



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
156

Box
55

Folder
478

Up in the air, 1935.

430

WRHS

UP IN THE AIR

Father Coughlin -- Huey Long -- General Johnson



By

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

At

The Temple

On

Sunday morning, March 24th, 1935

A few weeks ago, the air of our political life was blue with the acrimonious radio debate of three people -- General Johnson, Senator Long and Father Coughlin. And our nation was regaled by the display of high power invective, abuses, denunciation and satire, both lay and cleric. It seemed as if the whole nation were at a ring side witnessing a prize fight in which heavy weight champions were determined to lay each other out before the whole town. Not any of the debaters in this debate which involved the most urgent economic political problems of our day appealed to reason more than he appealed to passion. Each one of them was determined to demolish his opponent.

It was all so symptomatic of the new mood and temper of the American people, a temper which has become rather tense and querrulous and irritable in recent years. The five long years of the depression have begun to tell. It is questionable whether these debaters have contributed anything to the clarification of issues or to clear thinking among our people. There was altogether too much heat in what they said and too little light. I, for one, am persuaded that General Johnson, for example, could have rendered his cause a much greater service if he had contented himself with a forceful, calm, objective, critical analysis and expose of the position of his opponents without indulging in personal acrimonies and attack. It is, in my humble judgment, too late in the day, or perhaps too early in the day to try to laugh off these opponents with wisecracks because these opponents are great not in themselves but great because of circumstances

which made them and gave them their following. And circumstances cannot be lightly laughed off.

Father Coughlin, Senator Long and Townsend are, after all, the mouthpieces of social distress. They are the new leaders to whom the masses are turning today because the old leaders seemingly have failed to give them what the masses felt they were entitled to have. Not one of these men, Coughlin, Long or Townsend is a big man in any sense of the word. They are not very autonomous. They are not original thinkers or great intellects. In normal times these people would not have been heard from in all probability. In normal times Father Coughlin would have been the parish priest of a locality devoting himself to his pastoral work with perhaps a weakness which so many people priests and rabbis have -- a weakness for the radio. Senator Long would have remained the political party boss of his State and Dr. Townsend would have been a rather good natured visionary idealist who would have been invited once or twice a week to address some women's club.

But in abnormal times, my friends, and these are abnormal times, such as our country has never before witnessed, the Senator can muster an organization of three and one-half million people and the priest can rally around him a crowd of perhaps eight million people and the doctor can obtain more than twenty million to rally round him for the old age pension. They are rather small people standing on the shoulders of great events and great national needs, just as Hitler, a humble house painter, raised himself up on the shoulders of a tidal wave of a national emergency and became a national figure.

These people must be taken quite quite seriously, my friends, because they speak to and they speak for millions of our people who have

vast grievances, millions of our people who want what life has denied them, security and a chance for a decent living. These people speak for millions of our citizens whom five years of depression have impoverished -- who stand today appalled by the terrific insecurity of their lives, their savings gone, their homes gone, their jobs gone, their future prospects gloomy. Millions upon millions of American citizens which millions have been taught right through these years that there is enough of social good in this country to make everyone in these United States safe and secure, that there is enough to go round, that there is no need to go without the necessities of life. They have been led to believe that. They have been persuaded to that and rightly so, because there is enough to go around. They wonder what is keeping this just distribution of the national wealth from reaching them, what maladjustment, what sinister force is depriving them of their patrimony, what is denying them access to the promised land.

People have had five years in which to think. Now these men come to them and tell them what is wrong. These men tell them and point out the way out very simply, very directly. Now the way which they point may be misleading. The way may be deceptive, but in the absence of any other ways, they are willing to follow these Messianic guides. Their glamorous programs of quick salvation appeal to our people. They are food to the hungry and water to the thirsty. They are the vast consolation of the American people today.

