GOUGHLIN US. SOCIAL JUSTICE

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CHAPTER ONE

I ACCUSE...

I am a Jew.

I was born in America, reared in its schools. The ideas of its people are mine, its traditions mine, its goals mine. I know there are five million more Jews like me. I know the will of that five million is identical with the will of the American people as a whole. I know that, because since the cradle, I have lived, associated and worked with the Gentile as well as with the Jew. I went through the schools with Protestant and Catholic, Negro and white. We played ball together in the lots. We sought work together. What was close to the hearts of these boys was near to mine. We felt very little difference in our lot. When we came of age we went to the polls together, Jew and Gentile. As it was with me, so it is with the vast majority of my brothers. We grew to manhood living and thinking as Americans.

On occasion I heard of anti-Semitism; I encountered it but infrequently. I knew of the Klan, once saw it march through the streets. But the great majority of the people thought it was crackpot, laughed at it. I remember Henry Ford and his Protocols of Zion. But the great majority of the people seemed to classify his actions on par with the Kleagles. These were crackpot phenomena, exceptions, unusual. In the twenties when I came to manhood, if someone spoke to me of anti-Semitism I felt it was something out of the Middle Ages; it belonged to the deal past. Yes, I knew there were some remnants of it, but I felt it was dying and soon would be completely gone, forgotten, as dead as the pogroms of Kishinev.

I was a typical American youth, though I wrote "Jewish" on the questionnaires that asked "Your Religion."

Now, today, 1940, I look about me. Life has changed in my America. What once was exceptional, unusual, now I find frequent. I have sought work and found "No Jews Wanted." I have walked through the streets of New York and found hoodlums beating up Jews. Jewish women have been struck down for being Jewish women. I have come across street-corner meetings and heard violent denunciations of the Jewish people. I have come home and turned on the radio and heard anti-Semitism carried over the air to millions of homes. I have walked down Broadway while the great white lights were on and found newsboys selling an evil little magazine called "Social Justice." I bought that magazine, read it, and discovered a man who wore the cassock of priesthood framing the weirdest libels against the Jewish people. I shall never forget my first impression, glancing through the magazine at the corner of Forty-Second Street and Broadway. Skimming through its pages I found references, statements, allegations that made me feel I was back in the dark time of Torquemada, in the days of the Spanish Inquisition and the Torture-Rack. I had to look up several times to see the great White Way to assure myself I was indeed still living in the Twentieth Century.

Yes, it was true. This was America, today, 1940.

I have studied that magazine since, read all the literature I could find about anti-Semitism in my country, tried to understand why it existed, how it came about. I felt it was of life and death importance to me. I feel it is of life and death importance to the millions of Jews in this country.

But more than that, I feel it is of life and death importance to the American people as a whole.

I discovered anti-Semitism to be part of a vast conspiracy. Certain men and groups of men seek to steal the liberties of this nation and preachments of anti-Semitism is part of their plot.

I am convinced the liberties of the nation are involved.

I am convinced that if freedom is taken from the Jew today, freedom will be stolen from the non-Jew tomorrow.

I am convinced that the vast majority of the nation's 130,000,000 must fight off this monster of anti-Semitism if they wish to save the rights to which they were born under the Constitution of the land.

In the course of coming to these conclusions I should like to tell you some of the things I saw, some of the things I read. I wish to say at the outset that I believe the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin is one of the most dangerous men in America. His is the loudest voice speaking against the Jewish citizens of America.

But I say that anti-Semitism is only part of his racket. He is anti-labor and anti-democracy. He plots against progress.

I charge that he plots to destroy the American Bill of Rights.

I charge that he plots to destroy American religious liberty. I charge that he plots to destroy American political liberty. But this is not all. I believe that he does not plot alone.

There are other conspirators. Powerful groups of men operate in the dark, support him, push his influence over the nation.

Let us examine what is going on, seek to understand the intentions of these plotters. I believe if we know what they are up to, we can defeat them. I believe they can be defeated. It is of life and death importance for all Americans to defeat them.

For these are war days; vast interests seek to involve us in Europe's war. Gigantic plots are being hatched by the enemies of the people.

I believe the fight against anti-Semitism is part of the whole great problem of peace and security in today's America. I believe all the people must work out their destiny, work

in common, and work fast to defeat the saboteurs of peace and democracy.

As the great singer, Paul Robeson sang in the "Ballad For Americans":

"Am I An American?

"I'm just an Irish, Negro, Jewish, Italian, French and English, Spanish, Russian, Chinese, Polish, Scotch, Canadian, Litvak, Swedish, Finnish, Hungarian, Greek and Turk and Czech and double-czech American.

"And that ain't all. I was baptized Baptist, Methodist, Congregationalist, Lutheran, atheist, Roman Catholic, Orthodox Jewish, Presbyterian, Seventh Day Adventist, Mormon, Quaker, Christian Scientist and lots more."

I believe all these things first and foremost as a check and double-check American.

We will not allow Coughlin to double-cross the double-check Americans.

