

# 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 Box Folder 159 57 615

Thoughts on Peace, Pacifism, and Conscription, 1940.

560

THOUGHTS ON PEACE, PACIFISM AND CONSCRIPTION

By
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

At The Temple

On Sunday morning, November 3, 1940 The enactment of the Selective Service Law was preceded and has been followed by sharp and prolonged controversy. Those who have objected to it, have done so on various grounds. In the first place, they maintained that it was a break with American tradition. Our country has never had a peace-time conscription. Furthermore, they maintained that if our country needed more men in the army, an intensified edistment campaign would have supplied that insufficiency. Again, they held the conscription law as unnecessary because America's position in the world situation today did not warrant it. Our nation was not at war, was not likely to be at war unless we provoked it. They maintain that this conscription law may provoke war, that it will be a step in the direction of war.

There was considerable objection to the measure on religious grounds. Devout Christians maintained that it was contrary to the spirit of Christianity which is pacifistic and does not believe either in waging war or bearing arms. Some Christian ministers today oppose it on religious grounds and have organized committees in their communities and elsewhere to help to support their claim as conscientious objectors. Some young theologic students refused to register on religious grounds in protest to the law. Newspapers throughout the country by and large violently condemned all those who objected to the conscription law. Newspapers throughout the land, and some in our own city, denounced all pacifists as unpatriotic, and practically implied that all conscientious objectors were cowards. Some of that verbal ferocity which has been attending the national campaign also attended the discussion of this theme.

I therefore think that some restatement of a few fundamentals relative to this subject is quite in order. In the first place, it can not be repeated too often that peace and Pacifism are not synonymous. It is heard and used frequently interchangeably and confused. And one of the most unfortunate phenomena of our day is the fluidity of the definition of terms, the failure

of men to ask themselves what specifically and definitely do they mean when they use certain terms. Most sincere seekers after peace and advocates of peace are not pacifists. Many of them are violently opposed to pacifism as a philosophy of political life and as a way of achieving international peace. They reject on moral and on practical ground the doctrine of non-resistance. They reject it as a way to achieve order, progress and social security in the world. They do not concede that war will be abolished thru a propaganda among individuals not to bear arms. They maintain that this can only weaken those countries whose citizens are free to refuse the bearing of arms. It can only weaken those countries where a strong sentiment of peace is fostered while it will strengthen those countries whose people are not free to refuse to bear arms and where war sentiments are fostered. They maintain that this preachment against the bearing of arms in a democracy simply tends to encourage ruthless conquerors and to make their conquests easy and sure.

Thus while conceding the right of conscientious objectors, the right which is recognized and acknowledged in our conscription law, the right to claim exemption from military duty, while conceding that right, it is questionable wither the authority of Christianity can be claimed to such a conviction.

Certainly not the authority of Judaism.

To be sure, Jesus was a pacifist, but not at all in any political sense, and here is where the cinscientious objection arises. For Pacifism had nothing to do with national problems or events. Pacifism was directed solely in relation of one individual to another individual. This is an important distinction to make - the most important, in fact. An individual may practice non-resistance if he chooses. An individual may turn the other cheek if one smites him on one, because there is no harm done by such an attitude and

and practice to the rest of the citizens because there always remains the country and there always remains the law of the country which will restrain the evil doer even if the victim himself chooses not to prosecute or not restrain the evil doer. The state, for example, will prosecute a murderer even if the relatives of the murdered man will not press the charge because the state is interested in preserving law and order. There is thus set up a framework of law enforcement, of social security within which the individual may practice personal non-resistance if he chooses without harming the rest of the community. But in international relations this does not hold true at all. A nation threatened with attack is not so situated as the individual non-resister, because there exists no world state, there exists no international power, no international law enforcement agency which will restrain the possible aggressors even if the nation does not want to resist. In other words, there is no framekwork of international security within which an individual state can practice non-resistance, so that if the individual state refuses to resist, not only will itself be crushed, invaded and over-run, but after it is crushed and over-run, every other nation will be similarly crushed, invaded and over-run. And this tends to destroy peace and morality everywhere in the world.

