trees and grass and farm in a way
that will make this a permanent country, not one of the vanishing lands which have washed or blown away from under great civilizations of the past. What other nations war over, we have--rich resources, skilled people, abundance potentially for all. Farm and city are sharing farm abundance through a food stamp plan and surplus distribution.

Looking into the new year farm people see as through a glass, darkly. "What will the effects of war be on our trade with the world in farm products?" they ask. What will the weather bring in the way of crop yields? They have found already that the trade controls being used now by the fighting nations work against exports of our farm products. The blockade shuts our products out of Central Europe. Belligerents want to save their dollars to buy military goods; in their buying, they want to favor their own colonial possessions, and the neutrals whose goods may go to enemies.

Farmers know that the weather situation is disturbing over wide areas. The most intense fall drought in history has prevailed in many parts of the wheat country. The condition of winter wheat is very low on this last day of the old year. But the growers are protected against total loss of income by crop insurance--more than 300,000 of them; and they have been able to hold last year's crop through the loans of the Ever Normal Granary, and this time to realize for themselves the profits from price increases that speculators used to realize in such situations.

So the outlook as to production and markets abroad is clouded. But we have ample reserves in the Ever Normal Granary; we have a better prospective home market as employment and wage earnings pick up. And the general prospect is for higher prices and better incomes for farmers. However, they will not be getting the parity of income that is the declared policy of the Congress and the people, and the legislative branch will be considering ways and means of bringing farm income to a fair share of the national income during the coming session.

Even so, the prospect of the new decade in its first months is dismaying to
the farm people, though economically it may turn out to be on the side of improve-
ment. For farm people and all our people are sick at heart that the tragedy of
war has come again to the world. And on this New Year's Eve, farm prayers join
with city prayers that the human spirit may soon be spared the indignities of war
and rejoice in the freedoms of peace.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

BRIGADIER GENERAL FRANK M. ANDREWS: When General Malin Craig retired last
summer as Chief of Staff of the Army, he made a very significant statement.
"Military planning," he said, "is one of the most serious responsibilities that
can confront a people . . . The plans deal with the nation's future, with
hundreds of thousands of lives and untold wealth. They must be coldly and pains-
takingly considered in the light of intense realism as the basis of all future
military strategy and tactics. What transpires on prospective battlefields is
influenced vitally years before in the councils of the Staff and in the legislative
halls of Congress.”

Our plans for national defense are based of necessity upon the establishment
maintained as a result of funds annually appropriated. We have a very small
Regular Army, a larger National Guard, and a group of Reserve Officers to be util-
ized in the event of an emergency. We lack adequate modern equipment. Several years
ago Congress made initial appropriations to procure for the Army some of the modern
weapons it would need if called upon to take up arms once more in the defense of
this nation. The Congress at its last regular session appropriated additional
sums of money to rectify many of our deficiencies in weapons, such as tanks, semi-
automatic rifles, anti-aircraft guns, and airplanes. Generous as were the appro-
priations of the last Congress, considerable time will elapse before the appropri-
ations will produce actual deliveries of military equipment. This unavoidable
delay in translating money into materiel is usually ignored by the public, but it
is one of our greatest problems concerned with the national defense.
Last July our Regular Establishment numbered about 165,000 men. Actually, that strength would have permitted the Army to place in the field in continental United States only 70,000 combat troops. The remainder were on duty guarding our overseas possessions and manning our arsenals, depots, warehouses, overhead, coast defenses, and the General Headquarters Air Force.

At that time the United States Army did not have as a complete organization a single Infantry division, which is a basic yardstick among military men for measuring military strength. Our mobile troops were scattered among a hundred different Army posts where they secured splendid individual training and training as small units, but were denied the opportunity for team training in the normal large combat groups.

An even more serious deficiency in the welding of effective combat teams resulted from the extreme limits to which the Army was forced to go in skeletonizing its units. For example, Infantry regiments were usually short one of the three essential battalions and Artillery battalions had one out of three batteries eliminated. This meant that commanders had to assume situations and organizations which did not actually exist. Our military maneuvers and war games were, therefore, played by teams in which numerous key players were missing. Naturally, the results were largely hypothetical, just as if in football practice a team would take the field with an end and several backs missing and on each play assume that the missing individuals were in the line-up. In war, or even in scrimmage practice, as in maneuvers, such assumptions are impracticable or impossible.

In 1939 actual or threatened conflicts involved a number of important European nations. These nations for years have had to consider their military defenses from the viewpoint of intense realism. Defenses had to be adequate or disaster resulted. For example, when Poland was invaded she had available to meet the enemy over 30 infantry divisions with 750 airplanes, but they were not enough against Germany's 70 divisions, aided by 7000 airplanes, all of which Germany did not find it necessary to use. At that time, as I said before, the United States did not have available one completely organized division. Hence, it was high time that we
looked to a strengthening of our defenses. With almost unanimous public approval, the Congress made available to the Army substantial appropriations with which to improve our national defense. As a result, our Army has been enabled to depart, to a certain degree, from its highly skeletonized and hypothetical version into what we hope will be, as the Secretary of War recently pointed out, "An army in being." The Army is now embarked on an air program which will result by 1941 in practically doubling the combat strength of the Air Corps. We have organized many of our widely separated units into five Infantry divisions. Four of them are now concentrated in the South for maneuvers. One is concentrating on the West Coast, later to proceed to California for training. In the spring these divisions will be grouped for corps maneuvers. Opportunity will be given National Guard commanders and certain of the higher Reserve officers to witness and participate in this training. The National Guard has been given additional drills each week and additional days of field training.

New equipment is being procured both for our regular troops and for the National Guard. Steps are being taken to build up stocks of strategic raw materials for which we are largely dependent on foreign sources.

All of these preparations are being made, not to meet any immediate or specific threat of war, but rather to place our Army in a position of readiness to perform its duty of defending the nation. The present international situation focuses public attention on everything pertaining to our security or defense, but let us hope that this interest will not lapse into the indifferent antagonistic attitude of the past, resulting in an emasculation of our military establishment and arrangements, and the same old story of refusing to spend ten million to provide what fifty million cannot procure in a crisis of our international affairs.

With all Americans the members of the United States Army join in the hope that during 1940 our country will continue to enjoy the blessings of peace. I know that all good citizens are grateful to know that our peace is being made more secure because we are building a more adequate defense.
In behalf of the Army, may I wish every one of you a Happy and a Peaceful New Year.

YOUTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY

HONORABLE PAUL V. MCNUTT: One generation, having completed its task, relaxes its hold and leaves the nation's work to others. At the other end, a new generation slips imperceptibly into the ranks. In the meantime, those of us in the middle of life carry on. We momentarily bear the load. But those generations at the extremes are vitally important. The country must look to its youth if it is to retain its physical vigor. It must look after its aged if it is to maintain its spiritual strength. Democracy cannot afford to let hope die in the first group. Humanity will not let it die in the second. There are four million unemployed under twenty-five, old enough to work. There are eight million unemployable past sixty-five, too old to work. What prospect does the new year hold for these twelve million special wards of the Nation?

The National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps will keep about a million young people occupied on important work projects. This will keep them healthy with exercise and decent food. It will afford an opportunity to acquire work habits and skill. It will fortify them in mind and spirit with the knowledge that they are performing useful services and contributing to the support of their loved ones. Moreover, they are coming to know and to love their country, because, on the many projects of conservation and public works, these boys are helping to build and remake America. In doing so, they become better Americans.

But what of the three million young people for whom no provision has yet been made? I am happy to report that important forces are coming to the assistance of the Government in this problem. The recent report of the Youth Commission, representing wide business and industrial interests, is reassuring. It recognizes the necessity, at any cost, of adequate opportunity for the oncoming generation.
Two weeks ago, a Youth Conference in this city, also representing far-flung business interests, agreed that private enterprise must mobilize its forces to close the gaps in the youth program. It will be a great day for America when business and government complete a cooperative program to conserve the most valuable asset of both—the Nation's youth.

The Federal Security Agency, on its part, pledges unremitting attention to the plight of young men and women without jobs. Throughout 1940, a heavy accent will be placed on youth. It will require time, thought, and money, but the investment is in capital goods. It is important that there be a balanced budget, but it is equally important that there be a balanced diet for those who must champion Democracy in the ensuing years.

For the aged, too, the outlook is brighter. At midnight, the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act become effective. Thirty million workers will have the satisfaction of knowing that the initial monthly benefits are payable under the law designed to afford them security for the remainder of their lives. It is expected that more than 100 million dollars will be disbursed during 1940 on about 900,000 claims. It is estimated that these claims will be received at the rate of about 2,000 a day during the month of January. Both the number of beneficiaries and the size of benefits will increase vastly as wage credits are accumulated in the future years. 1940, however, will always be remembered as a significant milestone along the path which leads to independence and security for the aged.

The whole is no greater than its parts. Our collective social security is the sum of the security of each individual citizen. For both youth and old age the prospects are brighter than on the last New Year's Eve. We can expect them to be brighter still on the Eve of 1941.
The New Year finds American industry well on its way toward higher levels of activity and with the outlook excellent for a continuation of the upward trend. Improvement in economic conditions was substantial during the past year and wage earners, management, farmers, merchants and investors benefited accordingly.

Total nonagricultural private employment as of November last was 34,703,000—an increase of more than 1,300,000 over the same period in 1938 and a rise of more than 8,600,000 over March 1933. Weekly payrolls of factories reporting to the Department of Labor amounted to $193,092,000 last November, an increase of nearly $33,000,000 weekly over the previous year and a rise of the huge sum of more than $120,000,000 weekly over March 1933.

Non-farm residential building construction which stimulates employment in many other lines, amounted to $1,700,000,000 last year, an increase of $400,000,000 over 1938, and the enormous advance of $1,500,000,000 over 1933.

This improvement in the housing industry helped the railroads to a better position through an increase of 19 percent in carloadings, comparing November 1939 with the same month in 1938. Further gains are indicated in residential building during the coming year with a possible advance of 25 percent.

Manufacturers also enjoyed an increase in profits during 1939, the net gains of leading manufacturing corporations in the first nine months of the year being about double the profits earned in 1938. This contrasts sharply with the losses which were being shown by most concerns in 1933.

It is estimated that American farmers received $7,625,000,000 from marketing of their products last year. This represents an increase of 63 percent during the last seven years.

From this it can be seen that American industry, American labor and American farmers enter the New Year under conditions which should give confidence to all.
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Despite these significant gains, unemployment has not been eliminated. Father, it has been reduced, mitigated, and modified. Among the programs designed to overcome unemployment which have emanated out of the Department of Labor's continuous study of this problem are the following:

First, An immediate recommendation early in 1933 that there be some quick relief in the way of Federal appropriations to assist the States and localities in meeting
the primary relief needs of the people who were then unemployed and had been un
employed for a long time in the emergency of general depression.

Second. A program of straight public works. The recommendation for it and the
justification for it, and the basic figures and information came out of the Labor
Department. The conception of finding special work for those who could not be
absorbed on straight public works also sprang from a meeting of labor leaders,
government officers, and others in the Department of Labor early in 1933.

Third. The Wagner-Feyrer Act, which established well-equipped, free public employ-
ment offices, also came from recommendations of this Department as a method of
taking care of the effective placement of persons looking for work where there was
work to be had, so reducing the loss and waste of poor placement of the job hunting.

Fourth. The labor sections of the N.I.R.A. were contributed by this Department
and its advisors in an effort to offer employment opportunities and labor protection
in private industry.

Fifth. The Public Contracts Act, which required not over 40 hours and a fair
minimum pay on Government contracts in manufacturing. This act sprang out of the
recommendations of the Department, advised by a conference committee of State labor
department officials and labor leaders.

Sixth. The Wage and Hour Act, which was the first effort to establish on a Federal
basis a floor to wages and a ceiling to hours. This grew directly out of the
recommendations of this Department, advised again by a conference of State labor
department officials and labor representatives following the abandonment of N.I.R.A.

Seventh. Unemployment compensation, which is an adjustment for the loss of wages
due to the accident of unemployment. Again this had its origin in the studies and
recommendations of the Labor Department and its advisory committees.

Eighth. Contributory old-age insurance for the future and Federal assistance to
the States for providing old-age assistance to aged needy persons. These programs
were adopted partly to enable the elderly to leave the labor market and so offer more employment to persons at the peak load of their responsibilities.

Ninth. Limitation on the employment of young persons under 16 years in the N.I.R.A. Act and later in the Public Contracts Act and Wage and Hour Act. These provisions were aimed partly at keeping the immature workers out of the labor market and so offering more jobs to those in middle life.

Tenth. The basic information and recommendations for the development of the C.C.C. as a form of constructive educational employment for young persons. This, too, had its inception in the Department of Labor.
MISS PERKINS: I'm glad you asked that question, Mr. Warner. I sometimes think that our representative democracy accomplishes constructive reforms retaining liberty and conscience, but takes it all too often for granted. This Fair Labor Standards Act is a real accomplishment. As I read over the report of the last fiscal year, I see effects of the Act reaching far beyond the workers directly covered. I see fair-minded businessmen freed from the threat of cut-throat competition. I see the ground work for collective bargaining laid for many workers. I see a new market created for agriculture and manufactured goods by the increased purchasing power of the smallest pay envelopes in the United States.

WARNER: But it seems to me that very modest standards in wages and hours were set to begin with, Miss Perkins. Is it possible that rates of pay for many American workers went much below 25 cents an hour previously?

MISS PERKINS: Yes, indeed, for 300,000 of them! In some industries in 1937 and 1938, particularly in those which employed home workers, wages for piece work ranged from 3 to 8 and 10 cents an hour, and a million and a third men and women were working an average of 50 to 60 hours a week. These conditions no longer exist, luckily. Of course, the Act doesn't pretend to establish standards which assure wage earners an income adequate to provide all their needs. But at least it lifts the bottom level of wages to a tolerable point.