CHAPTER TWO

SOMEBODY CARES

I am a young man, not much different from millions of others in America. I read the papers and I have some ideas, and it seems to me that the issues involved—peace, work, security—are the biggest ones before us today. And while thinking about life and death questions, I have to earn my daily bread. I have family responsibilities and I have thought a great deal about the whole business. I've had trouble finding work; when I have work I've had trouble making both ends meet. The cost of food in the cupboard comes high, and it is rising all the time. My wife complains she can't get the necessary things for the kid—the oranges and the cream and the butter. It's got me worried all the time. I think

about these things and look for the answers. And I don't know how many millions like me are looking for the answers.

There are men who set themselves up as leaders in America, who claim they have the answers. One of these is Father Coughlin. I read what he has to say in his Social Justice because I know thousands of young men are reading his words, or hearing them over the radio every Sunday.

Now, the Father's paper has on its editorial page a statement of his principles. Sixteen of them. One of them, the 2nd, calls for a "Just Living Annual Wage." Right. That's just what I want. I follow his paper to see what he has to say to America's young men about getting a just living wage.

Here is what I find. Another young man like me writes a desperate letter to Social Justice, in its February 26, 1940 issue. It sounds true as life to me and I would like to quote from it. The fellow is a citizen of McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, was raised in an orphan asylum, went to the CCC camps, was discharged, went on W.P.A., worked for a while, then got private employment again. "That is up to the present," he writes, "but that's not what I want to say." Then he says what he wants to say and it concerns every young American.

"You may have read in the papers of that fellow who was going to commit suicide on Christmas. He wrote it in to the Sun Telegraph and got the job. Well that is only one fellow compared to the thousands today. I would just love to get up on some heavily traveled street and talk to the people, but I suppose I would be there till I died with no result.

"There should be somebody on this earth who can help us younger fellows. If something isn't done there won't be any United States on the globe in another ten years! Because we will all go mad or be criminals from lack of honest and sincere living conditions.

"I am a very regular listener to your broadcast and thought I would write and see what you could do, or if you think I am just plain crazy. All the young fellows that are out of work that I talk to say it's no use to try to be upright or decent. Because there isn't anybody interested. Well, if there isn't God bless this country in a couple of years more.

"Finland is more in need of money than our own people over here, it seems. Well, it seems to me I once heard that charity begins at home. It certainly doesn't look that way . . . "

Now, I can understand that boy, I can feel every one of his feelings, understand every one of his thoughts. Hopelessly, he looks about for a way to live. He hears Father Coughlin over the radio Sundays, thinks about the priest's talk, broods over it, writes that desperate letter to him.

After all, the priest claims he knows the answers. Point two of his set of principles says A JUST LIVING ANNUAL WAGE. What's more important to all Americans that that slogan? Nothing is, and I know that.

Well Father Coughlin has something to say about this letter in the same issue. "Somebody Cares," he writes on page 6. The McKees Rock boy looks up the answer and here is what he finds.

"It strikes me," Father Coughlin says, "that the unanswered question of America's youth is just about the most serious problem facing our nation." I agree with him, all right.

"We can put off all action on old age assistance for another ten or twenty years, and for this generation of old people the pension problem—and all the other problems of this mortal life—will be solved."

Well that's another question, and I have some different ideas about that, but let's go on with his answer.

"Ignore these restless youngsters another twenty years, and we'll have some howling Reds on our hands! That story about the American Youth Congress and its riotous visit to Washington gives an idea of what an unspanked and ideal-less young generation can be like."

Now, wait a moment, Father Coughlin. Let's examine that. What did those youngsters do that was wrong? It seems to me they did the only thing that might net them some solution to their problem. They went to see the men elected by the people. They presented their demands, for appropriations to make work for the young. What was wrong with that? They said they have ideas about the country and its problems. What was wrong with that? They didn't want to go to somebody else's war and they said so. What was wrong with that? And what do you mean, Father Coughlin, by calling them "an unspanked" generation? God knows, was any generation more spanked than this one? They want to live and can't find work. "Unspanked?" They want to marry and haven't got a penny to do it on. "Unspanked?" They want to stay out of war and they see one act after another heading us toward war. "Unspanked?"

What generation ever was more "spanked" than this one? It is a "crisis" generation; hungry, jobless, no future, war. Does that sound like a coddled generation?

You speak of them as "ideal-less." What did they go to Washington for?

JOBS . . . SECURITY . . . JUSTICE . . . PEACE . . . Can you, Father Coughlin, name any higher ideals than these?

Well, let's continue with Father Coughlin's reply.

"But let us not blame these youths who are the victims of our bungled economy.

"We all have a feeling of helplessness when confronted with a letter like that of this young man from Pennsylvania, which Father Coughlin read over the radio last Sunday. The editors of Social Justice had the same helpless feeling."

Helpless feeling, Father Coughlin? I thought you had the answer? What about the very program these "unspanked and ideal-less youngsters" presented in Washington? The Youth Act was not a "helpless" program. It asked for jobs at decent wages for unemployed youth, scholarships and part-time jobs for needy students.

These young men and women didn't feel "helpless," as you and your editors do, Father Coughlin. But to continue with the answer.

"This National Magazine, therefore, stands behind the offer made on Sunday's broadcast. Any deserving boy or young man can make himself some extra money by selling Social Justice."