Senator Long, for example, tells his followers that the root of our economic difficulties today is the heavy concentration of wealth in the hands of a few -- which is undoubtedly true. This is one of the major causes

of our economic debacle. What is the solution? Share the wealth! Distribute the wealth. That is enough for the average man to hear. The cause is the concentration of wealth and the solution is the distribution of wealth. The details of the program do not concern him so much. How does Senator Long plan to share wealth? By socialism, or communism which are after all scientifically thought out plans of national appropriation of wealth, national distribution of wealth? Not at all. He is not a socialist and he is not a communist nor are any of his followers. The very details of socialism and communism are abhorrent to him. In spite of his slogan "Share the wealth" Senator Long remains a disciple of old-fashioned capitalism. How? He takes paper and pencil and figures: Let's limit all private wealth to five million dollars. (That's not so bad.) No man should have more than five million dollars. No man should have an income of more than one million dollars annually. (We can subscribe to that too.) The surplus of wealth should be confiscated. All those who have more than five million dollars should have the surplus taken away from them and it should be distributed among those whose wealth is less than five thousand dollars a year. The wealth of those who earn five thousand and five million is not to be touched. And the income of those in excess of one million annually shall be taken away from them and distributed to those who earn less than twenty-five hundred dollars annually. Every man ought to have a house, a radio and an automobile. Now what is wrong with that? When you press the Senator for a logical program by which this wealth is to be expropriated or distributed or by an insurgent charge, "How is this to be done?" he is at a loss to be of help.

It is clear to any human being that the private wealth of individuals is not in cash, in gold or in currency. The great wealth of individuals

is in terms of factories, mines, industrial plants. How are these to be broken up and distributed? You cannot give this man a wheel and that man an exhaust pipe. But it appeals. The idea of taking away money from those who have too much, which is a good idea, to those who have not enough -- that appeals, because there are people who have too much and there are millions and millions in our land who haven't enough.

The plan of Dr. Townsend -- the old age plan. He appeals to those millions of our people who are perhaps the most pitiful victims of our industrial immorality -- the aged who are so soon scrapped by our high tension industrial organization and for whom so little provision has been made. Every man, when he reaches the age of sixty, will stop working. He shall be pensioned. He shall receive \$200 a month which amount he must spend during the given month. That, according to Dr. Townsend will accomplish a few things. First of all, it will remove seven or eight million people from the labor market and will make it possible for young people to work. It will put in circulation every month a billion and one half dollars. This will increase the purchasing power of our people. Where is this money to come from? Here again the average person is not very much concerned. He feels well, now I am getting close to sixty. My savings have been used up. My children will not be able to support me. What is there for me in the future? Here is a plan to give him security in old age, more, perhaps, than he ever earned in his whole life. And that appeals.

But this money has to be raised, and as the plan suggests -- through a sales tax, which sales tax would probably amount to nineteen or twenty billion dollars annually. It means that the average American worker would

be compelled to set aside from his wages twenty-five to forty percent for the support of these people. In other words the worker who has to maintain a family during his working years will be compelled to set aside a huge portion of his weekly earnings to take care of those who are sixty in order that they may live on a scale two or three times ^{higher} than their own. It is not enough. But it appeals.

You take the sixteen point program of Father Coughlin. There is a great deal in his program. The Father has practically ignored entirely his whole program and has centered upon one point to the exclusion of all the rest of his program. The root of our economic depression today is the stringency of our currency and credit. The devil in the picture is the banks, the private bankers who control credit and control the whole economic life of the American people. The solution is nationalizing credit. Do away with the banker's bank and the Federal Reserve Bank. Establish a national bank. If the government needs money, instead of borrowing money from bankers, let the government issue money. Withdraw all interest from circulation...

Now I am not an economist. I am inclined to believe that there is a good deal of sound judgment, good economics in this plan of establishing a national bank to regulate credit and money. On the other hand, the focussing of the whole solution of our complex economic problem upon this one thing in the hope that this is the way to salvation is misleading. There are nations abroad which have had national banks which have controlled the currency and credit but which have not escaped the rigors and curse of the economic depression.

Furthermore, Father Coughlin's program is a program of inflation, and the experience of the world with inflation, as you well know, has not

been a happy one. A certain amount of inflation may be desirable. But there is no such thing as a certain amount of inflation. Inflation creates no wealth, my friends. It ultimately impoverishes those who have but does not enrich those who have not.

The focussing of the whole solution upon the establishment of national credit as against credit as controlled by private banks without making provision for national economic planning, without making provision for a proper adjustment of production and distribution, without the adjustment of hours of labor and wages is misleading and deceptive and will only serve to turn the minds of the people from the real solution to a quick luncheon method which cannot help to solve the entire problem. But it appeals.

