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Unemployment insurance, 1921-1937, undated.

Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53

717 SUPERIOR AVE. N. E.



JAMES J. HOBAN, PRESIDENT

Cleveland, December 18, 1921.

F. W. STEFFEN, SEC.-TREAS.

Rev. Rabbi A. H. Silver,
2301 East 55th Street,
City.

Reverend Sir:

At the regular monthly meeting of the executive committee of Cleveland Typographical Union held on this date, I was instructed to write and congratulate you on the excellent article appearing in the Cleveland Press of December 8th, in which you so clearly defined the real and fundamental intent of the so-called open shop movement in this country.

Organized labor in general should feel not only indebted to you for the courageous words you penned in its behalf, but should also be thankful for (and mindful of) the helpful suggestions contained in the closing paragraphs of your exquisite article.

Would that there were more men in Cleveland brave enough to point out the failings and shortcomings of both organized employers and employes, and the time would not be far off when both elements would be forced to purge themselves of the real cause of industrial strife.

Assuring you of our full appreciation for the timely and instructive article you wrote, and extending the thanks of our entire membership, I am,

Respectfully,

James J. Hoban

December eleventh, 1922.

Mr. Munson A. Havens,
Secretary,
Cleveland Chamber of Commerce,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Mr. Havens,

Please accept my resignation as a member
of the Chamber of Commerce, to take effect the first
of the year.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) Abba Hillel Silver.



Chamber of Commerce

1919 Jan

"Cleveland Press" I thought for several years

1923 Jan

in the PG office per. Mr. J. H. Anderson
thought it was a very good idea
it was right in PG, 1923
as was the other help and PG
about PG also. Richard F. Grant I
and "Press" Co. (Grafton) 1924
(plaid in)

March 1, 1923.

My dear Sir:

As you know your resignation is pending here at the Chamber. The directors, reluctant to accept it, have asked me to use any influence I may have to persuade you to withdraw it. This I am happy to do because, while I have not always agreed with the Chamber in the past and may not in the future upon some particular matter, I realize how little any of us can do singly for Cleveland and the incalculable value of our work when we cooperate in such groups for the practical realization of civic and social ideals.

The work of the Chamber is of a quality in which we can all take pride, its effectiveness will be increased just as we can attract and retain in its membership the earnest and successful men who carry on the industry and commerce of the city.

I would deeply appreciate it if you could see your way to withdraw your resignation.

Very truly yours,

(signed) Newton D. Baker.

March 8th, 1923.

Mr. Newton D. Baker,
Union National Bank Bldg.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Mr. Baker,

Permit me to thank you for your kind letter of March 1st. I had no intention of making an issue of my resignation and therefore refrained from stating the reasons for it. Your letter however makes such a statement necessary.

I am not in sympathy with the position taken by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce on the subject of the Open Shop and more especially of the propaganda which the Chamber has been conducting through newspapers and pamphlets to universalize it. I do not believe that it is the function of a Chamber of Commerce to become a propaganda agency for ideals such as are advocated by organizations of the type of the American Plan Association.

The desire on the part of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce to serve the public would perhaps be less subject to question if the Chamber had shown a similar alacrity and apostolic zeal in ferreting out and exposing the abuses in the camps of employers, bankers, mortgage sharks and profiteers in our city.

As an association of employers the Chamber of Commerce is true to its mission, but it assumes to be a civic organization representing the interests of the public at large. As such it is decidedly partial.

After your very stimulating and comprehensive correspondence with Mr. Gompers on the subject of the Open and Closed Shop it would serve no purpose to go over the ground again. I am however enclosing herewith a brief summary of my position which was published some time ago in a Cleveland paper.

With kindest regards, I beg to remain

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) Abba Hillel Silver,

Enclosure.

March 28th, 1923.

Rabbi A.H. Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland.

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I have been engaged in court, of late, and my time at the Chamber has been limited. Please pardon so tardy an acknowledgment of your interesting letter of the 8th inst.

I like the downright manner of your attack upon the Chamber's policy, and I am sure you will like it best if I reply in an equally downright way. You say that you are not in sympathy with the position taken by the Chamber on the subject of the open shop, "and more especially of the propaganda which the Chamber has been conducting, through newspapers and pamphlets, to universalize it".

Referring to the first part of the paragraph: There are three kinds of shops - the closed union shop, the closed non-union shop, and the open shop. If you do not believe in the open shop, - which is the shop "in which every worker's chance is as good as every other worker's chance, the open shop from which no worker is shut out because he holds a union card, and from which no worker is shut out because he has no union card", - I say, if you do not believe in the open shop, then you must believe either in the closed union shop or the closed non-union shop. I will not indulge in an idle discussion of the closed non-union shop. Of course you do not believe in that. And, knowing you as well as I do, I do not see how you can believe in the closed union shop. You will have to tell me in so many words that you do before I believe that you do. The closed union shop, like the closed non-union shop, is absolutely against the public interest. I have argued this question at such length in the correspondence with between Mr. Gompers and myself (copies of which you have received) that I will not inflict the argument upon you again. But will you not answer me frankly this question: Are you in favor of the closed union shop?

Referring to the second (quoted) part of your paragraph: You recognize, of course, that if the Chamber of Commerce does believe earnestly and sincerely in the open shop, it is explicitly its "function" to work for what it believes in and try to make its beliefs effective. The Chamber of Commerce is not a chamber of resolutions, merely. It is a chamber of action, and I think you will agree with me, on second thought, that however much you may disagree with a policy, it is the chamber's duty, having decided upon a policy, to endeavor to make that policy effective.

I note your reference to the American Plan Association. I have no acquaintance with this association whatever. I suppose that I know personally some of the gentlemen who compose it. I have been informed of the labor policy of the factories represented by some of the members of its executive committee. I have not tested the accuracy of this information. But, if I am correctly informed, these factories are operated so nearly upon the closed non-union shop

basis that I share your doubts about the ideals (as you call them) of such associations. I am compelled to emphasize the fact that my information with regard to these factories is second or third-hand, and may be inaccurate.

But if you knew of the ardent efforts of the same gentlemen who now compose the active element in the American Plan Association to prevent the Chamber of Commerce from having a program of labor relations, you would suspect, with me, that those gentlemen did not care to have the real open shop preached to this community with the sincerity and effectiveness with which the Chamber is preaching it.

I cannot agree with your statement of this Chamber's mission. The Chamber of Commerce is not an association of employers. It is a civic organization. It does not pretend to represent the public. But it tries, perhaps mistakenly at times, but always with sincerity, I think to represent the public interest.

With reference to the next paragraph of your letter, it seems to me that two observations might be made - first, that you are not wholly familiar with the record of the Chamber in ferreting out and endeavoring to correct abuses of the character that you mention, and second, that it is not a sound argument against the validity of one policy to accuse the Chamber of dereliction in others.

I have carefully read through the little pamphlet you were kind enough to send me as expressive of your views. This pamphlet seems to me, if you will permit me to be quite frank about it, to assume that the advocates of the open shop desire to destroy organized labor and to eliminate collective bargaining. I believe in labor unions and yet I believe in the open shop. I believe in collective bargaining, and yet I believe in the open shop. And I find that my associates in the Chamber of Commerce - the members of its board of directors and its committee on labor relations - are in accord with my views, or rather, perhaps I should say, I am in accord with their views. And their views are representative of the great preponderating majority of the members of the Chamber of Commerce. In other words, it seems to me that the basic assumption of your pamphlet is inaccurate and results from the undeniable fact that there are employers and there are employers' associations who would use the slogan of the open shop as a hypocritical cloak to cover their efforts for the closed non-union shop. With such employers neither the Chamber of Commerce nor I have the slightest sympathy, and we have said repeatedly and in the most public way. I enclose a letter to the Editor of "The Cleveland Citizen" written by Alexander C. Brown, the chairman of the committee on labor relations, covering the point. Please take the time to read it carefully.

Having taken an assumption as your basis that I believe to be incorrect, your pamphlet goes on to denounce the open shop as though it were synonymous with the destruction of trade unionism. The Chamber of Commerce is in agreement with you that trade unionism should not be destroyed, that it has a useful field to fill, that it is necessary to the prosperity of the worker, and that any effort, however concealed in whatever specious disguise, that attempts to destroy trade unionism, is against the public interest. But we are for the open shop just as unqualifiedly. My associates in the Chamber of Commerce are joined with me in the belief that the hope of ~~the~~ trade unionism for future growth and future usefulness rests on its abandonment of its monopolistic closed union shop policy. We are convinced that the failure of organized labor to make any real progress in recent years is due to the defection of public sympathy caused by the principle of the closed union shop and the evil practices resulting from it.

I have tried in this letter not to avoid any argument you have made, either in your letter or your pamphlet. If I have omitted any point, it is not intentional. Unless you have become convinced that the closed union shop is right in principle, I can see no reason for your resignation from the Chamber of Commerce - nor indeed should you resign in any event, for the Chamber is a many sided organization, and disagreement with one policy, even so important a one as this question of labor relations, should not necessitate your resignation. Tom L. Johnson disagreed with the Chamber of Commerce on many public issues, but he remained a member of it as long as he lived. Will you not do me the personal favor of reconsidering the question in the light of this letter and then advise me whether or not I may have your permission to withdraw your resignation.

Very truly yours,

(signed) Newton D. Baker,
President.



April Fifth
1923.

Mr. Newton D. Baker,
President, Chamber of Commerce,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Mr. Baker,

Permit me to thank you for your letter of March twenty-eighth and for the comprehensive way in which you reply to my communication.

You ask me whether I favor the closed union shop. I favor the complete organization of American workmen in their respective trades. I believe that the public will be better served if it is under the necessity of adjusting itself to organized and accountable groups rather than to unwieldy and unorganized masses. I therefore favor a condition in industry which will induce organization by giving preference in employment to organized over unorganized men. I also favor real collective bargaining, through the chosen representatives of the men, whether these be of a particular shop involved or not; not a sort of collective bargaining, which makes the selection of the representative dependent upon the consent of the employer.

Strictly speaking, then, I do not favor the closed union shop. However, while not favoring it, I do not seek to destroy it where it now exists. Rather would I apply my energies to the organization of the 90% of American labor which still remain unorganized. These masses are a real hindrance to the development of a code of group conduct and responsibility. When labor is completely organized, it will be completely controlled - if not by law, then by a sensitized and directed public opinion, by competent leadership, which organization in time develops, and by the vast corporate responsibility of keeping men employed and content by keeping industry going.

You assume that if one does not believe in the closed shop, one must proceed at once to destroy it. That is a hurried conclusion. I do not believe in the Soviet system of Russia, yet I would do nothing to hurt it; for one readily can surmise what horrors would follow the collapse of the Soviet Government today.

What assurance can you give the organized men, say of the Miners' Union of the Central Competitive Field, that upon the voluntary surrender of the closed shop plank, they would not be forced by operators, whose cynical disregard of agreement was manifested not so very long ago, into the very conditions of serfdom from which they, by organization, escaped, and under which their fellow-workmen in the Open Shop Fields of West Virginia are still suffering?

The closed union shop should not be destroyed nor fought. It should be made unnecessary by the organization of industry on the basis of the preferential union shop idea, and real collective bargaining.

You say you are a Trade Unionist. You say that the Chamber of Commerce believes that the Trade Union "is necessary for the prosperity of the worker"; "that any effort that attempts to destroy Trade Unionism is against the public interest". A Trade Unionist is one who believes in the ultimate organization of all workmen in each trade. He works for that end, not by resolution only (as you say) but by action. What action has the Chamber of Commerce taken in recent years to stimulate the organization into unions of the workmen of Cleveland?

The pamphlet of the Committee of Labor Relations of the Chamber makes mention of 546 Open Shops in Cleveland, and of 126 closed Non Union Shops, as against 16 Closed Union Shops. The public knows of the persistent attacks which the Chamber has launched against closed union shops, such as those of the building trades, and of the manner in which it utilized an industrial conflict, like the Milk-Drivers' strike, or the Plumbers' strike for the alienation of public sentiment from the cause of the strikers. The public has yet to learn of any forceful and persistent action on the part of the Chamber of Commerce to fight the closed non union shop, which you say is absolutely against the public interest, or to establish real collective bargaining, or to encourage Trade Unionism by urging employers to give preference to union labor in their shops, or to combat organizations like the American Plan Association, which is seeking to destroy unionism, and which is therefore against public interest.

Why was the Chamber silent during the Steel strike in 1919? Here men were fighting for the right of collective bargaining, and for conditions of employment, which the report of the Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement declared the sine qua non of decency, concluding their report with the statement "that conditions in the steel industry 'gave the workers just cause for complaint and for action', and that 'these unredressed grievances still exist'. They were not, as you know, fighting for the closed shop. Comparatively few strikes have been called for that purpose. Here was an opportunity for real service and for a real vindication on the part of the Chamber of its claim to impartiality. But the Chamber, which was very vocal in the case of the Building strike, and the Milk Drivers' strike, and the Plumbers' strike, and in each instance condemning the strikers or their unions, was eloquently silent here. Not only was there no action - there was not even resolution. The only action which you did take was to advise your membership to disregard completely the Ordinance passed by the City Council to regulate the employment of special guards during strikes, and to provide for the licensing of such guards; an Ordinance which as you know, avoided much bloodshed in our community. Similarly was the Chamber silent in the cases of the Coal strike, where the President of the United States himself felt constrained to express his displeasure of the flagrant violation of agreement on the part of the Coal Operators.

I said in my letter that "the desire on the part of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce to serve the public would perhaps be less subject to question if the Chamber had shown a similar alacrity and apostolic zeal in ferreting out and exposing the abuse in the camps of employers, bankers, mortgage sharks and profiteers in our city"; and you reply that I am not wholly familiar with the record of the Chamber in ferreting out and endeavoring to correct abuses of the character that I mention. What is the record and where is it to be found? You further say "that it is not a sound argument against the validity of one policy to accuse the Chamber of dereliction in others". No, not the validity, but the sincerity! When an organization sets out to represent the interests of the public at large, and then proceeds to ignore perhaps the most vital tasks

N. D. B. 3.

affecting the public weal, and prominently centers its energies upon smashing Union shops, it decidedly lays itself open to suspicion.

You ask me to reconsider my resignation. I wish I could see my way clear to do so. I feel, however that I cannot conscientiously lend my support to an organization which has made such a labor policy its chief function. I shall, perhaps, find opportunities for co-operation in civic matters with you and the other good men of the Chamber, through other agencies and other channels.

With kindest regards, I beg to remain

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) Abba Hillel Silver.



April 11th, 1923.

Rabbi A.H. Silver,
The Temple,
E. 55th & Central Ave.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi Silver,

Of course I value the frankness of your letter of April 5th, and I regret that fairly continuous court engagements have so clogged up my time that it was not possible for me to acknowledge the letter until today, and now I have ceased to be President of the Chamber of Commerce, and therefore have no right to speak in its name.

I shall, therefore, transmit your letter of April 5th to Mr. Grant, President of the Chamber, who will doubtless with regret regard it as final on the question of your resignation from the Chamber, although he may feel that he ought to send you some references to the record of the Chamber on the question of the closed non-union shop, to which I frankly feel your letter to be unjust.

And now, speaking quite personally, I want to express my own regret that you feel it impossible to continue your Chamber membership. No doubt there are members of the Chamber who for one reason or another believe that unionism is bad and who therefore desire to smash unions, but the labor relations policy of the Chamber must be distasteful to them for it neither believes the one nor aims at the other. The large committee which worked over a period of years in the formulation of that policy had in it serious minded employers, public spirited lawyers, a professor or two of the social sciences, and I believe two representatives of the great railroad employees' unions. The execution of that policy is largely committed to the Labor Relations Committee; and after I had formed the Committee this year I was told that one member of the Chamber whom I had appointed on it operated the closed non-union shop. I asked him by letter frankly whether that information was accurate and upon his replying that it was, I as frankly told him that I felt obliged to discontinue his service on the Committee and replace him with another member against whom that objection did not obtain. So far as I know, the Committee now contains no single member who believes in or practices the closed non-union shop, and the utterances of the Committee have so carefully included an equality of emphasis in disapproving closed non-union ~~shop~~ and closed union shop, that I sometimes wondered whether this desire to be explicit did a little blunt the edge of the Committee's argument when addressed to a particular situation. I was a member of the Board of Directors of the Chamber for two years and during that entire time I never once heard a director express a belief or a desire that trade-unionism might be either smothered or injured; and when I ventured in my correspondence with Mr. Campers to express my own belief in trade unions and my earnest desire to see the movement equipped to go forward by an abandonment on its part of an untenable position, my associates on the Board not only approved but unanimously voted to print the correspondence as expressive of the views of the Chamber. The central principle, therefore, of the Chamber's position is sound, and my distress at your resignation is that we thus lose the supporting voice of one who believes with us in principle but departs from us on detail either of expression or emphasis, and so pro tanto (and a large tanto in your case) weakens the driving force of the Chamber's action.

I fear you and I would develop a robust difference of opinion on the subject of the unionisation of all workmen, if you mean that such unionisation by force either from employers or fellow-workmen would be justified. That I do not believe, nor do I believe that either employers or fellow workmen have a right to impose the penalty of industrial ostracism upon those who decline to join unions.

The shackles of modern civilization have left us little enough freedom as it is, but to my mind restrictions upon liberty imposed by political authority in modern times are trifling at their worst as compared with the restrictions which are imposed upon individual workers by the unauthorized determinations of councils in which they are not represented and against which they have the protection of no constitutional guarantee, nor of any court of either law or equity.

Perhaps some time when fortune favors we may have an opportunity to talk over these things face to face. The presumptions which you and I naturally indulge in each other's favor will be a sufficient assurance to us both that we are trying earnestly to be right and to help.

Cordially yours,

(signed) Newton D. Baker.



PUBLIC INTEREST

A MONTHLY PUBLICATION ISSUED BY
THE AMERICAN PLAN ASSOCIATION OF CLEVELAND
WILLIAM FREW LONG, GENERAL MANAGER
1502 CLEVELAND DISCOUNT BUILDING

VOL. II

CLEVELAND, OHIO, MAY, 1923

No. 5

Cleveland's Mill-Stone

BUILDING construction in Detroit during 1922 totaled \$95,000,000.00.

Building construction in Cleveland during 1922 totaled \$55,000,000.00.

In Detroit homes were constructed during 1922 for 17,000 families.

In Cleveland homes were constructed during 1922 for 7,000 families.

Increase in cost of building in Detroit, over prewar costs, 150%.

Increase in cost of building in Cleveland, over prewar costs, 200%.

What is the answer?

Simply this—Detroit building trades are operated **Open Shop**, while Cleveland building trades are operated **Closed Shop**.

One does not have to be either a statistician or a prophet to foretell the damage which Cleveland will suffer unless she is relieved of the hindrance to her progress which has been interposed by the Building Industry of this city.

Already our industries are losing men to other cities where the cost of building has not made necessary the exorbitant rents prevailing here. Competing cities have been quick to see our predicament and have flooded the city with "labor scouts" who have made vast inroads on Cleveland's labor supply.

The result has been that if Cleveland manufacturers would retain their men they must pay them a wage differential sufficient to make up the margin between the rent they have to pay here and the lesser amount they would have to pay in most competing industrial centers where building is done on an Open Shop basis.

All this must, of course, be reflected in the selling price of articles manufactured in Cleveland, and while Cleveland's industries are busy just at this moment because of the large demand for what they manufacture, as soon as supply and demand are more nearly equal, to say nothing of the inevitable time of depression, this necessary wage differential will place Cleveland's industries at a disadvantage in competing with the product of cities whose building industry is not dominated by Closed Shop Unionism.

The figures quoted above, most of which are taken from the March 15, 1923, issue of the Cleveland Trust Company's "Business Bulletin," sound a warning which it will be well for us to heed before it is too late.

What can YOU do about it? These bulletins are sent to a group of citizens, of which you are one, that plays a tremendous part in molding public opinion. If, therefore, you will seize every opportunity to condemn the Closed Shop conditions in our Building Trades, it will be but a short time before those conditions will be so universally condemned by the public that they must fall.

The American Principle of Freedom in Employment Relations

THE stability and progress of America, an industrial nation, are based upon the fundamental truth that the right to work "without any other's leave"—as President Harding expressed it at Marion, Ohio, last July—is incontestable. Many of the country's great leaders have considered the affirmation of this principle of so great importance to the general welfare that they have given public expression to their views. In keeping with the declaration of President Harding that "liberty is gone in America when any man is denied by anybody the right to work and to live by that work" the Vice-President and the members of the President's Cabinet unite in upholding the principle of complete freedom in employment relations:

CALVIN COOLIDGE, Vice-President.

"THERE is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time."

CHAS. E. HUGHES, Secretary of State.

"THERE is no more important concern than to safeguard the freedom of labor, upon which alone can enduring prosperity be based."

A. W. MELLON, Secretary of the Treasury.

"NO ONE, in the enjoyment of his right to work or to strike as a member of an organized group, can abridge another's right to the same freedom of action as an individual."

JOHN W. WEEKS, Secretary of War.

"I BELIEVE in the open shop because the closed shop is an abridgment of personal liberty which is un-American in principle. Workers have the right to organize and the right to collective bargaining, but every man has the right to work for whomever he pleases; to stop working whenever he desires; to employ or refuse to employ whomever he chooses; and to discharge from his employ whomever he sees fit."

HARRY M. DAUGHERTY, Attorney General.

"IF I WERE running a shop or a factory I would run an open shop. That means that a man works if he wants to work, without being compelled to present a certificate that he belongs to any organization."

HARRY S. NEW, Postmaster General.

"IT IS THE fundamental right of every citizen of this republic to work when he pleases, as he pleases, and for such return as is satisfactory to him. No man

has the right to interfere with him in the peaceful prosecution of his work so long as he keeps himself within the law."

EDWIN DENBY, Secretary of the Navy.

"I BELIEVE in the open shop, which offers opportunity to union and non-union men alike to work, without compulsion or restraint."

HUBERT WORK, Department of the Interior.

"THE marvelous development of our country has been largely due to our INDEPENDENCE in work and the opportunity to secure a just reward for our industry."

HENRY C. WALLACE, Secretary of Agriculture.

"THE right to work is just as sacred as the right to quit work and must be upheld by all the force of organized society."

HERBERT HOOVER, Secretary of Commerce.

"WORKERS have a right to organize to protect and improve wages and conditions of labor. They have a right to collective bargaining. They have a right to strike. They have a right to refuse to join such organizations. They have a right to work without intimidation and assault. Employers have a right to refuse to recognize such organizations. They have a right to lockout. They have a right to keep open shop."

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary of Labor.

"I BELIEVE in labor, in its rights and privileges, its duties and responsibilities, its dignity and its honor. I believe in labor's right to organize, to bargain collectively and to be free."

That the position taken by the Government at Washington in regard to the inviolability of the principle of freedom in employment relations, as shown in the foregoing, is supported in places of high authority throughout the country will be seen in the statements from these Governors of States:

GOVERNOR WARREN T. MCCRAY, State of Indiana.

"I AM A firm believer in the inalienable rights of any individual to work at any honest employment without asking the consent of any other man. I also regard it as a man's sound right to quit any employment when he sees fit, but he should not attempt to dictate whether or not anybody else shall fill his place."

GOVERNOR ARTHUR M. HYDE, State of Missouri.

"NO MAN has any right to use threats, intimidation, or force to cause another man to quit his job. The right to work and the right to quit work are both indispensable to human liberty. Whoever denies, impairs or abridges either of these rights, does to that extent enslave his fellow-man, and does to that extent jeopardize his own liberty."



GOVERNOR JONATHAN M. DAVIS, State of Kansas.

"THE State should give protection to the right of men to work or quit work, singly or in a body, as they choose."

GOVERNOR JOHN M. PARKER, State of Louisiana.

"I DON'T recognize under the law, the right of union labor or any other labor to dictate who shall be and who shall not be employed on public works."

GOVERNOR REDFIELD PROCTOR, State of Vermont.

"THE right to work and to earn one's living without interference by any other person is a fundamental principle of Americanism. Its denial is a violation of the most sacred rights of American citizenship."

GOVERNOR CHARLES A. TEMPLETON, State of Connecticut.

"THE most precious right we have next to life itself is the right to labor and any man who is prevented from exercising that right is interfered with in his liberty, in his happiness, in his ability to support himself and his family, and in his contribution to the advancement of the human race."

Leaders in the Church, irrespective of denomination, have for some time given strong testimony on the sanctity of the right of men to work and to live their lives unfettered. They have denounced closed shop unionism as destructive of individual advancement, unchristian in practical workings, and menacing to the public welfare. Typical expressions of well-known clergymen may be noted:

CARDINAL GIBBONS.

"THE right of a non-union laborer to make his own contract freely and perform it without hindrance, is so essential to civil liberty that it must be defended by the whole power of the government."

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.

"IF ANY section of society endeavors to prevent any man from working and enjoying the product of his work, that section of society is unjust. If any organization undertakes to prevent any man from working, when he will, where he will, and at what wages he will, that organization violates the essential rights of labor."

BISHOP McCABE.

"I WANT to state the attitude of the Church, and this statement is official. We are opposed to having a small percentage of laboring men run the entire laboring class in a high-handed and authoritative manner. * * * It is an imposition for a few men to say 'join our union or you cannot work!' It is an imposition

The principle of freedom in employment relations is elemental; there can be no denial of its validity. It involves a right supported by every guarantee of law and propriety; it is the embodiment of the doctrine that to every American is to be accorded the enjoyment of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and as such it commends itself to universal acceptance.

FACTS FOR DEBATORS.—The popularity of the topic, "The Open Shop vs. the Closed Shop in Industry," among debaters in educational institutions and literary societies renders it necessary that up-to-date data on the subject be available. Informative material on this vitally important public question may be had upon request from the office of this publication.

GOVERNOR THOMAS C. McRAE, State of Arkansas.

"THE Creator imposed upon man the duty to work. The right to perform this duty, and to quit work singly or collectively, should be protected by law. Likewise, a man should be allowed to work when he wants to."

GOVERNOR VIC DONAHEY, State of Ohio.

"THE right of every free man to work is inalienable and undeniable in a country like ours."

GOVERNOR J. A. O. PREUS, State of Minnesota.

"I CANNOT understand how anyone can have any sound or reasonable basis for denying the right of any other free American to work. In fact, the right to work ought to be as sacred as the right to quit work."

GOVERNOR WILLIAM M. BRANDON, State of Alabama.

"EVERY man should be given an opportunity in life and the right to labor is inalienable and no man should be restricted in this right. He ought to be given every opportunity to support himself and his family and should not be denied this privilege in any way."

to refuse to allow men to work as they will if they work honestly and earn their livelihood by honest sweat. As now constituted, labor unions cannot long stand. Either they must reform themselves or they will cease to exist."

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND.

"THEY who cease to work must in no way interfere with the liberty of others who may wish to work. The personal freedom of the individual citizen is the most sacred and precious inheritance of America."

BISHOP QUAYLE.

"THERE must be in America an absolutely open door to any man who wants to work to get it without being anything more than an American citizen."

REV. CHARLES F. AKED, D.D., LL.D.

"THE MAN who chooses to do the work which the other man chooses not to do has the right to do it unmolested, free from intimidation, threat, insult."



INVOKING THE AMERICAN SPIRIT AGAINST ALIEN PROPAGANDA

(Special Correspondence from Washington, D. C.)

WITHIN the past few days a number of American women holding membership in a great patriotic organization, the D. A. R., gave hearty approval to a resolution endorsing "the present plan of our United States Government for sufficient military strength and preparedness."

Impressing the idea that patriotic defense calls for the individual efforts of all classes, Secretary of War Weeks states to the readers of this publication:

"The protection of America from foes outside and within should not be left to people in public office. There is a duty that rests upon every man and woman sheltered by the Republic to preserve its structure. Old and young, educated and illiterate, financiers and laborers, the clergy, the teacher, the man in the street, must all share the impulse and the will to stand on guard."

The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Denby, declares, similarly, to the readers of this publication:

"It is the duty of all citizens to protect and defend the Constitution and maintain its integrity."

"There are signs of a better appreciation of America as a land of liberty and wonderful opportunities. Newspaper headlines and the expressions from leaders of public opinion daily demonstrate this. So, it is a good time for all classes in all communities, bound together by the common ties of patriotism, to show by their acts and expressions that they intend to defend from sinister attacks our form of government, the heritage of our fathers."

There are welcome signs of a revival of American spirit and pride of country. Too long have insidious plottings against the established social order been tolerated by the people as a whole.

Those whose business it is to know the intimate affairs of the nation are well informed of the attacks, carefully planned and skillfully carried out part of a definite destructive policy, that are being waged against American institutions, that threaten the ideals of family, home, school, church.

Statements by public men and women have effect, of course, in remedying any malignant situation, but they have to be backed by understanding and action among the mass of the people. Every man, woman and child in the United States must be made to know from now on that their country is endangered. Their lives, their possessions, their freedom, are menaced by a "Red" invasion that plans first an irritation of the public mind, a weakening of the public conscience, a pollution of the body politic, and then the establishment of a communistic order of existence after the vicious pattern of Russia.

Our liberty and prosperity have been dearly bought. Every minister in the pulpit, every educator of the young, every merchant, artisan, every woman at home, has in them a heritage that is beyond price. They should unite in plans of action, should stand squarely behind all movements that are designed to combat radicalism, and last but not least, should let their representatives in state legislatures and in Congress know plainly that the people of America are awake and alert.

Why the Minimum Wage Law is Declared Unconstitutional

THE HIGHEST tribunal of justice, the Supreme Court of the United States, has declared unconstitutional the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia.

The question before the Court was not one of motive or emotional or theoretical interest. The Minimum Wage Act, it stated, "has nothing to do with the character, methods or periods of wage payments. It does not prescribe hours of labor or conditions under which labor is to be done. It is not for the protection of persons under legal disability, or for the prevention of fraud. It is simply and exclusively a price-fixing law."

Declaring that the power to fix minimum wages carries with it, if lawful, the power to fix maximum wages, the Court added:

If, for example, in the opinion of future lawmakers, wages in the building trades shall become so high as to preclude people of ordinary trades from building and owning homes, an authority which sustains the minimum wage will be invoked to support a maximum wage for building laborers and artisans, and the same argument which has been here urged to strip the employer of his constitutional liberty of contract in one direction will be utilized to strip the employee of his constitutional liberty of contract in the opposite direction. A wrong decision does not end with itself; it is a precedent.

Minimum wage legislation is ineffective from the standpoint of both economics and morals. That women and minors who have to work are entitled to every protection, no decent person will deny, but their necessities are relieved by, not caused by, their employment. As regards pay for service rendered, the minimum wage theory, in the language of the Supreme Court, conflicts with the "inexorable law that no one can continue indefinitely to take out more than he puts in without ultimately exhausting the supply."

When Farm and City Compete

THERE WAS a shift from farms to cities and towns of 1,120,000 persons in 1922. This comprised 3.6 per cent of the entire rural agricultural population at the beginning of the year. The figures are disquieting, for they portend a decrease in farm production and increases in the prices of farm products.

The cities are always beckoning to farm workers, and the high rates of pay now prevailing in the industries make the call all the more seductive. Admitting a larger number of desirable immigrants would improve situation in both places. The reaction will come when market prices make agriculture more profitable. High cost of living is a great adjuster of farm and city controversies.

THE GLEN SPRINGS
WATKINS, N. Y.

July 26, 1923.

Mr. Newton D. Baker,
First National Bank,
Euclid Avenue,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Mr. Baker:

I feel that a note of explanation is due you, especially after reading a copy of your letter which Mr. Haven sent to me. Upon receipt of it, I got in touch immediately with Mr. Cook, Editor of the Cleveland Press. The letter is self explanatory.

I regret exceedingly that the Cleveland Press misunderstood or misinterpreted the clear intent of your statement to its reporter. It was an unfortunate oversight on my part that I did not get in touch with you by phone, to verify the reporter's statement to me, but his words were so positive and definite, touching your pleasure in having this correspondence published that it did not occur to me that any misunderstanding was involved.

Trusting that you are well, I beg to remain

Very sincerely yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER
JOSEPH C. HOSTETLER
THOMAS L. SIDLO
FRANK E. STEVENS
M. DE VAUGHN
PAUL PATTERSON
BENJAMIN F. FIERY

BAKER, HOSTETLER & SIDLO
COUNSELLORS AT LAW
UNION NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
CLEVELAND

July 31st, 1923.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
E. 55th St. & Central Ave.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi Silver:

During my absence up the lakes, your letter of July 26th from the Glen Springs arrived at my office.

I have realized all the time that the misunderstanding of this matter arose from the zeal of the reporter. Both Mr. Brainerd, my secretary, and I were clear, at the time, that my statements to him were a positive refusal to permit the publication of the correspondence, but I can see how he misunderstood my reference to the Chamber of Commerce as being in control of so much of it as was written while I was President of that body.

After all, the publication did no harm, although I regret somewhat, the form of it as being more personal and less directly argumentative than would have been the case had I been consciously writing for publication.

Incidentally, some of our mutual friends have undertaken to express to me opinions hostile to your right to express the views contained in your letters. It has given me a great deal of pleasure to say that it is far more important that you and I shall be free to say frankly what we think than that either of us should always think unerringly. Either of us can, by reflection, correct errors in our own thinking, but neither of us can easily recover our lost liberty if our freedom to speak is successfully denied.

Cordially yours,

Newton D. Baker

Newton D. Baker.

December 24th, 1924.

The City Editor of
The Cleveland Press,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

The greatest service which the Ohio Legislature can render the people of this state and of the country during the coming year, is, in my opinion, the ratification of the proposed Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution of The United States - The Child Labor Amendment.

The child labor situation in the United States has grown considerably worse since the Second National Child Labor Law was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

Tens of Thousands of children, especially in the cotton mills of the south and in the textile mills of New England are being cheated of their birth right, stunted physically and mentally and incapacitated for future intelligent cooperation in the common life of the nation by industrial exploitation.

Nine states have no laws whatever prohibiting all children under fourteen from working in shops, factories or stores. Eleven states allow children under sixteen to work from nine to eleven hours a day.

The states in which child labor is most abused have resisted for more than a generation all educational propaganda looking towards the enactment of state laws, even those of the most conservative kind for the protection of youth. They are likely to continue in this obdurate social immorality.

The Federal Amendment proposes to give Congress the power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. It does not enact a law, it merely gives Congress the power to enact a law with the above age limit as a maximum.

*Att. Photograph mailed
Special Delivery 12/26/24*

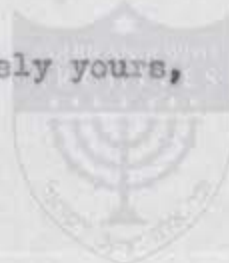
December 24th, 1924.

It would be better of course if the individual states would enact Child Labor Laws, thereby making Federal legislation unnecessary. As a general rule, it is not wise to over-centralize power in the federal government.

But many states have shown and are showing no willingness to meet the humanitarian demands and of higher standards of American life. The only other recourse is the Federal Amendment.

The lives of the children must not be broken upon the walls of industry.

Very sincerely yours,



ER URGES CITY TO BUILD AND AID NEEDY

Rabbi Says Now Is Time to
Act on Big Projects, End-
ing Unemployment

By PAUL PACKARD

Governmental construction projects—the new high level bridge, the lake front improvement and others—offer the only immediate means of bringing relief to Cleveland's unemployed.

These emergency remedial measures were urged Wednesday by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

"The unemployment situation is critical here, as it is over the country as a whole," Rabbi Silver said. "Right now is the time for the city to launch its vast projects. It should launch them under heavy pressure."

Both Will Benefit

"Periods of unemployment should be met by the city with an aggressive construction program. The city now cannot only get labor at reasonable prices, but at the same time perform social service."

Rabbi Silver pronounced the dole system of England as "vicious," but asserted that Cleveland and other industrial centers are headed toward it unless something is done.

"There is no excuse for public school children being undernourished," he said emphatically. "The Board of Education has the right to ask help of the Community Fund and the Welfare Association."

"Surely our treasury has not been so depleted that anybody in this city need starve. I don't care how serious the situation may become, every man, woman and child in Cleveland is entitled to food, raiment and shelter."

All Have Right to Live

"This is not charity. Everybody has the right to live. It isn't a man's fault if he wants to work and can't find a job."

Unemployment, the rabbi explained, is not a local but a national problem and cannot be attributed to any one thing. He urged the passage of an unemployment insurance bill as a permanent solution to the problem.

"Other progressive countries already have adopted it," he said. "Insurance affords the only sure protection for a man out of work. The policy should be paid by the employee, the employer and the state. Then when the man is thrown out of work he becomes neither a charge on the community nor of industry."

Would Evade Charity

"My telephone rings almost incessantly. It seems as tho men everywhere are out of work. I call factories and stores, but the answer invariably is: 'Why, rabbi, we're laying off men now.' There is nothing I can do for those who appeal to me."

Rabbi Silver said that unemployment insurance would enable men to live without resorting to charity.

"But we can't get the insurance bill thru now and right now is when we need relief," he concluded. "The city will have to get into action on its long-proposed projects."

Press, Nov. 30-27
POINTS WAY TO AID NEEDY

1927



September 10th, 1929

In the judgment of the Cleveland Bar Association's Committee on Americanization, the following points are among the outstanding things which merit emphasis in connection with the observance of "Constitution Day."

First: The Constitution is unique, in that it is the attempt of the sovereign people to restrain its own recklessness. Insofar as the Constitution placed restraints on the governing class it did little that was new and nothing that was startling. But in its effort to curb the hasty action of excitable majorities it contributed a new thing to the art of government. The chief means employed to impose this restraint is by making the Constitution, itself, so hard to change that it cannot be done without talking the matter over a great deal and thinking it over at least a little.

Second: Although the Constitution enumerates certain valuable privileges of the individual against the Central Government it insures no one liberty, except an ordered liberty under the restraint of law. The protection it gives us as individuals is no less important than the respect which it requires of us as individuals for the opinions of others with whom we may disagree. The Constitution is a people's covenant with itself that its basic institutions shall not be violently overthrown and that the changes which it makes in its fundamental law shall be orderly and slow.

Third: The people of the United States are today essentially as they were in 1789, an adventurous and frontier people eager to make laws for others to observe but impatient of personal restraint. The Constitution has imposed upon this reckless and pioneer type of mind a rather remarkable degree of national stability. One may almost say that the miracle has happened, that a Government has risen higher than its source, and is in some important respects better and more stable than the people, themselves. The continuance of this miracle, if it be a miracle, must depend upon the will of the people to obey even those laws which they dislike and on their willingness to abandon or repeal offensive laws in the orderly method fixed by the Constitution rather than by the shorter and easier method of refusing obedience to those laws.

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DR. HENRY E. BOURNE
MRS. JAMES H. GARFIELD
MRS. F. H. GOFF
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October 7, 1929

Rabbi A. H. Silver
The Temple
Ansel Rd. & E. 105th St.,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:-

You are one of the loyal supporters of the Consumers' League whose contributions from year to year have made possible a continuous work in this community in the interest of working women and children. I think that you will be glad to know how your money has been used during the year just nearing a close.

Two projects chiefly have occupied us during 1929: the Candy White List and Double Compensation for children injured while illegally employed. You have heard of the White List (and we hope you remember it when you buy your candy) but perhaps you have not heard what concrete results have come out of it. Several factories have increased wages, a number have become more strict about hours of work, and a number have installed lunch rooms for their workers as the result of the publicity given to our investigation. Our bill to protect working children from serious and life-long injuries by providing extra compensation for those who are hurt while at work on jobs prohibited by law went down to defeat in the 1929 legislature. We shall continue our efforts for this type of legislation, gathering facts about injuries to children and enlisting the interest of more people in the prevention of this needless suffering.

Many important tasks face us; the most immediate is the investigation of sweat shops in Cleveland upon which we have already embarked. In making our plans for 1930, we need to know now whether we can count on your continued support of this work. We shall be greatly encouraged if you are able to renew your pledge of \$100.00.

Sincerely yours,

Julia Raymond
Julia Raymond
Finance Chairman

Dec. 10th, 1929.

A thousand people face an acute situation at Marion, N. C., either because of the present strike or because their bread-winners have been laid off by the Marion Manufacturing Company, or left out of work by the closing down of the night shift at the Clinchfield Mills. Following the strike of last summer, the people are without cash reserves of any kind. They need food, clothes, medicine, nursing services. Little children are badly in need of milk.

The strike is under the auspices of the United Textile Workers of America, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The origin of the first strike last summer was due to bad conditions in the mills, many workers working 12 hours a day in a settlement reducing hours to 55 a week and promising no discrimination against workers with union affiliations. A wage increase of five percent a week was subsequently granted. Increasing dissatisfaction on the ground of discrimination by the company against union workers, however, led to another walk-out on October 2d at the Marion Manufacturing Company.

The killing of six strikers by the sheriff's forces at the mill gates on October 2d has resulted in an atmosphere of bitterness which entails dangerous possibilities. Only justice in an industrial settlement and love and service to human need can heal these wounds. Mediators are at work in the situation. Meanwhile people are in immediate need, especially in view of the approaching cold weather. Sickness will follow if they are not adequately clothed and fed.

On recommendation of the Social Service Commission, the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of Churches invited the American Friends Service Committee to take charge of distribution of relief on behalf of church forces and they have agreed to do so. This relief is to be distributed impartially on a basis of human need without regard to whether workers are members of the union or not. The experience and reputation of the Quakers assures competent work in the field.

The undersigned have undertaken to raise a relief fund in Cleveland. Every Church and Synagogue is being solicited

to contribute a sum, not less than \$10, to this humanitarian cause. May we include your church among those who will respond to this appeal?

Checks should be made payable to the American Friends Service Committee, and sent to this office. Your immediate cooperation will be deeply appreciated.

Very cordially yours,

Rev. Dan F. Bradley,
Rabbi B. R. Brickner,
Rabbi Harry S. Davidowitz
✓ Miss Alice P. Gannett
Rev. Frederick Hall
✓ Miss Elizabeth S. MacGee
Dr. Louis S. Ruf
Rev. Sheridan B. Salmon
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Mr. Whiting Williams
Rev. A. J. Wright

AMS/IR

700 3025- Miss MacGee



minutes of meeting called to discuss unemployment
apr 17, 1928 - Women's City Club at 2:30 p. m
Miss Gannett presiding

insured. Insurance is compulsory. The employer pays a percentage of the weekly wage, and so does the employee. The state pays nothing except the cost of operating the entire program. The unemployment insurance payments are distributed after careful investigation of applicants, and the board making the investigation tries to find employment for the individual, either in his own industry or in some other industry, before his insurance premium is paid him, or even tries to train him for another type of work in which there is demand for workers. Germany introduced this insurance following the war, when it was broken financially and far from prosperous. England has some twelve millions insured today. In England the government does pay a certain amount into an insurance fund, and the worker and employer also pay into it.

What do these insurance plans do? In the first place and, to my mind, the most important thing, they keep a self-respecting family from losing its self-respect and its dignity by being forced after long periods of unemployment and when little savings have been used up, to knock at the doors of charity. To my mind, there is nothing sadder than to see that happen. In the second place, they enable our social agencies to carry on the work in which they are engaged without being suddenly overwhelmed by an inundation of new applicants due to an acute unemployment situation. In the third place, they make for social stability. No country can long endure in peace that has millions of working men out of work, who are willing to work, seeing themselves degraded day by day and forced to the verge of penury and alms taking.

Now this entire system of unemployment insurance is, to my mind, just as important and just as logical and just as inevitable as accident insurance. It is quite as much an accident to the workman to be thrown out of a job as ill health is an accident to him. I believe every workman is entitled to protection against sickness, against unemployment and against the disabilities of old age, and that protection shall be built up largely through his own efforts and shall not be given as a dole, and he shall contribute to it together with the employer who profits from his labor. I submit that this is a very vital thing in our economic life today. Again I repeat, it does not solve any problem touching the causes of unemployment, but it does solve to a large measure the tragic effects of protracted and large scale unemployment. I should like to see a great movement started in this country, on the part of those alert to the situation, for unemployment insurance.

MISS GANNETT: The discussion is now thrown open to the floor. I might mention here two interesting studies made recently in this connection, in Chicago and New York. The settlements in Chicago made a survey through all their clubs over a given period of time, of this situation of unemployment. Also, in New York City the Visiting Nurse Association set aside one day and requested its nurses to find out the employment situation in all the families they visited on that day. These two methods gave a very good cross section of conditions in those cities.

MRS. EVELYN STIRES, Humane Society: I want to give a little incident bearing on the reaction of the general public toward social agencies in this connection. Coming into Cleveland on the bus the other day, I sat next to a woman who told me that she never would have any use for social organizations, after the terrible suffering she had seen this winter. Children in her neighborhood were half starved, insufficiently clothed, and so on. She talked quite a long time, and showed very clearly to me how misjudged the position of social agencies is by the general public, just because of their having more on their hands than they can care for.

MISS ELIZABETH FOLCKNER, Visiting Nurse Association: We come in contact with people when ill, and find a great deal of unemployment naturally. We have found quite a difference this last month, of course, as have other organizations. We have a more reliable index to employment conditions, however, by the ability of people to pay for our services. To a certain extent, we are very fortunate in taking care of

The Consumers' League of Ohio

341 ENGINEERS BUILDING, CLEVELAND

MAIN 3025



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May 9, 1930

Notice to Members of the Committee Studying Unemployment Insurance.

The second meeting of the committee will be held on Friday evening, May 16th, at 8 P.M. in the Parlor of the Temple, Ansel Road and East 105th Street. Rabbi Silver will present the German Unemployment Insurance plan. I hope that you can be present.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee
Elizabeth S. Magee
Executive Secretary

*This is a copy of the
notice going to the other
members of the committee.*



CHARLES F. AMIDON
 HARRY ELMER RABNER
 HERBERT S. BIGELOW
 EDWIN M. BORCHARD
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 DAVID WALLERSTEIN
 GEORGE P. WEST
 PETER WITT
 L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD

American Civil Liberties Union

100 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Chelsea 0340



November 1, 1930.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
 The Temple, East 105th Street at Ansel Road
 Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

By any chance do you know James Paisley, a coal operator in West Virginia who lives in Cleveland? He is head of the Kellys Creek Colliery Company in Ward, West Virginia, where there is a strike of miners now in progress. The enclosed memorandum tells the story.

Is there any chance of bringing any influence to bear on Paisley in Cleveland to get him to settle? I think the men can hold out a long time because the Progressive Mine Workers Union will make this a major issue, since they think it means reorganization of the West Virginia fields. From the operators' viewpoint it would be a good thing for Paisley to settle because it would prevent the agitation from spreading. It would also tend to peg wages. I believe many of the West Virginia operators are opposed to the present warfare of price-cutting and wage-cutting.

This of course is not Civil Liberties Union business, but I think some of our friends might be interested in rendering a service which is related to it. What is your advice and suggestion about approaching Paisley?

RNB:SB

Sincerely yours,

Roger Baldwin

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Confidential

Sheridan's Retail Bulletin

Circulated Privately to a Limited Number of Ohio Retail Executives

By GEORGE V. SHERIDAN, Executive Director
Ohio State Council of Retail Merchants

175 South High Street
COLUMBUS, OHIO

December 30, 1930.

STATE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FOR OHIO PROPOSED

In periods of temporarily retarded prosperity, as we delicately refer to the present, legislative experimentation is the order of the day. A brand new State Legislature convenes in Columbus next month, with a brand new Governor. Break-down of party control, so apparent in Washington, likewise will be an important factor at Columbus. The recent legislative caucuses indicated as much. There will be much legislative jockeying. In other words, Ohio this winter is ripe for fool legislation.

The group of restless reformers who a few years ago almost imposed a state minimum wage law on Ohio now are seriously agitating a state operated unemployment insurance plan. Ignoring England's unfortunate experience with the dole, they are preparing similar legislative measures to be introduced at Columbus next month; and with these disturbed conditions and their ability to play on the public sympathies, and to frighten weak legislators with the threats of "the women's vote," their effort must be regarded seriously.

Attorney Marvin C. Harrison of Cleveland has drafted the measure for the Consumers League of Cleveland. It will be promoted by a committee headed by Rabbi Silver, one of the finest platform orators in America. Mr. Harrison has given the subject serious attention. He evidently believes that present conditions can be corrected by passing a law, although no American state ever has experimented with this ticklish subject. When the eloquent Rabbi Silver appears in Columbus before legislative committees, with packed galleries, pleading for such a cause - Look Out!

Mr. Harrison's proposal creates, of course, a new state commission. It would be similar to the present Industrial Commission of Ohio, which administers the state workmen's compensation act. Of course, also the cost of administering this elaborate system is to fall upon the tax-payers of the state. If the Consumer's League is successful this winter, we suggest that the architects revise the plans for the new state office building. It will not be large enough to house the young army of experts which this new law will create.

As under the British plan, the Harrison-Silver proposal requires contributions of 1½% of the wages of the employee, while he is employed. It requires regular contributions of not to exceed 2% of his insurable payroll by the employer. (This is more liberal to the employer than the model bill which is being promoted by the American Association for Labor Legislation. The latter eliminates contributions by employees, and shifts the entire cost to the employer.)