WARNER: I believe that about a month ago the second year of operation of the Fair Labor Standards Act began with an increase in the standards to 30 cents an hour and a decrease in the workweek to 42 hours. Is there anything in your annual report to suggest how many people were affected by this?

MISS PERKINS: You are asking a good deal of a report when you expect prophecy from it, Mr. Warner! But yes, as a matter of fact the Division of Wages and Hours did try to foresee the effect of the new standards 6 months before they went into effect. Last April it requested the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor to make a survey estimating the number of workers who would be covered by the changes in October 1938. This showed that about 650,000 workers were receiving less than 30 cents an hour at that time and about 2 million workers were working more than 42 hours a week. But of course, these are not all the people who benefited from the change indirectly. The raising of the minimum wage will result in an increase of more than $100,000,000 in the country's purchasing power this year.

WARNER: I understand that the Fair Labor Standards Act provides for fixing minimum wages above the country-wide minimum for some interstate industries. Was that done last year?
MISS PERKINS: Up to last June such industrial committees were appointed for 7 industries, textile, wool, apparel, hosiery, hat, millinery and shoes. All have recommended minimum wages above the present 30 cents and 2 industries already have such wages in operation. These committees composed of representatives of industry, labor and the public show democracy in action, discussing all aspects of the problem, finding the facts, and proving that the way of the old town-heating method still works, in these modern economic and social situations.

WARNER: Are there complaints of lack of enforcement of the Wage and Hours Act, Miss Perkins. What has the report of the first year of the Act to say about this?

MISS PERKINS: No one would deny, Mr. Warner, that this type of legislation is socially useful only when it is generally observed and well and fairly enforced. Unless it is enforced it would put the conscientious employer who conforms voluntarily at the mercy of his unscrupulous competitors. But at first the Division had to rely mainly on complaints rather than on systematic inspection of pay rolls for knowledge of violations of the Act. Lack of a previous organization and a trained experienced personnel of investigators naturally delayed the work of this Division as it does of all other new agencies. A hundred and six inspectors were appointed, trained and put to work during the first year. The largest central office staff and legal section were established. Educational and informational services were strongly developed as a means of aiding the public in conforming to the Law. All this has brought about a general compliance.

WARNER: The New Division got some outside aid, I suppose?

MISS PERKINS: Yes, almost all the other Divisions of the Department of Labor lent staff members and undertook projects for the newcomer. I have the report of Mr. Zimmer. Chief of the Division of Labor Standards here. He says, "Members of this Division gladly rendered service to the newly-created Wages and Hours Division, participated in planning inspection methods and preparing complaint forms, wrote a basic manual for the use of inspectors and developed a training course for them." In the first months of the Wages and Hours Act, three of these courses were given.

WARNER: How is compliance with the law coming on?

MISS PERKINS: Pretty well on the whole. Some employers will continue to violate the Act through misunderstanding of its provisions and there are always a few who comply with it only when inspection and prosecution make it necessary. These are a small but important minority. By the end of the fiscal year last June, the district courts had assessed a total of $94,500 in fines. The largest single fine imposed was $7,500 - enough to make willful violators pause and think.

WARNER: That brings up another question I want to ask you, Miss Perkins. How many prosecutions have been made for violations of the Wage and Hours Act? Has anyone gone to jail?

MISS PERKINS: This Act is enforced by the courts after a judicial proceeding. Up to June 30th last the Division had instituted 23 civil suits and referred 20 more to the Department of Justice for criminal prosecution. I believe one employer was sentenced to jail for contempt of court because he refused to show his books to the Judge.

WARNER: I suppose one reason for confusion is the number of exemptions to the Act. For instance, the law doesn't cover local industries, of course. But how does a button manufacturer know whether his buttons travel across State lines sewed onto some other manufacturer's shirts?

MISS PERKINS: I think that most manufacturers know what disposition is made of their products, Mr. Warner. Only a very small proportion of business is purely local, like retail establishments and service enterprises.
WARNER: This doesn't come within the period covered by an annual report, Miss Perkins, but I had had some curiosity regarding the designation of an Army officer to a Wage and Hour Division post. Has it any significance?

MISS PERKINS: No, not any significance. Col. Fleming is an able and experienced organizer and administrator and he has been highly successful in previously held civilian posts. This is the only reason for his selection.

WARNER: We've all heard the contention that there is a point in boosting wages by law at which employment decreases. Has this Act increased or decreased employment?

MISS PERKINS: We have no authenticated instance of the loss of a job by a single worker because his employer could not afford to pay the higher wage rates. On the contrary, employment in manufacturing has increased generally during the past year and the index of employment in manufacturing as of July 1st, 1939, is 93.5 instead of 84.7 which it was in July 1938. The Fair Labor Standards Act is not solely responsible, of course, but it undoubtedly contributed to it.

WARNER: I should think these exemptions and the non-application of the law to local industries would create unfair competition. Are the States plugging the gaps with State wage-hour laws?

MISS PERKINS: Turning to the Division of Labor Standards, Mr. Warner, I see it reports a growing interest in wage and hour legislation for all workers in the States. One of the duties of this Division is to aid State legislatures, when they request it, in framing laws and immediately after the Fair Labor Standards Act it's consultative legal service was besieged with requests for a model bill to extend the same protection to thousands of State workers. The Division of Labor Standards prepared the suggested language for such a bill which was introduced in 30 State legislatures.

WARNER: What other contributions to labor legislation sprang from work of the Division of Labor Standards last year?

MISS PERKINS: For the fifth consecutive year the Division arranged for the National Interstate Conference on Labor Legislation which met in Washington in November 1938 to plan new legislation for the better protection of the wage earner, with 44 States represented by delegates appointed by the Governors. The conference urged State wage-hour acts, ratification of the Federal child labor amendment, enactment of State apprenticeship laws, total and mandatory coverage of all workers by workmen's compensation acts and many other forward-looking measures.

WARNER: But haven't all the States written workmen's compensation laws on their statute books yet?

MISS PERKINS: Most of our citizens, Mr. Warner, seem to share your belief that workers today are generally well protected by existing laws. But as a matter of fact, due to various exceptions and exceptions in State compensation laws, more than half of our workers are still outside the scope of their benefits. That brings up another service of the Division of Labor Standards this last year. On the request of organized labor, it began the preparation of a handbook of Federal and State labor legislation so that everyone interested can see what rights and benefits are established by law, and where they are enforced throughout the country.

WARNER: Then you believe, Miss Perkins, that in a democracy the people will remedy evils and fill needs if they know about them?

MISS PERKINS: There is a section in the report of the Division of Labor Standards which seems to answer your question in the affirmative, Mr. Warner. For many years the Division has been patiently telling the country about matters relating to industrial health and safety. Last winter the Chief of the Division and his staff analysed 7,000 labor contracts to discover whether this public education had had any effect.
Miss Perkins: on their contents. In 2,500 of these, they found reference to one or more safety and health provisions.

Warner: Will you tell us some of the other things the Division of Labor Standards accomplished last year in the line of industrial health and safety?

Miss Perkins: Well, one highlight of the report is the executive order issued by the President requiring all departments of the Federal Government to protect their workers in hazardous occupations. All Government employees don’t wear white collars, you know. Some of them are exposed to every known risk of private industry, and now they are to receive every known protection.

Warner: Miss Perkins, several years ago newspaper readers were introduced to a new disease — now to them at least — Silicosis. Now with the commencement of the Pennsylvania all-weather highway, the subject of dust hazards for tunnel workers has loomed up again. Has any progress been made recently in the elimination of this danger?

Miss Perkins: Yes, research in methods of preventing Silicosis on the part of the Division of Labor Standards and other agencies have almost eliminated this hazard if proper precautions are taken. But new dangers to workers constantly arise with new inventions. For example, for several years the Division of Labor Standards' experts have been studying the rayon industry where carbon bysulphide seems to have effects dangerous to health. Their first survey was completed last June.

Warner: The Division of Labor Standards seems to interest itself in a good many fields, Miss Perkins.

Miss Perkins: It does, Mr. Warner. Among its other duties it found time last year to develop and help teach an intensive training course for factory inspectors, designed to make them genuine experts in the detection, control and elimination of dangers to the life and health of workers, and also to build the exhibit unit in the industrial theme of the New York World's Fair. In spite of the amount of work involved in this last project, the Division shipped 113 other exhibits to international conferences, chambers of commerce, labor conventions, State fairs and study and consumer groups. You can see what various and far-reaching activities are mentioned matter-of-factly in these annual reports, as a part of the day-in-day-out program of the different divisions of the Department of Labor, to improve the working conditions of wage earners in the United States.

Announcer: Thank you, Miss Perkins and Mr. Warner. You have been listening to an interview with the Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins, on the subject of the work of two of the Bureaus in the Department of Labor — the Division of Labor Standards and the Wage and Hour Division. This is the Columbia Broadcasting System.
U. S. Department of Labor

Radio speech of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins over Columbia Broadcasting System, Wednesday night, June 28, 1939, 9:45 - 10:00 P.M. E.S.T.

The United States Employment Service, as set up by the Wagner-Peyser Act in July 1933, has performed a far reaching and useful service since then in bringing together the many jobs and the jobless men and women of the country. It has made over 25,900,000 placements of job hunters in the 1939 contribution through May. Under the President's reorganization program it will be placed in the Federal Security Agency set-up at the end of this week and there, I am sure, it will continue successfully its great task of finding jobs for well qualified workers in the interest of wage earners and employers alike.

Employment Service operations, under the United States Department of Labor, have shown a constant increase in activity in the field of private placements, the number of such being 9,593,000 for the seventy-one month period compared to 8,325,000 in public non-relief employment and 7,832,000 on relief type works projects.

In the three fiscal years beginning July 1, 1933, through June 30, 1936, public employment accounted for the greater portion of the jobs filled through Employment Service offices. During this period the public employment office system provided the labor requirements for the series of emergency programs which were conducted -- first the CWA and later the WPA while during the whole period the Public Works Administration had been supplied with workers secured through the Employment Service system. Despite the huge demands of these projects, during the 3-year period, 3,556,081 private placements were made.
In the fiscal years 1936-37 private placements nearly equaled the combined number of public and relief placements made and in all succeeding years have exceeded the number of such placements. In the year ended June 30, 1938, private placements accounted for 67.7 percent of all placements made by the public employment offices and in the first eleven months of the present fiscal year have risen to 70.7 percent of all placements, private placements in these eleven months exceeded the aggregate for the entire previous year.

The largest numbers of total placements have been made in Pennsylvania, Texas, California, New York, Illinois, and Ohio. Greatest volumes of private placements were made in Texas, California, New York, Illinois and Ohio.

Jobs filled through the Employment Service are found in all fields of industry and take workers through the entire range of occupational skills. In a recent period placements were made in some 4,500 different occupations. The facilities of the public employment system are available to all workers. Men were placed in 5,826,991 of the private jobs and women in 3,763,336.

In addition to these 25,909,013 complete placements the Employment Service assisted in making a very large number of supplementary placements. These are placements in which although the employment office did not carry on all the operations involved in making a complete placement, it was of definite assistance in bringing worker and employer together. Placements made of this kind never are included among reports of complete placements by employment offices. Reports of the volume of supplementary placement
activity were not collected prior to October 1938 on a nation-wide basis but the volume of such work is indicated by the fact that during the 8 months from October 1938 through May 1939, 463,214 supplemental placements were reported.

Throughout its entire period of operations the Employment Service has provided placement facilities in all sizable communities in the country. At the end of May, 1,665 offices and 2,750 itinerant were in operation.

The tremendous volume of activity at the employment offices in connection with registration and placements is indicated by the fact that for the 15 months period from February 1938 through May 1939, for which data are available, over 16,000,000 personal visits were received at the offices.

The Employment Service makes special provision for the handling of groups with particular placement problems such as veterans, young workers just entering the labor market, and farm workers. Particular attention to the employment problems of veterans is given through special veteran representatives in the offices. Through these facilities the Employment Service received over two million new applications from veterans and made some two and one-quarter million placements of veterans during the 71-month period. At the end of May, one-third of a million veterans were actively registered with the employment offices.

Veterans and others in the same age group have for fifteen years now been facing the steadily developing problem of the older worker in industry. As a State and Federal Labor Department official for many
years I have seen it grow until it is a source to thousands of family
breadwinners when they reach the age of 45 or 50. The problem was lost
sight of during the depression when so many were out of work but it
became more pressing than ever when recovery began in 1933. With the
reopening of many plants older workers were not called back to their jobs,
the places going to younger men and women.

In view of this situation I appointed a representative committee
to study the situation and it reported that while older workers are
favored on the whole by seniority rules and general personnel policy,
evertheless when once they are displaced—whether by layoff, technological
unemployment, mergers, shut-downs or other impersonal causes—they find
real difficulty in securing reemployment. Workers between 40 and the
retiring age are handicapped in three ways, the committee found, by
general unemployment conditions, by prejudices of employers and by their
own fears.

Productivity records from entirely different lines of skilled work
show no decline in earning power with advancing age. In some instances
the productivity of older workers was found to be actually greater than
that of younger employees. It is known that while in occupations re-
quiring primarily physical strength and endurance, age may impair the
worker’s usefulness, the age at which the decline begins will vary widely
among different individuals.

The Committee recommended that the United States Employment Service
study the work opportunities of a particular community, or group of
employing firms, with a view to determining the jobs or type of job best
suitable to middle-aged workers and give special attention to the qualifications, experience and aptitudes of middle-aged applicants.

When necessary such a service, the report said, should be in a position to offer the applicant, or put him in touch with, training facilities that would enable him to adapt his skills and techniques to new opportunities.

With all this in mind the Employment Service has done a fine service for the veterans and the older group in which they are included. As a matter of fact, following a drive the first week of last month, job placements of veterans took a big jump and it is to be hoped that such gains will continue.