Jesus' Pacifism, the Pacifism of the Founder of Christianity, can not be held to include such political and international situations. And unfortunately, some Christian ministers have been and are not clear in their own minds just what the Pacifism of Jesus really desired.

James Martineau, one of the most thoughtful and scholarly theologians among the Christian clergy of the last century sums up the situation clearly in the following words: "As for the non-resistance principle, we have shown that it meant no more in the early Church than that the disciples were not to anticipate the hour, fast approaching, of Messiah's descent to claim his throne.

But when that hour struck, there was to be no want of 'physical force,' no shrinking from retribution as either unjust or undivine. The 'flaming fire.' the 'sudden destruction,' the 'mighty angels', the 'tribulation and anguish,' were to form the retinue of Christ and the pioneers of the kingdom of God. It was not that coercion was deemed unholy, and regarded as the agency appropriate to lower natures and left behind in ascending towards heaven; it was simply that natural coercion was not to fritter itself away, but leave the field open for the supernatural. The new reign was to come with force; and on nothing else, in the last resort, was there any reliance; only the army was to arrive from heaven before the earthly recruits were taken up. Nothing, indeed, can well be further from the sentiment of Scripture than the extreme horror of force, as a penal and disciplinary instrument, which is inculcated in modern times. "My kingdom, ' said Jesus, 'is not of this world; else would my servants fight'; an expression which implies that no kingdom of this world can dispense with arms, and that he himself, were he the head of a human polity, would not forbid the sword; but while 'legions of angels' stood ready for his word, and only waited till the Scripture was fulfilled and the hour of darkness was passed. to obey the signal of heavenly invasion, the weapon of earthly temper might remain within the sheath. The infant Church, subsisting in the heart of a military empire, and expecting from on high a military rescue, was not itslf to fight; not, however, because force was in all cases 'brutal' and 'heathenish,' but because, in this case, it was to be angelic and celestial. It is evident that precepts given under the influence of these ideas can have no just application to the actual duties of citizens and states, whose problems of conduct, whose very existence, they never contemplated; and that to urge them upon modern society as political canons is to introduce a doctrine which, under cover of their form, violently outrages their spirit."

The early Christians, as well as Jesus, looked forward to a swift and

sudden advent of the Kingdom of God and the destruction of all evil by the intervention of God. Therefore there was no point to the individual man to attack evil in this instance or that instance. God himself was about to it on a large, vast scale. In that sense was Jesus pacifistic, not in any political sense.

As far as Judaism was concerned, it was never Pacifistic, not even in this sense. Judaism was prophetic.

The Commandment: "Thou shalt not kill" which is so frequently quoted by Pacifists, does not mean that at all. It means: "Thou shalt not murder". Judaism recognized two types of war - the obligatory war, and the war of free choice.

There was war where men were commanded to go to war by divine sanction - the war of self defense as well as the wars to exterminate the neighboring tribes that were thought in the sight of people to threaten their physical existence and religious integrity. Nobody was absolved from bearing arms in Judaism except the man who had betrothed a wife but had not married her, the man who had built a house and had not yet dedicated it, and the man who had planted a vinyard but who had not used the fruit thereof. These people were not to go to war. These people were to stay in their respective provide water and food for the army. communities and to build their roads, They were to do military service without actually engaging in war.

But that does not mean, of course, that Judaism does favor war. Quite the contrary! Judaism deprecates war. Judaism and the Jewish people were the first to proclaim the ideal of a warless world, a world of international disarmament. I read this morning the great prophecy of Mikka Micah, repeated also by Isaiah. Judaism was the first to be federated into a sort of league of free peoples who determined their international relationships not by violence but by law. Among our Jewish people we never had Treitzkes, Clemsewitz, Fichtes

and Nietzsches, who proclaimed the ideal of the "will to power". Nowhere in the literature of Israel will you find such expressions as this. "You say that a good cause sanctifies any war." "I say that a good war sanctifies every cause". This is Neitzsche's philosophy. He also said - and his philosphy has now become a pattern of Nazism and Fascism - "The great men of the future must necessarily be a criminal, a man who is the scourge of humanity, who in order to realize the expansion of his personality needs great tombs in order to obtain his object.