The element of danger, as I see it, in these movements started by Father Coughlin, Senator Long, not to speak of the movement sponsored by Dr. Townsend, is first of all their utter vagueness, the fact that in two of these three instances they were built around individuals, personalities. They give one the feeling that they may mislead themselves and others in the of their careers.

Senator Long, for example, while he speaks of every man, while becoming the champion of the little man, the forgotten man, has had no scruples about establishing a virtual dictatorship in Louisiana. He has had no scruples about trampling under foot all of the democratic institutions. Senator Long has established a monopoly in his State such as few dictatorships in the world have established. He controls everything, every officer, every judge, everything. Such a man is a menace because

while speaking democracy he destroys democracy. Such a man, while defending the little man will have absolutely no scruples when the time comes, to victimize the little man and turn him over bound hand and foot to the capitalist against whom he has seemingly waged a battle. That is the nature of dictators, my friends.

Father Coughlin is an earnest man, a sincere man, I am convinced, a man clearly devoted to the ideals of social justice. I do not question his motives. On the other hand, I believe that he is potentially a dangerous man. We are inclined to believe that Fascism is a reactionary movement. It is that. It ends up in the blackest reaction. But it doesn't start that way at all.

The Nazis began with a program of national socialism with the emphasis quite as much on socialism as on nationalism. In the program of Twenty-five Points, there were very many radical doctrines as for example: They insisted on the destruction of what we call the "slavery in interest", which is as Father Coughlin believes. They believe in the complete confiscation of all war profits. They called for the distribution of profits of large industries, an increase on a large scale of the security of the aged. They demanded the immediate communalization of large department stores in Germany which were to be rented at moderate prices to small shopkeepers in order to build up a middle class. They asked for the expropriation without compensation land which was to be used for common purposes. They asked for the abolition of interest on land debts -- all very radical measures which measures gained for them the tremendous following of the impoverished middle class, the skilled workers, the professional men, etc.

Once they got into power, all these radical measures were scrapped. What remained in their program were the illiberal reactionary measures, militant nationalism, the smashing of labor unions and anti-Semitism.

In Father Coughlin's program there is involved along with liberal and radical measures, quite a number of reactionary measures which I believe have in them the seeds of possible Fascism. For example, he is a strong nationalist. The term international^{al} in his mouth has become a term of contempt, a brand of shame. It is rather strange coming from a Catholic priest who is a member of the largest international organization the world has ever known -- the Roman Catholic church. Together with William Randolph Hearst, he was responsible for the defeat of the World Court proposal in the Senate of the United States. He brought down an avalanche of telegrams upon the Senators of the United States which intimidated them against voting for this modest method for international peace.

Father Coughlin, though a priest of the church, has in many of his addresses given evidence that he is a militarist, that he endorses the nationalist program of national armament advocated by the army and navy financiers of the United States. In one of his addresses, he calls for the building up of an air flotilla, of ten thousand airships, a program which, by the way, William Randolph Hearst has been championing in this country. While Father Coughlin recognizes the right of labor to organize, he has been rather hesitant in explaining what the right of labor to organize means. What about the 7A clause? His own church was built with non-union labor.

Father Coughlin is vehement in his denunciation of Reds, socialists or communists. Yet one has failed to find in any of his eloquent utterances at any time a strong courageous championing of free speech, of free press,

the right of free assembly -- things which are being endangered today in this country and throughout the world. These are signs which point in a certain direction which the good Father may or may not ultimately take.

Then there is this matter of Judaphobia -- anti-Semitism, which is also one of the stock-in-trades of the Fascist. Father Coughlin has not declared himself on this subject. He has once or twice intimated that he is not anti-Semitic. Nevertheless, a careful study of the man's works and utterances lead one to the conclusion that the Father is either an anti-Semite or is on the way to becoming one -- perhaps feeling his way toward it.

A year ago, you may recall that Father Coughlin was a great champion of the remonitization of silver. The gold standard was the root of all evil. Salvation was in raising the price of silver so that China and other countries who were customers of exports would buy. When the price of silver was raised, instead of the Chinese people becoming better customers, they were the impoverished customers of the United States. Chaos overtook China.

Father Coughlin was so convinced that the price of silver was going up that he had his radio guild purchase some five hundred thousand ounces of silver on a ten percent wager. That is to say, he speculated. Now, of course, he is opposed to stock speculation and commodity speculation, generally speaking. We are all opposed to it, generally speaking. He was so sure that President Roosevelt would keep his word and increase commodity prices that he wasn't speculating at all. It was sure profit.