The discovery and application of remedies to the problem of the older worker concerns not only the Employment Service but all far sighted persons in public and private life. Complex and urgent social and economic problems are involved and the cooperation of many groups is needed in the very difficult task of restoring thousands of intelligent, able-bodied men and women to normal self-support and self-respect.

To turn for a moment to the younger workers of the country, with whom the Employment Service also has been concerned and for whom it also has done a good job, I can report that the Department of Labor is working in their behalf through the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training.

Its first objective is to provide proper training for those young people now employed in skilled occupations and to establish the necessary standards and organizations to provide full training for other young men
and women as they are needed. It is generally agreed among authorities on apprenticeship that the number of apprentices in training should be related to the number that can be employed after the apprenticeship is over. In order to prevent overcrowding in any particular trade, applicants for apprenticeships should be guided into occupations where the opportunities are growing and where there are definite indications of a shortage. If such a balance is to be attained, a system must be established to record the actual number of apprentices in training by trades, and to provide information on occupational trends so that young people can be directed into occupations for which they have particular aptitudes.

The Federal Committee must exercise constant, constructive leadership, carry on negotiations between employers, organizations, and organized labor, direct needed research, and act as a clearing house on matters pertaining to apprenticeship, so that national, State and local employer and labor organizations and individuals may benefit from the experience of similar groups in other sections of the country.

Standards of apprenticeship cannot be set arbitrarily. They must be developed gradually out of the job situation in each industry through the give-and-take of both workers and employers. The problem of establishing proper standards of apprenticeship, therefore, involves the cooperation of various Federal and State agencies as well as the cooperation of employers and workers in the industries in which apprenticeship exists or is needed.

As to the Employment Service, it has used special junior offices or divisions in larger centers and special interviewers in smaller offices
to handle the problem of placing juniors in gainful employment. With the large volume of unemployment in recent years which has made available experienced workers in practically all lines, the difficulty of placing new inexperienced workers just entering the labor market has been great.

The Employment Service has been active in this field both in finding jobs for the youth group and in providing advice to them concerning work opportunities and choice of vocation. Data concerning the placement of young workers during the first year of operations of the Employment Service are not available. However, from July 1934 through March 1939, 1,929,000 placements of applicants aged 20 years or younger were made, 1,189,989 being boys and 739,111 being girls.

To handle the problem of agricultural employment supplementary farm service facilities are operated in 18 States, while in addition farm workers are placed in all States through the regular facilities. The 18 States with supplementary facilities include those in which there is recurring demand for large numbers of seasonal or migratory workers during certain periods of the year. During the past two years the Employment Service has made approximately three-quarters of a million farm placements annually.

This is a record of which the Department of Labor is justifiably proud and I wish to express my keen appreciation to all employess of the Employment Service for their loyalty and for their devotion to the purposes and ideals of the public employment service which motivated the sponsors of the Wagner-Peyser Act and which have governed its administration.
To every employee of the United States Employment Service I wish a full measure of success in the new agency to which it is to be moved. I have every confidence that the personnel will remain true to the principles of an effective public service to all workers and employers of the Nation which principles have characterized the work of this agency. A public employment service is essential in the present day. Its functions must be continued and its service to workers constantly increased.
RADIO BROADCAST OF PRESS CONFERENCE BETWEEN
SECRETARY OF LABOR FRANCES PERKINS AND EDITORS OF COLLEGE PAPERS
OVER MUTUAL NETWORK, 4:30 to 5:00 P.M., JUNE 6, 1939

COLLEGE PRESS BROADCAST

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen, the Department of Labor, in cooperation with
the Mutual Broadcasting Company presents a press conference between
the editors of high-school and college publications and Miss Frances Perkins, the
Secretary of Labor.

Today the United States offers to a disturbed world the proud spectacle of a hundred
and thirty million people ruling themselves. Among the one and a quarter million
young men and women graduating this month from American schools are many who realize
their responsibility to help solve the problems of their times. Tonight a group of
college and high-school editors have gathered here in the studio to ask Miss Perkins
some of the questions which are in the minds of youth today as it steps from the
campus into the workaday world.

In the group here in the Mutual Broadcasting studio is Jack Delaney, editor of the
Hoya, Georgetown University's weekly newspaper. Next to him is John Freudenberger
from the University of Maryland magazine, The Diamondback. George Washington
University has sent John Daugherty, editor of The Hatchet. Central High School's
thirty-year-old newspaper, The Bulletin, always on the merit list of American high-
school publications is represented by its editor Herbert Benjamin. Miss Helen Miller
is here from the editorial office of the American University Eagle. Over there
by the window is editor Victor Bleede from the St. John's Collegian, St. John's College
in Annapolis. Next to him is Bob Ireland, from the University of Virginia's
Spectator. Joseph Rattigan is here from the magazine of Catholic University, The
Tower; Bob Steinson, editor of the Flatbush, has come from William and Mary College,
Williamsburg, Va. And now here's the Secretary herself. Good evening, Miss Perkins!

PERKINS: Good evening, Mr. Compton, and all of you! It's heartening to see
you young editors here tonight, and realize that you've come
because your generation is thinking of the problems of today as your own problems.
There was a time when the important question a young American asked on graduating
from high-school or college was what's the quickest way for me to make a success?
Not today the young, and the not-so-young are coming to realize that self-interest
and social interest are closely interwoven, and that if we are to prosper individually
we must all prosper together. That is the keynote of democratic living. It
is not only good ethics to think of others, we will be successful, in this day and
age, it is good economics too.

So I welcome your questions this afternoon because they show that we no longer look
at life from our own isolated viewpoint—like the dear old lady in the Maine village
where I spend my summer vacations who told me sympathetically when she found out
where I came from, that she always pitied folks in New York City because they lived
such a dreadful, long ways off! We no longer live a long ways off from our fellow-
men. And now for your questions. How are we going to arrange this, Mr. Compton?

ANNOUNCER: I'll introduce them in alphabetical order, I think, Miss Perkins—
then we won't have them all talking at once! That makes Herbert
Benjamin, editor of the Central High School Bulletin the first.
BENJAMIN: Indiana Secretary, some of us have been wondering whether our high-school and college curricula are of the right type to prepare us for the jobs we want, or whether a graduate would find himself better prepared for wage earning after pursuing a cooperative course and gaining practical experience in some firm or plant as part of his regular school work?

PERKINS: That is such a complex question, Mr. Benjamin that the Regent’s Board in New York has spent an entire year considering it. A program of apprenticeship which relates work on a job with technical training in public schools is being tried out now in some vocational high schools and colleges.

The Department of Labor is stimulating apprenticeship programs to train young workers in special skills throughout the country with the cooperation of labor unions and some industries — particularly building and construction. The Wage and Hour Division of the Department aims to protect these young learners and part-time workers from possible exploitation. But since only 10 percent of the working population is made up of skilled labor which would profit by such training, it is evident that apprenticeship is not Youth’s only answer to its job problems.

BENJAMIN: As one in close touch with the wage earning situation could you tell us high-school graduates, Indiana Secretary, how necessary a college degree is for success as a wage earner?

PERKINS: According to a recent survey by the Office of Education covering the graduates of sixty colleges and universities in the eight years between 1930 and 1938 a college degree would seem to be pretty good job insurance. Ninety-six percent of all men and 93 percent of all women graduates had work and only 2 percent of the men and 1 percent of the women had ever been on relief.

There are a far greater number of high-school graduates who wish to enter the professions than there are job openings for them and undoubtedly a college degree would help them get this type of employment. But the vast majority of jobs in America do not require college training. More guidance in our schools toward the work for which students have special aptitude would prevent much unhappiness in misfit or dead-end jobs.

ANNOUNCER: Next, Victor Bloede, Editor of the St. John’s Collegian. Mr. Bloede!

BLOEDE: What estimate does the Department of Labor make, Miss Perkins, about the capacity of private business to absorb our present unemployment?

PERKINS: That is a question that in the end must be answered by private business itself, Mr. Bloede. Economists estimate that it would require a production 25 to 30 percent greater than the peak production of 1929 to employ all those unemployed today. Our employable population continues to grow at a rate of 400,000 additional workers like you pouring from schools every year. To give full employment for a larger population and to gain the advantages of improved machines, we must have a continually expanding economy. Instead of this there has been little expansion and particularly in new industries for ten years.

Whether private manufacture and industry will absorb this vast army of willing workers depends on its ability in the distribution of goods and services and
Here’s my second question, Madame Secretary. If shorter work hours and more productive machines are going to drive more and more people into nonproductive employment, shouldn’t the Government do something to help young people to make a living in the arts and sciences and other cultural pursuits?

PERKINS: That’s an interesting question, Mr. Daugherty. There must, of course, be a larger nice balance between increased productions and leisure-time pursuits. People spend their earnings in order to satisfy their needs and there are hungers of soul as well as of the body. Industry has long realized that its expansion depends upon the creation of new needs. The luxuries of yesterday became the necessities of today. Now that our future economy depends so strikingly on employment of many workers in nonproductive fields an effective demand for their services can be created. The fine arts project of the WPA has helped to create this demand for what we might call cultural goods. A recent survey brought out the startling fact that 76 percent of one audience in a FEDERAL Theater were seeing a stage play for the first time in their lives! You will remember that our Declaration of Independence set forth the "pursuit of happiness" as one of the chief goals of democracy. It may now become one of the chief hopes of improving our economic life, as well.

ANNOUNCER: Next! John Daugherty, of the George Washington University Hatchet! Mr. Daugherty.

DAUGHERTY: Miss Perkins, I’d like to ask whether the Department of Labor feels that increased Government legislation affecting Labor will help or hurt the chances of a young man entering business during its first year of application?

PERKINS: In reality the effect on all enterprise of such labor regulations as the Wage and Hour Act providing a first step toward a living wage for workers, the "Taager Act giving status to Labor as a recognized important group of citizens and the other social and industrial legislation of the past six years tends to increase employment by increasing individual and total wage income. Increased wages are followed by a new demand for consumer goods and indirectly for durable goods. And so the sheer volume of business activity and opportunity for the newcomer—the new man from college will expand.

DAUGHERTY: Many of us college students here in Washington, Madame Secretary, are working part time with the Government. But we are planning to enter private industry because the better Government jobs seem to be appointive positions rather than civil-service. Do you believe that a real Government Career Service is likely to be formulated in the near future?

PERKINS: You will remember, Mr. Daugherty, that the civil service was originally planned to attract young men and women of capacity to Government careers. But for many years it had to compete disadvantageously with the opportunities for quick advancement and wealth offered young people by a
rapidly expanding American Industry. Now the expectation of early large incomes from Industry is comparatively limited, and Government and private business offer more nearly equal financial attractions for employment to intelligent young people.

Both political parties agree that the Federal Civil Service should be extended upward so as to include all but a few policy-forming appointments, and there is a Presidential Committee studying the problem of strengthening the opportunities for security, responsibility and promotion within the frame of the civil service, at this moment. So a Government career may soon be as attractive to Ambition as it always has been to Idealism.

ANNOUNCER: Next question, Jack Delaney, Editor of the Nym, Georgetown University.

DELANEY: Miss Perkins is in the Department of Labor satisfied with the functioning of the present Child Labor regulations and other legislation designed to protect Youth, or does it plan further measures to safeguard the welfare of younger workers.

PERKINS: For 25 years, Mr. Delaney the Department of Labor has carried on research relating to the employment of children, which has formed the basis of much remedial legislation. Under the Fair Labor Standard's Act its responsibilities now include the enforcement of certain provisions of that Act which forbid the employment of children under 16 in industries engaged in interstate commerce. The Department is also concerned with the general family economic conditions which affect all American children. With more than 50 percent of these families living on a yearly income too low to purchase the American standard of living, the welfare of a large part of the citizens of tomorrow is bound up with the whole program of the New Deal—social security, relief, public employment offices, and all other measures taken for the security of the people.

DELANEY: Madame Secretary, critics of the Government's spending program tell us of the younger generation that it will saddle us with a heavy load of debt for our lifetime. Therefore we would like to know how long the Government must pour out millions annually for relief, and whether the Labor Department has some definite plan to put in force when the money stops flowing?

PERKINS: As editors and moulders of public opinion yourselves, Mr. Delaney, I feel sure you do not accept these statements without careful investigation of all the facts. If so, you realize that the money which the Government has spent was not taken from private investment. It was idle money. So long as business enterprise is unable to find a way to put private investor's funds at production work the Government must continue to do public work.

I think, however, that this debt which you speak of will really pay more interest to future generations than it takes from them. All of the things we have been doing through WPA, PEA and CCC have had as their end not only employment, but also raising the standards of living of the American people and making this country a better place to live in. Parks, roads, soil conservation projects, schools and public buildings are an investment in future happiness, as well as an actual capital investment which may be expected to return dividends.

ANNOUNCER: John Freudenberger of the University of Maryland's Diamondback is next. Dr. Freudenberger.
**FREUDENBERGER:** In the light of present economic conditions, like Perkins, what are the industries or types of work which offer the most favorable opportunities to graduates—are there new kinds of jobs just appearing on the occupational horizon as well as disappearing types of work?

**PERKINS:** Yes, and I think that is a very important thing for the new wage earners to understand. In general I'd say we can't look to agriculture, as we once did, to provide more jobs in the future. To a lesser extent machines and instruments have taken the place of some heavy labor in industry. Probably none of you were planning to adopt the career of puddler in a steel mill but if you were I advise you to think twice. According to our United States Employment Service puddling is a disappearing occupation! At the same time machines have created a demand for a relatively new kind of labor, the semiskilled worker who can care for and control intricate machinery.

While there is no new industry that seems likely to dominate our economic life as the automobile did in the 1920's the aircraft industry is still growing, and air-conditioning, pre-fabricated houses and television are still in their infancy, also varied textiles—new uses for steel—transportation.

In the service fields the awakened demand for expanded social services may be expected to provide many more jobs. Improved health facilities for everyone would mean more doctors, nurses, dentists, technicians. New housing will require management and services.

