SOME TENDENCIES TOWARD FASCISM
IN THE UNITED STATES

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by

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CONTENTS

Chapter I  The Nature Of Fascism.........................1
Chapter II  Fascism and American Traditions.........18
   The American Democratic Heritage.................18
   Moratoria on Democracy...............................33
   Women..................................................43
   The Negro.............................................46
   Individualism.........................................49
   "Direct Action"........................................59
   Government and Labor................................66
   The Palmer Raids....................................84
Chapter III Characteristics of Fascist Movements.92
   The Silver Legion.....................................104
   Order of '76..........................................111
   Youth and the Nation................................114
   Student Americaneers................................118
   The "March on Washington"...........................123
   National Union for Social Justice................128
Chapter IV  The Future.....................................144
Chapter I

THE NATURE OF FASCISM

It has become almost a tradition, when dealing with social issues in recent years, to declare that we are at crossroads, that upon the choice of highway which we shall make in this period rests the future nature of our civilization. And it needs no detailed account of current economic and political currents to demonstrate the validity of this hackneyed idea. Events no longer move at the slow pace of past centuries; the industrial era has geared them to a speed commensurate with an economy whose symbol is electricity. In a situation such as this, all who wish to have a hand in controlling these rapid changes and even those whose desire is solely that of understanding the changes, must recognize that Fascism is a potent movement of real significance, that its advocates are to be found not only in those nations in which it has triumphed but in practically every part of the world. Fascism is the name of one of the possible routes upon which humanity may today embark. The fact that there is no
**Ipso facto** proof of the immunity of the United States from this movement is alone sufficient cause for an examination of the possibility of Fascism coming to America. The present study is an attempt to analyze only a few of the perhaps typical forms in which Fascist trends have appeared on the American scene.

First, however, it is necessary to get some indication of what this phenomenon called "Fascism" really is. And the descriptions and definitions vary widely. Even among those who champion this movement there is a lack of agreement as to its fundamental character. Michael Florinsky, in discussing the German brand of Fascism, concludes:¹

...even among those who have pondered over the writings of the National Socialists prophets or received the proper schooling in the teachings of Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg and Streicher there is a considerable divergence of view as to what constitutes the kernel of the new philosophy.

And the enemies of Fascism, whether it be of German or Italian origin, are equally divided in their analyses. Certain general points of view, however, are commonly accepted by various groups, and descriptions of Fascism usually fall into one or another of these points of view.

The meaning of Fascism, in the eyes of the Fascist leaders themselves, is expressed in terms of ideology.

¹ Florinsky, Michael T., *Fascism and National Socialism*, p. 79.
It finds its basis in such transcendental concepts as "authority", "discipline", "history", "the State", "order", etc. According to Mussolini: 2

The foundation of Fascism is the conception of the State, its character, its duty and its aim. Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative...Whoever says Fascism implies the State.

Luigi Villari, the semi-official exponent of Italian Fascism, insists: 3

The programme of the Fascists differs from that of other parties, as it represents for its members not only a rule of political conduct, but also a moral code.

Nationalism and racial chauvinism are characteristic of definitions proposed by Fascists, and the latter element is particularly emphasized by National Socialists.

Hitler defined his system of principles as: 4

...a heroic doctrine which brings out the value of blood, race and personality as well as the eternal laws of natural selection, and finds itself in an avowed and irreconcilable opposition to the philosophy of the pacifist international democracy and to its products.

Minister of Propaganda Goebbels, in his Die Zweite Revolution, wrote in a similar vein: 5

3. Dutt, R. Palme, Fascism and Social Revolution, p. 94.
4. Florinsky, op. cit. p. 56.

Through its official organ, The Fascist, the Imperial Fascist League defines Fascism as:

...a patriotic revolt against democracy, and a return to statesmanship. Fascist rule insists upon the duty of cooperation.

Fascism itself is less a policy than a state of mind. It is the national observance of duty towards others.

In much the same vein, Fascism is described with various complimentary, but vacuous, attributes. To quote R. Palmer Dutt's description of Fascism as the Fascists see it:

"Fascism believes in holiness and in heroism"; "the Fascist conceives of life as duty and struggle and conquest, life which should be high and full, lived for oneself, but above all for others"; "Fascism combats the whole complex system of democratic ideology"; "Fascism believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace"; "the Fascist State is not indifferent to the fact of religion"; "for Fascism the growth of Empire is an essential manifestation of virility"; "Fascism denies the materialist conception of happiness as a possibility".

It is in vain that one searches for a concrete definition of Fascism, for, by the admission of its own defenders:

7. Ibid. p. 94
8. Finer, Herman, Mussolini's Italy, p. 185
Fascism is a religious conception, in which man is regarded in his imminent relation with a superior law, with an objective Will which transcends the particular individual and raises him to be a member conscious of a spiritual society."

And then, when we find the original Fascist leader, Mussolini, saying: 9

"We have created our myth. The myth is a faith, it is passion. It is not necessary that it shall be a reality. It is a reality by the fact that it is a goal, a hope, a faith, that it is courage. Our myth is the Nation, our myth is the greatness of the Nation!"

it becomes quite apparent that we shall not find the true meaning of Fascism from the Fascists. All of these vague abstractions have been appealed to before. The definitions and general conceptions offered to us as applicable to Fascism are equally accurate descriptions of numerous other nationalistic and conservative movements of non-Fascist nature. They are the typical slogans of political (and religious) leaders who are desirous of covering up internal conflicts by the use of all-embracing and meaningless phrases. They are an attempt to camouflage reality by a resort to idealism.

Other apologists of Fascism place their emphasis on methods of governmental structure and control. They define Fascism in terms of such mechanisms as the "Corpor-

9. Ibid., p. 218.
ative State and give it the following general content:  

First, the organization, on a basis of their function, of all the economic, social, and religious interests of the state into "corporations", and their political representation as such in free mutual interaction. Second, the substitution by these corporative representatives of demagogic representation and all that it stands for. Third, the authoritarian principle or the political guidance of the state by a sovereign grand council, assisted by the representatives.

But then he reverts to the same sort of idealistic and vague expressions that characterize the others:  

Most original of all in this conception of the New State is the state of mind.

Nor is it correct to think that Fascism has its basis in the fulfillment of a particular theory or set of principles. Fascist leaders are fond of boasting that their movement is not confined by dogmas; it is based on practice and activity rather than on theory. Mussolini wrote in 1932:  

In the now distant March of 1919, since the creation of the Fascist Revolutionary Party, which took place in the January of 1915, I had no specific doctrinal attitude in my mind.

On another occasion he pointed out:  

"My own doctrine...has always been a doctrine of action....Fascism was not the nursling of a doctrine worked out beforehand with detailed elaboration; it was born of the need for action and was itself from the beginning practical rath-

11. Ibid., p. 6.  
12. Dutt, op. cit., p. 95.  
er than theoretical; it was not merely another political party but, even in the first two years, in opposition to all political parties and itself a living movement... and... a series of aphorisms, anticipations, and aspirations... There was much discussion, but — what was more important and more sacred — men died. They knew how to die. Doctrine, beautifully defined and carefully elucidated, with headlines and paragraphs, might be lacking; but there was to take its place something more decisive — faith."

And Joseph Goebbels echoed a similar sentiment when he declared: "If I had founded the Party, I should not have put out any program at all." An explanation in terms of the static theory customarily demanded in our academic circles is thus certain to be less than satisfactory. The quest of Fascists for an ex post facto rationalization of their movement gives weight to the conviction that Fascism is not to be understood as a mere body of principles or a philosophy.

The enemies of Fascism are prone to commit the same error of analyzing this movement in terms of ideology and general political concepts. They are likely to miss the substance of Fascism for its forms; to distinguish it by its methods rather than by its economic function. To the student of government who is steeped in the classical interpretation of political institutions,

the structure and administrative methods of a particular government too often are taken as fundamental. The traditional text-book approach to the character of a government lies in a careful examination of its various legislative, administrative and judicial bodies and their relationships to one another. It is a blueprint of a machine, showing just how all the various parts function but failing to indicate the forces that cause the whole to go.

And thus, the test of "democracy" is taken as a fundamental criterion for the nature of Fascism: 

...Fascism... (exhibits) the Platonistic spirit of the State over all, with the necessary sub-ordination of the individual.

The anti-Fascists are likely to see Fascism's basis in its dictatorship, in its exaltation of the Napoleonic rule of a "strong man". Its negation of the ideal of democracy is held to be its fundamental characteristic. Other salient features of Fascism are, according to the "liberal" school of thought, "violence", "extreme nationalism", and illiberalism in general. These terms are certainly applicable to Fascism but so are they to many previous political systems. "Strong men" have ruled since time immemorial. Violence in political affairs is by no means a recent or an unusual phenomenon. Democ-

racy has had but a short and precarious existence and the spirit of nationalism was born long before the modern principle of democracy appeared upon the scene.

Only a few years ago it was a commonly held opinion that the system of government which Mussolini had introduced was a unique phenomenon. Italy, Mussolini, and Fascism were inseparable concepts and there was at least a tacit belief that a similar development could not occur in any other country. Erwin von Beckerath felt that the nature of Fascism could be discovered only by viewing it in its particular Italian surroundings.\(^{16}\)

It is only when viewed as a peculiarly Italian phenomenon that the essence of Fascism becomes clearly delineated. In its philosophy, its origins and development, its political structure and cultural aspirations, it is an integral part of the Italian matrix.

But more recent history has pretty thoroughly disproved this point of view. The development of political systems in several other countries has, in spite of national differences, shown such close similarity to the Italian model that the definition of Fascism as a "peculiarly Italian phenomenon" is no longer generally accepted. The more tenable analyses hinge upon elements of more universal scope than national traits.

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\(^{16}\) von Beckerath, Erwin, "Fascism", Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences.
Often the explanation is made that Fascism is the reaction from the Right against the radicalism of the Left. Again, this description is inadequate for an understanding of its true nature. Granting that Fascism is just such a reaction, this definition does not distinguish Fascism from a number of other such reactions. There was a Rightist reaction after the French Revolution; a less violent one followed the American Revolution. On the European Continent the revolutionary struggles of 1848 gave way to conservative reaction. The Czarist repressions following the uprisings in Russia in 1905 were certainly dictatorial, reactionary, and violent, but none of these can properly be labelled "Fascist". Conventional political labels are insufficient for a definition of Fascism. We must turn to the economic bases upon which all political systems (and theories) are, in the final analysis, founded. Or, in Professor Schuman's words, we must concern ourselves with the "social contexts of power relationships". 17

But when we turn to interpretations which are based on the realization that political institutions are resultants of their contemporary economic institutions, two principal points of view, divergent in character, appear.

Both of these explanations recognize that the fundamental relationships in present-day society are class relationships and that the understanding of the nature of a political system depends on the understanding of the domination of one class or set of classes by another. However, after this general agreement, the definitions of this particular class arrangement, Fascism, differ greatly between the two points of view.

The attitude often found among liberal and social-democratic writers is one which describes Fascism as a revolution of the lower middle-class, independent of, and directed against, the organized labor movement on the one hand and the financial and industrial oligarchy on the other. Thus the English Socialist Review argued:

Apart from the capitalists and the proletariat -- and between them -- there is a third class. Here, then, is the fundamental question for Marxists: Does this class exhibit the characteristics of a subject class, about to make a bid for supremacy?

A possible answer is that, in one country -- Italy -- they have already emerged as a revolutionary class. The Fascist revolution was essentially a revolution of the third class.

The professedly "Marxist" magazine, the Modern Monthly, brings out the same idea when it editorializes:

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The first task of the Fascist dictatorship was to wrest state power from the hands of the private bankers, industrialists and landlords who possessed it...

The Fascist dictatorship, it is clear, then, became possible only because of the two factors above noted: first, the crisis in imperialism and the consequent collapse of ruling-class power and policy, and, secondly, the rise of a belligerent lower middle-class which provided a mass basis for its assumption of power.

H. N. Brailsford, the English Social Democrat, wrote about the Nazi coup:

"This class (the small middle-class) rose and captured the machinery of the State, because it was "miserable" and desperate. It shrank in terror from the menace of large-scale commerce.

And later he wrote:

A militant middle class, with its dare-devil younger generation to lead it, faces the organized workers. . . . The issue between them can be decided only by force.

The class which first decides to organize itself for this new phase will enter the contest with an overwhelming advantage.

In much the same vein, the New Statesman and Nation writes:

Fascism arises out of the revolt of the middle class against the intolerable burdens of capitalist imperialism.

The above set of interpretations are centered about the thesis that the middle class can be, and in the case

22. New Statesman and Nation, October 28, 1933.
of Fascism, has become, a revolutionary class, independent of any other class. Distinct from this attitude is the thesis that there has been a tendency ever since capitalism began, for the wealth, power and political influence in a nation to become more and more concentrated into the hands of a small group of economically dominant persons. Concomitant with this development has been witnessed a growth in the numbers of that section of a nation's population which, first of all, has progressively become a greater proportion of the total population and, secondly, has a smaller percentage of the total wealth in its name. The 1926 Report of the Federal Trade Commission on National Wealth and Income, which showed that 1% of the population owned at least 57% of the wealth, while 87% owned only 8% of the wealth, is a striking proof of the existence of this tendency in the United States. The middle-class element of our population, although it might be argued that it had grown in extent, is no longer that wealthy and powerful bourgeoisie of a century ago; rather is it a largely dispossessed and subject class. Feeling superior to the mass of laboring groups because of its somewhat higher standard of living, this petit bourgeoisie is likewise divorced from those who control the national wealth.

The basic alternatives of a political nature which present themselves to this element in the population are, ultimately, two in number: either the fundamental tenets of the present economic order, with its retention of private control of property, is preserved, or a different social system based on socialization of the basic forms of wealth is instituted. Modifications in the degree of either alternative are possible but the fact that basically a choice between these two becomes eventually necessary seems an inescapable conclusion. And in the immediate future, the petit bourgeoisie, having no other alternatives, is forced to ally itself with either the proletarian\textsuperscript{24} section of the population, whose numbers and proximity to the means of production make it a real power in the struggle to change the status quo, or with important capitalistic groups whose wealth and dominance over the political organization of society make it a potent force in opposing change. Thus, it is a question merely of which historically important class the petit-bourgeoisie shall eventually support in their attempts either to gain or retain supremacy; it itself, as a class, cannot lead the way.

The proponents of the above thesis argue further that the dynamic character of social institutions makes

\textsuperscript{24} Read "Propertyless".
it inevitable that the economic-political organization of society as we now know it is destined to change. Those who are now the controlling groups are, naturally enough, determined to retain their supremacy and to resist any attempts at basic change. The development in the major capitalist nations of an increasing degree of democratic institutions has, on the other hand, given the mass of people in these nations the opportunity to wrest important concessions for themselves and has given many persons the hope that a more thorough-going democracy might in this way be gained in both the political and economic spheres. And it is precisely the movement to realize this hope that occasions the institution of Fascism on the part of those who wish to retain their power and position in society. The threat to their economic institutions is of greater significance to this element than is the retention of democratic procedure, and so:25

Wherever the dominant economic groups found that neither the liberal-democratic state nor the constitutional dictatorship could preserve national unity and fight the threat of communism, they were willing to scrap both types of government and accept in their place the anti-liberal, anti-proletarian Fascist dictatorship...The Fascist dictatorship has thus become the mailed fist thrust out in defense of the capitalist nation-state.

Raymond Swing defines Fascism as: 26

...a reorganization of society to maintain an unequal distribution of economic power by undemocratic means.

Or, from a somewhat different point of view, it might be said that: 27

Fascism is the social philosophy and the State-form of the bourgeoisie in the monopolistic epoch of late capitalism.

Fascism, then, is a change in political structure to make possible the continued existence of a highly developed economic order which has become incompatible with the old political structure. 28

...Fascism as a political system rests upon an archaic capitalistic system. It came into being primarily and ostensibly as a means to the perpetuation of a decaying economic order that could get no more from the Liberal-Democratic state, which was its hand-maiden. When one is aware of the fact that such industrial magnates as Thyssen and Krupp financed the ten year fight of Hitler to power and a similar group backed Mussolini, then one has a fair picture of the foundation and end of Fascism as a political philosophy.

It should not, however, be concluded that the whole capitalist class as an organized body united by common interests institutes this attack upon the rest of the population. Such an explanation is far too neat and simple. Among the members of this class are to be found some who see democratic methods, and others who look to-

ward Fascism, as the better means of preserving the status quo. Furthermore, economic conflicts exist among the various sections of even the dominant class.29

...the financial groups are forever battling for power among themselves. Sometimes this battle is carried on under cover of joint interest in large corporations. Sometimes it comes to the surface in a visible shift of control or in conflicting political pressures.

Fascism, then, is the openly dictatorial rule of a state by that section of the capitalist class which has been able to overcome competitive capitalist groups. Its central meaning lies in the triumph by force and by the destruction of democratic processes of an economic order whose continued existence had been threatened by a growing tendency toward democracy - both economic and political.

