



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series IV: Sermons, 1914-1963, undated.

Reel
155

Box
55

Folder
439

How far is the Jew responsible for anti-semitism?, 1933.

394

HOW FAR IS THE JEW RESPONSIBLE FOR ANTI-SEMITISM?

WRHS

By

Rabba Abba Hillel Silver

at
The Temple

on

Sunday morning, December 3, 1933.



In discussing the subject of how far our race is responsible for anti-Semitism, it might be said at the very outset that it is fair to assume that even if we were angels, perfect in every respect, beyond sin and beyond reproach, the anti-Semite would not be at a loss to find sufficient arguments with which to denounce us. Prejudice is a logical attitude based on reason and facts. The very word implies a "prejudging", arriving at a conclusion before the evidence had been studied and frequently in the face of contradictory evidence. Prejudice is always irrational and it is motivated by causes which the carrier of prejudice hates to acknowledge to others and even to himself. He will attempt at time to rationalize his prejudice but always, one can easily detect the transparent camouflage of such rationalization. The hidden motive is not so far away that one cannot discover it.

For example, that ancient anti-Semite, Haman told the king to destroy all the Jews. The reason he gave was a high sounding political and sociological reason which he knew would excite the monarch and induce him to sign an edict of extermination --"that there is a certain dispersed race abroad whose laws are different from our people's and who do not obey the king's laws." A very high sounding reason! Actually, the

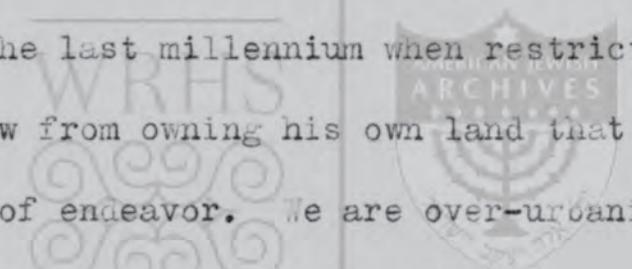
real reason for Haman's hatred of the Jews was motivated by his grudge against one Jew, Mordecai, whom he despised and upon whom he wanted to avenge himself by destroying all Mordecai's people.

There are a lot of young people today, for example, of the middle class who are out of jobs. There are a lot of University graduates and professional people who are unable to establish themselves in their professions. There are many Jews who occupy coveted positions. It would help the situation if they could be eliminated. That is the basis of lots of the anti-Semitism of the Nazis in Germany. Such a reason, however, cannot be publicly given, so some very fantastic and exalted reasons are invented, that these Jews are in the way and that their presence is a danger to the soul of Germany.

Now while it is of course true, nevertheless, it would be folly for us to maintain that we do not always provide our enemies with the most dangerous weapons which they use against us and that we use good common sense. We ought not to be deluded into maintaining that we do not all too frequently expose ourselves through our own blundering and blindness to the attacks of our enemies. I shall speak of some of this in a moment.

I want to call your attention first, to a general situation. While it does not involve any moral principle, nevertheless it is very frequently exploited for the purpose

of anti-Semitic agitation -- the general abnormal maladjusted economic status throughout the world. Our economic struggle -- I am now speaking of the economic struggle of the Jewish group here and elsewhere -- is top-heavy. It is unbalanced. In the first place we are over-urbanized. We have concentrated far too much in the city. Of course there are historic reasons for that. But after all, that is an explanation and not a solution. We are over-urbanized, not because we at any time disdained agriculture, not because we do not like farming. For a thousand years or more we were almost exclusively a farming folk. It was only during the last millennium when restrictive laws prohibited the Jew from owning his own land that he was forced into other lines of endeavor. We are over-urbanized. That is the fact and it is not a wholesome fact.



We belong largely as a group to what we call the Middle Class. Nevertheless we do have a prominently large number of our people in Middle Class enterprises far beyond the quota which any other people maintain. Now it is this group, the Middle Class which is under fire today all over the world. Laborer and farmer must under all conditions be taken care of and the prime concern today is to take care of the agriculturing class. In simple terms they are the producers. The importance of the business class has been called into question. It is regarded as unnecessary, even in capitalistic countries

like ours, the Middle Class is undergoing vast transformation. The program of the Middle Class is being tremendously centralized and government is more and more encroaching upon its domains. The Jew being largely represented in this class is being victimized by these changes which are going on. In the first place he is a small individualistic tradesman. He is being liquidated and destroyed. In the second place the over-crowding is gradually creating a tremendous amount of friction and anti-Semitism is being aggravated and intensified.