**FREUDENBERGER:** Here's my second question, Madame Secretary. All of us who are starting on our careers would like to hear whether you believe that the United States as a whole must adjust to a rigidly contracting economy in the future?

**PERKINS:** No, Mr. Freudenberger, I certainly don't. As the president has said, one-third of the Nation is ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clad. To give 40 million people textiles, furniture, shoes and goods for even a minimum American standard of living, we should have to expand our industry beyond any production we have ever known.

But this cannot be done by wishing or swallowing panaceas. It will require the earnest cooperation of all our people and the most effective use of our intelligence, raw material and democratic free association. It will require new adventures in thinking and discipline. And that is where all you young people come in. Youth is not as much afraid of change as other people. It is not, however, accustomed to the individual self-discipline which is needed.

Our economy can expand indefinitely and our standards of living with it if we can only approach our economic problem with the ingenuity and adaptability which we have used in solving our mechanical problems to the wonder of the world, and if we recognize that economic policies are always subject to ethics.

**ANNOUNCER:** Next, Robert Ireland, Editor of the University of Virginia Spectator. Mr. Ireland!
PERKINS: As the organization of Labor becomes more widespread the part that it plays in the economic picture will automatically be controlled by the very type of machinery which is available to it in securing protection of its working conditions. In other words organized labor functions through collective bargaining and there are always two sides involved in a bargain, you know. When collective bargaining is working in good faith in all industries both employer and workers will feel that to try to put over sharp practice or the arbitrary use of power would bring down on the guilty side the displeasure of public opinion, and that in itself is a curb on excesses of either group. The public has its rights to industrial peace too, and it is beginning to understand that only honorable and fair relations between capital and labor are going to secure it.

IRLAND: I don't Secretary here is a question of interest to those of us who are just considering the question of where they are going to settle. After all wages are only half the consideration, living costs are the other half. That answer is there to the contention of some southern industrialists that it costs less to live in a given standard in the South than in other sections of the United States?

PERKINS: The Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor has just completed a study of the cost of living in five small Southern cities, as compared with five Northern cities of the same size. This study shows the difference in living costs to be slight. Food, which takes one-third to two-fifths of the wage earners' expenditures costs about the same in both regions. Of course, food habits differ. Cornmeal and sweet potatoes were higher in the North which uses less of them, and milk and wheat were higher in the South where they have a smaller scale. Clothing and furniture were higher in the Southern cities, where rents and fuel were much lower. The survey of the ten cities showed that the average cost of living was a little more than 8 percent lower in the Southern five, and that wage earners in the Northern five would have to spend $12 more per family every year.

ANNOUNCER: Now listen Helen Miller, from the American University Eagle. Helen Miller!

MILLER: Miss Perkins you have been telling us that the Government is trying to do for the one-third of the Nation which is ill-housed and ill-fed. I'd like to ask you that the Government is doing about one-half of the Nation—the woman, to improve their economic status so there won't be such glaring differences between the earnings of women and men.

PERKINS: The careful data compiled by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor on the most important women-employing industries in the chief industrial States has undoubtedly played an important part in securing the rise in women's wages shown by recent figures. Our facts and statistics are used continually by legislators in framing minimum wage laws for women in the 26 States which have such laws at present—many of them by the way adopted within the last few years. A great step toward a more just level of women's earnings was made in the recent Fair Labor Standard and Public Contracts Acts. These require equal wages for equal work without regard to sex in all industries engaged in interstate commerce or selling to the Government. Our charts show that the level of women's wages at all times falls below that of men's, but they also show a slow rise in the
ratio between them. In Ohio, for example in a recent 14-year period, women's earnings increased from about 52 percent of men's to 63 percent of men's. They are still disproportionately low, but the entire trend of social legislation in the last six years has been to improve women's security.

MILLER: But, Madame Secretary, what can we women—especially college-trained women do to improve our economic status still further. Would it help if more women went into politics?

PERKINS: Undoubtedly, Miss Miller, one reason why women are discriminated against in the matter of pay envelopes is that they are not as well organized as men and take less active part in politics, trade unions, clubs or other branches of public life from which ideas about legislation stem. However, I don't believe that political action should be taken by women as a sex. I think the reason why legislation for workers has made such recent advances is due to the fact that public opinion has become conscious of the rights of workers as individuals. In the same way women wage earners will make their most important advances by calling attention in every channel open to them to their economic injustices and relying on the education of public opinion to right them.

ANNOUNCER: Joseph Rattigan, Editor of the Tower, of Catholic University. Mr. Rattigan:

RATTIGAN: Miss Perkins, what is the most practical way in which those of us who have had the advantages of a good education can help the Government to construct a better economic order?

PERKINS: Mr. Rattigan. As you know, things that happen in a democracy are made to happen by Senators and Congressmen, Presidents and Governors, administrators and technical advisers. Lack of them stand the people, the ultimate sovereign with the right to say "yes" and "no", "go" and "stop". That enlightened public opinion which George Washington relied on for the national safety was never more needed than it is now, when Americans along with the rest of the world are forced to make certain readjustments in their thinking. We have no Benjamin Franklin to give us economic advice wrapped up as homely household savings today—and those he left us were intended to make a pioneer economy function. The pain of economic illness forces us to make new maxims for ourselves.

Once it may have been thought somehow praiseworthy when a man shrugged off civic duties on the plan that politics wasn't any game for a gentleman. Today every educated person must realize a vital personal responsibility for Government and exercise it by ascertaining the facts on which sound legislation is built—educating others through his rights of free speech, the press and assembly, and taking part in Government by the vote, public office and public service.

RATTIGAN: My second question, Madame Secretary, is in line with what you've just said. Since an enlightened public opinion is so important in developing a national economy, don't you think education in high schools and colleges which turn out so many white-collar workers should include a sympathetic understanding of Labor and Labor's problems?
PERKINS: You are right, Mr. Stainton in suggesting that understanding of our national life and economy demands popular understanding of Labor.

Labor's increase in importance in the economic and social life of our day presents new ideas. We must understand the worker not only as a producer, which has been the viewpoint of the past, but as an important consumer of our products as well and the Nation's most important customer. Our American Institutions, you must remember, are built on mutual education.

ANNOUNCER: Robert Stainton, Editor of the Flatbush, William and Mary College,

Mr. Stainton!

STAINTON: What security have we, Miss Perkins, against the serious shortage of necessities which would be caused by a Nation-wide strike such as the recent coal crisis might have developed into?

PERKINS: The best answer to that, Mr. Stainton is to point out that the recent coal crisis didn't develop into a Nation-wide strike and general shortage of coal but was settled peacefully in the democratic way, by mediation. I am proud to tell you that the number of strikes settled by help of conciliators from the United States Department of Labor has increased steadily during the last five years. The United States Conciliation Service comes into the dispute as the representative of the public interest in industrial peace, and with intent to be fair and help the parties to an agreed settlement.

Then, too, collective bargaining is now beginning to be accepted by industry as the matter-of-course way of proceeding. I see encouraging signs that the complete acceptance of this method is near and that a new unity of employer and labor will make such industrial warfare as you speak of a thing of the past, when lack of facilities for conciliation made them a necessity.

STAINTON: Here's my second question, Miss Perkins. As new voters we're all wondering whether there is likely to be a strong Labor Party formed in the United States on the scale of—let's say, England's?

PERKINS: No, Mr. Stainton, I don't think so. I don't think American labor will ever be satisfied with a fixed position and status. We as a people are outgrowing the habit of referring to Labor en masse, as though it could be expected to act as a commodity instead of as a group of human beings motivated by the same desires as everyone else. We are beginning to realize that working people want what every other American wants—to earn a decent living, in self-respecting circumstances at jobs they can respect, and they love their country and want to improve life for all of the people.

When our national values emphasize human dignity and individual responsibility it is natural that the working man should take the same position with reference to his work, and his policies. Then in our scheme of life we as a people assume that a rich land can produce a constantly improving standard of living, American workers take it for granted they will get their just share of the development by work of our material and natural resources. Since they want the same things all Americans strive for and are satisfied to get these things in the usual democratic way workers are unlikely to separate themselves from their fellow citizens politically.
After all the 48 million wage earners in the United States are all workers. I don't think it's an exaggeration to say that Americans regard executives in industry and professional people as workers along with pick and shovel laborers. The tradition of toil which built America is still one of our national prides.

ANNOUNCER: Thank you, Miss Perkins. You have been listening to a student press conference between Miss Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor and the editors of nearby high-school and college publications. . . Victor Bloede, from St. John's College, Annapolis, Herbert Benjamin, from the Central High School in Washington, John Daugherty from George Washington University, Jack Delaney from Georgetown University, John Freudenger from the University of Maryland, Robert Ireland from the University of Virginia, Miss Helen Miller from American University, and Bob Steinman from William and Mary College, and Joseph Mattson from Catholic University.
Ladies and gentlemen, the National Broadcasting Company presents for the first time a press conference with a Cabinet Member—the Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins.

The Nation's Press sends its most brilliant correspondents to the Capital to get the news at its source. Tonight we are gathering here in the office of Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor.

The men and women coming in now represent the newspaper readers of the entire continent. Here's Scripps Howard's Ludwell Denny. Good evening, boys! Louis Stark, of the New York Times is with him. I see the syndicates have sent Jay Franklin and Ernest Childley. Oh yes, and Bruce Catton of the N.E.A. - Hello, Felix!—Felix Cotten of the Washington Post has just come in with another home towner, John Henry of the Washington Star. That big chap over there is John O'Brien of the Herald Tribune, and let's see who else—Mark Childs of the St. Louis Post Dispatch—Blair Hoody from the Detroit News. A lady too—Mary Hormayd of the Christian Science Monitor. And... just coming in the door Blaine Stubblefield of McGraw Hill!

They're here tonight to ask Miss Perkins what millions of newspaper readers want to know about the present aspects of the unemployment situation. And here comes the Secretary herself. Good evening, Miss Perkins.

Good evening, Mr. Rush and everyone. Do sit down around this table and make yourselves comfortable. Smoke if you like—I've brought the village paper from my summer home town in Maine to show you. You see by the headline you've all been scooped! —"Secretary of Labor Wins Sweeping Victory!"

Reading from the home town paper—Town Meeting Votes Two Hundred and Fifty Dollars for Town Dump. I've been trying to get that town dump for three years and at last the Town Meeting voted it. We still have town meetings in New England you know.

Sometimes when I'm disturbed over the plight of democracy in the world I like to remember that men are getting together to talk over and agree on their common problems in New England today the way they did three hundred years ago. As long as we do that in Maine or in Washington, as we're doing here tonight, democracy is still working in the United States!

Now I'm ready for your questions on unemployment.

Well, Madame Secretary, since labor's recent gains have been made through political action, and since further political action may be necessary to solve unemployment, wouldn't labor be well advised to become as solidly organized politically as it is economically?

I can't agree with your premise, Mr. Catton, that labor's recent gains have been due to political action. I look back of political action to the change in public thinking that has made them possible. The American people are giving up the old idea of labor as a commodity and beginning to regard workers as human beings with the rights of other Americans.
My own feeling is that democracy functions best if we act politically as citizens of the country as a whole and not as members of groups. Most workers are as interested in their church or their local baseball club as their trade-union. They are interested in foreign affairs, taxes, education, and other things that all citizens care about, and want to help the Government—the best way.

Their political interests are in the United States and are general as well as special. And so their approach to the problems that face us is healthier than if they considered themselves tied up primarily to economic groups.

In a highly industrialized country like ours, isn’t the democracy a citizen enjoys incomplete unless his right to a job is as well recognized as his civil liberties?

I’ve never felt that anyone, even government, had the right to force one man to give another a job. But I do feel every man should be able to live from the work that he does.

Democracy challenges our industrial leadership to think constantly of their industries as fraught with a public interest. This sense of moral responsibility—you notice I don’t say legal—has been growing in recent years in the United States.

You’ve heard of the efforts of such companies as Proctor and Gamble, Eastman Kodak, the Hormel Packing Company and the Nunn-Bush Company to assure their workers steady employment the year round.

Personally, I’d like to see all employers recognize this type of responsibility through growing public demand and self-directed efforts, to meet the public need for production—for stable employment and stable incomes in cooperation with their workers.

And now, Mr. Childs.

Madame Secretary, Representative Bruce Barton says the Republican slogan in 1940 will be “The Democrats Kept Us Out of Work!” What’s your answer to that?

Well, Mr. Childs, we Democrats could have used that slogan in 1932 if we hadn’t been too polite!

I’m sure you all agree with me that unemployment cannot be attributed to any political party, and that no party can solve the problem without the help of all Americans thinking and working together. Remember there were nearly two million unemployed even in the peak year of 1929.

Many factors have hindered the employment situation. For one thing, we found all sorts of trade barriers—quotas, embargoes, high tariffs erected against our goods which Mr. Hull, our Secretary of State, has had the slow hard job of removing.

Do you think peace between A. F. of L. and C. I. O. would help the employment situation, Madame Secretary?

In all frankness, Mr. Childs, I don’t believe that it would immediately. But I think it would have a definite effect on the attitude of business toward the future.

Many employers hesitate to expand production for fear labor’s quarrel might in some way affect them. I’ve tried time and again to find out just what their fear is, but they can’t seem to put a finger on the exact reason. Still the fear is there, whether it has a basis or not, and I think its removal would increase the confidence of certain employers to plan new activities and extensions—and ultimately lead to increased employment.
And now, Mr. Cotten.

FELIX COTTEN: Madame Secretary, I'd like to ask whether in your opinion modern industrialism will saddle us with a permanent unemployed class, or will unemployment disappear with the subsidence of technological invention?

MISS PERKINS: If we admit that invention means a permanent army of unemployed, we are admitting that science leads to bankruptcy.

Of course, the advent of any new machine often results in an immediate displacement of some workers. But if the savings from technological invention are shared both with the consumers in the form of lower prices, with the workers in the form of a higher wage for their increased out-put, and with the employer and investor to compensate them for their investment, the activity that follows from the increased purchasing power leads to reemployment of all people displaced by the machines, and many more besides.