Judaism believes in the expansion of personality, not through conquest and subjugation of other people, but through service and sacrifice. Judaism believed in the principle of peaceful compromise as more acceptable in the sight of God.....Seek peace, seek peace, and pursue it - that was the principle of Judaism...

From the point of view of religion, neither Christianity nor Judaism is opposed to a program of national defense, not is opposed to a program of cinscription of citizens for military service.

But much can be said against conscription on purely secular grounds —
the wisdom of it, the practical wisdom of it, as I and many others have
questioned, not because we are opposed to national defense, or a defensive
war and military training, but because we question the necessity of conscription
law at this time. We have a sizeable army which by congressional enactment
was increased to 450,000. Men were enlisted in this army at the rate of twenty
to thirty thousand as volunteers. It was clear that many more would enlist
as more were needed if the period of enlistment were reduced from three to
one year and if army pay were made more attractive. Besides this army of
450,000 we have our national guard, mobilized by law and made part of the
effective

American

Together our army would have, after a
brief period of time, around three quarters of a million men, large enough,

emergency unless we intend to send expeditionary forces abroad, which was stoutly denied even by the advocates of the Conscription Law. Our embassador Mr. John P. Kennedy, to the Court of St. James, who recently returned from England in a public broadcast said that one of the worst things imaginable as far as the ultimate victory of the allies is concerned was our going to war, and the sending of expeditionary forces, according to him, are utterly out of the question. That being the case, why peace-time conscription?

Major George Eliot said that an army of 600,000 would be maximum requirement, including the mational guard for defense in war time. That being the case, why peace-time conscription?

Again, this sizeable army of nearly three-quarters of a million, according to the testimony of all, is inadequately equiped, insufficiently mechanized, lacking pretty nearly everything a modern army needs to gi fight with in a modern war. It lacks plans, anti-aircraft guns, tanks, motor vehicles of all kinds. It was adequat for the war of 1914, not for a war of 1940, and according to the testimony of all, it would require two to three years more to adequately equip this army at hand. Why, then, peace-time two or conscription? And at the end of/three years, the emergency may not exist.

Military experts again agreed that a small army, properly equipped is far more effective in modern warfare than a large army. In fact large armies are in the way. That was the philosophy of General De Gaulle. He prophecied many years before that France would not be able to use half of her army. He advocated a small, stream-lined highly mobilized army for the defense of France.

What Washington knew one hundred and fifty years ago is even more valid today. Our objective ought to be to have a good army rather than a large army. What, then, was the rush to enlist all young men from the ages of 21 to 35 in an effort to build up speedily an army of millions when

our small army is still inadequately equipped?

The other day a military expert of the New York Times, Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin, addressed the Foreign Affairs Council in our city, and he made this observation. He said that "a number of Army officers had told him they can't understand where or how we can use our huge conscript Army.

"It may have been created to fight in Europe, or it may be for national unity. Unless it's very carefully handled it won't be for unity, but may merely stir up more war hysteria."

"He said that the Army is way behind in plans and ammunition, that it is also short of housing and clothing. 'I don't see how they will ever be able to take care of the first 400,000 conscripts before spring, and even then many of them will have to wear old World War uniforms'."

Our first line of defense is/the army; it is the navy. It is the air-firce. And this conscription law does not add to the navy. It does not add one plane. Why, then, this sudden urgency to foist a system, a conscription system upon the American people in peace-time, a system which has been repugnant to the American sense except as it was enacted in war.

It is, of course true, that this law is for a five year period.

Many people hope that at the termination of this time that the law will be revoked. I join this hope. However once laws enacted, it is very hard to revoke them. Canada has been at war, is actually in the war for a year now, and it is only recently that they have enacted a conscription law. But to this day they have not applied it.