We are crowded into the professions. We are way beyond our population quota. These professions, Law, Medicine, are very congested. This results in the lowering of standards and income. The Nazis- for example, are exploiting this fact to the utmost against the Jew.

Now, then, it is in this area of the Middle Class where most of the strain and friction exist and from which most of the anti-semitism derives. How can we relieve this strain? Is it possible for us to re-direct the trends of our economic life? Is it possible for us to direct our young people from some of these congested professions to others not so congested? Can we, for example, discover new opportunities for work in which we as a group have not been strongly represented up until now, such as agriculture, civil service, skilled labor? Under the new dispensation, the

the skilled working man and the scientific farmer will enjoy a greater measure of security. He will enjoy a greater measure of economic security. There will be no stigma in this modern world attached, of course, to farming and skilled labor. There is no reason why we should not deliberately direct our people into these fields.

That, of course, means economic planning. I most strongly urge upon our group to set about making a more definite plan for the economic stability of our group in this country. Actually a scientific survey should be made of the whole economic position which we occupy in this country with an eye to future planning and proper vocational guidance.

Now I come to what we may regard as culpable moral shortcomings on our own part which fed the flames of prejudice against us here and everywhere. By way of introduction, I should like to tell you the story of what happened back in 1931, in Spain. A series of bloody massacres swept over the Jewish communities of Spain. These riots ushered in a century of persecutions and disabilities which finally culminated in the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Inflamed by one Ferdinand Martinez, four thousand Jews were slain in Seville alone. The rest were forced to become baptized. Some seventy other communities were destroyed. In a city like

Valencia, five thousand Jews were killed. Murder, flight and conversion practically wiped out that Jewish community. It was one of the most ghastly persecutions in our history.

What was the reaction of the Jewish spiritual leaders in Spain to all this? They were of course overwhelmed with grief and sorrow. Their hearts bled for the sufferings of the people but in seeking for the cause of these riots, they had the amazing spiritual courage to point the finger of accusation against their own people. They were responsible for what happened there.

Rabbi Solomon Alami, one of the greatest leaders of the age wrote soon after these riots, a letter of warning and chastisement in which he laid bare the wounds which the Jewish people themselves had inflicted upon themselves.

Corruptions, the immoral, the unethical conduct, the arrogant display of wealth, their vanities, the rivalry -- the spiritual decay of the Jew was responsible for the bloody persecution which came. He spoke in the traditional vein of the prophets who were never afraid to point the finger of indictment at the past of their own people.

Alami in his document, a bitter document of self-accusation, asks first "Why did all this happen to me? Know ye truly that this thing came upon us through our own hands!"

Think of ten thousand lives slain and one hundred thousand forced to conversion. Rabbi Alami blames the Jews themselves. He enumerated the "al chet" of the Spanish Jew. The rich Spanish Jews who held high political positions had forgotten their humble origin, had become proud and arrogant. They drove about in costly equipages. They were most magnificently dressed. The women were decked in gold and precious stones. They were indifferent to the moral teachings of their religious leaders. They despised manual labor and honest toil. They loved idleness, distinction, honor and power. They were jealous of each other. They slandered each other before the authorities. They were dishonest. They dodged their taxes and imposed them on the poor. They loved gambling and hilarious fast times. They did not respect their own Torah. They tried to imitate the Gentile. They would not listen to the voices of their leaders.

Now, my friends, such heroic self-analysis and indictment has been the salvation of our people throughout the world. Woe unto a people that cannot stand up at its own shortcomings and say, "I have sinned!" Such a people is doomed! That is why I believe that Hitler's Germany is doomed. For he does not know how to say "mea culpa!" He is indoctrinating his people with the deception that they are the best, the noblest and most honorable people, that they can do no wrong. That is the beginning of degeneration and collapse among the people.

We Jews have found it important from time to time to take stock of ourselves. If we were a majority population we would not have to pay much attention to those shortcomings. All these shortcomings would not be held against us any more than against any majority group. But we are a minority group. That makes all the difference in the world. It is not enough to be like other people. We must be better than other people. The other people, that is the majority group, doesn't particularly pay any attention to our moral judgment of them. They can afford to ignore it. To a large degree we are dependent upon the majority. Our security and our well-being lies in their hands. Our lot is frankly harder and evocative of greater moral effort on our part. We must be better and more scrupulously just and honest in all of our dealings, not only because of our own racial mandate, and our own moral code. Our own racial tradition demands that we be moral leaders. Our minority status in the world demands it. Unfortunately we have frequently been unmindful of the practical question. In this country as in some other countries, we have drifted with the times.