Minutes of the Executive Committee - January 2, 1931

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Cleveland Unemployment Insurance Committee was held Friday evening, January 2, at the Temple. The following were present: Prof. Carlton, Father Cyprian, Miss Gannett, Mr. Harrison, Mr. & Mrs. Max Hayes, Miss Magee, Miss Meyette, Rabbi Silver and Miss Wing.

Rabbi Silver called the meeting to order. The minutes of the meetings of December 12th and December 15th were read and approved. The list of those who have accepted the invitation to be on the Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance was discussed. The matter of officers for the Executive Committee was next taken up. Miss Gannett nominated Rabbi Silver as chairman of the committee. Mr. Max Hayes put the motion which was unanimously carried. Mr. Harrison nominated Miss Gannett as Vice Chairman of the Committee. Mr. Hayes moved that the nominations be closed and that Miss Gannett be elected Vice Chairman. The motion carried. Father Cyprian nominated Miss Magee as secretary. Miss Wing moved that nominations be closed and that Miss Magee be elected secretary. The motion carried. Miss Wing moved that Mr. Louis Bing, Jr., be elected treasurer. Mr. Carlton moved that the officers as elected be authorized to choose the treasurer in case Mr. Bing did not accept. Mr. William Feather was suggested as another Vice Chairman. It was agreed that Rabbi Silver be authorized to approach him. A motion was made and carried that the Reverend Louis E. Wright, pastor of the Epworth-Euclid Methodist Church, be elected to membership on the committee. Mr. Harrison moved that a letter-head be printed at once containing the names of the committee.

The matter of promotion of the bill throughout the state was next discussed. Mr. Harrison moved that the secretary be empowered to send invitations to persons from different parts of the state to become members of a state committee. It was the understanding that the list would be formed after consultation with members of the Executive Committee and others. The motion carried.

The matter of introducing the bill was next discussed. Miss Magee reported on the answers to the questionnaires sent to the candidates before election. It was found that a number of Cuyahoga County delegates were very favorable to the proposed bill. Senator James Reynolds and Representative John Evans were suggested as possible introducers. It was agreed that we communicate with the Consumers' League of Cincinnati to discover whether it would be possible to arrange for the bill to be introduced in one house by a Cleveland member and in the other house by a Cincinnati member. If possible it was agreed that it would be desirable to have the members introducing in different houses be from different parties. It was agreed that we should not interview Senator Reynolds until hearing from Cincinnati.

The matter of sub-committees was next brought up. The following were appointed members of the finance committee: Mr. Louis Bing, Jr., Chairman, Mr. B. D. Allinson, Mr. R. S. Tyler, Jr., Judge Bradley Hull, in addition to the following who had signified their willingness to work for finance: Julia Raymond, Dorothy Smith, Miss Marie Wing and Miss Mildred Chadsey.

Discussion of a necessary budget for the campaign followed. It was finally agreed that a budget of \$5000 be the goal. Miss Magee reported that Mr. Allinson had interviewed some persons connected with the Rosenwald Foundation in Chicago and felt there was some chance that the Foundation might give favorable consideration to a request. The matter of necessary help for the campaign was discussed. Mr. Harrison moved that we authorize the appointment of an assistant secretary, the financial obligation to be subject to the approval of the finance committee. Miss Meyette moved that Miss Wing be chairman of Education and Publicity. The motion carried. Rabbi Silver suggested that Professor Busch work with Miss Wing on this committee and that they be empowered to co-opt other members. A committee for

Executive Committee Minutes - 2

lobbying was discussed and it was agreed to postpone action on such committee until later.

Mr. Harrison presented changes which he had made in the bill in accordance with the actions of the last committee meeting and with suggestions of members to whom the bill had been submitted. Miss Wing moved that the range of premiums of employers be from one and one-half percent to three and one-half percent, the average for all employers not to exceed two percent. The motion carried.

Miss Wing moved that we re-insert and include as amended the section in regard to declaring an emergency, adding the words "unless the legislature shall at such time provide funds to meet such emergency." The motion carried.

It was agreed that meetings of the Executive Committee be held on Friday evenings at the call of the chairman.

Elizabeth S. Magee
Secretary



From The Consumers' League of Ohio
341 Engineers Bldg.,
Cleveland, Ohio

January 5, 1931

A SHORT SUMMARY
OF THE PROPOSED UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE LAW OF OHIO

The Unemployment Insurance Law of Ohio proposes to create an Unemployment Insurance Fund, somewhat similar to the Workmen's Compensation Fund. This fund will be created and maintained by the payment of premiums from employers and also from employees.

All employers of three or more employees (subject to exceptions as outlined below) will be required to pay into the fund, premiums in proportion to their payroll. The amount of these premiums will vary according to the classification of the industry involved, and the further classification of the particular employer according to its history of regularity of employment. In no event may the premium upon the entire payroll of all employers be fixed at more than 2% nor upon any individual employer, at more than $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ or less than $1\frac{1}{2}\%$. The premium payable by employees will be a fixed amount, to wit, $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of their wages.

Farmers, domestic service, and all employees of railroads or of other employers subject to the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission are excluded from the act.

Such employers as wish to do so, will be permitted to carry their own risk and pay their benefits direct to their employees. They will be required to post adequate bond to assure payment of benefits.

The actual administration of the law will be in the hands of a Commission of three members, appointed by the Governor. This Commission will have broad powers to make rules governing the administration of the law, and will be responsible for determining the amount of premiums and their collection; for hearing and deciding all claims for benefits for unemployed employees, and for paying the claims. In addition it will be charged with the responsibility of investigating and seeking to reduce unemployment, as far as possible, by registration, labor exchanges, etc.

The benefits payable will be fifty percent of wages, but not to exceed a maximum benefit for total unemployment of \$18.75 per week; nor for a period of more than 13 weeks in any one year. These benefits will be payable only to workmen who have worked and contributed their premiums for at least 26 weeks of the year preceding; and then only after a waiting period of two weeks, during which time there will be no benefits payable.

Furthermore, benefits will not be payable to anyone who lost his job thru his own misconduct, or who left it voluntarily, or left it because of a strike or lockout, so long as the trade controversy continues, or who fails to report as ordered, to the Commission.

The benefits will be payable only while the employee is able to work and available for work, but unable to secure employment at his customary wage rate, and under substantially similar conditions.

January 7th, 1931

Mr. Fred Lazarus,
Columbus, Ohio.

My dear Fred:-

Through the kindness of Mr. Louis S. Bing I was permitted to see your correspondence with him with reference to the bulletin sent out by Mr. George V. Sheridan on the proposed Unemployment Insurance Bill for Ohio.

It is clear that Mr. Sheridan has not studied the subject of unemployment insurance thoroughly enough or he would not have classed it with "fool legislation" introduced by "restless reformers." That seems to me to be an old stock-in-trade argument of stand-patters and people afraid of new ideas.

I have given the subject of unemployment insurance the most careful consideration within the last eighteen months. A group of Cleveland businessmen, professional men and labor representatives have studied the subject in its most technical details continuously for the past year. Both the English and the German systems of insurance were carefully analyzed, their strength and their weakness noted, and the experiences of these countries since the enactment of their insurance laws. Numerous bills which were drafted in this country were likewise studied and on the basis of all available data and in consultation with the best economic minds of this country, we drafted a bill which has been acclaimed as the sanest and fairest yet proposed.

It is eminently fair both to employer and employee and it will be a boon to the economic life of our state. It is the very antithesis of the English dole system. For the working-man will be compelled by law to contribute to this fund in the same measure as the employer. The state will have no contributions to make except the cost of administering the fund.

Under separate cover I am sending you an abstract of the bill.

It seems to me that retail merchants particularly stand to profit from the arrangement whereby those who are unemployed are not left entirely without funds to purchase the commodities which they require.

Continued....page 2
Mr. Fred Lazarus

In a period of wide-spread depression such as we are now experiencing, unemployment benefits would have been a tremendous boon to the merchants of this country. Millions paid out as unemployment insurance benefits would have been put into circulation and they would have been taken from the insurance reserve fund built up during the prosperous years.

The logic of the Bill, is to my mind, the simplest. Sound business principles dictate that a corporation shall set aside some of its earnings for a reserve for dividends in order to protect the investor during the less prosperous years.

The Unemployment Insurance Bill aims to set aside a similar reserve for labor. For the laboring man also invests all that he has - his labor - in industry.

I am writing you all this because I feel that you are among the few important merchants in this state who have the vision to grasp the problem and who will not be misled by old shibboleths and meaningless scare slogans.

I have great hope that after reading the bill you will want to champion it at the forthcoming sessions of the Ohio State Council of Retail Merchants.

With best wishes to you and to your dear ones in which Virginia joins me, I am

As ever yours,

AHS/IR

JAN. 27, 1931

PITS DECREASED WAGES AGAINST DIVIDEND GAINS

Labor Chief Finds Cause of
Depression in Lack of
Stabilization

Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27—Wages and salaries paid by industry were \$815,000,000 less in the first half of 1930 than in the first half of 1929. Yet dividend payments for the first half of 1930 were \$350,000,000 more than for the first six months of 1929.

Railroads paid out \$91,000,000 less in salaries during the first six months of 1930, but \$39,900,000 more in dividends.

In these figures from the new census, lies the explanation of the present depression, John P. Frey of the American Federation of Labor believes.

"Fail to Stabilize"

"Industry can no more continue to produce without a market than it can check money out of the bank without first having sufficient deposits," said Frey in a speech at the conference on permanent preventatives of unemployment being held here by Catholic, Jewish and Protestant church organizations.

"Our production experts have astonished us with the results they have secured in industry, but we are now staggering industrially because of their utter failure to stabilize production or to establish an economically sound relation between the wealth produced by industry and the amount of wages paid to the workman. Unless the real wage increases in proportion to industry's capacity to produce there can be no permanent prevention of unemployment."

Wages and Dividends

"It is not merely a question of what labor may be entitled to. It is largely a question of the volume of wages which must be paid unless industry and commerce desires to strangle itself, for dividends and interest will not continue to be paid unless the real wage is materially increased."

"While the increase in total wages paid in 1929 over 1923 has amounted to \$413,779,604, the value of manufactured products outstripped the volume of the wages with exhilarating speed, to the extent of \$8,887,941,814."

"As the principal market for our manufactured products is the home market, it is not difficult to understand why this enormous increase in the value of the products compared with the increase in the total wages paid resulted in the collapse of the consumers' market."

Don't this Putting "being done into" individual wages? 18, 22, 27
x Rec 20:45-6, 4191

Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance

341 Engineers' Building

Cleveland, Ohio

Main 3025

February 9, 1931

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

RABBI A. H. SILVER
CHAIRMAN

MISS ALICE P. GANNETT
MR. MAX S. HAYES
MR. WILLIAM FEATHER
VICE-CHAIRMEN

MR. LOUIS S. BING, JR.
TREASURER

MISS ELIZABETH S. MAGEE
SECRETARY

PROF. HENRY M. BUSCH
PROF. FRANK T. CARLTON
REV. CYPRIAN EMANUEL
MR. MARVIN C. HARRISON
MISS CLARA A. KAISER
MR. CHARLES KREINDLER
MISS GRACE E. MEYETTE
MISS HELEN PHELAN
MR. CARL RUDOLPH
MR. B. C. SEIPLE
MR. WALTER LEO SOLOMON
MISS MARIE R. WING
REV. LOUIS E. WRIGHT

TO MEMBERS OF THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE COMMITTEE

The joint public hearing on the Unemployment Insurance Bill will be held in the Senate Chamber in the State House in Columbus on Tuesday evening, February 17th, at 8 o'clock. Rabbi Silver, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Hayes are to speak, as well as representatives from other parts of the state. It is sure to be a thrilling and interesting occasion, and we hope that many of you will be able to attend.

At four o'clock that afternoon there will be a meeting at the Neil House for the purpose of forming a state committee to back the bill. Will you let us know whether you are able to go to Columbus on the 17th, and attend the state meeting as well as the hearing?

The Bill has been referred to the Insurance Committee in the House. Mr. Joseph H. Schumacher is the only member of that committee from Cuyahoga County. It is important that he hear from as many people as possible who are in favor of the Bill, before the public hearing. Can we count on you to write a letter to him this week at his Cleveland address, 1691 West 25th Street, urging him to support House Bill 71, for Unemployment Insurance?

We are enclosing a copy of our new pamphlet, just off the press.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee
Elizabeth S. Magee
Secretary

Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance

Mrs. J. F. Allen
Mr. Brent D. Allinson
Mrs. Newton D. Baker
Miss Grace Berger
Dr. Wm. W. Biddle
Mr. Andrew T. Bilinski
Mr. Louis S. Bing, Jr.
Rev. Philip Smead Bird
Rev. F. Q. Blanchard
Mr. Edward F. Bohm
Miss Margaret S. Bourne
Mrs. A. T. Brewer
Mr. George E. Brewster
Mrs. Emil Brudno
Mr. Howard F. Burns
Prof. Henry M. Busch
Mrs. Henry M. Busch
Mrs. Henry White Cannon
Prof. Frank T. Carlton
Miss Mildred Chadsey
Miss Nell F. Collopy
Dr. J. E. Cutler
Mr. Harry E. Davis
Mr. William D. Dawson
Mr. W. B. Dillon
Miss Juanita Dowman
Dr. A. Caswell Ellis
Father Cyprian Emanuel
Mr. Jules Eshner
Mr. William Feather
Miss Eleanor Ferris
Miss Jean Fesler
Miss Alice P. Gannett
Prof. C. E. Gehlke
Miss Clara Gehring
Mrs. Jennie C. Grant
Dr. E. C. Grover
Mrs. Cora Miller Hanson
Dr. Henry Harap
Mr. Marvin C. Harrison
Rev. Joel B. Hayden
Mr. Max S. Hayes
Mrs. Max S. Hayes
Mr. James J. Hoban
Judge Bradley Hull
Miss Jane E. Hunter
Mr. Russell W. Jelliffe
Mr. Myron Jermain Jones
Miss Clara A. Kaiser
Mr. Stanley Klonowski
Mr. C. E. Knoeppel
Judge Julius M. Kovachy
Rev. S. K. Kremer
Mr. Charles Kreindler
Mrs. Albert D. Levy

Mr. Harry McLaughlin
Mr. W. H. McPherson
Mrs. W. H. McPherson
Miss Elizabeth S. Magee
Mr. James F. Malley
Rev. Robert W. Mark
Mr. Joseph Martinek
Mrs. Charles H. Mercer
Prof. J. C. Meyer
Miss Grace E. Meyette
Miss Ruth Mitchell
Mrs. Anna Morgan
Mrs. Daniel E. Morgan
Mr. John G. Murphy
Mr. Theodore Newcomb
Mr. W. I. Newstetter
Rev. Victor Obenhaus
Mr. Amos Parsons
Rev. Almon R. Pepper
Mr. Ben Peppercorn
Mr. Chas. E. Percy
Miss Helen Phelan
Mr. David H. Pierce
Mr. Carl Raid
Mr. Henry W. Raisse
Miss Julia Raymond
Mr. Arthur J. Reinthal
Miss Florence K. Root
Mr. Carl Rudolph
Miss Mae Ryman
Miss V. Freda Seigworth
Mr. Fred Schultz
Mr. B. C. Seiple
Rabbi A. H. Silver
Miss Dorothy Smith
Mr. Walter Leo Solomon
Mrs. Evelyn F. Stires
Mrs. Howard S. Thayer
Miss Charlotte E. Townsend
Mrs. Ralph S. Tyler
Mr. Ralph S. Tyler, Jr.
Miss Gertrude Underhill
Rev. Elmer E. Voelkel
Miss Margaret W. Wagner
Mrs. Hazel Mountain Walker
Mr. S. Burns Weston
Mr. George E. Whitman
Mr. Charles W. White
Mr. F. E. Wilson
Mrs. Louis H. Winch
Miss Marie R. Wing
Miss Virginia R. Wing
Mr. William J. Winston
Rev. Louis E. Wright
Rev. Oldrich Zlamal

Feb. 20-1931

GERMANY'S 'JOB INSURANCE ON BUSINESS BASIS

Pays Up to 80 Per Cent of Last
Salary; Worker, Em-
ployer Give

By MILTON BRONNER

BERLIN, Feb. 20.—In Germany, as in Great Britain, the continued trade depression and the mounting army of several million unemployed has proved a big drain on the treasury.

However, the Germans have worked out their unemployment scheme so scientifically that it is costing the country less than Great Britain. This is, perhaps, partly due to the fact that Germany has had a longer experience with unemployment insurance than the English.

In fact, Germany is the pioneer in the matter. Years before the war, in the endeavor to steal as much of the thunder from the much feared Socialists as he could, the ex-kaiser put thru unemployment insurance schemes. The methods have been frequently changed since the war, in the endeavor to make the plan less of a burden on the state.

Differ From British

One radical difference between the plans as worked out in Germany and England is that in England the state plunks down a certain sum for each contribution the workers and the employers put down. In Germany the state only contributes when there is a deficit in the fund. The first endeavor is to try to make the fund solely dependent on contributions by employers and employees. However, this has failed in recent years, owing to the increasing unemployment.

Another radical difference is that in Great Britain every worker, no matter what the wage, pays the same certain fixed amount. In Germany, the worker pays a fixed percentage of his weekly wages. Thus the better paid employee pays more than the poorer paid one and, when he draws his benefits, gets a correspondingly higher amount.

In Germany every insured person pays an amount equal to 3½ per cent of his wages each week. The employer also pays in an amount equal to 3½ per cent of the wages of each insured worker.

What They Get

When it comes to drawing benefits for unemployment, the workers are divided into 11 classes. Class 1 is composed of the poorest paid workers. Class 2 of the ones in the next scale above and so on to Class 11, which comprises the highest paid workers.

The benefits drawn by unmarried workers are as follows:

Class 1—75 per cent of the wages he drew in his last job.

Class 2—65 per cent.

Class 3—55 per cent.

Class 4—47 per cent.

Classes 5 and 6—40 per cent.

Class 7—37.5 per cent.

Classes 8 to 11—35 per cent.

For married men or for married women, who are the sole support of their family.

Classes 1 and 2—80 per cent.

Class 3—75 per cent.

Class 4—72 per cent.

Classes 5 and 6—65 per cent.

Class 7—62.5 per cent.

Classes 8 to 11—60 per cent.

Ordinarily these benefits are paid for 26 weeks. But if the insured persons live in an industrially depressed area where conditions for work are very poor, the benefits may be extended for 39 weeks.

State Aids Fund

When this period has been exceeded and the insured person is still out of work, he falls out of the category of those drawing unemployment insurance and comes within the emergency category. There is also a radical method of financing this. As stated the funds for the unemployment insurance are secured from the workers and the employers, the state making up any deficit. But for the emergency category the Reich contributes four-fifths of the money and the city or county contributes one-fifth. The financing, therefore, falls upon the taxpayers.

Workers draw benefits under the emergency category for 32 weeks, or,

if they are over 40 in age, for a period of 45 weeks.

Finally, if the worker is still unemployed and has exhausted the benefits he may draw under the emergency category, he at last falls on what is a real dole. This is paid wholly out of the treasury of the city or the county.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
CLEVELAND, OHIO

SCHOOL OF APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES
2117 ADELBERT ROAD
JAMES ELBERT CUTLER, PH.D., DEAN

February 21, 1931.

Rabbi A. H. Silver, Chairman,
Cleveland Committee for
Unemployment Insurance,
341 Engineers' Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Dr. Silver:

It has been called to my attention that a rumor is in circulation to the effect that I am opposed to unemployment insurance in view of the fact that my name appears in the list of members of the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce on Unemployment Insurance which recently made a report which was adopted by the Board of Directors of the Chamber. I was not able to attend the meeting of the Committee at which the report in its final form was agreed upon but it is my understanding that agreement was reached on the basis that the Committee could not undertake to endorse the bill which has been introduced in the Ohio General Assembly and is now pending without more time to study it and that the report in effect asks for more time to consider the general problem of unemployment and of unemployment insurance in relation to it.

I wish to assure you that I am still of the opinion that the bill now pending, which the Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance is sponsoring, has been drawn in accordance with sound principles and that if these principles are adhered to, the measure when fully understood will receive general approval as tending to stabilize employment and to mitigate the distress incident to unemployment.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. Cutler

JEC:H

Dean

BOARD OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT
CLEVELAND

R. G. JONES,
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

H. L. SAMMONS
SECRETARY TO SUPERINTENDENT

February 18, 1931

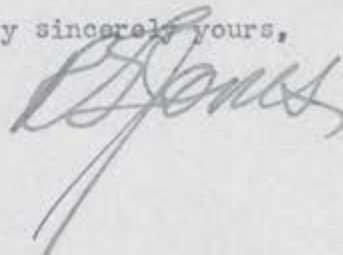
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
Rabbi, The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi Silver:

You have written me a letter carrying an appeal for support for unemployment insurance. I think you are usually right, and I probably would be wise in following your advice upon a subject which you have studied, while I am obliged to confess I am more or less uninformed.

I have a very strong belief that unemployment insurance is not sound in principle. Most assuredly, I am opposed to a dole. In my judgment, every concern should take care of its own group of workers by setting aside a reserve to carry them over in times of depression. This reserve fund should be charged into the product of each concern and collected from the normal distribution to its clientele. I realize that a debate on this question would be a very prolonged affair but, personally, I feel no responsibility for caring for the employees of, let us say, the XYZ Hardware Company, aside from purchasing the product of that company.

Very sincerely yours,



RGJ:ER

YOUNG URGES STUDY ON WORK INSURANCE

General Electric Plan May Point
Way to Solution, He Wires
Albany Hearing.

QUESTIONS STATE PROJECT

Competitive Loss to New York Is
Possible, He Says—Wagner and
Hillquit Ask Action.

Special to The New York Times.

ALBANY, Feb. 17. — Owen D. Young stressed the necessity for a comprehensive study looking toward the framing of a program of unemployment insurance, in a message to a joint legislative committee here today.

Mr. Young, who is chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, which has put into operation an unemployment insurance system, asserted, however, that the problem was so complex that commitment to a specific plan was not yet feasible. He expressed the opinion that the experience of privately instituted projects would be valuable in arriving at a decision.

The views of Mr. Young on the problem were addressed to Senator John A. Hastings of Brooklyn, and were read at a joint committee hearing on Mr. Hastings's bill to set up an unemployment insurance system in the State. Mr. Young, in a telegram read at the hearing, declined to give a specific opinion on the bill, saying that he had not found time to familiarize himself with its details, but he added:

"I think you are doing a real service in compelling attention to a study of this subject."

Senator Hastings's bill would establish a division of unemployment insurance in the State Labor Department and require that employers of ten or more persons, at a yearly compensation of not more than \$3,000 each, insure employees against unemployment hazards, either through their own systems or as participants in a State unemployment insurance fund to be set up.

Wagner Endorses Principle.

Senator Robert F. Wagner also sent a message to the hearing, in which he avoided giving an opinion on the bill's merits because of lack of time to study it. He warmly endorsed its principles, however.

Morris Hillquit, representing the Emergency Unemployment Council of New York City, appeared in behalf of the measure, but urged several amendments.

John O'Hanlon, president of the State Federation of Labor, suggested that a general commission or committee be set up to consider all unemployment insurance proposals before the Legislature and that the Hastings bill be taken up by it.

Mark Daly, representing the Associated Industries, and Noel Sargent of the State Association of Manufacturers opposed it on the ground that industry should be left to solve the problem itself.

Mr. Young's telegram read:
"On my return to the office this morning I find your telegram of Saturday requesting me to present my views either personally or in writing tomorrow afternoon on your Senate Bill No. 26 relating to unemployment insurance."

"This is the first time that I have seen the bill and unfortunately my time is so completely committed for the next two days that I cannot possibly give it the attention which your committee would have a right to expect or which I should give in

fairness to myself as a preliminary to a public statement.

"The subject is a tremendously appealing and difficult one, especially when any government intervenes to deal with it by law. I have spent a great deal of time on the question of industries doing the job themselves and, as you probably know, the General Electric Company has instituted a plan which is now in operation. From it and from such plans as others have adopted, we shall gain experience as to the best methods of dealing with the problem."

"Competitive Disadvantage" Seen.

"Then, too, the question of one State undertaking such a program presents its separate difficulties, because it may increase production costs in that State and put its own concerns to a competitive disadvantage. This would not only affect concerns now, but would be a deterrent to new ones coming in."

"I do not want you to think I am unsympathetic with the program of protection against the hazards of unemployment, but I do want to suggest the tremendous significance of the questions involved as my justification for not undertaking to express my views on such relatively short notice. I think you are doing a real service, however, in compelling attention to a study of this subject."

Senator Wagner, in his letter, said that insurance was the most effective way to deal with unemployment.

"Surely that is a more satisfactory way of dealing with the problem than the present method of public and private doles," he said. "Insurance maintains confidence, and the dole undermines it. Insurance instills faith; the breadline breeds resentment. Insurance is the way of order, the breadline is the culmination of chaos."

"America will never accept the breadline as the solution of unemployment," he went on. "The alternative is insurance. No business would consider itself solvent if it had not made provision for the risk of fire or for the cost of idle and obsolescent machinery. Neither can business, in my judgment, consider itself socially solvent unless it makes provision for the maintenance of its human forces during periods of temporary idleness. No task of greater importance ever has been imposed upon any legislative body."

Hillquit Demands Action.

Mr. Hillquit said that unemployment at present had "reached the proportions of a national calamity," and insisted that active steps be taken at once to establish a system of unemployment insurance.

"There is nothing to be gained from another fact-finding commission," he said. "That will only defer things further. Insurance is the best method devised so far to deal with unemployment. We cannot leave relief to charity. The State must institute the move as part of its social duty. As a beginning this bill is all right in principle and perhaps gives as much as can be granted at the present time."

"I am against contribution by the workers to the fund," he continued. "That always means in effect a deduction from their wages. I want to urge upon you that the principle of unemployment insurance is not novel or fantastic but that is one for which we have the example of many foreign countries. I believe that the present methods we apply in dealing with the unemployment are a disgrace."

He offered several amendments, one to limit application of the plan to employers of ten or more and another to raise the compensation rate and include persons connected with the theatre in its purview.

Abraham Epstein of the Old Age Security League also spoke for the bill.

Feb. 20th, 1931

Mr. R. G. Jones,
Cleveland Public Schools,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Mr. Jones:-

Permit me to thank you for your kind and thoughtful letter of Feb. 18th.

I hope that I may have the pleasure in the very near future to have a talk with you on the subject of Unemployment Insurance. Clearly correspondence on this subject is utterly unsatisfactory. I should, however, like to call your attention to one item of the Unemployment Insurance Bill which may have escaped your attention.

The Bill clearly makes provision for individual industries to set up their own insurance plans if they so desire. These self-insurers could collect premiums and pay benefits by any systems they choose so long as the cost to employers was not more than under the State insurance system and the benefits paid were at least as large. The Bill aims to encourage private self insurers. Only those who are unable or do not find it desirable to set up insurance systems of their own - and that would apply to most of the smaller industries of our state - would be required to enter the State insurance system. This arrangement, of course, is open to the employer also under the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law. The cost of this fund will not be charged to the taxpayer. Industry itself, through the premiums paid by the employer and the employee will carry this legitimate charge. The only cost to the State will be that of operating the machinery. The State is not asked to put a penny into the insurance reserve fund.

With kindest regards and best wishes, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR

Feb 20, 1931

Jobs Insurance

THE Chamber of Commerce opposes the unemployment insurance bill but is going to study social insurance deeply. The Associated Industries opposes this bill and will hold several meetings on this "very serious problem." We are suddenly in for long discussion of social insurance in all its phases, and the longer the depression lasts the hotter the talk. Cleveland labor is not yet as interested as industry is.

My guess is that if the "chronic unemployment" to which the chamber alludes should not disappear in the next year or two, we would find the chamber unable to do more than study. Conflicting views would emerge in an association made up of merchants and manufacturers. Merchants might conclude their interests lay in a scheme for spreading purchasing power thru dull times.

Manufacturers with national markets are anxious not to be handicapped in competition. They believe they would pay the bill, not labor. The position of a trade association like Associated Industries is likely to be more vigorous in the long run than a local chamber.

The influence of self-insurers like General Electric and Procter & Gamble will be hard to guess. They may get the best labor and gradually force others in. But if W. F. Long is right about the effects of social insurance on character, it will be goodnight for G. E. and P. & G.



John W. Furr - Pres - Feb. 20-1931

A. F. Whitney
President

J. A. Taraguhasson
Grand President
Grand Lodge

W. G. Lee
General Secretary and Treasurer

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen



AFW-X

General Office, Cleveland, Ohio. March 4, 1931.

Rev. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman,
Mr. William Feather, Vice Chairman,
Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance,
341 Engineers' Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Gentlemen:

Your communications of the 13th and 23rd ult. and enclosures are received, and I note that a budget of \$5000.00 is sought to further legislation for the establishment of an unemployment insurance plan in Ohio.

As you doubtless know, the undersigned, as well as the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, which I have the honor to represent, is committed to an advocacy of a shortening of the hours of service as a cure for unemployment. I sincerely feel that the only manner in which unemployment can permanently be taken care of is by a more equitable distribution, as between capital and labor, of the benefits derived from machine operation. Our difficulty, as I view it, is that all of the benefits derived from the inventions of the past two decades have been taken by capital and all of the burdens created by them, such as the loss in wages of men displaced by machines, have been borne by labor.

Unemployment insurance, as well as many of the other plans thus far suggested, in my opinion, do not in any way touch the root of the problem, and to that extent, from the viewpoint of labor, are valueless and only tend to muddy the waters. All labor requires at this time is work, and not something in lieu of work. As a matter of fact, should unemployment insurance such as proposed by your committee be effected in Ohio, I feel confident that it would not be long before the employers would have successfully shifted the burden to the backs of the employees.

For the reasons above outlined, I do not believe an attempt to establish unemployment insurance, at least at this time, is for the best interests of labor, and must therefore, much as I regret to do so, decline to contribute to the furtherance of the Ohio unemployment insurance bill.

With assurances of my highest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. F. Whitney
President.

DECLARES DOLE IS OUR ONLY ANSWER

Professor Says Unemployment Insurance Will Bring Stability.

"The only answer America now has to unemployment is the dole," Dr. Paul Douglas of the economics department of the University of Chicago said last night, speaking before the Women's City Club.

Dr. Douglas, a recognized expert on industrial relations, advocated state adoption of a program of unemployment insurance, modeled somewhat on the German system.

Ohio, he said, excelled among the states in its workmen's compensation administration, its employment statistics, and its employment agency system—and was, therefore, in the best position to lead the country in unemployment insurance.

Praises Reserves.

The roller-coaster returns in the investment field—very high dividends on common stock followed by very low ones or none—had been gradually reduced since 1915 by the creation of reserves in times of prosperity to stabilize dividends in times of depression.

The wage worker's income, on the other hand, remained uncertain in spite of the lessons we might have learned from the depressions of 1914 and 1921, he pointed out.

"In England unemployment insurance has been revolution insurance," Douglas declared. "Unemployment insurance has saved Germany from Communism and Fascism."

"The American Federation of Labor has been one of the chief obstacles of unemployment insurance in this country, but I believe Green would be more amenable to a tide of opinion in its favor than Gompers would have been."

Charitable donations for a man who wanted to work but couldn't get work are humiliating, uncertain and meager, he said. Unemployment insurance, on the other hand, by stabilizing the workers' income would tend to stabilize his purchasing power and consequently to stabilize business, he declared.

The form of unemployment insurance he advocated included the following points:

1—STATE ENACTMENT—because "at the present rate of voluntary introduction it would take 1,000 years to become universal."

2—JOINT CONTRIBUTION by employer and workman—because it tends toward more adequate benefits, more equitable settlement of claims, and the worker feels that he has a part in the plan.

3—A PLACEMENT AGENCY where all workers would be registered.

4—THE EMPLOYER paying the larger share, with bigger premiums in the less stable industries (which, Douglas said, would be an incentive to better management).

5—PRECAUTIONS against abuse, such as a limited number of weeks per year when insurance could be drawn, the requirement of a specified amount of employment in the two preceding years, and a waiting period of two weeks.

BUSINESS STRIKES AT JOB INSURANCE

Industrial Leaders Insist at Joint Hearing Dole Lurks in "Paternalistic" Plan.

BY W. C. HOWELLS.

Plain Dealer Bureau,
17 S. High Street.
COLUMBUS, O., March 4.

Representatives of agriculture, business, industry and employers' organizations tonight opened their battle against unemployment insurance as provided in bills introduced by Senator James A. Reynolds (D.) of Cleveland, and Representatives Horace S. Keifer (R.) of Springfield.

The hearing was held before a joint meeting of Senate insurance and House labor committees. No action was taken on the bill tonight.

William Frew Long of Cleveland, general manager of the Associated Industries of Cleveland, declared that the scheme "remains a dole, no matter by what name it is called."

Put a Cost at \$85,000,000.

He told the joint session that Ohio industry would contribute \$80,000,000 annually into the unemployment insurance fund and that the state itself would pay about \$5,000,000 annually to administer the fund.

He said that no sincere effort to estimate the cost of unemployment insurance will fail to take into account the tendency of these funds to broaden their scope.

"England," he said, "started with some such modest scheme as is proposed in Ohio."

"But so many English workers liked the idea of being paid to loaf that the English government was forced to expand the scope of this so-called insurance until now doles are paid to boys and girls of 15 and the public treasury is paying into the fund \$5,000,000 each week."

"Don't Need It," He Says.

"No one will say that there is no likelihood that the proposed Ohio law would be extended in like manner. The proponents admit that it is 'only a starter.'"

"Nothing is to be gained by camouflaging this proposed legislation. If the English system is a dole, then the plan proposed for Ohio will inevitably become a dole. We need nothing of the kind in this country."

Frank B. McMillen of Mount Gilead, president of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce, declared that 70 per cent. of Ohio corporations last year lost money, and that these corporations might be coming to the

(Continued on Page 7, Column 5)

BUSINESS STRIKES AT JOB INSURANCE

Industrial Leaders Insist at Joint Hearing Dole Lurks in "Paternalistic" Plan.

(Continued From First Page)

General Assembly, asking that they insured against losses through business and economic depression. "They are not doing so," he said. "The General Assembly would not talk of enacting any legislation which would provide for an increase in the wages of employees. "The bill under consideration, however, provides for unemployment insurance, which amounts to substantially a legislative increase in pay. "The contribution to be made by employers would be a drain upon the

revenues of the employers amounting to many millions of dollars annually.

"Enactment of the unemployment insurance, old age pension or other paternalistic legislation in Ohio will certainly not be an added inducement to get corporations to locate and do business in this state.

"Members of the General Assembly should give serious consideration to this unemployment insurance legislation in the thought that it may develop greater unemployment instead of relieving it.

"When the employers' responsibility and individual interest are taken from this problem and it is put upon the state then the employer begins to consider the rates that may be assessed against him as his responsibility to the state.

"This legislation may tend to induce employers to employ regularly a limited number of men and maintain a larger number of transient or casual employees, many of whom may never be employed as much as 26 weeks in a year. Unemployment would thus be made more acute."

Warren F. Perry of Columbus, secretary of the Ohio Manufacturers' Association, declared the bill cannot be practical in operation.

C. A. Dyer, legislative agent for

the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation and Grange, declared the "overhead" to be paid out of the state treasury would be staggering."



Cleveland, Ohio.
March 23d, 1931

An Open Letter to:

Senators Gillen of Jackson county,
Espy of Cincinnati,
Lloyd of Portsmouth,
Scott of Ross county.

Gentlemen:-

The Reynolds Unemployment Insurance Bill has through your vote in the Ohio Senate's Labor Committee been side-tracked. You voted to postpone its consideration indefinitely. Why?

Are the times so prosperous or the unemployment situation of such negligible importance that you can afford to postpone indefinitely the consideration of an unemployment insurance bill which proposes the only sound and intelligent method of averting and relieving distress caused by recurrent cycles of depression?

Our community was startled a few days ago by the unemployment figures published by our Federal Government which indicated that one hundred thousand workers - one out of every four, - was out of a job in Cleveland last January. Things have not materially improved since then and the unemployment situation in other parts of the state, if not as bad, is quite as serious and menacing. Yet without giving any reason for your action you postponed indefinitely the consideration of an unemployment insurance bill which represents the considered judgment of economists, businessmen, representatives of labor and social workers and embodies the best experience of other countries with such insurance. Why?

Hearings on the Reynolds Unemployment Insurance Bill were held before your Committee. Representatives of employers and employees, professors, ministers and insurance experts appeared before you and discussed the measure with you in the greatest detail. Seemingly you were impressed. Yet without asking for further information or without offering a word of explanation and without suggesting any alternative you voted to postpone indefinitely the consideration of the Bill. Why?

Surely you could not have been misled by the smoke screen which the opponents of the Bill have tried to throw around it by calling it a "dole." This is a clever ruse. You realize, of course, that the Reynolds Unemployment Insurance Bill is the very opposite of the dole; that, in fact, it wishes to do away with doles which today are widely resorted to by municipalities and private organizations in our state to meet the desperate situation which has arisen as a result of prolonged and wide-spread unemployment. The Bill makes war upon the whole practice and philosophy of the dole. It is insurance, not a dole. It aims to save the American workman from the humiliation of asking for charity when conditions over which he has no control force him out of his job. It proposes to set up an unemployment reserve fund

into which the workman, as long as he is employed, will put a small percentage of his weekly wage and the employer a small percentage of his weekly payroll. Out of this reserve fund, the workman when he loses his job, will be privileged to draw benefits for a definitely prescribed period and to an amount likewise definitely prescribed. The State will contribute nothing to this Fund except the cost of operation which clearly would not be much in excess of the operating cost of the Workmen's Compensation Fund and which, in time, the reserve fund itself may be able to cover.

The cry of "dole" which greeted this Bill in some quarters is, as you well know, due either to ignorance or to hostile propaganda. You surely did not vote to postpone consideration of the Bill indefinitely because you believed that it contemplated a dole. What, then, was your reason?

Surely the preposterous figures presented to you by the paid agents of manufacturers' organizations whose business at all times seems to be to thwart every measure of progressive legislation could not have impressed you. They were intended to frighten you with the enormity of the cost which would be involved in the operation of the Bill and the heavy tax which it would be on Ohio industry. Those figures, as you know, were fictitious, the creations of very vivid and accommodating imaginations. Why, then, did you smother the Bill before it had a chance to see the light of day?

What substitutes had you in mind? Do you believe that bread lines and soup kitchens are the only possible answer of American intelligence and sense of justice to the problem of unemployment. Does the Pringle Bill, which your legislature voted this year, permitting cities to issue bonds for the relief of unemployment, which as you well know, is a dole, pure and simple, - does that Bill offer a saner and sounder method than the one proposed by the Reynolds Bill?

What had you in mind when you voted to kill the measure? The hundreds of thousands of unemployed in our state are entitled to have an explanation. The hosts of forward-looking citizens who have been advocating unemployment insurance are entitled to an explanation.

Sincerely yours,

Chairman Unemployment Insurance Committee.

WHY POSTPONE JOB INSURANCE BILL? IS QUERY

Silver Protests at Delay on Reynolds Measure in Ohio Senate.

The Cleveland committee for unemployment insurance, headed by Rabbi Hillel Silver today sent a letter to the labor committee of the Ohio Senate, demanding an explanation for the committee's move in indefinitely postponing action on the Reynolds-Keifer bill for unemployment insurance.

The letter was directed particularly to Senators Gillen of Wellston, Espy of Cincinnati, Lloyd of Portsmouth and Scott of Chillicothe who voted for the postponement.

Simultaneous with the sending of the letter, Rabbi Silver announced that the Cleveland committee would continue its work, joining with the state organization on an educational campaign with a view to introducing another unemployment insurance bill in the next session of the legislature.

Asks About Delay.

At the outset of his letter Rabbi Silver asks the senators whether the "times are so prosperous or the unemployment situation of such negligible importance that you can afford to postpone indefinitely the consideration of an unemployment insurance which proposes the only sound and intelligent method of averting and relieving distress caused by recurrent cycles of depression?"

He then delves into the figures supplied by the federal census on unemployment in Cleveland in January and points out that "things have not materially improved since then and the unemployment situation in other parts of the state is quite as serious and menacing."

Based on Experience.

The bill, he adds, was aimed to meet the problem and "represents the judgment of economists, business men, representatives of labor and social workers and embodies the best experience of other countries with such insurance."

Rabbi Silver then goes into the arguments of opponents of the bill, declaring that they threw a smoke screen around it by calling it a dole.

"This is a clever ruse," he declared. "You realize, of course, that the Reynolds unemployment insurance bill is the very opposite of the dole; that, in fact, it wishes to do away with doles which today are widely resorted to in municipalities and private organizations in our state to meet the desperate situation which has arisen because of prolonged and wide-spread unemployment."

Denies It Is Dole.

"The bill makes war upon the whole practice and philosophy of the dole," he stated. "It is insurance, not dole. It aims to save the American workingman from the humiliation of asking for charity when conditions over which he has no control force him out of his job."

"It proposes to set up an unemployment reserve fund into which the workingman, as long as he is employed, will put a small percentage of his weekly wage and the employer a small percentage of his weekly payroll. Out of this reserve fund, the workingman when he loses his job, will be privileged to draw benefits for a definitely prescribed period and to an amount definitely prescribed."

Charges Propaganda.

Coming back to the cry of "dole," which greeted the measure, Rabbi Silver declares that it was due to "ignorance or hostile propaganda."

"Surely the preposterous figures presented to you by the paid agents of manufacturers' associations, whose business at all times seems to be to thwart every measure of progressive legislation, could not have impressed you," he wrote. "They were intended to frighten you with the enormity of the cost which would be involved in the operation of the bill and the heavy tax which it would be on Ohio industry."

"Those figures, as you know, were fictitious," he charges, "the creations of very vivid and accommodating imaginations."

Asks Explanation.

In closing Rabbi Silver told the committee members that the unemployed of the state are entitled to an explanation of their action as well as the forward looking citizens who advocated the bill.

The rabbi is a vice chairman of the Ohio Committee for Unemployment Insurance which has Thomas J. Duffy of Columbus as its chairman. Two other Cleveland vice chairmen are Max S. Hayes and Marvin C. Harrison.

Other vice chairmen throughout the state are: Edwin G. Becker, Cincinnati; Mrs. Lucia Johnson Bing, Athens; Judge Charles E. Chittenden, Toledo; Professor H. Gordon Hayes, Columbus; Gardner Lattimer, Columbus; Dr. W. M. Leiserson, Yellow Springs; Amy G. Maher, Toledo, and Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Cincinnati.

[News, March 24, 1931]

Ohio Senate

Columbus

JOHN A. LLOYD
SEVENTH AND EIGHTH DISTRICTS
PORTSMOUTH

March 30, 1931

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I have your letter regarding the Unemployment Insurance bill. You ask a number of questions regarding the committee's action on this bill, and I could write you at great length regarding this matter. However, let me say there are three major reasons for the committee's action:

(1) The bill, in its present form, is costly, impracticable, unworkable, un-American, and sets up the machinery for a dole;

(2) One of the most active proponents of the bill, a man who was touted as a great expert and who spoke for the bill, sent word to me, as chairman of the committee, that he felt it would be very unwise to pass the bill at this time, and I thoroughly agree with him;

(3) The sentiment of the committee, after voting down Senator Reynolds' motion to report the bill out favorably for passage, was to continue hearings on the bill in order to bring about, if possible, some solution of the problem. Senator Reynolds, however, bitterly opposed this, and urged us either to report the bill out or postpone the consideration indefinitely. We accommodated him.

Labor, which certainly is more directly affected than any other group by legislation of this type, did not sponsor the bill and we were advised that labor opposed it.

Rabbi Silver:

(2)

3/30/31

The bill received the fair and studious consideration of a committee in sympathy with the great problem we are attempting to solve.

JAL/M

Sincerely yours,

John A. L. Lloyd



Ohio Senate

Columbus

WALLACE S. ESPY
FIRST DISTRICT
515 MAIN STREET
CINCINNATI

March 26, 1931

Rabbi Abba Hellel Silver
341 Engineers Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 23rd censuring my stand on the Reynolds Unemployment Insurance Bill. I attended the session in the Senate Chamber at which you spoke and was much interested but I felt at this time that such a measure would be impossible to be enacted. The cost on the employers would be too great and labor itself would benefit very little. I think that too people at this time are at fever heat about unemployment because the situation is so serious therefore for that reason it would be better to wait until things improve before any steps are taken so that a saner attitude may arise.

I have a good example of that in the prohibition measure that went too far and now we are having a most difficult time retracing our steps.

If you have any further comment to make please do not hesitate to write me. I appreciate very much your letter.

Very truly yours,

Wallace S. Espy

WSE:SF

Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance

341 Engineers' Building

Cleveland, Ohio

Main 3025

April 7, 1931

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

RABBI A. H. SILVER
CHAIRMAN

MISS ALICE P. GANNETT
MR. MAX S. HAYES
MR. WILLIAM FEATHER
VICE-CHAIRMEN

MR. LOUIS S. BING, JR.
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MR. B. C. SEIPLE
MR. WALTER LEO SOLOMON
MISS MARIE R. WING
REV. LOUIS E. WRIGHT

Rabbi A. H. Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road & E. 105th St.,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:-

I am enclosing a copy of the reply which has come to me from Mr. Bigelow in regard to the plans for the initiative petition. The wording of the amendment is as follows:

"Be it Resolved by the People of the State of Ohio:

"That Article II of the constitution be amended by the addition of a section, and to read as follows:

"Laws shall be passed establishing a system of unemployment insurance, to be operated directly by the state, and to be financed in any manner provided by law; and no other provision of the constitution shall impair or limit the power which is hereby directed to be exercised; but insurance benefits shall not be forfeited by the refusal to accept employment where a wage is offered which is less than the wage that is generally accepted as current from time to time for competent workmen in the district in which the work is being performed, or by the refusal to accept employment where there is a strike or lockout."

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee
Elizabeth S. Magee
Secretary

Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance

Mrs. J. F. Allen	Mr. Harry McLaughlin
Mr. Brent D. Allinson	Mr. W. H. McPherson
Mrs. Newton D. Baker	Mrs. W. H. McPherson
Miss Grace Berger	Miss Elizabeth S. Magee
Dr. Wm. W. Biddle	Mr. James F. Malley
Mr. Andrew T. Bilinski	Rev. Robert W. Mark
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Miss Juanita Dowman	Miss Julia Raymond
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Father Cyprian Emanuel	Miss Florence K. Root
Mr. Jules Eshner	Mr. Carl Rudolph
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Miss Alice P. Gannett	Mr. B. C. Seiple
Prof. C. E. Gehlke	Rabbi A. H. Silver
Miss Clara Gehring	Miss Dorothy Smith
Mrs. Jennie C. Grant	Mr. Walter Leo Solomon
Dr. E. C. Grover	Mrs. Evelyn F. Stires
Mrs. Cora Miller Hanson	Mrs. Howard S. Thayer
Dr. Henry Harap	Miss Charlotte E. Townsend
Mr. Marvin C. Harrison	Mrs. Ralph S. Tyler
Rev. Joel B. Hayden	Mr. Ralph S. Tyler, Jr.
Mr. Max S. Hayes	Miss Gertrude Underhill
Mrs. Max S. Hayes	Rev. Elmer E. Voelkel
Mr. James J. Hoban	Miss Margaret W. Wagner
Judge Bradley Hull	Mrs. Hazel Mountain Walker
Miss Jane E. Hunter	Mr. S. Burns Weston
Mr. Russell W. Jelliffe	Mr. George E. Whitman
Mr. Myron Jermain Jones	Mr. Charles W. White
Miss Clara A. Kaiser	Mr. F. E. Wilson
Mr. Stanley Klonowski	Mrs. Louis H. Winch
Mr. C. E. Knoeppel	Miss Marie R. Wing
Judge Julius M. Kovachy	Miss Virginia R. Wing
Rev. S. K. Kremer	Mr. William J. Winston
Mr. Charles Kreindler	Rev. Louis E. Wright
Mrs. Albert D. Levy	Rev. Oldrich Zlamal

[April 9, 1931]

Unemployment
Insurance

(Amended Senate Joint Resolution No. 32)

JOINT RESOLUTION

To provide for the appointment of a commission to study the causes of unemployment, and recommend the feasibility of mutual unemployment insurance as a remedy.

