A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE 1919 TO 1951

by

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

As the impact of the industrial society cast its image on all levels of American life, many students began searching with renewed vigor for the golden panacea that would bring coherence out of confusion, meaning out of the morass.

Their researches by the time-worn methods into the traditional political institutions yielded little more than the vague impression that things were not as they had once been. The cleft between the governmental structure as presented in the classical civics textbooks and the actual working forms of power had both widened and deepened.

Of all the myths that stood out in bold relief from the passage of time, perhaps none offered so drastic a picture of the changed society as that of the delegated representative of the home district with his ear peeled to each separate voice in his constituency and his own voice ready to repeat verbatim the sum majority of their opinion. It may be argued that this myth was never true and that even the framers of the Constitution were merely self-seeking exponents of the interests they held and of the groups they represented. If

the myth was inconsistent 165 years ago, it had become even more so today.

The modern representative had become a confusing contradiction in his all-inclusive promising, in his incongruous voting record, and in his curious methods of wielding power. Assuredly the representative was no less responsive to the voice of his constituency than had been his predecessor a century ago, but it was only the louder voices to which he listened and for which he acted. These loud voices came not from the individuals but from the various groups of the society.

There was nothing innately undemocratic about these groups; at least to the extent that they were so numerous that most Americans belonged to many. The industrial American, forced by his nature or by circumstance, had become a "joiner". From these groups he could try to gain the security and status for which he strove.

In other lands the diversification of interests had been absorbed by the political parties formed around economic and social ties. The predominance of the two-party system in the United States prevented any sort of multi-party or functional representation. Organizations formed around interest lines were forced to grow up outside the government. To the student looking at these multitudinous "hidden" governments, it was much like viewing a cemetery -- long rows of fine looking markers, but who knew what lay beneath each of them.

A belief in the democratic process is predicated upon the ability of the "common man" to think and act intelligently on all political questions. To think, he must have adequate information at his disposal and must not be stilled into apathy by the political confusion that surrounds him. To act at all, it is important that he know how to exert power; to act intelligently, he must make sure his power is directed through channels that will best represent his opinion.

In order to reach this ideal situation we must have more adequate knowledge of the groups that represent the industrial American. It is towards this end and with a functional justification in mind that this thesis is offered.

The problem, then, was to isolate some phase of the group activity in order to examine, define, and try to explain it. The tie with journalism pointed the way toward studying the group magazine. Such a study can be justified on other grounds, however. Almost all large, organized groups have their magazines. They function as the intermediary between the leadership and the "public" of the group. They act as the official spokesman for each group. What is printed therein is what the group wants the public to hear. It may by advanced, then, that a study of the magazine will give some insight into the composition and opinion of the group.

The answer to the "why" of selecting the American Legion lies in the realization that perhaps no other group so power-

ful is so little understood. The press has often been afraid to attack it; Congress has at times meekly acquiesced to its demands; it is ignored -- even laughed at -- but seldom stood up to. It is a "sacred cow" -- if such things exist in America.

It is interesting to note that the Legion has today apparently reached a new high in terms of the power it exerts. Is this now the peak or will it go on to gain even greater strength? If current trends set forth a greater need to understand the Legion, the need must be answered by current research. The previous works of the muck-raking crusaders George Seldes and Marcus Duffield and of the insider Justin Gray were of such a bias as to render most of their material rather doubtful as quotable sources. Only a Ph.D. thesis by William Gellermann[1] could be counted on for any sort of authoritative substance.

The functional approach can also extend to the methodology. A unique combination of systematic and appropriate methods must be specified for each research topic after the problem has been well defined. The problem should specify the method; the method should not draw the problem.

For this particular problem, four major difficulties were encountered: (1) A need to specify one of the major objectives--who? says what? to whom? with what effect? or

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[1] William Gellermann, The American Legion as Educator, (New York, 1938)

why?; (2) a wish to be as "objective" as possible in view of the controversial nature of the problem; (3) a desire to achieve some sort of reliability in the research; and (4) the presence of a tremendous amount of material spread over the 33 years of the magazine's publication.

Content analysis is offered as the appropriate method for this study. It centers itself on the "says what" phase of the communication process. It is an attempt to provide a step toward "objectivity" by applying a quantitative measure under relatively stable conditions so that another researcher would tend to get similar results using these same methods. The sampling technique, easily adapted to the problem, remedies the final difficulty previously mentioned.

The use of quantitative methods in the study of history probably has come as a shock to a few social scientists still possessed by "arithmetic-phobia". The old concept of qualitative vs. quantitative, predicated on the old saw "human behavior can't be measured (predicted)" is passing from the scene. In recent times, there has been a realization that quantitative measures can help, though not displace, qualitative analysis. The two have been detected as co-existing in healthy harmony.

Further clarification of the desired advantages of quantification in this study may be illustrated at this point by showing some of the pitfalls that might have been encountered by such a study through purely qualitative means.

Psychological studies have shown that we tend to perceive elements of a situation that agree with out previous conceptions.

In a study of a body of literature the size of the Legion magazine, is it not possible that our pre-conceptions will single out things that "fit the pattern" and exclude those that do not?

Also, in a qualitative study of this scope, how could we be sure the quotations offered as the result of our general impressions are really typical of what the group has to say on this subject?

How could we retain a general impression after months of reading a body of literature if we do not have some logical, shorthand way to record significant aspects of each impression? Thus, actually many historians are using more or less quantitive means.

The argument for quantification is not one for solidification of opinion. It would be foolish -- indeed dangerous -- to insist upon a uniformity of interpretation of media content. There is a need, however, for some sort of standard of methodology which is both systematic and reliable.