Business and financial groups among the Jews in this country can be charged with the same sins as the groups among non-Jews, the same imperialism, the same speculation, the same gambling, the same disregard of the stewardship of wealth and the trusteeship of power. The same sins which have, in other

words been chalked up against non-Jews can be chalked up against large numbers of Jews in this country.

We have not been distinguished in this land for our high ethical standards any more than the non-Jewish group in this land has nor have our professional groups been particularly distinguished for theirs. Our average is undoubtedly quite as high as the common average. But that is not enough! That is not the point. The point is that they must be higher. Especially in professions where we are represented by such huge numbers as in Law and Medicine. We are easily singled out. Unfortunately there are all too many in these professions who are a credit neither to their professions nor to our race. There are all too many Jewish lawyers who hire themselves out as professional underlings to the underworld or to the upper-world, business groups who sell their birthright for a mess of potage.

Our Jewish politicians have not been one whit better than the non-Jewish politicians. They are as amenable to graft and corruption as are the rest. Our own City of Cleveland has been particularly unfortunate as to the kind of Jews in its political life. There have been many of them in shady politics and very frequently they have caused our people to hang their heads in shame. Their misdeeds are periodically exposed and spread across the columns of the newspapers. They hurt our

cause tremendously but we cannot protect ourselves against them. We don't know how to control them. Because they happen to be of our race we are saddened by their sins and their corruptions. And a half dozen of these cheap politicians can do more harm than all the good which tens of thousands of honest law abiding citizens can do.

Cleveland has been very unfortunate, perhaps the most unfortunate city in the United States regarding the number of cheap Jewish politicians we have had. We have not been without our Jewish gangsters and racketeers. This is a shockingly new phenomenon. Of course they are the product of local conditions. But that is merely an explanation. Within the last ten days we have read in our Cleveland press of three Jews who were sent to the Penitentiary, two, I believe for arson, and one for being the foremost rum-runner and speakeasy operator in this city. Who created this? Where does it come from?

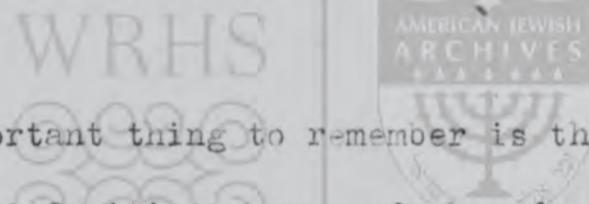
We are not without some responsibility in these facts, my friends. There are a large number of our people, as there are large numbers of non-Jews who are engaged in shady public enterprises, who are purveyors of vulgar plays and entertainment and who write and publish obscene books and magazines, and who are in occupations where they shouldn't be. They are making our load more heavy to bear from day to day.

Our problem is, therefore, how to remove this evil from our midst, and of that, I hope to speak at some future time.

Through strong and organized community authority, through our institutions and agencies, through schools, through synagogues and temples, through the home, the family welfare , the settlement and the club we can protect our rising youth from the forces which make of them gangsters, murderers and law breakers.

We must bring community pressure upon these corrupt politicians, thes dishonest judges, these crooked business men who have not learned to observe the ethical codes of their callings and professions. They should be exposed and rejected by us before non-Jews reject and expose them. But of this we shall speak another time.

The important thing to remember is that in our effort to fight anti-Semitism, here and abroad, to counteract anti-Jewish tendencies, we must not only look abroad, but within ourselves and amongst our own people. We must set our own house in order. We will then be in a stronger position to meet and overcome the enemies that from time to time rise to destroy us.



1.) It is clear that even angels -
Prejudice is not a logical attitude, based
on the very word - a conclusion - without - in fact
Prejudice is always irrational, motivated - ashamed to act out.
He may sometimes attempt to "rationalize" - transparent
camouflage - the hidden motives - easily detected.

2). Haman - told the King that J. should be destroyed because -
"there is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed
- their laws are different - they do not obey the King"
- highly important pol. & soc. reasons - Real reasons

3). There are a lot of young Germans today in the middle
classes - out of jobs. University graduates. Professors.
- There are many Jews who occupy - covet - If they
would be eliminated - more room in law etc.
- But this real reason cannot be given publicly.
Race - menace - Save soul of Germany.

