THE PEOPLE'S PROGRAM for 1944

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
WITHOUT ANY EQUIVOCATION

You will read this summer the Platform and the Program of the Democratic Party.

You will read this summer the Platform and the Program of the Republican Party.

You will read many other documents, resolutions, expositions, manifestoes and explanations of issues.

All will tell you what we should want and what we should get during the coming four years. Some will honestly try to inform you about the issues at stake; others will try to confuse you.

Here we present the Program of the CIO Political Action Committee. It was prepared by the CIO that all may know clearly what we stand for and what we are against—without any equivocation.

Of necessity, this Program is limited to highlights. In other publications we deal fully with our approach to many problems confronting the Nation, such as Full Employment After the War; Women Workers and Their Rights as Workers; the Protection of Children During the War Emergency and After the War; the Negro Worker and His Problems; Our Foreign Policy; and other issues of such nature. But, the Program states explicitly the many issues, our many goals, and our proposed methods to reach those goals.

Read this Program carefully. It is meant for you as much as for anyone else, for though the Program was prepared by the CIO Political Action Committee, it is intended for all men and women of good will, who place the welfare of the Nation above all considerations. If you come to this Program with an open mind, we are confident you will agree and support its objectives.

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
We, of the CIO Political Action Committee, realize that the road to victory is still long; and longer still the road to an enduring peace. We realize that the war against Hitler, Hirohito and their cohorts is still to be won, and the winning will be costly and hard. It is a dangerous delusion to believe that the Hitler and Jap military forces will be blotted out with ease. We have bloody fighting before us that requires the united support of all on the battle front and on the home front.

Nor do we have to worry alone about the enemy from without. We are aware—and we must make everyone who believes in our victory aware—that there are those in our midst who fear the power of a united people more than they fear the Axis enemy. Furtively and with malicious cunning—often backed by great wealth—they are this very day obstructing the war effort and pleading for a negotiated peace. Their design
for a post-war America is as sinister as their design to prevent an unconditional victory. We must fight these enemies with the same determined unity that we must show the foe outside our borders.

This is an hour of decision.

The United Nations are striking a supreme blow at the very heart of the Axis forces. Now, more than ever before, we must have unshakable unity among the people of this nation and among the peoples of the United Nations. Everything must be done to mobilize nationwide support behind our Commander-in-Chief.

It is our determination, as well as our duty, to make certain that the tears and blood of humanity shall not have been shed in vain. Ultimate victory, of which we are certain, must bring with it the assurance of lasting peace, the utter destruction of Fascism; the full realization of the Four Freedoms; and the development of an abundant life for the Common Man of this earth.

The attainment of these goals will, in a great measure, be determined by the American people on November 7th, 1944 in the national elections. Those elections will decide whether we can move forward with confidence to peace, freedom and security, or whether we will be thrown back into insecurity and want, imperialist conflict, Fascism, and, inevitably, into a third World War. The CIO Political Action Committee has set itself the task of helping mobilize the American people to make that decision certain.

The program that follows is not for members of the CIO alone. It is not framed in the interest of any special group. This program offers a basis for unity and common action by all Americans, in every walk of life, regardless of formal party affiliation.
Will this program be carried out? Or will it remain but another piece of paper? These questions will be answered by the people we elect to office this year.

The CIO and the nation must measure each candidate by his past record of performance and his stands on the issues outlined in this program.

The nation's first consideration must be the selection of the man to head our government—the President of the United States.

By our measure, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's record is one of great and glorious achievement. When Roosevelt was inaugurated, in 1933, the American people were in dire need and in deep despair. The President acted decisively to bring order out of chaos. Under his leadership, the nation then moved forward to these achievements:
ON THE LABOR FRONT: The guarantee of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively; Minimum Wage legislation; the outlawing of child labor.
ON THE SOCIAL SECURITY FRONT: Old-age insurance; unemployment insurance; aid to the blind, the crippled, the needy.

ON THE FARM FRONT: The raising of farm income and the saving of farms from foreclosure; the rescue of small and marginal farmers; crop insurance; the ever-normal granary; rural electrification.
ON THE HOUSING FRONT:  The saving of a million urban homes from foreclosure through the HOLC; slum clearance and low cost housing; the stimulation of private home building through the FHA.
ON THE CONSERVATION FRONT: Soil conservation; the TVA; unparalleled progress in flood control; erosion control; the conservation of all our natural resources.

ON THE FINANCIAL FRONT: The insuring of bank deposits; an improved banking act; the protection of investors through SEC; the curbing of utility empires.
ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY FRONT: President Roosevelt was among the first to recognize that the advance of the organized thugs in Europe, Asia and Africa threatened our own national security, and to call for collective action to halt aggression. When that call went unheeded and Europe was plunged into war he led us in arming for our own defense and providing assistance to the nations resisting Hitler. As Commander-in-Chief he has given us unparalleled leadership on our march toward Victory. As one of the principal architects of the United Nations he laid the foundation for the coalition of all freedom-loving nations which assures victory over the enemy and the possibility of an enduring peace.
As President, and as Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces, he has not failed us.