The golden panacea of political coherence is not contained within these pages or in the field of content analysis. A pattern of modern society and its government can only be achieved through a long, slow, well-planned study of the process; by the use of appropriate techniques for generalizing complex data; and through the formulation of a valid, well-organized body of political theory. It is hoped that this research is a step in the right direction.

The study will undertake to examine the manifest content

of the Legion magazine on a rather broad subject-matter level and on a more narrow thematic basis. The subject-matter analysis will attempt to codify all relevant material in the issues studied into several general "types" previously decided upon. In trying to learn how much and on what subject the Legion magazine has spoken, we assume that the over-all distribution of material in each "type" or "category" will build towards a general "picture" of the magazine's content.

The thematic analysis will attempt to describe in considerable detail the kinds of ideas which made up the subject-matter "types". Here the attempt will be to codify all relevant material in the issues studied into many specific "ideas" set up by a previous analysis of the magazine. The assumption is that the overall distribution of material in each "idea-unit" or "theme" will build towards a specific "picture" of the magazine's content. The thematic analysis will constitute the major portion of the thesis.

Both the subject-matter and the thematic analyses will use "systematic" sampling techniques. They will be used to try to eliminate the ponderous task of having to use all issues of the Legion magazine without distorting the "picture" of the magazine's content. In each analysis, issues will be selected at regular intervals with the initial selection taken at random.

The basic source of the analyses will be the issues of the American Legion's magazine from 1919 to 1951. The subject-

matter analysis will also include material from the 1952 issues. The 1952 issues were not included in the thematic analysis because they were at the bindery at the time of the study. Books, periodicals, and other source material will also be presented to supplement the basic source.

The orientation of the Legion as an interest group and a brief resume of the history of the Legion magazine will also be included in the thesis.

Chapter II

THE AMERICAN LEGION AS AN INTEREST GROUP

> "The Legion itself is a spontaneous expression of purpose by those millions of Americans who helped crush autocracy. The American Legion is the epitome of that Americanism for which it stands. Its voice is the majority voice of its members; its will the will of the many. Spontaneous in inception, it has been democratic in its development. There are no titles recorded on its files. It is free of rank, of cast, of partisanship. It seeks in full measure to serve those who were in service, it seeks in fuller measure to serve America."[1]

This statement of purpose appeared in the inaugural issue of the American Legion Weekly on the fourth of July, 1919.

According to some critics, the "spontaneous" birth of the Legion was actually a well-knit plan, perhaps formulated even before the American entry into World War I. War department officials became alarmed at the low morale of the troops in Europe immediately following World War I. Many soldiers,

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[1] American Legion Weekly (July 4, 1919), 1:5. (NOTE: All references to the American Legion Weekly, American Legion Monthly, and American Legion Magazine will hereafter appear as ALM).

and civilians too, had become discontented because they could not immediately be sent home at the war's end. War department policy makers decided that some sort of organization of servicemen would improve morale. To this end, they gave their semi-official blessing to a group of high-ranking army officers who met in Paris early in 1919 to set up such an organization. The men that assembled in Paris felt that the discontent among the servicemen indicated a trend toward "radicalism". To combat the evils they felt would arise from such "radicalism", it is said the group of officers set up the organization in such a way as to promote goals and attitudes on the part of the organization's members that would be closely in line with their own. William Gellermann, in his Ph.D. thesis at Columbia University, brings out this point:

> "They (the officers) fixed certain policies which have been perpetuated since. Officers of the American Legion have usually been conservative, middle-aged business men of pronounced military bent; who have subscribed to policies formulated by the founders. The American Legion has been true to its traditions."[2]

The men who make up the "rank and file" of the Legion also may not be truly representative of ex-servicemen in general. In the years that followed World War I, the American Legion never had more than 25% of the ex-servicemen eligible for membership. In addition, it is shown the men that did join the organization were much better off financially than

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[2]Gellermann, Legion as Educator, 240-241

ex-servicemen in general. The majority of Legionnaires were in the upper 25% of the population in terms of income levels.[3] Although in 1947, the peak membership year for the Legion, the group had over 3 million Legionnaires, they still constituted only one-fourth of the men eligible for the Legion.[4] Nevertheless, the American Legion "speaks for the ex-service men and has been able to compel recognition of itself when it has spoken in that capacity."[5]

The power the Legion exerts is not derived in isolation from other groups in society. The basic ideas of the Legion may most closely correspond to those of various business groups. The preservation of the status quo or "its American Way" has been called its binding idea:

> "The economic....philosophy of this highly centralized leadership is such as to enlist the active cooperation of powerful allies in business circles. In consequence of sheer political power, the American Legion is able to compel the cooperation of lesser organizations in the name of patriotism. The singularly effective power of the American Legion lies in its successful claim to serve as the court of last appeal in the use and interpretation of patriotic symbols."[6]

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[3]Gellermann, Legion as Educator, 49

[4]Proceedings,"Summary of the 30th National Convention of the American Legion", (1948)

[5]Gellermann, Legion as Educator, 49

[6]Ibid., 238-239

The most obvious and best publicized alliance of the Legion is that which it has with the National Education Association. For many years the Legion invited a NEA spokesman to speak to its convention. The alliance has become somewhat uneasy of late. The main point of friction has been the attack of the Legion on John Dewey and the entire idea of progressive education. If the trend toward Legion "exposes" of education continues, it would seem likely that sooner or later the NEA will have to break the alliance or die from pressure from within.