WHEREAS, The state of Ohio, as an integral part of the United States, has been and is passing through a period of stress and suffering by reason of the existing industrial depression which has resulted in unparalleled conditions of unemployment by which hundreds of our industrious citizens have been unable, though willing, to get work to do or to earn sufficient money to supply themselves or those dependent on them with the common necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, Family relief funds of community chests and other charity organizations in many Ohio communities were exhausted within a year after the industrial depression began, and cities and counties are now supporting unemployed people from public treasuries, and the Assembly has found it necessary to authorize local governments to issue bonds for unemployment relief because of the increasing demand on the taxpayers to support people laid off by our industries; and

WHEREAS, The president's commission on recent economic changes reported that in the country as a whole there is a minimum of 5% of unemployed wage-earners in the most prosperous years rising to 15% and more during years of depression; and it is well known that cycles of prosperity and depression have succeeded each other for more than a hundred years and are bound to recur in the future; and

WHEREAS, No scientific first-hand study has ever been made of the causes and effects of business depressions in Ohio or of methods of preventing unemployment and relieving the suffering that results from lack of work; so that in the present crisis we have been without any assembled data or official information to guide us or upon which to base measures calculated to enable us to meet the emergencies which have been thrust upon us; and

WHEREAS, Such lack of preparedness is uneconomic, has caused suffering which might have been avoided, and should be provided against in anticipation of future periods of financial distress such as ever recur in cycles; now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

1. That the governor be and he is hereby authorized to appoint a commission of not less than nine citizens whose duty it shall be to investigate the practicability and advisability of setting up unemployment reserves or insurance funds to provide against the risk of unemployment, and to recommend what form of legislation if any may be wise or suitable to Ohio as a separate state and which may seem to offer the best preventive remedy to avoid future distress and suffering such as is being undergone by our citizens who are unable to find work through no fault of their own.

2. That the members of the unemployment commission shall serve without pay but shall be reimbursed necessary traveling and subsistence expenses incurred in the course of their investigation, and the commission shall have authority to employ such experts, investigators, statisticians and other staff as may be necessary to carry on the investigation.

3. That there be set apart the sum of \$15,000.00 to pay the expense of this commission, and that we direct the members of the appropriations committees of the House and Senate to see that a proper item for that amount be inserted in the general or sundry appropriation bill to be made available immediately for the purpose herein set forth, and to be paid out on vouchers signed by the chairman and secretary of the committee.

4. The commission shall submit its report and recommendations not later than January 1, 1933, and the governor shall transmit the same to the next session of the Assembly with such comment or recommendations as he deems fitting.

ARTHUR HAMILTON,

Speaker — of the House of Representatives.

WM. G. PICKREL,

President — of the Senate.

Adopted, April 9th, 1931.



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RABBI A H SILVER=

EAST 105 ST=

I AM ANNOUNCING THIS AFTERNOON AN ORGANIZATION UNDER
DIRECTION OF MR WALTER S GIFFORD TO ASSIST AND COOPERATE
WITH EXISTING AGENCIES IN RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT DURING
THIS WINTER STOP I EARNESTLY DESIRE THAT YOU SHOULD SERVE
ON THIS NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THAT ORGANIZATION=
HERBERT HOOVER..

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

For use evening papers---October 3, 1931.

The Presidents' Organization on Unemployment Relief,
1734 New York Avenue, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Walter S. Gifford, Director.

ALL RELIGIOUS GROUPS ASKED TO SUPPORT UNIFIED LOCAL RELIEF

Washington, D. C., October ---A call to clergy and laity of all denominations to support unified local efforts to alleviate unemployment distress this winter, and to enlist their congregations behind such community activity, has been made here by the President's Organization for Unemployment Relief in a communication from Walter S. Gifford, Director of the President's Organization, and Eliot Wadsworth of Boston, Chairman of the Committee on Cooperation With National Groups and Associations, a unit of the Organization.

Stating that many clergy, church leaders, and religious organizations of all creeds everywhere were cooperating with emergency relief projects throughout the nation and that many already had offered their support to the work of the President's Organization, Mr. Wadsworth explained that it was felt that a maximum effective work could be accomplished this fall and winter if clergy and laity joined the work now under way and being speeded by existing local agencies to meet the distress that may arise this winter from unemployment in their localities. He said that letters bearing the signature of Mr. Gifford and himself had been sent to clergy asking them to throw their support and that of their parishes behind these local relief measures.

The letter to the clergy followed a meeting of Mr. Wadsworth's Committee at which fifteen organizations such as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Knights of Columbus, American Legion, Federation of Womens Clubs, National Manufacturers Association, American Red Cross, American Engineering Council, American Cotton

Textile Institute and other groups pledged their cooperation to the Committee in every possible way.

In the letter to clergy Mr. Gifford and Mr. Wadsworth made this joint appeal:

"The President has created this Organization to do everything possible to make sure that those who are unemployed during the coming winter may receive adequate relief.

"Our work is based on the broad policy that unemployment relief can best be dealt with by each local community through a unified local organization or committee.

"It is important that every force in each community should support local activities concerned in the raising of funds for unemployment relief, wisely administering relief and increasing opportunities for employment.

"The Committee on Cooperation is charged with the duty of inviting all organizations to participate in the work, and looks to the churches, as one of the influential organizations, for assistance in inspiring the people to give the heartiest support to the movement in their own communities. May we not count on you to keep in touch with your community organization for unemployment relief, to keep your people informed as to its plans and to urge them to lend all strength and influence to the end that distress from unemployment may be kept at a minimum?

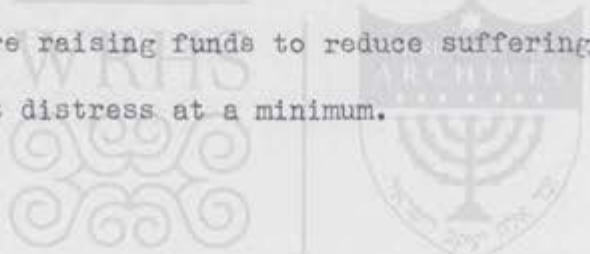
"Perhaps you will consider it advisable to read this letter to your congregation and take any definite action which seems appropriate."

The members of the Committee on Cooperation With National Groups and Associations are:

R. H. Aishton, Washington, D. C.
Martin H. Carmody, Grand Rapids, Mich.
James C. Drain, Spokane, Wash.
Dr. John W. Davis, Institute, West Virginia.
John E. Edgerton, Lebanon, Tenn.

Dr. Lillian Gilbreth, Montclair, New Jersey.
William Green, Washington, D. C.
C. E. Grunskey, San Francisco, Calif.
A. Johnston, Washington, D. C.
Alvan Macauley, Detroit, Mich.
John R. Mott, New York, N. Y.
John Barton Payne, Washington, D. C.
Rabbi A. H. Silver, Cleveland, Ohio.
Mrs. John F. Sippel, Washington, D. C.
George Sloan, New York, N. Y.
Matthew Sloan, New York, N. Y.
Silas H. Strawn, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Robert E. Speer, New York, N. Y.
L. J. Taber, Columbus, Ohio.
George E. Vincent, Greenwich, Conn.
William Allen White, Emporia, Kansas.
Col. Arthur Woods, New York, N. Y.

The President's Organization is not raising a national fund, or any fund of any character, Mr. Wadsworth declared here today. He said the Organization and his Committee are working to the end that every help will be made available to communities that are raising funds to reduce suffering this winter and to keep this unemployment distress at a minimum.



Manion C. Harrison
Walter E. Jago Gibbs & Co.
127 N. 11

127 N. 11
Jago Gibbs

[1931]

Manion C. Harrison

GAL 1--

(CONFIDENTIAL)

Tentative Draft of an Unemployment Insurance Law for Ohio,

PREPARED BY THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE OF CLEVELAND

SECTION 1: There is hereby created an UNEMPLOYMENT COMMISSION OF OHIO, to be composed of three members appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than one of the appointees to such commission shall be a person who, on account of his previous vocation, employment, or affiliation, can be classed as a representative of Employers, and not more than one of such appointees shall be a person who, on account of his previous vocation, employment, or affiliation, can be classed as a representative of Employees, and not more than two of the members of such commission shall belong to the same political party. The members of the commission shall be appointed by the governor within thirty days after the date when this Act becomes effective; one of which members shall be appointed for the term of two years, one member for four years, and one member for six years, and thereafter as their terms expire the governor shall appoint one member for the term of six years. Vacancies shall be filled by appointment by the governor for the unexpired term.

SECTION 2: The governor at any time may remove any member of the Unemployment Commission of Ohio for inefficiency, neglect of duty, malfeasance, misfeasance, or nonfeasance in office.

SECTION 3: No commissioner shall hold any position of trust or profit, or engage in any occupation or business interfering or inconsistent with his duties as such commissioner; and no commissioner shall serve on any committee of any political party.

SECTION 4: Each of the members of the commission shall receive an annual salary of Seven Thousand Five Hundred Dollars, payable in the same manner as the salaries of other state officers are paid. Before entering upon the duties of his office, each member of said commission shall take and subscribe the constitutional oath of office and shall swear or affirm that he holds no position upon any committee of a political party, which oath or affirmation shall be filed in the office of the governor. Each member of said commission shall give a bond in the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars, which bond shall be approved by the governor and filed with the Treasurer of State. All employees or deputies of the said commission receiving or disbursing funds of the state shall give bond to the state in amounts and with surety to be approved by said commission.

SECTION 5: The Commission shall choose one of its members as chairman. A majority of such commission shall constitute a quorum to transact business. No vacancy shall impair the rights of the remaining commissioners to exercise all of the powers of the commission, so long as a majority remains. Any investigation, inquiry, or hearing which the commission is authorized to hold, or undertake, may be held or undertaken by or before any one member of the commission, or by or before one of its deputies, and every order made by a member thereof, or by one of its duly authorized deputies, when approved and confirmed by a majority of the members and so shown on its records of proceedings, shall be deemed to be the order of the commission.

SECTION 6: The commission shall keep and maintain its office in the city of Columbus, Ohio, and shall provide suitable room or rooms, necessary office furniture, supplies, books, periodicals, maps and appliances as they deem necessary. The commission may hold sessions in any place within the State of Ohio.

SECTION 7: As used in this Act the following terms shall be defined and construed as follows:

- (a) "COMMISSION" means the Unemployment Commission of Ohio.
- (b) "EMPLOYER" means every person, firm or private corporation who shall have three or more employees in a common employment. It shall not include the State of Ohio as an employer, nor any municipal or public corporation, nor any political subdivision; nor any farmer; nor any person, firm or corporation engaged in Interstate Commerce and subject to the supervision and jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission; nor any person, firm or corporation to which this Act may not apply by reason of any provision of the Constitution of the United States or of any Act of Congress.
- (c) "EMPLOYMENT" means any employment for hire within the state of Ohio and shall include any trade, occupation, or process of manufacture or any method of carrying on said trade, occupation or process of manufacture in which any person may engage, but shall not include private domestic service or persons engaged in farm labor.
- (d) "EMPLOYEE" means any person employed for hire by an employer in an employment in Ohio subject to this Act, except a person whose employment is not in the usual course of the trade, business, profession or occupation of the employer, and except further, persons whose income from employment other than manual labor is more than TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS per year.
- (e) "BENEFIT" means money allowance payable to an employee as unemployment insurance or compensation as provided in this Act.
- (f) "WAGES" means the money rate at which the employee is recompensed under the contract of hiring in force at the time he became unemployed, or partially unemployed, including the reasonable value of the services rendered by him during the period of his unemployment.

employment is not in the usual course of his profession or occupation of the employer, and except further, persons whose income from employment other than manual labor is more than TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS per year.

- (e) "BENEFIT" means money allowance payable to an employee as unemployment insurance or compensation as provided in this Act.
- (f) "WAGES" means the money rate at which the employee is recompensed under the contract of hiring in force at the time he became unemployed, or partially unemployed, including the reasonable value of board, rent, housing, lodging, or similar advantage from the employer.
- (g) "FUND" means the Unemployment Insurance Fund established by this Act.
- (h) "UNEMPLOYMENT." A person shall not be deemed to be unemployed during any week in which he is following an occupation for which he derives wages not less than 75% of his usual remuneration.

SECTION 8: In addition to all other powers granted to the commission by the provisions of this Act, the commission shall have full power as follows:

- (a) To adopt and promulgate rules governing,
 - (1) The time, place, and manner of making claims for benefits under this Act.
 - (2) The procedure for investigating, hearing and deciding claims.
 - (3) The kind and character of notices required thereunder.
 - (4) The nature and extent of the proofs and evidence, and the method of taking and furnishing same to establish the right to benefits.
 - (5) The method and time within which adjudications and awards shall be made.
- (b) To amend and modify its rules from time to time in such respects as the commission may find necessary or desirable.
- (c) To appoint secretaries, clerks, investigators and deputies as required for the administration of the provisions of this Act, and to determine their salaries and duties.
- (d) To create such districts and branch offices as may be required for the proper administration of this Act.
- (e) To provide for the registration of all persons who are unemployed and to adopt such measures as may be feasible to promote their re-employment.
- (f) To maintain such agencies for investigating unemployment and promoting regularity of employment as it may find feasible; and to license and supervise the conduct of all private employment agencies.
- (g) To require all employers subject to the provisions of this Act to furnish to it information from time to time concerning the amount of wages paid, the number of employees employed, the regularity of their employment, the number of former employees unemployed, the reason for their unemployment, the likelihood of their future re-employment, and the probable requirements of employment of new employees; and to require such employers to give other and further information respecting any other facts required for the proper administration of this Act.
- (h) To classify generally all occupations and employment, and all employers individually, as to the general hazard of unemployment in such occupation and employment; and as to the particular hazard of such employer having especial reference to the history of the regularity of employment of employees of such employer.
- (i) To provide for the levy and collection from all employers of employers subject to this Act and all employers subject to the provisions of this act, excepting only those employers hereafter referred to as "SELF INSURERS," of the premiums required for the maintenance of the Unemployment Insurance Fund as further required by this Act.
- (j) To receive, hear and decide all claims for unemployment benefits, whether against the Unemployment Insurance Fund or against a self insuring employer, and to provide for the payment of such claims as are allowed.
- (k) To determine within the limits provided by this Act the premium rates upon employers subject to this Act.

SECTION 9: All unemployed employees of employers subject to this Act shall be entitled to receive unemployment benefits; subject, however, to the following conditions:

- (a) No employee shall be entitled to any benefits unless within the year preceding he has been employed by employers subject to this Act, and has contributed to the Unemployment Insurance Fund one and one-half per cent of his wages for a period of not less than TWENTY-SIX WEEKS; nor unless he has been so employed and has contributed to said Unemployment Insurance Fund premiums of ONE AND ONE-HALF PER CENT of his wages for a total period of not less than FIFTY-TWO WEEKS.
- (b) The total benefits to which an employee shall be entitled in any calendar year shall not exceed thirteen times his benefit for one week of total unemployment, nor exceed ONE WEEK of benefits for total unemployment for each four weeks of employment by employers subject to this Act in the two years next preceding.
- (c) Benefits shall be payable on account of each week of unemployment, after a waiting period of two weeks, at the rate of fifty per cent of the employee's weekly wage, provided, however, that no benefit shall be in excess of Eighteen Dollars and Seventy-Five Cents per week.

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- (d) In cases of partial unemployment where, by reason of part time employment, there is an impairment of wages in excess of 25%, a benefit shall be paid as in cases of total unemployment, except that the amount of such benefit shall be one-half of the impairment in wages due to such partial unemployment, but not to exceed \$10.00 per week, and shall continue for the period of such unemployment; provided, however, that the total amount of the benefits payable, whether for partial unemployment, or total unemployment, or partial unemployment and total unemployment, shall be as already stated; and provided further that no benefits shall be payable for such partial unemployment until after a waiting period such that the loss of time in such partial unemployment is equal to two weeks total unemployment.
- (e) The waiting period shall commence on the day the employee registers as unemployed at the PLACE OF REGISTRATION maintained by the commission in the city or district of his employment.
- (f) Benefits shall be paid to an unemployed employee only while he is capable of, and available for employment, and unable to obtain employment in his usual employment, or in another employment for which he is reasonably fitted; provided however, that the right to benefits shall not be destroyed by reason of a refusal to accept employment IF,
- (1) There is a strike or lockout in the establishment in which employment is offered; or
 - (2) The employment is at an unreasonable distance from his residence, having regard to the character of the work which he was accustomed to do; or
 - (3) Travel to the place of employment involves expense substantially greater than that required for his former employment, unless the expense be provided for; or
 - (4) The employment offered is at a rate of wage lower, or on conditions substantially less favorable than in his usual employment or any similar employment for which he is fitted.
- (g) No benefits shall be payable to an unemployed employee who has lost his employment thru his own misconduct in such employment, or who has left his employment voluntarily and without reasonable cause; or who has left or lost his employment by reason of a strike or lockout in the establishment in which he was employed, so long as the strike or lockout continues; or who fails or refuses to report to the commission from time to time as required by its rules; or whose unemployment has been directly caused by act of God; or who becomes unemployed by reason of becoming an inmate of any penal institution.

SECTION 10: There is hereby created a fund to be known as THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FUND. Such fund shall consist of all premiums received and paid into the fund by employers and employees; of property and securities acquired by and thru the use of monies belonging to the fund; and interest earned upon money belonging to the fund. Such fund shall be applicable to the payment of benefits as provided herein.

SECTION 11: The treasurer of state shall be the custodian of the fund and all disbursements therefrom shall be paid by him upon vouchers authorized by the commission and signed by any two members of said commission, or, such vouchers may bear the facsimile signatures of the members of said commission printed thereon, and the signature of the deputy or other employee of said commission charged with the duty of keeping the account of said funds and with the preparation of vouchers for the payment of benefits to the person or persons entitled thereto.

SECTION 12: The treasurer of state is hereby authorized to deposit any portion of the fund not needed for immediate use, in the same manner and subject to all the provisions of the law with respect to the deposit of state funds by such treasurer; and all interest earned by such portion of the fund as may be deposited by the state treasurer in pursuance of authority herein given, shall be collected by him and placed to the credit of such fund.

SECTION 13: The commission shall have the power to invest any of the surplus or reserve belonging to the fund in bonds of the United States, farm loan bonds issued under the provisions of the act of congress known as the Federal Farm Loan Act, approved July 17, 1916, and amendments thereto, the state of Ohio, of any county, city, village or school district, or any conservancy district of the state of Ohio, at current market prices for such bonds; provided that such purchase be authorized by a resolution adopted by the commission and approved by the governor; and all such bonds so purchased forthwith shall be placed in the hands of the treasurer of state, who is hereby designated as custodian thereof, and it shall be his duty to collect the interest thereon, as the same becomes due and payable, and also the principal thereof, and to pay the same, when so collected, into the fund. The treasurer of state shall honor and pay all vouchers drawn on the fund for the payment of such bonds when signed by any two members of the commission, upon delivery of said bonds to him when there is attached to such voucher a certified copy of such resolution of the commission authorizing the purchase of such bonds; and the commission may sell any of said bonds upon like resolution and the proceeds thereof, shall be paid by the purchaser to the treasurer of state upon delivery to him of said bonds by the treasurer.

SECTION 14: The treasurer of state shall give a separate and additional receipt for such amount as may be fixed by the governor, and with

of state shall honor and pay as provided for the payment of such bonds when signed by any two members of the commission, upon delivery of said bonds to him when there is attached to such voucher a certified copy of such resolution of the commission authorizing the purchase of such bonds; and the commission may sell any of said bonds upon like resolution and the proceeds thereof, shall be paid by the purchaser to the treasurer of state upon delivery to him of said bonds by the treasurer.

SECTION 14: The treasurer of state shall give a separate and additional bond, in such amount as may be fixed by the governor, and with sureties to his approval, conditioned for the faithful performance of his duties as custodian of the fund herein provided for. Such bond shall be deposited with the secretary of state and kept in his office.

SECTION 15: Excepting as hereinafter provided, every employer, subject to the provisions of this Act, shall in the month of January, 1932, and semi-annually thereafter, pay into the Unemployment Insurance Fund the amount of premiums determined and fixed by the commission for the employment or occupation of such employer, the amount of which premium to be so paid by such employer to be determined by the classification, rules and rates made and published by said commission, and such employer shall semi-annually thereafter pay such further sum of money into the Unemployment Insurance Fund as may be ascertained to be due from him by applying the rules of said commission, and a receipt or certificate certifying that said payment has been made shall immediately be mailed to such employer by the commission, which receipt or certificate, attested by the seal of said commission, shall be prima facie evidence of the payment of such premium. Provided, however, that such employers, otherwise referred to in this Act as SELF INSURING EMPLOYERS, who will abide by the rules of the commission and may be of sufficient ability to render certain the payment of benefits to unemployed employees equal to or greater than provided for from the Unemployment Insurance Fund, and who do not desire to insure the payment thereof, may, upon the evidence of said fact by the commission, elect to pay individually such benefit directly to their said unemployed employees, and the commission shall require such security or bond from said self insuring employers as it may deem proper, adequate and sufficient to secure to such unemployed employees the payment of the benefits herein provided for, which shall in no event be less than that paid out of the Unemployment Insurance Fund in similar cases. Should municipal or other bonds be accepted by the said commission as security for said payments, such bonds shall be deposited with the Treasurer of State, whose duty it shall be to have custody thereof, and to retain the same in his possession according to the conditions prescribed by the order of the commission accepting the same as security, and said Treasurer shall retain possession of said bonds until such time as he may be directed by said commission as to the mode and method of his disposition of the same, and said commission shall make and publish rules and regulations governing the mode and manner of making application, the nature and extent of the proof required to justify such finding of fact by the commission to permit such election of such employers, which rules and regulations shall be general in their application. The commission may at any time change or modify its findings of fact herein provided for or revoke the right of said employer to pay benefits direct, if in its judgment such action is necessary or desirable to secure or assure a strict compliance with all of the provisions of the law in reference to the payment of benefits.

Any self insuring employer may substitute for the benefits provided by this act any other plan which will, in the opinion of the commission provide benefits equivalent to or greater than those provided for in this act, and without greater burdens upon the employees in the form of premiums or otherwise and which is further shown to be desired with substantial unanimity by the employees of said employer. If at any time such plan or its administration is claimed to fail to meet such standard, the commission shall, upon proper notice to said employer, and after hearing, determine such fact; and if said finding is adverse to said employer, it shall thereupon withdraw its permission; and thereupon said employer shall contribute its premiums to the fund, or in the alternative, qualify as a self insurer, as hereinbefore provided.

SECTION 16: Every employee of an employer, subject to the provisions of this Act, which has not elected to be a self insuring employer, and who is entitled to receive benefits under the provisions of the Act, shall pay into the Unemployment Insurance Fund a sum equal to one and one-half per cent of all wages received in such employment, and such employers shall be required to deduct from the wages so paid such

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amount and to pay the same into the Unemployment Insurance Fund under such regulations and at such intervals as the commission may determine and require. All employees of self insuring employers who are entitled to benefits under this Act shall pay to such employers such sums as such employers shall require, provided, however, that such amount may not be in excess of one and one-half per cent of the wages paid by said employer, and the time and method of collection and the records thereof, shall be subject to the approval of the commission.

SECTION 17: The rate of premium to be paid into the Unemployment Insurance Fund by all employers to this Act shall be a percentage of the employer's payroll to employees entitled to participate in benefits under this act. For the purpose of establishing this rate employment shall be classified into groups equitably based on differences of unemployment hazard, and employers shall be classified into classes within such groups, equitably based upon their individual history of unemployment hazard; and premiums shall be fixed on an actuarial basis at the lowest possible rate consistent with the maintenance of a solvent insurance fund with reasonable reserves and surplus. In no event may the premium rate upon any employer be fixed at a greater percentage than two per cent upon such payroll of such employer.

SECTION 18: No agreement by an employee to pay any portion of the payment required to be made by his employer for the purpose of providing benefits either through the fund or otherwise, shall be valid; and no employer shall make a deduction for such purpose from the wages or salary of any employee. But nothing in this act shall affect the validity of voluntary arrangements whereby employees agree to make contributions for the purpose of securing unemployment benefits in addition to those provided in this Act.

SECTION 19: No agreement by an employee to waive his right to benefits under this Act shall be valid.

SECTION 20: Benefits due under this act shall not be assigned, leased, or commuted and shall be exempt from all claims of creditors and from levy, execution and attachment or other remedy for recovery or collection of a debt, which exemption may not be waived.

SECTION 21: Whenever in any employment it is customary to operate only during a regularly recurring period or periods of less than one year in length, then the right to benefits shall apply only to the longest seasonal period or periods which the best practice of such industry or class of employment will reasonably permit. The Commission shall ascertain and determine or redetermine such seasonal period or periods for each such seasonal employment. Until such determination, no employment shall be deemed seasonal.

SECTION 22: Every employer shall furnish the commission upon request, all information required by it to carry out the purpose of this Act. In the month of January of each year, every employer of the state, subject to this Act, shall prepare and mail to the commission at its main office in the City of Columbus, Ohio, a statement containing the following information, viz: the number of employees employed during the preceding year from January 1st to December 31st inclusive; the number of such employees employed at each kind of employment and the aggregate amount of wages paid to such employees and any further information required by the commission, which information shall be furnished on a blank or blanks to employers free of charge upon request therefor. Every employer receiving from the commission any blank, with direction to fill out the same, shall cause the same to be properly filled out so as to answer fully and correctly all questions therein propounded, and to give all the information therein sought, or if unable to do so, he shall give to the commission in writing good and sufficient reasons for such failure. The commission may require that the information herein required to be furnished be verified under oath and returned to the commission within the period fixed by it or law. The commission or any member thereof, or any person employed by the commission for that purpose, shall have the right to examine, under oath, any employer, or the officer, agent or employee thereof for the purpose of ascertaining any information which such employer is required by this Act to furnish to the commission.

Any employer who shall fail or refuse to furnish to the commission the annual statement herein required, or who shall fail or refuse to furnish such information as may be required by the commission under authority of this section, shall be liable to a penalty of five hundred dollars, to be collected in a civil action brought against said employer in the name of the state. All such penalties, when collected, shall be paid into the fund and become a part thereof.

SECTION 23: The information contained in the annual report provided for in the preceding section, and such other information as may be furnished to the commission by employers in pursuance of the provisions of said section, shall be for the exclusive use and information of said commission in the discharge of its official duties, and shall not be open to the public nor be used in any court in any action or proceeding pending therein unless the commission is a party to such action or proceeding; but the information contained in said report may be tabulated and published in statistical form, for the use and information of other state departments and the public. Any person in the employ of the commission who shall divulge any information secured by him while in the employ of the commission in respect to the transactions, property, business or mechanical, chemical or other industrial processes of any company, firm, corporation, person, association, co-partnership, or public utility to any person other than the members or employees of the commission shall be fined not less than One Hundred Dollars, nor more than One Thousand Dollars, and shall thereafter be disqualified from holding any appointment or employment with the commission.

SECTION 24: Each member of the commission, its secretary, and all deputies appointed by the commission shall, for the purposes contemplated by this Act, have power to administer oaths, certify to official acts, take depositions, issue subpoenas, compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, accounts, papers, records, documents and testimony.

SECTION 25: In case of disobedience of any person to comply with the order of the commission or any deputy, or on the refusal of a witness to testify in any matter regarding which he may be lawfully interrogated,

ment or employment with the commission.

SECTION 24: Each member of the commission, its secretary, and all deputies appointed by the commission shall, for the purposes contemplated by this Act, have power to administer oaths, certify to official acts, take depositions, issue subpoenas, compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, accounts, papers, records, documents and testimony.

SECTION 25: In case of disobedience of any person to comply with the order of the commission or any deputy, or on the refusal of a witness to testify to any matter regarding which he may be lawfully interrogated, or refusal to permit an inspection as aforesaid, the probate judge of the county in which the person resides, on application of any member of the commission, its secretary, or any deputy, appointed by it shall, compel obedience by attachment proceedings as for contempt, as in the case of disobedience of the requirements of subpoena issued from such court on a refusal to testify therein.

SECTION 26: It shall be the duty of each member of a firm, and of the president, secretary, general manager and managing agent of each private corporation, including any public service corporation subject to this Act, to cause such firm or corporation to comply with the provisions of this Act, and any person or any member of such firm or any officer of such corporation referred to in this section who shall neglect or fail to comply with the provisions of this Act relating to the making of reports and the payment of premiums to the Fund shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not more than Five Hundred Dollars and the costs of prosecution. Such fine when collected shall be paid to the commission and placed in the state insurance Fund.

Each day's refusal on the part of such person, members of such firm or the officers of such corporations to comply with the provisions of this Act, after notice to said person, firm or corporation, including any public service corporation, from the commission to comply with the same, shall be deemed a separate offense and be punished as herein provided.

All courts exercising jurisdiction in cases of misdemeanor, including justices of the peace, shall have final jurisdiction of offenses under this section; but an affidavit charging such an offense shall not be filed unless the same bears the approval of the prosecuting attorney of the proper county or of the attorney general.

SECTION 27: If the commission finds that any person, firm or private corporation, including any public service corporation is, or has been at any time after January 1, 1932, an employer subject to the provisions of this Act and has failed to comply with the provisions of this Act, it shall determine the period during which he or it was such an employer, which finding and determination shall for all purposes of this Act be prima facie evidence thereof. The commission shall forthwith give notice of said action to the employer who shall immediately thereafter furnish the commission with a payroll covering the period included in said finding, together with an estimated payroll for six months next succeeding the date of such finding, if such employer is subject to the provisions of this Act, and shall forthwith either pay into the fund the amount of premium determined and fixed by the commission for such period or shall comply with the provisions with reference to the direct payment of the benefits provided by this act as self insurer.

If said employer fails, neglects or refuses to furnish such payroll and pay the premium for such period or to elect to pay directly such benefits during such period within ten days after receiving such notice, the commission shall then determine the amount of premium due from said employer for the period the commission found him or it to be subject to this Act, including the amount of premium to be paid by him or it for the next succeeding six months, if such employer is subject to the provisions of this Act on the date of such determination, and shall notify said employer of the amount thereof and shall order the same paid into said fund. If said amount is not paid within ten days after receiving notice, the commission shall certify the same to the attorney general, who shall forthwith institute a civil action against such employer in the name of the state for the collection of such premium. In such action it shall be sufficient for plaintiff to set forth a copy of the finding of the commission relative to such employer as certified by the commission to the attorney general and to state that there is due to plaintiff on account of such finding of the commission a specified sum which plaintiff claims with interest. A certified copy of such finding relative to such employer shall be attached to the petition and shall constitute prima facie evidence of the truth of the facts therein contained. The answer or demurrer to such petition shall be filed within ten days, the reply or demurrer to the answer within twenty days, and the demurrer to the reply within thirty days after the return day of the summons or service by publication. All motions and demurrers shall be submitted to the Court within ten days after the same are filed. As soon as the issues are made up in any such case, it shall be placed at the head of the trial docket and shall be first in order of trial.

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Unless said employer shall, within the ten days last aforesaid, execute a bond to the state, in double the amount so found and ordered paid by the commission, with sureties to the approval of the commission, conditioned that he or it will pay any judgment and costs rendered against him or it for said premium, the court at the time of the filing of the petition, and without notice, shall appoint a receiver for the property and business of such employer, in this state, with all the powers of receivers in other cases, who shall take charge of all said property and assets of the defendant and administer the same under the orders of the court.

If upon final hearing of said cause it is found and determined that the defendant is subject to the provisions of this Act the court shall render judgment against said defendant for the amount of premium, provided to be paid by such employer for such period under the provisions of this Act, with interest from the date of the determination of said amount by the commission, together with costs, which judgment shall be given the same preference as is now or may hereafter be allowed by law on judgments rendered for claims for taxes.

If any employer who has complied with this act shall default in any payment required to be made by him or it to the fund, for a period of ten days after notice that such payment is due, the same proceedings may be had as in the case of an employer against whom the commission has made a finding as hereinbefore provided.

If the defendant is a non-resident of this state or a foreign corporation doing business in this state, service of summons may be made upon any agent, representative or foreman of said defendant, wherever found in the state, or service may be made in any other manner designated by statute.

The commission, for good cause shown, may waive a default in the payment of premium where such default is of less than sixty days' duration, and upon payment by the employer of the premium for such period, he and his employees shall be entitled to all of the benefits provided by this Act.

SECTION 28: The commission shall have full power and authority to hear and determine all questions within its jurisdiction, and its decisions thereon in each claim shall be final. Provided, however, that any employer or employee aggrieved by any order or decision of the commission may, within 15 days thereafter appeal such order or decision to the Court of Common Pleas of the county wherein said appellant is resident or was last employed: and said appeal shall be heard upon a transcript of the proceedings before the commission and said order shall not be modified nor reversed unless said Court shall find, upon consideration of the Record, that it was unlawful and unreasonable. Either party shall have the right to prosecute error from the decision of the Court of Common Pleas as in other civil cases.

SECTION 29: All claims for benefits under this act shall be waived, unless made within sixty days from the date when unemployment began.

SECTION 30: Employment at any work for which provision for benefits is not required shall suspend the right to benefits. If the employee loses such employment within six months of the cessation of his employment by his last previous employer, his right to benefits shall recommence upon registration and expiration of the waiting period.

SECTION 31: If an employee undertakes such employment during the two weeks waiting period it shall not affect the running of such period if it continues for one week or less.

SECTION 32: The employee shall notify the employment office at which he is registered, when he begins and leaves such employment.

SECTION 33: The entire cost of the administration of this Act, including salaries and other expenditures required, shall be paid upon vouchers of the Commission out of the general funds of the State.

SECTION 34: If any employer, employee or other person shall violate any provisions of this act or shall do any Act prohibited by this Act or shall fail or refuse to perform any duty lawfully enjoined, within the time prescribed by the commission, for which no penalty has been specifically provided, or fail, neglect or refuse to obey any lawful order given or made by the commission, or any judgment or decree made by any court in connection with the provisions of this Act, for each such violation, failure or refusal such employer or other person shall be fined not less than Fifty Dollars, nor more than One Thousand Dollars for the first offense and not less than One Hundred nor more than Five Thousand Dollars for each subsequent offense.

SECTION 34: Every day during which any person, persons or corporations, or any officer, agent, or employee thereof shall fail to observe and comply with any order of the commission, or to perform any duty enjoined by this Act shall constitute a separate and distinct violation of such order or said section as the case may be.

SECTION 35: The sections of this Act, and every part of such sections are hereby declared to be independent sections, and parts of sections and the holding of any section or part thereof to be void or ineffective shall not affect any other section or part thereof.

SECTION 36: This Act shall be in effect on and after July 1st, 1931; but no premiums shall be payable by employees or employers until on and after January 1, 1932.

Keep

SUGGESTIONS MADE BY PROFESSOR PAUL H. DOUGLAS FOR
UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL FOR OHIO.

Seven

- (1) The bill should specify the amount of benefit which the workers are to receive. Since Ohio has extraordinarily good employment statistics, I would favor making the bill grant unemployment benefit of from 30 to 50 percent of his earnings, for a single man, plus 10 percent for a wife, plus 5 percent for each child up to three.
- (2) This, however, should be hedged around with certain restrictions:
 - (a) There should be a waiting period of at least one week.
 - (b) The benefit should not run for more than a certain number of weeks per year.
 - (c) It should not exceed a given maximum per week, which I should set at \$15.
 - (d) The insured person should have made contributions for at least 1/2 year.
- (3) The test as to whether the worker is unemployed should be administered by the public employment offices, and the number of these should be enlarged adequately to administer such a system.
- (4) Eligibility should be defined somewhat as follows:
 - (a) Men who cannot find work at existing rates of wages.
 - (b) Those who refuse to take a job because of a strike should not be penalized.
 - (c) Provision should be made to squeeze out excess numbers of workers who may have congregated in a specific locality or industry by denying them benefits after a given period of time, and by making the services of employment exchanges available to transfer them.
 - (d) Men who have left employment without just cause should be penalized. Thus men who are discharged because of insubordination or inefficiency, or who left voluntarily should not be able to get benefits immediately. The British system penalizes them for six weeks. I would be willing to go even further.
- (5) I think it would be better not to throw the full cost upon the employer, but have him bear, say, two-thirds of the burden. The initial average rate could be fixed in the bill, providing that the worker should pay 1 percent of his average full-time earnings, and the employer pay an average of 2 percent. The Industrial Commission, however, should be given the power to alter the rates, so as (a) to meet the actual payments necessitated, and (b) to maintain a reserve for future depressions.
- (6) While the average rate of the employers might be fixed at 2 percent, not all employers should be made to pay this flat sum. The industries should be grouped in some 10 or 12 classes with the employers' rate ranging, let us say, from 1/2 of 1 percent to 5 percent, depending upon the relative amount of unemployment which they have. Individual firms could, moreover, be rated within these industries according to the degree to which they had or had not been able to stabilize their employment. Pressure would thus be put upon them to stabilize. The working out of these classes both for industries and for specific firms should be left to the Industrial Commission or to that branch of the Industrial Commission which administers the act.

This will be easier to do in Ohio than in other states because you have the best figures of any.
- (7) The financial details of the system should be taken care of through the exclusive state fund which, as I understand it, handles workmen's compensation premiums.

Cites Hoover's RFC

"The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was of Hoover's making. During his administration billions of dollars were devoted to public works and agriculture. As far as public works is concerned there is nothing new in the Roosevelt program except the amount of expenditure.

"What was new, right or wrong, was the outreaching for a juster distribution of the national wealth, the purpose to make impossible the huge concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and to increase the purchasing power of the masses by raising wages. This was not done, nor is it now contemplated as part of the future program of the administration.

"What was new in the New Deal was a planned national economy, control, unwise and harmful economic expansion, to check waste, competition and correlate product distribution and price. What was new was a radical experiment with new forms of economic activity, a definite departure from the ways and harmful in many ways, an heroic mood, a new pioneer zeal. All this has now, after a sufficient period of trial and experimentation, been abandoned!

Chance to Keep Stability.

"Private capitalism in the United States will have another chance to bring about and maintain economic stability and well being for the American people. If it succeeds, it has vindicated itself. If it fails again, it will be destroyed.

"The American people is a conservative people with a deeply ingrained tradition of economic individualism and the rights of private property. It is not anti-capitalist nor socialist. It is not given to radicalism. But neither is it a bovine, dumb nor endlessly suffering people. It does think and occasionally takes stock. It will not indefinitely allow itself to be victimized every ten or fifteen years by a major economic depression which brings untold misery, loss and destitution upon it.

"This is likely to be the last great depression which will be allowed to run its course. The next one will end in revolution—Fascist or Communist. Revolution is not unknown in American life. We began our national existence with a revolution, and over an economic issue which we could not peaceably solve, we waged a bloody civil war.

"Wise economic leadership on the part of American business and industry—a quality of leadership which they have not so far displayed—may avert such a tragic eventuality."

CLEVELAND NEWS

Nov 13, 1931

JOB INSURANCE STUDY ORDERED

White Names 3 Clevelanders to Survey Commission.

COLUMBUS, O., Nov. 13.—(By A. P.)—Governor George White today named a commission to study the practicability and advisability of setting up a system of unemployment insurance in Ohio.

Members of the commission are:

State Senator James A. Reynolds, Cleveland, sponsor of legislation setting up such insurance in the last legislature and legislative sponsor of the governor's recommendation for a commission; Thomas J. Donnelly, Columbus, secretary of the Ohio Federation of Labor; Stephen M. Young, Cleveland, attorney and former member of the state legislature.

Stanley B. Matthewson, secretary of the Springfield Chamber of Commerce, former director of personnel and administration of Antioch college, and former field investigator

for the U. S. coal commission.

W. F. Kirk, Port Clinton, master of the Ohio State grange.

Dr. William M. Lelserson, Antioch college economist and the state representative at a governors' conference on unemployment insurance in New York last May.

Professor D. Gordon Hayes, of the department of economics, Ohio State university.

Dr. J. M. Rubinow, Cincinnati, insurance actuary; Miss Amy Maher, Toledo, social worker; Rabbi A. H. Silver, Cleveland.

Appointment of the commission was authorized by the last legislature on the governor's recommendation instead of acting upon legislation setting up an insurance system then before the legislature. The commission, granted \$16,000 for its work, is empowered to conduct hearings, engage experts and otherwise review the situation, and to report to the governor not later than Jan. 1, 1933. Recommendation to the legislature then may follow.

"The purpose of the commission," the governor said in a statement, "is to investigate the practicability and advisability of setting up unemployment reserves or insurance funds to provide against the risks of unemployment and to recommend what form of legislation is most suitable to Ohio conditions."

Nov. 25th, 1931

Mr. Sidney Yellen,
Sec'y. Socialist Party of Ohio,
305 Prospect-Fourth Bldg.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Mr. Yellen:-

I am enclosing herewith a revised form of the letter which I believe should be sent out in the solicitation of funds.

I have not had an opportunity to check up on the accuracy of some of the facts mentioned in the letter. I assume that you have gone into that very carefully. We must not over-state the case.

I have no objection to the use of my name as Chairman of the Committee. I would, however, suggest that someone else be Treasurer, say Dr. Schumacher or Dr. Biddle.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR

Nov 1931

Dear Friend:

You are probably acquainted with the situation in the Harlan County, Kentucky, coal fields.

Last Spring the mine owners ordered a third cut in wages. The miners whose wages were already so low that they were continually indebted to the company for overcharged rent, groceries, medical-fees and other necessities are forced to work for as low as seventy-five cents per day. The officials of the United Mine Workers Union of America pleaded with the mine owners for a revision of the wage scale but without success and the miners were left with no other alternative but to resort to a strike.

As soon as the strike was declared the mine companies employed strike breakers and a reign of terrorism ensued. Men and women were beaten, homes of miners were invaded and many were shot. The right of assembly and freedom of speech have been suppressed and even relief work among the striking miners is interfered with.

There are today forty-three miners indicted for murder in the first degree and sixty-five are charged with criminal syndicalism. The persecution has asked and received a transfer of venue in order to deprive the defense of having a large number of witnesses at the trials. The trials will take place about two hundred miles from Harlan County and it will require thousands of dollars to transfer, feed and house the witnesses as well as to provide them with competent legal help.

A General Defense Committee has been organized which is raising funds to insure a fair and impartial trial for these miners. A local committee has been organized to assist in this work. Those who are interested in preventing a gross miscarriage of justice and in protecting fundamental American rights are invited to contribute to this fund. If you are interested, please forward your contribution immediately as the money is needed now. Make checks payable to

An official receipt will be mailed to you.

With kindest regards, we remain

Sincerely yours,

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER,
CHAIRMAN
HENRY M. BUSCH,
TREASURER
MISS FRIEDA SIEGWARTH
DR. SHUMACHER
LOUISE DAVIDOVE
THEODORE NEWCOMB
SIDNEY YELLEN

MINERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Room 605 CLEVELAND COLLEGE

CLEVELAND, O.

December 22, 1931

Rabbi A.H. Silver,
The Temple,
Ansel Road and East 105th Street,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing a receipt for your generous contribution to the Miners' Defense Fund. It is encouraging to know that, in this critical time when so many appeals are being made for immediate material relief needs, there are still those who respond to the call to defend the fundamental principles of our American life.

Thanking you for your gift, I am

Yours very sincerely,



Henry M. Busch
Treasurer

P.S. This letter was sent to all contributors.

[1931]

Insure Ohio Against Unemployment



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

THE QUESTION BEFORE THE HOUSE

OHIO COMMITTEE FOR
UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE
341 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

A Bill To Create an Unemployment Commission and To Provide for a System of Unemployment Insurance

Jointly introduced into the Ohio Legislature on January 20, 1931, as Senate Bill No. 25 by James A. Reynolds, Democrat, of Cleveland House Bill No. 71 by Horace S. Keifer, Republican, of Springfield

The Bill was drawn up by Marvin C. Harrison, Cleveland lawyer, to embody the recommendations of a group of Ohio citizens actively interested in securing unemployment insurance in Ohio particularly suited to Ohio needs. The Bill follows as closely as practicable the form of the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law which has been operating for twenty years to the great satisfaction of employers, employees and the public. This likeness of form makes clear the similarity between unemployment due to the individual accident of industrial injury and that due to the social accident of irregular production—and indicates that insurance would tend to stabilize employment just as it has tended to promote industrial safety.

The Bill is based on a combination of two attitudes toward unemployment. One of these is that it is an unavoidable hazard for which we must prepare. The other is that it is a disease which might be cured by employers.

The Ohio Bill recognizes that until we know more of the causes of business cycles and of the workings of other economic forces, few single employers, groups of employers, states, or nations can entirely stabilize employment, and that provision against this minimum common hazard should be budgeted—part of it being made a charge upon the business, part of it being the worker's own provision against his future lay-off.

By the provision of a flexible premium rate for employers, depending upon their actual record of unemployment, the Bill emphasizes the power of each employer to prevent the portion of unemployment due to careless management. This preventable unemployment is not only a social extravagance in itself, but is certainly an important cause of general economic depression.

Copies of the complete Bill may be obtained from Thomas E. Bateman, Clerk of the Senate, Columbus. Abstracts of the Bill, more convenient for ordinary use, are available from 341 Engineers' Building, Cleveland.

What the Bill Would Mean to an Employee:

While he was working, $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of his wages would be deducted automatically and paid into the Unemployment Insurance Fund. So, if he were earning \$28 a week (an average wage), 42 cents would be deducted weekly.

If he were laid off because of lack of employment, he would become eligible for benefits after a two weeks' waiting period.

He would receive benefits at the rate of 50% of his wages but not to exceed \$18.75 per week, for a maximum period of 13 weeks in any one year. In case of part-time employment, he would receive proportional benefits.

He would stop receiving benefits as soon as he was employed again, or had refused an offer of suitable employment.

What the Bill Would Mean to an Employer:

Twice a year he would pay premiums into the Unemployment Insurance Fund at a rate to be determined by the Unemployment Commission for each industry and for employers within the industry (depending upon their record of unemployment). It might range from $\frac{1}{4}\%$ to $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ of his payroll, but total premiums contributed by all employers in the state could never be more than 2% of their total payrolls.

If he preferred he might carry his own unemployment risk, and set up any system of unemployment insurance or guaranteed employment he desired, provided that benefits were at least equal to those from the State Fund and his employees paid no higher premiums.

What the Bill Would Mean to the Public:

The public—through the Governor—would appoint an Unemployment Commission of three members to administer the Fund impartially and set up the organization necessary to collect premiums and pay out benefits. The State would carry the cost of this, as of other branches of the government. But the State would pay nothing into the Fund itself.

The public would be saved the cost of a great portion of public and private charitable relief. Also, the public—investors, manufacturers, wage earners, merchants and farmers, and their families—would be cushioned against periods of depression by the stabilized purchasing power of those receiving benefits.

The Way We Do It Now—Are We Satisfied?

The dramatic misery of the past year has given headline news value to the unemployment emergency. But it has also given publicity to the weight of taken-for-granted unemployment during prosperity, which bears just as hard on those on whom it falls—perhaps harder because it is contrasted with the exuberant spending of high wages and profits. We are at last realizing that unemployment is one of the preventable by-wastes of industrial progress and that the inspired ingenuity of business men which has found uses for “all the pig but the squeal,” can devise means of using to the full the precious productive time of men.

Unemployment drains the economic strength of all of us, for the reduced purchasing power of working people means a reduced market for both manufactured and farm products. And through private contributions or increased taxes for relief, we all furnish funds to tide working people over. But the heaviest cost, of course, is borne by the unemployed worker and his family—not that the dollars and cents are so many but that they come from the savings and possessions which are his margin of security.

The Kekics*, for instance, are a typical Ohio family who have gone through the fortunes of unemployment in prosperous times. Mr. Kekic was a skilled woodworker and made good money. Both he and his wife were old enough when they married so that their chief interest was in a comfortably stable home, the futures of their three children, and a secure old age. In their early forties they had so far achieved their aims as to have bought a suburban lot on which they planned to build a home, and to have an insurance policy and \$200 in the bank; at the same time the children were being well and sensibly brought up and sent to school, and their home was a comfortable and cheerful place.

The shift to using metal work instead of wood, finally left Mr. Kekic without the kind of job for which he was trained, but he secured work at assembling metal parts. After a couple of years he took an opportunity to return to his old trade, at a wood-working machine in a refrigerator company. After two years there he was discharged and was unemployed for eighteen months except for two weeks' street repair work for which he was physically unfitted. He finally found another job at 55c an hour—compared with the 95c he had been making when he was laid off.

During the eighteen months of unemployment, the first thing to go, naturally, was the savings account, and then \$300 was bor-

*Case reported by the National Federation of Settlements' study of unemployment, made before the present depression.

rowed on the insurance policy. Finally they had to sell (at a sacrifice in price) the lot which you will realize, meant more to them than just a piece of real estate. But they did it stoically, Mr. Kekic saying, “We are lucky to have it to fall back upon.” They never quite got to the point of pawning their personal belongings, but of course nothing that wore out could be replaced. Mrs. Kekic wore her sister's cast-off clothing and made it over for the children. Though she took courses in food-planning and did her best, there simply was not enough food to eat during those eighteen months, so the children became wan and undernourished. They were so young—two, eight, and ten years old—that Mr. Kekic did not want his wife to get work herself, though she often spoke of it.

By the time Mr. Kekic did find a job, the life plans of the family had to be scrapped. Industry is almost through with a manual worker of forty-four. At that age, with his wages almost cut in half, Mr. Kekic and his wife must give up the idea of owning a home; they will not even be able to save enough to take care of themselves until the children are grown. And the children, whom they had planned to educate, will have to be sent into industry as soon as they reach a legal age. Desperate over the problem of “catching up,” Mrs. Kekic has gone into a knitting mill, though the youngest child is only five years old.