Therefore, we urge the nation to draft and elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt for another term in office as the man best qualified to lead the American people during the next four crucial years.

We dedicate ourselves to the task of assuring Franklin Delano Roosevelt's nomination and election. We further dedicate ourselves to the election of other candidates for Federal office who have given our President their consistent support and whose record assures us that they subscribe to and will help realize the following program:
FOREIGN POLICY

WINNING THE WAR

Our first duty is to continue with unabated vigor the total mobilization of our people and our resources and in close cooperation with the other United Nations to speed the day of full and final victory. We shall not be satisfied with less than the complete extermination of Nazism, Fascism, and Japanese Imperialism and all their evils.

PLANNING THE PEACE

Closely associated with the task of mobilizing for victory is the task of planning a peace to assure us the rights and freedoms we fight to preserve and increase.
1. The objectives for which we fight are set forth in the Constitution of the United States, the Four Freedoms, the Good Neighbor Policy, the Atlantic Charter, and the United Nations Declaration. These objectives can be reached only if the coalition of the United Nations, which is the foundation of our victory over the enemy, is preserved and strengthened in the peace to follow. The Moscow, Cairo and Teheran agreements declare the purpose of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and the United States, in collaboration with the other members of the United Nations, to cement their partnership for the winning of the war and for the establishment of a just and enduring peace. The further unfolding of the policy declared in these agreements must be based upon deepening friendship and ever closer cooperation among the governments and the peoples of the United Nations.
2. We urge the establishment, at the earliest practicable date, of a general international organization open to membership by all peace-loving states, large and small. It should be the purpose of this organization to destroy the basis of mili-


tarism and fascist power in Germany, Japan, and their satellites and to maintain international peace and security by taking prompt collective action against any future aggressor.
3. As President Roosevelt has stated, "Freedom from Want is eternally linked with Freedom from Fear." Lasting peace is impossible in a world plagued with poverty, unemployment and economic insecurity. We therefore urge the establishment of international machinery to make long-term credits available to industrially backward nations, without political strings, so that they may create an industrial economy for themselves which will raise the living standards and provide economic security for their people. Each nation must be afforded full and adequate assistance to develop its economy and utilize its resources for the benefit of its people and thus assure to all the people of the world the enjoyment of the Four Freedoms, and the right of all workers to organize and join unions of their own choosing, without any distinction by reason of race, creed, or color, or national origin.
4. We urge extension of the right of asylum for persecuted minorities throughout the United Nations during the war and adequate guarantees for the protection of racial, religious and political minorities by international agreement after the war.
5. We advocate complete support and adequate financing of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to provide the peoples of the ravaged lands, upon their liberation, with the food and other supplies necessary for their rehabilitation.
6. We urge full and adequate labor representation on all planning and administrative bodies charged with the formulation and administration of the foregoing programs.
DOMESTIC POLICY

PLANNING FOR PLENTY

The final defeat of the enemy, followed by international arrangements for a just and enduring peace, will create the opportunity to develop a new life of plenty for the people of our own nation.

President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress in January, 1944, proclaimed our objectives for post-war America in a new Bill of Rights. These rights are:

"The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;"

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

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

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

"The right of every family to a decent home;"

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

"The right to a good education;"

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

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

Our nation possesses all of the natural, industrial and human resources and the technical skills to make these rights a reality.
But these rights will not realize themselves. We must plan our economy to achieve them. Successful planning must come as the product of the co-operative effort of the major groups in our national life—industry, labor and agriculture—working together with and assisted by the Government. We reject as false the contention that there is a conflict between the planned utilization of our national resources and genuine free enterprise. On the contrary, the failure to plan our economy will not only make it impossible to achieve economic security but will lead to the loss of our basic civil rights and freedoms as well.

PROPOSAL FOR A JOINT RESOLUTION

We, therefore, propose that as soon as the 79th Congress convenes it adopt by Joint Resolution of the Senate and the House the President’s New Bill of Rights as the basic objective of our National policy.

We propose that Congress establish a permanent National Planning Board, composed of representatives of industry, labor and agriculture. This board should be charged with
the task of formulating plans and developing programs in cooperation with other agencies of the government to effectuate the New Bill of Rights. From time to time the Board should recommend to Congress legislation necessary or appropriate to that end.

We propose that the National Planning Board encourage the establishment for each industry of an industry council, composed of representatives of labor, management (or agriculture where appropriate), and government, to assist in the formulation and administration of plans for full production and full employment within such industry.