A much less publicized but seemingly more harmonious alliance exists between the Legion and the NAM. It has been said that many of the National Commanders of the Legion have been, at one time or another, officials or members of the NAM. There is shown much interplay in the literature of the two groups. Lesser officials of the Legion are said to long to move up to "the first team", the NAM.[7] The alleged interaction of the Legion and the NAM, if true, has been a closely guarded secret on the part of both groups.

Quantitative studies have given an added basis for the contention that the Legion exerts considerable power as bestowed by the American public. The State of Washington public opinion laboratory attempted to measure what they termed "political influence" of certain "voluntary groups" in society.[8] This

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[7]Justin Gray, with Victor Bernstein, The Inside Story of the Legion, (New York, 1948) 57

[8]Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, Public Opinion Quarterly, (Winter,1951), 14:703-709

term was further broken down into: "positive political influence", the influence of the electorate, both members and non-members, to follow the policies advocated by the association; and "negative political influence", the influence of the electorate, both members and non-members, to follow a path contary to the policies advocated by the association.

A check-list containing the names of 35 groups was given to 441 respondents. The respondents were then asked: "Are there any organizations on this list to which you or your husband belong and take an active interest?; if you were not well-informed about the candidates or issues in the forthcoming election, which three organizations' advice would you least likely take?" Of the 35 groups, the Legion was the fifth most frequently mentioned in the latter two questions. Of the 35 Legion members asked, 14 mentioned the group as having a "positive influence" while none gave it a "negative influence". Forty non-members placed the Legion among the "positive influence" groups and only seven listed it under "negative influence". Only the Protestant churches, the A.F. of L., the PTA, and the CIO were mentioned more frequently than the Legion. Of these, only the Protestant churches and the A.F. of L. had more "positive influence"; none had less "negative influence". In a measure of "net political influence", a combination of both "positive" and "negative" influence, the Legion and the VFW tied for first place. The survey seemed to indicate that the amount of influence of the Legion, though quite high, was not as striking as the finding that the opposition or negative

attitudes toward the Legion were almost non-existent.

In a poll earlier this year, Elmo Roper asked the following question: "Here is a list of some groups and organizations that aren't directly connected with any political party. Are there any of these groups whose ideas you'd expect to be good on a cadidate running for office?" The Legion came out best with 23%. Following were: officials of your church; League of Women Voters; A.F. of L. and CIO; Farm Bureau Federation and National Grange; NAACP; and prominent southern leaders supporting state's rights. In discussing this on the NBC network, Roper said:

> "One of the reasons why the American Legion comes out as strongly as it does is that it has widespread support among different groups. For instance, it was the only group....which was named by a substantial number of both business and labor. It also has wide appeal, apparently, to white-collar people. Its chief support, however, lies in the small towns of America, those which range from 2,500 to 100,000. In many of these places the American Legion Post is a major community center, and its influence apparently goes pretty deep."[9]

Among the functions of the group perhaps none is so fundamental yet so important as the building up of group membership and the sustenance of intra-group action and interest. The Legion faced a unique situation in this respect. It was presented by a turn of events, a war, with a tremendous potential membership with an apparent latent need for organi-

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[9] ALM, as quoted in, The Editor's Corner--Public Confidence" (August, 1952), 54:6

zation. In addition, it found itself alone in the field. The older service groups, the GAR and the VFW, by their natures, could not absorb the multitudes of potential members of service groups. The GAR had closed its doors to men of other wars and the VFW was restricted by allowing membership only to the minority who had seen overseas service. It is true that there were competitors that arose during World War I, but the semi-official status that the American Legion received from Congressional ratification of its charter combined with efficient organization soon killed off the competition. World War II found more competition arising, this time successfully, but the power and status the Legion had by this time acquired, made it far and away the most successful veteran's group.

It is possible to hypothesize a step by step arrangement the Legion has used to gain the membership of the ex-servicemen:

1. To make him realize he is a part of the "group" known as "veterans" and to make that membership transcend all other "group" affiliations he may have.

2. To make him realize that the "group" known as "veterans" have common problems and, therefore, common interests.

3. To make him believe that his interest as a "veteran" is best served through "group" organization and, therefore, "group" membership.

4. To make him believe that the Legion, among all "groups", best serves his interest as a "veteran".

5. To make him join the Legion.

The Legion seems especially successful in step 4. In the handling of disability and other claims, for example, the Legion has been the most successful group in pursuing the claims of veterans who have given them the power of attorney.[10] They have done this by gaining virtual control of the VA. The Legion also offers the snappiest uniform, the most elaborate clubhouses, the 'lushest' conventions, and high status in the community.[11]

Of course, the control only begins with the membership. The later period, in which the group tries to consolidate the membership to gain active and continued support, is at least as important as the initial membership. All of the steps mentioned in the gaining of membership are repeated later to retain the strength of the group. Even after a score of years have passed since he fought, the ex-serviceman is never allowed to forget he is a "veteran" with problems in need of group action--Legion action.

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[10] Gray, Inside Story of Legion, 175-176

[11] Dayton David McKean, Parties and Pressure Politics (Cambridge, 1949), 520

Chapter III

THE AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE: a general discussion

The Legion is just too big to undertake a thorough study of it in one book, much less in one paper. The paper has thus far been largely concerned with the relationship between the Legion organization and its members. It now becomes necessary to specialize even further. In doing this I have selected the American Legion Magazine as the medium for study of the group.