What's that? Is that your solution to this young man's problem? To sell your magazine? Your solution to the ills of this generation?—to peddle your paper?

"If a few extra paper sales can give these youngsters some pocket money," the editorial continues. "It may turn them from discouragement to a more constructive frame of mind. It may give them a better attitude in their job hunting and job filling when one comes their way."

Well, well, well. So that great radio priest who has the answers, tells us his only solution to the vast problem of unemployment, of the future of 12,000,000 American youth, is to peddle his papers on the streets.

Now, like most Americans I am slow to anger, but on consideration of this "reply," my ire shoots to the boiling pont. This is all the great radio orator has to offer. For shame! What a great future for this honest lad from McKees Rocks—peddling Father Coughlin's paper on the streets "for a few extra sales."

THE FRANCO WAY

Well, listen, young man from McKees Rocks. I don't know your name, it's not printed in Social Justice. Suppose I call you by a good old common American moniker—Tom. I want to talk to you a bit about this Father Coughlin. I am a Jew—you are not. Yet I feel we've got a common problem—the same big headache. Let's talk this thing over and I'll show you what I mean.

You wrote to Father Coughlin for an answer to your life and death question. He gave it to you—go sell his paper on the highways. I know how you must feel about such a reply. But I don't know if you know all the facts about the man who talks to million more like you. Now it happens I have studied the priest's program. You would want to know if his reply to you is typical. Is he as brazen, as callous, as treacherous in all his dealings as this one? You would want to know what happened to some other youth he "took care" of. "Somebody cares," he says, Tom.

Well, it so happens that I live in New York, Tom. When the trial of the Christian Front opened I attended some of the sessions. Here's what I saw:

Seventeen young men in the courtroom. I heard a weird story that might have been written by the fanciful E. Phillips Oppenheim—intrigue, murder, bombing. This story is stranger than fiction—it's truth.

Here's some of the testimony: Seventeen young men wanted to go down to Washington "and shoot twelve Congressmen to show them the Christian Front means business." Admissions they had trained with machine gun and rifle; actually had a rifle range up New York State. They had practiced sharp shooting and learned how to make bombs.

They had a wild eyed program; but perhaps not so wild-eyed Tom. There was another little man once who, too, had a wild-eyed program. In 1923 his handful of followers also practiced sharpshooting and making bombs. He too ranted about Jews and in 1933 he took over power. You know his name: Adolph Hitler.

Well, Tom, all you had to do at the trial of these Christian Fronters was to close your eyes and you would have thought that you were back in Germany in the days when Hitler was maneuvering for power.

The evidence presented at the trial showed that these Christian Fronters had been guilty of spreading anti-Semitism, of inciting to riot, of plans to destroy human lives and property.

The defendants, themselves, admitted that they were planning to wipe out all the Jews in the United States, that they were planning to bomb buildings.

You would imagine, Tom, that the government would be pretty anxious to prosecute and put away such elements who were endangering the democratic way of life.

I did too! I came to that trial filled with hope at the thought that I would witness in the courtroom the vindication of democracy and the American way of life.

You know what happened, Tom. From the very beginning of the trial, it became crystal clear that what was going to take place would be a farce.

Take, for example, some of the questions that were asked of the prospective jurors.

Do you read the Daily Mirror? Life Magazine? Look? Pic? The Daily Worker? New Masses? New Republic?

Are you or any of your relatives affiliated with the American League for Peace and Democracy? The American Youth Congress? The American Student

Union? The Abraham Lincoln Brigade? Are you a member of the American Labor Party?

Anybody who answered yes was immediately disqualified from serving on the jury.

Don't you think that it would have been important for the prosecuting attorney to ask such questions as:

Do you read Social Justice? The Brooklyn Tablet? Are you a member of the Christian Front?

These questions, however, were not asked. So you see, Tom, that it was quite possible that some of the jurors might have been members of the Christian Front or at least sympathetic to the organization.

These suspicions have already been confirmed, for at a meeting of the Christian Front, Rev. Edwin Brophy, one of their leading theoreticians, stated that Mrs. Helen Titus, foreman of the jury, is his cousin.

Throughout the trial, the defendants ranted and raved. They did not deny any of the charges against them. Instead they used the old gag which all Nazis and Fascists have always used. "Down with Communism," they shouted. "If you convict these boys, the Communists will hail you as heroes," Defense Attorney Leo Healy shouted to the jury. No attempt to disprove that they had been guilty of any of the things they were accused of.

Prosecuting Attorney Kennedy gave them a helping hand too. During his summary he stated that "the avowed purposes of the Christian Front are good, sound American principles."

The gag worked, Tom. They are all free now!

And after it was all over the Prosecuting Attorney Harold M. Kennedy walked over to the defendants and gave them his hearty congratulations.

Even the New York Times was forced to admit that Kennedy acted more like a school teacher than a prosecuting attorney.

Now, Tom, you may ask, "What has all this got to do with Father Coughlin?"

Well you see, Tom, as far back as May 23, 1938 Coughlin had urged his followers to establish "platoons." They were to be assault squads: "You and your group are directly affiliated to me," he said. In one issue of Social Justice a "spokesman" for Father Coughlin said. "When the proper moment arrives, and not before that time, Father Coughlin wll assemble all organizations whose leaders care to follow him."