MEASURES FOR IMMEDIATE ADOPTION

In the paragraphs that follow, we enumerate measures for immediate adoption and outline the major principles which should guide the work of the National Planning Board. The separate points of this program are not isolated or independent. Each is a part of an integrated whole which—in sum—provides the basis for the realization of the great goals enumerated in the New Bill of Rights.
FULL EMPLOYMENT

Under the impact of wartime demands, we have fully utilized the vastly expanded capacity of our industry, marketed the products of our farms and achieved unprecedented employment.

We can and must continue full production and full employment for men and women alike in the post-war period. Supplying the needs of the American people for goods and services, supplemented by the requirements of a devastated and war-torn world would tax the capacity of our industry and agriculture. These needs must be translated into an effective demand for food, clothing, housing, education, medical care, recreation, and the other things that go to make up a secure and plentiful life. This can be accomplished by a progressive peacetime rise in the purchasing power of the American people. A substantial increase in
the income of the American workers must be an immediate objective of post-war planning and policy. The guaranteed annual wage is one means to this end. We urge that the Federal government endorse the principle of the guaranteed annual wage and encourage its incorporation in collective bargaining agreements. Only through such measures for the rapid increase in the purchasing power of the people can we provide peacetime customers for the products of factory and farm which are now being purchased by our Government.

We recognize that the task of providing full employment is primarily that of private industry. We believe that—given adequate planning, with the participation and assistance of government—private industry can do the job. The full employment program must, however, be guaranteed by government with a prepared program of jobs at useful work, with standard wages and working conditions, if and to the extent that private industry falls short of the goal.
THE WAR ECONOMY AND RECONVERSION

There is no line of demarcation between planning for war and planning for peace. The more effectively we mobilize our resources in wartime, the easier will be the transition to a peace-time economy and realization of the full employment goal.

1. The key to firm national unity for the most vigorous prosecution of the war is effective economic stabilization to establish and maintain a fair and non-discriminatory balance between wages, prices and profits. Such a program requires:

(a) A policy permitting wage increases which will realistically reflect the rise in living costs with special consideration to sub-standard rates, equal pay for equal work and the problems of white collar, professional and government workers whose income has tended to remain fixed.

(b) Effective price and rent control and rationing rigorously to prevent further price increases, with food subsidies in an amount sufficient to hold prices at present levels while maintaining farm income. We favor the maintenance of these controls during the period of post-war reconversion.

(c) Heavier progressive taxes on high personal incomes and on corporate profits. An increase in personal exemptions and credits for dependents to exempt from taxation those per-
sons whose incomes are at or near the subsistence level. We vigorously oppose all regressive tax measures such as the sales tax and urge elimination of the victory tax principle from the tax structure.

(d) We favor proposals for facilitating war contract termination, and the prompt payment by government of its war contract obligations and orderly reconversion at as rapid a rate as is consistent with the needs of war production and with full protection against fraud.

(e) It is just as essential to make proper provision for the human aspect of reconversion. Legislation for this purpose must be promptly adopted to provide for the problems of reconversion which are already arising. We support the principles of the Kilgore Bill for centralized planning of reconversion, with labor participation, and machinery to facilitate the prompt re-employment of displaced workers with supplementary Federal unemployment insurance during the period of their idleness. We also urge the payment of dismissal wages to workers laid off upon reconversion.

2. We propose that the sale to private industry of any government-owned plant or facility be made with full protection of the public interest and conditioned upon a guarantee that the purchaser will fully utilize its entire productive capacity.
PUBLIC WORKS

We must immediately plan a comprehensive public works program financed from Federal, state and local funds, to embrace such projects as flood control, soil conservation, forestation, public power, rural electrification, roads, schools, hospitals and other public buildings and sanitation facilities. Such a pro-
gram is required to provide vitally needed public services which private industry cannot undertake. At the same time, if put into effect on a nationally coordinated basis as rapidly as wartime demands permit, it can and should be developed as part of an integrated program to achieve and stabilize full employment in an expanding economy.
Americans are badly housed. We shall have to build a minimum of 1,500,000 dwellings a year, over at least a ten-year period, to rehouse our urban and farm population to minimum standards of decency and comfort. It is the obligation of government to assure decent housing to the people at a cost within their means. To the extent that private construction proves unable to fill the peoples' needs, the Government—city, state and federal—must take the necessary steps to assure every American a decent home at a cost within his means.

The housing program has to be integrated with over-all community planning.
1. At least seventy-five per cent of our people need more and better food. Realization of the goal of full employment will permit our people to satisfy their need for food and clothing materials and assure farmers a market for their product.