It has been the universal experience all these fifty years of intense invention that the reduced prices sell more goods and put more people to work for better wages.

FELIX COTTEN: In your opinion, Madame Secretary, is unemployment a problem for government to settle, or for government and industry working together, and if government must play a part, is a dictatorship better prepared to do it than democracy?

MISS PERKINS: After all, Mr. Cotten, what is the government—nothing but the people—employers, workers, farmers, housewives, doctors, and lawyers. They must all play their part in solving our unemployment problem.

Of course, the government can stimulate certain activities that do not compete with private industry. For example, our road system, our school system—there is still a tremendous amount of work to be done in these fields, and we are doing it now under the P.W.A., C.C.C., and W.P.A.—real employment—wages and national wealth are the current results.

As to the second question, I think this talk of the efficiency of dictatorships in curing unemployment is greatly exaggerated. Dictator countries count people on forced labor or work relief projects as employed and have more of it in proportion to the population. If we did that we could subtract four million from our own unemployment lists in the United States.

Many citizens in totalitarian countries are afraid to register for work. And most important, we must bear in mind that workers in private industry in the United States are generally engaged in furnishing goods which add to the standards of living of our people, instead of making armaments, and serving in armed forces which account for a lot more employed.

Now, Mr. Denny.

LUDWELL DENNY: Don't you think, Madame Secretary, that a major extension of the Labor Department's Conciliation Service in size and authority would decrease capital-labor conflict and so increase employment materially?

MISS PERKINS: Perhaps you'll let me recall, Mr. Denny, that our Conciliation Service is entirely voluntary in the sense that no employer or labor group need use it if it doesn't want to, and it's that very fact, in my opinion that has made it so effective that it has settled or avoided twenty-thousand industrial disturbances, affecting twenty million workers.

We do need a larger and more specialized Conciliation Service and more knowledge on the part of the public that we are here to help for the asking.
It always surprises me how many businessmen tell me they didn't know they could ask for our services—they thought we only give them to labor! The Conciliation Service is for everyone!

I have been trying to prevent child labor for more than a quarter of a century, Mr. Denny. I think that we are on the verge of gaining that boon.

The Wage and Hour Law has eliminated child labor from all industries engaged in or affected by interstate commerce and the States have generally improved their laws in regard to ages and working papers for children.

But the real problem of child labor is to train our younger generation so that when they are old enough to work, they will be skilled enough and adapted enough to be useful. To do that requires a well-organized apprenticeship system.

The Department of Labor is working to establish real apprenticeship training courses for youngsters under the direct supervision of State authorities with the free cooperation of labor and employers.

Have you any remedies in mind, Madame Secretary, which would hasten the solution of the unemployment problem?

The whole half hour wouldn't be time enough to answer that, Mr. Franklin! One thing that would hasten the solution of the unemployment problem would be to eliminate the fear of war that permeates the world today by the acceptance by the world powers of the President's suggestion last Saturday!

The expansion of public-health services and the further development of our recreational facilities would all help to stimulate more industrial activity.

I believe the Federal Government could devise means of helping the railroads—renovate badly needed equipment, locomotives, and tracks without putting additional burdens on the Federal budget. Activities of this sort would give hundreds of thousands of our people wage envelopes to spend on the products of our factories.

What would happen, Madame Secretary, if the W.P.A., C.C.C., P.W.A., which are often criticized as useless and extravagant, were discontinued? Would the resulting unemployment threaten our democratic institutions as it has abroad?

I doubt, Mr. Franklin, that the work these agencies is doing is useless or extravagant.

Look at the school buildings, the roads, the recreation facilities, and realize the social wealth we have built out of a depression.

Look at the thousands of miles of firebreak through our national forests and tell me they are not of incalculable value in protecting our national property. More important still is the return we get from taking boys off the street corners and building them into healthy responsible citizens through our C.C.C. camps.

We are in no danger in this country of losing our freedom and democratic institutions because through these joint efforts of government and the people, confidence and internal good will has been developed during this period of hard times.
So long as we trust each other, so long as we help each other honestly, our free institutions are stronger than ever.

Now, Mr. Henry.

JOHN HENRY: One of the principal arguments for the Wage and Hour Act was that it would create extra employment. Have you evidence of such development, Madame Secretary?

MISS PERKINS: All the evidence we have thus far supports our view that the Wage and Hour Act did create extra employment opportunities.

But the law became effective during a time when business was on the increase and it is impossible to say just how much of the large increase in employment since October can be attributed to business recovery and how much to the Wage and Hour Act.

We can, however, point to many specific industries which have taken on additional workers. Some firms in the oil-drilling industry have increased their payrolls by as many as two hundred workers. Lumber firms report they have put on a double shift as a result of the Act.

JOHN HENRY: Do you believe, Madame Secretary, that government, industry, and the labor unions are doing all they can to maintain a continuing supply of skilled labor, for such an emergency as war?

MISS PERKINS: Skills are easily lost, Mr. Henry, when a man has been out of a job long.

By keeping people employed in W.P.A. and P.W.A. programs the government is trying to maintain these skills so they will be available when private industry needs them. I've already spoken about our apprenticeship training program.

As to possible war, the extension of these orderly processes of training could easily be accomplished.

Our normal life is geared to peace, and our workers primarily trained for jobs that cater to better standards of living.

Now, Miss Hornaday.

MARY HORNADAY: How does unemployment compare now, Madame Secretary, with unemployment six years ago when you took up your duties as Secretary of Labor?

MISS PERKINS: Outside of agriculture, Miss Hornaday, there are six million more people who have jobs today than there were when I assumed this post in 1933.

We must remember that the population is increasing and that the number of people of working age who want jobs increases each year faster than the number of workers who die or retire. So that in order to keep the same proportion of the population employed we must expect an increase in production and sales in our industries each year.

If we had had no depression but no increase in production since the 1929 peak we would have had nearly seven million unemployed today. As it is, we have had a depression, a considerable increase in production over the low period, and the index of employment has risen from 23,683,000 in April 1933 to 32,627,000 in February 1939. There are still too many unemployed and we must continue to make every effort to overcome this.

MISS HORNADAY: Tell me, Madame Secretary, doesn't the new leisure offer chances of constructive employment as great as those afforded by the war industries in some countries abroad?
I think that supplying the demands of the new leisure is going to be one of the country's largest businesses, Mr. Lindley.

Perhaps I've told some of you about visiting a mill town shortly after W.N.A. went into effect. For the first time in the life of that community the workers had Saturdays free, and already this double holiday had had a marked effect on railroad travel—the first trips many of them had ever taken.

Think how golf and golf supplies, the movies and movie supplies, the gasoline industry, profit by the shorter workweek in increased demand for service and equipment—to use in leisure hours! The shop girl's day off may save the national economy, who knows? Some delightful new invention, an adult playground, for leisure use might do as much for employment as the automobile did thirty-five years ago!

Are you next, Mr. Lindley?

I believe I am, Madame Secretary. From time to time you have spoken of self-employment. Will you please explain what you mean by this?

An economist said the other day, Mr. Lindley, that the future of industry lies in an expansion of the service fields of work. And even at the present moment especially in the rural districts Yankee ingenuity may still discover and create individual employment.

When the Village Blacksmith of Longfellow's poem becomes the Village Garage mechanic he was adjusting himself to supply a new service to his neighbors in place of work he had lost.

Our Employment Service is already charting the occupations which are disappearing, and the new needs which promise to be demands for labor in a short time.

The good old New England quality of individual " Ingenuity" must supplement the efforts of industry and government to solve our unemployment problem.

Madame Secretary, what practical service is the Department of Labor offering the individual jobless man in helping him find employment?

The United States Employment Service, in collaboration with the States now helps to maintain 1,800 public employment offices which have in the last six years brought together the unskilled jobs and the jobless men and filled twenty-five million positions in private industry and public works, from blue denim overall jobs to white-collar occupations.

It sends trained investigators into factories and mills to chart the requirements of different industries and tries to place workers not needed in one occupation in other less crowded fields that require the same fundamental skills.

The United States Employment Service's new dictionary listing the qualifications and descriptions of 26,000 American occupations will do much, I believe, to give the individual worker knowledge of many jobs where his special training and experience may be needed.

Now, Mr. Hoody, have you a question for me?

Don't you think, Madame Secretary, that it would stimulate employment and help labor if a liberal businessman in whom other businessmen had confidence were appointed to the National Labor Relations Board to analyze situations in connection with the administration of the Wagner Act which have caused widespread criticism?

An emphatic No! Your question, Mr. Hoody, is based on the assumption that the Wagner Act has hindered the increase in employment. I shall have to disagree on that point.
Do you know of a single business man, liberal or otherwise, who would take on a single additional worker if the Wagner Act were changed? I have never found one and I have asked a good many.

A Senate Committee is now studying questions concerning the Wagner Act. Irrespective of what that Committee finds and irrespective of what action Congress may take on the Wagner Act, I am of the conviction that the present Act and its administration have had no direct relationship to the question of unemployment.

What in your opinion would be the effect on unemployment if the vast field of housing were opened up? Wouldn't reductions in the unit cost of materials and labor increase the demand for houses and benefit labor more than the present hourly rates which contribute to higher selling costs?

I'm glad you mentioned that, Mr. Moody. Housing can provide more indirect employment than any other American industry.

Sixty-seven other industries depend on it for their existence, but eight hundred thousand fewer workers are employed today in building than in 1929. If we could put these men back to work they would automatically carry back two million other workers in railroads, factories, mines and forests.

But I cannot go along with you on the implication that high building wage rates are solely responsible for our failure to have greater housing activity.

High hourly rates are established because workers in building trades lose many days and their annual income is not high. It amounts to an average of about twenty-five dollars a week.

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No, Mr. O'Brien.

Is the displacement of labor by labor-saving devices speeded up by the Wage and Hour Law?

No, I don't think so, Mr. O'Brien. The three hundred thousand workers who were receiving less than 25 cents an hour when the law went into effect were scattered in small groups here, there, and everywhere throughout all of our industries.

You don't put in machines to displace labor where only a few people in a plant are affected, and I venture to say the number of plants that would be substantially affected by the Wage and Hour Act are negligible.

Mr. Stark.

There is a lot of talk about subversive activities, these days, Madame Secretary. How long will a man refrain from thinking bitter subversive thoughts if his family is up against it because he's out of a job?

I believe, Mr. Stark, that the people of this country, including those who are up against it, love their country and will make great sacrifices for it. They don't think subversive thoughts but tighten their belts.

Underlying the philosophy of the New Deal is the realization that one great purpose and privilege of democratic association of free people with a constitutional government is the improvement of the conditions of life for all, "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," it used to be called.

It is because those hard-up people have a real stake in the United States, it is because the citizens of a healthy society need social security that we passed the Social Security Act, inaugurated the
G.C.C., the W.P.A., the P.A.A., put into effect the Wage and Hour Law, and provided the right of self-organization for labor.

LOUIS STARK:

Here's my second question, Madame Secretary. Why doesn't some government department put out accurate figures on unemployment regularly?

MISS PERKINS:

We should like to publish an estimate of unemployment, Mr. Stark, but government statistics must be not only trustworthy but easily understandable. A small change in the assumptions made in estimating unemployment gives rise to an honest difference of hundreds of thousands in the resulting estimates.

The proportion of people who want jobs keeps changing—if a breadwinner loses his job, his wife and children may look for work and when he gets a job they may get out of the labor market.

To make an accurate estimate of unemployment we would have to have a complete census every time there was a drastic change in employment.

An eminent statistician once said, "You can't count the things people are not doing. You can only count what they are doing."

The Department of Labor has concentrated on the job of getting the best possible figures of employment, which other people must use to estimate unemployment.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics receives voluntary reports each month from nearly 100,000 employers with more than seven and a half million wage earners.

Taking into account all other information that becomes available at longer intervals the Bureau under the present administration has been able to estimate the non-agricultural employment by months back to 1929. Then the average number of people working outside of agriculture was slightly over thirty-six million.

In February 1939 the average number of employed persons outside of agriculture was thirty-two million, six hundred and twenty-seven thousand.

Mr. Stubblefield—

BLAINE STUBBLEFIELD:

Your efforts to modify employers' disinclination to accept men over forty seem meritorious, Madame Secretary, but if there is only a given amount of work to be had, wouldn't the older men simply displace the younger ones?

MISS PERKINS:

Once you admit there is only a given amount of work to be done, Mr. Stubblefield, you commit yourself to a static non-growing society. With our natural resources, our capacity, our engineering and business brains, our highly efficient labor population, I refuse to admit that there are limits to the advances in our standards of living, and accordingly to the amount of work that will be available to our people. And certainly, the older worker has skills and experience which form some of our most valuable economic resources.

BLAINE STUBBLEFIELD:

Here's a personal question, Madame Secretary. In view of your experience as Secretary of Labor, if you had known six years ago what you know now, would you have taken the job?

MISS PERKINS:

I would have taken the job even more willingly, Mr. Stubblefield. Six years ago I would never have dared to believe that in my field in such a short time an adventurous new America could put on the statute books a Social Security Act, a Wage and Hour Act, a C.C.C., a Public Contracts Act, a Labor Relations Act, and a Public Employment Service.
Sometimes I think American democracy doesn’t boast enough. Instead of being a slow clumsy process, our democratic system has accomplished social and economic improvements in six years that have taken a generation in other countries. We have gone through a spiritual renaissance.

When I listened to your questions tonight, I realized the whole country is asking the same constructive questions and you are trying to help Americans find the answers. It is to you as members of the press they turn for facts on which to form an enlightened public opinion.