This conscription bill was not introduced by the administration. The President of the United States did not approve of it and did not endorse it, until weeks after the bill was introduced into Congress. The Army disclaimed the authorship of the Bill. In fact, prior to the introduction of that Bill, a high Army official said: "Our country is perfectly safe with an army of

Possibly some very intense patriots. Possibly some people who thought it was a fine way of stamping out radicalism in the United States. Perhaps it was in the general mood of the stampede in our land. This being an election year, very few found it advantageous vigorously and consistently to oppose it.

And the law is here. American citizens should accept it and see that the law is efficiently, patriotically carried out. We can only express our strong hope that the law will contribute to the strengthening of America, to strengthening of democratic sentiments. Some of us entertain the hope that as soon as the clouds lift, and as soon as the mood of fear disappears from American life, that this law will be quickly and speedily rejected, for the future, my friends, of the whole world lies not in building up armament but in the creation of those institutions and agencies of international order and security which for will make disarmament and demilitarization of people, and for peace...

as I and many others Not bee opposed Nat Defere- war. Military Training does troved beensty - at this livie Had sizeable anny in crosed 450.000 20.000-30000 Volunteers - endstrumt liberalized Nat. Grand- mobilized To Fether - 3/4 M. - large enough - Exped. Fra. denied- Joseph P. Kennedy- Major Geo. Elist. 60000 Why then the had for Peace. time consciption! equilit - crisuff. wehaviged - lacked fresh planes- anti-an auft - tanks. - motor-vehrelig Why not first - 2-3 peus - Emergency may no longer military experts agree - small , more effection man-primer og large proportion not required -Sen He Caulle Our object orght to be to have a food army & large one What was the rush - 21-35 - to build up army of unlawis - when an small army inalegrally egnifit. Harison W. Balduri -Our furt line plefever - We need - hothing in When was weesnot to Frist & refugerant
5 year limit! Vested interes - Bennamate Enscriptum law

Canada - at War for one a year - (6)

Cruse. Bill not unshocked - adminishater - Pres. - ending

Did not one, with army. Beforely soft with

375.000

Pashioteur - stampele - Elether year.

arrentamens

VI. It is Here! Make lest of I! Papeal.

WRHS ©©©





### HURON

Barie, Pt. Colborne, light; ord, Allouez, ore. Barrie, coal; W. D. Crawford.

### LORAIN

Filbert, limestone: Bark-Con-ht: Zenith City, ore: Windoc, coal: Filbert, light; ution, coal.

## AIRPORT HARBOR

: Glenelg, Toronto, light.
): Dow Chemical, Toledo, light;
ronto, coal; Tug North Harbor,
w, Cleveland.

**ASHTABULA** Gleneagles, Hamilton, light; Duluth, ore; Midland Prince,

light.
Gleneagles, Hamilton, coal;
light: Midland Prince, Tor-CONNEAUT

CONNEAUT

H. C. Frick, O. M. Poe,
Duluth, ore; R. P. Ranney,
Ight: Conneaut, Fleetwood, DeJudge Kenefick, Sarnia, light;
H. C. Frick, Duluth coal;
E. H. Gary, Duuth, light; R.
Harriet, N. Y.; coal; Alpena,
coal; Fleetwood, Detroit, steel;
fick, Montreal, steel.

## ERIE

ERIE

J. P. Burke, light.

J. P. Burke, Pt. Alfred, coal.

tution, coal.