The Kekics were a model workingman's family—sober, industrious, thrifty. What can we say to them if they demand to know how they are better off now than their neighbors who have been idle and extravagant and let “the charities” tide them over? Mrs. Kekic says her husband is a good man—does not “drink or go out with any crowd,” and still he said he would not blame a fellow to hold up someone when things looked as blue as they did to him.”

The Kekics do not, of course, suffer alone. With slight variations their story is that of thousands. . . . Respectable people who have worked hard all their lives and saved part of a pretty small wage, find themselves out of a job and unable to get another. Gradually they slide down the hill of their resources—cash savings, sale of their home and furniture, pawning of their most personal possessions, borrowing from their friends, cutting down on necessary food, and finally the dreaded appeal to charity. Some of them, of course, never get all the way down the hill, but just slip back to begin the climb over again, weary and embittered, and often undernourished and ill from inadequate food and living conditions. We give them grudging, expensive and inadequate aid in the end—but only when they have reached the very bottom.

Someone has called this “the American dole” to industry—our present system of making those least able to do so pay the first cost of unemployment, the public the remainder. Are we satisfied with it?

Would Unemployment Insurance be "a Dole"?

No. A dole is relief furnished out of public funds for an unlimited period. The State Unemployment Insurance Fund would be on the same self-sustaining basis as any other insurance, and benefits would be paid only to workers who had been contributing while they were employed.

Would the Bill do away with unemployment?

No. But it would tend to decrease it by encouraging employers to stabilize employment in their own companies. Also, workers receiving benefits from the reserve accumulated in good times, would be able to buy in times of depression and so help business.

Who pays the cost of unemployment now?

First, those who are least able—the unemployed workers. When their resources are exhausted and the landlord and grocer can no longer "carry" them, the public pays the rest of the bill from taxes for relief and with private charity.

Would Unemployment Insurance cost a great deal?

No. It would probably cost less than our present hit-or-miss methods of relief, for it does not increase the expense of unemployment but only pays for it in a planned way.

How much would Unemployment Insurance cost the employer?

His individual premium rate times his payroll. That rate would depend on his cleverness in stabilizing employment within his company. If he had practically no unemployment, he could become a self-insurer and not have to pay even $\frac{1}{2}\%$ into the State Fund.

How much would Unemployment Insurance cost the employee?

You can figure that out by multiplying a few wage rates by .015. A man earning \$20 a week would pay 30 cents a week; one earning \$30 a week, 45 cents, and so forth.

Why do premiums vary only for employers?

Because only the employer has power to organize his company so as to keep employment regular.

Won't employers try to stabilize employment anyway?

No. Many of them do, but others find it cheaper to turn workers out to live on their own savings and on public funds.

Why do employees pay any premiums, then?

Because by their payments benefits can be twice as large as from employers' payments alone. Their premiums are savings made in good times to carry them through unemployment, just like fire or death or sickness insurance.

Wouldn't Unemployment Insurance discourage workers' thrift?

No. Our present system does that. The more a worker has saved, the less public relief he gets. But in the end he is often as badly off as the shiftless man who has depended on charity from the beginning.

How would the Bill help employers stabilize their companies?

By placing a definite cost of unemployment in their budgets, it would enable them to justify to their stockholders the expenses of stabilizing employment.

How many people are unemployed in Ohio now?

No one knows. That is one difficulty in planning intelligently. The Bill provides for the registration of the unemployed at the state agencies, in order to secure benefits. Thus we would have accurate knowledge of how many and what sort of workers were unemployed.

Does the Bill encourage loafing?

No. Anyone who refused a suitable job which was offered him, would receive no more benefits. Besides, most normal people would rather have full pay on a job than half pay for doing nothing.

Would the Bill make public the business affairs of employers?

No. The information furnished to the Unemployment Commission would be held strictly confidential under penalty of heavy fines and discharge.

Would it interfere in the personal affairs of workers?

No. They would receive benefits whether "deserving" or not. There would be no investigation or control of their private lives, as when charity is furnished. They would receive benefits as a right, without any strings attached.

Would a worker lose his right to benefits by changing jobs?

No. Not so long as he worked for an employer subject to the Act.

Does the Bill favor either side in a labor dispute?

No. Workers out on strike or lockout would not receive benefits. But also, refusal to take a job as a strike breaker would not make a worker ineligible for benefits.

Would all employers come under the Bill?

No. Only employers of "3 or more employees in a common employment," but excluding state and other public employers, farmers, and employers engaged in interstate commerce and subject to the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Would all employees come under the Bill?

No. Only employees "in the usual course of business of the employer," whose income from work other than manual labor is not more than \$2000 a year, and who work for an employer who is covered by the Act, and who are not domestic servants.

Would a worker employed part time receive benefits?

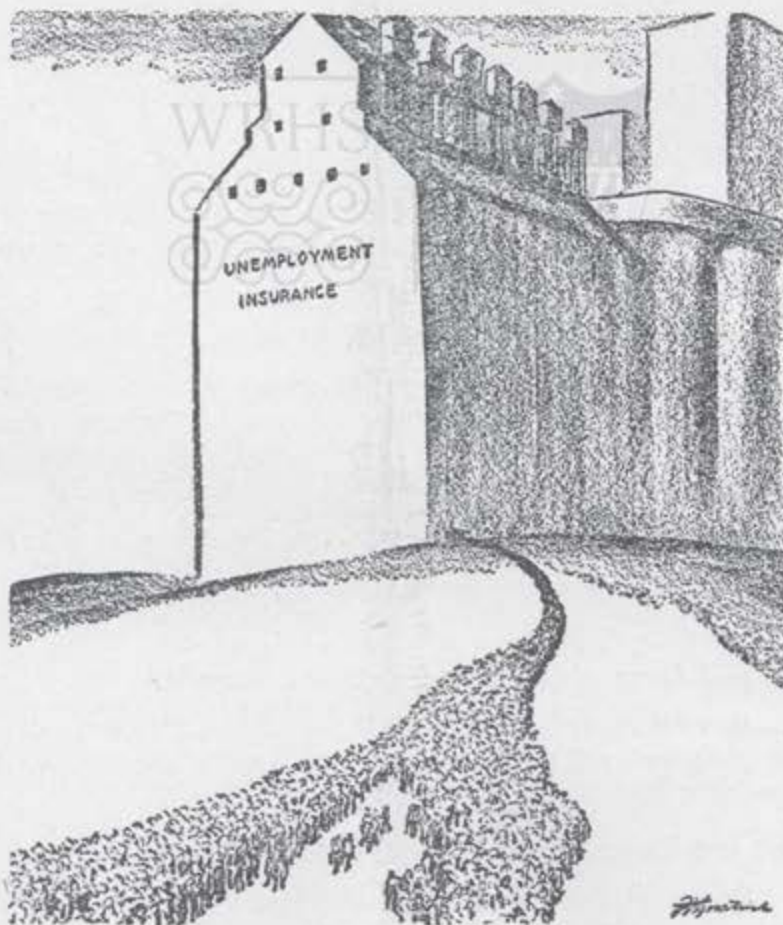
Yes. If his wages were reduced more than 25% of the usual amount.

Would the Bill end private experiment in insurance?

No. Any employer, by self-insuring, could collect premiums and pay benefits by any system he chose so long as, in the opinion of the Commission, cost to employees was not more than under the State Fund, and benefits paid were at least as large.

Would the Bill affect farmers at all?

Neither they nor their workers would pay premiums or receive benefits, but they would profit greatly by the stabilized purchasing power of wage-earners, which would mean a stabilized market for farm products.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Let the Lean Years Draw from the Fat

March 17th, 1932.

Mr. Edward D. Lynde,
Associated Charities,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Mr. Lynde:-

Thank you so much for your kind letter of March
sixteenth.

I am afraid that I did not make myself entirely
clear at the last meeting. My thought was that the Associated
Charities should in justice to its own convictions and standards
of service make a public issue of the fact that the measure of
relief today given to the unemployed of Cleveland is totally
inadequate and that there is a great menace to public health
and to the entire social work of the community involved in
this fact.

The Associated Charities has, of course, from
time to time made mention of this fact but I am afraid there
was lacking a crusading zeal behind the statements. The state-
ments were usually made to answer criticism from certain
quarters touching the "excessive" expenditures for relief.
Should the relief program be returned to the city there will be
many eyes watching it and should the amount of relief be in-
adequate there will be sufficient critics in the community to
make the necessary ado about it. As it is the Associated
Charities has cast a mantle of protection over its inadequate
relief program and has unconsciously silenced much criticism which
would otherwise be launched against it.

Had we refused to reduce the measure of family
relief to the low point where it now is and frankly said to the
community "'non possumus', we can not make brick without straw,
and we will not distribute what amounts to starvation rations in
lieu of actual relief." I feel certain that we would have had
action long ago on the part of the city or the state authorities
in providing adequate funds to meet the situation.

All this, of course, has nothing to do with the
quite remarkable and efficient manner in which you and your
associates performed your work. I am questioning the general

policy of our relief work, not the competence and devotion
of the people who are doing the work for the Associated
Charities.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR



COPY

Sept. 13th, 1931

RABBI A. H. SILVER
CLEVELAND OHIO

IN ASSIGNING DUTIES TO MEMBERS OF MY ADVISORY COMMITTEE
I HAVE TODAY APPOINTED YOU TO SERVE ON THE COMMITTEE ON
COOPERATION WITH NATIONAL GROUPS AND ASSOCIATIONS STOP
ELIOT WADSWORTH WILL ACT AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE
AND YOU WILL HEAR MORE SPECIFICALLY IN DUE COURSE FROM
HIM STOP I SHALL APPRECIATE YOUR COOPERATION IN
THIS IMPORTANT WORK

WALTER S. GIFFORD

REPLY
SEPT. 13th, 1931

I SHALL BE PLEASED TO SERVE ON THE COMMITTEE ON
COOPERATION WITH NATIONAL GROUPS

A. H. SILVER



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Former U. S. Dist. Judge

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Dr. Leo Wolman
Dr. Alexander Fleisher
Secretary

COMMITTEE ON LABOR INJUNCTIONS

(Organized by the American Civil Liberties Union to help secure the passage
of federal and state legislation to end the abuse of injunctions in
restricting labor's rights to organize, strike and picket)

ROOM 1002, 100 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

Telephone, TOMPkins Square 6-4330

December 2, 1931

Dear Rabbi Silver:

May we appeal to you as a member of this Committee to help now in our campaigns for the federal anti-injunction bill and for legislation in six state legislatures meeting in January? We need not only your name on this Committee, but your active support. We shall ask you later to address senators, congressmen and state legislators. But right now we need your aid in meeting campaign expenses.

This is perhaps not a very gracious request to make of a committee member, but we are forced to it by the very limited number of people interested enough to support the job. We have circularized hundreds with very meagre response.

We must raise \$1500 to swing the work, and we are therefore looking for 300 friends to put up an average of \$5.00 each. As you know, no rent or salaries are paid; every dollar goes directly into printing, postage and clerical work. We would appreciate it greatly if you will chip in five dollars, or if you cannot, find somebody who will.

May we not have your reply on the enclosed slip?

Sincerely yours,

Alexander Fleisher
Roger Baldwin

IE

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Naomi Riches

Massachusetts
Newton Arvin
Emily Clark Brown
John S. Codman
Edward E. Curtis
D. H. Davenport
Smith O. Dexter
Elizabeth Donnan
Elizabeth G. Evans
Burt B. Farnsworth
Harold U. Faulkner
Norman D. Fletcher
B. L. Gahne
Ralph E. Gardner
Elliott M. Grant
Lawrence R. Grose
Alice Hamilton
I. H. Hankins
S. Ralph Harlow
Muriel K. Hessler
Amy Hewes
Hector M. Holmes
Rebecca W. Holmes
Julian E. Jackson
Leland N. Jenks
Walter B. Jerge
Robert W. Jones
Henry Raymond Mussey
W. A. Neilson
Henry W. Pinkham
Charles W. Putnam
James A. Ross, Jr.
A. M. Schlesinger
Vida D. Scudder
Sara H. Siles
George Taylor
G. L. Thompson
Willard L. Thorp
John B. Troxell
C. E. Warne
Mary E. Woolley

Michigan
E. Albert Cook
Morris A. Copeland
Carter Goodrich
Karl W. Guenther
Samuel M. Levin
Wesley H. Maurer
Walter M. Nelson
Philip L. Schenk
A. E. Wood

Minnesota
Wm. A. Anderson
O. W. Behrens
Thomas P. Beyer
Arthur Le Sueur
F. M. Rarig
J. S. Robinson
Norman Wilde

Missouri
Orval Bennett
E. M. Grossman
Joseph M. Klamon
O. Myking Mehus
Ernest S. Reynolds
Jerome Walsh
Tyrrell Williams

Montana
W. R. Ames
W. P. Clark

Nebraska
L. E. Aylsworth
J. Harold Ennis
H. C. Gossard
R. A. Lyman
J. O. Rankin
Arthur L. Weatherly

New Hampshire
Wm. A. Carter
Thorstein Kalljarvi
H. W. Smith
Nelson Lee Smith
Stacy May

New Jersey
E. A. Beller
Frank D. Graham
Howard S. Piquet
Edward H. Zabriskie

New Mexico
W. R. Williams

New York City
Leonard P. Adams
Edward J. Allen
Elizabeth T. Baker
Jeanne C. Barber
Harry Elmer Barnes
Morton M. Berman
James C. Bonbright
Louis B. Boudin
LeRoy E. Bowman
Robert L. Carey
Elliott E. Cheatham
Ida S. Craven
R. P. Currier
Addison T. Cutler
Horace B. Davis
Max Delson
John Dewey
W. E. B. DuBois
Robert W. Dunn
Ephraim Fischhoff
John A. Fitch
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Waldo Frank
Walter Frank
Lewis S. Gannett
Meredith B. Givens
Sidney E. Goldstein
John Haynes Holmes
F. E. Johnson
Montedore G. Kahn
Dorothy Kenyon
Daniel H. Kulp II
Elias Lieberman
E. C. Lindeman
Henry R. Linville
J. B. Matthews
F. C. Mills
G. S. Mitchell
Loye A. Morrison
Gardner Murphy
Wm. L. Nunn
Samuel H. Ordway, Jr.
Wm. Pickens
Amos Pinchot
Carl Raushenbush
John Nevin Sayre
George Soule
Nelson S. Spencer
Helen Phelps Stokes
Benjamin Stolberg
Arthur L. Swift, Jr.
R. G. Tugwell
K. E. Walser
Frank P. Walsh
Harry F. Ward

Charles C. Webber
Leon R. Whipple
Robert Whitten
L. Hollingsworth Wood
H. N. Wright
Arthur Wubnig
DeWitt Wykoff

New York State

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Coleman B. Cheney
Robert E. Cushman
Horace E. Eaton
Henry W. Edgerton
Herman L. Fairchild
C. W. Fowler
W. Leon Godshall
Chas. G. Girelius
H. J. Halen
Samuel G. Inman
Vladimir Karapetoff
Charles Leese
Louise R. Loomis
Thornton W. Merriam
A. J. Muste
Harvey W. Peck
Donald C. Riley
David T. Sapos
Nathaniel Schmidt
Winifred Smith
Alice D. Snyder
Donna T. Thompson
Paul L. Whitely
W. F. Wilcox
James M. Williams
L. Foster Wood

North Carolina
Dr. R. O. Moen
G. T. Schwenning

North Dakota
L. L. Wallace

Ohio
Isaac E. Ash
Read Bain
C. C. Bayard
George W. Biddle
Herbert S. Bigelow
Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner
Mary D. Britte
Henry M. Busch
Frank T. Carlton
Edwin L. Clarke
Abraham Cronbach
Kemper Fullerton
L. C. Grant
C. H. Handachin
James G. Heller
Harry Heniz
Hiram L. Jone
Paul Jones
F. K. Kruger
W. M. Leiserson
Lee J. Levinger
Clara H. Mueller
W. H. McPherson
E. L. Mills
Cecil C. North
Victor Emanuel Reichert
Mrs. Frances G. Richard
J. P. Schreiner
C. W. Shull
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Newell L. Sims
J. J. Spentler
Louise Stitt
Ernest L. Talbert
Warren S. Thompson
Robert Leonard Tucker
P. K. Whelpton
Howard White
Arthur C. Wickenden
Edwin H. Wilson

Oklahoma
E. N. Comfort
James W. Errant
J. Rud Nelson
Sobin C. Persefull
Frederick L. Ryan
H. Grady Sloan

Oregon
E. W. Allen
Andrew G. Anderson
Harold N. Burt
Barry Cerf
Everett S. Hammond
W. S. U'Ren

Pennsylvania
Howard A. Baker
Irwin R. Beller
Jacob Billikopf
Charles M. Bond
Ralph S. Boots
Elmer C. Bratt
Edward S. Bromer
Gelbert M. Conover
James R. Cox
Albert Edward Day
W. H. Fineshriller
Herbert F. Fraser

Hornell Hart
Darlington Hoopes
Carl W. Kaiser
Hy. E. Kagan
Noel P. Laird
Paul M. Limbert
Walter C. Longstreth
George Lundburg
E. C. Marinelli
Albert B. Maris
Charles D. McAvoy
Theodore Miner
Hannah Morris
Abraham A. Neuman
Clyde L. Nevins
Allen S. Olmsted, 2nd
J. Roland Pennock
Francis S. Philbrick
Clarence E. Pickett
Leo L. Rockwell
W. Carson Ryan, Jr.
J. Russell Smith
Francis D. Tysch
David Wallerstein
Dr. Clair Wilcox
T. Richard Witmer
Albert Bayard Wright

Rhode Island
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South Carolina
H. Babcock
H. P. Burbage
Oscar L. Keith

South Dakota
Daniel J. Gage

Tennessee
William S. Kulekbocker
Alva W. Taylor

Texas
Leo Brewer
R. L. Bunting
Henry Cohen
Ormond C. Corry
Edwin W. Elliott
Ephraim Frisch
E. E. Hale
L. M. Hollander
Chas. S. McCombs
Edward D. Tiltmann
A. P. Winston

Vermont
George G. Groat

Virginia
Sherwood Anderson
Merwyn Crobaugh
J. H. Dillard
Chas. N. Hulvey
Henry J. McGuinn
Samuel Chiles Mitchell
H. H. Seay, Jr.

Washington
E. R. Atterbery
W. D. Lane
Winter S. Martin
Robert E. Montz
H. V. Tartar
Francis G. Wilson

West Virginia
A. Coleman Brown
C. C. Carpenter
A. J. Dadisman
Albert M. Reese
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L. A. Boettiger
Elizabeth Brandels
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Robert G. Gronewald
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A. J. Muench
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Paul A. Raushenbush
W. G. Rice, Jr.
Edward A. Ross
Lewis Severson
Malcolm P. Sharp
Perry J. Stearns
Jonathan Taylor
M. W. Thompson
Edwin E. Witte

Wyoming
D. C. Coulter
H. J. Peterson
O. C. Schwiering

MINUTES OF
THE OHIO COMMISSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

Columbus, Ohio
Dec. 8, 1931

The meeting of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance was held in the Senate Smoking Room and was called to order by Senator Reynolds with all members present with the exception of Mr. W. H. Kirk, he having to preside over a meeting of the Ohio Grange of which he is President.

Mr. Lincoln, being the only one nominated for Vice-Chairman, was declared elected unanimously.

Mr. Donnelly moved that Prof. Hayes be elected Secretary of the Commission. The motion was seconded by Mr. Young. Then Prof. Hayes moved that Mr. Donnelly be elected Secretary of the Commission; the motion was duly seconded. A count of the vote was taken and Mr. Donnelly was elected Secretary.

Prof. Hayes moved that this Commission be called the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance and the motion was seconded by Mr. Mathewson. The motion carried.

Prof. Hayes moved that the action of the Chairman in designating Dr. Leiserson to represent this Commission at the Governor's Interstate Commission on Unemployment be approved. Mr. Lincoln seconded the motion. The motion carried.

Mr. Young moved that the Chairman of the Commission be authorized to appoint and select such clerical employees as he sees fit. Mr. Mathewson seconded the motion. The motion carried unanimously.

Miss Maher made a motion that the Chairman pass on the publicity of the Commission and that he be exclusively spokesman of the Commission when available and in case he is not available he should designate who should speak; that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Donnelly work with the Chairman when he needs aid on publicity. Prof. Hayes seconded the motion. The motion carried unanimously.

A motion was made that the Chairman, Mr. Mathewson and Mr. Lincoln be appointed to interview Miss Magee for the purpose of finding whether her services as Executive Secretary to the Commission are available; that in the event that her services cannot be secured this committee is authorized to employ someone else for that position subject to the approval of the entire Commission. This motion was seconded by Prof. Hayes. The motion carried.

Dr. Leiserson moved that the Chairman and Rabbi Silver and Mr. Lincoln be authorized to draw up a statement to give to the press as to the function of the Commission. Prof. Hayes seconded this motion. The motion carried. The Chairman appointed Dr. Leiserson to serve in his place.

Dr. Leiserson moved that the Chairman be authorized to see the Governor and the Printing Industry Commission and state that this Commission requests the Printing Commission to authorize the printing of data on employment and wages as prepared and compiled by the State Department of Industrial Relations; that the printing be of the data of the year 1930. Prof. Hayes seconded this motion. The motion carried.

Dr. Rubinow moved and it was seconded that a committee of three members be appointed to be known as the Research Committee whose duty it would be to consult and advise with the Executive Secretary and to plan research work for the Commission. This motion carried. The Chairman thereupon appointed said Committee: Dr. Rubinow, Prof. Hayes and Mr. Mathewson.

The statement prepared for the press was then read by Rabbi Silver and a motion to approve same was made and seconded. The motion carried. The statement was as follows:

"The Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance held its first session today and organized.

"The Commission was appointed by Governor White in pursuance of a joint resolution of the Ohio State Legislature adopted April 9, 1931.

"The Commission was charged with the duty 'of investigating the practicability and advisability of setting up unemployment reserves or insurance funds to provide against the risk of unemployment and to recommend what form of legislation if any may be wise or suitable to Ohio as a separate state and which may seem to offer the best preventive remedy to avoid future distress and suffering such as being undergone by our citizens who are unable to find work through no fault of their own.'

"The Commission will proceed to study the whole subject scientifically, to gather all available facts and data, to hold hearings in the various industrial centers of Ohio, to consult all important groups of employers and employees and to formulate conclusions on the basis of such knowledge and information.

"The Commission approaches the subject with an open mind. It is free from bias and the spirit of propaganda. It will present the State at the conclusion of its work with a set of verifiable facts and with conclusions based upon them.

"The Commission has not been charged with the duty of suggesting any immediate relief measures for the present situation.

"The Commission calls upon the citizens of Ohio to cooperate with it to the end that important results may issue from its deliberations which will redound to the benefit of all the citizens of our State."

3.

A motion was made to adjourn until Thursday, Jan. 21, 1932 at 9 A.M. The motion was seconded. In the meantime all the information and data available will be furnished each member. The motion carried and the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted

Thos. J. Connelly
Secretary



Jan. 4th, 1932

Mr. Jacob Billikopf,
Federation of Jewish Charities,
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Billie:-

Thanks very much for sending me the copy of your letter which you sent to the New York Times. I enjoyed reading it tremendously.

I have also read the fine statements which you made before the Senate Committee. You are rendering a great service in these critical times.

It might interest you to know that the Ohio State Commission on Unemployment Insurance has finally been appointed by the Governor and a substantial sum of money has been set aside by the State to finance its work.

The first meeting was held last month and the set-up is very promising. Dr. Rubincow and Dr. Leiserson are both members of the Commission, as well as I. We have succeeded in procuring the services of Miss McGee who has been for years identified with the Consumers' League of Ohio and is thoroughly well versed in the whole subject, to be our executive director.

We meet again in Columbus on the 21st of this month.

I have accepted an invitation from the National Conference of Social Work to address one of its general sessions in Philadelphia on May 17th and also one from the National Conference of Jewish Social Service for May 14th. I shall therefore be spending a few days in and around Philadelphia and I hope that we will have the chance to loaf around a bit together.

With best wishes from house to house, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS/IR

MINUTES OF
THE OHIO COMMISSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

January 29th, 1932

The meeting of the Unemployment Insurance Commission was held in the Senate Smoker and was called to order by Senator Reynolds at 2:00 o'clock. The roll call showed the following members present: Mr. Kirk, Mr. Mathewson, Dr. Leiserson, Mr. Young, Miss Maher, Dr. Rubinow, Mr. Donnelly, Prof. Hayes, Mr. Lincoln and Senator Reynolds.

Professor Hayes moved that the minutes of the last meeting be approved as read. The motion was seconded by Miss Maher and was carried.

Dr. Leiserson was called on to report for the Committee to formulate questions to be sent in advance of hearings to social agencies in various cities. He said that some preliminary questions had been drawn up, but that he believed further work on this project should be referred to the Research Committee. The Chairman announced that this material would be referred to the Research Committee.

Miss Magee was asked to read a list of the organizations and individuals to whom announcements of the hearings had been sent. Replies had been received from the following organizations: the Ohio League of Women Voters; the Ohio State Federation of Labor; and the Ohio Chamber of Commerce. The Chairman commented on the fact that organizations and individuals who were opposed to unemployment insurance failed to appear at the hearing. He said that the work of the Commission was not to be delayed by that fact.

The matter of further public hearings was next discussed. Dr. Rubinow suggested that we need to have a thorough study of unemployment insurance bills and that this work should be done by a sub-committee. It was agreed that before further hearings are held, it would be wise to have a committee appointed to analyze bills and to present questions regarding principles of unemployment insurance legislation which could form the basis for discussion and hearings. Dr. Leiserson moved that the Chairman appoint a committee to study the various unemployment insurance plans and to prepare questions covering the different points to be considered in unemployment insurance legislation. Dr. Rubinow seconded the motion and it was carried. The Chairman appointed Dr. Leiserson as Chairman of this committee and later named Mr. Lincoln and Miss Maher to serve on this committee with Dr. Leiserson.

Dr. Rubinow moved that the Secretary be requested to prepare a tentative schedule of hearings in the principal industrial centers of the state; that Dr. Leiserson's committee be requested to prepare an analysis of the elements of the unemployment insurance bills for the study of the Commission by April 1st; that the analysis serve as a basis for hearings; that arrangements for hearings be made in every city in advance; that the names of those who are to testify be published. Mr. Young seconded the motion and it was carried.

The Chairman brought up the matter of re-printing Senate Bill No. 25, providing for an unemployment insurance system for Ohio. It was agreed that it would not be wise for the Commission to print this bill.

Miss Doris Cangney, head of the Family Welfare Association of Lima, appeared before the Commission at this time, representing the Ohio Council of Family Social Workers which was in session in Columbus during the day. She presented the following resolution adopted by the Ohio Council of Family Social Workers:

"Resolved that a representative
of the Ohio Council be sent to the hearing of the Commission to state

the seriousness of the unemployment problem as it is faced by the family relief agencies and to offer the co-operation of those agencies in the study being made by the Commission on Unemployment Insurance".

The Commission adjourned at 4:00 P. M., to meet again at the call of the Chairman.

- - - - -

Note: At the public hearing held in the morning of January 29th, the following persons appeared: John J. Whitacre, President of the Whitacre-Greer Fire Proofing Co., Waynesburg, Ohio; Miss Isabel Walters, Director of the Red Cross, Columbus, Ohio, and representing the Columbus Branch of the American Association of Social Workers; Mr. Joseph Sharts of Dayton, representing the Socialist Party of Ohio; Mr. Sidney Yellen of Cleveland, Ohio, representing the Socialist Party of Ohio; Mr. John Hall, Worker at Godman Guild, and representing the Columbus Federation of Settlements; Rev. John Baker, representing the Unemployed Council of Columbus; Mr. C. F. Lender, head of the City Charities, Columbus, Ohio; and Miss Doris Cangney, Director of the Family Welfare Association of Lima, and delegate from the Ohio Council of Family Social Workers.



EMERGENCY PROGRAM OF THE ASSOCIATED CHARITIES

May 10, 1932

I. COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR PROVIDING WORK INSTEAD OF RELIEF TO ASSOCIATED CHARITIES CLIENTS

1. Committees of employment managers have for three years been meeting regularly in various district offices of the Associated Charities, going over concrete cases where they can help by giving employment. Many clients have been thus placed.
2. The Associated Charities has had for years a special arrangement with the State-City Employment Service whereby A.C. clients are given precedence. Daily reports are transmitted to the Associated Charities by the Bureau naming those clients who have been given work.
3. For a year and a half, the Associated Charities has arranged for workmen from relief families, to work without charge, for those Community Fund agencies who are willing to use them. Reports of the attitude of men thus sent have been almost uniformly favorable. The men have often insisted on working more time than suggested, though all work was gratis. (Clients have also been used by A.C. for repairing offices, moving evicted families, shoe repairing for families, etc.)
4. The A.C. has offered to the Park Department, the Public Service Department, and Public Welfare Department of the city a similar arrangement, whereby A.C. men work for those departments without pay. The Park Department has for several weeks now used over 1,000 A.C. men in this way and is planning shortly to double the number. The Public Welfare Department and the Public Service Department are also planning to use our men on a similar plan. A like offer has been made to the County Commissioners who have agreed to put to work some of our men at cleaning ditches.
5. In all its contracts, the State Highway Department has provided that 80% of the labor will be secured from recognized relief agencies. Under this plan the A.C. expects to place several hundreds of its clients. A similar plan is being undertaken by the County and is being considered by the City in contracts which are given out by them.
6. The Associated Charities has worked closely with a committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. William Mather to provide garden space out in the suburbs for the men in Associated Charities families who have no back yards. The A.C. is furnishing most of the financial support for this enterprise and has arranged for about 2,600 of our clients to take advantage of this opportunity to make their own gardens and thus save in relief.
7. In addition to these 2,600 men, there are nearly 2,000 other men whose families are dependent on the A.C. who have been given seeds, fertilizer, and utensils, when necessary, to make backyard gardens under supervision of a committee, also headed by Mrs. Mather.
8. The A.C. through its Wayfarers' Lodge has inaugurated a somewhat similar enterprise at the Brush estate in Brecksville, where from 100 to 200 clients of our Wayfarers' Lodge are raising potatoes. Mr. E. L. Worthington is chairman of our committee which has secured gifts sufficient to make this enterprise possible without cost to the A.C. except for a loan which is to be repaid out of the produce. The potatoes are to be used by the Associated Charities at the Wayfarers' Lodge and in family relief.
9. Associated Charities staff members in making contacts with past employers regarding work references of their clients, try to secure their re-employment; staff members also make use of their acquaintance among employers to secure new jobs for their clients.

A.C. is now taking a re-check of all families and furnishing employment managers with a complete list of the unemployed from their firms.

10. The A.C. has been in the closest co-operation with the Man-A-Block movement, their placements being limited to the Associated Charities and Jewish Social Service Bureau clients.

It should be stated that a careful check is made of every A.C. man placed through the Man-A-Block plan and an amount equivalent to his earnings is subtracted from the relief given. This means that almost always, the family is dropped from the relief list.

11. The Associated Charities has been working, with a committee organized by Mrs. Myron A. Wick, which is approaching the presidents of manufacturing concerns to secure employment or re-employment of Associated Charities clients. This committee has also persuaded individuals or groups of people to provide partial or the entire relief for several score of A.C. families.

12. Another committee under Mrs. William Mather, in conjunction with the Federated Churches, is conducting through church groups a work similar to that of Mrs. Wick's committee.

13. Previous to the organization of Mrs. Wick's committee, the Associated Charities had contact with certain employers who were given a list of those employees who were A.C. clients, and who re-employed many of them.

14. A committee under Prof. Arbuthnot, appointed by the Mayor, has stimulated throughout the city the offering of odd jobs, which through the State City Employment Service are given largely to Associated Charities and J.S.S.B. clients.

15. A committee under Mr. E.J. Kulas, appointed by the Mayor, has urged the staggering of employment. (Two days work a week will usually take a family off the A.C. lists.)

16. A committee under Mr. Warren Hayden, appointed by the Mayor, has undertaken to speed up public works already authorized where a large amount of labor has been involved.

17. Through the Wade Fund, the Associated Charities has provided regularly work for between seventy-five and eighty needy women, making over donated garments for needy families at the same time that they are instructed in sewing.

18. The Associated Charities is working with the Apartment Owners' Assoc. to place one of the A.C. clients in each apartment house and give him an opportunity to work for his rent.

on Work
Relief!

18/10 22/1 28/10

Pmk

During 1932 Rabbi Silver was appointed by President Hoover as a member of the President's Unemployment Commission.

The Bill of Unemployment Insurance which was presented in the Ohio State Legislature at its last session was drafted by a committee of leading economists meeting under the chairmanship of Rabbi Silver in the Temple for a period of over a year. The Ohio State Legislature created a commission on unemployment insurance and Governor White appointed Rabbi Silver a member of this Commission.

Rabbi Silver was one of the founders of the Bureau of Jewish Education of Cleveland and has been its president ever since its inception.

Rabbi Silver's book "Religion in a Changing World" which was recently published, has run through several editions and is now to be published in England.

Rabbi Silver has been chairman of the Child Welfare Committee of Ohio appointed by Governor White.

[1931]

Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance

341 Engineers' Building

Cleveland, Ohio

Main 3025

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

RABBI A. H. SILVER
CHAIRMAN

MISS ALICE P. GANNETT
MR. MAX S. HAYES
~~MR. WALTER FEATHER~~
VICE-CHAIRMAN

MR. LOUIS S. BING, JR.
TREASURER

~~MISS ELIZABETH S. BROOK~~
SECRETARY

PROF. HENRY M. BUSCH
PROF. FRANK T. CARLTON
REV. CYPRIAN EMANUEL
MR. MARVIN C. HARRISON
MISS CLARA A. KAISER
MR. CHARLES KREINDLER
MISS GRACE E. MEYETTE
MISS HELEN PHELAN
MR. CARL RUDOLPH
MR. B. C. SEIPLE
MR. WALTER LEO SOLOMON
MISS MARIE R. WING
REV. LOUIS E. WRIGHT

Dear Mr. _____:

The Governor's Commission on Unemployment Insurance will hold its first regional hearing, in Cleveland on April 5th. We are urging the clergy of the city to use this opportunity to turn the attention of their congregations to a more humane method of dealing with the ravages of unemployment than is charitable relief.

Our Committee held last year, even when the relief given was sufficient for bare physical maintenance of the unemployed and their families, that the spiritual effect of this dole was debasing. We advocated unemployment insurance as a system by which both industries and workers could store the surplus of fat years to feed the lean ones. It is now being demonstrated that not only the intangible values such as self-respect, thrift, independence go by the board under the present system of dealing with unemployment. The Associated Charities tell us that because of inadequate funds, the food given in relief is about half of "the absolute minimum below which we cannot go without jeopardizing the health of our families." In simpler terms, this is slow starvation for twenty thousand families in Cleveland.

This is a challenge to our churches and one which we feel certain will be met. Last January a joint statement on unemployment was published by the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. This said in part: "Society's responsibility for the preservation of human values in industrial life makes the principal of social insurance, particularly insurance against unemployment and old age, an indispensable part of sound social policy and the most self-respecting form of relief. We protest against the misleading use of the word 'dole' to describe systems of unemployment insurance." Similar action was taken this winter by the Social Service Commission of the Ohio Council of Churches.

Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance

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Mr. Brent D. Allinson
Mrs. Newton D. Baker
Miss Grace Berger
Dr. Wm. W. Biddle
Mr. Andrew T. Bilinski
Mr. Louis S. Bing, Jr.
Rev. Philip Smead Bird
Rev. F. Q. Blanchard
Mr. Edward F. Bohm
Miss Margaret S. Bourne
Mrs. A. T. Brewer
Mr. George E. Brewster
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Prof. Henry M. Busch
Mrs. Henry M. Busch
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Mr. W. B. Dillon
Miss Juanita Dowman
Dr. A. Caswell Ellis
Father Cyprian Emanuel
Mr. Jules Eshner
Mr. William Feather
Miss Eleanor Ferris
Miss Jean Fesler
Miss Alice P. Gannett
Prof. C. E. Gehlke
Miss Clara Gehring
Mrs. Jennie C. Grant
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Mrs. Cora Miller Hanson
Dr. Henry Harap
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Rev. Joel B. Hayden
Mr. Max S. Hayes
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Mr. James J. Hoban
Judge Bradley Hull
Miss Jane E. Hunter
Mr. Russell W. Jelliffe
Mr. Myron Jermain Jones
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Judge Julius M. Kovachy
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Mr. Charles Kreindler
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Mrs. W. H. McPherson
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Miss Grace E. Meyette
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Mrs. Anna Morgan
Mrs. Daniel E. Morgan
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Mr. Theodore Newcomb
Mr. W. I. Newstetter
Rev. Victor Obenhaus
Mr. Amos Parsons
Rev. Almon R. Pepper
Mr. Ben Peppercorn
Mr. Chas. E. Percy
Miss Helen Phelan
Mr. David H. Pierce
Mr. Carl Raid
Mr. Henry W. Raisse
Miss Julia Raymond
Mr. Arthur J. Reinthal
Miss Florence K. Root
Mr. Carl Rudolph
Miss Mae Ryman
Miss V. Freda Seigworth
Mr. Fred Schultz
Mr. B. C. Seiple
Rabbi A. H. Silver
Miss Dorothy Smith
Mr. Walter Leo Solomon
Mrs. Evelyn F. Stires
Mrs. Howard S. Thayer
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Mrs. Ralph S. Tyler
Mr. Ralph S. Tyler, Jr.
Miss Gertrude Underhill
Rev. Elmer E. Voelkel
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Mrs. Hazel Mountain Walker
Mr. S. Burns Weston
Mr. George E. Whitman
Mr. Charles W. White
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Mrs. Louis H. Winch
Miss Marie R. Wing
Miss Virginia R. Wing
Mr. William J. Winston
Rev. Louis E. Wright
Rev. Oldrich Zlamal

Page 2.

Will you not make April 3rd, the Sunday immediately before the hearing of the Governor's Commission, the occasion for a discussion of unemployment insurance? This is a time when the subject can be dealt with apart from the heat of political controversy. A bill for unemployment insurance was introduced in the Ohio Legislature last year; another will undoubtedly be presented at the next regular session. This interim should be devoted to thoughtful study of the principles involved.

Sincerely yours,

Father Cyprian Emanuel

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver



Reverend Louis C. Wright

RABBIS ASSUME 'IF DICTATOR' ROLES AND MAP PLANS FOR ABOLISHING U. S. DEPRESSION

Silver Would Start Vast Construction Program, Ban Legion Bonuses; Brickner Urges "Prosperity Bonds" and Jobless Insurance

What would you do to relieve unemployment and help depression if you were given unlimited authority?

Two Cleveland rabbis, A. H. Silver of the Temple and B. R. Brickner of the Euclid Avenue Temple answered this question in their sermons yesterday.

"If I Were Dictator" was the subject of both rabbis' sermons.

Rabbi Silver Says:

"If I were dictator I would initiate a vast construction program to put men to work, reduce hours of labor for all workers and introduce compulsory unemployment insurance," said Rabbi Silver.

"I would bring all the resources of the government back of an adequate relief program supplementing private and state relief. I would not wait until a man is totally impoverished before I would help him.

"I would grant a measure of relief to all unemployed consistent with a decent standard of living.

"I would have the government advance credit to counties and municipalities to encourage vast construction program. I would concentrate on giving people work, not on saving railroads and banks.

"What earthly good is there in advancing millions of dollars to the Missouri Pacific Railroad when that money goes, not into construction, but in reimbursing J. P. Morgan & Co. for loans previously contracted?

Reduce Hours of Work

"I would reduce hours of work. Reduction of hours will not be merely an emergency. To keep machines from displacing men the hours of the men must be reduced.

"It helps the situation not at all to hope that new inventions will appear which will absorb all the surplus labor. No new large scale industries are in sight to justify such optimism.

"I would offer to cancel all war debts if the nations of Europe would agree to total disarmament.

"I would scrap half of the government bureaucracy which now battens on the American taxpayer. Too many people are living off the

Rabbi Brickner Says:

"My first job would be to inaugurate a federal relief program because I believe it to be the primary function of government to maintain peace and order," said Rabbi Brickner. "For this reason I would release up to five billions of dollars to supplement local, state and private relief which has completely broken down because private philanthropy never was intended for critical days like these.

"I would issue from three to five billions in Prosperity Bonds for the purpose of immediately setting to work on public works a million or more unemployed. The U. S. government borrowed some 15 billions for destructive purposes. Why can't we do something now for constructive purposes?

"I would plan for unemployment insurance so designated that only a brazen liar could call it a dole. I would establish health insurance on the same theory as that on which workmen's accident insurance is now conducted and old age pension plan.

Would Abolish Pensions

"I would withdraw from industry all children under 18. I would abolish war pensions. The needy recipients can be taken care of under the accident, health, unemployment and old age pension allowances.

"I would repeal the Volstead act and make the sale of wines and beer

government. I would force off the federal payroll every war pensioner who is not disabled by sickness or old age.

"There would be no bonuses for the American Legion now or in the future."

legal and controlled, but I would put the sale of hard liquor under government control. These provisions would bring enormous revenues; it would cut out millions of dollars spent for so-called enforcement; would eliminate the bootlegger and free our young people from hypocrisy and stamp out racketeering.

"I would scale down protective tariffs. I would join the World Court. I would scale down the army and navy to a vanishing point and replace it with a magnificent air force at 5 per cent of the cost.

"I would co-ordinate all industries into state trusts under government supervision. The present security holders would exchange their shares for the new State Trust shares but the dividends would be limited to 8 per cent, and the profits would go into wages.

"Finally I would remove from the statute books every law regulating the private morals of individual citizens."

HEAR AIR LINE CHIEF

Problems of air transportation and aviation in general will be described for Rotary Club members today at a noon luncheon in Hotel Westlake by A. L. Emery, district traffic manager of Pennsylvania Air Lines.

OHIO COMMISSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

MEMBERS

THOMAS J. DONNELLY
PROF. GORDON HAYES
W. F. KIRK
DR. W. M. LEISERSON
J. F. LINCOLN
AMY MAHER
S. B. MATHEWSON
JAMES A. REYNOLDS
DR. I. M. RUBINOW
RABBI A. H. SILVER
STEPHEN M. YOUNG



ELIZABETH S. MAGEE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
STATE HOUSE
COLUMBUS, OHIO
ADAMS 1350

April 26th, 1932

Rabbi A. H. Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road & East 105th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am hoping very much that you are going to be able to attend the hearings in Cincinnati and Dayton next week. The Cincinnati hearing is to be at the Hotel Sinton on Tuesday, May 3rd, and the Dayton hearing at the Engineers' Club, Monument Avenue and Jefferson Street, on Wednesday May 4th. The headquarters for the Commission members will be at the Van Cleve Hotel in Dayton.

We had an unusually interesting hearing in Toledo last Tuesday. Professor Paul Douglas came over from Chicago and presented a fine report of his observations on the operation of unemployment insurance after nine months in Europe. He returned only last January. We are having stenotype reports of all of the hearings, and I can arrange to see that you have a chance to read through them at any time that is most convenient to you. Dr. Leiserson made a statement at the end of the hearing in regard to the failure of employers to appear and testify. The statement was carried in the papers the next day, and the Toledo News Bee (the Scripps paper) has been publishing a series of follow-up editorials, including a very scathing one for the employers not appearing. A few days afterwards the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce told a reporter that he was not invited. We have since produced the carbon copy of the letter to the President of the Chamber, sent over three weeks before the hearing, and a list of fourteen employers and employers' organizations who were invited or notified at the same time. We are awaiting the next move with great interest. Colonel Sherrill has promised to testify at the Cincinnati hearing, and we think we will have some employers in Dayton.

You will be interested, I think, in the enclosed pamphlet issued by the new group in the Federation of Labor. It seems to me it might be well to have this group represented in some way on the executive committee in Cleveland.

I was delighted to hear of the sabbatical year which has been granted to you. At the same time I am appalled to think of how we shall miss you in our campaign next year!

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee
Executive Secretary

April 28th, 1932

Miss Elizabeth S. Magee,
Columbus, Ohio.

My dear Miss Magee:-

Thank you so much for your letter of April 26th.

I am sorry that I have not been able to attend some of the hearings but my work here has simply been terrific. I hope however, to come to the hearing in Cincinnati on May 3d.

I am interested in what you say about the statement which Dr. Leiserson made in Toledo with reference to the non-appearance of employers and about the reaction of the newspapers. That's fine!

You may be interested in the following: I was called to a committee meeting on April 18th by the Welfare Federation. The object of the meeting was avowedly to discuss Unemployment Insurance. i. e. whether the Welfare Federation ought to endorse it.

The sole representative of capital, industry, commerce, etc. at this meeting was William Frew Long.

Before the meeting had gone very far, we were informed by the chairman that the object of the meeting was to find out whether Unemployment Insurance was still a controversial subject, because if it were, the Welfare Federation could take no sides.

I picked myself up and left in disgust.

I am happy of the chance which has been given me to spend a year abroad in study and in recreation. I have long been waiting for this.

My guess is that there will be considerable work to do for Unemployment Insurance in Ohio after I get back....

Looking forward to seeing you in Cincinnati and with best wishes, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR

May 6th, 1932

Miss Elizabeth S. Magee,
Columbus, Ohio.

My dear Miss Magee:-

Permit me to thank you for your kind
letter of May 5th.

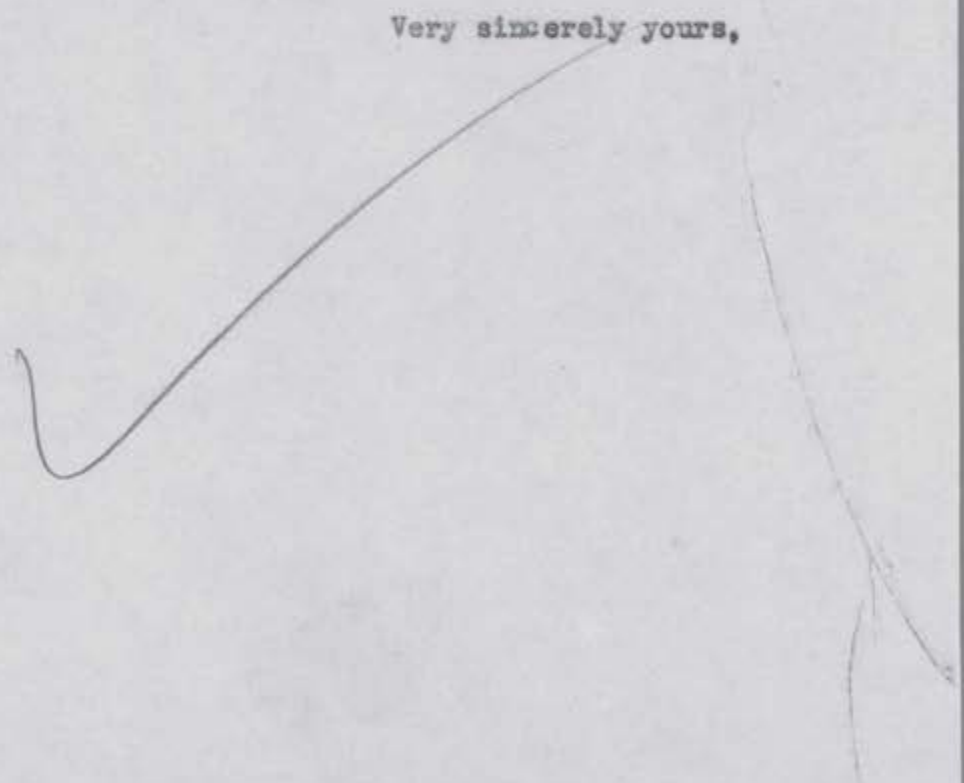
In connection with the meeting which
Dr. Leiserson is calling permit me to say that other engagements
will make it impossible for me to attend a meeting of the
Commission on May 23d. But I could come on Tuesday, May 24th.

I wonder whether all the work of the
Commission could not be covered in one day session, including
an evening session?

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR



Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting of the Cleveland Committee
for Unemployment Insurance, June 10, 1932

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance was held on Friday evening, June 10, in the parlor of the Temple, with the following members present: Mr. and Mrs. Max Hayes, Mr. Bing, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Rudolph, Mr. Busch, Miss Gannett, Miss Magee, Rabbi Silver, Mr. Carlton, Miss Wing, and Miss McFarland.

Rabbi Silver called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the meeting of March 4th were read and approved.

Mr. Bing read the financial statement showing receipts for 1932 of \$283.50 and disbursements of \$103.18, leaving a balance of \$180.32 as well as \$9.26 tied up in the Standard Trust Bank.