29. Rochester, Anna, Rulers of America: A Study of Finance Capital, p. 300
The American Democratic Heritage

The foregoing discussion of Fascism has been centered about the character of this political-economic phenomenon and the attributes of those organizations which tend to bring Fascism about. In an investigation of the forces that tend to make Fascism possible, one cannot stop with the conclusion that a particular set of economic and political circumstances is the cause. True, such factors are basic. And other relevant considerations generally stem from these factors. But the ideologies and attitudes of a particular generation are traceable not only from contemporary material conditions; they find some of their roots in the mode of thought and of life of past generations. If man were a totally rational being and were motivated solely by intellectually attained conclusions, much less attention would need to be paid to the thoughts of his forefathers. He is rational, however, only to a degree and his behavior finds a conditioning factor in his knowledge of the behavior of his countrymen of past years.

In the case of Italy and of Germany, the rise of Fascism can scarcely be understood when divorced from the ideological heritages of those nations. In fact, the
tendency of social scientists to adopt an "historical" approach in the study of Fascism has often been carried to such an extent as to result in a thoroughly mechanistic and fatalistic point of view. The lack of real political unity and of extensive democratic experience in Italy aided the success of Fascism in gaining power. German Fascists likewise found allies in popular experiences of previous decades. This fact does not prove that Germany and Italy were irremediably fated to adopt Fascism but it does add weight to the argument that the heritage of a people or of a nation is an important consideration in any estimate of the direction in which it is likely to move in the future. And among the tendencies toward Fascism in the United States are not to be neglected the traditions and the ways of life possessed by Americans. Whether we are conscious of their influence or not, they are an important force in deciding the future form of our social order. Such factors as democracy, individualism, the role of minority and suppressed sections of the population, the relationships of government to labor, and the use of direct action are elements in our heritage which will be considered.

Perhaps the strongest argument of the "It can't happen here" school is the claim that our heritage of democra-
cy is of such long standing that no anti-democratic political system could find a substantial basis. Fascism, to be instituted, must be able to replace democratic institutions and ideas with basically dictatorial ones. It must find in a population an active desire (or at least a passive willingness) to entrust the formulation of policy to a "strong man" or to the few "elite". Fascism, when viewed as a bulwark against a deeper and wider extension of democracy, must unavoidably suppress democracy in the social system if it itself is to exist and fulfill the purpose for which it is established. A deeply rooted heritage of democracy is an important obstacle against incipient Fascism.

Long before this country became an independent nation its people held dear certain elementary democratic ideals. The rising commercial class of Europe had championed and popularized the liberal philosophies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in order to gain mass support for its struggles against the restrictions of feudalism and mercantilism. The "divine right of kings" doctrine had found stubborn opposition from those groups whose political influence lagged behind their newly won economic power. And the concurrent religious movement in Europe was also marked in great part by a revolt against authoritarian rule.
Furthermore, the people who became the early American colonists were more thorough converts to the comparatively new democratic ideas than those who were willing to endure the prevailing political conditions of the Old World. The Beards point out how weak was the loyalty of the early Americans to the ruling British kings. The bulk of the immigrants were either hostile to the administration at London or at least felt no thrill of patriotism when they saw the flag of England waving above their heads. The Puritans and the Scotch-Irish, the Germans and French Hugenots, all had experienced the oppression of intolerant kings. And although their attitude may not properly be described as thoroughly democratic, their hatred of particular royal systems placed them in the vanguard of the new "democrats".

The conditions of life in New England further advanced the egalitarianism and independent attitude of the colonists. Social distinctions were less weighty matters in a land where few things had become sanctified by age. Superiority of one class over another was modified in a situation which permitted the capable individual to amass economic means by exploiting new and free areas.

It was the man fired by the passion for owning a plot of ground who led the vanguard of settlers all along the frontier from New Hampshire to Georgia; to him cheap land meant freedom, to his family a rude but sufficient comfort. Nothing in their lives made them a part of the system of privilege and class rule that constituted the government of England in the eighteenth century.

The colonial governments were also characterized by a broader electorate than was prevalent in contemporaneous Europe. Although the upper classes had already achieved major political rights in England, the governmental role of the monarch was still significant. The colonists, on the other hand, carried over the parliamentary privileges to their new home and were able to exercise them with little interference from the mother country. Royal governors possessed wide powers as agents of the crown but the popular colonial assemblies were sufficiently distant from both the king and Parliament of England to wield ever more extensive powers.

On the other hand, pre-Revolutionary America was far from a true democracy. Calvinist groups such as the Puritans demanded their rights as a group but permitted little freedom of expression or of action to individuals within their theocratic community. Other colonies were similarly intolerant of unconventional re-

2. Ibid, pp 88, 89.
ligious ideals, often disfranchising Catholics and Jews. Maryland, owned by the Catholic Baltimores under a charter granted by a Protestant king, seems to have been the only region in which religious freedom was permitted, and even here important political restrictions were later placed on the rights of religious minorities.

"It is exercising restraint to say that a general freedom of conscience had not been up to that time a cardinal principle proclaimed by Catholics, Anglicans, Puritans wherever they were in a position to coerce." 4

In spite of the early establishment of popular assemblies in every colony, suffrage was limited on the same criterion, although not as completely, as had been the custom in England. Government by the economically superior classes was still the rule and the electorate was composed of those persons who had at least a certain amount of wealth. Apportionment in the assemblies was usually weighted in favor of the seaboard. In the South ownership of a particular area of land was the basis of suffrage; in other regions it was possible to become a voter by proving one's possession of property of a certain value. It is estimated that the various restrictions upon suffrage reduced the electorate to one-third

4. Ibid, 0 64.
or one-half of the adult male population. Certainly a proportion rather distantly removed from what we now consider necessary for a democratic order. The qualifications for holding political office were even more stringent, with property again the basic test. Our highly lauded colonial heritage of "self-rule" must thus be sharply modified when it is considered that:

...by one method or another, control in the popular assemblies of the American colonies was concentrated in the hands of a somewhat compact body of propertied men, freeholders, merchants and planters...

The period of the American Revolution added greatly to our present heritage of democracy and liberalism. In the Declaration of Independence is to be found almost a complete synthesis of the anti-autocratic and republican principles of the previous century. Milton, Locke, Rousseau and the rest contributed to the argument that the ordinary man had an inherent right to decide upon the form and policies of his government. The "equality" and "unalienable" rights of the individual as incorporated in the Declaration were more than mere phrases; they were the commonly accepted ideas of the time. The notion of "natural law" was no longer restricted to the physical sciences but served as a rationale for the championing of democratic systems.

5. Ibid., p. 111.
The validity of this whole intellectual milieu is for the moment irrelevant; what is of importance in the present discussion is the fact that we have retained most of these ideals. They have become holier to the mass of Americans with the passing of the generations, as is evidenced by the fact that they are now able, more than any other group of ideas, to serve successfully as slogans for political speakers.

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote: 6

The American Revolution broke out, and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people came out of the townships, and took possession of the State. Every class was enlisted in its cause; battles were fought and victories obtained for it; it became the law of laws.

And it is true that popular sovereignty was still worshipped even after the war was won. In the Constitution there was no qualification for suffrage, representation in the federal government was to be on the basis of population, rather than wealth, and new states were to be admitted on an equal standing with the original thirteen. 7 The term "treason", which had been the cover-all accusation against previous opposition movements, was given a definite and narrow meaning in the body of this document. Perhaps more important than any

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other feature of the Constitution in this connection is the inclusion in the original amendments of a guarantee of democratic rights. The incorporation of such personal safeguards as the right of assembly, of trial by jury, of freedom of speech and press, and security against indiscriminate arrest was a tribute to the strong demand on the part of important groups that the undemocratic aspects of British rule should not be present in the government of the United States. This "bill of rights", however much it may have been violated in succeeding years, is still strong in the ideological heritage of the American people and must inevitably be reckoned with by any man aspiring to become a Fascist leader in this country.

Our Revolutionary heritage cannot, however, be considered a thoroughly democratic one. The framers of the Constitution were certainly not representative of the general population but were rather spokesmen for the upper classes. The completed document was concerned more with curbing the possible excesses of popular majorities than with the development of a political system which would exemplify the widely held

ideals. The political institutions which we have inherited from our Constitution Fathers are accepted as completely by the population at large as are the ideals of that period. It is not of great consequence to many that such features of our government as the Supreme Court, indirect election of the President, the long term of Senators, and the system of "checks and balances" were intended as a defence against the "specter of democracy". And anti-democratic movements are able at the present time to use these features in attaining their ends. It is probable that the political theory of the time prevented our basic law from assuming a more aristocratic form than it did. Professor Carpenter says of the framers of the Constitution:9

They were fully conscious of the fact that the genius of the American people was in favor of democracy. Indeed, the limits of political speculation were fixed by the democratic dogma of the Declaration of Independence. There could be no dissent from the mandate that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Confronted with the necessity of reconciling the principles of democracy and the security of private rights, the convention was reduced to the dilemma noted by Alexander Hamilton in which "the members most tenacious of republicanism...were as loud as any in declaiming against the vices of democracy.

The result of the Constitutional Convention was unavoidably a synthesis of democratic and anti-democratic

ideas. The new government was born with some institutions intended to develop democratic rule and others meant to retard or prevent such a development. On the whole, it may validly be argued that "The Constitution was, from the point of view of eighteenth century political theory, a democratic document". At the time of its framing, the support of essential classes in the population depended upon the concession of democratic features. But those elements in the document which had been introduced in order to protect the power of the upper classes were also present. And intelligent advocates of a dictatorial political regime will certainly take advantage of them.

The democratic tradition that was crystallized by the American Revolution proved to be of a rather durable character and, on the whole, developed strength in the next century and a half. The reasons for this increase in democracy during this period have often been discussed. First, and perhaps foremost of all the various contributory causes, is the fact that during the nineteenth century the nations of the world experienced a whole series of national bourgeois revolutions. A young, vigorous and progressive capitalist class was engaged in the struggle to acquire for itself a position of political power com-

mensurate with its expanded economic influence. In the European nations the revolutions particularly around 1848 marked the willingness of these bourgeois groups to offer the mass of people many political privileges in order to enlist its aid in overthrowing the monarchial and restrictive institutions of that period. And the United States, which had passed through most of this democratic revolution in its war of independence, was characterized, in spite of the partial reaction subsequent to the Revolution, by a relatively high degree of political freedom. The early American government was, of course, a bourgeois government. But in the same way that the American bourgeoisie (and the bourgeoisie classes of Europe) had granted concessions to other classes in order to attain to power, it now felt compelled to continue many of these concessions in order to remain in power.

The wealthy plantation owners of the South had won by their general support of the Revolution an important influence in the new government. The mechanics of the cities were a force to be reckoned with. The election to the Presidency of such men as Jefferson, the "atheist and leveler from Virginia"¹¹, and of Jackson, "the

¹¹. Beard, Charles A. and Mary R., op. cit., p. 380
brawler from Tennessee, indicated that the poorer agrarian population had achieved for themselves an improvement in their political status. Although Jefferson's moderate administration now makes it seem strange that consternation ran swiftly through the circles of wealth and refinement in the middle and northern states when the news of his election to the Presidency was sent broadcast in the autumn of 1800, the fact that a man of his "radical" reputation could peacefully have been put into the Presidency indicates an appreciable depth to the democratic ideas of the period. No less important is the fact that a Jackson, avowedly favoring "the masses", could achieve a similar success.

The expansion of political democracy had begun with the firing of the first Revolutionary bullet. The state of Pennsylvania had been forced as early as 1776 to adopt a low taxpaying franchise and Delaware extended its electorate to include all taxpaying white men a decade and a half later. Other states soon followed suit and Vermont granted suffrage to its citizens without any property qualifications at the time when it entered the Union.

12. Ibid., p. 380.
But it was in the frontier regions that the real expansion in democracy was experienced. Kentucky early exemplified the principle of frontier equality by granting the right to vote and to hold office to all free male citizens who conformed to a residence requirement. And the qualifications of other frontier states, although often not as liberal as those of Kentucky, were not high enough to limit drastically the voting population. The reasons for this liberalism are quite natural and have a broader bearing upon the subject of a possible Fascism in America than merely the extent of the electorate. A people which was composed, in the main, of small freeholders and lived in an environment which lacked the many class distinctions or economic inequalities of the seaboard, was not likely to permit the establishment of a political system in conflict with their normal mode of living. As long as a frontier existed in the United States and the opportunity was open to the adventurous or hardy of attaining economic security, just so long did the frontier act as a democratizing force upon American political life. Until almost the end of the century did this condition prevail as the outposts of civilization in this country moved westward; as long as this frontier situation
existed, the possibility of a dictatorship, whether Fascist or otherwise, would have been eliminated by the opportunity for escape to a region of political democracy.
Moratoria on Democracy

During our history as a nation, many occasions have arisen on which more or less widespread denials of democratic liberties have been made. The tacit understanding during these situations has been that the deprivation of democracy was of an emergency character and that with the return of "normal" conditions the privileges formerly granted would be restored. These were "moratoria" on democracy, rather than complete destruction of it.

The establishment of these temporary dictatorships were most common in the United States during periods of war. Particularly during those wars in which this country's enemy has been of comparable strength, has every other concern been subordinated to the business of winning the struggle. Some of the loss of democracy has been a consequence of governmental decree and political administration; much of it has been simply the unrestrained tyranny against dissenting groups by a population mobilized to brook no interference with the government's plans. Most often it has been a combination of these two ten-
dencies, for the sudden abrogation of ordinary civil rights which is so necessary for the efficient functioning of a nation at war is a practical impossibility without at least the passive support of a large section of the general population. Leon Whipple, in analyzing civil liberties, says:13

...the axioms which in actual fact determine the exercise of civil liberty (are)... First, whoever has power has liberty. Second, the state will and must exert all its power to preserve itself, as it is, regardless of scraps of paper about constitutional guarantees. Third, it is just that this righteous preservation of the state be undertaken by the majority with coercion whether by votes or by direct action....Finally, since war presents the moment at which the state seems most to need this rough-and-ready preservation, war is always invoked to suspend the constitution.

During the American Revolution, for example, civil liberties were quite completely forgotten. The revolutionary American bourgeoisie organized itself as a practical dictatorship14 On the theory that "the majority shall rule" mob action and rule by riot became common in the colonies. Tories lost their right to vote or hold office. They often were not permitted to conduct business or buy land. Many states forbade them from serving as jurymen or even the use of the courts.

Connecticut, Massachusetts and Virginia passed laws prohibiting any criticism of Congress or their respective general assemblies on pain of fine, imprisonment or disfranchisement. Even persons who were "neutrals" and those who, like the Quakers, refused to support either belligerent, found that their homes were not safe against arbitrary invasion nor their persons against imprisonment and banishment. It is interesting to note that during the agitation for adoption of the Constitution, "unconstitutional" use of violence was employed in the crucial state of Pennsylvania to compel two anti-Federalists to complete the legislative quorum necessary to consider ratification. 15

In the period of Federalist domination following the Revolution, the attempt to destroy the agrarian and radical movement organized in the Republican Party was most sharply exemplified by the passage in 1798 of the Alien and Sedition Acts. The first of these laws gave the President discretionary power, in case of war, to imprison or expel "alien enemies". The Sedition Act permitted severe punishment of anyone who so much as sharply criticized the government. Although the latter

of these acts was the only one enforced, the breadth of arbitrary power and the disregard for civil rights that these acts permitted are illustrative of the willingness of our government to postpone democratic rule when the occasion seems to warrant such postponement. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions and even the election of Jefferson are evidences, however, that sections of the American people can be depended upon to oppose this type of governmental action.

During both the War of 1812 and the campaigns waged against Mexico in 1846, there were no major deprivations of customary civil rights. The principal cause for this fact was probably the remoteness of the struggles to the average citizen and the feeling on the part of the government that dissenting movements were not dangerous to the conduct of the war. Even the calling of the Hartford convention in 1814 as a protest against the waging of the War of 1812 was considered so lightly at the time that John Randolph laughed aloud when he read that the New England Federalist were standing forth in shining armor as apostles of nullification and the champions of states' rights.

But the Civil War presented a much more serious situation. In this case both of the contending governments saw in the war a conflict of basic importance to their futures. It was no longer a struggle over a particular disagreement concerning "rights of neutrals", British aid to the Indians, or Western lands. It was a major fight between the growing industrial North and the semi-feudal South to determine which mode of political economy should dominate the continent. In its very nature, this life-or-death controversy induced the willingness on both sides to employ any means to insure success and the cancellation of many "normal" rights of the individual was not held to be too high a price to pay in order to get rid of internal opposition.

The Confederacy, although unified to a greater degree than its northern enemy, faced sufficient disloyal movements to induce it to suspend as early as 1862 the writ of habeas corpus. Later this suspension was renewed with more embracing provisions and a number of persons were imprisoned as a result.\textsuperscript{17} In spite of the states' rights and civil liberties doctrines which had been used as ideological bases for secession, many local and personal prerogatives were taken over by the confed-

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., Vol. II, p. 79.
erate government in order to achieve the central control it deemed necessary to win the war. In fact, toward the last months of the conflict, plans were discovered to set up a dictatorship in the South under General Lee in the frantic endeavor to stave off defeat by a further expansion of governmental autocracy.