W. D. Calverly Jr., South
ain; Sonoma, Detroit, autos;
Ashtabula, coal; Ingalls, De
Jas. Davidson, Ashtabula,
Detroit, autos; Hartford
adian port, light; E. J. Bernland, stone; La Balle, Suore; Algorail, Superior port,
Barnes, Canadian port, light,
Friday; E. W. Mudge, 8:50
Erie, light; Harry Yates, 12:05
Erie, light; Harry Yates, 12:05
Erie, light; King, 12:50, Dui; Burlington Socony, 1:20,
ort, oil; Sonoma, 3:40, DeIngalls, 5:50, Detroit, light;
barge Tyrone, 6:55, Duluth,
oil, 7:55, Toledo, light; W. D.
8:25, light; Mead, 10:20, De-

Saturday: E. J. Berwin, 4:15 port. light. CHICAGO

Athabasca, South Cl Chelan, Indiana Harbor SOUTH CHICAGO Chicago

International. Superior. ore: wford. Duluth. ore: Athabasca. ise.; Saskadoc. Detroit. light: ers. Milwaukee, mdse.; B. H. ite. stone: E. A. S. Clarke. Dal: A. Orr. Milwaukee. light: Marquette. ore. J. Stanton. Perkins. Two ht: Athabasca. Pt. McNicoll. hational. Superior. light; B. H. te, light.

NDIANA HARBOR

Lake Chelan, Chicago, steel; son, Toledo, coal; Maine.

nson. nson. Toleda, it, light, it, light, Tristan. Milwaukee. light; pit. gas; N. F. Leopold. Mar-Zephyr, St. Joe, gas; J. C. Haven, gas; G. A. Tomlin-bors, light; Maine, Cleveland.

A. C. Dinkey. Toledo. coal. A. C. Dinkey. Two Harbors. MILWAUKEE

# Arthur Orr, mdse.: Tristan.

loa, Lake Michigan, light; tht: A. Orr. mdse.

BAY CITY Carrollton.

ESCANABA

Ashley, Steelton, Hobson, Ashley, Steelton, Hobson, ore.

ALPENA

# Diamond Alkali, light. Friday: Diamond Alkali, Fair-J. S. Gypsum, Fairport, stone. ROCKPORT

Priday: Aetna, Bay City, stone. MARQUETTE

McAlpine, Munising, Colonel, e: E. P. Smith, Ashtabula, ore;

### ore ASHLAND

P. D. Block. Arcturus. Indi-ore; Grand Island. H. H. er Adams, Cleveland, ore; ilton. ore. vler A DULUTH

Ace, mdse.; Bunsen, light;
Martha Allen, oil; Snyder Jr.,
im Mather, Venus, Pathfinder,
s. Wilbert Smith, Maryland,
nsend, light; Homer Williams,
ay, light; Adriatic, coal;
i Thompson, Heekin, Henry
Beth, Gov. Miller, Harvey
od. Schiller, Pollock, light;
ent; Taplin, cars; Ericsson
y; Harvester, Pontiac, Humis, McKinney, light; Parks,
arse C., oil; Stephenson towing
eonard Hanna, Hulst, Hartwell.

ED Friday: Louis Hill 9:40 a. m.. rt Wallace 10:50. ore: Stackhouse n. ore: Ball Bros. 2:10. ore: Bunore: Olcott 6:45. ore: Pathfinder; Snyder Jr. 8:20. ore: House e; William Reiss 11. ore: Postel: Norway 11:10, ore; William 1:10. ore. ED Saturday: McFarland 12:05 ap iron: David Thompson 12:40. nsend 12:40. ore; Heekin 1, ore: 2:20, ore; Maryland 3:15. ore: 15. ore: Gov. Miller 3:30. ore; d 4:30. ore; Harvey Brown 4:55. ester 6 ore.

TWO HARBORS TWO HARBORS D: Taylor. Mataafa. Buffington, se. Fay Brown, McLean, Ellwood, light.
D Friday: Taylor. Mataafa.
J. C. Morse, Fay Brown. Meteric. ore.
Eric. ore.
D Saturday: Ellwood, Lake Eric.