Miss Wing reported for the sub-committee on candidates on the results of the form letter sent to all candidates to the Legislature. In Cuyahoga County favorable replies were received from 131 out of 149 candidates. Throughout the state returns were far more scattered with a natural tendency to strength in the urban counties. Of those finally nominated in Cuyahoga County the whole Democratic slate with one exception returned for unemployment insurance, and the Republican slate with the exception of two senatorial candidates and three candidates for representative. Throughout the state 41% of those nominated to the Senate and 31% of those to the House had replied favorably. Miss Wing said she thought these returns indicated growing strength for unemployment insurance but also that it was necessary to do active organization work in the rural sections. She suggested that Miss McFarland be sent out to organize county committees which might do educational work now and active campaigning during the fall and winter. After discussion it was decided to try this method for several weeks in the counties near Cleveland, to determine the results possible.

Mr. Harrison suggested that we start a competition in some Ohio farm paper for the best article by a farmer or a member of his family, on the values of unemployment insurance. It was agreed to do this early in the fall.

Rabbi Silver discussed the question of radio speaking and perhaps a debate on unemployment insurance. It was decided that this also should be taken up in the early fall.

Miss Magee reported on the work of the Governor's Commission during the past three months. She said that hearings have shown increased education of members of the Commission which promises very well. Dr. Rubinow is directing a statistical study to determine what the status of an unemployment insurance fund would be now if it had been established in 1920. Dr. Leiserson is chairman of the sub-committee working on types of bills. The Commission is also circularizing local organizations of various kinds to get their opinion on moot points with regard to unemployment insurance as listed in the pamphlet published by the Commission.

Rabbi Silver brought up for discussion the question of enlarging the executive committee to include members from other organizations now working actively for unemployment insurance. There was some question as to whether the organizations themselves should be invited to send representatives or whether our committee should select individuals whom we knew to be thoroughly in the spirit of the work. It was finally decided that as the executive committee had never acted as a body of delegates

its original character should be maintained by choosing its own new members. It was unanimously agreed that the following be invited to join: Senator Reynolds, Mr. Abraham Katovsky, Rev. Almon R. Pepper, Prof. Theodore M. Newcomb, Mr. Joseph Martin-ek, Mr. Gordon Simpson, Mr. Trent Longo, and that in view of the unequivocal support of unemployment insurance by The Cleveland Press, Rabbi Silver ask Mr. Louis Seltzer to become a member himself or to suggest one of the other editors who would be willing to work with the Committee.

It was decided to send a second letter appealing for funds to members of the Committee and others who contributed last year. Mr. Bing suggested it might be possible to employ a professional telephone solicitor to follow up this appeal but Mr. Busch said he thought that would antagonize many people. It was finally decided not to do this for the time being.

Miss Gannett moved that we set Friday, July 8th, for the next meeting of the Executive Committee and ask Miss McFarland to report on the county work at that time. The motion carried.

The meeting adjourned.

Marjorie McFarland,
Secretary.



WEDN

JOB INSURANCE HIT BY OHIO C. OF C.

Compulsory Old Age Pensions Also Condemned as "Socialistic."

BY W. C. HOWELLS.

Plain Dealer Bureau,
17 S. High Street,
COLUMBUS, O., Aug. 2.

Opposition to both unemployment insurance and compulsory old age pensions was announced today in a report issued by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce.

Both are condemned as "socialistic" schemes that would have a "deleterious effect" upon the character of the people and on the financial structure of the state.

A committee to study both these subjects was appointed this spring by Gov. George White, pursuant to a resolution passed by the Senate. A number of hearings have been held but the committee has not reported.

Petitions for old age pensions now are being circulated by a fraternal order.

Thus, it is likely that legislation dealing with both old age pensions and unemployment insurance will be considered at the next regular session of the General Assembly.

What It Recommends.

The report states that the Chamber "advocates that a private unemployment reserve fund or old age pension fund, to which employer and employee contribute by mutual agreement, should be placed in the hands of some responsible fiduciary institution as trustee, and that said trusteeship should be irrevocable.

"In order that abnormal peaks and valleys of employment may be avoided or minimized in the future, the Ohio Chamber of Commerce reaffirms its advocacy of the modification of existing anti-trust laws so as to permit business to adjust production to consumption through trade agreements, economic councils or such other measures as may be found practicable and in the public interest; and the Chamber pledges itself to a continuation of the studies now being carried on by its subcommittee on business stabilization and assures its members that it will be prepared to co-operate intelligently with any governmental or private agency engaged in the consideration of this subject," it continues.

Its Eleven Points.

The declaration of the Chamber enumerates eleven general grounds for opposition to compulsory unemployment insurance and enumerates six general grounds for opposition to old age pensions.

Grounds for opposition to unemployment insurance are summarized as follows:

1—The abnormal and feverish state of the public mind makes this a dangerous period in which to depart from the policies which have been established through more than 150 years in American history.

2—None of the plans proposed by the advocates of unemployment insurance would afford relief in the present crisis because they could not become operative for three or four years.

3—The funds for setting up a system of reserves could be secured only with extreme difficulty, if at all.

4—The so-called "insurance" aspect of unemployment relief must be dismissed at the outset.

5—Voluntary unemployment reserves may now be established by private agreement between employers and employees.

6—Compulsory unemployment reserves, imposed by statute, are unsound in principle.

7—Compulsory unemployment reserves are likewise unsound in practice.

8—The paramount and conclusive objection to all of these plans for socialization is their effect in undermining or weakening of the character of the people.

9—Second only to the deleterious effect of compulsory unemployment reserves upon the character of the people is the ultimate disaster which it would work upon the financial structure of the state.

10—Your Chamber protests against condemning the American economic and social system because of its failure to meet a crisis for which there is no precedent and which has been imposed upon the people of the United States by a European holocaust.

11—The membership of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce is overwhelmingly opposed to the establishment of unemployment reserves by state compulsion as shown by answers to a questionnaire distributed to our members by the Chamber's subcommittee on this subject.

6 Reasons for Opposing.

The following reasons for opposition to compulsory old age pensions were enumerated:

1—Such legislation is destructive of the character of the people by removing the incentive to thrift and foresight.

2—It deadens personal ambition.

3—It is destructive of the family unit by removing the factors of family solidarity and family responsibility.

4—In the case of a compulsory pension fund contributed to by employers and employees, it strikes a blow at personal liberty by prescribing to private citizens when, how and for what purpose they shall save their money.

5—In the case of pensions contributed to by the state and counties, it violates the principles of equity in taxation and equality before the law by requiring one class of citizens to set up a savings fund for another class of citizens.

6—A compulsory old age pension system is unnecessary because the indigent aged are now being properly cared for through privately maintained institutions, through the functioning of the family unit, and through the established agencies of public charity.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting of Ohio Committee
for Unemployment Insurance - August 7, 1932, at Cleveland

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Ohio Committee for Unemployment Insurance was held in Cleveland on Sunday morning, August 7th, at 10:00 o'clock, at The Temple, with Mr. Thomas J. Duffy, chairman, presiding, and the following present:

Mr. Thomas J. Duffy	Dr. W. M. Leiserson
Mr. Marvin C. Harrison	Dr. I. M. Rubinow
Prof. H. Gordon Hayes	Rabbi A. H. Silver
Mr. Max S. Hayes	

The following members of the Executive Committee of the Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance, were also present:

Mr. Louis S. Bing, Jr.	Mr. Joseph Martinek
Miss Alice P. Gannett	Mr. Gordon Simpson
Mr. Abraham Katovsky	Miss Marie R. Wing

and Miss Elizabeth S. Magee and Miss Marjorie McFarland.

The minutes of the meeting of May 5, 1931, were read and approved.

A letter was read from Mr. Gardner Lattimer, stating that since his activities in behalf of unemployment insurance were proving embarrassing to his business associates, he found himself obliged to resign as a member of the Executive Committee and of the Ohio Committee, but that he stood ready to give any confidential help possible, followed by suggestions for the work of the Committee during the next several months. Moved by Mr. Hayes, seconded by Dr. Leiserson, and carried, that Mr. Lattimer's resignation be accepted with great regret and that his offer of help be accepted in connection with the financial program of the Committee, wherever he could give it without embarrassment.

The Treasurer read the financial statement, showing a balance of \$61.56 tied up in the Standard Trust Bank of Cleveland. Moved by Mr. Hayes and seconded by Mr. Simpson and it carried, that the statement be accepted and filed.

Miss Wing and the Secretary reported on the pre-primary campaign for endorsement of unemployment insurance by candidates to the State Legislature. Of those nominated, 31% of the candidates for the House and 41% of the candidates for the Senate replied in favor of the principle of compulsory state unemployment insurance.

Ways of gaining further political support were discussed. Dr. Leiserson moved, Mr. Hayes seconded, and it carried that Mr. Duffy be instructed to write to Senator Robert J. Bulkley, asking him to endorse unemployment insurance in his keynote speech at the Ohio State Democratic convention, in view of the fact that it had already been included in the Democratic national platform and that Senator Bulkley was himself a supporter of unemployment insurance and had contributed to our operating fund.

Moved by Dr. Leiserson, seconded by Mr. Hayes, that the chair appoint a committee including himself, to attend the annual meeting of the Ohio State Federation of Labor in October, to urge that body to endorse unemployment insurance. Motion carried. Mr. Duffy appointed Professor Hayes, Dr. Leiserson, Mr. Thomas Donnelly, and Mr. Joseph Quinlevan.

Rabbi Silver moved that a committee be appointed by the chair to "lobby" at the Ohio State Democratic Convention. Mr. Hayes seconded and motion carried. Mr. Duffy, Prof. Hayes and Mr. Harrison were appointed.

Moved by Mr. Hayes and seconded by Dr. Leiserson that a telegram be sent in the name of the Committee to the Ohio State American Legion Convention in Toledo August 14, 15, and 16, asking it to take action favorable to unemployment insurance, and that through Mr. Wendell Johnson and in other ways, we endeavor to promote such action. Motion carried.

Rabbi Silver suggested that the Committee make an official rejoinder, sent out to all the papers of the state, to the report of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce opposing unemployment insurance. Mr. Duffy appointed Rabbi Silver and Mr. Harrison to write such a rejoinder.

Dr. Leiserson moved that a state conference on unemployment insurance be held in Columbus in October sometime during the Ohio State Conference of Social Work, and that the Secretary be authorized to invite all organizations endorsing unemployment insurance to attend. Dr. Rubinow seconded, and motion carried.

Miss McFarland reported on the promotional work she had been doing in counties near Cleveland, under the auspices of the Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance.

A general discussion of funds necessary to carry this work through until November, and of possible sources of such money, followed. Miss Wing moved and Mr. Simpson seconded, that the Chair appoint a state finance subcommittee with a member from each local committee, and that he himself act as chairman of this subcommittee with power to appoint a substitute when and if it seemed desirable to do so. Motion carried.

Meeting adjourned.

Marjorie McFarland,
Secretary.



Ohio Committee for Unemployment Insurance

VICE-CHAIRMEN

EDWIN G. BECKER, CINCINNATI
MRS. LUCIA JOHNSON BING, ATHENS
JUDGE CHARLES E. CHITTENDEN, TOLEDO
MARVIN C. HARRISON, CLEVELAND
PROF. H. GORDON HAYES, COLUMBUS
MAX S. HAYES, CLEVELAND
GARDNER LATTIMER, COLUMBUS
DR. W. M. LEISERSON, YELLOW SPRINGS
AMY G. MAHER, TOLEDO
DR. I. M. RUBINOW, CINCINNATI
RABBI A. H. SILVER, CLEVELAND

THOMAS J. DUFFY, CHAIRMAN
17 S. HIGH ST., COLUMBUS

MARJORIE MCFARLAND, SECRETARY-TREASURER
341 ENGINEERS BLDG., CLEVELAND

August 9, 1932.

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
105th St. and Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Enclosed are the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting, and also the Chamber of Commerce report to which you and Mr. Harrison are to make a rejoinder, in case you have not saved the clipping yourself.

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie McFarland
Secretary.

Ohio Committee for Unemployment Insurance

Mrs. William Afsprung, Cincinnati
 Mrs. E. F. Alexander, Cincinnati
 Robert R. Alexander, Bedford
 Mrs. J. F. Allen, Cleveland
 Donald Anthony, Akron
 Essie Arey, Cincinnati
 Prof. Isaac E. Ash, Athens
 Mrs. Richard Austin, Cincinnati
 Prof. Read Bain, Oxford
 Mrs. Newton D. Baker, Cleveland
 Ralph J. Bartlett, Columbus
 Evelyn C. Bassett, Hamilton
 Edwin G. Becker, Cincinnati
 Mrs. Nida Pangle Bell, Toledo
 Mrs. Miles Benham, Cincinnati
 Julia Bentley, Cincinnati
 Grace Berger, Cleveland
 Mrs. Alfred Bettman, Cincinnati
 Dr. William W. Biddle, Cleveland
 Andrew T. Billinski, Cleveland
 Louis S. Bing, Jr., Cleveland
 Mrs. Lucia Johnson Bing, Athens
 Rev. Philip Smead Bird, Cleveland
 Dorothea Bishop, Toledo
 L. T. Bishop, Columbus
 Rev. F. Q. Blanchard, Cleveland
 Mrs. John Blandford, Cincinnati
 Mrs. Jacob Bloch, Cincinnati
 Edward F. Bohm, Cleveland
 Margaret G. Bourne, Cleveland
 Mrs. A. T. Brewer, Cleveland
 George E. Brewster, Cleveland
 Frederick A. Breyer, Cincinnati
 Chester R. Brown, Dayton
 Mrs. Emil Brudno, Cleveland
 Pauline Bryant, Columbus
 W. C. Bryant, Columbus
 Mrs. W. C. Bryant, Columbus
 Mrs. C. E. Budd, Zanesville
 Prof. Edwin S. Burdell, Columbus
 Howard F. Burns, Cleveland
 Prof. Henry M. Busch, Cleveland
 Mrs. Henry M. Busch, Cleveland
 Prof. C. J. Bushnell, Toledo
 Matilda Campbell, Toledo
 Mrs. Henry White Cannon, Cleveland
 Prof. Frank T. Carlton, Cleveland
 Goldie Carter, Cincinnati
 Mildred Chadsey, Cleveland
 Mrs. Harrie Chamberlin, Toledo
 Prof. J. L. Chambers, New Concord
 Horace Champney, Yellow Springs
 Dr. William E. Chancellor, Cincinnati
 Judge Charles E. Chittenden, Toledo
 Anthony Chlopek, Toledo
 Prof. Robert Fry Clark, Marietta
 Ralph H. Clinger, Columbus
 L. J. Cole, Norwalk
 Nell F. Colopy, Cleveland
 Olive Colton, Toledo
 A. H. Cooper, Columbus
 Mary Corre, Cincinnati
 L. C. Coy, Dayton
 Mary Elizabeth Crawford, Cleveland
 Dr. Abraham Cronbach, Cincinnati
 Betsy Curtis, Cincinnati
 Harry Cutler, Toledo
 Dr. J. E. Cutler, Cleveland
 B. J. Dalkowski, Toledo
 Mrs. Ralph Daniels, Toledo
 Rev. S. M. Davidson, Lima
 Harry E. Davis, Cleveland
 Prof. Wm. Lloyd Davis, Akron
 Wm. D. Dawson, Cleveland
 Ralph L. Dewey, Columbus
 Charles A. Dice, Columbus
 Agnes B. Dickinson, Columbus
 W. B. Dillon, Cleveland
 Dr. Henry J. Doermann, Toledo
 Mrs. Anna Dokkenwadel, Coshocton
 Alice M. Doren, Dayton
 Juanita Dowman, Cleveland
 Thomas J. Duffy, Columbus
 Mrs. Clyde Dummer, Cincinnati
 Dr. Eliza Edwards, Cincinnati
 Dr. A. Caswell Ellis, Cleveland
 Rev. Cyprian Emanuel, Cleveland
 Jules Eshner, Cleveland
 Martha H. Ewing, Lancaster
 Mrs. Charles Faben, Toledo
 Dr. Gertrude Felker, Dayton
 Eleanor Ferris, Cleveland
 Jean Fesler, Cleveland
 Ann Fineman, Toledo
 Carrie A. Fisher, Columbus
 Cora M. Floyd, Steubenville
 Mrs. Charles Freund, Toledo
 Kinnis Fritter, Columbus
 Grace Frost, Toledo
 Rev. Harlan Frost, Toledo
 H. B. Gabriel, Columbus
 Rachel Gallagher, Toledo
 Alice P. Gannett, Cleveland
 John V. Gano, Cincinnati
 Richard Garnett, Columbus
 Prof. C. E. Gehlke, Cleveland
 Clara Gehring, Cleveland
 Prof. Karl F. Geiser, Oberlin
 E. F. Gleason, Toledo

Mrs. E. F. Gleason, Toledo
 Mrs. John R. Gleason, Medina
 L. H. Goddard, Bloomington
 Isabelle Goss, Toledo
 G. E. Graf, Alliance
 Mrs. Jennie C. Grant, Lakewood
 Stephen M. Graves, Strongsville
 Mrs. Stephen M. Graves, Strongsville
 C. S. Griswald, Columbus
 Dr. E. C. Grover, Cleveland
 Dr. Jesse Halsey, Cincinnati
 Prof. M. B. Hammond, Columbus
 Mrs. Cora Miller Hanson, Cleveland
 Dr. Henry Harap, Cleveland
 Marvin C. Harrison, Cleveland
 Elizabeth J. Hauser, Girard
 Rev. Joel B. Hayden, Cleveland
 Prof. H. Gordon Hayes, Columbus
 Max S. Hayes, Cleveland
 Mrs. Max S. Hayes, Cleveland
 Blanche Hazleton, Toledo
 Dr. George A. Hedger, Cincinnati
 Ida Heitzman, Cincinnati
 Wm. E. Henderson, Columbus
 Mrs. Wm. E. Henderson, Columbus
 Alma Herbst, Columbus
 Mrs. Jesse Heslip, Toledo
 Edwin L. Hitchens, Cincinnati
 James J. Hoban, Cleveland
 Fred K. Hoehler, Cincinnati
 Mrs. Harry N. Holmes, Oberlin
 Bert L. Hopkins, Cincinnati
 Donald J. Hoskins, Columbus
 Judge Bradley Hull, Cleveland
 Jane E. Hunter, Cleveland
 Jacob Horak, Tiffin
 Mrs. Silas Hurin, Toledo
 Ethel Ideson, Cincinnati
 Clifford L. James, Columbus
 Russell W. Jelliffe, Cleveland
 Wendell Johnson, Toledo
 Myron J. Jones, Cleveland
 Prof. O. G. Jones, Toledo
 Bishop Paul Jones, Yellow Springs
 Ruth Jones, Cincinnati
 Clara A. Kaiser, Cleveland
 Dorothy Karl, Toledo
 Rev. Charles B. Ketcham, Warren
 Prof. Thomas L. Kibler, Columbus
 Leila Kinney, Columbus
 F. M. Kirkendall, Dayton
 Stanley Klonowski, Cleveland
 C. E. Knoepfel, Cleveland
 Morris Kobacker, Toledo
 Joseph Kolodzy, Neffs
 Hazel L. Koppenhafer, Cincinnati
 Rabbi Joseph Kornfeld, Toledo
 Judge Julius M. Kovachy, Cleveland
 Rev. S. K. Kremer, Cleveland
 Charles Kreindler, Cleveland
 Jack Kroil, Cincinnati
 Mrs. Simon Kuhn, Cincinnati
 Mrs. Etta Freeman Lane, Plain City
 Gardner Lattimer, Columbus
 Dr. W. M. Leiserson, Yellow Springs
 Alvin J. Lehman, Cincinnati
 Mrs. Albert D. Levy, Cleveland
 L. R. Lowery, Columbus
 Helen Ludwig, Columbus
 Mrs. J. Lundborg, Toledo
 Margaret Lusby, Cincinnati
 J. L. McGeorge, Toledo
 Harry McLaughlin, Cleveland
 Dr. W. H. McMaster, Alliance
 Leila Kerr McNeill, Springfield
 W. H. McPherson, Cleveland
 Mrs. W. H. McPherson, Cleveland
 Mrs. Ralph Mack, Cincinnati
 Rev. Paul Macy, Toledo
 Elizabeth S. Magee, Cleveland
 Amy G. Maher, Toledo
 James F. Malley, Cleveland
 Frank H. Marik, Bellaire
 Mary Louise Mark, Columbus
 Rev. Robert W. Mark, Cleveland
 Joseph Martinek, Cleveland
 Robert E. Mathews, Columbus
 Stanley B. Mathewson, Springfield
 Margaret K. Means, Akron
 Mrs. Charles H. Mercer, Cleveland
 Prof. J. C. Meyer, Cleveland
 Grace E. Meyette, Cleveland
 Mrs. R. E. Miles, Columbus
 Prof. Herbert A. Miller, Columbus
 Mrs. Herbert A. Miller, Columbus
 Mrs. Dorothy K. Minster, Cincinnati
 Ruth Mitchell, Cleveland
 Mrs. Karl Moening, Toledo
 Mrs. Anna Morgan, Cleveland
 Mrs. Daniel E. Morgan, Cleveland
 Dr. S. Morgenroth, Akron
 M. Brooks Morris, Warren
 John G. Murphy, Cleveland
 Oliver Myers, Toledo
 Mrs. C. F. Neeley, Columbus
 Theodore Newcomb, Cleveland
 Mrs. H. E. Newman, Wooster
 Wilbur I. Newstetter, Cleveland
 Roy R. Nowell, Zanesville

Rev. Victor Obenhaus, Cleveland
 Prof. E. B. O'Leary, Dayton
 Arthur Pahner, Cincinnati
 Dr. George L. Parker, Toledo
 Amos Parsons, Cleveland
 Pres. Edward S. Parsons, Marietta
 Robert D. Patton, Columbus
 Rev. Almon R. Pepper, Cleveland
 Ben Peppercorn, Cleveland
 Charles E. Percy, Cleveland
 Anna L. Peterson, Cincinnati
 Helen Phelan, Cleveland
 Roselle Phillips, Cincinnati
 David H. Pierce, Cleveland
 W. G. Porter, Columbus
 Robert Pugh, Toledo
 Carl Raid, Cleveland
 Henry W. Ralske, Cleveland
 Julia Raymond, Cleveland
 Dr. Ellery F. Reed, Cincinnati
 Arthur J. Reinthal, Cleveland
 Adelaide Reis, Lima
 Grace Reynolds, Cleveland
 Mrs. Roger Rice, Canton
 Mrs. Dorman Richardson, Toledo
 Rev. Fred Riley, Lima
 Eleanor C. Ripley, Lima
 Esther Rogers, Cincinnati
 Florence K. Root, Cleveland
 Stella Rosenbaum, Toledo
 Mrs. Simon Ross, Cincinnati
 Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Cincinnati
 Carl Rudolph, Cleveland
 Mae Ryman, Cleveland
 W. A. Scheaf, Columbus
 Fred Schultz, Cleveland
 Frieda Schwenkmeyer, Cleveland
 Hobart W. Scott, Cincinnati
 Prof. C. K. Searles, Toledo
 Mrs. Myron Seibert, Columbus
 V. Freda Seigworth, Cleveland
 B. C. Seiple, Cleveland
 Mrs. Eva Epstein Shaw, Toledo
 H. T. Shenefield, Toledo
 Virgil Sheppard, Toledo
 Mrs. B. H. Siehl, Cincinnati
 Rabbi A. H. Silver, Cleveland
 Kathleen Simms, Cincinnati
 Dorothy Smith, Cleveland
 Charles Snaveley, Westerville
 Mrs. Ralph Snyder, Toledo
 Walter Leo Solomon, Cleveland
 Dr. Edmund D. Soper, Delaware
 Florence Sprague, Toledo
 Charles Stallman, Toledo
 F. B. Stanton, Alliance
 Rev. Carroll Stewart, Caldwell
 Charles C. Stillman, Columbus
 Mrs. Evelyn F. Stires, Cleveland
 Louise Stitt, Columbus
 Dale Stump, Columbus
 Rabbi Jacob Tarshish, Columbus
 Mrs. Howard S. Thayer, Cleveland
 Prof. Alvin S. Tostlebe, Wooster
 Charlotte E. Townsend, Cleveland
 Prof. H. W. Troop, Westerville
 Rev. Charles B. Tupper, Warren
 Mrs. Ralph S. Tyler, Cleveland
 Ralph S. Tyler, Jr., Cleveland
 Gertrude Underhill, Cleveland
 M. R. Van Cleve, Toledo
 Prof. Christian Van Riper, Springfield
 Carl Vitz, Toledo
 Mrs. Carl Vitz, Toledo
 Rev. Elmer E. Voelkel, Cleveland
 Margaret W. Wagner, Cleveland
 Mrs. Hazel M. Walker, Cleveland
 Miriam Walker, Cincinnati
 Prof. Rollin H. Walker, Delaware
 Mary Walsh, Cincinnati
 R. S. Warren, Columbus
 Rev. Oliver C. Weist, Columbus
 Mrs. Oliver C. Weist, Columbus
 Mrs. Robert J. West, Toledo
 S. Burns Weston, Cleveland
 Charles W. White, Cleveland
 George E. Whitman, Cleveland
 Frances R. Whitney, Cincinnati
 Jane Wilkie, Cincinnati
 Rev. Edwin H. Wilson, Dayton
 F. E. Wilson, Cleveland
 Mrs. Louis H. Winch, Cleveland
 Marie R. Wing, Cleveland
 Virginia R. Wing, Cleveland
 William J. Winston, Cleveland
 Mrs. Helen C. Winters, Dayton
 Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, Marietta
 Vera Woods, Cincinnati
 Joseph Woolf, Toledo
 Mrs. Joseph Woolf, Toledo
 Pearl M. Worley, Canton
 Florence Worrell, Columbus
 Rev. Louis E. Wright, Cleveland
 Mrs. J. B. Wright, Akron
 Mrs. A. B. Wunder, Cincinnati
 Mrs. Wm. H. Wyllie, Columbus
 Phil E. Ziegler, Cincinnati
 Rev. Oldrich Zlamal, Cleveland

From:
THE ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY
CHESTS AND COUNCILS
1810 Graybar Bldg.,
420 Lexington Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

FOR RELEASE: Tuesday, August 16, 1932

"AMERICA ON TRIAL" STATES NEWTON D. BAKER
ANNOUNCEMENT OF NATIONAL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR WELFARE
AND RELIEF MOBILIZATION OF 1932

The names of 49 nationally known men and women, drafted to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for the Welfare and Relief Mobilization of 1932, were announced today by J. Herbert Case, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and President of the Association of Community Chests and Councils. The members of the Committee were selected because of their interest in welfare and relief problems, by Mr. Case and Newton D. Baker who will act as Chairman of the newly formed Committee. William Cooper Proctor of Cincinnati and Dr. George E. Vincent of New York will serve as Vice-Chairmen.

The purpose underlying the present Welfare and Relief Mobilization in which twenty-seven national welfare agencies are cooperating, as defined by Mr. Case, is to reinforce local social service organizations in securing adequate funds and to assist them in readjusting their programs to fit the needs of their individual communities. The Committee has offered its services to President Hoover in connection with his plans for stimulating local efforts for unemployment relief.

"The stimulus engendered by the uniting of social forces in America," states Mr. Case, "will go a long way toward encouraging the public to support the welfare and relief work of all communities as generously as possible during the coming winter. No national fund is being raised by this Committee. Its sole purpose is to reinforce local fund raising efforts."

The first function of the National Citizens' Committee of the Welfare and Relief Mobilization as announced by Mr. Case will be the sponsoring of a conference in Washington, D. C., on September 15, to discuss the most effective method of continuing support of all essential local humanitarian services. The conference will be opened by President Hoover at the White House. Community leaders responsible for the raising of local funds for social service work and citizens interested in welfare and relief problems will be personally invited to participate.

Mr. Baker in a special statement directed to the members of the National Citizens' Committee of the Welfare and Relief Mobilization of 1932 made the follow-

ing announcement: "The task ahead of us is the greatest we have ever faced. Every social welfare agency must cooperate. The National Citizens' Committee will endeavor to mobilize welfare and relief forces throughout the United States. It will be the duty of this Committee to explore and explain the existing need. When we are through we must have prevented hunger and destitution and saved the nation's welfare plan from destruction. America is on trial this year! She must preserve her soul."

The list of members of the National Citizens' Committee for the Welfare and Relief Mobilization of 1932 is not yet complete. Those who have accepted the invitation of Mr. Case and Mr. Baker are:

Charles E. Adams, President, Cleveland Hardware Co., Cleveland, Ohio
Mrs. August Belmont, Member, Executive Committee, American National Red Cross, New York, N.Y.
Frank R. Bigelow, President, St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Co., St. Paul, Minn.
Cornelius Bliss, Financier, New York
Mrs. Nicholas Brady, Chairman, National Board of Girl Scouts, New York
Howard Braucher, President, National Social Welfare Council, New York
Frank J. Bruno, President, National Conference of Social Work, St. Louis, Mo.
John Stewart Bryan, Publisher, Times Dispatch, Richmond, Va.
Charles C. Burlingham, President, Welfare Council of New York
Roy D. Chapin, Secretary of Commerce
Channing H. Cox, Ex-Governor of Mass., Worcester, Mass.
Winthrop M. Crane, Jr., Capitalist, Pittsfield, Mass.
William H. Crocker, President, Crocker First National Bank, San Francisco, Calif.
Edward D. Duffield, President, Prudential Insurance Co. of America, Acting President, Princeton University, Newark, N.J.
Fred W. Ellsworth, Vice Pres. Hibernia Bank, New Orleans, La.
Russell G. Fessenden, Vice-President, First National Bank, Boston, Mass.
Rt. Rev. James E. Freeman, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Wash. D.C.
Harvey D. Gibson, President, Manufacturer's Trust Co., New York
Walter S. Gifford, President, American Telephone and Telegraph Co., New York
William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.
Warren S. Hayden, Hayden Miller Co., Cleveland, Ohio
Howard Heinz, President, H. J. Heinz Co., Pittsburg, Pa.
Harry C. Knight, President So. New England Telephone Co., New Haven, Conn.
Joseph Lee, President, National Recreation Association, Boston, Mass.
Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan Co., New York
Bishop Francis J. McConnell, President, Federal Council of Churches, New York
Tracy W. McGregor, President, Detroit Community Fund
John Barton Payne, Chairman, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C.
Frederick Patterson, President, National Cash Register Co., Dayton, Ohio
F. W. Ramsey, Former Chairman, Cleveland Community Fund, Cleveland, Ohio
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., President, Joseph T. Ryerson & Son, Chicago, Ill.
Alfred Schoellkopf, Vice-President, Niagara Hudson Power Co., Buffalo, N.Y.
Joseph Scott, Attorney, President, Community Chest, Los Angeles, Calif.
Rabbi A. H. Silver, Cleveland, Ohio
Alfred E. Smith, ex-governor New York
Tom K. Smith, President, Boatmen's National Bank, St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. Robert E. Speer, Past President National Council of Y.W.C.A., New York
Lillian Wald, Henry Street Settlement, New York
Felix M. Warburg, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., New York
J. H. Welborn, Chairman, Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., Denver, Colo.
Oscar Wells, Chairman, First National Bank, Birmingham, Ala.
Robert W. Woodruff, President, Coca Cola Co., Atlanta, Ga.
Col. Arthur Woods, Ex-Police Commissioner, New York
C. S. Woolworth, Chairman, F. W. Woolworth Co., Scranton, Pa.
Owen D. Young, Chairman, General Electric Co., New York
E. L. Carpenter, Shevlin, Carpenter & Clarke Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

Jan 25, 1933

Louis Marshall Memorial Science Building To Be Dedicated February 23

Leading Foresters, Educators and Officials Expected to Attend
Syracuse Ceremonies

(Jewish Daily Bulletin)

SYRACUSE, Jan. 24—The dedication exercises for the new Louis Marshall Memorial Science Building of the New York State College of Forestry, which was recently completed on the campus of the Syracuse University, will take place on February 23.

The ceremonies, which will rally to the campus leading foresters, officials and educators of the country, will be the first big event under the direction of Dr. Spring, the new dean of the Forestry College, who succeeds Dean Hugh P. Baker on February 1.

Meanwhile the plans for the dedication are being arranged so as to be ready for the slated day, and a list of those to whom invitations have been issued will be announced shortly. The name of the principal speaker has not yet been released, but it is believed that former Governor Alfred E. Smith, friend of the late Louis Marshall, and who succeeded him as chairman of the board of trustees of the college, and who laid the cornerstone for the new structure, will be the person.

The new science building will house five departments, which are gradually moving in now, and which will be ready to be opened with the beginning of the new semester in the spring. The Roosevelt wild life experiment station will be included in the new structure, according to present plans.

San Franciscan "Chief Rationalizer" in Russia

(Jewish Daily Bulletin)

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 24—Zara Witkin, former civil engineer of San Francisco and member of a well known local family, has been appointed by the Soviet government to the post of "chief rationalizer" of the second five year plan.

Mr. Witkin is at present in Russia where he will remain indefinitely. Mr. Witkin's theory is that the acute housing problems of nations can be solved by producing homes on the same basis of mass production as cheap automobiles are turned out. He plans the design of a house which will be manufactured in a factory just as automobiles are.

Arthur Kuranda

Succumbs in Vienna

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

VIENNA, Jan. 24—Arthur Kuranda, for many years president of the Austrian Jewish Alliance died here today at the age of eighty.

Alfred Ehrman, well-known member of the San Francisco Jewish community, was reappointed by Mayor Rossi as a member of the city's fire commission.

3 Jewish Members of Governor's Insurance Committee Attacked As Foreigners, Disloyal to U.S.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Rubinow
and Prof. Leiserson Attacked by
Ohio Chamber of Commerce

(Jewish Daily Bulletin)

CINCINNATI, Jan. 24—The three Jewish members of Governor George White's Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance have been attacked by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and by a Cleveland manufacturer on the grounds that their Russian birth has colored their ideas and vitiated their loyalty to the American principle of private initiative.

The three under fire are Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Secretary of B'nai Brith; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland; and Professor William M. Leiserson of Antioch College.

Two Cleveland rabbis—Barnet R. Brickner and Harry S. Davidowitz—have already arisen to the defense of the three, and in public addresses have branded the criticism as un-American and senseless.

The Ohio Chamber of Commerce, in a brochure analyzing the Commission's report, expresses "its resentment at the impudent challenge hurled at us by foreign propagandists," and pointedly asks "When were Christian charity, family love, neighborly kindness, and human brotherhood scientific?" The brochure heatedly states that "this attempt to foist upon the United States foreign ideals and foreign practices during this trying period is indefensible and disloyal."

J. F. Lincoln, the Cleveland manufacturer, who is also a member of the Unemployment Commission — one of the two who protested against the majority report of the Commission, which advocated immediate passage of unemployment insurance legislation—went even further. In a recent address before the Associated Industries in Cleveland, Mr. Lincoln first named Dr. Rubinow, Rabbi Silver, and Prof. Leiserson as the authors of the unemployment insurance bill, and then went on to say that since all three were born in Russia, "their background was the tradition of a land of pogroms, exile, and serfdom, also one of despotism, persecution, misery, and im-

(Continued on Page 4)

Former Minister of Justice in Anhalt Dies

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

DESSAU, Jan. 24—Hermann Cohn, former Minister of Justice of Anhalt, died here today at the age of sixty-four.

Dr. Cohn served as Minister of Justice following the World War. He was compelled to resign his office because of the persecution he suffered on the ground that he was a Jew.

He was an outstanding leader of the Central Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith.

After one or two days!

3 Jewish Members of Governor's Insurance Committee Attacked As Foreigners, Disloyal to U.S.

(Continued from Page 3)

memorial hatreds." He questioned whether these sponsors of the bill had absorbed the American spirit of initiative, of individual responsibility and self-reliance sufficiently to be trusted with the handling of major social and political problems of this country.

"A man's birthplace is no criterion of his Americanism," declared Rabbi Brickner, who said he was rising to the defense only because Rabbi Silver is out of the country. "As a matter of fact, the Russian background of these three men has nothing whatever to do with the unemployment insurance idea. Unemployment insurance was first thought of in England and Germany. Mr. Lincoln is hitting below the belt, and that is un-American. He owes an apology and if he is worthy of his name he will give it."

"The standpatters of American industry must feel the weakness of the logic and of the convincingness of their arguments against the proposed Ohio unemployment insurance bill when they are reduced to the good old trick of dragging the red herring of Russian birth across its path," said Rabbi Davidowitz.

"One of the obvious purposes of this pamphlet," said Alfred Segal in the "Cincinnati Post," is to show that three of the commissioners were born in European countries. This is supposed to cause all 100 percenters to flame with patriotic wrath; they are expected to forget all about the justice of unemployment insurance while they burn against Dr. Rubinow who has been an American citizen many years, has been a faithful and intelligent servant of the common good, has become nationally known as an expert on social insurance.

"There may be good arguments against unemployment insurance, but the fact that a friend of this measure of social justice is foreign-born is not one of them."

To stimulate interest in Jewish thought among high school boys and girls, the Board of Jewish Ministers of Northern California has decided to hold an oratorical contest. The competition will be open to boys and girls of Northern California of high school age, the orations to be on Jewish subjects.

A series of chamber music recitals at the Community Center Conservatory of Music, of Congregation Bnai Jeshurun, begin on Monday evening, January 30th, when the Stradivarius Quartet: Messrs. Wolfe Wolfensohn, Alfred Pochon, Nicolas Moldavan and Gerald Warburg, assisted by Frank Sheridan, Pianist, will present a program.

This is the first of the series of chamber music concerts to be given at the Conservatory by the leading chamber music organizations.

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2nd Ave. at 12th St. Tel. STuy. 9-7195

MAURICE SCHWARTZ, Director

Thurs. Eve. "BREAD"

Fri. Eve. and Sat. & Sun. Mat. & Evs.

"YOSHE KALB"

(English Synopsis Supplied)

Press Here and Abroad Discusses Transjordan Land Lease to Jews

(Continued from Page 3)

Transjordan is an urgent question, not one for shouting or tumult, but a problem to be solved with real means."

"The Jewish Morning Journal" comments: "There are still in the Agency or close to it sufficient number of rich Jews who could provide or guarantee the small sum of \$2,000,000 a year which the Emir asks, and also the means necessary for colonization."

"Provided the project is secure, it means a spreading of the Jews over Palestine and the opening in Transjordan, the part of Palestine. Such a reinforcement outweighs many of the difficulties in which Jews have hitherto been confronted in the settlement of Palestine."

"The Philadelphia Jewish World" says: "It must be described as one of the most important occurrences in connection with the upbuilding of Palestine, particularly if it is not done by some individual or group with a view to speculation. . . . Transjordan's proximity to Western Palestine may become a factor in the economic development of Palestine."

"The Lea's recent announcement concerning concentration on colonization in Palestine may have new avenues opened up to it by the possibility of leasing vast stretches of land in Transjordan for colonization."

The Canadian "Jewish Eagle" declares: "This creates new great possibilities for the Jewish Homeland. For Zionism in general there now open up broader perspectives and it is to be hoped that the Jewish leaders will not miss the opportunity of profiting by this newly produced situation."

"The New York Times" recalls the historic association of Transjordan with the history of the Jewish people "In the farewell address of Moses 'beyond Jordan' in the land of Moab, as in the recital by Joshua of allotments to the several tribes, special mention is made of the land beyond Jordan toward the sun rising as a 'good land,' the Times writes. "It was from the top of the Transjordanian mountain Pisgah, that the great lawgiver lifted up his eyes westward and northward, southward and eastward and beheld not only the promised land which he was to enter but the rich valleys that lay among the mountains of Moab and Gilcad. Two tribes were permitted to remain there; and now, according to our own dispatches, Jewish settlers are to return to that region."

"Transjordan, though nominally autonomous, is virtually under a British mandate. The area now opened up to settlement . . . must make a special appeal to the descendants of those who halted there so long before they entered into the land of their hopes."

MYOLD PRINTING CO., Inc.
161 Grand Street New York

February 20th, 1933.

Dr. Jacob Billikopf,
The Federation of Jewish Charities,
330 South Ninth Street,
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

My Dear Billikopf:

I have just received a letter from Lazaron, who enclosed a note which you sent him, together with a copy of your correspondence with Mr. Charles Denby. Morris's letter reminded me that I had not heard from you, although I had written to you some time ago. I enjoyed reading your correspondence with Denby. The virulence of the attack of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce on the report of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, and more especially on its Jewish Members, is indicative of the progress which the cause has made in our State. Its opponents have become quite desperate. One should not take their fulminations too seriously. Unemployment Insurance is coming to be in our State and elsewhere. The logic of events is bringing it to pass. There are of course minor criticisms to be made of the report, but then such criticisms can be made of any report. Only the conclusions of the Commission have so far been published. The statistics upon which these conclusions are based will appear in the near future. You will then have an opportunity to determine whether our conclusions are valid.

I have been having a most interesting time in recent weeks, travelling through Central Europe. I was in Berlin during the Hitler upsurge, and obtained a better insight into the psychology of the German people during those few weeks, than I could have obtained from books in so many years.

I have just returned from Prague, where I had the pleasure of having a three-quarters of an hour audience with President Masaryk. His 83 years have not dimmed his brilliant mind. This was my first contact with him, and it will remain as an unforgettable experience with me.

Virginia and the children are splendid. We all

Dr. Jacob Billikopf.

-2-

Feby.20,1933.

plan to go to Palestine early in April, to spend the Passover there.
Please remember me to Ruth.

With all good wishes, in which Virginia joins me,

I remain, as ever,

Yours,



B'NAI B'RITH
CONSTITUTION GRAND LODGE
ELECTRIC BUILDING
CINCINNATI, OHIO

I. M. RUBINOW
SECRETARY

March 10, 1933.

Hello Yourself:

Your cheerful and breezy letter, coming in at this zero hour in our bleak existence here, raises all kinds of psychologic responses, some of them quite anti-social, as envy. If you were within striking distance I would throw a bomb at you myself, for is there, tell me, any justice in the world that you should be enjoying Southern France and looking forward to a Passover in Palestine while here we are suffering from Hitlerism, bank closures and snow and thunder-storms in March. While you were talking with Masaryk I had to read Lincoln's articles. You will admit that there is quite a difference.

I wonder who informed you of the Lincoln situation and whether your correspondent did tell you the full details. It proved to be quite a sensation in Cleveland and then we sent out a publicity story for the anglo-Jewish press, and unless you have a clipping service you will never know how many times your handsome face appeared in various important publications such as The Ohio Jewish Chronicle of Columbus, The Jewish Independent of Cleveland, The American Israelite of Cincinnati, and others. So you and I have become celebrities and if the Jewish press has a second vote on the ten greatest Jews we will get enough votes to make it. If you still admit to reading Yiddish you may enjoy the clipping which I am enclosing herewith.

Please do not jump to the conclusion from my feeble efforts at humor that I am in a particularly happy mood. The prospects for the success of the Harrison Bill are not so good. The Governor has been turning so many somersaults that he doesn't know himself on which end he has landed. It is true that, as I have learned this morning, the Bill is reported out of the House Committee but it is likely to get stuck in the Senate for lack of one vote of a Democratic Senator from Cincinnati by the name of Espy, who probably never cared to read the Democratic National Platform.

What is more distressing is that the same seems to be the fate throughout the country. To some extent White is responsible for that too. He started the Jesuitic arguments: 'It is a splendid idea but this is no time for it. The same attitude was since taken by the Legislative Committee in New York in face of Governor Lehman's insistence upon early action. The Connecticut report came out outlining a rather stupid bill of dismissal wage (even weaker than the Wisconsin Act) but adding that they are not recommending any action at this session. Rabbi Israel writes me that Governor Ritchie has been quoting White to the same effect, and with the sudden collapse of our banking and monetary situation ^{and} complete demoralization of our business, it looks now almost certain that there will be no bills passed this year.

However, if we were afraid of a delay because in two years from now the depression might be over and the unemployment insurance movement forgotten, I don't think there is much danger of that now, so we can expect to profit by adversity. You may be having an awfully good time now but I can guarantee you one thing, that you will find the little baby depression grown to an enormous size by the time you return.

The cat is out of the bag. We are now talking quite frankly throughout the country about dictatorships. The word, anyway, doesn't frighten us any

March 10, 1933.

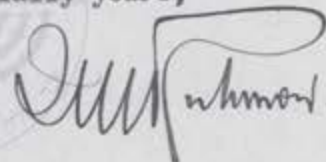
more. Of course, we are a civilized people but it does mean that Congress has almost abdicated his legislative functions and 125,000,000 people are looking to one man to save them. There are sentimentalists, like Walter Lippman, who think that this means a new era and I will admit that the President in his first week has shown himself a real leader but, nevertheless, I am enough of an old Democrat to feel the tragedy of the situation where a great people seems to find its hope in one man.

Your letter was written on the 22nd of February and for some reason took sixteen days in reaching me. In the meantime things have happened, among others last Sunday's election in Germany. The English papers and following them our Jewish press have carried very alarmist news. There was talk of a St. Bartholomew's night in Berlin, etc. How much is hysteria is it impossible to judge from this end but if restoration of the Monarchy in Germany is possible, then everything is possible.

But I must not spoil your holiday with this cheerful talk. As a reaction against what we are going through there is a tendency to revert to Omar Khayyam's philosophy, "Eat, drink and be merry * * *" for tomorrow you may have to go back to America." For after all what is the use of denying yourself anything and saving money if the biggest problem confronting us today is "where can I borrow 50¢ to pay for my luncheon".

Best regards to Mrs. Silver and your lovely children. Mrs. Rubinow begs to be remembered.

Cordially yours,



IMR:S

Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance

341 Engineers' Building

Cleveland, Ohio

Main 3023

33

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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LOUIS S. BING, JR.
TREASURER

MARJORIE MCFARLAND
SECRETARY

May 18, 1933.

To Members of the Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance.

You will be interested to know that a public rally on unemployment insurance is to be held in the Cleveland College auditorium on Thursday, May 25, at 8 P.M. Rabbi A. H. Silver, who has been chairman of the Cleveland Committee since its organization, will preside at the meeting, Senator Harrison will tell of the latest developments in the Legislature, and a number of prominent citizens will speak. Professor W. H. McPherson is chairman of the committee on arrangements.

We believe that there is a chance for passage of our unemployment insurance bill in these closing weeks of the session if we all keep at it. Will you make every possible effort to come to the Thursday night meeting, and to make it known among your friends and organizations with which you are connected?

As you know, the bill is still in the hands of the Rules Committee of the House. With the session coming to a close, it is important to get it on the calendar for vote quickly. During this week-end it would be very helpful if you could communicate with Mr. Keith Lawrence, Guarantee Title Building, (Main 7438), requesting his help. Letters to Mr. Frank Cave, chairman of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives, Columbus, and to Governor George White, urging their help, will also be useful.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee

Elizabeth S. Magee,
Acting Secretary

*For your information.
I will send you more
details later.
E.S.M.*

CALENDAR OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE CAMPAIGN

- January 18, 1933 Senate Bill #46 introduced by Senator Marvin C. Harrison in the Senate.
House Bill #192 introduced by Representative Horace Keifer in the House.
- February 8, 1933 First public hearing before the Labor Committee of the Senate and Insurance Committee of the House. It was originally planned that proponents and opponents be given equal time at this hearing, but the opponents requested a special hearing of their own. As a consequence the first hearing was devoted entirely to proponents of the bill. Representatives of many different organizations including the League of Women Voters, the Y. W. C. A., the Consumers' League, the Council of Churches, and the Federation of Labor spoke from different communities. Mr. Mathewson and Mr. Hayes spoke for the Governor's Commission.
- February 15, 1933 At the opponents' hearing, 17 representatives of employers and a few farm groups under the auspices of the so-called "Ohio Defenders" spoke against the bill.
- February 21, 1933 The last public hearing was divided equally between Mr. W. E. Odum of the Industrial Relations Magazine (formerly of the National Metal Trades Association) and Dr. William M. Leiserson, chairman of the Governor's Commission.
- March 9, 1933 House Bill #192 was recommended for passage by the Insurance Committee of the House, by a vote of 10 to 1.
- March 30, 1933 The Legislature took a six-week's recess. At that time the bill had not yet been put on the "jitney calendar" of the House for action.
- May 15, 1933 The Assembly reconvened.

The Rules Committee of the House is responsible for the jitney calendar. It seems obvious that their tactics are to delay putting the bill on the calendar until it will be too late for action by both Houses. The members of the Rules Committee are:

Frank Cave (D) Mansfield, (Chairman)
Maurice J. Allen, Cincinnati (D)
J. Freer Bittinger (D) Ashland
O. E. Brenneman (D) Shauck (Morrow Co.)
Keith Lawrence (D) Cleveland
Lawrence A. Kane (R) Cincinnati
Charles H. Jones (R) Jackson

Mr. Keifer reports that Mr. Bittinger of Ashland, an independent Democrat, will vote for putting it on at an early date. Mr. Jones of Jackson and Mr. Kane of Cincinnati, both Republicans, are willing. It is therefore apparent that Mr. Cave, Speaker of the House, Mr. Lawrence of Cuyahoga County, and Mr. Brenneman and Mr. Allen, all of whom are administration men, are keeping it in committee with the knowledge and consent of the Governor.