The federal government instituted an even more extensive control of civil life. Beginning with the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in a limit area of military importance, Lincoln soon extended this area, and in the Spring of 1863 was authorized by Congress to suspend the writ throughout the United States. The result was: 18

Thus autocratic prerogatives could be exercised, under the President, by military officers authorized to arrest without warrants, imprison, and mete out penalties at the drumhead.

In those regions where the military arm of government was not active, the civil authorities were on guard against any interference with the war. Overt acts against the government were of course severely punished. Publication of hostile periodicals and organization of pro-Southern or even peace meetings meant arrest and imprisonment.

There were even cases in which the mere holding of unpopular views unaccompanied by actual acts against the

18. Ibid., Vol II, p. 79.
war was followed by a prison term. Political officers as prominent as the mayor of Baltimore and members of the Maryland legislature were found to be far from immune from such punishment. When Chief Justice Taney handed down a decision objecting to this type of military rule, Lincoln unconcernedly "put the opinion of the learned Justice in a pigeon hole".  Even the precedent-burdened sanctity of the Supreme Court cannot hold back a government from acts which it considered essential for its preservation. So throughout the period of the war and even during the years following, a very real sort of dictatorship prevailed. Lewis Corey explains:  

In the essentially revolutionary struggle of the Civil War, the bourgeoisie wholly completed its revolution by destroying the slave power, industrial capitalists acquired control of the government, and the conquest of power was implemented by the ruthless dictatorship and expropriation of Reconstruction.

There was once a time when wars were waged by armies and the general population of a country was not directly affected. But in the present era whole nations are in a very real sense participants in any armed conflict into which their military bodies are sent. The whole social and economic life of a modern state is inevitably adjusted to a war situation and the men and women

19. Ibid., Vol. II., p. 80.
20. Corey, op. cit. p. 542
"back home" are organized as almost a part of the war machine. And so it is natural that in the most recent periods of our wars dissention in the civilian population against governmental acts has been answered by ever-increasing severity. The Espionage Act was passed by Congress shortly after the declaration of war and prohibited any activity which might be interpreted as hindering the war mobilization. In the next year, President Wilson succeeded in having passed the Sedition Act whose provisions were so drastic as to legalize any criticism of the Wilson administration. Although the press was sufficiently well organized to prevent the imposition of an official censorship, the same result was achieved under the guise of administrative regulation. The formerly small Department of Justice suddenly mushroomed out into a huge arm of government with a veritable army of paid and volunteer "investigators" under its control. The story of loss of jobs, boycotting of stores, social ostracization and even physical maltreatment because of suspected German sympathies is too recent and well-known a story to need repetition. The urgent demand for a smoothly-functioning economic machine in modern war-times resulted in adding a red-
hunt to the raging search for Germans. The fact that "...not a single first-class German spy or revolutionary workingman was caught and convicted of an overt act designed to give direct aid or comfort to the enemy" indicates that in time of social crisis it is the fear of revolt rather than any necessarily imminent danger of revolt that prompts the class in power to turn to any means -- however violent, unprecedented or unconstitutional -- in order to continue its policies. Wars, when severe crises, illustrate this phenomenon. A future war or a threatened social revolution may be the situations in which attempts will be made to institute Fascism.

This is not to imply that there is no important difference between the cancellation of civil liberties during periods of social crisis and their abrogation under Fascism. It is clear that a war-time dictatorship may work for the eventual preservation of democracy. The Roman form of "dictatorship", vastly divorced from its modern Italian namesake, had precisely that purpose: namely, the granting to a single leader for a brief period of social crisis, the complete power over all public policies. Similarly, a temporary dictatorship in the modern state is not, per se, a preface to Fascism. The danger lies, however, in the fact that during such "temporary" dictatorships there is likely to be in control.

of the government those very groups whom a threat to the prevailing system will induce to make the dictatorship permanent.
Women

The role of women in a democracy had been somewhat discussed as early as the eighteenth century and with the cultural achievements of women steadily increasing, the radical of the nineteenth century turned the question of woman suffrage into a demand. The increasing importance of woman labor in an economic order characterized by a shortage of labor added to the force of their campaign for emancipation. The frontier offered to the women, as it had to the men, an opportunity to assert their demands and brave the opposition of their community. Starting with the right to hold property in their own name and to be exempt from liability for their husbands' debts, American women steadily improved their political position until the World War's sudden utilization of women in industry as well as in other fields made certain the passage, in 1920, of the Nineteenth Amendment. And in 1922, the Cable Act placed women on an equal standing with men by making the woman's citizenship independent of the citizenship of her husband.22 In respect to political democracy there are

now no explicit rules against sexual equality. Politically, the American woman today compares favorably with her sister in any capitalist state.

But explicit rules against equality have been replaced in part by other instrumentalities to deprive the female of the species of equal privileges with the male. Very strong even today is, of course, the tradition of "women in the home" and the aversion to her participation in the battles of the world. This antidemocratic note has been amplified and carried to its logical conclusion by the National Socialists in their slogan: "Kinder, Kuche und Kirche". Particularly during periods of unemployment and low wages does the keenness of the competition of women in the labor market lend vigor to the drive against women in industry.

Even in such fields as teaching and stenography in which women have won for themselves a favored position, the tendency is developing—often with the aid of political rulings—for restrictions upon women seeking jobs. A prejudice still exists against the office-holding woman. The percentage of women in political office is very small in proportion to the percentage which their numbers bear to the total population. And the incomplete extent to which they themselves have accepted their newly-won political rights is evidenced by the infrequency with which they demand a greater participation in the "spoils"
of electoral victories. The appointment of a female to a single post in the cabinet was the occasion of surprise to women in general rather than an expected recognition of their political importance.
The Negro

The freeing and enfranchising of the Negro in America was another step forward in the extension of democracy. The fact that this step was made possible mainly through the compulsion of economic forces rather than purely idealistic movements does not invalidate the argument that the abolition of slavery in the United States is an addition to the democratic heritage of the nation and another obstacle in the path of those who might wish to destroy democratic ideas and institutions. Although it is not necessarily true that a nation "half slave and half free" cannot long endure, it must be granted that the existence within a country of millions of politically and socially enslaved humans is a poor educational force for democracy. The American democratic tradition was further strengthened by the cost in wealth and lives which became necessary in order politically to free the Negro slave.

According to the Constitutional law of the United States and a large body of statutory law, the Negro is
now a political equal of the white man. But such a formal grant of political power is a far cry from actual equality. With the exception of a few years subsequent to the Civil War the Negro race has had practically no political privileges in the South. The "guarantees" given by constitutional amendments have been so thwarted by indirect restrictions as to have divorced them of any real significance in many regions. Intimidation by social pressure or physical coercion can be as effective as any laws in the denial of democratic liberties. And in most of the period since the Civil War the Negro in the South has been faced by united opposition in the form of laws, terror, a virtual one-party system, and economic subjection against his attainment of equal political rights. Other districts in the country have also denied him many liberties granted to whites. Discrimination in these regions have been of a more subtle variety and have usually taken the form of segregation by "quiet" social pressure rather than deprivation of liberties by force and law. But the situation is nonetheless one in which a large section of the American population has for years been largely denied a participation even in the rights and privileges commonly possessed by the rest of the population.
And this denial of democracy to the Negro (as to other racial groups) is a strong part of the traditions of many Americans and in their minds has become legitimate exception to the principle of democracy.

Numerous other items might be cited illustrating incidents and ideologies which have formed a part of either our democratic, or of our anti-democratic tradition. And some of these items will be raised in the course of this discussion. But on the whole our tradition has been a "democratic" one. For more than a century and a half the classic political theory and the generally accepted political point of view has been democracy. In 1850, de Tocqueville wrote: 23

The social condition of the Americans is eminently democratic; this was its character at the foundation of the colonies, and it is still more strongly marked at the present day.

And we can still say, looking back at our history as a nation, that democracy has been the norm of our political thought and life and that it has entrenched itself as a fundamental tradition. It is perhaps the strongest single tradition which will oppose the establishment of Fascism in the United States.

Both the official ideology and social structure under Fascism are completely opposed to an atomistic or individualistic conception of society. Unity of the nation is stressed by Fascist theorists and every tendency toward intra-national division is attacked by Fascist leaders. The demand for an end to classes, a single church, the assimilation or destruction of racial and cultural minorities are all instances of their drive to substitute for many particular aspirations a single set of national purposes. Hitler's campaign against the Jews and in favor of a state church, and Mussolini's compact with the Vatican are illustrations. Their continual propaganda against the recognition of classes are of the same order.

All things, it is argued, are but means for final result - the State. Individuals are to find their purpose and meaning in life by serving the State.

The American tradition was strongly opposed to that principle. Perhaps stemming originally from the period
of pre-Revolutionary America when the colonists were in large part descended from persons who had run away from governmental authority, a strong heritage has developed suspicious of political power. In the struggle against the British monarchy had been nurtured the ideal which declared that "that government is best which governs least". And this ideal was put into practice during the first half of the nineteenth century when the westward-moving population and the agrarian mode of life made possible a minimum of governmental control. But as the economy of the country became more complex the scope of the state's jurisdiction became much more inclusive. The tremendous growth in the functions of national, state and municipal governments in the last century is too well-known a story to need emphasis. But at the present time there is a contradiction between the average man's attitude toward government and the actual form in which that government exists. He still retains the old ideal of government as a policeman while taking for granted the modern type of government with its multifarious functions. In ideal and tradition the American's point of view is still contrary to that of Fascism; in the actual form of government which he
has accepted, he has in effect discarded that anti-Fascist individualism. This is not to say that any
government which has taken to itself many previously
private functions has, by that token, advanced in the
direction of Fascism. Obviously, a socialist state has
even more duties than has a Fascist state. But a
government under a capitalist economy can, if it has
thus extended its powers, develop more easily toward
Fascism.

Concurrent with the development of political in-
dividualism there appeared the principle of economic
laisser-faire. The eighteenth and early nineteenth
century economy was one in which a need was felt for
the destruction of the vestiges of feudal restrictions
upon industry and commerce; the "Radicals" of a century
ago were proponents of laisser-faire in order more ef-
flectively to defeat the established economic interests
of their time. Following in the footsteps of the British
economists the traditional American point of view def-
ended the thesis that: 24

...the normal individual knew best his own
interest and how to pursue it and ... in pur-
suing his own interest he also, without intend-
ing it, served the common interest as well.

24. Coker, Francis W., Recent Political Thought,
p. 391.
For the actual economic situation at that time permitted such a policy to be applied with success. The small scale productive units and the lack of labor organization allowed a desirable fluidity in the economic machine and this same absence of large economic combinations made difficult any effective government regulation.

Material conditions have, of course, changed greatly in this respect. Just as in other phases of modern life, our economy has been circumscribed by political rules and regulations. Early in our national history demands were made upon the government (and granted by it) for subsidies in the development of railroads, canal systems or merchant ships. For generations the most prominent subject in national political campaigns has centered about the tariff. And even in this controversy there was little sincere insistence upon completely free trade but rather a disagreement concerning the degree of protection or the particular goods upon which the tariff was to be applied. The granting of patents, the recognition of labor's right to organize (however reluctantly granted), and other similar changes in the attitude both of the general public and of the
government have modified sharply the classical theory of pure laissez-faire. In its stead has arisen a general attitude which often sways in a thoroughly inconsistent fashion from a position of complete government control over business enterprises to one which fears the slightest intrusion of the treacherous camel.

The expansion of governmental control over the nation's economy has been particularly marked in the last half century. Such federal agencies as the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission were among the early important regulatory bodies with wide powers. And since the establishment of these bodies there has been a broad expansion both in the number of such government agencies and in the scope of their power. The anti-trust legislation of a few decades ago added to the fields in which popular opinion permitted political control to enter. But it was during the World War that the national economy was placed to an unprecedented degree under federal control. Almost no important phase of business or industry was unaffected by this policy.

Wheat was fixed at a figure far below the relative prices of the manufactured goods which the farmer had to buy. Railway, telegraph, telephone, and cable lines, express companies, and coastwise and high seas shipping were taken over by the government, and an Emergency Fleet Corporation was created to mobilize the ship-building forces of the country. 25

And the love of the American people for a regime of laissez-faire was clearly not strong enough to have resulted in widespread objection to such a policy.

After the short lull occasioned by the "prosperity" of the twenties, the economic crash and resulting depression again introduced a crisis in which the aid and guidance of government was accepted with thanks. The half-hearted attempts of President Hoover having proved inadequate, President Roosevelt's New Deal expanded the existing government agencies and established many others for the purpose of giving to the national economy the very regulation and emergency aid against which the old laissez-faire theorists had so often warned. Such agencies as the NRA, AAA, TVA, SEC, and RA are, of course, only a few of the better known regulatory bodies. Their powers extended from the regulation of business methods and the control of numerous types of production to the development and sale of electrical power. Other agencies with such titles as PWA, WPA, CCC, and NYA further violated the individualistic tradition by interfering with the "natural" conditions of a surplus labor supply. During the five years of Mr. Roosevelt's administration there have been enacted
a number of laws both on a national and on a state scale which have been meant to regulate hours, wages, and conditions of work. A great expansion has been made in the scope of old age, disability and unemployment legislation and the movement toward an even higher degree of this type of social legislation is apparently not ended. Throughout this period no really mass complaint against this collectivistic tendency has been apparent; on the contrary, if we wish to examine election returns. The "traditional" American insistence upon laissez-faire government has unavoidably been modified by the urgent needs that have arisen in the modern state and twentieth century economy.

Thus, one cannot easily explain the American tradition as favoring either the interference or non-interference of government in the affairs of the market-place. The heritage of the early American economics and of their English kin is strong in the beliefs of the man in the street. The inculcation into every schoolboy of the gospel that "the laws of Adam Smith are the laws of nature" has been for so long a time the process that to hold other economic views is even now heretical. And, on the other hand, the material conditions that have prevailed under a system of huge irresponsible economic
units have met with popular disapproval. The average American may be said to adhere to both of these conflicting ideologies. And it seems reasonable to assume that he will in the future, as he has in the past, adopt that theoretical point of view which he can be convinced to believe at the moment most advantageous for him.

Although Fascism presupposes a rather thorough merging of the political and economic life of the nation, it does not follow that those individuals who are most likely to support an eventual Fascism desire political control or even regulation at the present time. In fact quite the opposite is the case at the present time. As long as the propertyless are permitted even a small part in the government of the country, the possibility exists for the regulation of industry for the benefit of the numerous and poor. And those who fear this possible tendency clamor for a policy of non-interference in the affairs of business. Although this upper-bourgeoisie is quite willing to forget laisser-faire for the moment in obtaining government aid, it pleads for freedom in conducting the affairs in which it needs no help.

26. Anti-trust, anti-chainstore, and much of the New Deal legislation has been a result of popular demand for political regulation of big business.

27. The many requests for Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans under the administration of the Rugged Individualist are illustrative.
Coker's statement concerning "individualists" is applicable to this group.28

Their concern is to show the values of a governmental policy that puts the fewest possible limitations upon the acquisition and use of private property. This economic individualism appears now to be a creed of conservatism. It is set forth as the doctrinal basis for arguments against socialism or against some proposed new regulation of prices, profits, wages, or working conditions.

In political situations such as the present when the national administration is concerned to some extent in enacting social legislation, these "conservatives" are quick to appeal to the tradition of individualism. The argument of "local government" and "states' rights" upon which many other movements in the history of this country have campaigned are now taken up by this group. When it is observed that the opposition of this same group is encountered when social legislation or industrial regulation is put into effect by state governments it may safely be concluded that this economic class is not primarily concerned with theoretical concepts of the functions of government. Both the individualistic and the anti-individualistic aspects of the national tradition will be played upon by the champions of Fascism in the United States. In the eventuality of Fascism in this country, individualism must surely suffer

28. Coker, Francis W., Recent Political Thought, p. 390.
a final defeat. The nature of the Fascist state seems to make impossible any alternative.
When the squadristi under the leadership of Mussolini instituted their campaign of terror against all of their enemies in Italy the common reaction in the United States viewed it as a special and unfortunate form of the traditional Italian "emotionalism". Hitler's use of the Stahlhelm to break up the meetings of his opponents and to terrorize the population in order to assure his election was also looked upon as foreign to our method of political activity. It was, and still is, argued that such a use of violence for the purpose of determining public policy is contrary to the whole tradition and present ideology of the American people. The argument is that our habit of deciding social questions by the ballot rather than by the bullet is so deeply entrenched that no leader who employed the early tactics of Hitler or Mussolini would have much chance of success.

It should not be concluded that an aspirant to Fascist leadership in the United States would necessarily follow the methods of these two leaders. Almost certainly alterations would be made. But the applica-
tion of extra-governmental force is not at all unlikely since the experience with Fascist movements in Europe has indicated that governments often hesitate to institute widespread suppression until the power of the groups to be suppressed has been tested by forces not directly associated with the government. Only after a period of extra-governmental terror is a government based on this method of rule possible. And both the historical tradition and contemporary factors in the United States permit the conclusion that this country is by no means free from the use of "direct action" by groups of various sorts in their attempts to achieve their ends.