# Saturday: Ellwood, Lake Erie,

PT. ARTHUR D: Kenora, Toronto, flour; Bay-rich, grain; Superior, Owen in: Hagarty, Allouez, light; Cal-nt Edward, flour,

# in Test With Says Knox

Are Approaching

of Decision"

ued From Page One)

is by Japanese statesmen was ready to fight if the was ready to fight if the even thousands, of saboteurs in the ht by force to interfere United States. Every shipyard, fac-

ogram. carded most of his prech when he appeared at my exercises. my exercises. But the trment said the prepared

epresented his views. his extemporaneous renox spoke of the "hour

# **Military Expert** Says We Are in **War Without Plan**

N. Y. Times Writer Tells Foreign Affairs Council Deficiencies of U.S.

We're already in the war, yet we have absolutely no plan for our defense," Hanson W. Baldwin, military and naval expert of The New York Times, to-



Mr. Baldwin

told Cleveday land's Foreign Affairs Council in Hotel Statler ballroom. "We've drawn

figures out of a hat to decide how many men we need and how many planes we need. without considering intelligently our

actual requirements, what we want to defend and against whom," he said Annapolis The lanky graduate, who served as an officer with our

fleet until he took up military writing 13 years ago, summed up our immediate defense necessities as follows: A COMPLETE plan for hemisphere defense-"deciding wheth-

er we're going to have to defend against Japan as well." A STRATEGICAL planning board-"Germany has had one Britain just got one." all along;

ELIMINATION of bottlenecks in our preparations, "particularly legal and unwritten bottlenecks." AN AGGRESSIVE defense

"Immediately stocking our newly acquired naval bases long-range bombers." MORE NAVAL BASES-par-

ticularly at Recife on the shoulder of Brazil." "We've completely confused

issue of defense," he said. "We have mixed up the war abroad with hemisphere defense. Too Many Pursuit Planes

## He asserted we were ordering far too many short-range pursuit planes

which are not the best type for our defense, "because Britain needs defense, Britain them." "What we give to Britain should be up to our chiefs of staff and not up to William Allen White's commit-

he said "Next summer many will be surprised to find out that we still have very few combat planes. That's because 90 per cent of them

are going to England. In fact, our Navy's total of combat planes tually decreased in the period tween April and August." Questions Big Army Mr. Baldwin said that a number of Army officers had told him they

## can't understand where or how we use our huge conscript Army.

"It may have been created to fight in Europe, or it may be for national Unless it's very carefully unity. handled it won't be for unity, but

may merely stir more up hysteria," he said. He said that the Army is 'way behind in planes and ammunition, that it also is short of housing and clothing. "I don't see how they will ever be able to take care of the first 400,000 conscripts before

spring, and even then many of them will have to wear old World uniforms," Mr. Baldwin said. Referring to the United States' trade of over-age destroyers to Britain for naval bases in the Atlantic, Mr. Baldwin said: "We haven't paid the full price for that yet . . . and that price may be eventually paid in the blood of our

under their iron rule. Both as an American and as an official of Navy, I know differently. If a fight is forced upon us, we shall be ready for them. We have never lost a war yet. "An adequate Navy at this time

soldiers."

demands that we be able to meet enemies far from our own shores and defeat them in both oceans—simultaneously if necessary. The conquest of Europe and the possibly successful invasion of England are problems we must face realistically, with swift action." Knox said there are hundreds.

tory, arsenal and powder plant must be guarded. At the same time,

most precautions must be taken, Knox emphasized, to prevent the abrogation of freedom in the fight to preserve it. Closer co-operation between the U. S. and Canada in restricting ex-

ports to Japan was predicted, mean-

time, by informed quarters.

parts of his prepared life has never been I Schments Return

# The Cleveland Press

(A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER)

LOUIS B. SELTZER--General Manager JOHN G. MEILINK-WORTH C. COUTNEY--Business Manager

Phone CHerry 1111

Full Report of United Press, NEA Service and Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance.



Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way.

Established November 2, 1878. Published at E. Ninth street and Rockwell avenue each day excepting Sunday.

Delivered by carrier in Greater Cleveland at 18 cents a week. Payment for subscriptions in advance should be made direct to our office.