Senator Harrison has not had his bill voted on by the Labor Committee of the Senate, because he is sure of only three votes "for." He is sure of three votes "against;" and three are uncertain. Following the action of the Insurance Committee of the House, he hoped that if favorable action were taken by the House it would swing two of the three uncertain votes of his committee.

From the COLUMBUS EVENING DISPATCH - Thursday, June 8, 1933.

JOB INSURANCE MEASURE KILLED

White Handed Blame as Bill is Voted Down. Solons Refuse to Take Measure From Committee Despite Stirring Address by Harrison of Cleveland.

- - - - -

Unemployment Insurance was definitely strangled in the Ohio senate, Thursday noon, when the upper house, by a vote of eight to 21, refused to relieve the labor committee of the bill after a Democratic senator in a sharp, cutting address laid the blame for the killing of the measure directly on Governor George White's shoulders.

While a number of senators gave various ineffective excuses for failing to vote to relieve the labor committee of the bill after the committee had given definite indication that it would not let the bill get out on the floor, the effect of their vote was to definitely kill what is considered the most humanitarian and far-reaching measure before the general assembly.

Sensing that defeat was imminent, Senator Marvin C. Harrison (D) of Cleveland and chief proponent of the measure in the senate, who has worked throughout the current assembly sessions to get the proposal passed, delivered a clear-cut address in which he softened no phrases in blaming the governor for the defeat.

White is Criticized

Pointing out that Governor White refused to answer any of his letters demanding that the chief executive live up to his campaign promises, Senator Harrison said:

"Governor George White and every Democratic member of this legislature signed a solemn pledge to support unemployment insurance and to work for its passage in the general assembly. In his inaugural address and first messages to the legislature, our Democratic governor said 'yes,' that he was for unemployment insurance principle but that this was not the time to pass it. He was like the Irishman and the roof, when the sun was shining the roof did not need repair, when the rain fell, he would not get out to repair it."

Started Too Late

Stressing the governor's failure to fulfill his campaign pledge, the dynamic Democratic senator pointed out that it was not until the press of the state had worked

From Columbus Dispatch--2.

up sufficient sentiment to force the governor to take a hand that he indicated he would get it placed on the house calendar for action, and only then if the effective date of the bill be postponed until 1935.

"But everyone knows that the governor did not throw his full support behind the bill until it was too late," Senator Harrison charged.

"The Democratic governor, when it was too late, had the unemployment insurance bill placed on the house calendar, demonstrating conclusively that all along he had the influence to have the bill acted on in that body.

Excuses Proffered

"I told the governor in a letter that delay would lay the blame for the defeat of this most important legislation directly at his door through his violation of a solemn pledge to the voters who found themselves deserted on this subject," Senator Harrison charged.

"This is the greatest and most far-reaching piece of legislation before the Ohio senate today, and we find that with people starving and poverty gripping their souls, there is time to talk about a sales tax to further oppress men, but no time to handle unemployment insurance which would aid men and restore their self-respect."

Various excuses were proffered by various senators for their vote against the motion to relieve the committee, but their failure meant the killing of the bill, and Senator Harrison left no doubt in their minds as to what general construction would be placed on their failure to vote for unemployment insurance.

White Handed Blame

Sen. William Haynes (D) of West Lafayette argued that the measure violated the campaign pledge by postponing the effective date and hence the Democrats were not bound to support it, but Senator Harrison answered the argument by stating the obvious fact that there was nothing in the platform relative to the effective date and that a Democratic governor had insisted on postponing it.

Sen. Paul Yoder (D) of Dayton claimed it would be upsetting normal procedure to relieve a committee; Sen. Walter Ruff (R) of Canton maintained that now is not the time to pass the bill but that he would support one two years from now; Sen. D. J. Gunsett (d) of Van Wert and E. LeFevre (R) of Glouster repeated the argument about relieving

committees.

It was pointed out by Sen. John F. Smolka (D) of Cleveland that the "now-is-not-the-time" argument was the "same old chestnut" used for the past several years to delay the bill, and Sen. Joseph N. Ackerman (R) of Cleveland asserted that if the measure was good for 1935 or 1940 it was good enough to be passed at once.

The senators who voted to keep the unemployment insurance bill alive were Ackerman, Bower, Ford, Harrison, Matthews, Pfeiffer, Smolka and waldvogel.

Those who voted in effect to quash the measure were: Annat, Donovan, Emmons, Espy, Gunsett, Gingher, Handley, Haynes, LeFevre, Lloyd, Lowery, Marshall, Molanus, George H. Roberts, J. Eugene Roberts, Sheppard, Whittemore, Wolfe and Yoder.

Senator DeArmond, who is ill, was not present, and Herner was absent from the chamber. Senator Mosier, although occupying his seat, refused to vote.

GOVERNOR GEORGE WHITE:
COLUMBUS, OHIO.

Day letter
6-13-33

Ohio is on the eve of enacting a measure of social legislation of historic significance -- unemployment insurance. The House has already approved this measure. It now awaits Senate action. The Senate is waiting for your courageous leadership. Your party has advocated unemployment insurance in its national platform. The President of The United States has urged upon you to further this measure. This is the time to act. The recent passage of the Minimum Wage Law was a fine tribute to you and to the intelligence and social vision of the Legislature. Passage of the Unemployment Insurance Measure Bill will put Ohio in the vanguard of the nation. Many other states will quickly follow. The fate of this financially sound and socially just and constructive measure to protect men and women against the tragedies of unemployment is in your hands. In the name of millions of our citizens and in the spirit of the new day and the new deal, please act now.

Abba Hillel Silver

Chairman, Unemployment Insurance Committee.

June 19, 1933.

Miss Marie R. Wing,
Labor Standards Committee,
341 Engineers Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Miss Wing:

It was good of you to invite me to participate in your program next Friday celebrating the enactment of the Minimum Wage Law in Ohio. I have a long standing lecture engagement in Chicago on that day and I shall therefore be unable to attend the meeting.

It is gratifying to know that this important piece of social legislation has finally been written into the statute books of our State. I recall the years of struggle which you and your friends of the Consumer's League have had to go through before your efforts were crowned with success.

One great truth becomes clearer to me as I go on. First comes the Idea and if the Idea is sound, ultimately, circumstances will arrange themselves in such a way as to make that Idea inevitable.

My great hope is that the present constellation of circumstances will also prove favorable to the enactment of the Unemployment Insurance Bill for which you and the members of the Consumer's League have so valiantly worked in the last few years.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:EK

Unemployment Insurance

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD UNEMPLOYMENT
INSURANCE IN OHIO

I. M. RUBINOW



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THE MOVEMENT TOWARD UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN OHIO

WHEN (or must one still say—if?) in the uncertain future, near or distant, an effective system of unemployment insurance will have become a standard aspect of America's industrial situation, as workmen's compensation has in the last twenty years, the future historian of social trends will recognize the important part that has been played by the *Report of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance*.

There were several somewhat fortuitous circumstances which gave it a significance seldom achieved by a government report. No great social discovery or invention may be claimed on its behalf. It did, however, have the good fortune of appearing at a moment of singular significance: almost on the eve of presidential elections, fought out primarily over an unemployment situation such as industrial America had never seen before; a political conflict between two parties (or shall we say three?) of which at least one (or respectively two) has definitely taken a stand in favor of unemployment insurance while the party in power refused even to refer to it in its platform; coming before the American people almost simultaneously with the dramatic reversal by the American Federation of Labor of its attitude from violent antagonism to equally decisive advocacy (the reversal being particularly fitting because it took place by mere accident in the second largest city of the state), and finally, followed as it was within a few weeks by the annual meeting of the American economic and statistical associations, again in the city of Cincinnati, at which meeting the problem of depression and unemployment was inevitably the main subject of discussion and unemployment insurance demonstrated its strength at least in American scientific thought.

Surely, a most unusual combination of coincidences which anyone so inclined is at liberty to interpret either as the workings-out of blind fate or wise Providence.

THE COMMISSION

There is little that is novel or exciting about state investigating commissions. They have become a standardized method of American public life either for promoting or—sometimes—for diverting and suppressing efforts toward constructive legislative progress. Such commissions may be purely legislative and then differ from each other largely in the varying proportion of representatives of the two houses and the two parties, but with the intellectual equipment of a fairly uniform quality.

When the power of appointment is less restricted, the usual type of a citizens' commission is familiar, consisting of a conglomeration of representatives of different geographic parts of the state, and different social and occupational groupings, particularly so when dealing with relations of capital and labor: representatives of capital, of organized labor, of agriculture, perhaps of financial interests, etc. To represent the public, usually a minority of distinguished names is included—and, of course, since the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment there must be at least one representative woman.

That is the type, and as compared with this type the Ohio Commission was undoubtedly "different," and it was this "difference" that, long before the *Report* was published, in fact almost immediately upon its appointment, was made the subject of violent attacks about both the appointing authority and the appointees. Almost within twenty-four hours the Ohio Chamber of Commerce objected to this personnel as consisting of academicians and theorists; and the objection continued except that when the *Report* did appear, much stronger characterizations of the Commission were used. Even more emphatic was the objection that the Commission could not consider the matter impartially because the majority had already definitely committed itself in favor of unemployment insurance.

To be quite fair to the opposition (although the writer frankly confesses that it requires considerable effort), there was some ground for criticism, at least in so far as the Commission was different. As originally constituted—and there was only one change in its make-up during the year—it consisted of eleven persons, to wit: One member of the Ohio Senate, who is an attorney; one secretary of a local chamber of commerce, previously a college instructor; one manu-

facturer; one master of the grange; one representative of organized labor; one clergyman, well known for his deep interest in progressive social policies; one social worker, a woman with special interests in industrial relations; one attorney who, since then, has achieved his seat in the United States Congress; one secretary of a fraternal organization who happened to have devoted some thirty years to the study of social insurance; and two university professors of economics.

Apparently the particular criticism as to the excessive number of theorists was directed against the two professors and possibly to the unattached social-insurance expert. When, in the spring, the senator chairman resigned, another young college professor was appointed to fill his place by the governor, who thus subjected himself to a charge almost of compounding a felony, for three professors on one Commission was entirely too much for a chamber of commerce to swallow.

As to the charge of "prejudice," again it is quite true that of the eleven members four or five had definitely aligned themselves in favor of unemployment insurance in advance of their appointment, and, therefore, in the opinion of the gentlemen of the chamber of commerce could not be expected to conduct an honest inquiry. Of course, the stand of these four or five men could not but have been known to the governor in advance. The joint resolution of the legislature which authorized him to appoint a commission stated its duty to be: "To investigate the practicability and advisability of setting up unemployment reserves or insurance funds to provide against the risk of unemployment and to recommend what form of legislation, if any, may be wise or suitable to Ohio as a separate State."

It is true of the problem of unemployment insurance, as it must be of most other problems which come up for legislative decision, that all humans may be divided by and large into three groups: (1) a small minority who know something about the subject and are in favor of the proposal, (2) an equally small minority who know something and are opposed to the proposal, (3) an overwhelming majority of perfectly good citizens who know nothing at all about the subject one way or the other. At best, such a majority is neutral. Usually, however, because of the natural conservatism of the human, it is opposed to the proposal because it knows nothing at all about it. The selections had to be made in some proportion out of these three groups. The importance and the complexity of the subject entirely

unfamiliar to the American citizen and the shortness of time available to the Commission—approximately one year—were factors which would have been destined to result in failure if the Commission were largely constituted out of the third group.

There is definite information that the appointment of the expert on social insurance was primarily due to the consideration of making available his experience and knowledge to the Commission without cost. Probably the chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations would have raised no voice of objection if the Commission was entirely constituted of the second and third group. It was the presence of the four persons, familiar with the subject and also in favor of the proposal, that seemed to constitute an unpardonable sin. So unusual is this selection of competent individuals on investigating commissions that even the friends of the measure felt somewhat embarrassed and uncertain as a result.

The favorable attention which the *Report of the Ohio Commission* has gained for itself within a few weeks, the demand for copies of the Commission's *Report*, should be sources of gratification to the appointing authority, and may establish a precedent worthy of emulation.

THE "REPORT"

It is Part I of the *Report*, entitled "Conclusions and Recommended Bill," a pamphlet of less than one hundred pages, which has been widely distributed and commented upon. The second part, a much larger volume, contains the results of various studies arranged for and edited under the very able supervision of the Commission's executive secretary. The larger report, intended for the more specialized reader, contains various studies dealing with the extent of the problem (namely, statistics of unemployment, wage loss, etc.), the social effects (degree of destitution and its extent upon the life of a substantial part of the people in Ohio), analysis of various remedial methods applied to the situation, such as private and public relief, study of comparative situations in European countries, of legislative proposals in other states, and such technical studies in support of the Commission's recommendation as actuarial computations of cost of the recommended scheme, analysis of arguments against unemployment insurance, etc.

The student of economics and statistics may find in the second

volume material of considerable interest. It is hoped that the specialized actuarial studies may prove of assistance to other states confronted with the same problem and searching for the same solution. It is, however, but fair to say, without in any way minimizing the interest of these studies, that they contain little of striking novelty. The problem of unemployment is not new. It has been made the subject of many studies, private and public, its catastrophic results are obvious, and the time seems to have passed when it is necessary to draw pathetic pictures of the mass suffering of the millions of unemployed and those who depend upon them.

In the state of Ohio already nearly one million human beings, or one-sixth of the population, are being fed by private or public (by this time very largely *public*) relief. The total number of those out of work (and their dependents) who are in danger of sinking to the same level, though they may still be able to draw upon some other personal or family resources, is more than twice as large. The effectiveness of the emergency relief in Ohio is surely no lower and possibly even somewhat higher than in many other states, but the average family relief, fluctuating between ten and fifteen dollars a month, is sufficiently harrowing to make illustrations unnecessary.

The Commission did hold hearings, it did ask questions as to the conditions, the prevailing relief measures and degree of their adequacy. It did hear heart-rending stories from social workers, from ministers, and from the unemployed themselves, but amassing of facts of this character is now a waste of valuable time, and only causes unnecessary delay of necessary action.

THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMISSION

Small wonder that the Commission has come to the conclusion that charity and relief, whether private or public, have broken down as a method of meeting the situation. Perhaps one is safe in assuming that even the two dissenters out of eleven, who refused to sign the *Report*, would be ready to agree with this first conclusion.

The majority, therefore, further concluded that some other method was advisable, a method more effective from a material point of view and less destructive of personality values; that insurance was a better method; that to be effective it must be a compulsory insur-

ance system and not left to the voluntary action of either employers or employees, because of ample evidence of experience for many decades in this country as well as abroad, that the voluntary insurance method is extremely slow in developing, includes only a small proportion of those who need it, penalizes the humane employer and thrifty employee at the expense of their competitors who may be neither. It is on these few fundamental principles that the entire proposal for unemployment insurance, as recommended by the Commission, is based. We shall proceed to analyze this proposal briefly and then to discuss the merits of the proposal and the merits of objections that already have been raised against it.

THE SYSTEM OF INSURANCE

It is proposed to establish a system by which much the greater proportion of persons working for wages or for salaries under a specified limit are insured within certain limits against the loss of wages resulting from unemployment. Those who are included within this compulsory system must pay a premium to a state insurance fund and their employers must also pay a part of this premium on their behalf. The insured workmen or salaried employees, upon payment of premium, and subject, of course, to certain limitations and regulations, are entitled to receiving benefits in case of unemployment. The premiums are the income of the fund, the benefits constitute the fund's outgo. A system is provided to balance the income and outgo as far as it is humanly possible to do so.

Thus, in a few sentences the sum and substance of the Ohio proposal can be stated. The system is, of course, under public control, and it is nonprofit-making. It would seem quite absurd to have to make this latter statement except for the fact that after twenty-five years of propaganda the concept of social insurance is still quite strange and incomprehensible to the majority of our citizenship, and whenever the word "insurance" is mentioned it conjures immediately a picture of lofty towers, highly paid insurance officials, an army of poorly paid insurance clerks, ubiquitous insurance agents, assets and stocks, and sometimes sensational disclosures. It cannot be repeated too often that the plan is strictly within the sphere of social insurance.

And now for a few unavoidable details.

COVERAGE

The bill covers practically all manual laborers and salaried employees earning two thousand dollars a year or less. It definitely excludes the following important groups: farm labor, domestic service, interstate commerce, government employment and school-teachers working on an annual contract, and casual labor of less than four weeks' duration.

The reasons for the exclusion of these specific groups are not always the same. Some of them are obvious as, for instance, employment in interstate commerce, because of constitutional obstacles. Government employees and school-teachers are excluded on the assumption, which is correct by and large though with certain limitations, that these represent occupations with a very low hazard of unemployment or at least of irregular employment.

The exclusion of farm labor and domestic service must be defended—if it can be defended—on entirely different grounds. It is a definite admission that some employing groups must be placated if the bill is to have any chance at all. There are many farmers; in proportion to the number of employing farmers, the number of farm laborers is comparatively small. The economic condition of the farmer is not a happy one. His opposition to any additional tax or charge would be bound to be so strong as to wreck the chances of the bill. Few of the members of the Commission would want to claim that there is no problem of unemployment of farm labor, but for "practical" or "political" reasons farm labor must be left out because the farmer must be taken into consideration.

Somewhat similar—that is, entirely practical and not particularly of a high moral quality—are the arguments for exclusion of the domestic servant. In this day and generation domestic servants are somewhat of a luxury. By and large they are restricted to homes of a more than average economic level. The claim could not be made that the cost of insurance of one or two domestic servants would prove an excessive and unfair burden on the family budget of the employer; but the Commission, in its wisdom, preferred not to raise the antagonism of the powerful society woman, club woman, professional woman, and the mother of a numerous family, to whom a servant is not a luxury but a necessity. The unemployment-insurance plan has al-

ready gained considerable support among the intelligent and progressive women of the state. A cynic and misogynist might well speculate what the attitude would be if domestic servants were included. Many an intelligent observer of European conditions had returned from a prolonged residence in Europe with a record of irritation against the cruel burden of having to paste stamps in her servant's employment book.

And then there is the salaried employee in the higher-salary bracket. To be sure, two thousand dollars is not a very high level, though it appears very much higher in 1933 than it would have in 1929. The theoretical defense of this limitation would be that the salaried employee above this level is—or should be—able to take care of himself and make provision for his own future. One knows, of course, that a statement of this kind must be made largely with the tongue in one's cheek. Persons who had salaries much higher than that may now in fairly large numbers be found among applicants for public relief, or even in bread lines and flophouses. Undoubtedly, it is one of the provisions that can be defended, if at all, only as a temporary measure.

Outside of these main groups there are various other exceptions of comparatively minor importance. Most of those are based upon certain practical difficulties of enforcement which it appears particularly desirable to avoid in the beginning. There is the employer with a labor force of less than three, who is difficult to get at. There is the casual laborer, hard to follow up. There is the "person whose employment is not in the usual course of trade, business or professional occupation of the employer," to protect you and me if we hire a man to shovel the snow off the side walk or trim our hedges. It is obviously impossible under any system devised by human intelligence to make any law 100 per cent effective.

By and large, however, the scheme would protect the vast majority of Ohio's labor force. With the total number of gainfully employed at approximately 2,600,000 which, after exclusion of employers, self-employed and professional persons, would probably shrink to less than 2,000,000, the law, in face of all its limitations, would probably cover in the neighborhood of a million and a half. It is curious but characteristic of the past experience in struggles for social

legislation that from the very same groups which are opposed to the plan as a whole there comes this not altogether sincere criticism of the unfairness of the law in failing to protect the excluded 25 per cent or less.

THE BENEFIT SCALE

While the technical student may view the entire subject from many complicated angles, to the average layman and, what is more important, to the insured person, the crux of the whole program is in the amount of insurance provided. Quite logically the first question must be: What does the plan offer to me when I am out of work?

The Ohio plan offers 50 per cent of the wages, but not over \$15, for sixteen weeks, after a waiting period of three weeks. Inevitably, this "scale of benefits" has been subject to numerous and violent criticisms not only from those who consider it inadequate, but also from opponents to unemployment insurance in principle.

Obviously, this modest scale does not cover the entire loss. In technical language "the coverage is not complete." What the critics apparently forget is that no insurance coverage is complete; nor should it be, according to sound principles of insurance theory, for an insurance coverage which would undertake to compensate for the entire loss in all cases would inevitably come close to overinsurance in many cases. The higher the rate of coverage, the greater is the temptation for malingering and fraud. In a delicate situation like unemployment, excessive coverage would be dangerous in destroying the incentive toward return to work.

Admittedly, the scale of benefits is modest. As will be shown presently, the primary limitation is due to the factor of cost. As much insurance is provided as those who pay for it (industry and employees) presumably can afford to buy. There is nothing sacrosanct about the scale or any scale. As experience in compensation has demonstrated, it is subject to frequent revisions, usually upward, and that too has been objected to as a danger by the opposition, by the same opposition who complains that the scale of benefits does not meet the entire problem of unemployment relief.

There are four factors in the scale which must be briefly commented upon: the weekly rate, the maximum, the waiting period,

and the time limit. At least in two out of the four factors the Ohio bill is more generous than the Wisconsin law. While the normal weekly rate is 50 per cent in both, the maximum is \$15 against \$10, and the time limit sixteen weeks against ten weeks. The waiting period, however, is one week longer.

Comparatively little criticism is directed against the weekly rate of 50 per cent. The British system, with which American public is somewhat familiar, is based upon a uniform benefit rate irrespective of wage levels, though it does provide for differentiation according to sex and primary age groups. The obvious objection to a uniform benefit rate is that it is bound to be very low, too low for many, unless it is geared so high as to be too high for some. Because the British benefit is uniform, special additional provisions for dependents, wives and children, were introduced, which have caused no end of complications. Compensation experience in the United States has established certain standards, as from 50 to 66½ per cent. On the whole, particularly in the light of present unemployment-relief standards, the 50 per cent scale has been accepted as a reasonable and satisfactory one. Under normal conditions, half the wages may provide at least for the essential necessities of life.

The maximum of \$15 has been chosen after considerable deliberation. The Wisconsin maximum of \$10 obviously appeared inadequate. A higher maximum of \$17.50 was under consideration, but as wage standards have been tumbling and the \$15 maximum would affect only those earning over \$30 a week, the \$15 standard appeared more reasonable, and it does introduce a certain element of economy.

More criticism is directed against the waiting period and much more against the sixteen-week time limit. As compared with European acts, the waiting period is rather long; and yet under normal American conditions the saving from eliminating the first three weeks actuarially appeared to be very substantial and made the extension of the benefit to sixteen weeks possible. Thus, some income would accrue to the unemployed workman until the end of nineteen weeks of unemployment.

"What will the unemployed do when the nineteen weeks are up? He will be just as badly off. Some people have been out of work for a year and two continuously" is the criticism frequently offered. Of

course the statement is not literally true. After the expiration of the period the unemployed will not be any worse off than he was in the beginning of his unemployment. He certainly will be very much better off than he would be at the same time without his unemployment insurance because his own resources would be preserved. There is, of course, no "means test" provided during the period of benefit.

In comparison with the British system which, in some form or other, through provisional benefits, extended benefits, or the dole, makes the support continuous, the Ohio standards are modest indeed. In a case of prolonged depression such as the present the plan may, therefore, not entirely eliminate the necessity for some form of relief, but it is quite certain that even under the extreme conditions it is only a comparative minority that suffers from a continuous period of unemployment extending beyond four or five months.

The problem of maintenance for the unemployed will not be entirely solved, but it will be very materially reduced. Other resources, such as family savings, credit, and perhaps even private charity and public relief, may still be necessary, but to such a diminished extent that the financial problem of public relief will be greatly diminished. In evidence of this statement it is sufficient to point out that under the Ohio bill in 1931 over \$111,000,000 would have been paid out in unemployment benefits as against perhaps \$15,000,000 of public and private relief expended during the same year under present conditions. In short, the amount of insurance is arbitrarily determined upon on the basis of reasonable cost. That the latter concept is an elastic one may be readily granted.

REVENUE

As was just stated, some \$111,000,000 would be paid in 1931, perhaps \$150,000,000 in 1932. Where would the money come from? What is the financial structure provided for in the bill?

Unemployment-insurance systems present a variety of financial structure. There are three, or one might say four, standard sources of revenue: the insured himself, the employer, and the government authority, whether local or national or both. The conventional theory of business insurance expects the insured person to pay the cost of such insurance; but, of course, this point of view, popular in the

United States, is based upon lack of familiarity with the fundamental principles of social insurance. Practically under any branch and system of social insurance there is some distribution of the cost so as to make the burden easier for the insured person, and sometimes to relieve him altogether.

The economic principles underlying the distribution of the cost of social insurance, whether against unemployment or other hazards, are too complicated to be considered here at great length. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that there is no one generally accepted theory of such distribution, but rather a mixture of conflicting arguments as to the justice, ability to pay, responsibility for hazard, incidence and shifting of cost, and social and economic consequences. In practice, the various systems of apportionment of cost are influenced perhaps more strongly by the comparative strength of various economic groupings; always a practical rather than a theoretical compromise governs each situation.

The Ohio plan proposes a charge upon the employer equal to 2 per cent of the pay-roll, and a contribution from the employee equal to 1 per cent of his wages. No contribution is proposed either from a local, state, or national treasury and in this respect, perhaps more than in any one feature, does the Ohio plan differ from most European precedents.

Taxes, levies, contributions, or charges under any other name are always unpopular, no matter how praiseworthy the subject. The workman objects even to a partial contribution, though the entire benefit must accrue to him. Undoubtedly, this objection to an enforced contribution was (perhaps unconsciously) the main reason for the prolonged opposition of the American Federation of Labor to any unemployment-insurance scheme, and even at the Cincinnati convention, when the American Federation of Labor radically changed its attitude and came out in favor of an unemployment-insurance plan, officially it still refused to admit the justice of an employees' contribution, though unofficially the authors of the Ohio scheme were assured that a modest contribution of 1 per cent would not be objected to by organized labor. The 2 per cent charge upon the pay-roll remains the fundamental reason of the employers' opposition, no matter how much it is camouflaged by vociferous ap-

peals to patriotism, Americanism, the spirit of initiative, and similar Fourth of July slogans. It is this 2 per cent pay-roll charge which has caused all the outcry of the dangers of interstate competition, driving Ohio industries out of the state, etc., and, unfortunately, these arguments appear to exercise considerable influence. Finally, the taxpayer objects to any contribution from the public treasury and finds a great deal of support in British experience during the last three years, the collapse of British finances being placed largely at the door of the unemployment-insurance scheme rather than war debts and the aftermath of the war in general.

A great deal can be said in favor of a state or national contribution. Government authority shares to a large extent in the responsibility for conditions; government authority has the power of taxation and fund-raising. The Commission was not unaware of these considerations, yet it definitely ruled against any contribution from the public treasury to the insurance fund, and it thus has made itself subject to very strong criticism from the left. The decision was deliberate and based upon several weighty considerations. Obviously a federal contribution could not be legislated for in Columbus, Ohio. Financially, Ohio is as broke as most of the other states. The system of taxation is under terrific strain. There is no income tax, and the effort to establish one in face of constitutional difficulties would mean a delay of years. The majority of the property taxpayers are home-owners and farmers whose condition is critical indeed. As a pure matter of tactics, any proposal which would carry with it a heavy appropriation from an almost bankrupt treasury would not have a ghost of a chance of success.

The advocates of unemployment insurance in Ohio base their case primarily upon the plea not only that the unemployed must receive a greater amount of relief and in a more acceptable form, but also that the state, the county, and the municipality must be relieved of the burden imposed upon it by disorganized industry.

Nor is there any special theory underlying the established rate of contribution (3 per cent) or its distribution between employer and employee on the basis of two-thirds and one-third. These are, and necessarily must be, compromises or matters of arbitrary decision. There is only one controlling factor. There must be a balance be-

tween the income and outgo. Such balance between 3 per cent premium and a rate of benefits of sixteen weeks, as stated above, has been arrived at by means of rather complicated actuarial computations.

As the benefits are not uniform but adjusted to wages, so is the premium level. Some objections could be and have been raised against it, but space will not permit any extensive consideration of these objections here. Personally the writer, who was largely responsible for the actuarial computations, favored a 50-50 charge of 2 per cent from either party or a total of 4 per cent which would have made a more generous benefit scale possible, as well as more ample reserves for a prolonged depression, which will be discussed presently. At this writing, it is likely that a 2 per cent charge would be resented by labor and jeopardize the success of a bill. It is not impossible that as the depression continues labor may be won over toward a larger contribution. Surely, in comparison with the sacrifice labor is asked to make at present through the share of the work movement, which often means a loss of 50 per cent of the wages in times of distress, a 2 per cent charge in normal times as a reserve fund for an approaching depression would not seem to be very onerous.

In thus distributing the cost between employer and employee the Ohio plan differs considerably from the Wisconsin law. But not only did the Ohio Commission feel that there was sufficient compensation to the workman for his contribution in the more generous and more extensive scale of benefits, but the difference between the two is even more largely a difference in fundamental theory as to the primary objectives, whether relief, prevention, or stabilization—a complicated problem to be discussed at greater length presently.

BALANCE

The problem of balancing the income and outgo is not a simple one. European experience has demonstrated the possibility of many pitfalls in the financial structure of an unemployment-insurance scheme. In a similar campaign for health insurance conducted some fifteen years ago, the advocates drew freely and extensively upon the European example. In the matter of unemployment insurance the situation was somewhat reversed. Because of the financial difficulties of the English and German system, particularly dramatized in

England by the struggle surrounding Ramsay MacDonald's latest campaign and the abandonment of the gold standard in Great Britain—it was the opponents rather than advocates of unemployment insurance that began to draw freely upon British experience. The conclusion that any proposed American scheme provided must fail financially because the British system has got into difficulties, is not very convincing from the point of view of pure logic or mathematics, but has exercised considerable influence over uninstructed public opinion.

The financial reasons for the British difficulties are very obvious. They were due to repeated increases in the scale of benefits without sufficient increases in the premium rates. Moreover, fundamentally any system providing ironclad benefit scales and premium rates in the law itself contains an element of danger because of the uncertainty that the statistical and actuarial basis is sufficiently accurate and may not undergo radical changes. On the face of it, the Ohio bill commits the same error of establishing within the law a benefit scale and a premium rate. Both are based upon extensive and painstaking computations in which all available material was utilized, and Ohio was particularly fortunate in possessing a more extensive volume of material in the field of employment statistics than perhaps any other state in the Union. Moreover, computations were made with extreme conservatism and numerous margins of safety. Many factors which undoubtedly must affect a saving in the cost were disregarded because they could not be accurately estimated. In other words, whatever errors there are or may be in the computation are all on one side. Nevertheless, no absolute guaranty of adequacy of rate would be underwritten by any cautious actuary.

The bill, therefore, carefully provides that after a certain period of time, two or three years, and after a certain amount of experience has been acquired, the administration of the insurance scheme is empowered to modify the premium rate for separate industries and occupations between the limits of 1 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the employer, in addition to the fixed 1 per cent contribution on the part of the employee.

RISK AND PREMIUM RATE

The authority granted to the administration to vary premium rates is based not only upon financial considerations but also for the

purpose of meeting the Wisconsin idea halfway. Briefly, the Wisconsin idea is this: that the system of unemployment insurance through a fluctuating rate must be made a factor in inducing, encouraging, and perhaps forcing efforts toward regularization and stabilization, for "prevention is better than relief." It is often claimed that insurance premium must take the degree of hazard into consideration if it is to be true insurance; that the degree of unemployment hazard is subject to very wide fluctuations between industries, individual employers, and even individual employees; that such fluctuations must be recognized in the rate, particularly in order to serve as a stimulus for reducing the unemployment hazard.

There is nothing particularly novel in these considerations. The Wisconsin idea has not been discovered in Wisconsin. The English have tried it and abandoned it. The Germans have considered it at the time they were introducing their system and discarded it. In both countries it was felt that the theoretical considerations have been grossly exaggerated and the practical difficulties of establishing the fluctuations in the unemployment hazard have been grossly minimized.

And yet the popularity of the Wisconsin idea among students of the problem in this country is so great (perhaps for the very reason that they lack practical experience and depend too much upon a priori economic reasoning) that it appeared wise to introduce this factor in the bill. How far such classification will be possible, only the experience of years will demonstrate. To determine whether such premium gradings will really have a preventive effect may take decades, and in social legislation it is well to remember that one does not legislate for centuries.

Because insurance theory and technique are complicated matters and must remain largely mysteries to the general public, it seems to be easy for the insurance business to create the impression that such risk differentiation is an inevitable and necessary part to any insurance system. It is true that it is applicable in fire insurance, in workmen's compensation, and in many other forms of casualty insurance, and yet it is seldom realized by the layman that this risk differentiation is found least or not at all in the most scientific branch of insurance, namely, life insurance. Except for the difference between the two large divisions of ordinary and industrial insurance, except for

minor differences on substandard risks, the life-insurance premium entirely disregards the occupational differences which are fundamental in influencing the mortality rate. A man may insure as a clerk and become either a banker, a minister, a physician, prize-fighter, or airway pilot and yet pay exactly the same rate. In the specific occupation, locality, and establishment the unemployment hazard may perhaps be ascertained, but the mobility of American labor between industry, establishment, and locality is such that accurate determination of a hazard of any individual for a length of time would be an impossible task. Yet broad subdivisions of economic activities do show different rates of irregularity of employment. With the accumulation of experience these differences may be provided for through different rates, but it is not an immediate problem in the first few years of any unemployment-insurance plan.

ADMINISTRATION

The choice of a system for effective administration of so comprehensive a scheme is a matter of considerable importance. In addition to the objective criteria of mere efficiency, there are also conflicting group interests involved. A good deal could be said in favor of a democratic representative and co-operative plan, which is being tried out in some European countries. But American experience in this field is rather limited. Even the conscientious employer who recognizes the responsibility of industry for unemployment prefers to think in terms of an establishment scheme controlled and administered by him. He is afraid of the disturbing influence of a "labor politician." For equally logical reasons labor mistrusts establishment welfare plans. The public at large has a healthy or unhealthy skepticism in regard to efficiency of government agencies. Much has been said in Ohio by the opposition about the bureaucratic army that will have to be created to administer the law. The social worker has long been trained in a disdainful attitude toward governmental efficiency in public welfare as compared with private agencies, although perhaps this attitude has been considerably shaken during the last three years.

Out of all the possibilities the Ohio Commission chose an administrative scheme similar to the one with which the people of Ohio are

familiar in workmen's compensation. A commission is provided for with a network of branch offices. These branch offices are to serve as employment exchanges, for it is recognized that without an effective employment office system no unemployment-insurance scheme can be efficiently administered. Their offer of employment must remain the very best test of legitimacy of a claim. The scheme of administration is outlined rather loosely in the bill, and the powers of the Commission to issue rules and regulations are broad. This was felt to be necessary in order to avoid the need of frequent legislative changes, especially in the beginning. While the bill is fairly lengthy and contains, as do most American legislative enactments, a good deal of obscure and complicated verbiage which seems to mean little to the layman, it does not go into the details of administration in the same way in which European acts have done. The scheme, therefore, has intentionally been kept rather fluid. Undoubtedly, hundreds of problems will arise, decisions will be made, precedents established, and out of these must come an effective operating system perhaps to be legalized later. Such, in brief, are the provisions of the system proposed by the Ohio Commission.

INSURANCE VERSUS RESERVES

The unsuccessful presidential candidate of the Socialist party, Norman Thomas, seldom lectures in public without being confronted with the question why it is thought necessary to hold on to the term "Socialist" in view of the prejudice of the American people against that word. The questioner invariably assumes that the measures advocated would be more acceptable to the American public if they could be freed from the objectionable term, to which Thomas frequently replies, with some irritation, that the rose by another name smells just as sweet, provided it is a rose.

Some such attitude has been developing in regard to the social-insurance movement in this country. The term "social insurance" (or "social services" which appears to be the term preferred in England) is a comprehensive one. It implies a social philosophy as well as an insurance theory. In this country we prefer to speak of workmen's compensation, sick benefits, group payment for medical aid, old-age security, widows' allowances, and—unemployment reserves.

Whether this diversity of terminology has helped the movement to any extent it is hard to say, but it has undoubtedly interfered with education of American masses in the fundamental principles of social insurance.

Insurance is popular enough. It must be, therefore, the adjective "social" that frightens even the protagonists of the movement. Our great public leaders speak of unemployment insurance or reserves as if they were interchangeable terms, which, of course, they are not. Reserves are a necessary aspect of most insurance schemes, but reserves is not all there is to insurance. The term "reserves" has proved useful in the process of propaganda to emphasize the contrast between the provision made by industry in good years to pay dividends in bad years and lack of such provision to pay the wages during periods of unemployment. It was a very telling and "catchy" term, but the reserve plan, as exemplified by the Wisconsin act and partly by the standard bill of the American Association for Labor Legislation, has wider implications.

Fundamentally, the difference between the insurance plan and the reserve plan—which we might, for purposes of brevity and clarity, designate as the Ohio and Wisconsin plans—is this. The Wisconsin plan proposes an individual reserve for each establishment (modified somewhat by permission of establishments voluntarily joining to pool their reserves). The responsibility toward the unemployed workman, therefore, remains with the individual-plant reserve fund. The spread of a risk through pooling of the entire industry, which is the fundamental basis of insurance, therefore does not exist. Whatever difficulties there may be in determining the average amount of unemployment, the average cost of unemployment benefits, and the average burden to be borne by the employers are multiplied a thousand fold in the individual-plant reserve system. If the law establishes a definite premium rate as well as a definite benefit scale, the chances are all against the formula working out in each individual-plant reserve. The lucky ones—or, as the advocates of the reserve system prefer to say, the efficient ones—are likely to have more money than is needed and the others less than is required to pay the benefit scale. It is, therefore, impossible under the individual reserve plan to guarantee even the modest scale of benefits, and especially its

duration, which is provided in the law. Thus, the scheme must be modified to the extent of limiting the payment of benefits by the funds available in the reserve. It becomes an insurance scheme without insurance, or at least without assurance. The spreading of the risk is limited by the size of an individual plan, and while this may work out in industrial accidents, it is particularly dangerous in case of unemployment, which is more likely than not to affect a substantial proportion or all of the labor force of an individual plant. This was the main consideration which induced the Ohio Commission to discard the Wisconsin plan in favor of one general insurance fund.

In addition, other objections may be listed. The individual reserve plan retains a very close connection between the reserve fund and the plant management, which is a situation acceptable to the employer but very often objectionable to labor, whether justly or not makes little difference.

Yet it would be unfair to dispose of the reserve plan with these few observations without pointing out that this situation is not accidental but deliberate, that it is based upon a definite theory of the functions and possibilities of unemployment insurance. Partly, the reserve plan is based upon the acceptance of the theory that unemployment insurance is impossible as a sound insurance scheme, that it is actuarially impossible—an argument advanced extensively by insurance companies and other opponents. We shall briefly discuss these objections presently. There is, however, a more positive argument in favor of the reserve scheme, which briefly runs about as follows.

The unemployment benefit is only a palliative; it does not cure the condition. What is much more important is prevention or elimination of unemployment. Such prevention through stabilization is possible, and it is a responsibility of the employer. He must be induced and encouraged into making efforts toward regularization and stabilization of his industry. The main purpose of insurance is not so much compensation as to serve as an inducement or whip toward prevention. In the insurance process, therefore, there lies the danger of an influence adverse to prevention. If the establishment has its own reserve fund and if the premium or contribution is made de-

pendent upon the financial status of that fund, if, as an extreme measure, the employer may look forward to being relieved entirely of further contributions provided a substantial fund has accumulated, then the employer may be induced to reduce his turnover, to regularize his business for the purpose of saving part or all of the insurance premium. It is pointed out as a parallel that the greatest benefit of workmen's compensation was not so much the compensation paid as the influence it has exercised upon reduction of accidents and efforts toward industrial safety.

The question may be somewhat too intricate to go into at great length in a study intended primarily for the non-technical social worker.¹ The Ohio Commission felt that these far-reaching effects may only work out, if at all, in the very long run, that the primary function of an insurance scheme was compensation for losses, that the problem of relief of the working masses from the sufferings of unemployment was an acute one, and that no theoretical considerations should stand in the way of making for an effective system of guaranteed benefits. It may be stated in passing that there is a considerable difference of opinion and sentiment between these two plans in the many states in which unemployment-insurance legislation is contemplated. It is not at all unlikely that when the legislation is forthcoming, some of it will be of the Ohio and some of the Wisconsin plan. Only experience of the future will demonstrate conclusively the comparative advantages of the two plans.²

Another difference between the Ohio and the Wisconsin plan (although not a necessary difference between the reserve and insurance plan) is the employees' contribution, which is absent in the Wisconsin but present in the Ohio plan. Assuming that prevention is a more

¹ The author has discussed this problem more extensively in his article, "Stabilization Versus Insurance," in the *Social Service Review* for June, 1931.

² As the most obvious objection to the reserve plan is its failure of guaranteeing the benefits provided in the law in case an individual-plant reserve proves inadequate, the writer has suggested to the defenders of the reserve scheme that at least that objection could be met by creation, under the reserve plan of legislation, of a special guaranty fund. Into this fund might go a small proportion of the contributions from the various independent reserve funds, and the guaranty funds would assume responsibility whenever an individual-plant reserve fund proved inadequate to meet its obligations.

important goal than compensation, that prevention lies in the hands of industrial management, and that the premium charge may stimulate and induce such efforts at prevention, the Wisconsin plan is consistent in putting the entire cost upon the employer. To one who has had some experience in helping to put social legislation through state legislatures, it might almost seem incredible in the face of capital's opposition that a system putting the entire cost upon industry could be put through, for after all it is the premium cost that lies at the very basis of the opposition. The success of the Wisconsin plan, at least in getting through the legislature early in 1932, goes to show that "one can never tell." Though what is or was possible under pressure of La Follette's influence in the state of Wisconsin may not be possible elsewhere. Moreover, the bill was rather smuggled through by leaving the door open to voluntary action of employers as an alternative. It has not gone into effect, and there are skeptics who say that it never will, but at best the price of the theory was an extremely skimpy benefit scale, only ten weeks of benefit with a maximum of \$10, and then only if the particular fund is solvent.

While concentrating upon the employer's responsibility, the Wisconsin plan evidently lacked courage to measure that responsibility at more than 2 per cent. From that point of view alone the workmen's contribution is important, whatever other arguments may be made in favor of it or against it. However, it is only fair to point out that the reserve plan does not necessarily exclude a workmen's contribution.

OPEN PROBLEMS

The bill presented by the Ohio Commission on the whole is more or less of an outline or a skeleton. Though sixteen pages long, much of the text is verbiage, considered necessary by the legislative draftsman. The substantive provisions are very brief as compared with complicated European acts. There are two reasons for this: first, the broad powers given to the special Commission to establish rules and regulations, and, second, the difficulty of foreseeing in advance all the various problems that have arisen in European experience and the danger of forestalling answers to those problems which experience

has accumulated. Undoubtedly, the bill will have to be supplemented and some of its provisions re-written, but in this respect the experience will be no different from that of workmen's compensation legislation throughout the United States.

PARTIAL UNEMPLOYMENT

Of the many problems of this character, perhaps one more than any other, requires some consideration and that is the very difficult problem of how partial unemployment can best be handled. The Commission struggled a good deal with this problem. Many plans were suggested and tentatively decided upon. It may be frankly admitted that the plan as included in the bill is not ideal and has not satisfied all the members of the Commission. Very likely it may be changed before the bill becomes a law. Almost certainly it will be changed, and perhaps more than once, after the bill becomes a law. For it is in this field of compensation for partial unemployment that some of the most serious problems have arisen in European experience. It is not very easy to offer a definite solution, but at least an effort may be made to state the problem briefly.

At one extreme is the point of view—particularly popularized by the share-the-work movement of the last few months, and also strangely enough by the movement toward a five-day week, reduction of hours, etc.—that a part-time job is always better than total unemployment with benefit. Surely, the loss of a day or perhaps even of two days a week is not a calamity as compared with total loss of a job, and therefore a suggestion has been made that no compensation at all be provided for partial unemployment.

Obviously, this would not work out in a case of a man who has one or even two days of work a week. There must, therefore, be at least a limit placed upon the amount of employment which should deprive a man to his right of a benefit.

So far so good. But here are the dangers involved. Supposing that the minimum is placed at three days of work or half-time; there would be little inducement for a man to work three days for half-salary if he could obtain a 50 per cent wage compensation without working at all. In other words, an inducement would be created for a man to weigh his comparative advantages of working part time as

against not working at all, with the financial advantages in favor of the latter whenever the working time was three days per week or less. On the other side, it would create a tremendous encouragement to part-time work on the part of the employer, who could entirely eliminate unemployment benefits by putting his working force on half-time basis, thus paying no benefits at all. Whether that short-time basis of working with reduction in the standards of earning a living for the working population is desirable may remain a serious question. For that reason the suggestion of eliminating all benefits for part-time unemployment had to be discarded.

Take the other extreme, that all unemployment, whether partial or complete, be compensated at a standard rate of half the wages. A substantial proportion of the insurance fund might thus be dissipated in payment for loss of an occasional day or two per week in industries where such irregularity is customary and where wage levels have been adjusted to provide for such irregularity. To sail a safe course between this Scylla and Charybdis requires a great deal of ingenuity. The special formula finally agreed upon presupposes no compensation whenever the loss of time is not in excess of 40 per cent and a sliding scale of benefits between such partial and total unemployment. The scale proved to be not entirely consistent, so that situations may be imagined under which, with partial employment, the workman would be not quite as well off as when totally unemployed, a situation which, of course, would have to be corrected. The matter has been discussed here at some length only in order to point out that criticisms or objections to specific detailed provisions which must and can be modified and corrected must not be confused with criticism of the scheme as a whole or the principles underlying it.

OPPOSITION

It would, of course, be contrary to all social precedent if a proposal of such magnitude did not create a good deal of difference of opinion, did not call for a good deal of opposition. Such an opposition had first appeared when the earlier bills had been introduced in 1931, when hearings were held, when the resolution was adopted by Ohio legislature providing for the appointment of a Commission, when the Commission was appointed, when it held its hearings, and

finally when its *Report* appeared. If there were no such opposition, the presumption might well be that the proposal is not taken seriously. The early opposition was against the principle as a whole. The recent opposition is directed more specifically against the *Report*, against the bill and its various provisions, and incidentally against the Commission and its personnel.

Not all the objections and criticisms are of such cheap or sensational character. Obviously, all opposition or criticisms must be clearly divided into two definite groups: one dealing with the entire economic and social theory of unemployment insurance and the other directed against the specific provisions and actuarial basis of the particular bill. Naturally, the former type predominated before the final *Report* was issued. The latter type has come to the foreground now. That, to a large extent, must also be true of the advocacy of the bill, with this distinction which is interesting and important from a theoretical point of view: (1) It is much easier to defend the general principles of unemployment insurance than specific provisions of any particular bill. (2) It is much easier to attack a specific bill than the general principles of unemployment insurance.

Strategically, therefore, the opponents may have that advantage unless it is clearly understood and also made clear to the public at large as well as to the legislature that while the principles are fundamental, the details are not, that the details are subject to change, that no claim of perfection is made for the particular bill, that criticism of any of its provisions, no matter how well it may be founded, is not an argument against the proposal as a whole, that suggestions for amendment are welcome and always in order, that such amendments may be made now or at any time after the passage of the bill, that as far as possible the question should be fought out on fundamentals rather than on details.

If that were possible it would be an ideal situation. It would raise the tone of discussion to the level of a meeting of the American Economic Association or the American Sociological Society, but, unfortunately, a state legislature is a body of an entirely different character. Employers' associations and chambers of commerce do not approach the problem in an objective and academic spirit. When

profits are threatened, passions run high—hence a fight which is beginning to assume ugly aspects, hence the uncertainty of the outcome.

SOCIAL ALIGNMENT

What social and economic groups should be in favor and what in opposition to the bill? That is a question of logic. What social and economic groups are in favor and what are against the bill? That is a matter of observation, of education, and of propaganda, which is sometimes misleading. When the two points of view are compared, the result is a somewhat confusing picture. It may be worth while analyzing the primary economic groups and their attitudes in Ohio to the proposed measure.

Labor.—Labor is the sufferer under the present conditions; labor is the beneficiary; labor should be the advocate; labor should—and judging by European experience labor does—fight for unemployment insurance with tooth and nail.

Well, American conditions are different. Until comparatively recently organized articulate labor fought against it. It has now officially changed its attitude, by a curious coincidence, at the meeting held in the state of Ohio. It is, unfortunately, well known, though not officially stated, that even then there was not any real enthusiasm. The resolution was jammed down the throat of the legislative committee largely by two men, Green and Lewis. So, unfortunately, labor is not particularly militant in Ohio or anywhere else for the enactment of the law. As a representative of labor from Central Europe asked me, with the characteristic shrug of his shoulders: "I cannot understand it, that you and people like yourself should be forced to go to labor, plead with labor, argue with labor, in favor of an unemployment-insurance scheme." But unintelligible as the situation may be to the European observer, it only repeats the state of affairs with workmen's compensation or health insurance in the years gone by. Perhaps it is this attitude of labor that makes "the social reformer" an important factor in American life.