Those of us who have the responsibilities of government are not working alone. Americans everywhere are thinking about unemployment and poverty and how to overcome them as never before. This spells to me a great moral gain, the practice of the Golden Rule, “Do unto others as you would that they should do to you.” I guess successful democratic living is based on this!
MISS FRANCES PERKINS, SECRETARY OF LABOR
LOWELL MELLETT, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL EMERGENCY COUNCIL

ANNOUNCER: (OPENING ANNOUNCEMENT)

MELLETT: During the past ten weeks over this station the members of the President's Cabinet have described the functions of their respective departments. Now we come to the last, but by no means the least important, of these departments. The Department of Labor is the baby of the Government. You are asked, Madame Secretary, to describe the continuing functions of your department.

PERKINS: The Department of Labor was often called the "unwanted stepchild" of Government when it was established, twenty-six years ago! I have the Act of Congress here. I quote: "To foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." In 1913 there were only two thousand employees and three bureaus. Today, I am speaking for the six thousand, seven hundred and forty-seven men and women in the nine bureaus of the Department of Labor, who are promoting and developing the welfare of thirty-three million wage earners in the United States.

MELLETT: Several bureaus have been added recently to take care of new situations.

PERKINS: The Wage and Hour Division, the Bureau of Labor Standards and the Division of Labor Contracts. Besides these we have the Immigration Bureau, Labor Statistics, the Women's and the Children's Bureaus, the Conciliation Service and the United States Employment Service.
They cover a great many different activities.

They do, from the feeding of babies to the economic troubles of older workers! From the Americanization of aliens to the fight against mine injuries. The Department of Labor, in other words, is interested in people. It is interested in improving their living conditions, and their working conditions. It is even interested in them before they are born.

The Children's Bureau-----

Our Children's Bureau is working now to help reduce the nation's high maternal and premature baby death rates. This bureau studies the conditions under which the forty-three million American children live, the opportunities open to them, the safeguards afforded them. In the belief that child welfare is the test of democracy it collects facts on their health, social conditions and employment. It advises parents about thumb sucking and answers questions of law makers, welfare agencies and juvenile courts. Three of its divisions, Child Health, Crippled Children and Child Welfare have the spending of Federal grants of more than eight million a year and the Industrial Division looks after the interests of the working child and administers the Federal child labor statutes.

This is a day-by-day, year-in-and-year out program-----
PERKINS: Administrations may come and go but the Children's Bureau keeps on doing these things with encouraging results. For instance, ten million people have asked for our booklet on Infant's Care and the Children's Bureau answers three hundred-thousand letters a year from every corner of the land.

MELLETT: The United States Employment Bureau----

PERKINS: A very practical service planned to bring the jobless man and the manless job together! It helps establish and maintain a nationwide system of State controlled public employment offices—seventeen hundred at the latest figure, I believe. It fills positions in private, public and work relief projects without charging a fee and receives applications from millions of men and women workers of all types from blue denim overalls to white collars. Road laborers, nurses, machinists, stenographers, cooks, engineers, war veterans and migratory farm workers, not to mention the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker! This bureau sends trained interviewers into factories and plants to study the requirements of different jobs and all this mass of data is constantly being used as a basis for unemployment relief programs. It has even been gathered together into a unique Dictionary of 28,000 American Occupations, among them that of a gandy dancer! I see that you don't know what that is, Mr. Mellett! Our dictionary defines a gandy dancer as "a track walker in a steel mill!" Recently the duties of the United States Employment Service have been widened to include participation in the Unemployment Compensation program—no applicant for benefits may be considered unless he is registered with the service.
PERKINS: Anyone who has ever entered or left the United States has seen this bureau at work. Nine hundred and seventy-seven immigration inspectors guard our airports, seaports and border stations and handle the immigration, exclusion, registration and deportation of aliens. Another division of this bureau, the Naturalization Service, receives applications for citizenship and conducts the examinations of all those eligible for their final papers. It publishes a text book for Americanization classes in public schools covering what every new citizen should know—or native born citizen either for that matter.

A third division of the Immigration Service is the Border Patrol which watches our thousands of miles of borders from radio towers and guards international lakes, rivers and lonely stretches of sea-coast to prevent smuggling of goods and human beings.

PERKINS: When the Conciliation Service was started twenty-six years ago the Secretary of Labor proudly reported that it handled several situations in its first year. In 1938 this bureau handled over four thousand situations involving a million and a half workers. Employers and labor unions both ask for its increasing services as mediator in industrial disputes such as strikes and lockouts, and as arbiter and consultant in averting threatened labor trouble.

MELLETT: That ancient and honorable institution, the Immigration Bureau!

MELLETT: The Conciliation Service!
PERKINS: This bureau works with all groups interested in bettering labor laws and safety codes. It advises State Labor Departments in training their factory inspectors and calls committees of experienced officials to confer on practical remedies for working conditions. For instance, the Bureau's staff of industrial engineers and hygienists studies the dangers in certain industries and discovers ways of fighting occupational diseases like radium poisoning and silicosis—widow makers, workers call them. Governors of States, legislators, labor unions and employers of labor all use the Bureau of Labor Standards' facts, figures and bill drafting service. It even reaches Americans who never have read and never would read a technical pamphlet by sugar coating its information in the form of playlets, motion pictures and exhibition material.

PERKINS: One of our youngest and busiest bureaus! It is charged with enforcing the labor provisions of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act required in the performance of Federal contracts above ten thousand dollars. It sees to it that the wide variety of purchases made by the Government are produced without child labor and under good working conditions; and it determines minimum wages under the Act for such different industries as cotton garments and iron and steel. Only two and a half years old, it has already handled thirteen thousand contracts.
PERKINS: This bureau was established during the World War to look after the interests of thousands of women workers in the munition factories. It proved so useful that it was kept on after the Armistice. Now it promotes the welfare of eleven million American women earning wages in domestic service, offices, teaching, trade, manufacturing and agriculture. That surprises you? Yes, we have a million women in agriculture and two million in factories in the United States. The Women's Bureau sends investigators through the country to gather facts on wages and working conditions in industries, laundries, garment lofts, restaurants which employ women; others collect data on women's legal and economic status, differences in earnings between women and men, and home management for the woman worker. All this mass of information is published in pamphlet form. I'm glad to say it is used, too, by the White House and Congress, educators, libraries and State departments of labor and health. Students turn it into term papers, women's clubs pass it on in speeches, legislators make it the basis for new laws, to improve the lot of working women. The bureau has made several motion pictures, puts on radio broadcasts and sends speakers to conventions.

MELLETT: The Bureau of Labor Statistics!
Twelve divisions in this busy bureau gather the labor statistics which are the every-day tools in forming the economic policies that affect workers so vitally. Its information on current employment and payrolls furnishes the only official figures available on these burning questions. Wages, hours and working conditions are covered by one division. Others gather facts on wholesale and retail prices of food, and the costs of housing essential to securing a proper standard of living for American workers. A legal staff considers recent laws and court decisions affecting the rights of wage earners, and a special division keeps workers in touch with current relations of employers and employees.

And now, ninth and newest—the Wage and Hour Division!

The Wage and Hour Division is charged with enforcing an Act affecting eleven million workers throughout the country. Nearly one out of every four wage earners is covered by its provisions which set a floor under wages and a ceiling over hours. The Wage and Hour Division has to see that all employees—with certain exceptions—engaged in interstate commerce or the production of goods for interstate commerce are paid at least 25 cents an hour and at least time and a half for all hours they work over 44 any one week.

A tremendous policing job, Madame Secretary!
PERKINS: It would be an impossible policing job if the Wage and Hour law, like all popular laws did not to a great extent enforce itself. I mean that we have the cooperation of most employers. We are working out arrangements to turn over a great deal of the enforcement to the State Labor Departments. And now, Mr. Melleit, I hope we have given a thumbnail picture of the Department of Labor. This law of the Government departments, as you called it, is a growing child, and it will undoubtedly continue to grow to keep pace with changing conditions and new needs in accordance with its original purpose to "foster the welfare of the wage earners of the United States."

MELLETT: This concludes the series of electrically transcribed broadcasts from this station, initiated by President Roosevelt on May 9. The President, in introducing these factual reports by members of his Cabinet on the work of their respective departments, said: (I quote) "Always the Government has endeavored to follow the suggestion of George Washington that the public be enlightened.... The Government, in our time, is turning to the radio as an additional means of meeting its obligation to the people."--He said also, (I quote again) "The people, through Congress, have the right, at any time, to end any individual Government function, to increase it or to add new functions. That is why knowledge of what Government does today is of such great importance." Now on behalf of the President and the Cabinet, I want to thank this station for its generous cooperation in this effort to make the work of the Government departments better understood.

ANNOUNCER: (CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENT)
"CAPITAL AND LABOR FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT"

Notes for Secretary of Labor's address at luncheon meeting of Annual Convention of Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, Emerson Hotel, Baltimore, Maryland, on Wednesday, April 12, 1939

I. Important to keep in mind the purpose for which the federal government was created. This, in the words of the Preamble of the Constitution, is to:

"...establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity..."

The point to be continuously kept in mind that the federal government must operate in the interest of all the people and not in the interest of any one or more special groups. Proportion of the general welfare the underlying objective of all activities of the federal government.

Necessary to think of federal governments in terms of this particular time and this particular administration.

II. Premises held by present federal administration with respect to:

A. Capital

1. That our competitive capitalistic system, based on the profit motive, has potentiality for effectively promoting the welfare of the people of this country.

2. That any capitalistic system, exemplifying the "nth" degree of a competitive individualism, doesn't operate in the interests of all the people.

3. That certain controls have to be exercised to insure the common good as the advancement of particular individuals.

4. That it is the responsibility of the federal government
   a. To develop such controls as are essential to the public interest.
   b. To provide informational and counselling services to industry.
   c. To stimulate industry to help itself but in the
5. That private enterprise has a right to expect "reasonable profits."

6. That opportunity can be developed for "investment of savings in expanding industries and in new industries."

7. That natural resources, including human life and happiness, should be conserved and adequately utilized.

B. Examples of controls developed recently by the federal government

1. Perfection of Federal Reserve System
2. Creation of Securities and Exchange Commission
3. Revision of taxation policies (?)
4. Cooperation with public utilities companies
5. Cooperation with railroads
6. Conduct of studies—such as that of monopoly committees

C. Labor

1. That the dignity of the individual be ever preserved and emphasized. The Bill of Rights guarantees certain essentials in this direction.

2. That labor is not a commodity but the productive expression of human life and personality.

3. That labor in its effort to improve its working and living conditions be granted:
   a. "High wages on a national basis"
   b. "Continuity of income"
   c. "Stability of employment"
   d. "Right of free association, etc."

4. That it is the function of the federal government:
   a. To provide informational and advisory service to labor
   b. To stimulate labor to help itself but in the public interest
   c. To guarantee certain minimum standards with respect to employment and living conditions
5. Legislative provisions secured to promote these ends by the present federal administration and making for enforcing them:

a. Social Security Act (Social Security Board)

b. National Labor Relations Board Act (National Labor Relations Board)

c. Fair Labor Standards Act (Wage and Hour Divisions of the Department of Labor)

d. Walsh-Healey Act (Public Contracts Division of the Department of Labor)

e. Wagner-Peyser Act (United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor)

f. Other federal services

   (1) United States Department of Labor
       (a) Conciliation Service
       (b) Division of Labor Standards
       (c) Bureau of Labor Statistics
       (d) Women's Bureau
       (e) Children's Bureau

   (2) Allied agencies
       (a) National Mediation Board
       (b) Maritime Labor Board
       (c) U. S. Employees Compensation Commission
The Evening Sun-Women's Civic League

Twenty-Eighth Annual Home Garden Contest

ENTRY BLANK

Get a garden? A window box? A back yard that ought to be gardened? What are you going to do with your garden? Or your yard at the fair "million-dollar" technique? Likes to do something unique? Interested in beautifying any part of ground that constitutes an asset?

Fill in the required information and mail to the Garden Director, WOMEN'S CIVIC LEAGUE, 112 West Mulberry Street, P.O. Box 926, Baltimore, Md.

Takes $300 And Goes Off To See The Town

THE HUB

"of Charles Street"

THE EVENING SUN, BALTIMORE, FRIDAY, APRIL 7, 1939

SECRETARY PERKINS TO ADDRESS WOMEN

Hands List Of Speakers For Federation Convention, To Open Wednesday

Francis Perkins, Secretary of Labor, announced a list of distinguished speakers at the forthcoming annual convention of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs at the Oasis Hotel next Wednesday and Thursday.

The Labor Secretary is expected to outline the Federal Government's attitude toward both capital and labor. She will speak during the 2 o'clock session Wednesday.

To speak J. A. Emmons. Other speakers for Wednesday include Judge Joseph A. Polack; chief counselor of the American Federation of Labor; Judge James F. Finn; general counsel of the National Manufacturers Association; and Mrs. John L. Whitehurst, first vice-president of the General Federation and the only woman member of the board of regents of the University of Maryland.

"A Perpetual Dinner" honoring Maryland women will be held Wednesday at 5 P.M. with Mrs. Hurson and Mrs. John Gorham presiding. The guests of honor will be Mrs. Herbert R. Cooper, Mrs. Howard W. Johnson, Mrs. Whiting, Mrs. John H. Bigg, a former president of the General Federation; Mrs. Marjorie R.uling, national commander Women's Field Army, Council Control, Mrs. J. Z. Corbin; State treasurer; Mrs. William H. Robinson, State registrar, D. R. Mrs. Charles H. Holmes, State executive; American Professional League; Mrs. Frank Dwight Sears, Cumberland, member of the State executive of the Clubs, Mrs. Eliza H. Hohman, president of the Federation of Women's Organizations of Maryland; Mrs. B. C. Goodwin, president of Baltimore Branch, Women's Foreign Missionary Society, and the president of the University of Maryland.

Mr. Byrd A. Steen

Dr. E. C. Yule, president of the University of Maryland, will speak on "The State University's Contribution to Youth Conservation," Thursday morning and Mrs. Robert O. Cram, president of the Washington Board of the University of the State of New York, Education, will speak on "The Importance of Pre-School Education in the Conservation of Youth."