This was the beginning of the Christian Front. Thus the seeds were planted resulting in the trial of the seventeen young men in the Brooklyn Federal Courthouse.

When the boys were arrested, Father Coughlin's first impulse was to abandon them. The New York Times, Monday, January 15, 1940 reported, "The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin tonight declared he "roundly disavowed' the Christian Front whose members have been arrested on sedition conspiracy charges . . . " This, Tom, comes from the same Father Coughlin, who on July 14, 1939 ended a speech with the words, "And God Bless Mr. Cassidy and the Christian Front!"

But a few days later, he found it impossible to repudiate them and stated over the radio, "I freely choose to be identified as a friend of the accused."

And in the January 29, 1940 issue of Social Justice, Father Coughlin wrote concerning William A. Bushnell, one of the defendants:

"Beside that boy I take my stand. Beside him and his fellow Christian Front prisoners, be they guilty or be they innocent."

The main question I had at the trial was this: Why isn't the real culprit in the dock? Until he is brought before the bar that trial can be considered only as a hypocritical show—shadow boxing.

Yes, this is the solution Father Coughlin has for young men who write him despairing letters. Bombs, assassination, "the Franco way" as the radio priest called it in his radio speech of July 29, 1939.

The Franco way . . . Tom . . . that's his style . . . the Franco way.

CHAPTER FOUR

DIVIDE - AND RULE

Tom, you've read his Social Justice plenty of times. Were you ever able to gather from that what his true program is, who his real backers are, what his genuine aims are?

We've just seen what he offered the youth. Most of his sixteen principles sound fine in print. People want the answers to just those questions.

Let's take a look at that list of sixteen principles again, Tom. The first to lead off is this:

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE AND EDUCATION.

Well, I would take that to mean freedom of assemblage, freedom of press, the various liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. One of these, one that brought millions to these shores, was the liberty to worship as your conscience dictated. Religious liberty, that's a keystone of our democratic structure.

I've told you how I see Coughlin's stand on youth, but I haven't said much yet, Tom, about his stand on religion. Jews and progressives in general consider him the greatest anti-Semite in the country. Do you know the significance of that? You should know, Tom, because it will come increasingly these days with a war hysteria being nurtured throughout the country. These are days when civil liberties are under fire. The right to worship, to think and believe as you please, will be challenged—in the drive to whip us into the war. Out of this, you will see a widespread anti-Semitism, one of the means to break the unity of the American people against war.

Anti-Semitism is an old weapon, Tom, to befuddle the minds of the people. It's a way the big shots have of shunting the anger of the people away from them. It's as old as the hills, and we'll see it here again. I see plenty of it already, and I want to forewarn you.

The old Czar used to call out the Black Hundreds— a sort of Russian Ku Klux Klan in those days—and begin pogroms every time the people cried out against their misery. "It's the Jew," the Czar's lieutenants would say. Hitler used it to come to power. It was used in Rumania, in France (remember the famous Dreyfus case?), in Poland. There was a fine cartoon several years ago in the Jewish Day. It showed a poor Polish worker, hungry, ragged, standing with a club in his hands about to hit a Polish millionaire. And as this Polish worker stood there with the club, about to strike, the millionaire pointed to a Jew standing there on the side. "Not me but him," the millionaire said. That about sums it up, Tom. Not me, but him, the big boys say whenever they get into trouble, whenever the folk they starve and hound, get ready to do something about it. It's happening here in America today, Tom. "Blame the Jew" is a slogan you hear all around you.

Anti-Semitism is not just a Jewish fight. It's a fight all progressive people must get into, for it means them as well as the Jew. It means every common man, every workingman. If they take the rights away from the Jew, if they beat and hound him today, tomorrow they will beat and hound the non-Jew.

Well, how does Father Coughlin stand on this?

Like all other fascists and anti-Semites, whenever things get too hot for him he tries to pass the buck by blaming it all on the Jews. Thus in the February 13, 1939 issue of Social Justice he exclaims:

"I am beginning to understand why I have been dubbed a "Nazi" or a "Fascist" by the Jewish pub-

So the good Father feels that the rulers of Germany and of Italy are carrying out all of his principles. Yes, Tom, time and again he has expressed his preference for fascism. Take, for example, his statement in the July 24th, 1939 issue of Social Justice:

"Hitler's success in bringing the German people out of their 15 year depression, in throwing out the internationalist money monopoly and restoring the nation to a contented prosperity where there is neither unemployment nor poverty, has frequently been commented upon in these columns."

That this statement is untrue is obvious to all, for who is not familiar with the barbarous decrees of Nazidom against Jews, Catholics, trade unions and against the German people as a whole. But then Coughlin has never bothered very much about the truth of his utterances.

Forged documents and Nazi and fascist propaganda sheets have long been Coughlin's stock in trade. It has been proved over and over again that many of his speeches come from such sources as "World-Service" a Nazi propaganda bulletin; from the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion, from speeches made by Goebbels, from the German encyclopedia of anti-Semitism, Sigilla Ven.

