



## A Post-War Programme for the United States

*The National Resources Planning Board, which is the agency entrusted by the President of the United States with the correlation of post-war domestic plans, has prepared a comprehensive body of recommendations prescribing both for the economic and physical development of the nation's resources and for the extension and reinforcement of the welfare and security of its people. In introducing this programme, the Board states that peace aims are war weapons which, in the end, may determine the outcome of the military struggle; it points to the extensive post-war plans now being made in every country of the world and to the agencies set up in Great Britain, the Dominions, China and the Soviet Union, by the Governments of occupied countries, and by the Axis Powers.*

*The International Labour Office is following the development of agencies and programmes for the post-war period in the social and economic field, and several articles on this subject have already been published in the Review in addition to the notes which appear regularly in the "Industrial and Labour Information" section. A summary of social security plans for Great Britain was given in the January 1943 issue, and an analysis of British national planning for town and country in the February issue. The following article presents an analogous programme for the United States.*

President Roosevelt, on 10 March 1943, sent a special message to the Congress of the United States submitting two reports of the National Resources Planning Board designed to provide post-war economic and social security in the United States. The message of the President reads as follows:

"To assist the Congress in the development and consideration of appropriate legislation to achieve normal employment, to give assurance for all our people against common economic hazards and to provide for the development of our national resources, I am transmitting herewith two reports of the National Resources Planning Board.

"The first, *National Resources Development—Report for 1943*, presents the results to date of the Board's work on post-war plans and a record of wartime planning activities. The Board proposes mea-

tures to meet the problems of the transition period from war to peace and for the longer-range development of an expanding economy. It is appropriate that each year the immediate programmes contained in the budget of the United States should be considered by the Congress in the light of much longer-range plans and programmes. To facilitate such use of this report, I recommend that the report be printed, in accordance with past custom.

"We can all agree on our objectives and in our common determination that work, fair play, and social security after the war is won must be firmly established for the people of the United States of America.

"Men in the armed forces and all those engaged in the war effort rightly expect us to be considering their future welfare.

"We fight to-day for security for our nation, and at the same time we can endeavour to give our citizens and their families security against attacks from without and against fear of economic distress in old age, in poverty, sickness, involuntary unemployment, and accidental injuries. We need to look forward to the accomplishment of these objectives—world peace, democratic society, and a dynamic economy.

"The second report transmitted herewith on *Security, Work, and Relief Policies* has been developed over the last three years by the National Resources Planning Board at my request, with the co-operation of the Federal agencies concerned and with the help of citizens with special knowledge and competence in this field. It reviews the accomplishments and experience of the last ten years, pointing out some of the weaknesses of our security system and suggesting ways of improving and strengthening the whole programme.

"Because of their basic importance to our national welfare during the war and after the war, it is my earnest hope that the Congress will give these matters full consideration during this session. We must not return to the inequities, insecurity and fears of the past, but ought to move forward towards the promise of the future. When the Congress has agreed on procedures for the consideration of these problems, the executive agencies responsible for the administration of programmes in these fields are prepared to provide the Congress with all assistance within their power in devising ways and means to accomplish these high purposes."

In the following pages a summary is given of the recommendations of the Board contained in the report entitled *National Resources Development—Report for 1943*<sup>1</sup>, which are dated December 1942 and which also cover substantially all the proposals included in the earlier report on *Security, Work, and Relief Policies*<sup>2</sup>, completed in December 1941.

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD: *National Resources Development—Report for 1943*. Part I: *Post-War Plan and Program* (Washington, D.C., Jan. 1943. v + 81 pp.).

<sup>2</sup> U.S. NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD: *Security, Work, and Relief Policies*. *Report of the Committee on Long-Range Work and Relief Policies to the National Resources Planning Board* (Washington D.C., 1942. xii + 640 pp.); *After the War—Toward Security* (Washington D.C., Sept. 1942).

The Report is composed of two parts, the first entitled "Post-War Plan and Program", and the second "Wartime Planning for War and Post-War". Part I, which contains a series of findings and recommendations, along with supporting technical material, is divided into four major sections:

- I. Plans for Transition from War to Peace;
- II. Plans for Development of an Expanding Economy;
- III. Plans for Services and Security (this section is partly based on the fuller report, *Security, Work, and Relief Policies*, already mentioned);
- IV. Plans for Action by State and Local Governments and Regions (this section is based on the objectives defined in the preceding three sections and on the review of progress on planning in regions, States, and localities set forth in Part II).