"Human Relations" will be discussed by Mr. Allen Keister, of the Progress Education Association of New York, Thursday afternoon, and Mrs. President Wilmer Fell Davis, of the Women's Association of the University of Maryland, will speak on "The Importance of Pre-School Education in the Conservation of Youth."

Skeeter Kills Self

Drowning Over Brother's Death, Fisherman Commits Suicide

Baltimore, N. J., April 5—Harry Young, 17 years old, of Eastern was found hanging in the attic of an old house here after he had shot himself several times and was dead when he was discovered. The suicide was the brother of Frank M., a bank employee at the Po. Young, who has been on sick leave, had been found hanging in a tree in a field near the house.

The two brothers, living at 1515 Eastern Avenue, have been seen together several times in recent weeks.

Harry Young was last seen at 4 P.M. with Mrs. J. A. Emmons.

Joseph W. Alleyn was the speaker. Mrs. A. S. Taylor will preside.

The board of directors will meet Tuesday at 3 P.M.

Mrs. H. H. Cole is in charge of registration and dinner reservations. Mrs. William L. Owen, of Cherry Chase, is in charge of arrangements and Mrs. W. B. Shreiner, of Salisbury, is program chairman.

Notre Dame Alumna To Hear Mile. Curie

Members Of Washington Chapter Will Attend Stadium Lecture

At 11 a.m. Thursday, April 7, the members of the Washington chapter of the American Association of Women Students at the University of Maryland, will hold a special meeting in the stadium to hear Dr. Mile. Curie, who will be in Washington to attend the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Dr. Mile. Curie will speak on "The Magic of Radiation." The lecture is being sponsored in connection with the college's annual fund campaign.

The speaker is the daughter of the famous French physicist and last year published the well-known "Madame Curie," her mother's biography.
THE SUN, BALTIMORE, SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 9, 1939

Club Notes

By Frances Yearley Misses Frances A. Wensley, Secretary of Labor, will deliver "Capital and Labor" from the viewpoint of the Federal Government in the annual convention of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, to be held Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at the Roosevelt Hotel.

More than 300 women throughout the State of Maryland will attend the annual convention of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, to be held Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at the Roosevelt Hotel.

Mrs. Edward A. Bland, State Treasurer of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, will deliver "The History of the Women's Clubs Movement in Maryland" at the annual convention of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, to be held Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at the Roosevelt Hotel.

Mrs. J. Theodore Wolfe, Mrs. H. S. Clauer, Mrs. Harry P. Harcum, and Miss Marjorie Willis are assisting with the planning for the annual convention of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, to be held Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at the Roosevelt Hotel.

MRS. J. THEODORE WOLFE, MRS. H. S. CLAVER, MRS. HARRY P. HARCU~ AND MISS MARGARET WILLLS

Mrs. Harcum is president of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs and Mrs. Clauer is president of the National Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Wolfe and Miss Willis are assisting with the planning for the annual convention of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, to be held Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at the Roosevelt Hotel.

At the annual convention, the program will feature speeches by Mrs. J. Theodore Wolfe, Mrs. H. S. Clauer, Mrs. Harry P. Harcum, and Miss Marjorie Willis.

The annual convention of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs will be held Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at the Roosevelt Hotel.

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Feder~ To Hear Senator

Lister Hill, of Alabama, to Speak on "Americanization" Before Baltimore District At Emerson Hotel.

Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, will speak on "Americanization" at the Baltimore District of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, at the Emerson Hotel.

Mrs. Harry P. Harcum, of Baltimore, president of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, will introduce Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, at the Baltimore District of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, at the Emerson Hotel.

Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, will speak on "Americanization" at the Baltimore District of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, at the Emerson Hotel.

Daughter Will Marry

Mrs. Odell will be Mrs. Allen's daughter.

The daughter of Mrs. Allen will marry Mr. Smith.

MRS. FRANCIS G. PARKER, former state senator from Baltimore County, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination in the 3rd Congressional District.

The daughter of Mrs. Allen will marry Mr. Smith.

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MRS. FRANCIS G. PARKER, former state senator from Baltimore County, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination in the 3rd Congressional District.

The daughter of Mrs. Allen will marry Mr. Smith.
The great interest which citizens in all parts of the United States are showing in the forthcoming White House Conference on Children in a Democracy is very gratifying to all of us who are engaged in planning for it. I am grateful indeed for this opportunity to answer some of the inquiries about the Conference which have come to me as its Chairman and to discuss the reasons why I think it is a very important undertaking.

It was just 30 years ago that the first White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children assembled on the call of President Theodore Roosevelt. Other conferences under Presidential auspices were held in 1919 and 1930, so that this is the fourth in a series of White House Conferences organized to consider the extent to which the needs of children are being met by our civilization.

Perhaps some people may wonder why we need a White House Conference to express our affectionate concern in the welfare of children. Nowhere, I feel sure, are the interests of children more deeply cherished than in America. Our forefathers came to this Western Hemisphere chiefly for the purpose of founding homes under conditions where their children would be able to enjoy freedom and opportunity for the fullest possible development of their inborn capacities. Our Nation was the first in the world to establish a special agency of the National Government for the service of children. The support which professional and citizen groups in the United States have given to the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor bears witness to the place which children hold in this country.

It is our awareness of the importance of centering attention, in the development of our American democracy, upon those in the population who are in the most formative and impressionable period of life, namely on the children, that leads us to review the extent to which their needs are being met, and the ways in which we may assure to them those safeguards and opportunities upon which their growth and development depend.

The first session of the Conference will be held at the White House on April 26, and will be opened by President Roosevelt, who has consented to serve as honorary chairman. Arrangements have been made by a Planning Committee of some seventy men and women who are leaders in our national life. The Governor of each State has been asked to recommend a representative of his State for membership in the Conference. Approximately 550 people, including members of the Planning Committee and State representatives, are being invited to participate in the work of the Conference. The first session will be for the purpose of determining what are the most important subjects to be considered and how best to organize the Conference activities. Following this session there will be a period of six or eight months devoted to committee work with a final meeting early in 1940 to consider the material brought together by the committees and their conclusions concerning the ways in which the aims of a democratic society for children may be brought to fuller realization.

I am glad to say that the group which will be assembling at the White House on the morning of the twenty-sixth will not be confined to any single group of specialists. It is essential, if the work of the Conference is to be a success, that the widest possible range of activities and knowledge of children be drawn upon. The list of those being invited includes economists, physicians, nurses,
The first White House Conference, held in 1909, was concerned with the care of dependent children. Its keynote was expressed in these words, "Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons." That Conference established the principle that children should not be removed from their own homes for reasons of poverty alone. The principle found expression in the mothers' pension movement, and today we see its results in the fact that more than 600,000 children are being cared for through those provisions of the Social Security Act which provide home care for dependent children.

The purposes of the fourth Conference are perhaps more similar to those of the first Conference than to those of the Conferences held in 1919 and 1930. The theme of the fourth Conference is democracy—that concept of social and political organization which regards the development of the human personality in an atmosphere of freedom as the central aim of the social order, and which therefore cherishes the family as the primary social unit. The 1919 Conference, held under the auspices of President Wilson, was directed toward the advancement of minimum standards of child welfare as sharply defined in the period of social stress which the war years represent. The 1930 Conference, sponsored by President Hoover, was an attempt to assemble and make available all that science and material progress could teach us of the ways in which child life can be nurtured.

I do not need to describe the great changes that have taken place in the last ten years. Each morning when we pick up the daily paper we read of the problems which these changes have brought and the efforts that are being made to solve them. Our task today is to see that in our earnest endeavor to find a solution for some of these problems the needs of children are not overlooked or forgotten. In the report of the Cabinet Committee which developed the outlines of the social-security program, it was stated that "It must not for a moment be forgotten that the core of any social plan must be the child. Every proposition we make must adhere to this core." This statement still holds true. A major purpose of the forthcoming White House Conference will be to see that the needs of children and the conditions of child life in our country today receive the recognition which their importance demands—that in dealing with the other pressing problems of our National life we never forget that the whole purpose as well as the future of our whole civilization centers around the children.

The name of this conference is Children in a Democracy. Our aim in the United States has been to endeavor to work out a democratic way of living on the basis of agreed procedures set up by the people in a charter or constitution of government. This method presupposes an enlightened citizenship, possessing a conviction of the general purposes of our civilization and the direction in which it should develop, and an understanding of the importance of orderly processes for achieving these purposes.
President Roosevelt, when the Chief of the Children's Bureau and I went with other members of a committee to see him about the conference, showed his very great interest in the problems of children and youth in this day when world events impress upon us the need for developing and extending the real meaning and benefits of our democracy.

The Conference will be reviewing, it seems to me, a great deal of what we know about children and in some ways take for granted. Some of the programs to which we have been devoted for years past are being challenged today. Perhaps this is a good thing. In any case, I think it is well for us to review our own thinking, planning, and activity from a very critical point of view, and from the point of view of usefulness to the present and to the future life of this country. We are challenged today, not only with regard to the usefulness of what we have done, but also with this question, "What is democracy and where is it leading us? What is the purpose—the unifying purpose—of life on this continent and in that part of it which we call the United States of America?" I am more and more convinced myself that what we are looking for, all of us, is a unifying purpose.

The forthcoming conference will not engage in extensive research in new fields or attempt to break new ground, rather it will deal with the meaning of democracy to children and youth, not only from the point of view of the safeguards and opportunities it assures to individuals, but also in relation to what children and youth should be prepared to give in the service of democracy.

As I see it there will probably be two main points of emphasis in the work of the Conference and the committees which will be organized as part of this undertaking—First, the economic factors which underlie the security of home life, which we still are convinced is the highest product of civilization and the safest basis of democratic order; and second, those conditions and factors which make for the freedom of development of the individual, and assure him that he will have some chance for utilizing his inborn capacities and talents in satisfying and worthwhile ways within the framework of democratic institutions.

This Conference will have available to it much more complete information concerning the economic basis for family life than has been provided to any previous conference. During no single decade of our history has there been a complete study of the facts pertaining to our economic structure and activities as during the period since 1929. When I review the reports which come to me periodically from the Bureau of Labor Statistics on the amount of employment in the United States and the pay-roll index, I think of what they mean in terms of the opportunities afforded heads of families for earning a living. Statistics of employment and unemployment have their greatest significance when considered in relation to what they mean to parents and children. Measures for agricultural and industrial recovery, for fair labor standards, and for social security are ways in which we are trying to strengthen family life in this country. Through the Wage and Hour Division operating under the new Fair Labor Standards Act efforts are being made to afford the wage earners of this country minimum standards of pay and hours of work. The extension of facilities for good housing are basic to the establishment of good homes. It is incompatible with the principles of our democracy that children should be without decent homes or nourishing food, without protection for health, or opportunities for education, or that the income of parents should be so inadequate that they cannot provide for their children the type of home life essential for their normal growth and development.
In general the responsibility for the care and rearing of children rests most heavily upon the people and the parts of the country with the poorest economic resources. In 1930 the farmers received only 9 percent of the national income, but the farm population was responsible for the care and education of nearly one-third of the children of the country. The National Resources Committee in a study of consumer income for 1935-36 showed that among 29,000,000 families of two or more persons sharing a common income and living under one roof, 14 percent had incomes of less than $500 during the year studied.

One of the ways in which the Federal Government and the States are trying to meet this problem of family income is through the public-assistance provisions of the Social Security Act. The Federal-State program of aid to dependent children has lagged behind the program of old-age assistance. The House Committee on Ways and Means has had under consideration recommendations of the Social Security Board transmitted to Congress by the President in January 1939. These recommendations would raise the Federal contribution for aid to dependent children to 50 percent (the same as for aid to the old and the blind), permit aid to the age of 18 years if the child is in school, and liberalize the maximum amounts of payments for which Federal contribution is authorized. It is urgent that steps be taken to provide more adequately for children whose homes are broken or who lack support because of the death, desertion, or disability of a parent. We all want to see old people cared for adequately and in comfort, but we must not forget that the future of America depends upon the child and the opportunities for security, health, and growth which are available to him.

Studies made by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities indicate that despite the real progress that has been made in recent years, there are still serious gaps in our preventive health services. We know, for instance, that about two-thirds of the rural areas of the country lack clinics or health centers, and that in about one-third of the counties in the United States there is still no public-health nurse to look after the health of mothers and children in rural communities.

State child-labor laws are tending to establish the age of 16 for regular employment of young persons in industry. This is the minimum-age standard set in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. Raising the age of entrance into industrial employment, whether by legislation or through economic changes makes it all the more necessary for us to face the need for the development of our schools so that they will afford opportunity for children of all ages from the nursery school or kindergarten through the secondary school period if childhood is to be a time of progressive growth and development.

These are some of the questions which will be under consideration during the coming year, under the leadership of the White House Conference of Children in a Democracy. The Conference will be a success only if all within the sound of my voice follow its work with understanding and with appreciation of what all such efforts mean to those values which we in America hold most dear.
Miss Frances Perkins
The Secretary of Labor
Washington D.C.

Dear Miss Perkins,

Your letter of March 28 to Mrs. A.B. Boulden, our program chairman was turned over to me due to Mrs. Boulden’s absence from the city.

I shall look forward with a great deal of pleasure to having you as our luncheon guest at one o’clock and to take part in our Forum on Capital and Labor just after luncheon. This will be in The Emerson Hotel Ball Room, Baltimore, Maryland.

Sincerely yours

Mrs. Harry L. Harcum
President-Director
April 11, 1939

Memorandum

To: The Secretary

From: Mary LaDame

Here is a suggested outline for your luncheon engagement in Baltimore tomorrow at the Fortieth Annual Convention of the Maryland Federation of Women’s Clubs to be held in the Emerson Hotel Ball Room at one o’clock. Speaking is scheduled to begin at two o’clock.