Thus, for example, a writer in the February 6, 1939 issue of Social Justice states that the Talmud "constantly enjoins the Jews to regard all non-Jews as 'cattle' or 'beasts' whose mission is to serve the 'chosen.'" That no such statement appears in any authoritative Jewish work does not bother him very much for his source is not the Talmud but a Nazi compilation of false "Talmudic" quotations.

What conclusions can we draw from this, Tom, other than that Coughlin has one end in view and that is to spread anti-Semitism and race hatred and that it doesn't matter to

this man who wears the cloth whether all of his speeches and writings are shot through with lies, forgeries and fabrications.

This is the conclusion that an eminent Catholic leader, Monsignor John A. Ryan arrived at. After reviewing many of Coughlin's radio speeches he states, "The only adequate answer is that Father Coughlin is eager or at least willing to promote anti-Semitism in the United States" (Commonweal—Dec. 30, 1938).

All evil in America started with the Jew, if you heed Father Coughlin's remarks.

Why, the good Father even knows who killed Lincoln—the Jews. Yes, look up the February 12, 1940 issue of Social Justice and you'll find it there. The Jews caused the Civil War because "They foresaw tremendous booty if they could substitute two feeble democracies, indebted to the Jewish financiers, to the vigorous republic." But Lincoln, according to Coughlin, saw through their plot. And for that reason, he was killed. This is typical of the wild stuff Coughlin has been dishing out. It's exactly like the stuff the Czar's Black Hundreds used to get out—they beat Coughlin to the draw on the Protocols of Zion, several decades ago.

And unfortunately Tom, Coughlin is not alone. This is a popular scheme, these days, and a horde of phony "patriots" are peddling the stuff.

Do you know there are eight hundred anti-Semitic, anti-democratic organizations in America, according to the Bulletin of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis? And the number is increasing. Some of the names you know; others are not so well known in the big cities but have thousands of followers in the smaller towns and the country side of America.

Let me list a few of the leading ones—William Dudley Pelley of North Carolina; the Rev. Gerald K. Winrod, of Wichita, Kansas; Congressman Thorkelson of Montana; Robert Edmondson of New York; James True, Joe McWilliams of New York, Deatherage of Virginia. Of these the most powerful are Coughlin, Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts and staunch partisan of Congressman Dies; Winrod, publisher of the Defender; and Thorkelson, who does the job for all these in Congress.

Thorkelson fills the Congressional Record with page after page of attacks on the Jews. But there is another Congressman who bears the closest watching—and that's Martin Dies.

America has heard a great deal of Congressman Dies these last two years. Would you think it significant that each of the anti-Semitic leaders is an ardent supporter of the Texan? Let's add it up:

Father Coughlin nominates Dies for President in 1940. You can find that in Social Justice December 11, 1939. Congressman Thorkelson is the fiercest defender of Dies' dangerous actions. You can find that in the Congressional Record, February 2, 1940. The fascist Winrod gloats over the achievements of the Dies Committee. You can find that in the Defender, March 1940.

That lurid spellbinder, Pelley, leader of the Silver Shirts, tells the most revealing story. In his "Liberation" of February 21, 1940, Pelley rejoices that in 1938-39 "Hooknoses" swarmed around the Dies Committee rooms, but "Today in 1940 . . . they are gone. The Dies Committee is an all-Gentile Committee. And there is more. Listen to this in the same issue. "The Dies Committee has become a Silver Shirt committee. The Dies committeemen are a group of sincere, bedeviled, understandable men, striving their best to save our United States from the abyss of bolshevism." Pelley goes on, full steam: "Mr. Dies himself for propaganda reasons must rant and roar against race prejudice and religious intolerance, but behind the scenes a different trend upon the Dies Committee

is apparent. So far as principles and psychology are concerned, the Dies Committee at this moment is practically Silver Shirt in everything but name." And Mr. Pelley sums up: "I say to all Silver Shirts: 'Support Martin Dies. Back him to the limit.'

Mr. Dies recently raided the officers of a fraternal organization the International Workers Order. He raided some of their chapters, stole papers and records from some of their offices. All indications are that this is a blind to mask his plan to destroy all labor and anti-war setups. He has begun his drive against the unions. He is trying to disrupt the splendid organization of the New York Transport Workers Union made up predominantly of Irish Catholic working men. He plans to summon other union leaders, in his drive to smash the organizations of the people.

What is your opinion of all this, Tom? When a man gets the fullhearted support of the four outstanding anti-Semites in America you must draw certain conclusions. It is clear to me. First, Congressman Dies is doing a job which has the support of some of the worst public enemies in America. Why? Because they agree, of course, with his goals. Their goals are the same: the destruction of democracy, and that in turn means letting down the flood-gates of anti-Semitism, race hatred, anti-unionism, everything progressive we have come to believe is the meaning of the New World.

And, of course, foremost in the hate-drive is the Rev. Father Coughlin. He has the strongest backing, the biggest press, the greatest financial support.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL JUSTICE IN ACTION

From reading Social Justice, Tom, you know that Father Coughlin talks a great deal about the question of labor and its rights.

LABOR'S RIGHT TO ORGANIZE—that's his tenth point.