There are many good reasons for the selection. First, we can say that the American Legion Magazine is the official voice of the Legion; moreover it is the more or less unified, calculated expression of the inner core that actually controls the Legion. There seems to be little or no dissenting opinion expressed in the magazine. There are seen occasional instances of slight disagreement, but there is no dissenting voice on the fundamental concepts on which the Legion was founded. To say that the magazine is the voice of the Legion is not to say that what is printed in the magazine is necessarily what the leaders believe. Rather it is what the leaders of the Legion want the magazine's public to read. Of

course in many or most instances the beliefs of the leaders and what they want the public to read are probably the same. The content of the magazine, although it is the official "line" of the leaders of the group, is, nevertheless, subject to pressures and counter-pressures from other groups in society. The "line" is tempered by the size of the group; necessitating bringing into the group all sorts of discordant elements and levels of society. The over-lapping group affiliations "water down" the material. The content is also altered, to a degree, by the action and attitudes of the Legion convention. For example, in 1938 the convention, meeting in Los Angeles, passed a resolution demanding the magazine "devote more space to exposing subversive elements."[1]

The American Legion Weekly began publication July 4,1919. The cost to the Legion for establishment and operation for the first year was $178,882.31.[2] The money was part of a rather mysterious fund contributed by "friends of the Legion." The money was supposedly a loan, but the names of the lenders have never been made public. The fact that the first advertisers to the magazine were large banking concerns, securities and stock brokerage firms, and large corporations adds to the mystery. It is hard to see any obvious reasons why these firms should choose to advertise in this way.

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[1] Proceedings, "20th Convention" (1938)

[2] Marquis James, History of the American Legion (New York, 1934), 8

The greatest part of the magazine's distribution for the first 6 years came through its news stand sales. The advertising slowly began to increase in volume, but the magazine lost several thousand dollars in the first 2½ years of operation.[3] By 1923, however, the magazine had begun to show a profit. Advertising had doubled with the first peak period in membership. Over 800,000 veterans had joined the organization by 1922. The fortunes of both the magazine and the Legion itself, however, soon took a turn for the worse. In 1925, the Legion membership hit an all-time low of 600,000. Perhaps Legionnaires felt membership could no longer be of any direct benefit to them and so quit the organization. The prestige of the group seems to have waned. Advertising in the Weekly dropped 50%.[4] "It was the most serious period that has ever existed in the affairs of the Legion Publishing company," one Legion official said.[5]

The latter part of 1926 marked a year of great change in all phases of Legion activity. A new drive for members brought marked success in the years that followed. In June of 1926, the Legion abandoned the old American Legion Weekly. Its monthly descendant was at first called the American

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[3]Proceedings, "Fourth Convention" (1922), 36

[4]John D. Ewing, "In Memorium, Robert Fulton Smith", in ALM (September, 1932), 13:12

[5]Ewing, "In Memorium", ALM, 12

Legion Monthly and later became simply The American Legion Magazine. The Legion organization began putting pressure on businesses of all kinds through members even down to the Post level. The technique was somewhat similar to that used by the A.M.A. Journal. This new advertising campaign paid off and the volume of advertising rose steadily for a four-year period.

The change to a monthly magazine also brought a change to include subscription to the magazine as part of the Legionnaire's dues to the national organization. Seventy-five cents of the one-dollar annual dues went to the operation of the magazine.[6] The revamping of the organization did not at once pay off. By the end of 1927 the accumulated debt was $343,902.71.[7] The prosperity of the magazine did continue to rise until the depression's impact hit in 1930. The magazine managed to hold its head above water throughout the depression, and it is reported that the Legion membership actually increased during many of those dark years. The only help it received came in the form of the repeal of prohibition in 1932. For a period of 3 years following the repeal, liquor and beer advertisers constituted from 30% to 65% of the magazine's total advertising lineage. The initial rush for

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[6] Proceedings, "10th Convention" (1928), 31

[7] Proceedings, "10th Convention" (1928), 31

customers by the distillers and brewers gradually subsided, but even today the liquor and beer advertising rank second only to tobacco advertising in the Legion magazine.

World War II and the post-war period saw the magazine begin to make some large profits in spite of rising production costs and a scarcity of newsprint.[8] The tremendous number of new members of the Legion after the war largely accounts for the profit. The paper shortage necessitated the printing of "pony" or small, condensed editions of the magazine. The Legionaire would receive part "pony" editions and part full-size editions for his year's subscription. Up till 1951, the last available report, the Legion magazine was still showing a large profit each year, but with each year it was making money at a decreasing rate. This has been coupled with a slight decrease in membership in the Legion.

While the membership of the Legion was dropping in the post-World War II era, apparently the readership of the magazine was doing the opposite. The information is furnished by the Richard Manville Research organization on the basis of 3,386 interviews in nine surveys spaced between May, 1947 and February, 1950.[9] The sample was stratified by geographic region and city size and randomly selected within the regional-

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[8] Reports, "Reports to the 30th National Convention of the American Legion", Legion Publishing Commission (1948)

[9] Richard Manville Research, Readership of American Legion Magazine: Nine Survey Summary, May,1947-February 1950 (New York, 1950), 2

city units from lists furnished by the Legion. The survey showed that in May of 1947 the Legion magazine had a "readership" ("read magazine studied") of 45.4%; by February of 1950 it had jumped 157% to 71.5%.[10] In the February, 1950 survey, in addition to the 71.5% who had "read the issue studied": 17.2% "did not read the issue but had read one or both of the two preceding issues"; 5.8% "had not read the last three issues but had read the magazine"; and 5.5% said they had never read the magazine.[11]

More research on the Legion magazine was undertaken by Daniel Starch and Staff.[12] The information was based on personal interviews conducted from July, 1951 to June, 1952. The number of interviews and other sampling information were not given. Caution must, therefore, be used in interpreting the results. The surveys included the magazines: American Magazine, Coronet, Cosmopolitan, American Legion, Argosy, True, Collier's, Life, Saturday Evening Post, Look, and Time.