Other speakers will be Joseph A. Padway, Chief Counsel of the American Federation of Labor, and James A. Emory, General Counsel of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Also attached is a copy of the Labor Relations Bulletin of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Attachments
March 28, 1939

Mrs. A. B. Boulden
Chairman
Program Committee
Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs
Salisbury, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Boulden,

This will acknowledge your kind invitation of March 17. I shall be very glad to be a guest of honor of the Federation at its luncheon in Baltimore on April 12 and to discuss "Capital and Labor from the Viewpoint of the Federal Government."

Sincerely yours,

I have talked with the Division of Labor Standards, was copy of this letter, and she thought well for you to accept this with Mr. Fitzgerald. Mailed March 28, 1939

Attachment

1938-1941 SLOGAN: "SEEK UNDERSTANDING THROUGH COOPERATION."
March 20, 1939

Memorandum

To: The Secretary

From: Mary LaPaze

It is my recommendation that you accept the attached invitation to be the guest of honor at the luncheon of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs on Wednesday, April 12.

It is suggested that you speak on "Capital and Labor" from the viewpoint of the U.S. Government. Mr. James A. Emery, General Counsel of the National Association of Manufacturers, will discuss "Capital," and Judge Joseph A. Padway, Chief Counsel of the American Federation of Labor, "Labor."

Each speaker is to be allowed twenty minutes with an additional ten minutes for answering questions from the floor.

I have talked with Miss Bell of the Division of Labor Standards, who comes from Baltimore, and she thinks it well for you to accept. Also, I have cleared this with Mr. Fitzgerald.

Attachment

But prepare something new; mostly illustrations.
Madam Frances Perkins
U. S. Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madam Secretary:

On January 3, I wrote to you concerning an open Forum on "Capitol and Labor" to be held at the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs Annual Convention in Baltimore on April 12. I asked you to take the Labor side of the question, but since then the Committee has decided to make the Forum a three way discussion. Mr. James A. Emery, General Counsel of the National Association of Manufacturers will take the side of "Capitol". Judge Joseph A. Pedway, Chief Counsel of the Federation of Labor will take the Labor side and we should like for you to discuss both "Capitol and Labor" from the viewpoint of the U. S. Government. Each speaker will be allotted twenty minutes with an additional ten minutes for answering questions from the floor.

The Federation would like for you to be its guest of honor at luncheon that day, April 12, at 1:00 P. M. at the Emerson Hotel, Baltimore. The Forum will be held immediately after the luncheon.

We should like to have a confirmation of your acceptance to the luncheon and to the Forum as soon as possible.

Sincerely

Chairman, Program Committee
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WASHINGTON
January 10, 1939

My dear Mrs. Boulden:

I have your letter of January 3rd and am much interested in your suggestion.

If it is possible to make a rearrangement of my schedule I shall be glad to consider coming to speak at your meeting on April 12th. I cannot at this time say if this rearrangement can be made.

I think it would be well for you to communicate with me again after you have made your arrangements with your other speaker.

Thanking you for the invitation,
I am much of the talk speakers is to be allowed 45 minutes for presentation and an additional 15 minutes for answering questions.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. A. B. Boulden
Chairman, Program Committee
Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs
Salisbury, Maryland
Memorandum

To: The Secretary
From: Mary LaDame

It is my recommendation that you accept the attached invitation to address the Annual Convention of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs.

The place is Baltimore and the date April 12th. The subject: "Capitol and Labor". You would be expected to present the "Labor side" in subject and a representative of Capitol the "Capitol side".

Each of the two speakers is to be allowed 45 minutes for presentation and an additional 15 minutes for answering questions.

Attachment
Dear Madam Perkins:

Plans are in the making for the Annual Convention of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, to be held in Baltimore, Maryland at the Emerson Hotel, on April 12-13, 1939.

Delegates attending this convention represent between eleven and twelve thousand club members throughout the State. It is our desire to give them the best of talent and the latest information on a few subjects uppermost in the minds of the American people today.

For the afternoon of April 12, we are planning an open forum where Capitol and Labor will be discussed.

We are asking you if you will present "Labor" at this forum. We would like for our Maryland women to have the privilege of hearing you.

We are also asking Capitol for someone of national prominence so that both sides may be ably presented. Each speaker will be allowed forty-five minutes with an additional fifteen minutes for answering questions from the floor.

We would be very grateful to you for bringing the Labor side of this question before our women.

May we expect an early reply, as we are anxious to get our program completed as soon as possible?

Sincerely yours

[Signature]
Chairman- Program Committee
By-


Secretary. You are about to hear an address by Representative J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, Republican, who is a member of the American Radio Committee investigating American activities in the United States. Mr. Thomas will address our independence conference.

Rep. Thomas: As early as 1923 the Congress of the United States passed the Emergency Powers Act of 1923, which granted the President power to declare a state of emergency and to suspend the constitution and to institute martial law. The President was to have the power to proclaim martial law in any part of the country, and he was to have the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in any part of the country. The President was to have the power to arrest any person, and he was to have the power to detain any person in custody without charge or trial. The President was to have the power to seize any property, and he was to have the power to control any industry.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE J. FARRNELL THOMAS

National Broadcasting Company, WHC,
Washington, D. C.
Wednesday, 7:15-7:30 p.m.
March 29, 1939.

Announcer: You are about to hear an address by Representative J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, Republican, who is a member of the seven-man House Committee investigating un-American activities in the United States. Mr. Thomas will discuss our immigration statutes.

Representative Thomas: As early as 1903 the Congress of the United States provided for the exclusion from admission into the United States of anarchists. In 1920 the Congress provided for the deportation of aliens. The purpose of these enactments is to protect the citizens of our country from contaminating influences and to insure the perpetuity of our form of government against the revolutionary and destructive philosophies of aliens indoctrinated with anarchistic ideas. The law clearly provides that all such aliens shall be deported, but in the enforcement it grants to the Secretary of Labor tremendous discretionary powers. The immigration laws have granted such unlimited discretionary powers to the Secretary of Labor, and Frances Perkins, our present Secretary of Labor, has abused these powers to such an extent as to create not only an economic burden upon our people, but also a dangerous menace to our national existence.

To understand the conduct of our Secretary of Labor it is necessary to refer to a decision by the Commissioner of Immigration
and Naturalization, and by Turner W. Battle, Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, and obviously with the consent of Frances Perkins, that "in view of the definite assurances that the Trade Union Unity League has severed any affiliation it may have had with the Red International Labor Union, I hereby direct that hereafter no warrant for the deportation of any alien shall be issued or executed if the sole ground for the warrant is his membership in any of the following organizations:..." The organizations referred to were allied to the Red International Labor Union.

In other words, Frances Perkins accepts as true the statement of an organization which admittedly was connected with a Red International Labor Union, and from thenceforth governs her decisions as Secretary of Labor upon the word of that organization, and obviously if the word given by this union was false, upon that falsehood refuses to enforce the immigration laws of the United States against the membership of all of its allied organizations.

With this background I offer the following condensed facts relating to the deportation case of Harry Bridges, for many years a symbol of thousands of radical aliens illegally within our borders. Alfred Benton Bridges, alias Harry Benton Bridges, alias Harry Dorgan, alias Rosso, is an alien, a native of Australia and a British subject. He was admitted to the United States at the port of San Francisco, California, on April 12, 1920. In 1934 he became an active radical agitator on the west coast of the United States. At that time he believed in and advised, advocated and taught the overthrow by force or
of violence; the government of the United States, and the unlawful damage, injury, and destruction of property and sabotage.

In 1934 complaints were made against him with the Department of Labor, but nothing was done toward deporting him. In 1937 additional complaints were filed with the Department of Labor, showing that he not only personally believed in these un-American principles but that he was affiliated with and a member of the Communist Party. Thereafter the Department of Labor investigated these charges and amassed several files full of testimony showing that Bridges was deportable under the laws.

On September 22, 1937, R. J. Norcum, Divisional Director, and R. P. Bonham, District Director of the Immigration-Naturalization Service at Seattle, Washington, made an application for a warrant of arrest of Harry Bridges under date of September 25, 1937. In the covering letter sent by Bonham to his superior in Washington was this sentence, "Transmitted herewith please find application for warrant of arrest, with most unusually supported evidence, in the matter of Harry Bridges."

Yet on October 18, 1937, Harry Bridges was purposely examined by the Labor Department in the absence of R. P. Bonham, the agent who had followed the case from its inception and who was more familiar with it than any one man in the Federal Government. In my opinion it was no mere coincidence that Bonham, a veteran of 30 years' service, was overlooked. Thereafter no definite action was taken against Bridges until February 1938, when the Solicitor of the Department of
Labor requested Mr. Bonham to forward to him the Seattle copy of the application for a warrant.

In other words, after several months had transpired, still no warrant had been issued against Harry Bridges, and in the meantime the application for the original warrant had been mislaid or stolen from the files of the Department of Labor. On March 5, 1938, Harry Bridges was on the East Coast and a warrant of arrest was served upon him at Baltimore. On the face of this warrant were instructions that Bridges was to be committed to be released on his own recognizance; that is, without bond, an extraordinary procedure, for ordinarily a bond is required by the agent making the arrest. But in Bridges’ case the Central Office at Washington ordered that Bridges be released without bond. In the application for the arrest of Bridges a warrant was requested for his deportation on nine grounds, including as the ninth ground that Harry Bridges believed in and advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence.

When the warrant was issued on March 5, 1938, it was issued on only four grounds, and it omitted the charge that Bridges personally believed in and advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States. It omitted the most important charge. As the date of the Bridges hearing approached, a decision was made in the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit at New Orleans. This was known as the Strocker case, wherein Judge Hutchinson held that the
Government had failed to show that the Communist Party in 1932 still believed in the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and that mere membership in the Communist Party, standing alone, without proof that the Communist Party did believe in the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, was insufficient to justify the deportation of the alien Strecker.

In the Strecker case the Government had failed to offer the usual stock exhibits, showing what the Communist Party actually believed in. The Court ordered that the Strecker case should be remanded for a new trial. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, immediately seized upon the situation to postpone the deportation of Harry Bridges and other Communist aliens on the ground that the opinion of Judge Hutchinson of the Fifth Circuit was at variance with the opinion of other Circuit judges throughout the United States.

When R. P. Bonham, the veteran in the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Labor, heard of this he immediately wired James L. Bousteling, Commissioner at Washington, D. C., that the Strecker case was weak and devoid of proper proof. In confirmation of this telegram he further stated in a letter to Mr. Bousteling that the Strecker case was very weak and that an appeal would not cure the situation, but complicate it. These were the words used by the Department of Labor's trusted District Director. Yet in the face of them, Frances Perkins appealed the Strecker case to the Supreme Court of the United States and thereby indefinitely postponed all deportation of Communist aliens.
Further, it is a well-known fact that the opinion in the Fifth Circuit was not controlling in the Bridges case. Who is this alien who has risen to such prominence that he receives such unusual favors from the Department of Labor? The records of the Labor Department show that ever since 1934 Harry Bridges has successfully preached class hatred and industrial warfare, until he has become the most powerful radical agitator on the West Coast. The records of the Labor Department show that in 1934 and since, Harry Bridges has been a member of and affiliated with the Communist Party, and collaborated with the Communist leaders in carrying on lawless enterprises.

This is the alien whose influence with Frances Perkins and the New Deal Administration is more powerful than that of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and other patriotic organizations. Why, may I ask? Could it be the $500,000 received by the New Deal party in 1936 from a certain labor organization? Did they then become 500,000 reasons why the laws of the United States should not be enforced against Harry Bridges, the western chief of the organization which contributed the $500,000? I leave that question to be answered by you.

In addition to the widely publicised Bridges case, there are many others equally bad but not as well known. The Labor Department has time after time either failed to take appropriate action or has permitted radical aliens to escape after action had been started. In some instances the most radical of agitators have been admitted within our borders. Further, aliens of all classes admitted under the statutes
of 1954 have increased from 163,000 in the year ending June 1934 to 231,000 in the year ending June 1937. On the other hand deportation of alien criminals and undesirables has decreased from 19,965 in the year ending June 1933 to 8,929 in the year ending June 1937. It was because of these and many other facts and circumstances that I introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives of the United States calling for the impeachment of Frances Perkins and certain of her subordinate officials, for failing, neglecting, and refusing to enforce the immigration laws of the United States.

My resolution also called for a complete investigation of the Department of Labor. For two months the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives considered the resolution and finally when the Committee reported its findings, ten members submitted minority views with censure, which are:— and I quote:— "It is apparent the Secretary of Labor, the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Solicitor of the Labor Department have been lenient and indulgent to Harry Bridges in the conduct of the deportation case to an unprecedented extent. The record before us lacks proof of any kind as to the mode of actuating such lenience and indulgence. It cannot escape that severe condemnation and censure. This condemnation does not justify impeachment, but it does call for the official and public disapproval of this Committee."

This strong censure was made by a large membership of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, and by this censure the official acts of the Secretary of Labor and her associates have at least been officially condemned. It is regrettable that the
Secretary of Labor should have appealed the Strecker case, for if the Supreme Court's opinion should be unfavorable it will necessitate the further indefinite postponement of deportation proceedings against all Communist aliens. Such an unfavorable opinion might completely nullify the mandates of Congress relating to the deportation of undesirable and anarchistic aliens. Irrespective of the outcome of the Strecker case, it is hoped that the Department of Labor will in the future more fully understand the will of the people in the United States in the matter of immigration and deportation. It is my belief that the Department of Labor has been far too lenient in immigration and deportation matters.

Further, I am firmly of the opinion that the Secretary of Labor is endeavoring to replace our immigration statutes with some sort of idealistic philosophy, peculiar to the Secretary of Labor. In conclusion, I urge my listeners tonight to aid in safeguarding our American institutions by taking a more active interest in the problems of immigration and deportation. I urge you to insist that our immigration laws be more stringently enforced. I urge you to demand that a thorough and impartial investigation be made of both the Department of Labor and of the reasons for the large increase in immigration, and for the sharp decrease in deportation. I thank you.

As reported by Mabelle Beld Hansell, Stenotypist.