Father Coughlin calls his magazine: Social Justice. Good name for a magazine, justice for the poor and the needy, the dream of good men through the ages. But alas, the radio priest, Tom, sees it only as a good trade mark; it has good sales value. For what do you find in his relations with labor?

This: the very church he preached in was built by non-union labor. You scarcely believe that? Well, here is the proof.

He (and those backing him) spent a cool million dollars on the Shrine of the Little Flower. Coughlin hired an open shop contractor who paid his men far below the prevailing union rates. Resolutions of censure against Coughlin were introduced at the 1933, 1934 and 1935 conventions of the A. F. of L. Frank X. Martel, President of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor wrote August 23, 1939:

"The shrine of the Little Flower was built by the firm of Cooper—Little, non-union building contractors, and the first to attack the wage structure of the Building Trades Mechanics in this community, and it was on the shrine of the Little Flower job that this attack took place. Not only did the contractor not pay 10% above the union scale (as Coughlin's apologists contended) but paid much more than 10% below union scale."

LABOR'S RIGHT TO ORGANIZE is his principle, he says.

Look at his record in Detroit unionism. When the United Automobile Workers of America began their great drive to rescue the workingmen from slavery on the belt, Father

Coughlin again tipped his hand. He verified what people believed about his labor attitude since the church was built. In 1935 he sponsored a new automobile union with the obvious aim of dividing and destroying the UAW. In 1937 he returned to the microphone after he had announced his "retirement" several months before, and he libeled the thousands of striking General Motors Workers.

Not many weeks afterwards he tried to form a company union in Henry Ford's plant at Dearborn—Workers Council for Social Justice, Inc., was his title for the stooge union. This failed and he joined hands with the notorious Homer Martin, the now discredited former president of the UAW. He had the benedictions of Henry Ford for this venture, and the generalissimo of Ford's own army of Black Legion gunment—Harry Bennett. The game was simple—to set up a rival union to the CIO's UAW, thus to create an inside fight that would stymie the drive to organize the auto workers. Unscrupulous employers ever since unionism began have used this tactic and Ford spends a fortune on labor spies to do just this thing.

The scheme failed, even after a full page newspaper ad ballyhooed the alleged organization; nobody turned up to meetings except the officers, and these officers were Ford employees whom Harry Bennett had given a "leave of absence" to do the dirty work.

It's the same way all down the list: he has come out against federal housing. He has urged the government to cut WPA funds. He has battled tooth and nail labor's right to form unions of its own choice. He has struck hard against civil liberties, the rock upon which labor builds.

The record is black throughout.

Which brings us to a query we made earlier in this pamphlet. Where does Father Coughlin get his support, his financial backing? That merits a lot of consideration. Some-

where in the course of his career, this priest—whose oath includes the vow of poverty—has come across a lot of money.

Whose money? Whose fat checkbooks have paid for his big set-up, his corporate holdings, his silver speculations, his radio network, his weekly press?

CHAPTER SIX

YOU CAN TELL A MAN BY HIS FRIENDS

Tom, you know the old saw, you can't judge a man by his words. You've got to look at his deeds, check his record. It happens there is a record on Father Coughlin; a number of reliable men have compiled it, checked it, and the priest has never been able to deny the accuracy of the charges.

Did you know that Father Coughlin has been one of the nation's biggest buyers in silver, speculating on the market in this valuable metal? There is documentary proof that he has held half a million ounces of the metal in the name of his secretary, Amy Collins. He had bought it on a ten per cent margin in the same stock market he is always denouncing. Every time silver went up a cent he made a profit of \$5,000.

Not bad, for a man who vows poverty as one of his priest-hood oaths.

Again, about a year after Coughlin began to raise funds for a new church he bought five hundred shares of Kelsey Hayes Wheel stock for \$30,000 at \$60 a share through Paine, Webber & Co.

But that doesn't finish Coughlin's association with Big Business at all. Listen to this: in the priest's biography written by his faithful lieutenant Louis B. Ward—"Father Charles E. Coughlin," we find on page 7:

"On Sunday, October 23, 1932, immediately following his broadcast Father Coughlin sat in conference with two prominent New Yorkers who had come to

persuade him that he should launch into an explanation of the gold subject. I refer to Mr. Robert M. Harriss, of the New York Cotton Exchange, and to Mr. George LeBlanc, perhaps the world's foremost gold trader..."

"LeBlanc had practiced his profession in Canada, in England, in France, in Germany, and in the United States. He had been president of a Wall Street bank. He had been engaged in trading more gold among foreign nations than any other living man."

Well, Tom, when you look back into Coughlin's history you know that he set up a political party in the 1936 elections, the Union Party, and it had as a presidential nominee a certain Mr. Lemke. The backers of this Coughlin party were the so-called Committee for the Nation—an aggregation of rock-ribbed Tories—and these two bankers mentioned above, LeBlanc and Harriss, were both leading figures in the committee. And Mr. Harriss, of the firm of Harriss & Vose, is a well known cotton and silver speculator. Silver speculator, Tom, and Father Coughlin is one of the country's biggest dealers in silver.

What do you think of that, Tom? Coincidence?

And this isn't all. I told you about the priest's relations with Henry Ford. That is scarcely even a secret any more. I've already told you how the priest tried to split the UAW by sponsoring a new automobile union—a company union setup—the Workers Council for Social Justice, Inc.