In the course of time, the Treasury Department of the United States found it advisable to publish the names of large owners of silver stock. The name of his radio guild was found among them. There is an element of

There is an element of vindictiveness in Father Coughlin. The head of the Treasury Department was responsible for the discomfiture of the Father. Who was the head of the Treasury Department? Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., a Jew. That was a fortunate break for the Father. He encased himself in shining silver armor of Christian righteousness in combat against the international Jew. - (quote - Jew - Financial Dillinger)

First of all, because Father Coughlin was interested in silver speculation, silver is at once baptized as a gentile metal while gold remains circumcised metal. Notice, too, that the international bankers, the "financial Dillingers" are now the Warburgs, and the Rothschilds. Now it is only the Warburgs and Rothschilds who are the "Financial Dillingers" the international conspirators. Notice again the implication that it is these people, the "Financial Dillingers" that control the gold, that control the world. That is the in the program, the heart of the Protocols of Zion. The Jews are masters of the world through their control of gold.

Now for a time Father Coughlin evaded this approach to the subject. But then General Johnson attacked him and Father Coughlin again resumed same this/method. After paying compliments to General Johnson, rather unorthodox, he passed beyond him and through him to Mr. Baruch. He did not attack him as a Jew. He didn't mention that he was a Jew. But in order to leave no doubt in the minds of his listeners he discovered a middle name for him, Mennaseh. It is one and the same thing -- just so you can suggest in the minds of your listeners. He is the real devil, the real invisible ruler of the United States, the real acting president of the United States, who is a Jew and upon whom you can saddle all the responsibility for all the

unhappiness. And in his eagerness to demolish Mennaseh Baruch, he proceeded to link him up again with the international bankers. In the whole list mentioned, only five names were those of Jewish international bankers. He slipped in the name Morgenthau.

Jews are not the financial masters of the United States. Less than five percent of all the directors of American corporations are Jews. That the Father ignored. He knows the facts. He overlooked them. But he left in the minds of the people that a Jew by the name of Baruch is really the president of the United States. He, together with other Jews who manipulate all the currency in the world are responsible for all the evils which occur.

I am not defending Baruch. He is no friend of mine. As far as Jewish life is concerned he is utterly unknown to us. One of the ironies and tragedies of Jewish life is that the masses of the Jewish people are made to pay the price for some Jews who hover on the periphery of Jewish life and never concern themselves with Jewish life. It is clear in my mind that Father Coughlin may not be able to resist the temptation to exploit the latent anti-Semitic feeling of the masses for the sake of putting through his program of achievement and desire. I hope that he will. It is not yet too late for him to turn his back upon this method of victimizing a whole race for the sake of scoring a point in an argument.

My friends, I close with these words. Prosperity will liquidate all these people, the Coughlins, the Longs and the Townsends. But only prosperity. The race today as I see it is definitely a race between liberal measures which will definitely restore prosperity to our country or these desperate revolutionary methods which will inevitably prolong our country

into Fascism. In the New Deal, measures are involved which will perceptibly solve our problem. These measures must be put through quickly so as to put men back to work, so as to give the aged security through old age pensions, protect men against unemployment through insurance. Wages must be raised so as to increase ^{the} /consumptive power of the masses of our people. Production should not be curtailed. It should be increased because millions of people need the bread, the clothing, the shelter which increased production alone can give them.

All these measures can be enacted and must be enacted quickly by our government. If our government fails, if the counsel of reaction prevails, then these men are bound to have their day. And it will not be a happy day for our people.



4. Answer to Johnson shifts to
Benny Bannick - The Jew!

5. Did not call him "Jew". I invented
misdeed name Mannorah ^{sympathetic} President -

6. "Geting President." Real ruler, Amazons!
Pulley - Blame all evils on Jew!

7. Inter. Bankers - mentions 5 Jewish names
"Red Shield" of Inter. Finance.

8. There are all well known, start-up had
arg. of all Europ. stems. Antisemitism.

9. No defense, Bannick - not financial
maker, Amazons - etc.

4.770 5 elements, Am. Corp. answers

7. - Evils to be remedied.

Security

1. Profits too high
wages too low

2. Taxation inadequate

3. Balance Prod. & Consump. not by reducing
produce. but by increasing cons. than higher
wages -

10/ May not be able
to resist temptation.