4) This is all true. Nevertheless it would be folly
- provide our enemies with powerful weapons
- expose ourselves - blundering + blindness
- I shall speak to you of this in a moment.

5- Call attention general situation - no moral turpitude
- frequently exploited in anti-J. agitation

I mean abnormal, maladjusted econ. status of J. in war

- (1) Our econ. structure - top-heavy - unbalanced.
(2) Over-urbanized - Historic reason - not bee. disdain

~~This is explanation~~ - but no solution

- (3) We belong to middle class in numbers far
of-course we have 100.000⁰ - abnormally large

- (4) It is this class - under fire to-day.
Labor & Farmer.

The importance of business class - Russia
Even in Cap. countries - govt encouragement -
concentration - over crowding

- (5) The Jew suffers both from centralization for he is small
and from over crowding - competition = Antisemitism

- (6) We ~~are~~ crowded into prosperity - overpopulated
- lowering standards, income, prices
- The Nazis have exploited

- (7) It is in this area, the middle class - most
strain - frustration - from which most discontent

- (8) Can we relieve this strain -
under new dispensation

National Planning - Scientific Survey

1. It is clear that even though we were all angles - the antis. used good reasons ^{though} for discrediting us. Prejudice is not a logically ~~matter~~ attitude, based on reason and facts. The silly word "prejudice" ^{prejudice} implies a "prejudging", & conclusion arrived at without waiting for evidence - and ~~logical~~ + ~~material~~ attitude often turns in the face of opposite evidence. Prejudice is always illogical ^{and} irrational and motivated by ~~surprise~~ causes which the carrier of the prejudice has to ^{sometimes} as knowledge to others & ^{refers} to himself. He will attempt to "rationalize" his prejudice, if he has to, but it will be a shameful camouflage. The hidden motive will be easily detected.
2. Haman told the king that J. should be destroyed because - they are a pack of big smugly ^{WRHS} ^{AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES} wise old Jews fit for it - they are a scatterbrained bunch. That was the propaganda. He knew that this plan would not convince the king. It was good propag. material. The real reason was that he hated a certain Jew, Mordechai, for some slight offend & his son, and he sought to annoy him as the Jew by destroying all his people -

3. There are a lot of poor young men today ~~in~~ in the middle classes who are not job ^{holders} ~~holders~~ ^{holders} graduates & future people who can't make a living - there are many Jews in them

position Oppenheimer if they could be eliminated
there would be more room for themselves in law, in
the divine, in teaching, ~~etc.~~ in journalism, in many other
colleges further -

~~Here~~ A reason must be found for eliminating these
deom. Nazis - So Race Myth is refuted -

More men must be called out ^{to make room} ~~to tell others~~
for other job seekers - but to save the rest of Germany -

4. That is all fine - Nevertheless, it would be folly for
us to maintain that we do not frequently
provoke an encounter with powerful weapons
against us - ~~WPA~~ You ~~are~~ expose ourselves
to their attacks through our own
Alevodility and Obedience. I shall speak more
of this in a moment

5. But I should like to call your attention to a general
~~situation~~ ~~of~~ which involves no questions of moral
superiority - but which nevertheless has been at the root
of much of anti-J. agitation. I mean the abysmal,
maladjusted econ. situation of the Jews in the world -

(1) Econ. situation is top-heavy and unbalanced.
Over-urbanized - Historic reason - not bco. we
despise agriculture - were farming folk -
But an explanation is no solution. We are
over-urbanized -

(2) We belong to Middle Class, ~~largely, tho'~~ in numbers

far beyond the proportion among other peop. (Q. comes we
have an hundred thousands of artesans etc - But
an abnormally large number belong to class of trades,
etc. etc.

(a) It is this class which is under fire to-day.
Farm & Farmer must work all industries be taken
care of - They as the producers in simplest sense
of term - The importance of ^{the business} middle class has
been called into question - as in Russia - where
it has been destroyed - In cap. countries it is
undergoing vast transformations - It is here highly
centralized & just is new owner encroaching
upon its domains - It is also over crowded.

~~(1) The Jewish merchant, who is largely~~

(1) Re g suffice with fine this centralization
+ over crowding - It is a small commercialistic
trader man - Is good idea!

Our country creates better roads = An booster

~~(2) It~~ We are crowded into the professions
and there are already congested -

(1) Contributes to lowering of standards, incomes
competition will run Jew - & Arabs etc -

(2) The Nazis has most exploited this fact
to the utmost co other and with abjectly

6. It is in this area of the middle class who most
of the strain exists to-day, from which most
of the Anti- Semites —

(a) Can we release this strain? Is it possible
to revise & redirect our econ. trends?
Can we direct many of our peopl- from Cosyest-
eth? — Can we discover new opportunities
in fields wherein we have been only slightly
represented till now - agriculture - civil
service - skilled labor. — Can we give Vocation
providence to & our youth?