The beginnings of our tradition of direct action in lieu of governmental methods are to be found in pre-Revolutionary days. In this period the danger from Indians and from white enemies alike existed without the presence of any strong government agency to combat it and so the colonists were compelled to set up their own local forces for self-defence. These groups were usually called by such a name as "Rangers" or "Regulators" and were used as justification for their exist-

ence the need in a frontier community of immediate and drastic punishment of wrong-doers. In later years with the movement of the frontier farther west, similar conditions prevailed as in colonial days. James Cutler explains:

The duties of such companies, whether known as Regulators or as Rangers or by some other name, were to ferret out and punish criminals, to drive out "suspicious characters", and to exercise a general supervision over the interests of the settlements in which they lived. They were in themselves judges, juries, witnesses, and executioners.

The activities of horse and cattle thieves, of highway robbers and of murderers were thus subject to summary punishment by the united manpower of the community. There was obviously a need for government and a substitute was provided by this sort of direct action. It is from these beginnings that the later-day vigilantes sprang.

The notorious organization which sprang up in the Pennsylvania coal fields in the 1850's and gained fame as the "Molly Maguires" is another type of American direct actionism. Chartered under the name of "The Ancient Order of Hibernians" in order to "promote friendship, unity, and true Christian charity among the

members" by "...raising or supporting a stock or fund of money for maintaining the aged, sick, blind, and infirm members", the true purpose of the organization was to improve the truly miserable conditions in which its members were forced to live. The Molly Maguires stopped at nothing in order to achieve their ends. Killing a mining boss or superintendent was not unusual during the height of the movement, and discrimination against a member of the Order in the granting of jobs or the determination of pay was often punished by the beating or murder of the person responsible. Again there was a reason for this use of terrorism - whether or not the method was justified. Eugene V. Debs pointed out:

    To resist the wrongs of which they and their fellow-workers were victims and to protect themselves against the brutality of their bosses, according to their own crude notions, was the prime object of the organization of the Molly Maguires....It is true that their methods were drastic, but it must be remembered that their lot was hard and brutalizing; that they were the neglected children of poverty, the product of a wretched environment.

32. Ibid., p. 20. Also: Bimba, Anthony, History of the American Working Class
The Ku Klux Klan which was organized in Pulaski, Tennessee in 1866 and was intended originally for mere amusement purposes, was also transformed into a band of terrorist "regulators" by the conditions that arose soon after the organization's birth. In this case a large section of the white population in the South eagerly welcomed any such instrument which would curb the increased power of the Negro, on the basis of which was explained the rather general lawlessness of the period. The anti-Negro terror that was developed by the Ku Klux Klan in the few years of the organization's existence following the Civil War was felt necessary and so direction of this sort was taken. Other orders such as the White Camelia were organized for similar purposes. Years later, during the post-World War period, other hatreds and fears (plus the realization by certain men that white robes could be sold for a handsome profit) modified the Ku Klux Klan into a "Protestant, white and American" movement dedicated to the violent suppression of Catholics, Jews, Negroes and foreigners. And in 1934 it was again revived for the purpose of destroying tendencies toward "Communism" in the United States.

33. Cutler, op. cit. pp. 139-143.
35. Labor Research Association, Labor Fact Book III., p. 166
And on every occasion its method has been in large part of the direct action variety.

The whole institution of lynching, which is an outgrowth of the early regulator movement, is almost a pure case of direct action as opposed to duly legal procedure. The extent to which this practice has been carried in this country and the difficulty with which any governmental action is taken against participating mobs seems to place the American people well in the forefront of those whose traditions are scornful of regular government. A total of over 5,000 lynchings have been recorded since 1882, the overwhelming majority of the victims being Negroes in the South. The basic reason for a great deal of this type of mob violence is similar to the reason for the Ku Klux Klan's emergence following the Civil War - namely to keep the Negro, who holds a particularly exploited position in the Southern economy, from any attempt to rise from his depressed position.

Direct action has also been resorted to on many occasions in the form of "vigilante" bodies organized to combat unionism. Louis Adamic cites a number of

36. N.A.A.C.P., Can the States Stop Lynching?
37. Haywood, Harry, and Howard, Milton, Lynching.
cases of this sort in his book, *Dynamite*. Harry Haywood discusses the experiences which he had at first hand with such groups. The murder in November, 1935 of the Socialist Joseph Shoemaker is an example of the ease with which such traditions as the Ku Klux Klan, lynching and anti-union vigilanteism may be combined. In the recent organizational activities on the West Coast and at the present time in the Middle West, innumerable local vigilante movements and "committees" of various sorts have sprung up and have on a number of occasions been instrumental in anti-strike or anti-union campaigns. The recent convention in Johnstown, Pennsylvania held for the purpose of uniting these many groups into one national movement is not surprising in view of the traditions which have been developed in this country for many years. In every case where a need is felt either by the whole community (as for example in colonial times) or by a particular section of the community (the union-hating employer), our tradition has been one which permitted the organization of extra-governmental forces to satisfy the particular need. As long as such extra-governmental and direct action activities are in fulfillment of needs felt by the whole community there can be little objection to them. When they are for the purposes of the economically dominant minority, they are a forecast of Fascism.
Government and Labor

In the light of considering Fascism as a dictatorship of large-scale capital, the role of labor under Fascism is consequently one of powerless subservience. An examination of labor's condition in those countries which have adopted this political system certainly bears out this point. The "Labor Front" which was adopted by the Nazis to fill the place left by the destroyed labor unions "...has never been envisaged as a trade union or an agency for the protection of workers against employers".38 And the position of workers in Fascist Italy is similarly devoid of any real economic or political power within the limits set up by the state. The destruction of the independent power of workers is an essential part of the Fascist program and the development of a movement against organized labor is a real force in the development of Fascism. The contemporary American has behind him a heritage marked at many points with precisely this sort of an anti-labor movement. And in the final and complete stage of the drive against labor is to be found Fascism.39

38. Schuman, Frederick L., The Nazi Dictatorship, p. 397.
Organized labor in the United States has on many occasions in the past been subjected to repressive measures by every weapon at the disposal of the state. Early in our history we adhered to the legal principle accepted by the English common law which considered it a criminal conspiracy for workers to try to raise their wages above the standard wage through the instrumentality of refusal to work. The first prosecutions against organized labor in the United States utilized this judicial rule and resulted in numerous decisions against the workers. The legal attitude against strikes was so firmly entrenched that even trials were sometimes dispensed with. Louis Adamic writes: "more often than not workmen were arrested and fined or jailed as soon as they struck and replaced by unorganized men." On other occasions, methods more direct and severe than judicial punishment were employed by the forces of the state in suppressing organized attempts to improve working conditions. The police and militia were even then used for this purpose and in a number of such disturbances during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, many of the workers who participated were killed.

while others were either fined or sent to prison. Our early labor tradition was strongly colored by the use of the forces of government to preserve that status quo in regard to labor's rights which was so strongly favored by the employing classes.

In the main, however, this early period was characterized by few strikes or important campaigns to organize workers and so the reaction of repression was not instituted on any large scale. But soon after the close of the Civil War, the rapidly developing complex of modern industry brought with it a condition in which the worker was little more than a commodity and was entirely dependent upon the machine for an existence. The immigration in large numbers of European workers accustomed to a low standard of living helped force down the conditions of work for American labor generally. And with the advent of the panic of 1873, workers by the hundreds of thousands were thrown out of employment, wages dropped to almost one-half of the previous standard, and thousands died of starvation. After four years of this sort of situation there developed "The Great Riots" of 1877.

The immediate spark that set off the pent-up sufferings of the period was a series of apparently spontaneous and local strikes on the Baltimore & Ohio Rail-
road in the early part of July, 1877. From there the strike movement spread to the Pennsylvania Central and finally to many large cities in the eastern half of the country and even to portions of the Pacific coast. In answer to requests by company officials, militiamen were promptly shipped to every point at which strikes were called. In cases in which the militia was unable to patrol the whole situation, the President was appealed to and federal troops were rushed in. The general population, sympathetic to the struggle of the railroadmen, joined the strikers in protesting the intervention of the forces of the government on the side of the companies and violence broke out at a number of places. By the end of the month about twenty thousand men had been put under arms by state, local and federal governments. An indeterminate number certainly running into the hundreds of strikers and sympathizers had been killed. But the widespread strikes had been broken and the state proved to the whole population the role that it would regularly play in the future in worker-employer conflicts.43

The Homestead Strike of 1892 is another conspicuous example of the use which has been made of state troops in industrial controversies. In actuality, a

lockout rather than a strike, the struggle was an attempt by Henry C. Frick, union-hating superintendent of the Carnegie Steel Company to break the powerful Iron and Steel Workers Union. When a boatload of Pinkerton detectives were forcibly run out of town following a bloody battle in which the workers were victorious, the Governor of Pennsylvania sent militia to Homestead. The small town was completely taken over by the troops and the lockout was made thoroughly effective. After more than four months of virtual martial law, the workers were completely defeated and the union practically destroyed.

Since that time the military has often been utilized in cases of strikes. The well-known story of the Pullman strike is a case in point. Starting a boycott by railroadmen of all Pullman cars in order to aid the striking Pullman employees, the American Railway Union under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs soon tied up all railroad operations in central and western United States. The urgent demand by the Chicago capitalists that the strike be broken, this time failed to find sympathy in the Governor of Illinois, the pro-labor liberal, John Altgeld. Without waiting for an official request from the Governor and, indeed, contrary to
Altgeld's express insistence, President Cleveland ordered 10,000 soldiers to Chicago. Trains and terminals were guarded, the leaders of the strike were imprisoned and the union was soon disrupted. "George Nelson Miles, commander of the regular troops on strike duty in Illinois...pompously declared at a banquet given in appreciation of his services: 'I have broken the backbone of this strike.'"

The mining regions of the West experienced many similar invasions of both state and federal military forces into labor controversies. Invariably the reason given was "protection of life and property" and equally invariable was the safeguarded life and property that of the employers and of his supporters. It was in the mining fields of Idaho and Colorado that the first widespread abrogation of many civil rights was witnessed in peace time. In one quite typical case:

Armed force was imposed upon a peaceful people without inquiry or investigation on the part of either the governor of the state or the president of the United States, at the first request of the mining companies. When the soldiers arrived martial law was declared. More than twelve hundred men were arrested without any charge being preferred against them. There was no insurrection in the Coeur d'Alenes, there was no interference in the function of the courts, yet hundreds of men were punished with months of imprisonment in the bull-pen, a structure unfit to house cattle, enclosed in a high barbed-wire fence.

The extremes to which the national guard went in this and similar situations is substantial evidence that "...the only law was armed force". In the state of Colorado alone, martial law has been declared ten times in the last 45 years. The West Virginia coal miners' strike of 1912 brought on martial law under which:

...the writ of habeas corpus (was) denied in spite of the fact of a direct prohibition by the constitution of the State, in spite of the fact that the courts were open and unobstructed. Persons outside the military zone were arrested, dragged before military courts, tried, and sentenced under so-called martial law. Upon appeal to the Civil courts, the military authorities were upheld, in spite of the oath of the judges to support the constitution...

In the great steel strike of 1919 in which nearly 400,000 steel workers in eight states participated, a tradition of frank and thorough terror was established. On the day set for the beginning of the strike the New York World editorialized:

In anticipation of the strike, what do we see? In the Pittsburgh region thousands of deputy sheriffs have been recruited at several of the larger plants. The Pennsylvania State Constabulary has been concentrated at commanding points. At other places the authorities have organized bodies of war veterans as special police deputies subject to instant call. It is as though preparations were made for war

Louis Adamic later wrote:

Along the Monongahela River from Pittsburgh to Clairton, a distance of twenty miles, over 25,000 men were under arms. Freedom of speech and assembly was utterly abolished throughout the heart of America's steel and iron area, with the Cossacks galloping through the streets, beating up men and women, shooting at them, dragging them to jail, trampling them under their horses' hoofs. Picketing, of course, was out of the question. Strikers foolhardy enough to attempt it were slugged and arrested and often kept in jail without bond. Here and there mobs of gunmen broke into men's homes and forced them at the point of their guns to return to work. The jails swarmed with arrested strikers.

Again it was proved that in a crisis the forces of the state were at the call of the economically powerful. The strike was defeated and the tradition that the status quo shall be preserved was upheld.

Similar examples might be cited in more recent years. In August, 1934, martial law was proclaimed on the occasion of the miners' strike at Gallup, New Mexico, and "A soldier to police every four strikers was sent."

Troops were called in several states during the textile strike in 1929 and 1930 and the various strike movements among farmers in 1932. The San Francisco General Strike was another recent case of strike-breaking by the armed forces of the state. Militia "protected"

men in the reopened lumber mills of the Northwest during the major strike in that region in 1935 and thousands of soldiers were used to prevent picket lines or even union meetings. The most recent case of the use of troops in a labor dispute is the steel strike in progress at the present writing in the Middle West. Called out by Governor Davey of Ohio with the avowed intention of preserving the "status quo" and of preventing bloodshed, the national guard has been effectively used by the steel companies in their attempts to reopen the struck plants. Of all the many attacks upon workers by local police forces, perhaps the most brazenly open was that which resulted from a Memorial Day parade of strikers at a Republic Steel Corporation plant in Chicago. The Senate Civil Liberties Committee under the chairmanship of Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., found in its investigation that the death of ten of the strikers and the wounding of several dozen more was "...clearly avoidable by the police", that "the force employed by the police was far in excess of that which the occasion required", and that "Its use must be ascribed either to gross inefficiency in the performance of police duty or a deliberate attempt to intimidate the strikers."  

52. Ibid., pp. 5, 6.  
There have been a few instances in recent years of the insistence on the part of state administrations that the government forces pursue either a neutral or a pro-labor policy. Governor Murphy of Michigan was rather successful in so doing during the automobile strikes in that state in the early months of 1937. And other such "neutral" policies have appeared in a few other states. In those few cases where governors have attempted to use the militia on the side of labor, they have had little success. Although the governor's proclamation prohibiting picketing in the Terre Haute general strike was upheld by the courts as being within his discretionary power, when Governor Olson of Minnesota attempted to use troops in order to close the struck Strutwear Knitting Company, the courts enjoined this action. The following generalization of these situations seems reasonable:

...military interference with property rights of the employer will not be countenanced by the federal courts unless disorder could not have been prevented by interference with the personal rights of the employees.

The use of police and military forces in anti-labor activities has, of course, been under the control of the executive arm of government. But the judiciary

has also done its part in establishing a heritage in this country upon which a thorough-going regime for the suppression of labor's power may be built. It would be foolhardy to argue that every judge who had the opportunity used his position to enforce anti-labor rulings or to interpret the law unfavorably for labor. But to insist that laws as a whole are conservative is merely to declare a truism. They are by their nature rules for the preservation of rights and obligations already established and are, except in extremely dynamic moments of history, meant for the retention of social situations already achieved. Workers as a class have, on the other hand, been engaged constantly during our history in the attempt to gain more liberties and more rights. And so it is not surprising that they failed to find support in a legal system which was generally adapted to the status quo.

Furthermore, the economically strong in the United States have often been able to control the courts even when a particular law was not advantageous for them. Leon Whipple writes: 56

56. Whipple, op. cit. pp. 210, 211.
Against the workers were lined up the capitalist-employer combinations creating as the workers declared an "invisible government" superior to the constitutions, that could both make and enforce its own laws, or control the enforcement of laws long in existence. They bought immunity from prosecutions, or defeated them by long delays and confusion in the courts; and through them plus the respect in which wealth is held, were able to establish their case in public favor, while misrepresenting both the purposes and the acts of the workers.

And even before a particular case arises in court, the employers, by their superior political power have been able to seat as judges men who are in the main friendly to the prevailing balance of economic class power.

The injunction has been, since early in the 1880's an effective and constantly more widely used instrument against the rights to organize, strike and picket. The very character of the injunction as a writ in equity gives it a great advantage over a ruling in an ordinary court. For by use of the injunction, activities of workers which are harmful to the employer may be prevented rather than punished after commission. In this way "...the judge becomes a censor over the striker's acts, before they are committed. Men are punished, not for actual crimes but for not obeying an injunction."57

57. Ibid., pp. 250, 251.
The first important injunction against strikers was issued against Debs and fifteen other union leaders involved in the Pullman strike of 1894 and prohibited practically every act in any way connected with the strike. Defiance of the injunction resulted in the arrest and jailing of a number of the leaders for contempt of court. The character of the indictment of course precluded a jury trial and the Supreme Court of the United States upheld this use of the injunction in the following year. Since that time frequent use has been made of what the Beards call "the judicial ukase." The one-sidedness with which our law is interpreted is illustrated by an excerpt from the Report of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, published in 1915:

The inconsistency between the decision in the Debs case wherein it is held that the control of Congress over inter-state commerce is so complete that it may regulate the conduct of the employees engaged therein to the extent of enjoining them from going on a sympathetic strike, and the decision in the Adair case wherein it is held that Congress has so little power over the conduct constitutionally forbid employers engaged therein from discharging their employees merely because of their membership in a union.