The text of Part I is accompanied by a series of technical memoranda prepared by members of the staff of the Board, who assume primary responsibility for them.

Part II, which is not yet available for analysis, presents the current planning activities for stabilisation and development.

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE REPORT

In introducing its series of recommendations for post-war planning, the National Resources Planning Board outlines the general policy underlying its plans and programmes in the following terms:

"We look to and plan for:

I. The fullest possible development of the human personality, in relation to the common good, in a framework of freedoms and rights, of justice, liberty, equality and the consent of the governed.

"As a means of protecting justice, freedom, and democracy:

II. The fullest possible development of the productive potential of all of our resources, material and human, with full employment, continuity of income, equal access to minimum security and living standards, and a balance between economic stability and social adventure.

"As a means of ensuring the peaceful pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness:

III. An effective jural order of the world outlawing violence and imperialism, old or new fashioned, in international relations; and permitting and energising the fullest development of resources and rights everywhere.

"The three factors—democracy, dynamic economy, and peace—never in the history of mankind have been united in a political system. The development of a society combining these three factors means a dynamic economy with fair distribution of the

resulting gains throughout the community, the organisation of this economy upon the basis of democratic controls and co-operation, the organisation of a jural order of the world within which societies can live in peace and freedom.”<sup>1</sup>

### PLANS FOR TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE

The Board points out that plans, legislation, and administration must be agreed upon during the war for the transition period immediately following the cessation of hostilities, and that such plans must be adjusted to military strategy and be made to fit a variety of situations. It warns:

War weariness and “back to normalcy” cries will face our leaders at the end of the fighting. A large part of the problem of “winning the peace” after other wars has been the natural relaxation of tension which followed military victory—forgetting that the triumph of arms only opens the door to the problems and opportunities of creating and organising the peace.

Extremes of hope and fear will inevitably be present in the period of demobilisation of the fighting forces (which will last for several months). Too much confidence and boom after an initial depression may lead to too speedy relaxation and end in an even greater depression, with inadequate or weakened tools in the hands of the Government to combat it. “Post-war adjustment plans must head off both boom and depression and substitute orderly, gradual progress.” The recommendations submitted therefore leave considerable discretion to administrative agencies.

#### *Demobilisation of Men from the Armed Forces and from War Industries*

The demobilisation of the armed forces of the nation must be as carefully planned as their recruitment. The Re-employment Division in the Selective Service System, set up in accordance with the Selective Service Act, is planning for the future demobilisation of the armed forces and, in co-operation with re-employment committees in various localities, is studying potential employment demands in the post-war period. These plans include programmes of vocational education and re-education, both in vocational schools and in industry, for the purpose of preparing men to assume jobs in industry after release from the Army or Navy. They also include protection of the insurance rights of service men, not only for those who left covered occupations to enter service but for those who enter covered occupations after the war. The idea of a dismissal wage or allowance for demobilised men from the armed forces, similar to that proposed for persons employed in industry, is put forward.

Studies are also being made and plans developed for the demobilisation of civilian employees in war industries, and it is suggested that in some instances whole industries created for war purposes

<sup>1</sup> The Introduction also restates the “New Bill of Rights” presented by the National Resources Planning Board in its report for 1942 (cf. *International Labour Review*, Vol. XLV, No. 3, Mar. 1942, p. 306).

will appropriately be the nation's charge as they retool and convert for peacetime pursuits. Proposals for the demobilisation of industrial workers include a dismissal wage, possibly to be paid in instalments over a period of time; nation-wide extension and liberalisation of unemployment compensation systems; and use of the public works projects described in later recommendations to fill in gaps in employment opportunity.

Plans for demobilisation must take precedence over longer-range objectives because the ability to meet the immediate post-war situation wisely will determine whether we shall have the opportunity to pursue an orderly progress towards our long-range goal.