By mail in Ohio, where there is no Press carrier, \$4.00 per year—\$6.00 per year elsewhere in United States.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1940

# NOW CLEAN THIS UP

LBERT RUDDY was convicted of extortion today as was to have been expected by any person who followed even casually the great volume of testimony against him.

Unless the conviction should be reversed on appeal, he will follow to the penitentiary several other crooked labor leaders who used their power to call strikes as a weapon for private blackmail, enriching themselves and betraying their unions. The number includes Don Campbell,

John E. McGee and Harry Barrington, chief witness in the Ruddy trial. The extent to which the jury believed

Barrington's testimony will not, of course, be known, since there was ample evidence besides his for the conviction. But at the lowest possible valuation of his testimony, it constitutes ground for the most sweeping investigation into labor racketeering this community has ever seen. Barrington, who himself had worked the racket for years, undertook to tell all,

and he told plenty. He mentioned the names of half a dozen labor leaders as participants in the kind of graft he was engaged in. In some instances, he was reporting only hearsay, and without corroborating evidence nobody would convict all the people he mentioned or even form a strong private opinion as to their guilt. But his testimony, as it affected others, cannot be disregarded by the Grand Jury. Regardless as to the guilt or innocence

leadership of the Cleveland Federation of Labor has not all been exposed, punished, and stopped. It must be stopped. The punishments of the courts are a means to that end. The rank and file of the federation unions

could bring it to an end themselves, with or without any more prosecutions, if they

of individuals, it is obvious that the chronic

graft that has been too prevalent in the

had the courage to make the fight. Even with so many of the old leaders convicted and discredited, the fight would not be easy. The closed shop gives the crooked leader a powerful hold on the membership. The man who talks back in meeting can be caught in some trival violation of the rules and booted out of a chance to work just as easily as Barrington and Ruddy found excuses in violated rules for shaking down contractors. The kind of blackmail that Campbell, McGee, Barrington and Ruddy practiced has been one factor in making Cleveland famous as the most costly city in the

tion that can seriously impair the city's future. It handicaps the city in competition for new industry, for plant expansions, and contracts for existing industry. Magnificent work has already been done by Prosecutor Cullitan, his assistants and Safety Director Ness in this and the previous cases. But the job is not finished.

They should finish their part and union

men should do their own to end this civic

country to build anything. It is a condi-

disgrace and take the brakes off the em-

ployment of labor. FOR CLEVELAND'S SOLDIERS

TEN days from now, the mobilization of the Cleveland units of the National Guard will begin. A few days later they

It is our prayer that this tells the whole story of the military duty that will be required of these boys. But they know as well as anybody else

will go to camp for a year's training.

that this may not be all. They know that they may be going away for an experience that will end in war.

Tonight there is to be a big ball at the Public Auditorium for Cleveland's national guardsmen. The community will do well to turn out

and show its fellowship

that the Gov ployers who orders withou to amount t have the ter of bureaucr appeals have And this pu to the com cases, if Mr. it will be ex through inter gram.

# REGISTRA

F you are never go dential election vote in Nove

The fact velt or Lando long suffrage. registration o tration lists

Persons wh franchise at dropped fron

Those jus large group Election's re portant that number may Guard or se tion day a registered.

An easy w Hall any tin polling place open next N for getting unless your franchised in

THE

WHERE of a anything or him some ment when of the sale Now Mr

sales tax w in its place

ET'S no

membe abundant lis of this gen have a bill to more th \$14,500,000,0 that raising is the next Also, tha ing advertis

item in app humanitaria a dangerous time must We think basis is a p which final

tarianism. We were st now, if we fa ment today is business did the same hors Are we, as a n

been paper pr

unpaid, let's n Such inade being taken i billions-do n the rich and

mistake twice

And, as we

gasoline. Th those least al shall be-unt On a basis year-leaving if every inco confiscated (

sales taxes-

the Rockefe other fat one run the Gov income abov

days.

posterity.

DANGER

life, and the

Think that

EAST TH play considerabl school play land a we

The stances of disq

ffection for