Another powerful weapon which has on a number of occasions been used against workers is the arbitrary arrest and conviction of their leaders on little or no evidence of their complicity in any crime. The indictment of the eight Chicago Anarchists in 1886 for allegedly throwing the "Haymarket Bomb" is an early example. They were convicted in spite of the admission by the trial judge that the defendants might not have had "...any personal participation in the particular act which caused the death of Degan."\(^{60}\) Basically, their punishment was meant as a blow against the widespread movement at that time to institute the eight-hour day. The conviction of Mooney and Billings also was based on the explosion of a bomb. In this case it has since been proved beyond any reasonable doubt that these two labor leaders have spent over twenty years in prison for a crime in which they had had no part. But their innocence has not prevented their continued imprisonment, for:\(^{61}\)

...Mooney and Billings in prison are living advertisements of the California boosters' determination to keep California open-shop; a living proof to Eastern manufacturers and capitalists that they control the State utterly, from the Governor's mansion and the Supreme Court down; a living assurance to Eastern industrialists and financiers that they, using politics, the courts, the police, and every other means, fair and foul, intend to keep labor "cheap and unorganized" in California.

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In December of 1919 there occurred in Centralia, Washington the climax to a whole series of attacks by private and governmental agencies upon the attempts of labor to organize. The agitational activities of the I.W.W. shortly before and during the war had materially improved the conditions of lumber workers in the Northwest and had consequently incurred the wrath of the lumber interests and the authorities whom they controlled. As a result of what was apparently a premeditated raid upon the hall of the I.W.W. by businessmen and American Legionnaires, a number of persons were wounded and four ex-soldiers were killed. And after a trial characterized by a prejudiced judge, an audience composed largely of ex-servicemen in uniform, and a jury of which six members subsequently admitted under oath that they had been terrorized in reaching a verdict, seven of the most active of the union members involved were sentenced to long prison terms. The most plausible interpretation of the whole incident is based on the insistence of the lumber trusts and their political allies that the "wobblies" be suppressed once and for all. "Innocent or guilty, the I.W.W. convicted at Centralia must remain in prison as a warning to all 'working stiffs' who incline to I.W.W.ism, or to unionism of any sort."  

62. Ibid., pp. 292-296.  
63. Ibid., p. 304. Cf. also Chaplin, Ralph, The Centralia Conspiracy for a detailed account of the various factors involved.
On August 22, 1927, the two Italian Anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti, were executed after being convicted on a charge of murdering a paymaster. Their innocence of the crime with which they were charged was proved beyond any reasonable doubt. Important individuals of every rank insisted that they were not guilty. Literally tens of millions of people throughout the world demanded the freedom of the two men. But Sacco and Vanzetti were foes of the prevailing social system and had been active for some years in various labor struggles...Acquittal or even pardon would have indicated a weakness on the part of the government of Massachusetts and an encouragement for labor to accelerate its organization. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was intended not only to put out of business two rather obscure radical agitators, but to be, first of all, a lesson and a warning to all other agitators and would-be agitators... (They) were bound to decide for the death of the two Italian labor leaders and anarchists, whose activities among immigrant laborers threatened the profits of great industries in the State of Massachusetts and the supremacy of New England cultural and social traditions.64

Angelo Herndon was arrested in 1934 under provisions of a Civil War insurrection law for leading a demonstration of unemployed men and women appealing for govern-

64. Ibid., pp. 319, 320. Cf. also Felix Frankfurter, The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti.
ment relief. This young Negro, in addition to being generally known and respected as a Communist, had committed what was in the eyes of the Georgia authorities the unpardonable crime of organizing together the white and Negro relief clients of the region. The demonstration upon which his eighteen to twenty year chain gang conviction was based had been quite legal and peaceful in character but had demonstrated by its success that such movements must be ended. Again was witnessed an attack upon the organization of the dispossessed through the instrumentality of terrorizing its leaders. The immediate nation-wide and international support soon released him under bond and has at the present time resulted in his unconditional release through the action of a higher court. Thus it cannot be said that the judicial system is completely dedicated to the unjust conviction of labor leaders. But the Herndon case illustrates, like the cases of Haymarket, Centralia, Sacco and Vanzetti, and dozens of others, that the judicial "frameup" of labor's leaders or spokesmen has happened often enough in the United States to have ceased to be unusual. And they may in the future be adapted to purposes not greatly different from those of the National Socialists in the case of the "Reichstag Fire".65

Government attacks upon workers movements have also taken on other forms. The deportation of foreign born workers in a strike situation has often been resorted to in order to frighten into submission other foreigners and in order to deprive native workers of support. The expulsion from a community or from a state of "undesirable" citizens is a similar type of procedure. Extradition of labor leaders from one state to another has often failed to observe the legal rules which otherwise prevail. The unconstitutional "cruel and unusual punishments" which have been applied not only in cases involving labor but in other instances as well, have become in the eyes of many a distinguishing feature of the American police system.

All of these anti-labor techniques are not untypical of the American tradition. They indicate an attitude on the part of those who control our governmental processes that there are more basic factors than mere constitutionality or legality. They demonstrate the willingness on the part of certain groups to go to any extremes in respect to human costs in order to preserve their own power. And it provides a basis for believing that there would not be unwillingness in many quarters for the institution of Fascism if the attempts to take away their power approached success.
The Palmer Raids

At the close of the World War, the American authorities faced a multitude of problems. Unemployment resulting from the influx into the labor market of many thousands of demobilized soldiers was threatening to increase as a result of the contraction of industry over-expanded during the war. The temporary enthusiasm which had been engendered by the conclusion of more than four years of destruction now began to cool and to be replaced by an attitude of questioning the wisdom of the whole affair. Voices, previously silenced either by a fear of punishment or by the notion that one's government, having committed itself by a declaration of war, should be supported, now began to be heard in denunciation of a social order so characterized by mass devastation. Finally, there is to be considered the development in many countries of organized mass discontent. Revolution was raging in the greater part of Central and Northern Europe. Widespread strike movements were reported in Italy and in many of the other nations. The Czar had been overthrown in Russia and a revolutionary state under Communist leadership had been established.
Even in the United States, least affected of all the major powers by the ravages of war, there was apparent a growing resentment against the status quo. Hundreds of thousands of steel workers and miners struck for shorter hours and higher wages. Railroad workers, traditionally conservative, were becoming vociferous in their demands for a more important voice in the management of the railroads. And even the Boston police, on September 9, 1919, gave the then Governor Calvin Coolidge his claim to national prominence by calling for a strike. Alvin Johnson estimated that in the industrial states alone the number of men and women on strike numbered at least a million. There was perhaps an additional million on strike in the rest of the United States. In the Northwest the I. W. W. menaced the power of the lumber magnates; in the grain country and particularly in North Dakota the Non-Partisan League organized by Townley was branded "an agrarian soviet"; and during the same period the Socialist Party gave birth to a revolutionary Left Wing which seceded in June 1919 and adopted a program modeled on that of the Russian Bolsheviks.

66. Allen, Frederick Lewis: Only Yesterday, p. 46.
With these portents of world revolution before their eyes, certain officials of the federal government in particular felt it necessary to employ every possible method in order to down the menace. The "Fighting Quaker", A. Mitchell Palmer, at that time Attorney-General of the United States, took the lead in the anti-Red drive and drove toward his objective with little regard for legal or constitutional restrictions. What resulted was, according to one commentator on this period: 67

...an era of lawless and disorderly defense of law and order, of unconstitutional defense of the Constitution, of suspicion and civil conflict - in a very literal sense, a reign of terror.

Although the idea seems ridiculous when examined at the present time and was seen as utterly false by some cooler minds even during that period 68, the attitude too widely held by those in governmental positions in the immediate post-war era was one of apprehension lest the capitalist system in the United States be overthrown. Thus, it did not matter greatly whether the status quo actually was menaced: the fear of such a menace was present. In Italy, after the occupations of the factor-

67. Ibid., p. 46.
68. Ibid., pp. 48, 56.
ies had failed and fear of a Bolshevik success had vanished, what has very aptly been called a "preventive counter-revolution" was instituted as a preface to Fascism. In this country there occurred a similar phenomenon on a much smaller and less fully developed scale but nonetheless similarities to Italy's experience are to be seen in the "preventive repression" headed by Attorney-General Palmer.

In a report prepared by a group of distinguished legal authorities and published May, 1920 under the auspices of the National Popular Government League, a most damning indictment, well buttressed by photographs and documentary evidence, is presented against the activities of the Attorney-General and his forces in their "unflinching war" against the radical movement. In the words of the report:

Wholesale arrests both of aliens and citizens have been made without warrant or any process of law; men and women have been jailed and held without search-warrant and property seized and removed; other property has been wantonly destroyed; workingmen and working-women suspected of radical views have been shamefully abused and maltreated. Agents of the Department of Justice have been introduced into radical organizations for the purpose of informing upon their members or inciting them to activities; these agents have even been instructed from Washington to arrange meetings upon certain dates for the ex-

71. Ibid., p. 3.
press object of facilitating wholesale raids and arrests. In support of these illegal acts and to create sentiment in its favor, the Department of Justice has also constituted itself a propaganda bureau, and has sent to newspapers and magazines of this country quantities of material designed to excite public opinion against radicals, all at the expense of the government and outside the scope of the Attorney-General's duties.

In exhibit after exhibit presented in this report "To The American People", there was described the lawless acts perpetrated against groups suspected of unorthodox political philosophies. In one case a meeting of Russian workers which had been called in order to buy an automobile for instruction purposes was raided and the 63 men present were summarily arrested. Most of these were kept in prison for several months without any knowledge of the charges against them and under conditions of bodily and mental torture which bear remarkable similarity to the methods reputed to be so thoroughly developed by Fascist authorities against enemies of their regimes. Friends of the imprisoned men were likewise seized by agents of the Department of Justice when attempts were made to visit the prisoners and the same type of punishment was inflicted. A final irony in the situation is apparent when it is considered that "It seems probable that at
least a majority had no political views of any special nature, but were simply working men of Russian nationality, speaking little or no English. The campaign to prevent revolution seems to have gone somewhat awry for the moment.

Another exhibit of this report relates the wholesale arrest and beating of several hundred persons in connection with a raid upon the Russian People's House in New York City. The reason given for the act was the suspicion that the building contained "anarchists" and "anarchistic literature." In Detroit, on one occasion, eight hundred men were seized "while attending dances and classes in physical geography and similar subjects," in order (quoting Palmer's instructions) 'to break the back of radicalism.'

Other evidence brought out in the report bears on the use by the Department of Justice in this period of spies and agent provocateurs whose duty it was to work their way into important posts in radical parties and win the confidence of members of these parties in order to aid the Department in the arrest or deportation of "undesirables". Forged signatures were affixed to

72. Ibid., p. 12.
73. Ibid., pp. 16-20.
75. Ibid.,
"confessions" of anti-governmental beliefs or activities on the part of aliens. The Department of Justice, which has no power in relation to deportation, pursued the policy of arresting, en masse and without warrants of arrest, persons suspected of radical activities. Subsequently, the necessary warrants were obtained from the Department of Labor and only then did there arise a legal basis for deportation charges against the suspected aliens. As a matter of fact, only an exceedingly small number of those originally arrested proved guilty of the offenses charged.

Out of the many thousands suspected by the Attorney General (he had already listed 60,000 by name and history on November 14, 1919, aliens and citizens) what do the figures show of net results? Prior to January 1, 1920, there were actually deported 263 persons. Since January 1 there have been ordered deported an additional 529 persons, and warrants for 1,547 have been cancelled. The Attorney General has consequently got rid of 810 alien suspects, which, on his own showing, leaves him at least 59,160 persons (aliens and citizens) still to cope with.

Thus, under the guise of preserving order and legality in the United States a responsible department of the national government engaged in a campaign of arrests, deportations, provocative propaganda in the press of the land, and torture, in order to prevent the development of any threat to the prevailing political and economic institutions.

76. N.P.G.L. Report, pp. 31-36.
77. Ibid., pp. 7, 8.
The fact that Mr. Palmer's position was that of chief legal authority of the government did not prevent him from ignoring the law. The fact of his responsibility to an administration which had promised to bring about the New Freedom failed to protect the liberties of dissenters. The important considerations to be drawn from this post-war experience include only incidentally the mental and physical suffering imposed on thousands of innocent individuals; more fundamental is the realization that similar methods on a huge scale and with the support of the whole system of government rather than of one department is a real prospect in the eventuality of a widespread demand for basic social change.
Chapter III
CHARACTERISTICS OF FASCIST MOVEMENTS

The general political and economic prerequisites for the drive toward Fascism have already been outlined, yet a number of questions arise concerning the organized instrumentalities that are likely to be employed in the movement toward this objective. How may a Fascist or potentially Fascist organization or movement be recognized? What are the distinctive attributes of an organization of this type? What programmatic policy is likely to be pursued? Where are to be sought the individuals and groups who supply the finances and the leadership of such an organization and to which strata of the population is the principal appeal of these movements directed?

First of all it should be made clear that organizations and tendencies need not be avowedly Fascist in order to be so in fact. Indeed the designation "Fascist" is scrupulously avoided in most cases in which the word is apropos. It is often true, moreover, that both the leaders and

1. Supra, Chapter I.
membership of such movements are sincerely opposed to what is in their conceptions, Fascism. The honesty or dishonesty of individuals, in this connection, would be of secondary importance even if it were possible to ascertain their mental states; what is more significant is the objective consequences of the activities of these individuals in relation to the development of Fascism in the United States.

It has been insisted above that the "principles" advocated by a Fascist movement are inadequate to an understanding of the system which such a movement is in effect working to bring about. Max Lerner writes:

...the ideology, or system of ideas, is the most conspicuously paraded—and is perhaps the least important. It constitutes at best the rhetoric rather than the logic of dictatorship, and is to a large extent a rationalization after the fact.

And in the same book, Dr. Henry Spencer writes of Mussolini's method of achieving Fascism in Italy:

It has become sufficiently apparent that here was not the realization of a preconceived program but agile opportunism.

Notwithstanding the validity of generalizing this conclusion as applicable to all Fascist movements, certain

2. Chapter 1, Supra, p.5.
ideological traits may be discerned as common to such organizations. There are correlations between the ideas and means employed and the objectives of these movements which disclose their Fascist leanings.

Perhaps the basic tenet is that of "order". In a Fascist state it manifests itself in the "totalitarian" state holding a monopoly over all institutions and permitting no dissention or disagreement. In the movement toward Fascism there is developed the demand for similar controls. Particularly among sections of the middle class is there a strong sentiment against industrial conflicts with their strikes, lockouts, and general disturbances of the economic life. Cut-throat competitive methods, the increasing domination of irresponsible business units and the "tyranny" of unions with which it must deal, steadily deprive this group of any real hope of a secure future. Anti-capitalist propaganda, on the other hand, seems to frighten the middle class by the prospect of depriving it of what little "status" still remains to it. An organization may find it rather easy to play upon these fears and thereby win over these elements to itself. It is likely to preach that industrial peace should be obtained by compulsory arbitration, that strikes be outlawed, that unions be either dispensed with entirely or placed under the control of the government. Big business must be shackled to prevent its going to excess and to
insure that its conduct shall be for the common good. The system of private property is not to be supplanted but is merely to be controlled in such a way as to bring order and peace out of chaotic struggle.

In much the same way are liberalism and democratic procedure attacked. In the midst of unprecedented social difficulties is seen a parliamentary system which on many occasions has been found to be either unwilling or unable to act in an adequate fashion. The continual warfare among various groups delays legislative action. There is no unity of purpose, no higher community of interest, to minimize the disorder and conflict. The demand is made that action take the place of debate. Here, too, arises the desire for a "leader" who will ignore the niceties of liberal rights and will permit no interference in his efforts to solve our contemporary problems. A Fascist organization finds such an argument particularly effective in such a time as the present when many people are quite willing to unload upon the shoulders of a "super-man" their apparently insoluble difficulties. Moreover, "by enlarging his stature they succeed in compensating for their own dwarfed and stunted stature in an industrial age". And with this attack upon liberalism, incipient Fascism criticizes

5. Ibid, "The Pattern of Dictatorship", by Max Lerner, p. 11.
equality of men--raising in place of this principle the necessity of discipline and obedience to superiors. A Fascist organization is almost certain to be based on a hierarchical structure with leadership stemming from the top and obedience demanded from below. Ideas and activities in such an organization are determined in the same general fashion as they are in a Fascist state; control over its membership is the only guarantee that the "correct" type of unity of action will be obtained.

Anti-intellectualism is also a typical trait. Brains, somehow, have not been sufficient to rid us of our problems. And by a curious coincidence the capitalist state which once needed more academically trained men than were available, now finds that its "overproduction" of commodities is accompanied by a surplus of educated persons who desire to produce still more. The resort of Fascists to a plea that the nation should think "with its blood" fits in nicely with the desire of those who see in the traditional educational system an expensive and profitless enterprise.

Another strong "anti" of a Fascist organization is its opposition to all things "red", no matter what depth the hue. Sincere hatreds of Communism, Socialism, et al., are often to be traced to the belief that these movements are the causes of the strife and lack of unity in the nation. The more realistic of the Fascist leaders see the value of the "Red scare" in its use as an instrument to unite the
enemies of revolution. It serves very effectively as a straw man whose complete defeat will aid the prestige of those who have overcome him. The campaign against the unpopular Communist can later be broadened to include an attack upon the less unpopular "parlor pink", liberal and trade unionist. Finally all non-fascist groups may be subjugated in the same manner to the "Will" of the all powerful state.