### *Demobilisation of War Plants, Machines, and War Contracts*

The following policies are recommended for consideration:

(1) Arrangement for the orderly conversion to civilian use of unwanted war production facilities, through:

(a) Procedures to dispose of Government-owned plants to private operators for early conversion to peacetime use;

(b) Prevention of monopoly control of plants in the interest of a single group or industry; "large Government-financed war production plants, especially those producing basic metals and materials should be distributed among numerous operators to encourage healthful business competition";

(c) Planning for a more desirable regional distribution of manufacturing from the standpoint of national defence and local diversification, by retaining in operation certain selected plants financed during the war in new industrial areas;

(d) Technical assistance to private operators of war plants to find the most appropriate peacetime use for their buildings, equipment, and labour skills in making products which could be economically distributed from the community in which the plant is located;

(e) Placing of Government orders for new major development projects, especially in the fields of urban reconstruction, river basin development, agricultural rehabilitation, and modernisation of transportation, by Government agencies, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or the modified form of Federal Development Corporation suggested below;

(f) Provision for plant rehabilitation grants to be used for conversion of plant to peacetime production;

(g) Granting of low-interest-rate Government loans to projects approved for conversion;

(h) Immediate provision in Federal tax laws for establishment of "Post-War Conversion Reserve", limited to use within a short period after the termination of war contracts.

(2) Selection, before the end of the war, of the war plants to be maintained in operation or in condition ready to be operated, in order that local communities and the operating industries can adjust their plans accordingly.

(3) Continuation of certain war contracts for the maintenance

of military forces, for experimental production of improved military equipment, for requirements under existing lend-lease agreements, for stock-pile war reserve, or for other governmental needs, so far as possible in areas where the replacement of war production by peacetime activity is likely to be slow and difficult and where sudden termination of contracts therefore would cause undue hardship and disruption of community life.

(4) Arrangement for the liquidation of all other war contracts as speedily as is consistent with economic and social welfare and with reasonable regard to employment conditions and liabilities of contract holders, in such a way as to prevent unnecessary use of labour and materials and to stimulate rapid conversion of plant and machines to peacetime production.

(5) Assistance for small producers and distributors and small enterprises which are war casualties, through technical advice, marketing aids, and favourable terms of financing.

(6) Development of new industries, new processes, and improved products by research work within the Government, by aid in the dissemination of information on new experiments, and by maintenance of free access to the use of both old and new materials and processes, unhampered by misuse of the patent system.

(7) Extension and new forms of joint private and governmental partnership, through use of mixed corporations, granting or insurance of loans, or other joint ventures. "Government is already taking considerable part in the management of the many war industries which have been greatly expanded by the use of Government funds. Consideration should be given to the desirability of various types of partnership in the direction of those industries of crucial importance in both a wartime and a peacetime economy and in which the Government has made great investments. In this category are aluminium, magnesium, shipbuilding, and aircraft. Government has a direct responsibility and should participate in the decisions as to what areas and what concerns should continue to operate in these industries." The following comment is made in the relevant technical memorandum with regard to the combination of governmental and private capital in industry:

In some sectors of the economy, public interest may be served better by the use of mixed corporations than by either wholly private enterprise or outright Government ownership and operation. A variety of arrangements are possible depending mainly on the relative extent of Government participation. On the one hand, the Government's proportionate investment in the corporation might be so great that the corporation would be operated essentially as a public enterprise. On the other hand, private stockholders might own a majority interest and Government representation be concerned solely with matters relating to public policy. In any case, the structure of a mixed corporation and the special authority delegated to Government directors can be made to vary with the functions of the corporation and with the need for promoting the public interest.

### *Demobilisation of Wartime Economic Controls*

The economic conditions which have necessitated allocation of raw materials, priorities on equipment, rationing of consumer

goods, and wage controls during the war "will not disappear as soon as the peace is declared" because there will continue to be a shortage of most goods and many industrial facilities. The Board accordingly sets forth the following considerations:

(1) The policies for economic stabilisation and production control developed during the war will of necessity be modified after hostilities cease. Many of the policies affecting present controls will be reversed. Instead of endeavouring to restrict the consumption economy, an attempt will be made to spread existing supplies as far as possible both at home and abroad. For at least a short period of time it will be necessary to draw on American productive capacity for most of the staples. The extent to which this can be done will, however, depend upon the extent to which inroads are made on American supplies and American stock piles. As supplies become more adequate, the rigorous character of controls can be relaxed.

(2) The regulations which limit the production of certain goods can be radically changed almost immediately. The expansion of enterprises concerned with the production of peacetime goods will be first in order of importance.

(3) Commodity (consumer goods) rationing will probably continue, not only in order to secure more equitable distribution of scarce supplies, but also to prevent violent increases in prices.