(b) Under our designation the statesmen
& farmer - carry far more econ. security -
no stigma.

(c) National Planning - Scripture Survey

with an eye future states-man like
planning for the sake of econ. stability of
our ~~for~~ $\frac{4}{5}$ m. of our people in the country -

7- And now ^{we} come to what may be regarded as
culpable shortcomings in us which feed the
planner & ~~the~~ prejudice ~~is~~ against us —

b - And now I come - over culpable were shoutings - feed flames

In 1391, a series of bloody massacres swept over the Jews of Spain. It was the beginning of a century of blood & terror & destruction and destruction which was to culminate in the complete expulsion of the Jews of Spain in 1492. Supplanted by the fanatical preachment of an Ferdinand Martinez, 4000 Jews were slain in Seville alone. The rest were forced to become baptized. The way, the popular swept over the large & communities of Cordova and Toledo and soon to other communities - of the 5000 J. in the city of Valencia, not a soul was left. Indeed, flying at a convenience completely wiped out that J. community - its estimate -

What was the reaction, the less spiritual leaders of Sp. Jewry to all this. Of course, they were their hearts bled for the ruin of their own people. They were overwhelmed with sorrow & tragedy. But - in seeking for the causes of this bloody riot against their people, they did not accept the blame the bigotry & cruelty of their persecutors. With amazing sp. courage, they dared to point the fingers of accusations against their own people. They, too, were at fault! They, too, were responsible for the disaster which had overtaken them. In the sight of God and history they were not blameless!

R. Solomon Alaric & one, the present R. of that town - collected an "Ora Propterea" - "A Letter of Censure" in which he laid bare the vices in the body of Israel, (self-glorification), the rich, the people, the corruptives, the unscrupulous, the unethical and unchristian arrogant display, ^{wroth} and their vainness, ^{the debilitated, impotent and degenerate} the spiritual decay of the Jews, the loss of day - especially of the wealthy and powerful among them. He ^{stated to} spoke in the classic traditional vein of the prophets of his race, who dared to confront their people with their own evils and misdeeds - who strictly refused to blame other peoples for the calamities which overtook their own people.

Alamis, "letter," is a document full of bitter ^{national} self accusations & gall and wounds - — 1/16/18 1/16/18 1/16/18 1/16/18 1/16/18

- He enumerates the 1000 or, the 11 Jew. - specifies + enumerates
- (1) They rich-pampered men in high station - close to the throne have for other than luxury or joy - Have been grand paragons but of them forgiven palace - dead about in the constant equipage - wear magnificent apparel purple - dearly at their wives day after in gold, pearls + precious stones.
 - (2) They are indifferent to moral teachings, their subjects
 - (3) They desire manual labor and honest toil
 - (4) They have idleness, destruction, honors + power.
 - (5) They are jealous & hate each other, little regard, they inform against each other & hand over before the authorities.
 - (6) They are despotic - dodge their Taxes + impose them upon the poor. They pamper ees - while their poor slaves.
 - (7) They lose generosity and kindness past times, and in all things neglect the gentle.
 - (8) They do not respect their own Torah - their faith - they do not hearken to their Rabbis - they call pride, destruction and hurting.

2. Such Rheoric self-analysis + indictment has been the substance of our people. The genius to exploit adversity for self-punishment has been given to our people - and it has stood us in good stead in all our causes. We went into a people that will not stand up to its own faults short-comings, and one which has not the moral courage to believe ourselves - - 1/16/18 - 1/16/18 - 1/16/18 -

such a people is doomed. That is why Hobbes' permanency
is doomed! It does not seem true to say "Mea culpa!"
It undermines it people with the op. corrosive doctrine
& self-deception that it is the best - the most forward
the most perverse - the most moral people on Earth. That
is the beginning of degeneration & collapse —

3. I do not know how much our moral faults and short comings
as a people are responsible for Antisemitism ^{to-day}. But I am convinced
that they are far from being the main cause. But that
these shortcomings are seized upon by antisemitism, persecuted
and played up to their maximum, needs no great proof
or argument. The real causes are seldom acknowledged by the
antisem. party - racial & rel. civilization, econ. rivalry, private
fugues & fugitives - snobbery - the need for a handy scapegoat
for national blunders & disasters - ~~the want to acknowledge~~ to acknowledge
them would be to condemn oneself. The victim ^{because} must
be made ~~was~~ saddled with the responsibility for his own
undeserving. That is, y. course, true! Nevertheless, we have many
short comings which all too frequently as all too easily
in our enemies to pay back to us confis us Nat. ^{lets it}
~~by~~ we must from time to time confis us Nat.