The racial theories and attitudes of Fascist movements fall into a similar category. In Italy, Mussolini had directed the brunt of his attack against the Marxists; the German National Socialist movement found in the Jew a comparable enemy. In the United States Jews, Catholics, Negroes and foreigners have all been pointed out by Fascist-like organizations as the roots of all evils. The real consequences of such a campaign of racial hatreds are truly significant. In the first place it distracts the attention of the dispossessed from the rather natural enmity which they might have against the economically powerful, and emphasizes the "alien's" responsibility for both the scarcity of employment and the lack of economic security. Secondly, such a campaign acts to break down the consciousness of economic class divisions which might endanger the prevailing order, into a division based on race, nationality, color, or religion.

A Fascist organization is not likely to be opposed to
the use of violence, direct action, or extra-legality, in order to attain its objectives. As distinct from the position held by Leftists generally, Fascist groups tend to look upon such forms of direct action as a desirable method of offense rather than merely an unavoidable defensive resort. Indeed the scorn in which such a movement holds democratic institutions and the praise which it showers upon acts of physical vigor makes such a stand quite natural. Strength rather than intellectual bickering, action instead of debate—these are the important things. And there are forces which are likely to profit from this move to put a stop to the encroachments of democracy. Their fear lest the mass of people find in the democratic process the means whereby wealth may be democratized, prompts these powerful groups of the nation to look toward the Fascist worship of force as a possibly necessary ally.

The function of a number of incipient Fascist movements as mere money-making enterprises is not to be ignored. Enterprising and ambitious men are present whose scruples are such as not to stand in the way of using a profitable racket. "Information" concerning "subversive" movements command a high price when merchandised to the right people and with the right kind of high-pressure sales methods. Uniforms, equipment, literature and contributions to the "cause" are fruitful sources of revenue for the promoter
of the organization. Dues and assessments levied against members may serve as another profitable method. Leaders of contemporary Fascist organizations are not infrequently experienced in other more usual types of racketeering, and find it an easy matter to exploit the relatively virgin territory of bewildered men seeking "a way out".

A somewhat different aspect of the same thing is the use of such an organization to aid the economic welfare of other members of the group besides the promoter. For example it may protect the business or the job of one of its members by a resort to peaceful pressure or coercion against his competitor. This type of activity is sometimes linked with the promoter-racketeer variety. It serves the very effective purpose of keeping the membership of the organization vitally interested.

The fact that many movements of this character are motivated principally by a racketeering motive should not disguise the fact that they may become full-fledged Fascist movements. Indeed the very unscrupulous nature of their leaders' motives makes more probable the virtual "sale" of the organization to any one who can pay the price. And when the time comes in which the control of the dominant class is seriously threatened, there will undoubtedly be many in this class who will be anxious to pay.

6. The motion picture, "The Black Legion" presented an interesting portrayal of this point.
Among the distinguishing traits of a Fascist organization, the advocacy of nationalism is almost certain to be a dominant one. A brand of patriotism is developed which cannot tolerate neither persons nor ideas unless they appear native to the home state. This chauvinism is a direct development from the nationalisms of past centuries and at the same time serves a parallel function. Nationalism previously acted to attain the full support of the state and of the society which it ruled, in the struggle to obtain for the merchants and traders the expansion demanded by them. At the present time, in like manner, the insistence that one's state is the paragon among states results in the demand that it show its superiority in one or another type of imperialism. The prevailing system of economy — an economy which is by its very nature forced to expand — makes it imperative that the limits upon its spheres of political and economic influence be constantly pushed back; otherwise collapse is imminent. Whether conscious or unconscious of this need, the forces making for Fascism invariably take up the nationalist slogan and thus in practice champion the cause of national imperialism.

Corollary to the nationalist-imperialist demand on the part of Fascist organizations is their militaristic psychology. An army and navy "second to none" is declared indispensable. The perennial demand for increases in
the military budgets of the nation receives their wholehearted support and the expansion of the CMTC, the ROTC, and similar military training establishments are defended as essential to the safety of the community. This militaristic nationalism manifests itself in the pressure continually applied to institute thoroughgoing military methods in the CCC camps. Besides helping to inculcate in the popular mind an admiration for the military manner of settling international disputes, a more immediate use for these institutions of war is often contemplated. That is, the application on a broad scale of the military force of the state in case of any widespread strike situation. The use of the police force, militia, and even the national army to break strikes is in no sense an unheard-of thing; the expansion of the internal army, coupled with the demand for the Fascist type of "order", can easily result in the forcible prevention or suppression of any independent labor action.

A reactionary point of view permeates the program of a Fascist organization. A number of the items enumerated above are indicative of this fact. Like the Italian Fascist who looks back to the glories of imperial Rome, and the Nazi who seeks to restore the virtues of paganism, a Fascist of the American variety is likely to wish a restoration of a previous happy era. This attitude fits in nicely with his antipathy toward those "subversive" forces who wish to go

forward to a new era. And yet, in a sense, there is an element of radicalism in a Fascist organization by virtue of the fact that change of some sort must be offered if any mass following is to be gained. "It begins", on many occasions, "as a radical movement, as it must since its appeal is to the primitive passions of depressed and desperate people." The truly reactionary side of such a movement is in its need to offer changes of some sort in the prevailing order and its unwillingness to make basic changes which would endanger the fundamentals of the present economy. The program of a Fascist organization is thus necessarily a mixture of radical phrases, suggesting an attack upon the status quo, and reactionary policies which are to guard the mainstays of the status quo against attack.

To discuss in detail, or even to mention briefly, the various organizations and movements in the United States which are characterized by Fascist traits, would in itself produce a ponderous volume. Such a discussion would, moreover, be of little significance due to the short life and slight influence which many of these organizations possess. No attempt has been made in the following pages, therefore, to consider all pertinent movements nor is any claim made to inclusiveness as regards the various types of such move-

ments. Instead, an effort was made to choose those organized movements, more or less conspicuous in the last few months, which have characteristics basic to Fascist organizations, and to discuss in the light of the material presented above, the probable role of such movements in the future history of this country.
The Silver Legion

Perhaps the most notorious of the Fascist-like movements in America in recent years is that one known as the "Silver Legion". Founded by William Dudley Pelley in February 1933 as the result of being "inspirationally instructed" by the victory of Hitler in Germany, the Silver Legion is worthy of attention because of its adaptation to the American mind of many Nazi techniques.

Previous to the founding of the Silver Legion, Pelley had passed through a strange and irregular career in which a quest for a good money-making scheme seems the only stable factor.

Born, as he tells us, in New England of "uncontaminated English stock" conveyed to him by a Methodist divine, he climbed from printer to newspaper publisher, to magazine editor, to the treasurer's office of a Massachusetts toilet-paper company and on to an advertising agency, "while carrying on eight years of undercover investigation throughout every state in the Union." What he was investigating does not appear, but the first fruit of his efforts was Galahad College, founded in Asheville, North Carolina, to teach something called Christian Economics -- a general field defined by the Civil Liberties Union as somehow composed of "mysticism compounded of astrology, Hindu Mythology, evolution, radiotherapy, endocrinology, and radio broadcasting." Incidentally, to this venture, Mr. Pelley died for
seven minutes, recounting his experiences in the other world to the enchanted readers of the American Magazine in March, 1929.

With this sort of background, Pelley was well equipped to offer an effective appeal to an excitement-loving and gullible public. There is reason to believe, furthermore, that he was not at all opposed to the use of his fantastic imagination for his own pecuniary advantage.

Upon establishing the Silver Legion (the members of which call themselves Silver Shirts), he changed the name of the organ of his "College" from The Liberator to Liberation and started the drive to bring "the work of the Christ Militia into the open". Unsuccessful in Asheville, the Silver Shirts sought support in the South-west and offered as an inducement to new members a uniform designed by "The Chief" himself. Another weekly newspaper was started in Oklahoma but was soon forced by the state authorities to cease publication. Estimates of the size of the Legion at this time vary greatly—ranging from Pelley's claim of 2,000,000 members to the 15,000 members credited the organization by the editors of Fortune. 3 Samuel Duff McCoy's estimate of 75,000 was probably closest

3. Fortune, locus cited
to the truth. In any event, the Silver Legion fell sharply in size and influence in 1934 when Mr. Pelley and his adjutant, Robert Summerville, were convicted for violation of the Blue Sky laws of North Carolina under the charge of selling stock in that state without authorization and registration.

Although Pelley's enterprises were all placed in bankruptcy at about this time and many liberals joyfully saw the end of the Silver Shirt movement, the Legion soon experienced a revival. Taking the name, "The Christian Party", and applying to the local branches of the movement the title, "Councils of Safety", the Silver Shirts reestablished their newspaper as Pelley's Weekly. During the 1936 political campaign the Christian Party centered its activities on the presidential race in a frantic effort to defeat Roosevelt. Efforts to gain members have been redoubled and although little information can be gotten from the national headquarters concerning admittance to the Party, a personal contact by a Silver Shirt is the method of recruiting which the writer experienced upon application for membership.

The propaganda of the Silver Legion and the Christian

6. See Fortune, article cited.
Party emphasizes, like many of the other aspiring Fascist groups in America, the Jewish and Communist "menace."

This organization excels in the vituperation with which it condemns all racial stocks which do not fit the classification "American." Even the "reds" take a subordinate position in respect to destructiveness as compared with the omnipresent Jew. In hysterical terms, Pelley's publications proclaim that the Jews control all radical organizations, trade unions, banks, most industries and the present government administration in the United States. Internationalist to the core, capitalist and communist Semites cooperate in attacks upon the economic status of all Gentiles. Strikes, depressions, atheism and the weakening of Christianity by Judaism are all caused by this basic evil force. The following excerpts are typical.

Thousands of pages of photostatic evidence are at hand to prove that the Jew -- the epitomization of materialism -- is the pollution of the bloodstream of civilization, and that any attack that does not center on the Jew is simply scratching at the scabs instead of treating the cause.

It is not merely a matter of financial manipulation until they control the world's gold, nor the matter of revolutionary machinations to the point where they direct the seething revolt, nor a matter that they control all publicity, the press, the movies, the theater and the radio, to the extent that the minds of the people are befuddled and

6. Liberation, March 17, 1934
brought to the point where their liberty is merely the liberty to think they are allowed to think.

But, it is a matter that they, the materialists of the earth, as "God's Chosen People" intend to set themselves up as our rulers and autocrats in the near future.

Nor do the Silver Shirts restrict their activities to meetings and newspapers. Wearing grey uniforms with shirts bearing a conspicuous letter "L", they have organized parades and automobile "expeditions" principally on the West Coast. Many of the "Councils of Safety" were organized on a military basis with a regular schedule of drill and training in the use of fire-arms. Government ammunition has been obtained on at least one occasion and men from the United States Marines have been active in the instruction of the Silver Shirts. The parallel between this situation and that which prevailed in the months before the victory of Fascism in Italy is obviously of some significance. To all appearances the support given to the Silver Shirts was without the knowledge and approval of the higher military authorities; the time for such co-operation with Fascist organizations is not yet ripe in America since the need for widespread extra-legality is not urgently felt by them. The almost natural sympathy of the military forces with such a movement is merely suggested.

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8. Ibid., p. 11.
9. Finer, Herman, Mussolini's Italy, p. 132.
by the incident cited. The probable role of the army in case of a real Fascist uprising can, with no great difficulty, be guessed.

In this same connection should be noted the nature of the organizational structure employed by the Silver Legion, like the army, there is total lack of democratic control, and the hierarchy is dominated from above. Instead of "Duce" or "Fuehrer", Pelley has appropriated the American equivalent, "The Chief". Under the terms of incorporation no member has a vote or any control over the policies of the organization and the choice of all officers, the determination of activities, and the editorial principles of his publications are all, to quote the masthead of Pelley's Weekly, "the Expression of a Leadership".

There is little doubt that this organization, whether it calls itself the Silver Legion or the Christian Party, has as an important reason for its founding the well-known profit-making incentive. The sale of uniforms, membership fees, distribution of literature and the pleas for contributions expressed both in his newspapers and in the meetings sponsored by the Councils of Safety, all indicate a real source of revenue for Mr. Pelley. In addition, his past career gives credence to the claim that Mr. Pelley's movement is, like many similar ones, a "petty racket".

11. Ibid., p. 11.
However when we consider that the organization went bankrupt in 1934 and that the aspirations of its mystically-minded leader are in terms of real magnitude, we must recognize that his goal may be power rather than mere pecuniary profit. At the present time it seems unlikely that he will attain his goal; his popular appeal is entirely too limited. But many of his tactics and demagogic arguments are likely to receive the compliment of plagiarism by a more able Fascist leader.
Order of '76

Similar in many respects to the Silver Shirts, the Order of '76 was organized in New York by Royal Scott Gulden as a consequence, according to the statements issued, of President Hoover's maltreatment of the Bonus Army. The purpose of the organization was to spy on "racketeers, criminals, subversive interests" and to "combat false propaganda by Communists and Jews". Suspecting Mayor LaGuardia of having a Jewish mother, a spy was put on the Italian's case in order to trace down any possible Communist connections. In regard to Jews in general the slogan was adopted to "Kill the nearest Jew". Mr. Gulden expressed the organization's attitude in this manner:

Our main work is patriotic, chiefly against Communism. And when we find that Communism and Judaism are one, then we fight Judaism.

The Order of '76 since its inception has been actively engaged in the distribution of the "Protocols of the

2. John L. Spivak, "Plotting America's Pogroms, p. 11
3. Ibid., p. 19.
Elders of Zion". The fact that the validity of the Protocols has been completely disproved is of secondary importance to this organization; they serve the basic purpose of pointing to the Jews as the cause of all our economic maladjustments and the menace to the future of the world. Gulden has said in this connection:

I don't care whether they're discredited or not. I don't care whether they're authentic or not. All I know is that they outline a program for the Jews to capture the world and that this program is working out accurately and rapidly. If the protocols are forgeries, how did they guess what was going to happen today? I believe the protocols are genuine and events are proving their authority!

Small in numbers and of very limited influence (a Congressional Committee placed its membership at 146), the Order of '76 has tried to consolidate with the more numerous Pelley movement. Gulden subsequently denied having made any such agreement but the documentary data presented in the April 7, 1934 issue of Today seem conclusively to disprove his protestations. The Order of '76 has been linked with Representative Louis T. McFadden by its use of the Congressman's franking privilege in its mass distribution of McFadden's outspokenly anti-Semitic speeches. Sidney Brooks, son of Colonel Edwin Emerson

4. Ibid., p. 21.
5. Ibid., pp. 44-46.
6. "Gentiles Have The Paper While Jews Have The Gold And Lawful Money", Congressional Record, May 29, 1933
and also a member of the Order of '76, has followed in his father's footsteps by co-operating with German Nazi agents in developing anti-Semitism in the United States. Americanism to American Fascists is like Aryanism to German Fascists -- a very flexible means rather than a rigid end.

The membership of the Order of '76 is recruited, according to its leader, largely "along Fifth and Park Avenues" and from the city's "best clubs". He goes on to insist, in true Nazi style, that:

Our membership is of the finest American type, the type that built up the country. I might say the Nordic type.

And again raising the "red menace" as justification for the drawing of extraordinary plans, Gulden explains the ultimate purpose for which the Nordic organization is meant:

...besides advocating that every citizen possess a rifle or some other weapon when the time comes, it has a regular program drawn up for use by Americans in case of revolution.

7. Spivak, opus cited, p. 16.
9. Ibid., p. 17.
Youth and the Nation

One of the organizations directing its principal appeal to young people took the name, "Youth and the Nation". With its headquarters established in Toledo, Ohio, in the Roi Davis Building, it had (and at the present writing still has) the leadership vested in two young men, Alan Blackburn and Philip Johnson. Although the movement is limited in membership radio addresses have been delivered each Sunday over Station WSPD. Leaflets and public meetings are other methods by which their cause is advertised.

The issues which "Youth and the Nation" emphasizes may be classified roughly into two main principles: a demand that the mass of people be given a decent livelihood and an attack upon Communism and internationalism. The five point program presented starts in a thoroughly democratic tone with a striking similarity to the ideas of Populists of former years:

We propose that the money and credit of the nation be controlled, not by a few financiers, but by the people through the medium of their government at Washington.

1. Program, "Youth and the Nation"
It continues with a concern for the economic welfare of the American people

We propose that every man, able and willing to work, be guaranteed a job and a sufficient income from that job to secure him an American living for life.
We propose that the farmer be guaranteed an American living from his farm.
We propose that private property be subject to control by the people for the public good.

The fifth point of the organization's program gives the first substantial suggestion that its purpose may not be entirely humanitarian.

We propose that, in order to maintain peace, America have an airforce second to none.

The radio broadcasts which are sponsored are likewise of a sort to appeal to the basic needs and deprivations suffered by many of our contemporaries. The address presented on February 14, 1937 under the title "Let Them Eat Cake" is not untypical. Developing an analogy between the situation about us and that which prevailed in Bourbon-dominated France, the speaker argued:

Our American Bourbons control vast wealth. They use this wealth not for the good of the people but for the profit of their moneyed plutocracy. These few powerful men control our money, manipulate our industry and influence the policies of our government.3

The American workman in our basic industries earns less than one thousand one hundred dollars a year. The American farmer makes only three hundred dollars a year...