Is it possible that the billionaire auto manufacturer manages a bit of aid to the man who works so faithfully in his behalf?

Otherwise how can the priest meet the bill for his broadcasts? He has paid an estimated \$416,000 annually for his radio talks. His illustrated magazine is said to print about a million weekly copies. He carries on a great mailing service; he has expenses galore.

Who pays?

Listen, Tom, there was once a woman by the name of Ruth

Mugglebee, who wrote a book called "Father Coughlin, the Radio Priest." On page 127 she quotes him as saying:

"Do you know how I would live if I renounced religion and was illogical enough not to believe in a life beyond—in the real life? Why, if I threw away and denounced my faith, I would surround myself with the most adroit hijackers, learn every trick of the highest banking and stock manipulations, avail myself of the laws under which to hide my own crimes, create a smokescreen to throw into eyes of men, and—believe me, I would become the world's champion crook."

Well, Tom, that sounds to me as though the Father was speaking his mind. He has learned the tricks, all right.

You know about the League of the Little Flower, which he organized to collect money from the public to maintain his church and to help build a new one? Well, he used money thus collected to gamble on the stock market while he was publicly denouncing those who played the market.

He raised money for any number of ventures and then used the funds for other purposes. The evidence, documented and foolproof, can be found in John L. Spivak's book, "The Shrine of the Silver Dollar." Recently, Tom, Father Coughlin got out a book which was supposed to be a reply to the Father's critics. I read that book twice, to see some refutation of Spivak's charges about Coughlin's financial manipulations. You know, Tom, there was not one word of refutation, not a word. Well, what's the conclusion to be drawn from that? The priest simply has no defense, and is ignoring the charges because he can say nothing about them.

He has learned how to raise money by one devious means or another and most of them shady. All this evidence piles up to something: that is that Father Coughlin is not telling the country all he knows. He has a deep sinister purpose back of his mind, Tom, and he has backers. The quicker we get to know the full details about these goings on behind the scenes, the better for America.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COUGHLIN ON THE WAR PATH

Yes, Tom, that's the record. It's a record that every young man in America must understand.

We are a generation that must fight hard for the right to live as the forefathers of America expected us to. They wanted us to have the rights of freemen—not slaves—the right to pursue a way of life that George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln would have approved.

This year, 1940, confronts us with the attack upon all our rights. And shortly, if we do not speak out, with an attack upon our lives.

They are asking us to give up our liberties in the name of fighting for "liberty." They are trying to divide us, segregate us, weaken our unity, build up hatreds among us. They want to fingerprint the poor, and they start with a plan to fingerprint three to four million foreign born, the very type of men who built this nation.

Next they will pass a law to fingerprint the native born. Already you must answer questionnaires, practically get the third-degree to work in many factories in your own district about Pittsburgh. Fingerprinting all workingmen will be next. We will be asked to carry passports as they do in Europe, have the police check all workingmen.

All this is being done in the name of "defense". But what it is in reality is an attempt to divide the American people in order to drag us into the bloody war that is going on in Europe.

Now Father Coughlin has been prating a great deal about the war. He wishes to give the impression he is against both sides, that we should stay out. He knows such a stand will appeal to a great majority of the American folk.

But what is his real outlook? Not what he pretends to

have, but what he really has? We see in so many cases where the Father is involved, that he says one thing and does another. How about the war?

First of all consider the man's association. He is a confidant of many of Wall Street's leading brokers. All of these are pro-war for it is by slaughter that they hope to make their great profits. They did so in the last war, they dream of a 1940 repetition.

Next consider what Coughlin himself says. In the April 1st issue of this year he gives his position away. He believes America must get into this war. As always the pretext is there. His excuse is the defense of our "rights." As though our rights cannot be defended without entering the war in Europe.

"They,"he says of the countries not still in the war, "will find it more dangerous to stand on the sidelines than it is to engage, at least indirectly in a effort to protect their rights."

The good father is already resigned, to say the least. He is ready to get into the war.

No, Father Coughlin is not to be trusted, Tom. He wants to get into the war on his own terms. And soon enough, those terms will jibe with the Administration openly, although today the priest puts up a big show of opposition to the war.

He has already, after all his fanfare of "opposition" to Roosevelt turned on his tracks. He approves of Roosevelt's war program. In his May 27th issue of Social Justice the headline is "The U. S. Now Stands on Own Feet." Now he admittedly agrees with Rosevelt. "Costly as it may be to establish our own defense," he says, "it is cheap at any price to walk out of the world of illusion and face stark realism with an awakened national consciousness."

An awakened national consciousness. What does he mean, Tom? It is exactly what the Administration has been doing, whipping up a war hysteria in the country. The talk

about the Fifth Column is "awakened national consciousness." The fingerprinting of four million foreign born as though they were criminals is "awakened national consciousness." Calling foreign born in this country "Fifth Columnists" is "awakened national consciousness." Calling anybody who is is "awakened national consciousness." Conscripting millions of American men into forced military service is "awakened national consciousness."