(4) It may be necessary to continue the rationing of durable consumer goods for a longer period than other consumer goods because of deferred demands and the time necessary to provide adequate plant capacity and to produce new supplies. "Lack of cargo facilities or the imperative need of hungry millions abroad may cause such goods as sugar, tea, coffee, and meat to remain in short supply and make continued rationing of them for a time essential. But if consumers' durable goods are to be rationed at all, it must not be solely because they are scarce but because it is of importance for national welfare to allow some persons a preference over others."<sup>1</sup>

(5) Allocation of scarce raw materials should be retained until domestic and foreign producers have been able to supply sufficient quantities to make possible the re-establishment of a normal peacetime market.

(6) Control of the distribution of industrial and construction equipment and other producers' goods will be needed so that priorities may be given to the rebuilding and re-equipping of factories and so that a proper share will be reserved for housing and other programmes.

(7) A corollary to rationing and allocation will be price regulation. The retention of price controls should be expected for as long as potential demand is greatly in excess of available supply, and will be essential in order to avoid violent inflation and a flood of buying in advance of ability to reconvert to peacetime production and distribution. The kinds of commodities for which prices must be fixed and the types of price controls to be retained will depend

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the relevant technical memorandum.

on the length of the war and the market position for each industry at the end of the war.

(8) In the transition period the supply of labour will be such that, in the absence of effective controls, the labour standards built up over the years by collective bargaining and by legislation will be in danger of being seriously undermined. Vigorous enforcement of protective labour legislation will be necessary. "Such wage controls as we impose during the war will be primarily in the form of ceilings. There will be little occasion for the setting of floors. In the peacetime readjustment, the situation will be reversed. If any wage controls are desirable they will need to take the form of minimum rather than maximum levels."<sup>1</sup>

(9) Wartime experience must be utilised to develop such regulation as may stimulate the effective functioning of competitive business in normal times. Such experience has indicated the public importance of certain industries and the desirability of continued Federal control of their operation. This applies to industries based on scarce raw materials; those with rapidly diminishing reserves; those supplying power and fuels; and, in addition, transport and other public services, which should be more closely controlled in the interest of national defence and public welfare. The Government should retain control over patents and properties seized from enemy aliens and operate them directly or license their use in such a way as to encourage competitive development by private operators.

#### PLANS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF AN EXPANDING ECONOMY THROUGH CO-OPERATION OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

The Board points out that for the longer-range development of an expanding economy after the war, the free enterprise system and the economic freedom of the individual will demand constant assistance from Government and a renewed sense of vigilant responsibility on the part of all citizens. Because of the Board's direct responsibility for the preparation of programmes of public works which have regenerative or enduring value, a special place is given in its post-war plan to public works. But the main reliance for an effective consumer demand must come from private activities taking the lead in opening new enterprises and in using new productive capacity.

##### *Plans for Private Enterprise*

For the maintenance of and assistance to free enterprise and economic democracy, the Board recommends for consideration:

(1) Measures to encourage the healthy and aggressive development of private enterprise, to stimulate initiative and resourcefulness of management and to open the channels of investment opportunity, large and small;

(2) Measures to prevent the abuse of economic power or monopolistic privilege, and to check the wasteful exploitation of the nation's resources;

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the relevant technical memorandum.

(3) Measures to eliminate avoidable uncertainties and needless burdens in the laws affecting enterprise and in their administration.

A technological research programme fostered by the Federal Government is proposed in the relevant technical memorandum, "to promote the welfare of the nation by helping the progress of its industries, to raise the standard of living by increasing the quantity and quality of goods available for distribution, to conserve scarce and strategic resources in the nation by developing substitutes or more efficient methods, and to discover uses for available resources which have been entirely or partly neglected by private enterprise".

#### *Plans for Finance and Fiscal Policies*

Since it has been the national policy of the United States to accept as a suitable role of government the positive effort to foster and encourage the free activities of private individuals and agencies in advancing their well-being through productive enterprise, it is recommended that the fiscal and monetary policies of the Federal Government should be such as to supplement and complement these activities of private enterprise in the maintenance of adequate effective demand.

Working under appropriate legislative authority, the several branches of the Federal administration concerned with these policies must work within the framework of a common national policy, such as cannot be achieved in the fields of taxation, expenditure, Federal borrowing, Federal lending, and monetary planning, by the several Federal agencies working separately or by voluntary time-to-time collaboration.

Public works, social security, and like programmes and activities give reality to the maintenance of adequate purchasing power, the securing of full employment and the optimum degree of private business activity and must necessarily be considered in the formulation of the various phases of a unified national plan.