Although it had the youngest median age for male readers (37.0) among the 11 magazines,[13] the Legion had the third

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[10] Manville, Readership of Legion Magazine, 9

[11] Ibid., 10

[12] Daniel Starch and Staff, taken from Consumer Magazine Report, prepared by the American Legion Magazine (November, 1952)

[13] Ibid., 4

highest percentage of married male readers (79.1%).[14] The Legion was also listed as first in family home ownership (63.4%) and also first among car owners (87.0%).[15]

Comparisons of education and family income levels bring out some rather interesting results. Although the Legion readers were second highest among the readers of the 11 magazines in reporting grade school as the highest school reached (13.9%),[16] they were the lowest in those reporting incomes under $3,000 (7.7%).[17] This may indicate the Legion magazine, in comparison to the other magazines, had few readers with low income, but had many readers with low education. It is beyond the scope of this research to say if this indicates the Legion has an abnormally great number of "self-made" men.

Other education levels reported by Legion readers were the 46.4% who said the high school was the last school attended and the 39.7% who answered that college was the last school reached.[18] Reporting incomes between $3,000 and $5,000 were 47% of Legion readers; 45.3% gave their income as being over $5,000. The median income was $4,815.[19]

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[14] Starch, Consumer Magazine, 5

[15] Ibid., 10-11

[16] Ibid., 9

[17] Ibid., 8

[18] Ibid., 9

[19] Ibid., 8

The concept of overlapping-group membership is illustrated in the report when it lists 24.2% of Legion readers as being laboring people.[20] If it may be assumed that a large share of these people belong to labor unions, we can see that the Legion could not get overly antagonistic toward labor without alienating a substantial number of its members. Legion readers were ninth in reporting labor as an occupation among the readers of the 11 magazines.[21]

Other occupations reported by Legion readers were: executive, 16.8%; government, 12.5%; salesman, 12.5%; small-business owner, 10.8%; professional and semi-professional, 9.7%; clerical, 5.5%; students, 3.2%; and teachers, 2.0%.[22] The Legion had the highest number of readers reporting "government" as an occupation; it was second highest in the number of "professional" men.

What the future holds for the American Legion and the American Legion Magazine cannot be stated with any degree of assurance. It will depend how successfully it can meet the challenge of new veterans' groups that have arisen and how able the other groups are at selling themselves. The world situation, of course, will be an important factor in the future of the Legion. A veteran's group must have a fresh

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[20] Starch, Consumer Magazine, 7

[21] Ibid., 7

[22] Ibid., 7

supply of manpower to keep itself alive. The Legion had begun to wither with the increasing age of its members in the thirties'. There were signs at the time that they would attempt to use the Sons of the American Legion group to perpetuate the ideals and structure of the group. World War II brought a virtual end to this organization. If it had prospered, it apparently would have functioned somewhat like the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the Confederacy. Finally, its future success will depend upon how well it can bend and adapt its ideological policies to win and maintain the support of new and wider groups of veterans that are needed in the face of financial pressure.

Chapter IV

SUBJECT-MATTER ANALYSIS

The Method

The method of study of a group such as the Legion is important only in relation to the over-all objective of the study. The objective here is to try to discover, in general terms, what the official "line" of the American Legion has been over the years. We attempt to do this by making an arithmetic, shorthand summary of the manifest content of the Legion magazine. Or stated more simply, we are trying to learn how much on what subjects the Legion magazine has spoken.

At the outset of the study I excluded: fiction; advertising; pictures, except picture stories; cartoons; humor; poetry; directories and official listings; illustrations, paintings, and art work; and quiz material. It was felt that analysis of such material would contribute little to the question under study.

The subject matter categories were adapted in large measure from those used by the Research division of the Minnesota School of Journalism in their study, "Newspapers and Their Readers."[1] Because the Minnesota study was devoted

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[1] Research division, Minnesota school of journalism, Newspapers and Their Readers (Minneapolis, 1949), 331-370

entirely to the content of newspapers, the categories had to be adjusted for application to an interest group magazine. This was done by conducting a pre-analysis of the magazine.

The study covered 58 issues of the Legion magazine. A total of 885 articles were studied and placed into 15 major categories. A systematic sample of one issue in every seven was used. The sampling ratio was one issue in every twenty-eight for the period that the magazine was a weekly, (1919-1926). The first issue of the sample was randomly selected among the first 28 issues of the magazine. Although the recording unit was the article, the percentages set and most of the conclusions reached by the study are in terms of column inches. File cards were used to record the data for each of the articles studied. Recorded on each of the cards was: date of issue; category of the article; number of column inches; and title of the article.

Analysis of the Categories*

Subject-Matter: Percentages of Column-inch Totals for the Main Categories.

Category	I 1919-26	II 1926-31	III 1932-38	IV 1939-45	V 1946-52	Ave.
A.War-related Activity	30.2%	33.6%	30.6%	40.6%	21.5%	31.6%
B.Intra-group Activity	40.7	30.5	34.2	29.4	21.2	30.3
C.Domestic Ideological Conflict	4.4	7.5	2.5	6.6	7.0	5.5
D.Leisure-time Activity	3.2	4.2	3.3	1.6	14.4	5.3
E.Sports	0.7	2.8	4.6	6.0	9.9	5.3
F.Historical Material	2.4	6.0	5.0	4.9	2.1	5.2
G.Foreign Nations & U.S. Foreign Relations	6.7	2.9	3.6	4.1	6.1	4.4
H.Economic Activity	3.6	2.6	4.4	2.0	8.6	4.3
I.Science	1.7	4.0	2.9	0.4	3.3	2.5
J.Crime, Accidents, Charity	2.1	0.1	2.2	1.9	0.5	1.3
K.Miscellaneous Material	1.1	0.8	1.7	0.6	1.1	1.1
L.Education, Safety,& the Family	1.8	0.1-	1.3	-	2.0	0.9
M.People:Personal & Social	0.2	0.1-	0.7	0.6	1.5	0.6

Cont...