4. Here we a dominant majority in the country, the world
these short comings are no more held against us any
more than they are counted against any majority group
or people. But we are a minority - and that makes all
the diff. in the world. It affords to the other people
we must be better, morally than other people. Our moral
judgement, the majority population is of little concern
to it. It can afford to ignore it. But the moral
judgement of us by the majority pop. cannot be
ignored! We are dependent upon it. Our security
and well-being lies in ~~the~~ these hands —

5. This Our lot is : harder, & !. also evocative of great moral effort on our part. We must be better, more scrupulously just and honest and above reproach, and every heavier are our racial mandate, as can moral code, as our tradition should does, demand it of us - but because an inevitable status as a minority group in the world makes it imperative for our preservation.

6. And we have not always been innocent either, the racial mandate of the practical considerations.

7. We have drifted with the tide. ^{The business & industrial} ~~the~~ business financial groups among the Jews ^{in this country} can be charged with the same sins as that those & among the non-Jews. The same watering-down, the same speculation, the same profiteering, the same disregard, the same leadership, wealth and the sanctity of their leadership & power which has been chalked up against non-Jews can be chalked off against Jews large numbers of Jews. The fact that we are concentrated in a relatively few ~~business~~ ^{branches of} trade, commerce, industry finance, ^{water} ~~and~~ ^{etc.} residence home proportionately larger.

Non ~~or~~ our professional groups - distinguished for their average high standards of ethics and probity. Again, they ^{other} standards may not be lower. That is not the point! The point is that ^{in country where these players are low} they ^{are} not the best - and they are not! And in sum, the profs - non-modern in the Jews are represented far beyond their population quota. Here they are easily blamed in evidence and easily negated out. There are altogether too many J. lawyers who are not a credit neither to their profession nor to their people - agents, the underworld shysters,

and ambulance-chaser - clever tools for corrupt bankers
and corrupt ~~honest~~ ^{honest} ~~thieves~~ ^{thieves} cut to a # clever
defenders of corrupt officials in high places.

Our J. politicians are not our worst better than the
common variety of politicians in this country. They
are as little public spirited as the others, and just as
amenable to graft & corruption as the other. Our own
city of Clark has been particularly unfortunate in the
hands of men who have entered pol. life. Their numbers
have been large - and they have occupied very important
posts in our municipal govt. Not party less.
All too often have they caused us to have our
heads in shame. Their numbers were periodically
exposed and spread across the newspaper columns
(our newspapers) They brought us humiliation, but
we could not perfect ourselves against them, having
no control over them. A half a dozen corrupt
J. politicians will do more harm to a J. Cen. than
all the good which ten thousand of our best honest
citizens can ever over-balance -

We have not been without our J. gypsies
and rock-a-teers - They are a new or hiding phenomenon
in J. life anywhere in the world - Cuthbert cracked
^{them} ^{to pieces} ^{recently} ^{but} ^{then} ^{they} ^{are} ^{back} ^{within 10 days}
but was forced to read in our Cleve. press & then
was sentenced to the penitentiary - On for arson -
and another for being the present
run-runner & heat-easy operator in this city.

Shady- heat-easy - Vulgar show entertainment -
prostitution books newspapers - as writer
& editor & operator.

8. There are on terrible habitats - And we must find ways of ridding ourselves, this accursed board - 11-121
700 P.M. 10th -

9. Then education in school, in synagogues, in settlement, then wholesome recreation, then community guidance, then family welfare work - we must reach the ^{in due} young generation, and ~~present them against~~ ^{the} faces which make ^{any} ~~murderer~~ & law breaker -

We must bring community pressure upon the dishonest lawyer, the ~~untrue~~ politician, the ~~cruel~~ business man + employer, the unscrupulous judge, ~~but then again~~ they should be treated like small ~~spies~~ + outcasts. They should be denied our vote. They should be exposed ^{+ rejected} by us, before others expose them!

10- All this mean a strong Comm. ag- + a strong
sense of Comm. responsibility + Comm.
power -
of that, I shall speak at some future
time