The fiscal plans of State and local governments and those of the Federal Government must be firmly associated lest the policies of these important taxing and spending agencies conflict in the discharge of their respective responsibilities.

Attention is called to five specific proposals (already suggested in an earlier publication of the Board<sup>1</sup>):

(1) Retention of progressive (graduated) tax structure and broadened tax base, with major emphasis on the individual income tax and less reliance on the corporate income tax.

(2) Sharp reduction in consumption taxes.

(3) Adequate programme of public improvement projects.

(4) Expansion of public welfare expenditures. This involves partly an expanded programme and partly a means of reducing State and local property and consumption taxes.

(5) International collaboration to pursue internal policies designed to promote active employment, and to implement ways and means to open outlets for foreign investment, to promote world trade and the effective world-wide use of productive resources.

<sup>1</sup> Alvin H. HANSEN: *After the War—Full Employment* (National Resources Planning Board, Jan. 1942).

*Plans for Improvement of Physical Facilities*

A series of recommendations are proposed for consideration under this heading.

*Preparation during the War for Expanded Programmes of Development and Construction of Physical Facilities.*

In the first place, the Government should co-operate with private enterprise, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or one or several Federal Development Corporations and subsidiaries providing for participation of both public and private investment and for representation in management, particularly for urban redevelopment, housing, transport terminal reorganisation, and energy development. Its assistance should be given in the form of governmental authority to clear away obsolescent plant of various kinds, as has been done in the past through condemnation of insanitary dwellings, and to assemble properties for reorganisation and redevelopment, perhaps along the lines of earlier grants of the power of eminent domain to canal and railroad companies for the acquisition of rights of way.

Secondly, there should be Government assistance and co-operation with public agencies, through public works and work programmes as recommended in previous reports of the National Resources Planning Board.<sup>1</sup>

*Plans, Legislation and Organisation Now.*

*Urban development.* The following measures are proposed for facilitating city building and redevelopment, improving urban living and working conditions, and stabilising employment and investment:

(1) The setting of objectives and planning by metropolitan regions and cities for their whole urban areas and for the human, institutional, and physical problems that will follow the war.

(2) The establishment of agencies, authorities or arrangements in metropolitan regions and cities, broad enough to deal with the basic problems of urban reconstruction regardless of existing arbitrary boundary lines. These problems include, in addition to land ownership, taxation, transportation co-ordination, etc., the construction of buildings and facilities to ensure adequate housing and working conditions and provision of essential urban services, such as sanitation, health, welfare, education, recreation, and transit.

(3) The enactment of Federal legislation authorising Federal participation in such agencies, authorities or programmes as may be needed in particular localities to carry out the objective of stabilising employment and investment and of promoting the development, security, and well-being of urban communities.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Summarised below, under the head of "Legislation to Provide a Ready Programme of Public Construction", p. 461.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD: *National Resources Development—Report for 1942*; and *Better Cities*, by Charles S. ASCHER (Apr. 1942). See also *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, published by the predecessor of the National Resources Planning Board (June 1937).

(4) Relocation and modernisation of terminal facilities (air, rail, highway, and port) through metropolitan authorities or other appropriate agencies.

*Transportation modernisation.* This should be effected by a series of steps, including the creation of a national transportation agency to co-ordinate all Federal development activity in transportation. Public responsibility should be accepted for basic transport facilities for all media of transport (air, rail, water, highways, pipes, etc.) through the planning and construction of modern unified terminals as an integral part of city planning and through Federal credit for the provision of new facilities and the modernisation of selected old facilities. The recommendations concerning transport include proposals for legislation; for consolidation of the railroads into a limited number of regional systems; the establishment of highway transport on a modern and efficient basis; the development of an expanded and integrated system of airports and airways designed for both passenger and freight services; new river and harbour developments for internal and foreign trade; and enlargement and integration of the network of major pipe lines, so as to assure the nation's essential liquid fuel supply in future emergencies.