	I	II	III	IV	V	Ave.
N.Domestic Political Activity	6.7%	2.9%	3.6%	4.1%	6.1%	4.4%
O.Religion	-	0.1-	1.3	-	-	0.3

*Note. Subject-matter frequency and percentage charts are to be found in Tables A,B, and C in Chapter IX., Appendix.

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1. War-related Activity.

This category includes: Military activity, experiences and reminiscences, tributes to the dead; veterans' benefits, common problems, and news; defense, preparedness, and training; "current" military activity; civilian responsibilities; and military occupation.

This category, the largest single category in the study in terms of percentage, constitutes an over-all total of 32%. The tables in the appendix show that this has been a fairly constant item in each of the five time periods of the study. The importance of this category and its relationship to the Legion as a group becomes apparent only after an inspection of the sub-categories of which it is composed.

The largest sub-category under "War-related Activity" was the experiences and reminiscences of war. They made up over 50% of the material on "War-related Activity". The really significant fact is that, as a general rule, the experiences and reminiscences varied in percentage directly with the length of time elapsed after the war. That is, as the two

World Wars have faded away from the memory, the intensity of their record increased as seen in the pages of the Legion magazine. In the period from 1919-26 they represented only 8% of the total content; from 1926-32 it had risen to 24%; from 1933-38 it dropped only slightly to 20%. The experiences of World War II increased from 4% in 1939-45 to 6% in 1946-52. Not enough time has elapsed since the close of World War II to make any sort of judgment as to the post-war trend of this sub-theme. One possible explanation which can be offered as to the post-World War I upswing in the frequency of war-experience articles is that the group was forced to meet an increased competition from other interest groups as the years passed. The veteran was identifying himself more and more with the groups that offered greater direct "here and now" status on economic and social levels. If the Legion was not to lose power, it would have to keep the "veteran image" in a constant strength in the mind of the veteran. The image, obviously, could not be re-enforced by direct experience; a recollection of the past experience as presented through articles in the group's magazine was the obvious answer.

These colorful stories and anecdotes of the horror and pathos of war served as an eloquent flashback to "the day when--." Not all of the experiences dealt with actual fighting since only a minority of ex-servicemen ever saw combat. The material that did deal with fighting experiences was so colorfully written and so illustrated that it was often very diffi-

cult to determine whether the article was fiction or non-fiction. It is noteworthy that these semi-fiction articles seemed most frequent in the periods, 1926-32 and 1932-38. It must be stressed here that there is not available statistical data to confirm or deny the preceding general impression.

The sub-category of "Veterans' Affairs", with 7% of the overall content, illustrates the very useful function of the Legion in helping the ex-serviceman become assimilated into the civilian population. It is only natural, therefore, that the two peaks of occurrence came in the periods immediately following the two World Wars. The attempt here apparently is to arouse feeling that the veteran has problems common to all, or some, other veterans and that the solution must come through group action. In effect, this type of material is designed to arouse a feeling of discontent. In view of the Legion's anti-"radical" stand, however, we should realize that it does not attempt to trigger attitudes that are too violent or too extreme for the purposes of the group. It is clear that the Legion must attempt to channel this aroused need for solution of the veterans' problems into accepted patterns of behavior. It must come through allegiance to the group and/or in behavior not in conflict with the ideals of the Legion.

The material devoted to "Defense, Preparedness, and Training" includes only 5% of the total content, but is important in that the Legion views in this area were repeated continuously in the magazine. The Legion has never altered

its stand on a strong army and navy. Further clarification of this stand will be offered in the thematic analysis.

Wartime pacifists were frequently singled out for condemnation by Legion magazine writers. After World War I, they launched a strong campaign to punish in various ways the "slackers", "profiteers", and "draft-dodgers" of the war. During World War II, this feeling took the form of hatred of Axis aliens and naturalized Americans of Axis-descent. An article in a 1943 issue of the Legion magazine was titled, "Japs in Our Back Yard." It stated, among other things, that the Japanese in this country were trying to sabotage the war-effort; that there were numerous instances of the Japanese learning their homeland's army marching-steps in the relocation centers; and that one possible solution was to deport all the Japanese, aliens and Americans, to some of our islands in the Pacific where they would be harmless.[2] In all fairness, however, it should be mentioned that the Legion magazine did publish a defense of the Japanese-Americans which pointed out that the disloyal members were only a very small minority.[3] The second article might possibly have been the result of pressure from Japanese-American members of the Legion.

One of the "Military Occupation" articles, of which there were very few, discussed the Nuremburg trials. The article

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[2] Dr. Frederick G. Murray, "Japs in Our Back Yard", in ALM (June, 1943), 34:9

[3] ALM, editorial, "Our Neighbors" (October, 1943), 35:3

condemned the trials, not as many others have done in calling them 'bloodbaths', but in not hanging the Nazi leaders outright without benefit of trial. It said that the trials were good for the small-fry, but that, since everyone knew the leaders were guilty, the leaders should be hung on the spot.[4]

2. Intra-group Activity.

This category includes: Miscellaneous news; state and post news; convention reports and publicity; community projects and service; auxiliary news and publicity; letters from readers; group personalities; pleas for support and membership; official messages; statements of purpose; and financial reports.