7- Pres. will be guided

Race bet. liberal legislation - + Fascism -

1- Air blue with a crimmon ^{radio} debate - bet 3 men.
Nation was regaled with high-powered invective,
abuse, denigration, sarcasm & phrase-mongering
Each debater of most vital public issues appealed
less - sought to demolish ^{to day}
Symbols of temper of an people's temper,
touchy, querulous and irritable. The
long depression has begun to tell
Questionable when Gen. Johnson whether debate
contributed to clearer thinking - Too
much heat - Not enough light.
We are persuaded that Gen. Johnson - epoch
punching act - making -
Too early or too late to try to laugh off
wise cracks - Their strength - in ex-
circumstances - and circumstances cannot

2. Cog - Long - Townsend - mouthpieces of social
distress - of nat. discontent -
They are the new leaders to whom
Not one of them is a big man - In normal
times -
In abnormal times -

They are small people - shoulders - Hittler

3. ~~to~~ They must be taken seriously.

They speak to and for millions of our people
who are demanding Security and a chance
People whom 5 years of Dep - impoverished -
appalled at the utter insecurity, their lives
- savings gone - homes gone - jobs gone - no
prospects

People who had been taught to believe -

4. These men tell them what is wrong!
They show the way out - Just way - Simple way!
Their way may be misleading - deceptive
but in the absence of other solutions - they
appeal! ... then rush to them - Messiahs!

(a) Senator Long - puts his finger - Concentration of
Wealth - undoubtedly one of the major causes
Solution - Fantastically naive but awfully
appealing: Share the wealth! How? Socialism?
Communism? No! ~~These~~ Such concepts
are abhorrent to this group of orthodox
capitalist disciples, his share-the-wealth slogan
not withstanding.

No man should be allowed to have more than 5 million.
or an income, more than 1 m. annually. Surplus
confiscated and divided among those who have
less than \$5000. Every man should have a house, an
auto. & radio and a minimum income \$2500.

But the wealth, the very rich - over 5 m. - is not
in cash - factories - mines - industrial plants. How are
they to be distributed? You cannot give.

But it appeals - "Every man a King!"

(b) Townsend - appeals to aged - most pitiful
victims - 60-80 - spent - removed from labor market
early retirement! put money

How financed - Sales Tax!

Cost - $1\frac{1}{2}$ b. a month - 18-19 b. yearly.

Tax so huge - 25-40% of his wage -
much better off than he is

appears! In absence of old age pension

(c) Congress (16) ^{staggering currency credit due to} Put in his finger Private
control of banking & credit - undoubtedly
a major cause of the Depression!

Solution: Nationalize Credit. Do away
with the Bankers Bank - "The Fed. Res. Bank"
Establish a National Bank.
With draw from circulation all interest -

Issue currency $2\frac{1}{2} \times$ present billion
Sound! Central Bank!

But Inflation / experience - Savings
And stressing one item - deceptive
Silver - china.

It is not enough! - without planning
But it appeals.

5. Element of danger - ^{Vapour & Peroration} Long - Conklin.
Fascism.

Long - virtual debtless - work -
Such a man will destroy -

Sincere - Social Justice - Courage -

6. Cap. is potentially dangerous

Trusts don't
act by us.

1. ~~Let~~ ^{many} the enemies of Fascist Reactionary!

2. German Nazis - 25 point program

11 - Abolition of Slavery & Futurist
"Zwangsarbeit"

12 - Complete confiscation of war profits

13. Nationalization of all Trusts

14. Distribution of the profits, Pay increases

15. Increase in a day week for all of age 14

16. Government nationalization of large
debt. stores - rented at moderate
prices to small shopkeepers -
in order to build up a healthy middle
class

17. Expropriation without compensation
land which is to be used for common
purposes, abolition of interest on
land debts (Bodenzinsen)

3. When they get into power - all this
is scrap - what remains is
fervent militant nationalism ^{dictatorial} and
Trotskyism - totalitarianism

7. In C - naturalism is my study

1- "International" word, concept -
tho "internal church" W.R.H.