It is pointed out that the transportation industries, properly developed and co-ordinated, offer some of the most promising opportunities for wise investment.<sup>1</sup>

*Energy resource development.* Inter-connected systems of common carrier electric transmission lines to deliver energy to all wholesale purchasers should be provided through public or mixed corporations with private and public funds and directors. In addition, there should be co-ordinated public and private development of water power, power operation and marketing from publicly-owned plants, through regional agencies, and an expanded programme of rural electrification.<sup>2</sup>

*Multiple-purpose water resource development.* There should be continuing Federal assistance for comprehensive multiple-purpose development and control of water resources. Legislation should be enacted concerning pollution control on rivers, providing for grants in aid, loans or other assistance to private and public bodies for approved projects.<sup>3</sup>

*Land development projects.* Plans should be developed before the end of the war, for financing land development projects to be undertaken after the war, including irrigation, clearance, etc.,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD: *Transportation and National Policy*, 1942.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD: *Energy Resources and National Policy* (Jan. 1939); Annual Reports for 1941 and 1942. See also current work of the War Production Board.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. House Document, 142-771; reports of the National Resources Planning Board and its predecessors for 1934, 1941, and 1942; "Drainage Basin Problems and Programs" for 1936 and 1937 and "Water Pollution in the United States", in House Document 155 and House Report 4314, 76th Congress, first session.

and for the conservation of land resources through programmes based on Federal assistance.<sup>1</sup>

*Housing.* Since one of the most important outlets for the potential products of converted war plants will be the provision of adequate urban and rural housing, the Government should plan to initiate a large public housing programme and stimulate private and public construction activities.<sup>2</sup>

*Legislation to Provide a Ready Programme of Public Construction.*

Post-war public construction should be planned now, and adequate authority and funds for such planning should be made available by the Federal, State and local governments. Programmes should be designed, first, to bring public facilities up to a proper level of serviceability, and, then, to develop further the economic possibilities of the nation.

A "shelf" or "reservoir" of public construction projects of tested value should be provided by the following means:

(1) Continued and invigorated efforts to secure the preparation of six-year programmes or capital budgets by Federal agencies, State Governments, local governments, and other agencies, public and private.

(2) Preparation of lists of projects, classified according to size of the project, types and locations of skilled and unskilled labour involved, materials needed, rapidity of beginning, and flexibility of termination—all in relation to employment stabilisation.

(3) Immediate inauguration of surveys, investigations and preparation of engineering plans and specifications for selected projects through allocation of aids to Federal and non-Federal agencies from a fund to be administered by the President through his Executive Office, and reimbursed to the fund as part of the cost of construction of the project—all to permit rapid inauguration of work on projects in times of need.

(4) Advance authorisation by the Congress of:

(a) Procedures for grants, loans, guaranties of loans, leasing arrangements or other devices for aids to State and local governments for non-Federal projects effective upon appropriation of funds by the Congress;

(b) Construction of Federal projects in a six-year programme of selected projects.

Such authorisation should be effective upon appropriation of funds by the Congress, and not in itself involve any commitment for the immediate construction of the project.

(5) Appropriation for advance purchase of sites of projects by appropriate governmental agencies.

(6) Development of methods of financing public works projects and studies of related problems of investment, taxation, and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD: *Public Works and Rural Land Use* (1942).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD: *The Role of the House Building Industry*, (July 1942); *Housing—the Continuing Problem* (1940).

Federal, State and local shares of responsibility for costs of various types of public works and related activities.

(7) Co-ordination of public works construction at all levels of government with other public policies which affect the level of business activity and employment, such as fiscal policy, social security policy, and policies of aid to private enterprise.

### *Essential Safeguards of Democracy*

Measures should be adopted:

(1) To prevent the rise of new industrial oligarchies during the war or during the period of readjustment following the cessation of hostilities, including enforcement of anti-trust laws to break up monopolies and provide opportunities for small business enterprises;

(2) To uphold the right of labour to collective bargaining, fair wages and hours, healthy and effective working conditions, responsibility in organisation and sharing in management;

(3) To maintain the fair share of the farmers in the benefits of an expanding economy with opportunity for higher standards of living and greater security.

### PLANS FOR SERVICES AND SECURITY

This section of the Report, which as already stated is based partly on the fuller report, *Security, Work, and Relief Policies*, is reproduced *in extenso* below:

#### *Plans for Development of Service Activities*

Legislation and organisation to provide service for:

#### *Equal Access to Education.*

We recommend:

(a) That *equal access to elementary and high school education* be assured all children and youth.

(b) That *equal access to general and specialised education* be made available to all youth of college and university age, according to their abilities.

(c) That *adequate funds* be made available by the local and State governments and underwritten by the Federal Government to carry out the recommendations presented above.