This category, with 30% of the total content, runs a very close second to "War-related Activity". "Intra-group" activity differs, however, in that it shows a great deal of fluctuation from time period to time period, with a decided downward trend during the years studied. It included 41% from 1919-26; 31% from 1926-32; 34% from 1933-38; 29% from 1939-45; and 21% from 1946-52.

Perhaps the Legion officials feel that straight appeals to join and/or support the group are not as effective as appeals through indirect means. One possible factor is that from 1919 to 1926, while a weekly, the magazine had a large general subscription and news stand sale. When it became a monthly, it switched to making the magazine a part of the dues

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[4] ALM, editorial, "No Trials for These" (October, 1943), 35:53

paid into the national organization. The group officials may feel that people already in the Legion do not need to know as much about the organization as do prospective members. At any rate, the decrease in frequency of this category seems to be part of a trend from a narrow group-interest magazine to a magazine of broad, general interest. This trend seems to have been aroused by the pressures of having to appeal to an ever-increasing range of membership.

The sub-category of "State and Post News" seems to have a great variation in frequency. This constantly changing percentage may have some connection with the rapidly-changing relationships in the Legion's "federal" system of power. In times of stress, the National organization has had trouble keeping some of the units on the lower level of organization in line with their national policy. The first two years of the American Legion Weekly saw the state organizations force the profits of the magazine to be distributed among the state departments. The national organization was finally able to gain control.[5] The national leadership has at times charged the state and local levels with "disloyalty" to the Legion. The Internal Organization committee reported to the 1924 convention:

> "...while the Weekly has suffered from indiscriminate, ill-advised, and destructive criticisms eliminating from

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[5] Proceedings, "Sixth Convention" (1924), 38-39

> individual members, as well as posts and departments...(They)....should refrain from such public criticisms until the facts have been carefully ascertained, and unless conscientious efforts, by means of and within our own organization have failed."[6]

While letters from readers have constituted an average of over 1.5% of the material of the magazine, they have seldom been found to be at odds with the general policy of the Legion. The sample failed to show any instances of a direct challenge to the fundamental principles of the Legion. Another example of this can be seen in a study of a column containing newspaper comment about the Legion which appeared in the Legion magazine for many years. All the comments are favorable; none makes a thorough condemnation of any Legion policy.

The listing of "Community and National Service" occurred only 2.3% of the time, but constant reminders that the Legion gives service to the community arefound mentioned as incidental items in many articles listed in other categories. This idea is a fundamental one with the Legion organization. As the National Commander told the 1926 convention:

> "What of the future? Not since the Legion was organized has there been a time when the people were as willing to cooperate in carrying out our aims and principles...I think it may truthfully be said that the Legion is now a fixture in American life and its influence is felt throughout the

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[6] Proceedings, "Sixth Convention" (1924), 39

> world...But to justify our continued existence and to attract to our ranks the members we desire, we must render service of consequence to our respective communities."[7]

3. Domestic Ideological Conflict.

This category includes: Americanism and Americanism programs; the Communist-Socialist-Radical threat, the combined Communist-Socialist-Radical and Fascist threat; the Fascist threat.

This category, a weak third with a percentage of 6% is nevertheless a very vital part of the magazine's content. The category is the crux of the Legion's program to combat "radicalism". There is a great deal of speculation as to the reason for this continuing emphasis. One critic says:

> "Why do leaders of the American Legion talk so much about God and country, patriotism and respect for the flag? Because this language serves the purpose for which it is intended. It gets the desired cooperation from other sections of society which have been coditioned to react favorably to this new type of stimulation...The whole tenor of the Legion program...shows emphasis on the "sales" and "publicity" value of the program...They have appropriated an old and acceptable word and have made it an instrumentality to help sell the program of the American Legion to American society."[8]

This, of course, is merely one point of view. A subject-matter analysis cannot prove the truth or falsity of this

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[7] Proceedings, "Eighth Convention", report of John M. McQuigg, National Commander (1926)

[8] Gellermann, Legion as Educator, 86, 244

charge. A much deeper analysis would be needed. General discussion of what is "Americanism" made up about 43% of the material in this sub-category. Articles about various youth programs were the second most common item under Americanism. Aid to the Boy Scouts, American Legion Junior Baseball activities, and Boys State gatherings were among the most common things discussed. The third item under "Americanism" were discussions of immigration and articles telling the best way to assimilate the immigrant into the American culture.

The Legion has constantly seen the immigrant as a source of pollution for 100% Americanism. Ever since the first convention the Legion has advocated almost every year that immigration be entirely halted for a certain period of years. Commemorations of holidays and patriotic programs were fairly common in the early days of the magazine. Of late there has been a tendency for the Legion to worry that the books available to the public have Communist leanings. In May of 1951, an article warned that book publishers have conspired to prevent anti-Communist books from reaching the market.[9] More will be said of this in the thematic analysis.

A more direct approach to "Domestic-Ideological" problems has been the printing of books and pamphlets warning of the encroachment of foreign ideologies upon the American Culture. The most common warning was against "Communists, Socialists,

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[9]Burton Rascoe, "You Should Know About This Book", in ALM (May, 1951), 50:28ff

and Radicals." Many people would claim that these three terms and the organizations and theories they represent are different in method and intent; the Legion, however, makes no such distinction. They see the Socialist as a Communist in disguise. The two-fold stereotype of the Communist-Socialist-Radical also seems somewhat inconsistent. On the one hand, it pictures the "red" as a wretched, spineless, rodent-like little creature who gnaws away at the framework of American society unless he is exterminated. On the other hand, the "red" is pictured as a giant-like devil waiting in reserve to unleash all his vaunted power to destroy America.