Social workers have finally been convinced. It was the impact of the terrific forces of the depression, the breakdown of private philanthropic effort, the difficulty of obtaining public funds, the inadequacy

of public relief, the lowering of standards, all conditions which the social workers did not have to study academically, which they have been observing and living with for over three years, that have converted the profession of social work to unemployment insurance.

The church, by and large, renders its support. It does not go into abstruse economic reasonings. It sees the immorality of the present situation. The support of the church is valuable. If it could be assumed that the church—of whatever denomination—really exercises the influence in life that some claim for it, there could be little question of the success of the bill.

The attitude of *business groups* is necessarily more complicated. Even assuming full understanding and appreciation of the social advantages of the scheme proposed, their attitude necessarily must be colored by the real or assumed effect upon their own interests. At best there must, therefore, be an internal conflict between the ethical and the purely business attitude, with the resultant of the two conflicting forces colored by group adherence to the principle that "business and sentiment do not mix." However, as in many other economic problems, the interests of the employing and business classes need not be assumed to be absolutely uniform. By and large, three business groups may be recognized: manufacturer, trade, and agriculture. By a sanctified American tradition agriculture is here included with business, though in 1933 this classification may be subject to considerable questioning. Even under best circumstances agriculture is a mixed group combining business with self-employed labor.

The people of Ohio have already been informed that *agriculture* is opposed to unemployment insurance. This by no means indicates that the farmers have been polled on the question. It means only that the official representatives of the farming class (the master of the Ohio Grange was a member of the Commission and did not sign the majority *Report*) speak on behalf of all the farmers of Ohio. Yet it is quite obvious that in no way can the farmers' interest be injured by the law. They would not be affected as employers because farm laborers are not included. They would not be affected as taxpayers because no state contribution is proposed. In so far as their sons go to the city to become industrial wage workers they would profit by unemployment insurance, but above all they would profit

by the increased market for food stuff of local production because of an increased food consumption by the unemployed.

Commercial capital has not yet expressed itself except in so far as the chambers of commerce assume to speak on its behalf. Owners of commercial establishments are covered by the law and would have to contribute their share to the funds. On the other hand, the whole purpose of the unemployment-insurance fund is to maintain normal standards of living of the unemployed and their families, which means normal standards of consumption. The millions gathered in the funds to be distributed among the unemployed, whether currently during normal years or more rapidly and in a larger measure in years of depression, represent that much purchasing power, practically all of which would flow toward commercial establishments and real estate owners. A thorough understanding of the operation of the law should make commercial capital enthusiastic in favor of the system, but evidences of such thorough understanding as yet are lacking.

There remains the most important group, whose opposition has been vociferous and influential, entirely out of proportion to the size of the group, but resulting from its economic and, therefore, political influences. This is the group of *manufacturing capital*. The obvious influence is the tax upon the pay-roll. All other consequences, social or economic, are merely inferential. Again, "business and sentiment don't mix." Surely, not always. They do sometimes. There are employers in Ohio as elsewhere who retain the sense of human responsibility for the welfare of the labor force. The sense of responsibility is sometimes expressed in definite measures, in so-called welfare work, even though the financial strain of the last four years has put a considerable damper upon these noble experiments. More frequently this sense of responsibility manifests itself in a tolerant attitude toward proposals for social control. As a rule, however, this remains an individual matter. The ideal of sound business practice so thoroughly permeates the employing class that the exceptions are frequently apologetic and not very articulate. Individual employers are found to be much more ready to express their acceptance of this or similar proposals in private than they are ready to do that in public. They prefer to "have their name kept out of this."

As against this hesitant attitude there stand the vociferous chambers of commerce—in Ohio as elsewhere. The chambers of commerce and similar organizations must have an official "attitude" on matters of labor and social legislation. They must be against it. That is what they are formed for, to protect capital. That is the reason their secretaries and research directors are hired. It is for this purpose that dues are paid to the chambers of commerce. The professional defenders of interests of capital are efficient. They are wide awake to possibilities. They watch out for them. They rush into press or into legislative lobbies when necessary and boldly speak on behalf of the interests of employers. They usually know the ropes about publicity, and thus an attitude of a powerful opposition is created. An upheaval in public opinion sometimes overcomes this pernicious influence. In absence of such upheaval the chambers of commerce and their kindred organizations unfortunately have their way with American legislators. Thus, there is a considerable conflict in Ohio in efforts to influence public opinion for or against the recommendations of the Ohio Commission. In this conflict the Commission's *Report* has made a case. Sympathizers with the movement are satisfied to draw upon the Commission's ammunition. On the other side, the negative has brought forth a large number of objections and these must be briefly considered.

OBJECTIONS

It may be worth while to classify these objections into certain definite groups. From one point of view they may be divided into three groups: (1) real objections, arising out of conflict of economic interests; (2) imaginary objections, owing perhaps to misunderstanding of the proposal and its economic consequences; and (3) last but not least, deliberate misrepresentations. The designation of the third group one may recognize as not a pleasant one; and yet it is idle to close one's eyes to the fact that such deliberate misrepresentations, such catch arguments, expected to mislead an audience, are a common tool of political and economic conflicts. Yet it may be preferable to leave it to the reader to assign the place of the various objections made into one or the other of these three groups.

A somewhat more objective and perhaps less objectionable classification would be as follows: business objections, financial objec-

tions, economic objections, political objections, technical objections, constitutional objections, and social objections. Perhaps to these specific groupings a miscellaneous group might be added. While specific objections appear very serious, usually some levity may be found in this miscellaneous group.

BUSINESS OBJECTIONS

These are obvious and real. A 2 per cent tax upon the pay-roll is proposed. It is an additional factor of cost. At no time can the employer be expected to welcome any additional load upon the cost of production. It is argued, therefore, that the charge is confiscatory, that it will cut heavily into profits, that it is particularly objectionable during a period of depression, and moreover, that being limited to industry of one state will create a competitive disadvantage and drive industries out of Ohio into the neighboring states.

The objection is not novel. It has been advanced against compensation, against child-labor legislation and other similar measures. It cannot and need not be explained away. A tax is a tax; and yet a 2 per cent tax on wages represents on an average less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of a tax upon the cost of the product. Normal American industry does not work on so narrow a margin as all that. That an additional tax may be objectionable during a period of deep depression has been recognized by the Commission, which suggested that the collection of premium should not begin until January 1, 1934. When the *Report* was prepared in the fall of 1932, there was reason to believe that a turn for the better had already been made. Conditions during the last four or five months have not justified this optimism,²² and the bill introduced into legislature provides for a postponement of the law going into effect for another year.

Equally real is the argument of interstate competition, but equally exaggerated. Differences in wages and in other production costs as between state and state are many, and most of them much greater than the tax proposed. Similar threats have been made in compensation insurance; and yet no one is able to establish any interstate migration of industries having resulted from compensation costs. That a uniform system, applicable to the entire country, would be much

²² This was written in January, 1933. The upward turn of industrial activity since April has changed the situation, but unfortunately too late for legislative action.

more preferable may be granted without further discussion; but surely the political organization of the country in forty-eight independent states cannot serve as an excuse for stopping every effort toward regulation of industry and protection of labor. Carried to its logical conclusion, the argument would lead to an absurd situation. Moreover, enough experience exists in American industry to indicate that a somewhat more liberal policy toward labor has not ruined but on the contrary has helped American industry by creating an *esprit de corps*, a sense of greater security with consequent greater efficiency on the part of labor and even greater loyalty.

FINANCIAL OBJECTIONS

These may safely be included among the second group under the first classification, as imaginary reasons which may produce real fears, nevertheless. Thus, it is argued that the payment of premium of 3 per cent, no matter how distributed, would result in the withdrawal of enormous quantities of capital from active industry into frozen assets because the funds must be invested in government bonds. Unfortunately, even some students of economics have lent the weight of their academic standing in support of this argument. Yet on the face of it the argument is absurd. The necessity of investing the reserves of the fund into government bonds, whether national, state, or municipal, does not increase the volume of such bonds. If a purchase of the bond by the fund from any individual freezes a certain amount of capital, obviously the sale of the bond by the individual to the fund liberates an equal amount of capital. On the other hand, the release of the purchasing capacity represented by these reserves in years of depression must prove a financial boon.

Again the argument has been advanced in Ohio and elsewhere that the sale of a large volume of bonds in years of depression would prove to be a catastrophic influence in the security market. Perhaps some such influence might result if millions of bonds were to be sold at once, although even then the influence would be temporary only. As a matter of fact, even in years of worst depression the fund would still have considerable income, although at such times the outgo would exceed the income and a gradual unloading of the bonds would take place, that is, provided it might not be considered preferable to

use the bonds as collateral for credit to be obtained through the usual credit channels, or in years of extreme depression, from special credit institutions as has been done by insurance companies, banks, and railroads during the last two years. At worst, however, the influence of this factor is tremendously exaggerated, if one remembers the volume of bond transactions that take place in the New York money market. These transactions are measured by billions. The necessity which would have arisen in 1930 to dispose of some twenty-five million dollars' worth of bonds and in 1931 even of seventy-five million dollars would hardly produce a ripple in the New York bond market, for it is a well-known fact that in years of depression there is no dearth of money for investment but only a scarcity of money for speculative and business investments. United States government bonds have stood up well under the pressure of the last three and one-half years.

ECONOMIC OBJECTIONS

To a large extent these have been brought forth by professional economists, although in justice to the economic profession it must be pointed out that the preponderant sentiment and opinion, as expressed at the Cincinnati meetings of the various learned societies, was in favor of unemployment insurance.

Thus it is argued that the entire cost of insurance will come out of wages and, therefore, present an excessive burden upon labor. The problems of incidence of social insurance have been discussed in Europe for several decades. No definite answer acceptable to all the theorists has been forthcoming as yet, but the incidence may be distributed in unknown quantities and probably in unequal quantities, depending upon the vast variety of conflicting factors, between the employer and his profits and the employee and his wages and the consumer and the price he pays for the goods. If so diffused, the influence of the cost would be largely dissipated. Surely, it cannot hit with full force all the three interested groups, and it is not good sound theory to try to frighten all the three of them, to argue with the employer that he cannot stand this cost, to tell the workman that he will pay it all in the reduced wages, and then insist that the resultant burden upon price will interfere in the interstate competition.

A learned professor of one of our greatest universities must be

given credit for advancing, with considerable conviction, a more profound economic argument, that in guaranteeing to the unemployed a steady income, unemployment insurance dangerously interferes with the process of deflation of wages which is necessary to expedite recovery from an economic depression.¹ Usually, British experience is quoted in support of this argument. Whatever the British experience may be, an income of half the wages or less, limited to sixteen weeks, is admittedly not overgenerous. If the argument is consistent, if it present the cold and unrelenting logic of the situation, as all deductive economic reasoning is assumed to do, what are the practical conclusions to be derived from it? That the unemployed must not be given any assistance at all, that the same efforts would be exercised by public relief, that the most effective deflation of wages and readjustment of industrial conditions would be achieved by letting the unemployed starve.

Whether this cold-blooded economic reasoning is good economics or not, it discloses an attitude toward social conditions which, in the presence of twelve million unemployed, might prove excellent fuel to stimulate a social revolution. One necessarily wonders whether twelve million American workmen are quite ready to have starvation or the threat of starvation regulate the process of wage determination. It is not a new theory of wages. There was a man by the name of Malthus who preached it some two hundred years ago. It is an interesting commentary on the effects of the depression that we should come back to that theory after the years of pride we have taken in the American standard of wages, American standard of living, collective bargaining, dependency of industry upon mass consumption, etc.

Another economic argument, more or less theoretical and directed partly against unemployment insurance in general but particularly against the so-called Ohio plan, is the charge (already referred to above) that it will interfere with the more important efforts at regularization and stabilization of industry. English experience is usual-

¹ "There can be little doubt," says Professor Frank D. Graham, "that unemployment insurance, by enabling the worker to hold out against wage reductions, can prolong indefinitely the evils insurance is designed to combat" (*The Abolition of Unemployment* [Princeton, 1932]).

ly pointed to, it being assumed that England failed to solve its problem of unemployment because it did not want to and not because it did not know how. It is argued that having "solved" the problem of suffering resulting from unemployment by providing insurance, both industry and the state will lose their interest in the matter. It would appear obvious, however, first that a limited benefit of sixteen weeks does not solve the problem entirely, that the problem of unemployment to industry is not so much the problem of suffering of the masses as a problem of loss of profits, and surely American industry did not lack any motive for fighting unemployment and fighting the depression. The obvious difficulty was not the absence of a motive but the absence of power and knowledge.

Other economic arguments may be passed over very briefly. It is claimed, for instance, that unemployment insurance will attract labor from the farm to the city. The fact is disregarded that under the Ohio plan a substantial period of employment is prerequisite to obtaining the right to benefits. One wonders how many men would deliberately leave the farm, if there is a living on the farm, for the city to find a job, unless a job were available, and work for twenty-six weeks in order to acquire the right to receive 50 per cent of the wages, after waiting three weeks without any compensation. The argument has also been advanced that the solution of the entire problem of unemployment lies in the direction of inducing industrial wage workers to go back to the farm. Considering that most of them have no farm to go back to, and also considering the present economic status of agriculture, it would seem to be sufficient to mention the argument without going into any lengthy contradiction.

POLITICAL ARGUMENTS

It is stated that the system would create a tremendous bureaucratic machinery, with political affiliations, that it could not be administered honestly or sufficiently because no government undertaking ever is, that there would be political favoritism in the distribution of benefits, that it would unload upon the state an expensive army of employees. Perhaps the mere enumeration of these arguments should suffice. The one interesting aspect of this line of argument which is being indulged in at great length by the Ohio

Chamber of Commerce and its spokesmen is just this: that the most forceful expression of lack of confidence in government always comes from those who are very vociferous in the expressions of their faith in the sanctity of the American Constitution. The logic of the argument may perhaps best be expressed as follows: The more sacred you hold the Constitution of the United States and of your own state, the less faith must you have in all the instrumentalities of government created by those constitutions. The line of argument should be of great interest to professors of logic or psychology, or both.

TECHNICAL OBJECTIONS

"Unemployment-insurance legislation is undesirable or harmful because unemployment insurance is a technical impossibility." Thus, bluntly summarized, the fundamental technical objection assumes something of a character of a bad joke in view of the existence of unemployment insurance in some form or another in every European country. Nevertheless, this objection is employed in the insistence of the opposition that "unemployment is not insurable." By this is meant that it cannot be made a subject of sound insurance. It cannot be made actuarially solvent. Scientific rates cannot be computed. Financial breakdown and involency of the fund is inevitable, etc.⁴

This charge originated in a large insurance company in New York City, which only a few years earlier had definitely announced its desire to enter the field of unemployment insurance as a private carrier, had labored to put through New York legislature the necessary enactments to make it legal but had a striking change of heart within the last two years after the proposal was vetoed by Governor Roosevelt. Since then a number of pamphlets in criticism of the theory of unemployment insurance have been issued by the same insurance company, and the arguments advanced in these later pamphlets have received wide publicity in the general press and particularly in the publications of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and similar organizations in other states.

The whole question may appear entirely too technical for critical

⁴ This subject is treated by the writer at somewhat greater length in the *Report of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance*, Part II, chap. viii, "Is Unemployment Insurable?" The argument may, therefore, be only very briefly summarized.

consideration by anyone outside of the actuarial or statistical professions. The basis for this technical objection reduces itself largely to two statements: first, there are not enough statistical data to compute a scientific rate; and, second, incidence of unemployment is so irregular that it is futile to expect that any such dependable data can be obtained. The first difficulty may be admitted within certain limitations. The second objection is a mere assumption. That new forms of insurance must be begun on the basis of insufficient data has been the experience throughout the history of insurance. There is only one fundamental difficulty with unemployment statistics as a basis for unemployment insurance—that it is subject to greater fluctuations and, therefore, requires a larger volume of experience and longer exposure.

In support of this objection the so-called breakdown of the British system is usually quoted. Either through ignorance or through wilful misrepresentation, the opposition usually fails to point out that the British unemployment insurance system did not break down, to begin with, for it is still operating to a tremendous advantage of the English people. Second, that it has long ago ceased to be a mere insurance scheme and deliberately became, to a large extent, a direct system of public relief of the unemployed.

As the great English expert Beveridge has succinctly stated, the British unemployment benefit is one "based not upon contract but upon status." Moreover, as is pointed out in a second volume of the *Report of the Ohio Commission*, even under those difficulties the British system would not have got into financial difficulties if it had not failed to adjust its premium to an increasing unemployment rate. When this objection is not directed against unemployment insurance in general but against the proposed Ohio scheme, the criticism becomes even sharper and more specific. The Commission's computation as to what would have happened in Ohio had the act been adopted in 1922 shows that the accumulated reserves would have been ample to meet all the claims upon the fund throughout 1930 and 1931, would have come to the beginning of 1932 with a small reserve of \$12,000,000, which undoubtedly would not have been sufficient to see the fund through 1933 and subsequent years without some financial assistance.

As the actuary responsible for the computations, the writer is convinced that these computations are too conservative, that many factors have not been accounted for which would have undoubtedly reduced the expenditures, because it was not possible to account for them accurately. But even waiving that aside and accepting the figures as of absolute accuracy (which, as a matter of fact, has not been claimed for them), what would they show at worst? Not that unemployment insurance cannot be made sound, but that the 3 per cent ratio may prove inadequate to face a long crisis of such extreme gravity. The criticism thus becomes merely an argument for a higher rate, say $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent. There is nothing sacred about the 3 per cent rate. It certainly is not an argument against actuarial soundness of any scheme, even if it were acceptable as an argument against the actuarial soundness of the particular scheme proposed. What the opposition refuses to see is that adjustment of insurance rates, either upward or downward, is not at all an uncommon thing in various branches of insurance; that this inadequacy of funds would not develop suddenly; and that, therefore, ample time would be available to make the necessary adjustments. The very fact that the figures presented can be used to prove the inadequacy of the rate should be convincing evidence that the whole plan is not one that lies outside of the pale of actuarial tests.

Many other minor technical difficulties have been raised, but they hardly deserve of very careful rejoinder. It is stated, for instance, that this plan is intended to strengthen the labor unions, that it will favor them at the expense of unorganized labor, that it is impossible to differentiate between voluntary and involuntary unemployment, that the unemployment benefit will become a strike benefit, etc. Many of these questions can be easily answered by reference to the bill as it stands. All of them must be appraised in the light of the administrative power that is given to the Commission to provide necessary regulations. None of these problems is particularly novel. All of them had to be considered by British executive administrators as well as courts. There is a large body of experience available with which few American students are familiar. The fact that compensation has created thousands of legal issues requiring thousands of de-

cisions under forty-eight different jurisdictions is no evidence that compensation insurance is impossible or harmful. All problems of economic and social relationships are likely to become complicated, difficulties are likely to arise, and mooted questions will have to be settled by judgment and compromise and adjustment. As the English would say, "it is not cricket" to isolate one obscure point in a bill, exaggerate its apparent shortcomings, and use that as a basis for judgment that the whole proposal is economically unsound and socially harmful, but it is exactly this method that is being used; and every statement of an English statesman in criticism of any one point in the British unemployment-insurance system is exaggerated and used as a confusing argument that unemployment insurance in Ohio is impossible.

The practically unanimous opinion of all English writers on the subject that in face of all the problems and difficulties which have arisen the unemployment-insurance system as a whole is fundamentally sound, necessary, and could not be destroyed—that opinion is usually carefully disregarded.

No attempt will be made here to deal with such social objections as are summarized in the word "dole" or by the Chamber of Commerce that unemployment insurance will destroy "the initiative, self-reliance, thrift and self-sacrificing foresight of the individual and the family"! In spite of the fact that cities, counties, states, and the federal government have seen their financial structure crack under the burden of appropriations for relief of the unemployed, a combination community chest—city, county, state, federal—government dole is still not considered demoralizing, while insurance payments from a contributory insurance fund would be. The argument may be allowed to stand on its own merits.

What the condition of prolonged idleness, worry, uncertainty, hopelessness, combined with the meager support from outside, must do to the great American or "human" virtues of courage, initiative, and self-reliance, social case-workers know without being told by chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations. Whether this demoralizing effect would be less noticeable if, in addition to all

these destructive factors, were to be added hunger, cold, and homelessness, is a problem for social psychologists and psychiatrists to answer.

The implied criticism of all unemployment-insurance plans, and particularly of the Ohio plan, that it would give everybody—employers, the state, as well as the employees—a sense of false security and deflect attention from the more important business of stabilization and regularization and prevention may also be classified under general social as well as perhaps economic objections.

Beveridge and many other English economists are inclined to blame upon the unemployment insurance system the failure of England to bring forth in all these years a workable plan for elimination of unemployment. We in this country evidently were very much more fortunate in not having had this pernicious influence of the dole system to interfere with our constructive thinking. How much more we have been successful in stopping the depression is something for the unprejudiced observer to decide.

LEGISLATIVE NOTE

Bills embodying substantially the provisions of the bill recommended by the Unemployment Insurance Commission were introduced in both Houses of Legislature in January (Senate Bill 46 by Senator Harrison and House Bill 142 by Representative Keifer). The bills were referred to the Senate Committee on Labor and the House Committee on Insurance, respectively. After three joint hearings before the two Committees, the House Insurance Committee on March 9 recommended the bill for passage by a vote of ten to one. At this writing (May 1) no action has as yet been taken on the bill in the Senate Labor Committee.

On March 30 the Legislature went into recess until May 15. There is no limitation on the type of legislation which may be considered when the sessions reopen so that the bill, at least theoretically, still has a chance. Its fate, at least as far as the immediate step is concerned, seems to lie with the Rules Committee of the House, in whose hands is the decision as to what legislation goes on the calendar for consideration. As yet, the administration has refused to use any pressure upon the Rules Committee so that the chances of the bill appear to be very slim.

I. M. RUBINOW

CINCINNATI, OHIO



REPORT TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES
of the
CLEVELAND ASSOCIATED CHARITIES

September 20, 1933

On August first the Associated Charities turned over to the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration (C.C.R.A.) 34,000 families, keeping approximately 1,000. By January, after our students have been worked in, our maximum will be 1,400 families which is a drop of more than 50% from our 1929 level. This does not represent by any means that number of families where there was a definite need for A.C. service. In fact, it is less than 1/3 of our Family Welfare Division load as it stood in July. The rest of that load had to be turned back to the County, part to aides and some to the relatively few trained workers in the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration. In a survey made of three district loads in 1932 we estimated that 1/3 of all the families under the care of the Associated Charities, then about 22,000, needed the services of a trained case worker. Now with approximately 37,000 families dependent on C.C.R.A., it is evident that trained service will be far from adequate. All this gives some indication of how difficult it was to make a choice of families to remain with the A.C.

In the families selected by the A.C. the following groups stand out:

(1) Health problems with emotional complications demanding case work service. One visitor tells of a family where the man had a broken back. When she saw him the first time he was in bed and his morale was at zero. The worker has by degrees brought him to the point where he has been willing to try his strength and re-educate himself into an entirely new adjustment to life. He is doing light work at the office and is taking a lot of responsibility for his family. In another case, a man is working enough to partially support his family. His wife has tuberculosis and had refused treatment, failing to face the whole situation. The visitor has been able to bring about a great change in the woman's acceptance of her condition and willingness to work with the nurse. She is now able to be up and around and is following the directions of the nurse under the visitor's constant reassurance and steadying influence. Sickness of the soul many times requires more skillful treatment than sickness of the body and usually our workers have to deal with that in some form.

(2) Families where morale is cracking under the long strain of unemployment and a very definite service is needed to prevent complete break. For example: an untrained aide referred to one of our trained workers a family where an unemployed man was extremely cooperative, and had tried all suggestions for work. He was disturbed because his wife was nagging him continually and things seemed near a break. When

our worker went in it was learned for the first time that the woman was in terror for fear she would kill the children. Because of insanity in her family she thought she was going insane and her worry made her irritable and difficult to get along with. It has been possibly by giving her frequent chances to talk with the visitor and having a mental specialist examine her to allay her fears and quiet down the whole situation, but much time, skill in drawing out the woman's story, and a great deal of understanding have been necessary to do this. Frequently we have unemployed families referred where the men are threatening suicide because of worry. There aren't enough trained workers in the County to handle all such cases and the untrained aides have neither the time nor skill to deal with the more delicate human problems.

(3) In quite a number of families where there are grown children turning in all their wages over a period of years with no other income in the home, we find intense discouragement or irritation with threats of leaving home. One such boy was all ready to become a bootlegger. By many talks with him the visitor has been able to keep him in his home and working regularly. She budgeted with him so that a little leeway was made for his clothes. The chance to blow off steam to someone who understood him has meant a lot.

(4) Young couples living with relatives where there is a great deal of friction with an impending break.

(5) Child problems where it is necessary to work closely with the parents.

(6) In addition to the above we are taking on situations involving no relief where we can give consultation service in problems of family relationships.

Because our budget is limited and selection had to be so carefull made, two other factors have entered into our selection of families. First, we have taken into account what the chances were of being able to bring about definite beneficial results with our case work service (prognosis) and, second, whether the families wanted the service part of our work and asked for that as well as for the relief. We hope to be able to increase our amount of service to the community if the proportion of families not needing immediate relief increases to anything like that of past years when a normal proportion was 3 out of 4. At present nine out of ten of our families are receiving relief.

Together, the public and private family agencies seek to cover the field of family welfare in this community. For the present, the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration is concerned largely with the needs of families whose problems are related to unemployment and to other economic ills. Relief is given on an individualized basis to the thirty-seven thousand families now under care, skilled service also being available to a limited number of families.

The Associated Charities' income from the Welfare Federation for the rest of the year is \$41,667 a month and a preliminary estimate for August shows us well within that figure. However, with such sweeping shifts in our whole plan of action we are going to have to feel our way for several months before we know how our present plans of operation will work out. General needs of Community Fund agencies are being presented to the various sub-committees this week for a preliminary discussion. No budgets will be accepted until after the campaign.

In order to live within our budget it has been necessary to cut our staff to a skeleton basis. Instead of 12 district offices which we have had for many years, we have cut to six, leaving half as many secretaries and supervisors. The whole city is covered, however. Our senior case workers group which numbered 37 in 1929 before the depression is now 14. Our student group is also much less than the former number.

At Main Office we have reduced correspondingly, there being 9 major positions unfilled that we had in 1929. Last week we moved to the 7th floor of the same building. (We hope you will come and see us.) The space is much smaller but it is compact and will adequately house us for the present, at the same time releasing the 3rd floor offices where we were to the County Relief Administration. It will be beneficial to all concerned to have our agencies close together as our working relationships are so intertwined.

A list of our new district office names and locations was sent to all the Board and Life Members.

Right here may I digress a moment from the A.C. to speak of the County situation? Actually it is not digressing from the A.C. because the staff of the County is under the leadership of our own A.C. people who have the ideals and traditions of social work which have been built up through the years with A.C. Eight of our twelve district secretaries are in the C.C.R.A. as well as supervisors, interviewers and Main Office office leaders, capable, staunch, willing to step out on a new and extremely difficult social work undertaking which needs to be well done if the families of Cleveland are going to be safeguarded. Whether or not there should have been a public relief department in the past is now a theoretical question for we were forced to take the plunge. I can guarantee there isn't a finer group of social workers in any community handling this difficult unemployment situation.

These first few months of getting under way are going to be particularly trying. This community should not think of our County group as an abstract political unit but should remember they are our own fine workers, trying to do the best possible job for Cleveland's unemployed, but working in the more circumscribed setting which has to be true of any public agency. We, the Board and staff of the A.C. need to give our backing and influence to keep standards high in this new piece

of public work. It's our child.

During the past few weeks it has been gratifying to hear from several of the other social agencies an expression of satisfaction in having A.C. resume its normal functions. They say because of our great pressure of work they haven't been able to refer to us many of the service cases where families would have greatly benefitted by case work. Glancing through a 1928 report I noticed that about 30% of our problems that year were due to physical and mental disabilities, 45% to family maladjustments - domestic difficulty, desertion, child problems, etc., and 25% to economic problems, only a small proportion of which was unemployment. So it is true that we are resuming our normal function, but in addition to our responsibility for doing an effective piece of work with our clients, our agency has a new task. If family welfare as a whole in Cleveland is to be well done, the A.C. should act as pathfinder and standard bearer for the public agency. The private agency will always have to try out methods of work and uphold quality in order to pass on to the public, standards which have been tested and approved. In the fields of children's work and health we have similar situations already existing. The Humane Society and Children's Bureau gave people and standards of work to the County Child Welfare Board when it was established and are backing it in matters affecting the quality of work. The Anti-Tuberculosis League blazes the trail in health education where tuberculosis is involved and as their work indicates how needs can be met effectively, the Public Health Department accepts the responsibility for meeting them.

To all who have watched the trends in Cleveland during the past 20 years it is obvious that we have never seen as much devastation to family life as this period has brought. Even if industrial conditions were radically improved, the aftermath of debt, impairment to health and morale, and industrial maladjustment would take years to work out. Many men and women are never going to fit in anywhere again. Such a long period of unemployment is going to show up many new problems among young people.

Because people live in families, the severe strain and stresses that arise when adversity comes are peculiarly the job of the family agency to tackle. That agency is at the very heart of the social work fabric and is basic to any social work program.

The continuance of a private family agency in this period of uncertainty is an insurance to Cleveland that this worthwhile social work structure built by Mr. Jackson, the Board

and others will remain in these years ahead to hold its central position in a community besieged with the problems of troubled people caught in the wreckage of this depression.

Turning from the general to the specific, as we face the next few months we see the immediate problems of the A.C. to be:

(1) Financial insecurity. No one knows how much the Community Fund can raise this fall.

(2) Getting our new plan of procedure across to the community. Many people misunderstand the present situation and think the A.C. has ceased to exist.

(3) We are faced with a lower salary scale for our case workers than that in other cities and there is much demand for their services because of the expansion of public relief and the necessity for family trained people. We find in some of the larger cities there have been no cuts or only small cuts. There is grave danger of losing our good workers.

(4) Our program of readjustment is an exploratory matter at this stage and will necessitate unusual flexibility and resourcefulness on the part of all of us.

Balancing these problems, we have some points of strength:

(1) In spite of the fact that our staff is so much smaller, the quality is fine and our workers are going forward eagerly in an effort to do an even more effective case work job, now that we are on a less hectic basis. You can be proud of your staff.

(2) We have the A.C. traditions of good standards of work which have been built up by the Board and staff over the years, so we have something to live up to.

(3) There is still the momentum of having been before the public so completely for the past three years. This should give us some standing in trying to interpret ourselves now.

(4) The time is ripe to tell people what we are doing. They know something has happened but they are not sure what our present status is. Maybe this is the best chance we have ever had to emphasize the value of service.



NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 28, 1933

Rabbi A. H. Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Confirming the conversation Senator Wagner had with you over the telephone, the National Labor Board would like you to act as its representative in trying to adjust and to settle a labor dispute that has arisen at the Joseph and Feiss Company.

Mr. Ben Peppercorn, Manager of the Cleveland Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, transmitted a number of affidavits to us charging that the company has been discharging employees for joining a clothing workers union. The affidavits are signed by about thirty people.

Mr. Paul L. Feiss, in answer to our inquiry, wrote that none of the employees were laid off or discharged because of joining any union. They said that they could not give any more definite reply to our request for information.

The Board would like you to get in touch both with Mr. Feiss and Mr. Peppercorn to inquire into the details of the dispute and to try to secure a settlement.

If any question should arise about which you feel you need information from the Board, please feel free to call us up at our expense. However, we want you to use your own good judgment in adjusting the dispute in any way that you can get the parties to agree.

Sincerely yours,

W. M. Leiserson

W. M. Leiserson, Secretary
National Labor Board.

WML:S

These nineteen workers represent only a small percentage of the workers who have been discharged since July of this year -- 134 all told. Of these nineteen, two were re-employed before my conference with Mr. Paul Feiss. One of the nineteen was let off only after she refused to take another position in the shop. But she is now back in the factory. One quit his job voluntarily. He stated that he was leaving the city. Still another was

10-11-33

offered a job in the factory at the time she left, but refused. Still another has been notified to report for work this week.

In the case of the others, The Joseph and Feiss Co. maintains that they were laid off either because their work was unsatisfactory or because the particular department at the time was over-manned.

I have no way of going beyond these facts. They seem to indicate that the company has not been engaged in the practise of discharging people because they had joined a labor union.

I am to have another conference with Mr. Peppercorn of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America on Friday morning. I would appreciate any suggestions which you would make to me in the handling of this matter.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AMS:MK

[1933]

A Sermon on 7 April 1932
A.H. Silver

Pre-Publication Release.

A little over a year ago, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, in a sermon in which he discussed steps he would take to end the depression if given unlimited authority, forecast so remarkably action that has now been taken by the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt that it seems fitting at this time to recall to mind certain portions of the distinguished Rabbi's sermon at that time.

As a first step, Rabbi Silver stated, he would institute a vast construction program, to put men to work, with the Federal Government being called upon to advance credit to counties and municipalities in order to forward this construction program. Recent activities of the new Administration are certainly along these lines. President Roosevelt's reforestation program is a part of a determined effort to find work for our vast army of unemployed.

Rabbi Silver further stated that he would call upon the Federal Government to back an adequate relief program, to supplement the private and state relief measures then in effect. At the Conference he held with the Governors of the States on March 6th of this year, President Roosevelt said this: "The primary duty (of providing relief for the unemployed) is that of the locality, the city, county, town; if they fail,-----, the next responsibility is on the States, and they have to do all they can, and if it is proved that they cannot do any more and the funds are still insufficient, it is the duty of the Federal Government to step in."

The distinguished Cleveland Rabbi condemned in no uncertain terms the governmental bureaucracy that has grown up in the past twenty years, and suggested the scrapping of half of the numerous interlapping and overlapping departments of our Federal Government. Certainly the present Administration is giving every indication of a determination to do just that!

A year ago, Rabbi Silver voiced his opposition to the soldiers' bonus, and certainly there can be no question of doubt upon the President's stand on the Bonus issue. His very first utterance from the White House, on the night of March 5th, was an appeal to the American Legion for support in his campaign against the forces of the depression.

A year ago, Rabbi Silver suggested compulsory unemployment insurance for our workers, and a general reduction in the hours of labor. "Here is at the present writing every indication that the second of these proposals will be acted upon, with the enactment of legislation enforcing the "thirty-hour week."

At the time of Rabbi Silver's sermon, a New York publication whose editor we are happy to number among our friends, heartily endorsed the various points developed by the Rabbi in his sermon, and which we have compared above with the steps now being taken at Washington to combat the depression. We take this occasion to commend our friend for his acumen in realizing the value of the course of action proposed by Rabbi Silver, and to congratulate the latter upon the fact that his sermon of a year ago is now receiving in no small measure the endorsement of our present national administration. Perhaps the Rabbi builded better than he knew when he gave voice to his message to the American people in Cleveland last April.

From The Consumers' League of Ohio,
341 Engineers' Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

February 12, 1934.

To Members of the League:

On February 5, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York introduced, with the backing of the administration, a National Security Bill (S. 2616). The bill proposes the collection by the Federal government of an excise tax of 5% of the payrolls of private corporations and individuals employing more than ten persons, with the exception of certain industries and of wages and salaries over \$250 a month. Employers who contribute to state unemployment insurance funds will have credited against this tax the full amount of their payment to state funds.

The bill is designed to encourage states to pass compulsory unemployment insurance laws. It should eliminate the cry of "unfair competition" by employers as the industries of every state will thus be equally taxed. In addition it offers a powerful incentive to the states to set up unemployment insurance systems. Ohio is one of the pioneer states in working for unemployment insurance. The enactment by Congress of the Wagner Bill would give a tremendous push to the effort here. The depression has dramatized the need for unemployment insurance.

You can help by communicating promptly with our senators from Ohio: Hon. Robert J. Bulkley, and Hon. Simeon Fess, at the Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

Senator Wagner is to speak in Cleveland Wednesday evening, February 14th, at 8 P.M. at the Temple, 105th & Ansel Road. His subject is "Labor Under the New Deal". General admission 50 cents.

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A new guide post has appeared to aid the conscientious consumer. It is the NRA Blue Eagle label which you will find is being sewed into your millinery and the more important articles of clothing of men and women. When you shop, look for the label, and insist on it. It guarantees that your clothing was made under decent conditions of hours and wages and that no child labor was used.

Many members of the League will remember the uphill fight of our organization over thirty years ago against sweatshop conditions in the garment industry, during which they learned to ask for the "White Label". Now the resources and pressure of the government are behind the new label, which gives widespread scope to the old idea of the Consumers' League.

Miss Alice P. Gannett, president of the League, participated in the ceremony on the evening of February 7, initiating the use of the NRA label in Cleveland-made millinery.

The following articles of clothing should bear the NRA label: women's coats and suits; women's dresses (not house dresses); millinery; brassieres and corsets; blouses and skirts; knitted outerwear; men's and boys' woolen outer clothing (suits, coats, pants, etc.).

Minutes of Unemployment Insurance Conference - Columbus,
June 23, 1934.

The Ohio Conference on Unemployment Insurance had a meeting in the Neil House in Columbus Saturday morning, June 23. Appended is a list of the persons present. Rabbi Silver, chairman of the Executive Committee, called the meeting to order. The minutes of the meeting of June 31st were read and approved.

Rabbi Silver gave a brief report of the Executive Committee. He explained that two meetings had been held since the conference - one the same afternoon of the conference, and the other on March 18th. He said that in view of the fact that the Wagner-Lewis bill was introduced a very few days after the conference, the Executive Committee decided not to send the contemplated letter to Governor White, and that they decided also to postpone any attempt to have a bill introduced in the special session until after the situation was more clear about the Wagner-Lewis bill. This decision was made for two reasons:

1. Because of the extraordinary difficulty of getting action in the special session; and
2. Because the Wagner-Lewis bill provided too easy an excuse for refusal to act.

Rabbi Silver also reported that Mr. Donnelly and Miss Magee had an interview with Miss Frances Perkins in Washington at the time of Miss Perkins' conference on labor legislation in February. Miss Perkins assured them of her willingness to help in the Ohio situation and agreed to send a message directly to the Governor at any time that we felt it would be helpful.

He said that Dr. Rubinstein, Senator Harrison, Dr. Leiserson and Miss Magee and himself had participated in the public hearings held in Washington before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, and that cooperating organizations sent many letters to the committee and to Representatives West and Jenkins, members of the Ways and Means Committee from Ohio.

He spoke also of the message on social insurance sent by President Roosevelt to Congress shortly before adjournment.

He opened the discussion by raising the question as to whether we should proceed with plans for initiating an unemployment insurance bill by petition. There followed general discussion. Mr. James H. Kellner, representing the Ohio State Aerie, Fraternal Order of Eagles, spoke briefly on the experience in initiating the Old-Age Pension bill. He spoke of the expense involved and the care that needed to be used in securing names for petitions, that the resources were not all exhausted in case a referendum campaign proved to be necessary.

Dr. Rubinstein cautioned against depending too much on Washington where he feels chances for the passage of an unemployment insurance bill are slim. He felt the cost of the campaign was not the only criterion to be considered and urged strongly the initiation of the bill.

Mr. Donnelly said that the Federation of Labor had spent approximately \$22,000.00 out of its funds for Old Age Pensions over a period of years; that the referendum had cost approximately \$17,000.00 which was borne by the Eagles and the Federation of Labor. He said that if a bill were initiated the Federation of Labor would be willing to a fair share of the expense. He said that he believed county organization was

Mr. Duffy raised the question as to the advantage of initiating a bill in addition to propaganda. It was explained by Senator Harrison that it was not possible to take a bill to referendum unless it had been initiated or unless a bill was passed which those opposed wished to carry to referendum; therefore if we introduced a bill in the ordinary fashion and it failed to pass in the 1935 session we could do nothing until 1937. Senator Harrison suggested that the candidates for the Legislature might be asked to circulate petitions. Mr. Kellner explained that the officers of the Eagles are heartily in favor of unemployment insurance, that their national and state conventions are to meet in August and it is hoped that they will go on record at that time for the support of unemployment insurance. If they do they will certainly be willing to help with the expense. He has no doubt but what it will be made part of the program.

Mr. Chapman explained some of the difficulties involved in circulating petitions such as getting accurate addresses, accurate names of ward and precinct, and cautioned against getting too many names on petitions because of the possible need of supplementary petitions. He pledged the cooperation of the Ohio State Federation of Labor making clear, however, that final action would depend on the convention which meets early in July. He said that he felt the vote on old age pensions gives us much hope on unemployment insurance.

Mr. Lesco raised the question as to the kind of bill to be initiated and expressed the hope that changes be made in the Harrison bill at certain points where labor is most affected.

Mr. Harrison moved that it is the sense of this body that an initiated bill for unemployment insurance be presented to the 91st session of the General Assembly of Ohio and that we take the necessary steps to plan the campaign. Mr. Donnelly seconded the motion and it carried.

There followed some discussion as to the changes to be made in the bill. Mr. Williams moved that a legislative committee be appointed to make the necessary changes. Mr. Lesco seconded the motion and it carried.

Mr. Lyden moved that a committee on action representing different organizations in the conference be appointed to draw up a plan of organization. The motion carried.

Mr. Harrison raised the question of general funds for financing the campaign and suggested that members present attempt to solicit contributions from friends.

There being no further business a motion to adjourn was made and carried.

Elizabeth S. Magee,
Secretary.

B'NAI B'RITH
CONSTITUTION GRAND LODGE
ELECTRIC BUILDING
CINCINNATI, OHIO

I. M. RUBINOW
SECRETARY

November 26, 1934

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Ansel Rd. at 105th St.
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

You probably read the "New Republic" regularly anyway, but in case you don't, may I call your attention to the last issue which contains my article on the Ohio Plan on Unemployment Insurance.

The appearance of this article (which had been written some time before the National Conference on Economic Security was held in Washington) reminded me of my desire to write to you about the situation in Ohio in connection with unemployment insurance.

Of course I have read the President's statement of November 14, which is apparently subject to a great many different interpretations, but while many of us went away with the feeling of disappointment, nevertheless here is the situation which foretells, to some extent, the limits of possible action in Washington.

There is no use expecting a national unemployment insurance act. Within the limits of the President's formula of Federal-State action the exact kind of a bill is still uncertain and is being considered, I understand, by various staffs and the advisory council, but one thing is certain. States will have to beset themselves and pass necessary legislation. Time is short. In my opinion it would be a serious mistake for Ohio to wait until Congress acts. Even if some bill will be introduced early in the year, it may raise a great many conflicts and action may be delayed until Spring. Nor is action absolutely certain. If, in the meantime, a few States pass the proper kind of acts, that's going to influence Congress.

Moreover, we have a specific problem. We want to push the principles of the Ohio Plan as against the Wisconsin Plan. Wisconsin has the advantage of having an act on the statute books and it's the only one. I am convinced that as a system its influence in the country is rapidly declining, but there are still some very stubborn fanatics in Wisconsin and Washington and their influence is utterly out of proportion to the importance of the act. If the Ohio Plan could be pushed through early in the year, that would not only influence other States and make the chances of some kind of legislation stronger in Congress, but it would undoubtedly influence the character of that legislation.

From certain sources within the advisory council I know that this is a matter for immediate consideration whether the new Wagner-Lewis Bill or a subsidy bill should, in its minimum standards, demand a State pool or permit individual employers' schemes. Display of strength on the part of the Ohio Plan will strongly influence the decision.

We must therefore get together and redraft the Harrison Bill, if necessary, and put some pep into our campaign. It may take some money but this is the

November 26, 1934

most important problem now facing the American people.

Will you take the initiative?

Sincerely yours,



I. M. Rubinow

IMR:SZ

CC: Elizabeth Magee

CC: Sen. M. C. Harrison

P. S. Have you seen the circular entitled "Essential Principles to be Embodied in any Unemployment Insurance Bill that Labor Supports in Ohio" issued by "American Federation of Labor Members League Favoring Unemployment Insurance" of 2030 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio



December 10, 1934.

Dr. I.M. Rubinow,
Electric Bldg.,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

My dear Dr. Rubinow:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of
November 26th.

I have thought over your letter a good deal but I am not finally persuaded that the thing for us to do is to redraft the Harrison Bill and present it to the Legislature. I think that the better procedure would be to wait for the President's Message before Congress next month to learn what he really has in mind about unemployment insurance. If he means to press the matter and make it one of the chief items of legislation in the forthcoming Congress, then it would be futile for us to press our Ohio Bill from this end, in Columbus, for the natural comeback will be: "Why not wait and see what Congress does?" I don't think that any State will move in unemployment insurance now that the Federal Government has the subject under discussion. I have discussed the matter with Miss Magee and she seems to be, generally, of the same opinion. The place to push the principles of the Ohio Plan as against the Wisconsin Plan is not in Columbus, but in Washington. What would you suggest that we do to bring our Plan to the fore?

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

A. F. Whitney,
President.

J. A. Farquharson,
Assistant President.
Grand Lodge

G. W. Anderson,
General Secretary and Treasurer.

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen

In reply refer to
File No. BAW:GH

General Offices, Cleveland, Ohio.



March 1, 1935.

Rabbi A. H. Silver
10311 Lake Shore Blvd.
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

The Cleveland Plain Dealer of this date carries a news item concerning a warning you gave on the evil effects of the dole, at a meeting of the Welfare Association for Jewish Children.

If you have this statement in prepared form, I should like to have a copy of it which we might use for publication in "The Railroad Trainman", our official monthly magazine.

I note that you also spoke favorably on unemployment insurance on the above mentioned occasion. It might be of interest to you to know that this organization is not on record in favor of unemployment insurance, because we feel that it is only another form of the dole. It seems to me that unemployment insurance, with the usual shamefully low benefits provided, is at best only a transfer of the cost of charity from the backs of the rich to those workers who are fortunate enough to have a job. As such, unemployment insurance would only stabilize the conditions which make charity necessary and would add little to the improvement of mass purchasing power in this country. I have, therefore, been of the opinion that unemployment insurance is not fundamental and I believe those who are interested in social reform will accomplish more by concentrating their energies on fundamentals, such as shorter work hours with higher wages, which will not only absorb our unemployed, but will increase mass purchasing power. I understand that even the most enthusiastic advocates of unemployment insurance do not contend that unemployment insurance will solve our problem of unemployment, at least not during the present crisis.

I thoroughly agree with you regarding the evil effects of the dole and I should be pleased to have your statement and any comments you might care to make regarding my brief criticisms of unemployment insurance.

Sincerely yours,

A. F. Whitney
President.

March 22, 1935.

Mr. A. F. Whitney, President,
Grand Lodge,
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Mr. Whitney:

Please pardon the long delay in answering your kind letter of March 1. Part of the time since March 1, I have been out of the city and part of the time I have been ill. My correspondence has therefore lagged.

I wish I could have an hour with you at which time we could discuss face to face the whole subject of unemployment insurance. Perhaps if you can find a free morning or afternoon, we could get together and go into the subject in great detail. Unemployment insurance is not intended to solve all of our national economic problems. It does not exclude other measures of social reform and economic reorganization which many of us believe are necessary in order to bring about a more just and stable social order. The advocates of unemployment insurance are certainly not opposed to shorter working hours and higher wages or any other measure which will lessen unemployment and increase the purchasing power of our people. It is intended merely to give a worker a measure of protection against periods of enforced unemployment which under our present forms of industrial organization are working very severe hardship on him. Even in normal times or in periods of so-called prosperity there are large number of workers who find themselves displaced from their jobs because of poor business in their particular industry or because of the introduction of labor displacing machinery or for other reasons. Such workers, unless they are given unemployment insurance protection, find themselves without any income, compelled to eat up their meager savings and finally reduced to beggary at some relief institution. It is to protect the American worker against such contingencies that unemployment insurance is advocated. Nearly every civilized country in the world has already adopted this measure of social security. It is not a cure all. It is

Mr. Whitney

-2-

March 22, 1935

a vital step in the direction of giving all those who labor the fullest measure of protection and security possible.

With all good wishes, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:EK



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 24, 1935

My dear Rabbi:

Your high calling brings you into intimate daily contact not only with your own parishioners, but with people generally in your community. I am sure you see the problems of your people with wise and sympathetic understanding.

Because of the grave responsibilities of my office, I am turning to representative Clergymen for counsel and advice,- feeling confident that no group can give more accurate or unbiased views.

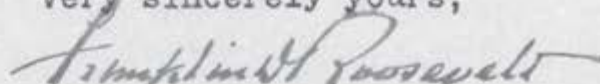
I am particularly anxious that the new Social Security Legislation just enacted, for which we have worked so long, providing for old age pensions, aid for crippled children and unemployment insurance, shall be carried out in keeping with the high purposes with which this law was enacted. It is also vitally important that the Works Program shall be administered to provide employment at useful work, and that our unemployed as well as the nation as a whole may derive the greatest possible benefits.