#### *Health, Nutrition and Medical Care.*

Assurance of high standards of health and adequate nutrition for all. As a nation we desire the conservation and improvement of the health of our people to avoid the wastage, through premature death, ill health, and accidents, of our most valuable na-

tional resource and to eliminate the unnecessary costs of maintaining those who are rendered incapable by reason of neglect.

The Board recommends:

(a) *Health measures* and adequate nutrition in order to eliminate all diseases, disabilities, and premature deaths which are preventable in the light of existing knowledge, through:

(1) The development of adequate public health services and facilities in every county within the country.

(2) The development of a health programme for mothers and children ensuring remedial treatment as well as diagnosis and advisory services; maternal and child health clinics; and health services in the schools.

(3) Protection of workers whether in the factory or on the farm from unnecessary accidents, controllable occupational diseases, and undue fatigue.

(4) Continued support from public and private funds for public health research and education with a view to the progressive expansion of the frontiers of control over health hazards.

(5) Continued support for public and private agencies engaged in the dissemination of knowledge of sound nutritional principles and practices. Especial attention should be devoted to demonstration work in the schools, the factories, and farming areas.

(b) *Assurance of adequate medical and health care for all*, regardless of place of residence or income status and on a basis that is consistent with the self-respect of the recipient, through:

(1) Federal appropriations to aid States and localities in developing a system of regional and local hospitals and health centres covering all parts of the country.

(2) Assurance of an adequate and well-distributed supply of physicians, dentists, nurses, and other medical personnel.

(3) Expansion and improvement of public medical care for needy persons through larger appropriations and through increased co-operation by and with the medical and dental professions.

(4) Immediate action by Government in co-operation with the medical profession to formulate plans which enable the patient to budget expenses over a reasonable period and to contribute towards the costs of care according to his ability, and which at the same time assure to medical personnel a decent livelihood commensurate with the high costs of their professional training.

#### *Plans for Underwriting Employment*

To guarantee the right to a job, activities in the provision of physical facilities and service activities should be supplemented by:

(1) *Formal acceptance by the Federal Government of responsibility* for ensuring jobs at decent pay to all those able to work regardless of whether or not they can pass a means test.

(2) The preparation of *plans and programmes*, in addition to those recommended under public works<sup>1</sup> for all kinds of socially useful work other than construction, arranged according to the variety of abilities and location of persons seeking employment.

(3) *Expansion of the functions of the Employment Service*, strengthening its personnel to the end that it may operate as the key mechanism in referring unemployed workers to jobs, whether public or private.

(4) *Establishment of a permanent "Work Administration"* under an appropriate Federal agency to administer the provision of jobs of socially desirable work for the otherwise unemployed.

### *Plans for Social Security*

We recommend *development of programmes for security and public aid* for inclusive protection against fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident. The steps which are immediately called for include:

(a) Enactment of permanent and temporary *disability insurance*.

(b) Extension of coverage of *old age and survivors' insurance* and continuing efforts to provide more adequate minimum benefits.

(c) Reorganisation of the *unemployment compensation* laws to provide broadened coverage, more nearly adequate payments, incorporating benefits to dependants, payments of benefits for at least 26 weeks, and replacement of present Federal-State system by a wholly Federal administrative organisation and a single national fund.

(d) Creation of an adequate *general public assistance* system through Federal financial aid for general relief available to the States on an equalising basis and accompanied by Federal standards.

(e) Strengthening of the *special public assistance* programmes to provide more adequately for those in need, and a redistribution of Federal aid to correspond to differences in needs and financial capacity among the States.

(f) Adequate measures to ensure the security of those serving in the *armed forces and their families*.

### PLANS FOR ACTION BY STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND REGIONS

It is recommended that governmental planning should be decentralised, as far as administratively possible, to the States, counties, cities and appropriate regional agencies. Only in this way can post-war planning and action programmes be kept close to the people.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 458, under "Plans for Finance and Fiscal Policies", item (3).

It is of utmost importance in the interests of national growth and prosperity that the development of the several regions of the United States should be encouraged in every practical manner. Forms of regional organisation, methods of financing, and types of planning will vary from region to region, but it is essential that the development of each region should proceed in ways conducive to the welfare of its people and consistent with the balanced investment of the nation as a whole. In view of the present emergency, the several regional programmes should be centred around the stabilisation of employment and investment in the post-war period.

The objective might well be to achieve such a distribution of the services of government that each American, irrespective of where he happens to live and work, will share as fully as possible in the fruits, the opportunities, and the promises of the national resources and the democratic system of government.

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