...The Bourbons cannot make us believe that we live

2. Address delivered April 14, 1937 over Station WSPD. Mimeographed copy.
3. Ibid., pp. 1, 2.
like kings when we don't. The Bourbons cannot make us believe that there is no want in America when we know that there is want.

Finally is advanced the warning that if the demands of the "people" are not granted, violent methods might have to be employed.

The people have always won their battles, sometimes peacefully, sometimes by force. We shall win this fight. May we win it peacefully.

May the Bourbons not be so stiff-necked as to go on opposing the just cause of the people. For a Bourbon fight carried to its logical conclusion always ends on a Place de la Concorde.

Thus far there is little more than a protest against the iniquities of our social order and a spirited, even if naive, program of reform. But it is in precisely this fashion that Fascist-minded leaders are able to gain the following which is necessary for the attainment of their objectives. Pointing to obvious suffering and attacking distrusted institutions, they are able more easily to win mass confidence in their own leadership and to channelize resentment to their own ends. In "Youth and the Nation" we can clearly see a case of this sort of procedure. A typical leaflet, proclaiming the organization as "The Young Nationalist Movement", states:

Selfish, greedy, Wall Street banker internationalists, who have no love for America, have taken the wealth of your country for themselves and keep you in want. These grasping, Wall Street internationalists put profit above

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4. Ibid., p. 5.
5. Ibid., p. 6.
6. Obtainable from "Youth and the Nation", Roi Davis Building, Toledo, Ohio.
country. As long as they make money, they care not what happens to America or to you.

Having put into words the vague anti-New York banker dislike which is so widely felt by dispossessed persons, the leaflet broadens the issue to a "fight against these internationalist racketeers who are in power in your country today". Then, somewhat scornful of logic but mindful of an objective, it seizes upon another group of "internationalists", the Communists, and points to them as the major menace to "the future of America".

The attacks upon widespread poverty and inequalities are sufficiently vague to mobilize sympathetic support without presenting too specific a solution in the near future. The accusations against the "Wall Street banker" are a social method of barking at a harmful moon which is too far distant to mind the noise. The nationalism and anti-Communism which at first glance seem merely incidental are likely to be the constant and basic features of this movement.
Student Americaneers

The "Student Americaneers", although comparatively young as an organization, is rapidly assuming many of the distinguishing traits of a Fascist movement. The structure of the organization, program, type of leadership, and sources of financial and advisory support all present striking parallels (with adaptations to American conditions) to movements which have led to the establishment of Fascism in other countries.

The first "Americaneer" group was born in Columbus, Ohio, several years ago, but after a short and not very active existence faded from the public eye. The "Student Americaneers", on the other hand, were more successful. Incorporated in February, 1936, the organization proclaimed as its principal objective the uniting of the "orthodox patriots of the campus" in opposition to the newly formed American Student Union. Its appeal was directed largely toward advanced students in the R.O.T.C. and the leaders of the organization, of which Arden S. Turner (now embarked upon a military career) was president, were all student officers in the Ohio State University student corps.

1. Ohio State Lantern, January 20, 1936.
The structure of the organization, hierarchical and on a military basis, is ideally suited for a dictatorial determination of policy. The same set of officers have continued to hold office since the inception of the organization, and the membership, drawn from groups which have been subjected to military training, is unlikely to question seriously or make objection to commands from above. Meetings are held in secret and admittance to membership is difficult to obtain.

The publication issued by this organization and named "The Americaneer" is the chief propaganda instrument employed. The various issues of this monthly newspaper have combined "theoretic" criticisms of Socialism and Communism with discussions (often as illiterate as they are emphatic) of the current political and social events. Peace activities were attacked for being snares set by radicals to catch the "unsuspecting". Liberal professors were verbally attacked in several issues of the paper and the local union of the American Federation of Teachers was accused of radicalism and of control by "Communists". The secretary of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation was accused of "misleading the farming people" with "Socialistic philosophy" and a

2. The Americaneer, May 1936, p. 4.
number of ministers in the University neighborhood were informed of their close relationship to Moscow.

The attempt was also made by the Americaneers to apply the "Red Scare" against the organized labor movement. The Committee for Industrial Organization was, of course, immediately accused of "red tactics". On the occasion of a strike at the D. L. AULD Company in Columbus, the striking workers testified to the attempt of the Americaneers to provoke violence in order to break the strike.

O. B. Wagner, a member of the Columbus Police Department, has been a regular "columnist" in the Americaneer and has at the same time been active in the movement to brand as Communist and anarchistic the whole local labor movement.

The lack of scruples concerning legality and the willingness to employ "direct action" for the attainment of their ends was demonstrated during the 1937 "Strike against War" on the Ohio State campus. On this occasion several Americaneers armed with blackjacks entered the campus with the clear intention either of disrupting or of preventing entirely the peaceful conduct of the authorized demonstration.

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4. Ibid., January 1937, pp. 1, 2, 8.
6. The Auld Striker, November 9, 1936. This was a bulletin issued by the staff of the Labor Tribune, weekly publication of the Columbus Federation of Labor.
on other occasions, according to the declaration of faculty members involved, entry was made into University offices and copies of the Americaneer deposited for the benefit of professors suspected of "radical" ideas. Use has been made of the University mailing system in the distribution of their publicity in direct violation of campus regulations. One has little hesitancy in concluding that legal rights and personal safety will not be too important considerations in the future if these stand in the way of defending "Americanism" and uncovering "subversive" activities.

The financing and organizational support upon which the Student Americaneers depend can more easily be surmised than proved. The American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution and similar "patriot" organizations have often praised the activities of the student group. Accusations that the Americaneers are supported by contributions from local business men and industrialists have often been made but the very nature of such transactions obviates the possibility of proof. It is certain, however, that the extensive distribution of the publications and the frequent organizational trips made by its officers necessitates a rather large income. The

8. Cf., for example, Ohio News (American Legion), February 27, 1936.
tie-up of the organization with anti-union and anti-radical activities indicates the general group, if not the particular persons or organizations, which provides its financial support.

The Student Americaneers, in spite of its claim to being a national organization, to date seems to have gained only a very small following. Its appeal is not yet "popular" and to many students the movement appears ridiculous; its potentialities, however, especially in consideration of its probable backers, seem strong enough to assure the Student Americaneers, unless opposed in an organized fashion, a real role among the harbingers of Fascism in the United States.
On November 20, 1934, the New York Post carried streamer headlines announcing: "Gen. Butler Accuses N. Y. Brokers of Plotting Dictatorship in U.S."

This accusation (the result of an interview given by Major General Smedley D. Butler to reporter Paul Comly French) was made also to the Congressional Committee charged with the "investigation of Nazi and other propaganda" and substantially supported by the Committee's findings.

Briefly, the now well-known tale related that Gerald C. MacGuire, a not very opulent bond salesman who was connected with the New York broker, Robert Sterling Clark, and with the firm of Grayson M. & P. Murphy & Co., suddenly began to have thousands of dollars at his disposal. Part of this money was utilized in attempts to persuade the 1933 Chicago convention of the American Legion to take a position in favor of the gold standard. Concerning the disposition of other large sums, MacGuire gave the Committee evasive explanations. The published testimony showed that a group of New York bankers had raised $3,000,000 to start an organ-
ization of half a million war veterans. The purpose of this organization, was, according to General Butler who was asked to be its leader, that it "assemble --probably a year from now -- in Washington, and that within a few days it could take over the functions of government". Some of the details of the contemplated "putsch" were already worked out. For example:

It was hoped that President Roosevelt would "go along" as the King of Italy did with Mussolini, according to the story, but if he did not he, the Vice President and the Secretary of State would be forced to resign after appointing the proposed "dictator" as a new Secretary of State, who under the Constitution would then succeed to the Presidency.

The evidence presented in the executive sessions of the Congressional Committee indicated that the planned "coup" had the approval and financial support of important Wall Street interests. Robert S. Clark, reputedly worth more than $50,000,000 and Grayson M.-P. Murphy had both contributed heavily to the movement. As a director on two Morgan-dominated banks, Murphy's complicity in the plot and the fact that a sum as large as $300,000,000 was expected as a supporting fund for the "army" in case it should be necessary, indicate that even greater financial leaders were either intimately involved or were considered very likely partners in the projects.

3. Ibid., p. 5.
Mr. MacGuire, as Butler recalled from one of their conversations, had taken a long trip through Europe with the objective of studying the Nazi and Italian Fascist organizations. Particularly did he try to learn the part played in these movements by World War veterans. The financing of this educational tour is naturally significant. General Butler said:

MacGuire told me his European junket had cost thousands of dollars....I asked him where he got so much money, and he told me that friends of his had put it up, and were willing to put up much more if I would lead their movement in this country.

MacGuire's conclusions upon his return from an examination of Fascism in Europe were that:

We need a Fascist government in this country to save the nation from the Communists who would tear down all that has been built up in America. The only men who have the patriotism to do it are the soldiers, and Smedley Butler is the ideal leader. He could organize a million men over night.

...The whole movement is patriotic because the Communists will wreck the nation unless the soldiers save it through Fascism.

...What we really need is a man on the white horse to save the capitalistic system.

General Butler's refusal to have anything to do with this Fascist movement "to save the capitalistic system"

5. New York Post, November 20, 1934, p. 3.
6. Ibid., p. 3.
7. Ibid., p. 3.
and his subsequent exposure of the whole affair guaranteed the doom of the enterprise. Today, looking back upon this incident, we are inclined to smile at it as a fantastic scheme of romantics. The whole thing was obviously a naive mimicry of Mussolini's much publicized "March on Rome" with little originality added. Dependence was placed entirely on the popularity of a single leader -- Butler; it was assumed that Fascism could be instituted by a small armed force backed by plenty of financial resources and therefore little attention was paid to obtaining that most necessary requisite for either revolution or counter-revolution -- some mass basis among the general population. The very identity of the plan with the Italian myth and the utter disregard of the temper of the American people doomed it to failure even if its execution had been attempted. But the fact that this was the first discovered plot with important financial backing which contemplated actual seizure of the reins of government places it in a position of real importance in tracing the development of Fascism in the United States. The basic reality of this "fantastic" conspiracy makes it much more than "a fairy tale to frighten timid people". 8

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It is a portent of the temper of certain capitalist groups who may in the future be faced by an undesired loss of power.
The National Union for Social Justice

The success, and consequently the significance to the present discussion, of Father Coughlin may be attributed in large part to his skillful combination of a demand for "social justice", a powerful personality and that modern instrument of propaganda—the radio. Many other would-be leaders of our time have utilized some of these necessary political weapons; he has been the first to take advantage of the extensive potentialities of all.

Interested in politics, sociology and the church, Coughlin started his career as a priest in Canada with the limited prospects usually in store for a member of the lower Catholic hierarchy. In 1921 he began to deliver weekly sermons in St. Agnes's Church in Detroit and two years later was assigned to that diocese. Assigned by Bishop Gallagher to the small parish of Royal Oak, Coughlin appealed to the management of radio station WJR to broadcast his sermons. There is little basis for suspecting that there were any motives to this request ulterior to the young priest's desire to broaden his audience.
and build up the almost empty parish to which he had been sent. For three years his sermons (to which he added afternoon talks to children) were heard over the air without spreading his fame much beyond the Detroit area, but when he gradually began to introduce into his talks some of his ideas in the field of economics and politics he found that he had struck the right note. His mode of address, "a rhetorical tirade on political, social and economic themes, knit together by the social philosophy of the liberal encyclicals of Pius XI and Leo XIII", evoked letters of praise from his listeners.

In the fall of 1929 he purchased a hookup with stations in Chicago and Cincinnati, organized his radio audience into the Radio League of the Little Flower with the professed objective of raising enough money from contributions to erect a new shrine at Royal Oak, and started on the road to national prominence. Encouraged by a flood of letters and contributions, he expanded his hookup to include sixteen stations on the Columbia network and from about this time became a figure of truly national influence. Significantly, these attempts to enlarge his audience were undertaken during the days when the "prosper-

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ity" of the '20s was crashing and the abruptly lost security of the mass of people to whom Coughlin was appealing was tending to make many of them seek the causes of their insecurity. Father Coughlin was fortunate in coming upon the national scene at the moment when a messiah was sought to lead the fight against the money masters.

Sensing this widespread desire, Coughlin raised the issue that has so frequently been popular during years of depression, namely, money. He demanded something called the "honest dollar", a vague demand whose very indefiniteness served to gain many followers, particularly in the West. The bankers and untrustworthy financiers came in for their share of Coughlin's censure. Even the basic economic life of the nation with its methods of mass production were roundly attacked as being "unChristian". And his popularity continued to grow.

A discourse on the subject "Hoover Prosperity Means a New War" brought him his largest single response, 1,200,000 letters. Another, in which he nominated Morgan, Mellon, Mills, and Meyer as the Four Horsemen fo the Apocalypse, brought 600,000 letters. No priest since time began had regularly addressed an audience of such dimensions.

Then he started a series of discourses on Communism and the Soviet Union with less approval from a population

2. Ibid., p. 40.
which did not yet feel that the "Reds" were the source of their difficulties. (Coughlin's biographer declares, concerning one attack on Communism, that "unexpectedly, it drew hundreds of letters of condemnation"). One of the advantages that Coughlin gained from this series was the opportunity to serve as a star witness before the Fish Committee during its investigation of Communist activities. Then he turned to another issue of growing popularity, the prohibition question, and placed himself in the general current of opinion demanding its repeal.

Father Coughlin's aspiration of gaining a large following to which he could preach his principles of justice and Christianity was attained and, if that had been his sole objective, his importance on the political arena would almost certainly not have been significant. But his successes thus far prompted him to look further, and it is at this point that his real importance as a potential Fascist leader became apparent. He organized his now famous National Union for Social Justice with the intention of serving as a pressure group upon the national government. As yet non-partisan, the National Union was built along electoral lines with much the same type of organization as a political party. Its future transformation into an avowedly political organization

seems almost certain to have been considered by Coughlin at this time.

A cursory glance at the sixteen planks of the National Union leaves the reader with an impression of a thorough indictment of the present order and a vigorous demand for many fundamental changes. One senses a defence of the right of workers and farmers to a higher standard of living, the subordination of the privileges of wealth and property to the needs of the poor, the restriction of private property by governmental control or ownership, and the reorganization of the financial structure of the nation for the purpose of insuring the general population against economic domination. Twelve of the sixteen points, according to some observers, were taken directly from the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party and every one of the others is easily seen to have been based on mass sentiments of the time.

On more careful examination it becomes apparent that Father Coughlin's genius of avoiding explicitness and of making his listeners gain any impressions they themselves desire, is skillfully incorporated in his program. And it should be emphasized that this is one of the most potent aids to the success of a Fascist leader; his appeal must be strong enough and sufficiently general to win over broad

4. Raymond G. Swing, Forerunners of American Fascism, p.44.
strata of the population while remaining elusive enough in meaning so that powerful economic groups will not be unwilling to offer their aid. Moreover, it seems a fact that all Fascist leaders must appear, to the mass of their followers, as real radicals. The need for making vague the objectives of the movement and particularly of retaining ambiguity as regards the means to be employed is apparent when it is considered that in every Fascist organization which is to be successful there must be combined radical or 5 even "revolutionary" verbiage with reactionary objectives. This criterion is well borne out when applied to Father Coughlin and his National Union for Social Justice.

Consider for example the planks dealing with the wages and organization of labor, among the most pressing issues of the present day. The National Union's proposal for "a just and living annual wage" is radical and certainly more far-reaching than the traditional "inchng-along" policy of asking for hourly increases in wages. It demands what sounds like a great deal, but phrases the demand in such a way that the most labor-exploiting employer in the United States would be willing to give his assent. For, as the Detroit News

6. The rise to power of those "classical" Fascists, Mussolini and Hitler, conforms perfectly to these requirements.
pointed out editorially, Father Coughlin ignores completely the means to be employed for the attainment of "a just and living annual wage". Certainly he does not intend to guarantee such a wage by subsidizing, in any manner, the unemployed. Although he vaguely endorsed "job and old age insurance" at a meeting of leaders of the Democratic Party at the Hotel Statler in Detroit on October 17, 1934, he changed his mind when it became necessary to be more specific. Asked what his stand was in regard to unemployment insurance and old age pensions, he declared:

The automobile companies would go under if they were taxed 5 per cent for an unemployment insurance fund. Packard would have to go out of business, Hudson would go bankrupt, poor Charlie Nash would be looking for a job himself.

His defence of unemployment relief is strongly suspect when it is considered what stand he took on December 4, 1934 in the face of a curtailment of relief in Wayne County.

I'm not entirely in accord with the cuts -- but you must remember that here in Detroit we've really been better off than in other cities. Our relief has been higher and there have been more opportunities for employment.  

If governmental aid to the aged and unemployed is not the Coughlin method of assuring a sufficient annual wage, one might suppose that the economic organization of workers into some form of unionism would be proposed. And it

is true that the radio priest has repeatedly urged workers to organize. The right of union recognition was also upheld by him.