I shall deem it a favor if you will write me about conditions in your community. Tell me where you feel our government can better serve our people.

We can solve our many problems, but no one man or single group can do it,- we shall have to work together for the common end of better spiritual and material conditions for the American people.

May I have your counsel and your help? I am leaving on a short vacation but will be back in Washington in a few weeks, and I will deeply appreciate your writing to me.

Very sincerely yours,



Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio.

October 1, 1935

Mr. Gerard Swope, Chairman, National Citizens Committee,
Mobilization for Human Needs,
155 East 44th St.,
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Swope:

In reply to your kind letter of September 27,
permit me to state the following:

"The duty to help those who are in greater need than we are is a moral mandate which is binding upon all men at all times regardless of what government agencies may be doing to alleviate human suffering. The individual is not justified in waiting for the time when the collective morality of the group will have reached such a point of development when all the social needs of our people will be financed through taxation. Every man, if he is to be worthy of that title, must feel the compulsion to do whatever he is able within his sphere and in his own community out of his own substance to ease the load of those who carry too great a burden of life's handicaps and deprivations."

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

GERARD SWOPE
570 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK

September 27, 1935

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th Street at Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi Silver:

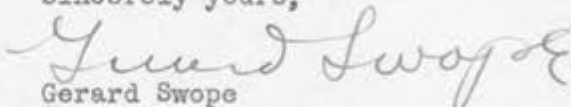
I am writing you as a member of the National Citizens Committee of the 1935 Mobilization for Human Needs to ask if you will come to our aid by expressing your opinion on the question contained in this letter. I might state here that it is our intention to incorporate your statement, - if you choose to send one, - in a news release, which will be given out nationally. The question is this:

The slogan of the 1935 Mobilization for Human Needs is "Be a Good Neighbor." Do you think that the payment of taxes, which covers a share of welfare service, is all that is demanded of us today, or do you believe that the measure of man's humanity to man can better be judged by his volunteer service to others less fortunate? In other words - what constitutes a "good neighbor" today?

Your answer to this question need be only a brief one. If you feel that you desire to answer it, may we have your reply not later than October 5th?

We shall be grateful to you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,



Gerard Swope
Chairman, National Citizens Committee
1935 Mobilization for Human Needs

Please address reply to
Mobilization for Human Needs,
155 East 44th Street,
New York, N. Y.

November 4, 1935

Mr. Harry F. Ward, Chairman,
American Civil Liberties Union,
31 Union Square West,
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Ward:

Let me thank you for your kind letter of
October 31.

I will sign the revised draft which you submit
although I am not very happy about it. I am signing it
out of loyalty to the American Civil Liberties Union. The
draft's explanation of Mr. Baldwin's article in the Harvard
Class Book is quite unconvincing. The fact that Mr. Baldwin
is not and never has been a member of the Communist Party is
not an adequate refutation of the charges made. There are
many communists who are not members of the Communist Party.

The League either claims the right to have a
communist or any one else as its director and stands ready
to defend its position, or it does not wish to be subjected
to criticism on the score of having a communist as its
director. In that case the position of Mr. Baldwin in the
Union is both anomalous and embarrassing.

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

Handwritten notes:
12/10/35 142 p. 10 to 10:30 - J. H. C. 11/11
"Unmasked" 12/11 1935
Baldwin p. 10 to 10:30 - J. H. C. 11/11
12/11 1935 - J. H. C. 11/11
12/11 1935 - J. H. C. 11/11
12/11 1935 - J. H. C. 11/11
12/11 1935 - J. H. C. 11/11

ANALYSIS OF FEATURES OF SIX STATE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE LAWSDATE OF ENACTMENT

Wisconsin	-	January, 1932
Washington	-	March 21, 1935
Utah	-	March 25, 1935
New York	-	April 25, 1935
New Hampshire	-	May 29, 1935
California	-	June 25, 1935

COVERAGE

<u>California</u>	Employees in establishments employing 4 or more persons for 13 or more weeks.
<u>New Hampshire</u>	Employees in establishments employing 10 or more persons during 18 or more weeks.
<u>New York</u>	Employees in establishments employing 4 or more persons.
<u>Utah</u>	Employees in establishments employing 4 or more persons.
<u>Washington</u>	Employees in establishments employing 4 or more persons.
<u>Wisconsin</u>	Employees in establishments employing 10 or more persons.

EXEMPTED EMPLOYMENTS

<u>California</u>	Same as Federal Act.
<u>New Hampshire</u>	Farm laborers, domestic servants, employees of federal or state government, teachers in public or private schools or colleges, physicians and nurses in hospitals, employees of charitable and religious organizations.
<u>New York</u>	Farm laborers, spouse or minor child of employer, religious and charitable organizations, non-manual workers with salaries of more than \$2500 per year, or \$50 per week.
<u>Utah</u>	Employees of state or political subdivisions; interstate commerce; members of immediate family of employer, non-manual workers receiving \$2000 or more a year; farm laborers and employees of seasonal industries operating not more than 12 weeks in a year.
<u>Washington</u>	
<u>Wisconsin</u>	Farm laborers, domestic servants, relief workers, public officers, workers in logging industry, interstate railroad employees, school teachers, registered part-time workers, employees receiving \$1500 or more during year preceding unemployment.

CONTRIBUTIONS

California

Employers

.9% of wages paid in 1936
1.8% " " " " 1937
2.7% " " " thereafter

Employees

.5% " " " for 1936
1 % " " " thereafter

Classification of rates on experience basis in 1941

New Hampshire

Employers

1% of payroll in 1936
2% " " " 1937
3% " " thereafter

Employees

.5% of wages for 1936
1 % " " thereafter

Classification of rates on experience basis in 1941

New York

Employers

1% of payroll in 1936
2% " " " 1937
3% " " thereafter

Employees - no contribution

Utah

Employers

3% of payroll in 1936
3% " " " 1937

Classification of rates on basis of experience may be made thereafter.

Employees - no contribution

Washington

Employers

1%, 2%, or 3% during 1936 and 1937, depending on Federal Reserve Board's index of production; 3% thereafter. Rates to be adjusted in 1941.

Employees - 1% of wages

Wisconsin

Employers - 2%. 1% when reserve of \$55 per worker is accumulated; contributions suspended when reserve equals \$75 per worker.

Employees - no contribution.

BENEFITS

California

Qualifications

Residence in state for preceding year and employment for 26 weeks during year.

Disqualifications

Unemployment due to trade dispute, unemployment following employment during vacation period, failure to accept suitable employment. Leaving employment voluntarily or discharge for misconduct doubles waiting period.

New Hampshire

Qualifications - Employment 90 days within preceding ~~one~~ years

Disqualifications - Unemployment due to industrial dispute; leaving employment voluntarily or discharge for misconduct adds 3 weeks to waiting period and subtracts 3 weeks from duration of benefits.

New York

Qualifications - Employment 90 days within preceding 12 months, or 130 days within preceding 24 months.

Disqualifications - In cases of industrial controversy or discharge for misconduct, disqualified for ten (10) weeks.

Utah

Qualifications - Employment for 20 weeks during preceding 52 weeks

Disqualifications - -

Washington

Qualifications - Employment 40 weeks during preceding 104 weeks, or 26 weeks during preceding 52 weeks.

Disqualifications - Unemployment due to labor dispute; worker disqualified for 9 weeks if he left employment without cause; from 9-17 weeks if discharged for misconduct, and for 4 weeks if he refuses to accept suitable employment, such weeks being charged against benefit record as if benefit had been paid.

BENEFITS - (continued)WisconsinQualifications

Residence in state for 2 years; employment for 40 weeks within preceding 2 years. Employment for at least 4 weeks with one employer.

Disqualifications

Loss of employment through misconduct; leaving voluntarily without cause; unemployment due to industrial dispute.

Under Qualifications - All laws make some requirement that the employee must be physically able to work, available for work, and must register at an employment office.

Under Disqualifications - All acts provide that worker must not be disqualified for refusal to accept employment in an establishment where there is a labor dispute, or where wages, hours or working conditions are less favorable than those prevailing in the locality, or if employment would require him to join a company union or limit his right to retain membership in a labor organization.

WAITING PERIOD

<u>California</u>	Four weeks during 1938-1939; three weeks thereafter.
<u>New Hampshire</u>	Three weeks
<u>New York</u>	Three weeks, but not more than 5 weeks within year
<u>Utah</u>	Two weeks
<u>Washington</u>	Six weeks; need not be consecutive
<u>Wisconsin</u>	Two weeks; only one such period to be required in year

AMOUNT OF BENEFITS

<u>California</u>	50% of average weekly wage with a maximum of \$15 per week and minimum of \$7.
<u>New Hampshire</u>	50% of wages with maximum of \$15 per week and minimum of 70% of wages, when wage is \$10 per week or less.
<u>New York</u>	50% of wages with a maximum of \$15 per week and minimum of \$5
<u>Utah</u>	50% " " " " " " \$13 " " " " " " \$6
<u>Washington</u>	50% of wages with a maximum of \$15 per week
<u>Wisconsin</u>	\$10 per week or 50% of average wage (whichever is lower) with a minimum of \$5.

DURATION OF BENEFITS

<u>California</u>	Ratio of one week of benefits for 4 weeks of employment and contribution; maximum of 13 weeks in year for employment and contribution for 52-103 weeks; maximum of 20 weeks in year for employment and contribution for more than 103 weeks.
<u>New Hampshire</u>	Ratio of 1 week of benefit to 4 weeks of employment within 104 weeks preceding. Maximum of 16 weeks during year. Additional benefits in ratio of 1 week for each 24 weeks of employment during which employee has made contribution within 6 years preceding, these additional weeks not to exceed 10.
<u>New York</u>	Ratio of 1 week of benefit for each 15 days of employment within preceding year. Maximum of 16 weeks in year.
<u>Utah</u>	Ratio of one week of benefit to 3 weeks of employment within previous year with maximum of 16 weeks in any year.
<u>Washington</u>	Ratio of 1 week of benefit for each 4 weeks of employment occurring within 2 years preceding. Maximum of 15 Weeks in year. Additional benefits in ratio of 1 week to each unit of 16 aggregate weeks of employment during 260 weeks preceding.
<u>Wisconsin</u>	Not more than 10 weeks in a year.

UNEMPLOYMENT FUND

<u>California</u>	State fund with separate account for each employer
<u>New Hampshire</u>	State fund
<u>New York</u>	State fund
<u>Utah</u>	State fund with separate accounts for employers; pooling of employers' contributions by industry or locality may be required.
<u>Washington</u>	State fund
<u>Wisconsin</u>	State fund with separate accounts for employers. Commission may approve pooling of accounts of two or more employers.

ADMINISTRATION

<u>California</u>	Unemployment reserve commission composed of 5 members Unemployment Insurance administration fund created with special "Employment Service Account".
<u>New Hampshire</u>	Commissioner of labor. Unemployment administration account created.
<u>New York</u>	An unemployment insurance commissioner with state advisory council of 9 members. Unemployment administration fund created with "Employment Service Account".
<u>Utah</u>	State Industrial Commission and Advisory Council appointed by the Commission.
<u>Washington</u>	Unemployment compensation commission of 3 members appointed by the governor, serving for terms of 6 years.
<u>Wisconsin</u>	State Industrial Commission; employers contribute .2% of payroll to administration fund.

CLAIMS AND APPEALS

<u>California</u>	Claims filed with manager of Public Employment Office; employee may appeal to commission from decision of manager.
<u>New Hampshire</u>	Claims made through Public Employment Office. Appeals may be made to Appeal Tribunals consisting of 3 persons representing employers, employees, and the public. Further appeal may be made to superior court on questions of fact.
<u>New York</u>	Claims made through Public Employment offices. Dissatisfied party can appeal to Appeal Board of 3 members appointed by governor. Further appeal on questions of law may be made to courts.
<u>Utah</u>	Claims made through the Public Employment offices. District appeal boards of 3 members representing employers, employees and umpire, and central appeal board of 3 umpires.
<u>Washington</u>	Claims made through Employment offices. One or more appeal boards to be established by a commission to decide cases where hearings are requested. Board to consist of full-time salaried commissioner and 2 others - one employer, and one employee.
<u>Wisconsin</u>	Claims made through Public Employment offices. Appeal may be taken to board established in each employment district.

PARTIAL UNEMPLOYMENT

California

Definition

During any week when wages are less than the amount of weekly benefits to which employee would be entitled if totally unemployed.

Benefits

Equal difference between eligible employee's actual wages and benefits to which he would be entitled if totally unemployed.

New Hampshire

Definition

Any week in which employee has been employed less than 60% of normal full-time or earned less than 60% of normal full wages.

Benefits

Equal with the week's earnings \$2 more than the weekly benefits to which employee would be entitled if totally unemployed, but not exceeding 60% of earnings for full-time employment.

New York - -

Utah - -

Washington Benefits

Whatever amount is necessary to equal with the week's earnings \$1 more than the weekly benefits to which employee would be entitled if totally unemployed.

Wisconsin Benefits

Difference between employees' actual wages for the week and the weekly benefit to which he would be entitled if totally unemployed.

Analysis of Provisions of Federal Social Security Act relating to
Unemployment Insurance and Ohio Unemployment Insurance Commission Bill

Features	Federal Social Security Act	Ohio Unemployment Insurance Commission Bill. (S.B. 6 by Mr. Hunter, 1935)
General Coverage	Tax levied on employers who have 8 or more employees during 20 or more weeks of calendar year. Sec. 907(a)	Contributions required by employers of 3 or more employees. Sec. 1,b.
Employments Exempted	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agricultural labor; 2. Domestic service in a private home; 3. Officer or member of the crew of a vessel on the navigable waters of the United States; 4. Individual in the employ of his son, daughter or spouse, or by child under 21 years in the employ of his parent; 5. Public employees - Federal, State and local; 6. Employees of institutions operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purpose, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, and which are non-profit. Sec. 907(c) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agricultural labor; 2. Domestic service in a private home; 3. Service of common carrier in interstate commerce; 4. Public employees; 5. Employees of private or parochial schools receiving annual salary; 6. Casual workers, employed less than 4 weeks; 7. Non-manual employees earn- ing over \$40 a week; 8. Employment not in the regular course of employers business. Sec. 1,c,d.
Financial basis of Fund	<u>Employers</u> 1% of all wages paid in 1936; 2% " " " " 1937; 3% " " " " thereafter Sec. 901 & Sec. 907(b)	<u>Employers</u> 2% of insurable payroll until January 1, 1939. Rates to be classified on exper- ience basis thereafter. Sec. 1,h; Sec. 4. <u>Employees</u> 1% of wages received. Sec. 6

[1935]

Features	Federal Social Security Act	Ohio Unemployment Insurance Com. Bill
Benefits	<u>Qualifications</u> no provision	<u>Qualifications</u> Employment and contribution to fund for 26 weeks during previous year or employment and contribution for 40 weeks during two years preceding. Capable of and available for employment and unable to obtain same in usual employment or another for which fitted. Sec. 7,a. In seasonal industries, Commission is empowered to fix shorter qualifying period of employment. Sec. 13
	<u>Disqualifications</u> Worker must not be disqualified because of refusal to accept work if A. Position vacant is due directly to a strike, lockout or labor dispute; B. The wages, hours, or conditions of work are substantially less favorable to the individual than those prevailing in the locality, or C. The individual would be required to join a company union or to resign from or refrain from joining a bona fide labor organization. Sec. 903(a) (5)	<u>Disqualifications</u> 1. Unemployment because of strike or lockout, during its duration. 2. Unemployment due to act of God or to confinement in penal institution. 3. Failure to report to Commission 4. Failure to accept offer of suitable employment, except that worker shall not be disqualified by refusal of employment if A. Acceptance of employment would deny to employees right to refrain from joining or to belong to labor organization; B. Position vacant is due to strike or lockout; C. Employment is at unreasonable distance or wages or conditions less favorable than those prevailing in locality. Sec. 7,b.
	<u>Waiting Period</u> No provision	<u>Waiting Period</u> 3 weeks, or equivalent of 3 weeks in partial unemployment; 6 weeks for those discharged or quitting voluntarily. Sec. 8

Features	Federal Social Security Act	Ohio Unemployment Ins. Com. Bill
	<u>Amount of Benefit</u> No provision	<u>Amount of Benefit</u> 50% of average weekly wage, but not more than \$15 per week. Sec. 9
	<u>Benefit Period</u> no provision	<u>Benefit Period</u> Not more than 16 weeks in 12 months. Sec. 10.
Insurance Carrier	State pooled fund, Guaranteed employment accounts, or Individual reserve accounts. Sec. 910(c) All moneys received in State unemployment fund must be deposited in Unemployment Trust Fund maintained by the U. S. Treasury. Sec. 903 (a)(3) Sec. 904	Pooled Unemployment Insurance Fund in custody of State Treasurer. Sec. 2.
Administration	All benefits to be paid through public employment offices. Sec. 903(a)(1). Expenses of administration cannot be paid out of Fund. Sec. 903(a)(4) Sec. 303(a)(5) Federal grants for assistance in administration available; no matching required. Sec. 302(a).	Unemployment Commission of 3 members, responsible for administration of Unemployment Insurance and of public employment offices. Sec. 15, 16, 17. Expenses of administration to be met by Fund. Sec. 27
Effective Dates	Tax begins January 1, 1936. Sec. 901 Payment of benefits cannot be made for unemployment occurring within 2 years after the first day of first period for which contributions are required - (not before January 1, 1938). Sec. 903(a)(2).	Tax begins January 1, 1936. Sec. 3,4,26. Payment of benefits begins after employee has paid premiums for 26 weeks and becomes unemployed. Sec. 7,a.

JOINT SCOTTSBORO DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Office of the Secretary

2239 East 38th Street

HEnderson 7798

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, Chairman

Colonel William J. Schieffelin, Treasurer

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(American Civil Liberties Union)

Bishop Francis J. McConnell
(Methodist Federation for Social Service)

Robert Minor
(International Labor Defense)

Norman Thomas
(League for Industrial Democracy)

Walter White
(National Assn. for Advancement of Colored People)

February 1, 1936.

CLEVELAND COMMITTEE

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Dr. L. L. Rodgers

Robbi A. H. Silver

John Newton Thurber

Rev. Don D. Tullis

William O. Walker

Rev. Horace White

Francis E. Young

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th St. & Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

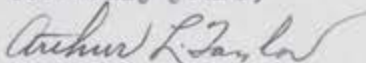
My dear Rabbi Silver:

Please permit me on behalf of the Joint Scottsboro Defense Committee to express our very genuine appreciation of your interest and help in connection with the Mass Meeting held on January 30th at St. James A. M. E. Church.

I have since talked with a number of members of the Sponsoring Committee and all of us are of the opinion that the fine sentiment aroused and the material aid received which we can forward for the Scottsboro Boys' defense are due, in no small measure, to your co-operation.

Please accept our very real thanks.

Cordially yours,



Arthur L. Taylor
Secretary to the Committee

Summary of the Arguments Presented by the Opposition to Amended
House Bill #608 at the Hearings Before the Senate Committee.
February 11, 18, 19, 1936.

1. General arguments for postponement. "No need for haste".
2. Many arguments on the principle of the Social Security Act. These varied from definite statements that it was unconstitutional to wild remarks as to coercion by Federal Government, "Centralization of Power", and the like.
3. Unemployment insurance would have a bad effect on workers. Such statements as the following were made:

"It would provide 16 weeks vacation with pay"
"It would encourage loafers"
"It would have a stunning and paralyzing effect on ambition"
"Necessity drives men forward"
"It would create a group of professional unemployed who would prefer loafing to working"

4. Unemployment insurance would raise prices and therefore be unfair to the farmers, to steady workers, to Federal employees and other classes not benefitting directly from unemployment insurance payments. Fantastic estimates of increased cost were made, one speaker asserting that it would be equal to a sales tax that might reach as high as 10%.

5. A payroll tax is an unfair tax. Dr. Arch Schultz, research man for the State Chamber of Commerce presented an elaborate analysis together with many pages of statistics. He said that we have a fair tax system in Ohio on the whole, that relief should be paid out of the taxes which have already been established. He also attempted to show that the greatest injustice would be to the workers who would be cheated of their wage increases because of the payment of the payroll tax.

6. The Retail Merchants Association put on three speakers to present an argument not against unemployment insurance but against the pooled fund and for the Wisconsin Plan. They presented the well known arguments for the plan starting with the premise that management can stabilize employment and that the Wisconsin Plan provides the incentive for such stabilization. In line with this reasoning they contended that the pooled fund penalizes the "good" employer.

Among those who spoke were:

Mr. Dawson, of Cincinnati (He consumed slightly over an hour before the Senate Committee in contrast to the 4 hours before the House Committee)

Arch Schultz, of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Kenneth Lloyd of the Mahoning Valley Mfgs. Association

Mr. Schoenberger, representing the State Dairy Products Assn.

Mr. Lichliter, of the Hamilton Chamber of Commerce

Mr. John Marsh, of Youngstown, representing the oil industry

Everett Stearns, of Cincinnati, representing the National Assn. of Bedding Mfgs. and the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce

Mr. T. T. Frankenberg, representing the Ohio State Restaurant Assn.

Mr. J. W. Deffenbaugh, of Lancaster, Hooking Glass Company

Mr. Edwin Bath, representing the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation

The three men from the Retail Merchants Association were:

Mr. Sperry, of the Lamson Dept. Store in Toledo

Mr. Winehold of Strauss-Hirschberg, of Youngstown

Mr. Mooney, of the Kroger Grocery & Baking Co. of Cincinnati

HONORARY VICE PRESIDENTS THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE OF OHIO

DR. ROBERT H. BISHOP, JR.
HENRY E. BOURNE
MRS. F. H. GOFF
DANIEL E. MORGAN
EMMA M. PERKINS
HELLE SHERWIN
RABBI A. H. SILVER
RT. REV. MONSGR. JOSEPH SMITH

341 ENGINEERS' BUILDING
CLEVELAND
MAIN 3025

OFFICERS

MARVIN C. HARRISON
MARIE R. WING
WILLIAM M. LEISERSON
S. BURNS WESTON
HELEN PHELAN
ELIZABETH S. MAGEE

PRESIDENT
FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
SECRETARY
TREASURER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

33

February 24, 1936

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LLOYD WHITE
MRS. E. D. WILLIAMS
FREDERICK G. DETWEILER, GRANVILLE
IRMA VOIOT ATHENS

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
Ansel Rd. & E. 105th St.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

The hearings before the special Senate Committee have dragged on and on. As I believe I told you, Dr. Leiserson came out for the proponents' hearing and made a fine speech. I am enclosing a brief summary of the arguments presented by the opposition. The hearings are finally closed. An effort was made to continue them and to import some people from Wisconsin to appear before the committee, but the chairman did not agree. When the legislature reconvenes tomorrow amendments are to be brought in. I am going down and Mr. Donnelly, Mr. Keifer and I are hoping to sit in with the committee while the amendments are considered.

As usual one of the chief arguments of the opposition is for delay. We are trying to muster as many letters as possible to our Cuyahoga Senators urging them to work for prompt action. Two of the men - Senators Zoul and McCloskey are on the committee and have outwardly, at least, seemed to be on our side. Would you be willing to write yourself to our senators? I am enclosing a list. I wonder whether you know Senator Metzenbaum? He is on record for unemployment insurance, of course, but we understand he has worked very closely with Senator Yoder on other matters and might be able to influence him on this.

I will get in touch with you when I get back from Columbus this week.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee
Elizabeth S. Magee,
Executive Secretary.

Encl.

February 27, 1936

Senator James Metzenbaum,
Ohio State Senate,
Columbus, Ohio.

My dear Senator Metzenbaum:

The Unemployment Insurance Bill which has been approved by the House will, I understand, soon come up for a vote before the Ohio State Senate provided the special Senate Committee reports the Bill out. I know that you are tremendously interested in all vital matters of social legislation and I assume that you are in sympathy with unemployment insurance which has now been enacted into the Federal Social Securities Act and which is also embodied in the House Bill No. 608 presented to the Ohio State Legislature.

If consistent with your convictions, I hope that you will use your great influence with the members of the Senate Committee so that the Bill is favorably reported to the floor of the Senate. Two of the Senators from Cuyahoga County, Senators W. J. Zoul and Bernard J. McCluskey, who have expressed themselves as favoring the Unemployment Insurance Bill, are on the special Senate Committee. Any assistance which you may render this great cause which will put Ohio in line with some of the other great States in the Union which have already passed unemployment insurance laws, will be greatly appreciated.

With all good wishes, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

Handwritten initials: JH

Ohio Senate

Columbus

JAMES METZENBAUM
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
HICKOX BUILDING
CLEVELAND, OHIO

April 10th, 1936.

Kind Friend:

(1) When I last spoke with you -- about two weeks ago, it was my understanding that word was to be received by me from you, as to when you would wish to appear before the Senate Committee at Columbus.

It is highly possible that you did not call me in reference to this, because of the fact that the Committee appointment was disturbed shortly thereafter.

It now appears that Senator Bart McIntyre of Cleveland, who was chairman of the former Committee, has become chairman of this newly appointed commission, and -- as I heretofore explained to you -- he is not only willing but keenly desirous that you appear.

(2) I have explained to him, the long and careful study you have made in reference to the subject of Unemployment Insurance and the large part you played in the drafting of the measure now known as the Boyd-Hunter Bill.

It is but fair you should know that although Senator McIntyre is the author of a bill (which I understand he has since, somewhat revised), he gives assurance that he is not committed to his measure, nor is he opposed to the Boyd-Hunter proposal, so that you will understand from this, that he means to help in the reporting out of a bill that will be best for all concerned and that he has no set or pre-conceived plan of his own.

(3) I am informed that the hearings will take place on Tuesday -- the 14th, and Wednesday -- the 15th.

Also, a hearing will most probably be held sometime the following week, most probably Wednesday -- the 22nd.

It is my feeling, and I so today told Senator McIntyre, that if you defer your presentation until the 22nd or thereabout, there is strong likelihood that the opinion and drift will have cemented itself, so that what is said at such a late date, may very likely be of little effect.

#2

When I pointed this out to him, he said that he believed this may well be true, for you, just as we, know that committees, juries and others seem to form their opinions as matters progress, and frequently what is said at the very end, comes too late to be effective.

Accordingly, it would be my judgment that it might be best if you could arrange to be before the Committee on Wednesday afternoon -- April 15th.

On the other hand, if you would prefer to appear on Tuesday afternoon, that will be equally agreeable.

If you will phone to me upon receipt of this letter and express your preference, I shall arrange to accompany you and a machine will be available for both of us and perhaps one or two of the senators.

You would be able to return to Cleveland sometime late Tuesday or Wednesday afternoon, according to the date you may choose.

It is the feeling of all of us in inviting you to present your views, a service is really being rendered to the state, and so word from you will be expected at the very earliest hour convenient to yourself.

Sincerely,

James Metzenbaum

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
c/o The Temple
East 105th Street and Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Note: My telephone numbers are Main 0630 and Endicott 1250.

Copy sent to Senator McIntyre.

1 Call the gentlemen

2. Visit -

3. Speak Eugene -

4. Bulletin notes
Chattanooga

4- Sundays.

WRHS



STATEMENT ON THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL DECEMBER 16, 1936

(I am sending this statement to the following persons; it is not for publication): W. M. Leiserson, Stanley Mathewson, Marvin C. Harrison, Rabbi A. H. Silver, Mrs. Lowell Hobart, Jr., Amy Maher.

Since events have moved so rapidly in the last ten days and I have communicated with some of you by telephone and telegram only, it seemed to me well to prepare the following statement in order to clear up some of the points which otherwise might be misunderstood.

At the time that the governor announced that the Legislature would be brought back in order to enact unemployment insurance, several proponents issued statements as to the inadvisability of this procedure because it looked like a definite effort on the part of the opponents to secure a bill friendly to themselves, and it raised a serious question as to the collection of the tax because of the provision in the Ohio Constitution forbidding retroactive legislation. Senator McIntyre and Mr. Bowers had made a trip to Washington and came back with two new bills one of which was called the McIntyre bill and the other the Boyd bill. These incorporated much new wording and some new features. At the meeting of the "Fact-Finding Committee" of the Senate Monday evening, December 7, Mr. Mathewson made a speech pointing out the practical difficulties of setting up the plan and collecting the taxes in such short time, in addition to the serious constitutional questions involved. The next morning a conference was held with the following persons present: Mr. Donnelly, Mr. Keifer, Mr. Lyden, Mr. Owens (president of the United Mine Workers of Ohio), Mrs. Hobart and myself. It was obvious that the labor people felt unwilling to bear the onus of defeating an unemployment insurance bill. It was agreed by all present that we would take the position that if the Legislature was insistent on enacting unemployment insurance this month the only thing acceptable to us would be the Boyd bill in the form it passed the House, with the coverage changed from 8 to 3. Several of us insisted we should demand the dropping of the clause making the bill dependent on the Social Security Act, but there was no agreement on this. Mr. Keifer made the suggestion that we might propose, in order to get at the difference of opinion on merit rating, the substitution of the section from the New York law, leaving this decision to future legislatures.

At the hearing of the Senate Committee Tuesday afternoon, December 8th, Mr. Owens, Mr. Keifer, Mrs. Hobart and I all appeared. We pointed out the superior advantages of the Boyd bill:

1. Its similarity to the New York statute which had been declared constitutional
2. The practical fact that it had passed the House of Representatives and that was the only bill acceptable to the House
3. The superiority of the benefit provisions to those in the McIntyre bill.

In this connection I elaborated on some of the very bad provisions in the revised McIntyre bill in regard to the computation of wages and benefits as well as the meager schedule of benefits provided. Mr. Owens proposed the substitution of the section from the New York law providing that the Commission study the matter of merit rating and report to a future legislature. At the same meeting of the committee Mr. Dawson appeared for the opposition objecting to certain provisions in the revised McIntyre bill and reiterating the demand for employe contributions.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL

After years of effort and struggle, Ohio has passed an Unemployment Insurance Bill, through its Senate.

When the next depression comes, the most modest worker as well as the upper-bracket people, will have an Insurance fund upon which to fall back, instead of being compelled to seek immediate relief.

What a sensible and humane plan and, yet, how long it has taken to make it a law in Ohio.

WHAT THE SENATE DID

When final action came last week, the Senate resolved itself into a "Committee of the Whole," in order that persons who are not members of the Senate, might have full opportunity to express their views and take part in the debate on the floor.

The Social Security officials from Washington and their Secretary were invited onto the floor.

So, too, the Federal Security Director for Ohio and adjoining states was called in to participate.

Labor ---- speaking through its representatives and attorney, were given the freedom of expression at every step.

Indeed, all who wished to register their views, were accorded the opportunity.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday were given over to the final discussion, following a whole year of Committee hearings and consideration that ran back far beyond.

THE GREAT STAKE

It was imperative that this Bill be passed now --- at once --- in order to save to Ohio the 12 million dollars which, otherwise, would have fallen into the Federal treasury and would have been lost to our state.

How could a model Bill be enacted in time, in the face of the stern resistance that had prevented it for some years?

IMPROVEMENTS

Improved administration features were added.

An Advisory Board was included.

Almost a score of other provisions were written in.

But ---- throughout ---- each amendment was first submitted to the United States Social Security officials present.

This was an unusual procedure; a very helpful one.

THE CRISIS

And, now, came the crisis.

Days and nights had been spent, but the required votes to pass a really good Bill, were lacking, decidedly wanting.

A recess was deemed advisable.

Then came "close-up fighting".

The hours wore on.

Suddenly, as in all contests, came the concession --- the so-called "Benefits" clause --- the one that formed much of the backbone of the Bill, the one that had been stricken out, was now to go back in.

Quickly, the Senate reconvened.

Promptly, the fought-over section was offered.

With common consent it was re-written into the Bill.

Labor arose and declared itself happy.

The Federal representatives said it was perhaps the best Unemployment Insurance Bill so far passed.

The Roll was called.

24 voted "Yes".

None voted "No".

All that now stands in the path, is the vote of the House concurring in the Senate amendments and the signature of the Governor.

Both of these may have come to pass by the time this is printed.

Each senator from Cuyahoga did his part, but Senator Bart McIntyre was in charge of the Bill. He managed --- splendidly and well --- throughout.

Then, too, all knew that the fine leadership of Senator Paul Yoder brought about the final result.

Ohio will be ready to do its duty toward its unemployed, when the next depression comes to hand.

James Metzenbaum.



December 21, 1936

The Honorable James Metzenbaum,
Ohio Senate,
Columbus, Ohio.

My dear Mr. Metzenbaum:

Let me thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the Unemployment Insurance Bill. I am happy to know that the Bill is finally passed and that you were so instrumental in seeing it through the Senate. The Bill as passed, of course, has some serious defects and I hope that some of these at least will be corrected through special legislation in January when the new Legislature convenes.

What is important now, is to have Governor Davey appoint the right kind of commissioner, particularly a well qualified member to represent the public. Personally, I know of no one better qualified for the post than Miss Elizabeth S. Magee. She knows more about unemployment insurance than almost any other person in the United States. She has been most active in its advocacy all these years, and has been associated in the work with me ever since I persuaded a group of representative people in the community to begin a study of unemployment insurance some seven years ago. Perhaps we will have an opportunity some day soon to discuss this further.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

December 22, 1936

Miss Elizabeth S. Magee, Executive Secretary,
The Consumers' League of Ohio,
341 Engineers' Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Miss Magee:

Let me thank you for your kindness in sending me the statement about the Unemployment Insurance Bill. I agree with you that an effort must be made to correct some of the errors in the Bill which has been passed. I am also persuaded that an effort should be made at once to see that the proper people are put on the Commission. I am very anxious that the Commission should have the profit of the years of study which you have given to the subject. I am taking the liberty of contacting a few people about it. I know of no one better qualified to represent the public on the Commission than you.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

History of the Compromise

The Senate Committee had a number of executive sessions and finally agreed to take the Boyd bill as a basis for amendment, then amended it to make it almost identical to the McIntyre bill. On Thursday, December 10, Mr. Donnelly issued a statement that this new substitute bill was completely unsatisfactory to labor. On Friday, December 11, Mr. Donnelly and Mr. Keifer had a conference with Senator Yoder at which Mr. Donnelly made the proposal to Senator Yoder that labor would yield the point on automatic merit rating provided the benefit provisions of the Boyd bill could be retained. Mr. Donnelly apparently advised with some of the members of his Executive Board about this, but he did not communicate with any of the other proponents. (Unfortunately I was laid up with laryngitis in Cleveland, but in rather frequent communication with Mr. Boyd). Amendments were hastily prepared by Mr. Keifer and finally passed by the Senate Friday afternoon, December 11th.

Mr. Donnelly has told me some of the factors leading to his decision. A letter of December 12th contains this explanation:

"I think I should say to you confidentially that while we had a flock of votes in the Senate which would vote with us on all amendments and the form of the bill, they would not have remained with us if they were compelled to vote against an unemployment insurance bill. Quite a few told me so. This made it very doubtful whether we could hope to defeat the bill in the Senate. Then we would have been faced with the same situation perhaps in the House. While I do not like the automatic merit rating feature of the bill, I believe that all in all we should go along with it."

Errors in the Bill

Because of the number of amendments which were introduced on the floor of the Senate and the extreme haste with which this was prepared the Amended Substitute Amended House Bill #608 came back to the House with a number of technical errors such as definitions which were omitted, discrepancy in the effective date of taking over the employment offices, one section providing for January 1, 1938; another section for July 1, 1937. The section setting up a qualifying period of 20 weeks employment in the preceding year was entirely dropped out.

In the Section 4 C.1 (line 214 ff) the plan for automatic merit rating refers to "wages received in the base period," which is terminology from the revised McIntyre bill which should not have been incorporated.

In addition to the technical errors, some of the serious objections from the standpoint of the proponents are the following:

1. The scheme of automatic merit rating, which I believe we have all agreed is costly, is not actuarially sound and should not be promised in advance of experience.
2. The section which provides that the law becomes inoperative if the unemployment insurance compensation provisions of the Social Security Act are declared invalid. This amendment was written in at the time the bill was adopted by the House in January.
3. Line 323. This unnecessarily harsh provision was added deducting 3 weeks from the total benefit period from any worker who has left his employment voluntarily or has been dismissed for misconduct, in addition to the 3 weeks addition to the waiting period.

Procedure in the House

The rules of the Legislature require that when the Senate amends a bill which has been first enacted in the House, the House has before it two possibilities: it may concur in all of the amendments; or it may refuse to concur. In the latter case the Senate may or may not ask for a Conference Committee. If it asks for a Conference Committee then the report of the Conference Committee must be agreed to by both houses. If the Senate does not ask for a Conference Committee, the legislation is lost. When the technical errors in the bill were discovered the question arose as to proper procedure. Mr. Donnelly and Mr. Boyd were both insistent that it should not go to a Conference Committee because they feared the opposition would try to make the bill worse in committee. Moreover, Mr. Donnelly had apparently committed himself to the opposition, via Mr. Yoder, not to make changes in the House. There was a struggle on this question on the floor of the House, and the concurrence which was finally voted on the afternoon of December 16th was by the narrow margin of 2 votes.

The Social Security Board in Washington agreed by long distance to approve the bill with the understanding that these errors would be taken care of in January. A bill will be prepared containing ~~some~~ none of the controversial features but only those sections obviously needing correction. This will be introduced soon after the new Legislature convenes.

Immediate Problems

Two things concern us very much at the moment:

1. That a strong effort should be made to have Governor Davey appoint a well qualified member representing the public. (We assume that Labor and business groups will be pushing for their own representatives). Since so many of us are not on rapport with Mr. Davey it will be necessary to work through other people and through the newspapers.

2. That a meeting of former Commission members and proponents be held to discuss amendments to the law at the new session.

- (1) The unemployment insurance movement in Ohio began in an effort on the part of the Consumers' League of Ohio, back in 1928 to make a study of the problem of unemployment which was then beginning to assume serious proportions.
- (2) On April 17, 1928, the Consumers' League called a conference on the subject. At this meeting which was held at the Women's City Club where numerous points of view were expressed on the subject of unemployment, Rabbi Silver called upon the leaders of this community to devote themselves to a study of unemployment insurance, not as a solution for the problem of unemployment but as a means of scientifically anticipating and relieving widespread distress caused by unemployment. "I should like to see a great movement started in this country on the part of those who are alert to the situation, for unemployment insurance."
- (3) For the next two years, the Consumers' League attempted to interest various groups in the community in the problems raised by unemployment and organized an "Unemployment Committee" for that purpose.
- (4) By the end of 1929, Rabbi Silver again urged, this time upon the Unemployment Committee of the Consumers' League, to devote itself exclusively to the subject of unemployment insurance, feeling that it could make a definite and vital contribution in this field. Rabbi Silver's advice was followed. At a meeting held on April 10, 1930, the Committee resolved itself into a Study Committee on Unemployment Insurance and from that time on, regular meetings were held in the Parlor of Rabbi Silver's Temple on Friday

evenings by men and women interested in unemployment insurance at which a detailed study was made of various kinds of unemployment insurance with an eye to framing legislation on the subject to be presented to the Ohio State Legislature.

- (5) Among those who were very active on this Study Committee were Marvin C. Harrison, Max. S. Hayes, Professor Henry M. Busch, Professor Frank T. Carleton, Father Emanuel Cyprian, Edward Lynde, Charles Kreindler, Carl Rudolph; and from the Consumers' League, Alice Gannett, Elizabeth S. Magee, Grace Mayette and Marie Wing.
- (6) By the end of 1930, the Committee had drafted a bill embodying the results of its studies and investigations. The actual drafting of the bill was in the hands of Marvin C. Harrison who, throughout, gave invaluable service and counsel to the movement.
- (7) A public meeting was called on December 15, 1930 at which the results of the study of this Committee were presented. At this meeting, the Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance was officially organized and Rabbi Silver was elected Chairman.
- (8) In January, 1931, our Bill was introduced in the Ohio State Legislature and was known as the Reynolds-Keifer Bill. Hearings on that Bill were held and Rabbi Silver appeared before the Legislature on February 17 in Columbus.

Prior to Rabbi Silver's appearance, the Executive Director of the State Council of Retail Merchants circularized the membership of the Council with the warning: "When the eloquent Rabbi Silver appears in Columbus before legislative committees, with packed

galleries, pleading for such a cause, 'Look Out!'. Increasing opposition developed to the Bill. Both the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce worked for its defeat. The Bill was killed in the Senate on March 12 and in the House on March 26.

- (9) The Cleveland group, as part of its campaign for unemployment insurance, organized, in February of 1931, an Ohio State Committee for Unemployment Insurance. Thomas J. Duffey of Columbus, was elected chairman. Rabbi Silver was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

The active management of the State campaign as well as its financing was left with the Cleveland group which had the benefit of the rare ability and untiring devotion of Miss Elizabeth S. Magee, who throughout, remained as its secretary. Miss Magee, in the judgment of Rabbi Silver, is the best informed woman on unemployment insurance in the United States.

- (10) Following the defeat of the Bill and as a result of the efforts of our Committee, greatly aided by Senator James A. Reynolds, at present County Commissioner, the Ohio Legislature acted favorably upon the recommendation of Governor White for the appointment of a Commission to study unemployment insurance. Rabbi Silver was appointed a member of the Commission of eleven.

Senator Reynolds became chairman of the Commission and Miss Elizabeth S. Magee was appointed as its Executive Secretary.

- (11) The thorough study which was made by the Commission of the whole field of unemployment insurance was incorporated in a second

Bill introduced in the Legislature early ⁱⁿ 1933, known as the Harrison-Keifer Bill. This Bill became nationally known as the Ohio Plan and has since served as a model for unemployment insurance bills in many states in the Union.

The Cleveland Committee launched a vigorous campaign in behalf of the Bill and again strong influences exerted themselves to thwart it. Rabbi Silver addressed numerous meetings throughout the State in behalf of the Bill. Dr. William M. Leiserson of Antioch College and the Late Dr. I. M. Rubinow, expert on social insurance, gave of themselves unstintingly to the cause of educating the people of Ohio to the needs of unemployment insurance. This Bill likewise failed of passage.

- (12) Organized labor at first opposed unemployment insurance but by 1932, a complete reversal of attitude took place on the part of the American Federation of Labor and thereafter unemployment insurance had as one of its staunchest friends in the State, organized labor which was ably represented by Mr. Thomas J. Donnelly.

Rabbi Silver and other champions of unemployment insurance were bitterly attacked by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce as academicians and theorists and by some vehement "antis" as un-American. But the work went on.

- (13) Rabbi Silver also went to Washington in 1934 and appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the House to advocate the passage of the Wagner-Lewis Bill for Unemployment Insurance.

- (14) Rabbi Silver called a conference in Columbus in June 1934, to plan the drafting and presentation of a third unemployment insurance bill.
- (15) In 1935, a third bill was introduced known as the Hunter-Hesse Bill which like the preceding Bill, embodied the recommendations of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance. This Bill passed the House but was stifled in the Senate.
- (16) In December 1936, at a special session of the Legislature, an unemployment insurance bill was finally passed by the State of Ohio which, in the main, followed the provisions of the original Commission Bill. Thus, seven years of unflagging labor and devotion to a cause were finally crowned with success.

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—33—

May 20, 1937

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Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
Ansel Road & E. 105 St.,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I left a message with Miss Klein last Saturday that we are arranging our annual meeting for Wednesday noon, June 2, and we are delighted that you can participate.

As I told you over the telephone, our plan for the meeting is based on the fact that during the year since our 1936 annual meeting, the Ohio unemployment insurance law has become a fact; the constitutionality of minimum wage has been upheld, and our 8-hour bill for women has passed the legislature. Incidentally, much to our joy, this bill was signed by Governor Davey yesterday.

It seemed appropriate to celebrate these events with a brief consideration of each of the three, with a look ahead. Miss Louise Stitt, the former head of the Minimum Wage Division of the State, and now director of the Minimum Wage Division of the United States Women's Bureau, will discuss what we may expect from minimum wage legislation now that its constitutionality is established. Alexander Whitney will talk on the shorter work day, and we want you to treat the subject of unemployment in any way you wish.

The luncheon will be at the Hotel Allerton at 12 noon.

With warm regards and much appreciation of your help,

I am

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee
Elizabeth S. Magee,
Executive Secretary.

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RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

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AS MAYOR OF CLEVELAND I APPOINT YOU A MEMBER OF AN EMERGENCY
CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO MEET THE SERIOUS RELIEF SITUATION
CAUSED BY FAILURE OF THE STATE TO ADOPT ANY PROGRAM TO
PROVIDE FOR SIXTY FIVE THOUSAND COMPLETELY DESTITUTE MEN
WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN OUR MIDST WHOSE FOOD SUPPLY WILL BE
PRACTICALLY EXHAUSTED TOMORROW STOP I URGE YOUR PERSONAL
ATTENDANCE AT TWO P.M. MONDAY JANUARY THIRD IN THE COUNCIL
CHAMBER CITY HALL=

HAROLD H BURTON MAYOR OF CLEVELAND.

[Undated]

Page 2.

It is our opinion that the interim can very aptly be devoted to thoughtful study of the principles and issues involved quite apart from the heat of political controversy. May we ask you to discuss the question of unemployment insurance with your people between now and April 5th, from your pulpit, if you see fit, or in your church or school auditorium?

Sincerely yours,

CLEVELAND COMMITTEE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Rabbi A. H. Silver, Chairman.

I think this is a very necessary
alternative.

The signing of our three names would
ruin everything.



[Undated]

(Enclosure)

A Crusade is on foot to universalize the open shop. Manufacturers have organized locally and nationally and propagandists have been employed to establish the open shop. The sad condition of unemployment and the dire necessity of millions of men today are being exploited by the enemies of union labor.

In this attempt to destroy organized labor and to give organized capital complete control, the public is concerned vitally, for in the long run it is the public which pays the bill for every industrial dispute.

The protagonists of the open shop have appropriated the name American. Theirs is the "American Plan", implying that any other is un-American. All the talk about the open shop being American and patriotic is unmitigated balderdash and particularly pernicious at this time.

I believe the issue of the open shop versus the closed shop is not the real issue. It is only the projected issue. The real issue is collective bargaining and the right of the representation of labor in the management of industry.

In practice the open shop destroys the value and the effectiveness of all labor organizations. The open shop would destroy trade unions in the United States.

Until some other agency is devised for the adequate protection of the working man, the trade union is a national necessity. It is the laborer's sole safeguard against exploitation.

The working man knows that all gains touching higher standards of living, better wages, better hours and better working conditions have been won solely through the efforts and struggles of organized labor, and he will fight in defense of his organization.

The right of labor to organize is, of course, beyond question. At a time when business men are organizing, when farmers have their unions, it would be folly to expect the working man to intrust his destiny to the mercies of altruistic employers.

From the point of view of public welfare, I believe the crushing of trade unions would be a calamity of the first magnitude. I believe however, that union labor must begin a thorough housecleaning in order to regain the confidence and good opinion of the American people. It must fight not only the enemy without, but the enemy within; the irresponsible agitator, the demagogue, and, above all, the spirit that has been all too manifest in recent years of getting as much as you can and doing as little as you can.

The greatest enemy of organized labor is the man who loafs on his job. The crusade today against organized labor is ill-advised. Capital can gain nothing from it. It may work a great deal of harm. It may drive working men in sheer desperation into the ranks of radicalism.

Connally - Smith Law

We note with satisfaction that American labor has to a remarkable degree adhered to its "no strike pledge" and because of it and the cooperation of management and the public, our country has achieved an astounding record of production for the war effort to defeat the Axis powers.

The unfortunate circumstances which have attended the coal strike have provoked the enactment of a ~~new~~ piece of legislation known as the Connally-Smith Anti-Strike Law, which the President of the United States has ~~precipitously~~ vetoed and which the Congress of the United States has precipitously passed over his veto.

Even those who are not opposed to many of the provisions of the Bill have admitted that it has been hastily drawn up, some of its provisions altogether unrelated to the War Emergency, ~~un-enforceable~~ enforceable and, therefore, likely to weaken the respect for law and authority.

It is generally conceded that the Law has been prompted by bitter resentment against the widely condemned coal strike. The President has expressed the fear that the Bill, far from preventing strikes, may actually encourage them.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, in keeping with its historic position on social justice and in defense of the rights of all of our people, labor and management alike, join with those who have expressed great concern ~~that~~ with the manner and method of the enactment of the Connally-Smith Bill which, because of their intemperance and impatience may ~~jeopardize~~ jeopardize the orderly, democratic procedures which alone must be depended upon to adjust our difficult economic relationships in the days to come.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis suggests that the law be carefully restudied in the light of the progressive social legislation of recent years and that a more sober and helpful measure be

enacted, which will not sacrifice any of the gains which American labor has achieved through the years and which will be fair to all concerned.

Max C. Currick

Louis L. Mann

Abba Hillel Silver