2. We advocate the continuance of price guarantees to farmers at levels which will encourage full production and assure them of a fair return for their product. However, parity in price is not enough to assure parity of welfare. All agricultural programs and planning should be designed to eliminate discrimination against rural areas and give farm people the same social and economic benefits enjoyed by city dwellers.

3. The family owned and operated farm is the backbone of the nation's agriculture. All farm programs, including the Farm Tenant Purchase Program, the rehabilitation program and the soil conservation program, should be directed toward its protection.
SMALL BUSINESS AND MONOPOLY

1. Opportunity for small business to flourish and grow is essential to genuine free enterprise and to the attainment of the goal of full employment. We urge an adequate program of government credits to small business to finance its purchase of surplus government property and facilitate reconversion. We also favor government assistance in giving small business access to expert research, engineering and marketing services.

2. A nation dedicated to planning an economy of abundance and the full utilization of all our productive resources cannot tolerate practices on the part of monopolies and international cartels which restrict production, stifle fair competition, hamper the full development of domestic and foreign trade and endanger world peace. These practices must be stopped through the use of the anti-trust laws and the enactment of appropriate additional legislation outlawing specific abuses not now adequately covered.
SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN

1. We owe the greatest obligation to our men and women who now fight our battles on all the war fronts of the world. The best way to repay them in part, for what they are doing today, is to attain the goal of full employment and thus assure them of jobs and security upon their return to civilian life.

2. In addition, generous provision must be made for the special problems which our veterans will encounter on demobilization. The following measures are essential: Hospitalization with physical and occupational therapy for the wounded and disabled; completion of education interrupted by the war and advanced or vocational training for those who desire it, with tuition and subsistence at government expense; adequate demobilization pay to provide for the initial adjustment to civilian life; loans for the improvement or purchase of homes, farms or business establishments without interest for the first year; special provision to expedite the placement of veterans in jobs for which they are qualified; federal unemployment benefits to begin four weeks after demobilization, this protection to continue for a period up to two years.

While the so-called G.I. Bill provides many of these benefits, we urge that it be strengthened by granting increased benefits to disabled veterans and their dependents and by increasing their unemployment insurance to a minimum of $25 a week, to be paid as long as unemployment continues. We also urge extension of the coverage of the bill to include merchant seamen and Red Cross workers.
SOCIAL SECURITY

While the realization of the goal of full employment will remove the major causes of economic insecurity, there still remain the human needs arising from sickness, maternity, permanent disability, old age and transitional unemployment.

We urge the immediate enactment of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill as a long forward step toward the attainment of full social security. We further urge continued study of the problem and the progressive strengthening of this legislation.
EDUCATION

Our nation can and must guarantee equality of opportunity for education to every American. We propose that the Federal Government establish minimum education standards, based on the principle that every boy and girl is entitled to free education through the high school level, with advanced study for those of demonstrated ability. We urge the establishment of a minimum wage scale for teachers. We urge federal grants in aid to each state in such amount as it reasonably requires to assist in financing this program and eliminate the existing inequalities between (1) rural and urban education and (2) between education for Negro and education for white children, without interference with private educational institutions or local control. We also advocate a program of Federal aid to make hot meals available to every school child without cost.

We further urge adequate appropriations to support a Federal-State nursery school program which will assure every working mother proper day-time care of her pre-school children.
ENJOYMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS

1. The hateful practice of discrimination because of race, religion or national origin against which we are fighting abroad must be stamped out at home. Anti-Semitic and anti-Negro practices undermine the very foundations of our democracy. Full economic, political and civil equality must be guaranteed to every American, regardless of his race, creed or national origin. We call for the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee with adequate appropriations and enforcement powers. We urge legislation to prohibit activities or propaganda directed against any individuals because of their racial, religious or national origin.
2. The long struggle to achieve political democracy has not yet been won. The simple, elementary right to vote is still denied to whole sections of our population through poll tax and other voting restrictions. The failure of Congress to pass an adequate soldier vote bill has disfranchised millions of our fighting citizens. We urge:

(a) The immediate passage of the anti-poll tax bill and elimination of other restrictions on the right to vote;

(b) Enactment of a genuine soldier vote bill.

3. Free, strong and responsible labor organizations are the bulwark of democracy. Their growth, and the extension of the process of collective bargaining throughout American industry must be encouraged as an objective of national policy. The right to join labor unions of their own choosing must be guaranteed and protected for all wage earners, including federal, state and local government employees.

This is the decisive year of the war. It may be the most decisive year in history.
The five and a half million Americans who are members of the CIO offer this program to the American people. It should help win the war by encouraging hope for a better, sane world after the war. We think it is in line with the course of history, and with the aspirations of plain people everywhere.

We feel that all men and women of good will can and will subscribe to our program. Together, we can elect a President and Congress who will possess the ability and humanity and the experience and courage necessary to effect this program for the good of the Nation and the world.

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