Take for example the foreign born. You know how there in McKees Rocks they are among the hardest working in the steel mills, among the most decent law abiding inhabitants of the country. You know that America would not be America if it were not for the foreign born.

But "awakened national consciousness" means dividing foreign born from native, black from white, Jew from Christian, dividing in order to rule, in order to beat down the overwhelming opposition to war. That is why Roosevelt, who wants to go to war, has given the signal for the hysteria you hear over the radio and in the press. And now Coughlin, who claims to oppose America's entrance into the war, tips his hand and reveals his genuine program, endorsement of the war plans.

It is as sure as daytime, Father Coughlin is as big a warmonger as any in the nation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WE CHOOSE DEMOCRACY

We have a job, Tom, and that is to extend our democracy, so we can really defend our nation. Jobs, prosperity, civil liberties make men the best soldiers, make men the most ardent defenders of a nation.

Now, I have shown you just a small part of the record of Father Coughlin. But even this is enough to prove that

this man who pretends to be a friend of the people—Father Coughlin—is an enemy of the people.

He stands for splitting the people's unity by anti-Semitism. You remember, Tom, I told you about the Christian Front trial. Well after it was all over and the Christian Fronters were freed, Coughlin stated:

"The result of all this (the acquittal) will be that the Christian Front will emerge more victorious and potent than ever . . . The resentment on the part of the victims is liable to increase the wave of anti-Semitism throughout the country, particularly as the Jury has found them not guilty."

So you see, Tom, Coughlin has already given the signal to his henchmen to intensify their activities, to continue their attacks upon the Jewish people and upon democracy.

He repeats the same thing in the July 8, 1940 issue of Social Justice.

"Whether the Jews like it or not, they will bear more than their brunt of blame for some of their coracials having used the majesty of government to wreak revenge upon a group of men who were intent on saving America from Communism, from Jewish domination and from semitic idealogy."

He stands against the youth. Consider his attack upon the Youth Congress and their program. He offers the youth nothing but papers to sell on the street as his program.

He stands against the organization of the greatest section of the people—the workingmen—for he stands against trade unions. Consider his refusal to deal with the union in building his church because the unions would have demanded a living wage for the workingmen.

He stands for war in the name of being against war.

Does he stand for the defense, the extension of democracy? That is the final test.

It is quite obvious that Coughlin does not like democracy, and he makes no bones about it. It might interest you to know, Tom, what his definition of democracy is.

"Democracy: A mockery that mouths the word and obstructs every effort on the part of an honest people to establish a government for the welfare of the people."

In the name of God he stands against the

people.

In the name of God he praises the fascist regime in France that has just been set up and declares:

"Congratulations . . . to Field Marshall Petain, and to Vice-Premier Laval for having broken with

the past."

This, then, is the kind of America Coughlin would like to have—an America where your rights and mine, Tom, would be taken away from us; where freedom of speech, of press, of religion would be completely destroyed.

Father Coughlin is one of the most dangerous men, therefore, in the nation.

What can we do about it, Tom?

In the first place we must demand that the government investigate Father Coughlin and all the other fascists of his ilk.

For years, progressive organizations have been demanding that the government investigate Coughlin.

Take my own organization, for example, Tom.

We, in the Jewish Peoples Committee, sent in plenty of evidence to the Department of Justice. We even got a reply from Assistant Attorney General Rogge that he would look into the matter. As yet nothing has been done.

Now this is a serious business, Tom. And it bodes no good for the American people. We have seen what happened in Germany, in France and in all the other countries where they persecuted the common people and let the fascists do as they pleased.

Is the same thing going to happen here? Well it looks like a beginning has been made in that direction. Aliens are being persecuted, trade unions are being attacked, civil liberties are being done away with; while the real

fifth column in American life, the fascists are allowed to run wild.

Now is the time when every American has got to think fast and think clear, Tom, and act fast. It's late, but not too late.

First we must remember this. We can do nothing alone. We can do something, we can do everything by the strength of our numbers. Millions of men can do a lot if they are organized, if they have unity, if they cooperate with each other. Therefore, we must first of all refuse to allow any program to split us apart, to keep us from cooperating with our brothers of every color, nationality, religion.

We must organize into unions, into peace organizations. You, Tom, can do best by joining with your-young brothers in the American Youth Congress.

You can do best by letting your congressman know how you feel about civil liberties, about war, about democracy.

Let us build and support the organizations of the people. There are many such groups, Tom, made up of people like ourselves, that we must get behind, support, build, put through their program.

We must not let a day go by without doing something for peace, for democracy, for the right to earn a decent living.

Father Coughlin is the enemy to all that.

Let us defeat his program. Let us bring the truth about his program to the millions.

That way, Tom, lies peace, security, happiness. Any other way, Tom, means death, misery, slavery.

We are the ones to choose, Tom. The destiny of America lies in our hands.

We will fight for ourselves, for the people. That is the great lesson of 1940. Tom, you and I, Jew and non-Jew, and millions more like us, of every race, color, creed can stop the Coughlins, the Pelleys, the Winrods, the Dies and all those who attempt to destroy the unity of the people.

That is our destiny.

JEWISH PEOPLES COMMITTEE

for United Action Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism

1133 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Tel., CHelsea 3-5787

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