→ 1K - World Court - analysis & Telegrams

2- Father's Conferences Influences - W.R.H. attacked
then they are Huter-Loch - Found for years -

3. Militarist - Journal with W.R.H. Heart

in 10,000 airplanes - Army & Navy
recruit to more -

4. Labor - very workers' up at to org.
church built with non-univ labor
- This provided literature as well -

5. Anti-Rad - as vehement as W.R.H.

6- nothing about Free Speech - Press - Assembly -

8. Terdaphobia

1. NOT declared himself -

W.R.H. a word about
persecution in Germany

2. All imitations - he is on his way
to become - following his way -

3. A year ago - advocate remuneration
Silver - Good Standard root all off
person evils - was so sure that res.
had used remuneration silver - had in radio
should buy 500,000 more silver as 10% more

He speculated - the 70% is, again, to stock
& currency speculation in per. price. So as on
all - but, you see, he relied on power, &
to increase currency - no element, per.
in it. was more profit!

Treas. Dept. published names! & says does
I seem still - Exposed to unpleasant
publicity - was targeted - element, & revelation was in Father
who was to blame for Father's disappearance?

Seeing of Treas. L. who was he? Henry M. D.

a Jew! What a pitiful break!

drag red herring & ambition across trail.
Father for the month succored himself in showing
silver career of Chr. my wilderness in arid wasteland
against saturation of old herbs & fat honey!

(Note) ✓

1. Silver has now vaporized - "Gentile" metal -
Nazis - loan capital - "industrial" capital -
2. Financial Deluges - only Jews mentioned
- at that time was Jews also
3. "Control of world" - they were arguments of Nazis
not true -

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, ANSEL ROAD AND E. 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH 24, 1935.

UP IN THE AIR

The acrimonious radio debate between General Johnson, Senator Long and Father Coughlin is symptomatic of the general temper of our people today. The long depression has begun to tell and we are becoming rather tense, querrulous and irritable. It is questionable whether the debate contributed anything to clear thinking or to the clarification of issues. There was too much heat and not enough light. We are persuaded that General Johnson would have served his purpose better if he had contented himself with a forceful but objective critical analysis and expose of the programs of Long and Coughlin without engaging in personal denunciation. It is too early or too late in the day to try to laugh these men off on the political stage with wisecracks. Their strength lies not in themselves but in circumstances which gave rise to them. And circumstances cannot be laughed off.

Coughlin, Long and Townsend are mouthpieces of social distress. They are the new leaders to whom the masses are turning because the old leaders seemed to have failed them. They are not great economists or original thinkers. But they are men who, standing upon the gigantic shoulders of a great national crisis, have become very important and must be taken seriously.

These men speak to and for millions of our people who have been impoverished by five years of depression and who are appalled at the utter insecurity of their lives with their savings, homes and jobs gone and no prospects for the future. These people are demanding security and a chance at a decent living. They know that there is enough in this country to go around. They are demanding to know what is keeping them from their patrimony -- what economic maladjustment or what sinister forces?

The Coughlins and the Longs are telling them what is wrong. They are showing them a quick and simple way out. The way may be misleading and deceptive but in the absence of other ways they are prepared to follow these messianic leaders.

That there are elements of Fascism in both Coughlin and Long is clear. Only the future can tell whether these men will follow the well trod road of popular capitalistic radicalism which ends up in capitalistic dictatorship.

Fascism never begins as a reactionary movement. It ends up as such. In the twenty-five point program of the German-Nazis, there were included such radical measures as the destruction of the "slavery of interests, the nationalization of all trusts, the distribution of the profits of large industries, and the expropriation without compensation of land for common use." But the Nazis were wedded to capitalism and when they got into power, all these radical measures were scrapped. What remained of their program was its militant nationalism, its political dictatorship, the smashing of labor unions and anti-Semitism.

In Father Coughlin, too, nationalism is very strong. The term "international" in his mouth is a word of contempt. This is rather strange coming from one who is a member of one of the oldest international organizations in the world -- The Roman Catholic Church. Together with William Randolph Hearst, another super-nationalist, he was instrumental in defeating the World Court proposal in the Senate of the United States. Like Hearst, he is an advocate of maximum national armament. He is for the right of labor to organize, generally speaking. But in the present situation that is altogether too vague and hardly helpful. He is vehement in his denunciation of the Reds. But one has been waiting for his strong championing of free speech, free press and the right of free assembly at a time when these basic American institutions are being threatened.

Prosperity will liquidate the Longs, the Coughlins and the Townsends. Nothing else will.