...in this struggle for the recognition of labor unions the laborer is absolutely on the side of the angels.10

But what kind of unions? The demand of the A. F. of L. for union recognition was "nothing but swashbuckling puerilities" and those who proclaimed themselves "labor-leaders" in Detroit at that time were, in the main, not widely trusted by the workers. Therefore, why not:

Make the Department of Labor a real power! Let it take over the functions of collective bargaining—the functions which the A. F. of L. is now trying to fulfill. Let it supplant the A. F. of L. entirely. Why should the workers pay dues to a labor organization to protect a right which is guaranteed by law? The service of the federation should be a government service paid for by taxation.

The statement of a noted Washington correspondent in this connection is illuminating:

Germany and Italy, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, have government-organized unions. Which is Father Coughlin thinking of? The question is easily answered: he is a foe of communism. He wants a fascist solution of the labor problem.

Coughlin's use of non-union labor in his printing and in the construction of his new church lends weight to the con-

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11. Ibid., p. 128.
viction expressed above and when he declared himself as opposed to the only weapon to which labor may ultimately resort, the strike, he made his position clear to many who previously been merely suspicious. First he suggested that strikes were merely inadequate:

You talk of strikes. You vent your spleen upon your local masters. Be sensible for once in your lives. If you must strike, strike in an intelligent manner, not by laying down your tools, but by raising your voices against a financial system that keeps you today and will keep you tomorrow in breadless bondage.

But in his sermon of December 2, 1934, he clearly stated that "the National Union for Social Justice contends that strikes and lockouts are absolutely unnecessary". Shades of the Corporative State!

Several of the sixteen points of Coughlin's program were concerned with proposals for monetary reform, with a special emphasis upon inflation (usually disguised under more euphonious labels) and the remonetization of silver. Both popular issues at a time when the average person's most immediate problem was his own lack of money, their advocacy by Coughlin was not occasioned solely by their mass appeal. A week before the beginning of his inflation campaign, Coughlin "...sat in conference with two prominent

15. Text of sermon.
New Yorkers who had come to persuade him that he should launch into an explanation of the gold subject. One of these men, George LeBlanc, was an important official in several banking concerns while the other, Robert M. Harriss, was a partner in an investment house and vice-president of the Sound Money League, an inflation group. Both became members of the Committee for the Nation when that organization of wealthy advocates of inflation was formed. Coughlin's insistence that the campaign against the "famine of currency" which blighted the land was also a campaign against the scheming international bankers, appears better publicity than veracity. The fact that he held 500,000 ounces of silver during the period in which he argued that the value of silver be raised is of less significance in the present discussion than the fact of his connections with important financiers.

On other occasions, too, Coughlin has made it clear to the capitalists that they have little to fear from him. Under the headline, "Coughlin Defends Ford As A Patriot", a story appeared in the New York Times, declaring:

As to Mr. Ford's course of action he (Coughlin) was optimistic. A few years ago, he said, he did not think so highly of the motor manufacturer. But, he added, "I consider that Mr. Ford has matured greatly in the last three or four years in the matter of industrial sociology. "Like all of us, he has his faults," he said, "but I like to see the good in the gentleman. He has done much for Detroit."

Thus it is only the "bad" industrialists who are to be opposed. And even the international financiers, once proclaimed the root of practically all evil, are capable of separation into sheep and goats. Rockefeller, for example, was treated very gently in the priest's radio talks while the financier Winthrop W. Aldrich is even praised.

New bankers with new vision are replacing the old. An Aldrich is the new chairman of the Chase National in New York—perhaps the world's largest public bank. Wiggins is out. There is a leader in finance, an Aldrich who backs the President and who condemns the methods of the Federal Reserve System and the hideout holding companies, which participated in the greatest credit inflation of all history.\textsuperscript{18}

Nor is Coughlin to be found opposing the capitalist system. That is only the impression received by the casual listener. (A month before launching the National Union he told Paul Weber, "I am devoted to capitalism".) His complaint is rather the lack of "Christianity" in a system whose purpose is exclusively that of profit. His solution is the retention of capitalism and profit with the introduction of "production for use" as well. Raymond Swing\textsuperscript{20} wrote:

Now what the essential difference is between production for profit and production for use at a profit Father Coughlin, so far as I know, has never clearly set forth. Maybe, as in the question of collective bargaining, he has concrete ideas and really means government-controlled production with the retention of the profit system, another fascist conception.

\textsuperscript{18} Radio address delivered December 3, 1933.  
\textsuperscript{19} Detroit \textit{Times}, October 10, 1934.  
\textsuperscript{20} Swing, \textit{Forerunners} etc., p. 49.
An indication of a Fascist point of view is again revealed by Coughlin's attitude toward non-Christians and particularly toward Jews. First of all, it should be kept in mind that his is not an anti-Semitism as open as that voiced by the less subtle advocates of racial hatreds. He realized that the national mind was not, at the moment, ready to adopt such a position and so he actually stated in his address of October 28, 1934: "If there is anti-Jewish propaganda being maliciously circulated it will never find support from a Catholic pulpit". Yet exactly six months earlier, angered at being revealed by the Treasury Department as one of the largest holders of silver in the country, Coughlin issued the following statement:

It was expected of Mr. Morgenthau and will be expected of him to prevent any silver legislation for the ultimate benefit of the one billion Orientals who from time immemorial have identified their trade and commerce with Gentile silver and especially for the benefit of the American people who today are in bondage to the gold controllers....

The American public knows that through our process of revaluation we simply multiplied by billions of dollars the gold in the hands of the internationalists--the European Warburgs, the Rothschilds and the rest of that group--who are notorious financial Dillingers of world control and internationalism. (Emphasis mine)

The unfavorable reaction which developed from this indirect slur upon the Jews resulted in Coughlin's public statement proclaiming his friendship to them. On December 11th of the same year he presented a public address and again fell

into an anti-Semitic pose. "He was discussing the question of usury and illustrated his point by—mimicking a Jewish accent." Again the priest denied any such intention. Finally, on January 22, 1935, he delivered a speech in which the meaning is thoroughly clear.

We've got to say that we're either Christians in this country or not....Who established this country? Maryland was founded by the Catholics, Massachusetts by the Puritans, New York by Dutch Protestants, Pennsylvania by the Lutherans—Christians! We're not going to be so damn liberal as to compromise on Christianity. We're so open-minded as to say to the Jews, the Mohammedans, the Burmese and the others that while we love each other, remember this is a Christian principle, and when it comes to law, when it comes to representatives in Congress, don't forget this is a Christian nation! Let's not overwork this democracy.

Thus Father Coughlin, friend of ex-Congressman Louis McFadden (Jew-baiter par excellence) and of Harry A. Jung (head of the chauvinistic American Vigilant Intelligence Federation), established the real possibility of a fusion within the National Union of those two aids to a Fascist movement—fiery nationalism and unifying antagonism to a minority group.

The stand that Coughlin has taken in regard to democracy is also clear. Although the first point of his platform stated:

I believe in the right of liberty of conscience and liberty of education, not permitting the state to dictate either my worship to my God or my chosen avocation.

22. Ibid., p. 32.
23. Ibid., p. 33.
he has consistently refused to elaborate upon the meaning of this statement. Asked whether he favored the use of Grand Circus Park (in Detroit) as a Hyde Park where any ideas might be expressed, he answered: "No, I wouldn't favor that". The organizational structure and means of determining policy in the National Union for Social Justice are a more concrete demonstration of his anti-democratic philosophy. The "sixteen points" were promulgated without the least discussion or opportunity for alteration on the part of Coughlin's followers. "These principles", he said, "are so substantially related to this National Union for Social Justice that anyone who is not willing to accept them in their entirety is not welcome in this Union." The various meetings and "conventions" that have been held failed to present an opportunity to influence his program, and even the organizational committees and councils of the National Union were chosen by its national head and are subject to his dismissal. Der Fuehrer principle incarnate!

In June of 1936 Father Coughlin attempted to take a major part in the elections of that year. His uniting of the National Union with the Townsend movement indicated his recognition that a mass following motivated by a psychology of protest was essential to his political success. The

25. Magil, op. cit., p. 34.
26. Radio address delivered November 18, 1934.
incorporation into this "united front" of the demogogic Gerald L. K. Smith marked the whole organization more clearly as a Fascist-like movement. The likelihood of this new "Union Party" actually electing its nominee, William Lemke, to the Presidency must have seemed non-existent even to the leaders of the Party. The probable purposes of this political venture seem, therefore, to have been, first, the splitting of the Roosevelt following and, second, the election of enough members to the new Congress to influence future governmental policies.

The failure of the Union Party to achieve either one of these objectives in the elections of 1936, struck what appeared to be a death blow at the political aspirations of Father Coughlin. He declared his permanent withdrawal from political affairs and for some time actually restricted himself to his priestly duties.

But it would be an error to ignore this man and his still-functioning organization. His newspaper is still being published, interviews with him are often to be found in the general press and occasional radio speeches are being sponsored for discussion by Coughlin of his point of view in regard to specific current problems. A man who so very recently spoke weekly to millions of people and headed

29. The failure of Hitler and his comrades in the Munich putsch did not guarantee the permanent demise of the National Socialist movement. Cf. Schuman, The Nazi Dictatorship, pp. 43-46.
an organization whose membership was variously estimated to reach as high as 10,000,000 cannot quickly be forgotten. Father Coughlin's part in helping to defeat the proposal for American adherence to the World Court is sufficient indication that among his radio listeners were to be found many thousands of active followers. The possibility of the re-entry into politics either of Father Coughlin or of a man similar to Coughlin, is sufficiently real to make one consider the strength of the following which he might mobilize and the powerful movement toward Fascism which he would be enabled to lead.
Chapter IV
THE FUTURE

In a discussion of the possible institution of Fascism in the United States there are sufficient similarities among the various Fascist nations of the world to justify our concluding that certain trends of this phenomenon are also likely to be present if Fascism comes to America. The precise manner in which Fascism may come to pass is, however, a less easily answered question. The antipathy of the mass of Americans to this "foreign ism" supplies some assurance that it must arise, if it arises at all, in an entirely original and "American" fashion. It must, however, appear to answer a widely-felt need and it must seem a movement to protect the interests of the mass of the people.

If, with these principles in mind, we examine the Industrial Mobilization Plan we discover a clever adaption

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1. Originally introduced on December 5, 1935, as a series of bills, S.1716-S.1722, the Plan was later embodied in H.R.5529. It was the result of the full time work of 14 officers employed in the office of the Assistant Secretary of War and of 50 officers on either full or part time since 1921. (See Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry, Report No. 944, Part 4, p. 5.) Later, the War Department again revised the Plan which was introduced in identical bills in the two houses of the 75th Congress as S.25 and H.R.1954.
to the American scene of many of the fundamental Fascist characteristics. Sensing the popular distaste for war and the widespread belief that moneyed interests (the munitions manufacturers, in particular) had profited from the World War, the framers of the Plan advocated their scheme as a guarantee that any future war was to be solely for purposes of patriotism and absent of any profit-making taint. "Profiteering based on Army contracts", according to General Douglas MacArthur, "is eliminated by the Plan." The avowed object of the nation in the next war was to be "victory, immediate and complete" and the whole energy of the country was to be organized to the most effective attainment of this end. It is in the Plan by which the nation is, according to the War Department, to be organized that we find what Frank B. Blumenfield so aptly labeled, "a blueprint for Fascism."

The Industrial Mobilization Plan contemplates the imposition upon the country of what is in effect a military-industrialist dictatorship as soon as war is declared. The original draft, for example, indicated that the Advisory Defense Council which was to administer the

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4. Blumenfield, Frank B., A Blueprint for Fascism
Plan was also to take over the distasteful task of dictation. The considerate reason given for this step was that:

It would be unfair to expect them (government departments) to exercise emergency restrictive control over the people that they were created to serve.

The later form of the plan expressed the same idea in somewhat more ambiguous terms:

It would be unwise to superimpose emergency restrictive control measures over normal duties of service within such governmental agencies.

The Administrator of War Labor was to have been "an outstanding industrial leader" according to the first phrasing of the Plan; subsequently, strenuous objections to this requirement resulted in a change to the equivocal words, "outstanding citizen". The Nye Committee, recognizing that this administrator would not be drawn from the Government service, pointed out that the "outstanding industrial leader" would be supreme.

Labor, in orthodox Fascist style, is to be completely under the control of the war-time government. All male persons over the age of 18 years would come under the universal draft—some to go immediately into the army, others

7. Ibid., p. 35.
8. Ibid., p. 36.
are to be given a "deferred" rating. Mr. Hallgren points out that:

...the conscription of labor is and must be an integral part of that plan, for it would be impossible to control all of the other elements that enter into the national economy, while leaving the all-important labor supply uncontrolled.

Under the heading, "Status of Registrants", the Plan specifies:

Such rules and regulations by the Secretary of War shall not affect nor interfere with the internal management of the industries in which such persons are engaged, but the Secretary may at any time, if he deems the public interest in successful prosecution of war so to require, remove such persons from such industrial positions and assign him to any service within the jurisdiction of the said War Department.

The determination of prices, wages and conditions of work would be totally regulated by the "Price Control Commission" and prevailing legislation applying to labor would be subject to abrogation.

For economic reasons the statutes of the various States prescribe certain restrictions in the hours and conditions of employment of women in industry. Other restrictions are brought about through regulations issued by various Federal and State agencies, by agreements with the trade unions and in other ways. Many of these regulations and restrictions are expedient rather than necessary to the well being of either the Nation or the workers. In a national emergency much of this expediency is lost and the operation of some of these regulations and restrictions should be suspended.

The observations of the Nye Committee in reference to this

11. Plan, Revised 1936, p. 65
12. Plan, Revised 1933, p. 38
The Committee finds that S. 1721, which puts all male labor under registration and provides for such penalties and also for courts martial in case any of the registrants "fail or neglect fully to perform any duty required of him" can be used to effect and enforce a draft of labor and to remove, in effect, the right of any laborer to refuse employment in private industry under conditions or at wages which do not satisfy his needs. The power to call into military service any union or other representatives of labor who become spokesmen for other employees in attempts to secure higher wages, is the power to break strikes. This can also be done through the use of military force in removing the spokesman from the plant involved to other plants or into active service or cutting off the food allowance of all strikers.

There is nothing in S. 1721 to prevent the use of men in the military forces to operate industrial plants while in uniform, which was done in at least one case in the last war....There is also nothing to prevent the War Department from inducting all the workers in any plant in the country into military service, forcing them to work in that plant under military orders.

Industry, although threatened by strict governmental control and regulation of profit, is at the same time given a dominant role. Actually its position in the contemplated war economy will be closer to that of partnership with, rather than subordination to, the government. Besides the opportunity granted it to have its own men on the Advisory Defense Council, industry would be assured in its position by a government fearful of interrupting essential production.

"If industry strikes or threatens to strike to gain its demands the Government must yield as it yielded in the last war." The conclusion of the Nye Committee was that the War Department "intends to depend for enforcement upon the popular morale and collective patriotism" of the leaders of industry.

In addition to controlling the bodies of men and women, the Industrial Mobilization Plan provides for the an "Administration of Public Relations" which would yield an all-embracing censorship over all means of publicity. It would have the power to:

"control the giving of information to the public regarding matters of military import and, on the other hand, to make known in an authoritative manner such information as it is right and proper that the public should have."*(My emphasis)*

In addition, the government would require the licensing of any business "...over which Government control is necessary to the successful termination of such emergency".

Mr. Blumenfield points out that:

That phrase would permit Government control of the press, radio, the theatre, motion pictures, news bureaus

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14. Ibid., p. 35
15. Ibid., p. 39
16. Plan, Revised 1933, p. 45
17. Ibid., p. 86
18. Blumenfield, op. cit., p. 21
and syndicates, bill boards, advertising and art, and all other avenues of information and propaganda, for the power to license also involves the power to withhold license.

It might be added that the same licensing power could easily be expanded "in an emergency" to a complete dictatorship over all private enterprises. The line between this sort of emergency regulation and a full-fledged Fascist dictatorship becomes almost hairlike in actual fact. And although many details of the Industrial Mobilization Plan are at the present time being modified as a result of indignant protests from various quarters there is little doubt that the outbreak of war will witness the promulgation of laws which will probably not differ in significant degree from this preliminary blueprint of Fascism.

This is not to say that the advent of Fascism is possible only under conditions of war. The preceding pages have attempted to indicate that another situation in which the seeds of this system may find sufficient fertility in which to mature is an economic and political impasse whose only solution other than revolution is that of Fascism. The possibility exists for Fascism to be based largely on force and violence once it has attained to power but before it can be instituted it must gain sufficient support of the general public.

And the method that has been employed in the European states in order to get this mass base is that of promising to a population devoid of hope the possibility of a more secure life.

It is in the light of this basic tactic of incipient Fascism that the general principles for the defeat of this movement are to be outlined. Perhaps the two most important objectives which anti-Fascists must concern themselves are first, the continual increase in the economic security of the mass of people and, second, the steady expansion of their organized political power. The inter-relations of these two objectives are, of course, obvious. The economic and political unity of the overwhelming mass against the Fascist demands of the opponents of progressive social change is almost a certain guarantee against the institution of Fascism. Without such a broad unity among the relatively dispossessed, we may yet see the tendencies toward Fascism in the United States develop into fruition.
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