The Legion is also quick to praise any indication of anti-Communist feeling by the American public. For example, they blame the post-war drop in movie attendance on a growing American disgust at Communists in Hollywood.[10]

The "Communist-Socialist-Radical" material, representing 2% of the magazine's over-all content, interestingly did not appear as a separate entity during the period 1939-45. During that time it was combined with the Fascist threat. After World War II, the Fascist threat did not appear in the grouping again. The "combined threat" of 1939-45, with 3% of the content, was typified by an article by Congressman Joe Starnes

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[10]J.B.Mathew, "Did the Movies Really Clean House?" in ALM (December, 1951), 51:21

praising the Dies committee.[11] The awareness of the "red" threat has often taken the form of militant action by some of the local Legion posts. Justin Gray, a post-World War II critic of the Legion, is an excellent source for examples of militant Legion action.[12] Less violent but more common have been attempts to keep "reds" from speaking at public gatherings. The 1921 Legion convention passed a resolution that urged Legion posts to "keep a watchful eye on radical propagandists and use all lawful means to prevent the fulfillment of their plans, that owners of halls and auditoriums in which radical meetings might be held be urged not to lease their property to such persons for such purposes", and that "officials of Legion post be urged to notify peace officers of all such contemplated meetings coming under their observation, that such meetings may be prevented or dispersed if they transgress on our laws."[13] It is also interesting to note that the "Communist-Socialist-Radical threat" material has increased greatly since World War II. As has previously been noted, the "Fascist threat" has not been stated in the post-war period. In the period 1946-52, the "red" threat constituted 6% of the total content.

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[11] Congressman Joe Starnes, "They're On the Run", in ALM (April,1940), 16

[12] Gray, Inside Story of the Legion, 77

[13] Proceedings, "Third Convention" (1921) 25-27

Warnings of the "Fascist threat" have an overall total of less than 1%. This is not to say that the magazine did not recognize the rise of Italy and Germany. The magazine noted the growth of Fascism in Europe from its first inception. One critic has this to say of the charge that the Legion has been sympathetic to Fascism:

> "This accusation has been based primarily on the absence of activity against Fascism on the part of the National Americanism Commission and on certain acts of friendliness on the part of the American Legion officials toward Mussolini. It is true that the American Legion has not shown the same fear of Fascism as of Communism, but those who say that the American Legion favors a Fascist dictatorship would find it difficult to substantiate this contention from American Legion publications. It is equally true, however, that although the American Legion has condemned the advocacy of Fascism, it has taken no action to combat it."[14]

In the early days of Mussolini's regime, the Legion magazine occasionally printed items that praised the Italian dictatorship and the "reforms" it enacted. It must be remembered, however, that many American publications of this period carried similar praise of the "new Italy". Some of the material survived in the Legion magazine even at a later date. For example, a Legionaire's story of his travels in Europe in 1938 said, "Down to Naples, Italy has been made clean, beggars are reduced, street arabs and mashers are eliminated, sexes

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[14]Gellermann, Legion as Educator, 103

are organized for sports, excursions and touring historic sights. They are clean, well-nourished, and seemed happy."[15] There were rather frequent statements like "there is no danger of Mussolinism in this country."[16]

Many articles, especially in the years immediately preceding the second World War, warned of Fascist activities in Europe and Latin America. In the years before 1939, the sample turned up not one instance where the Legion magazine printed material concerned with the possibility of Fascism in this country. A Legionaire, serving as a war correspondent in Europe in 1938, wrote the following article which appeared in the May issue of that year: (the article did not appear among the issues selected in the sample and does not appear in the tables under "the Fascist Threat")

> "...the solution of America's problem is to be found in America--and in Americanization alone. No other 'ism', imported from abroad, can do the job...Nor is America a uniform mass of regimented minds and goose-stepping souls. Somebody is always out of step. The right of the opposition and the practice of negation have not been discarded...In private conversation, in the public press, even over the radio, these objectors exercise their sacred inalienable right to...disagree, to suggest changes. They don't always do it with tact and logic; often, we dislike their manners, reject their arguments, despise their rhetoric, but, when we are wise, we do nothing to stop or silence

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[15] A.L.Benedict, "Front and Center", in ALM (July,1938) 25:37

[16] Frederick Palmer, "A Personal View: Is Democracy A Failure", in ALM (July,1926), 1:39

> them--except by persuasion: instead, we placidly allow them to blow off steam; it does them good and the body politic as well.
>
> These critics, no matter how intelligent or idiotic their doctrine, are allowed to sing their litany of protest, and even the President can't...throw them into a concentration camp. That is exactly what Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin do with their Colonel McCormicks, Father Coughlins, and Henry Menckens--the chief difference--between democracy and the dictator lands. For their aim is to freeze history, to stop change, to solidify the human spirit, and so they hang a sign: 'Only Yes-men Need Apply'. In America we guarantee liberty of speech...In no other fashion can man discover the truth, correct the half-truth, and destroy the lie....
>
> Finally, most imperious of all, we must be sufficiently American to claim its benefits for those mistaken, ignorant rascals on the other side of the fence whose ideas we consider so much bunk and hokum."[17]

4. Leisure-time Activity.

This category includes: Recreation; travel; hobbies; the home; movies; radio; TV; clothes and gifts; music; painting and classical arts; and books and comics.

The significance of this category, containing 5% of the total content, lies in the upward swing in the amount during the period 1946-52. In this period the content was 14% of the total; in earlier periods it had been only 3%, 4%, 3%, and 2%

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[17] Richard Ragner, "To A Friend Back Home" in ALM (May, 1938), 24:12

in that order. "Clothes and gifts" first appeared as a sub-category during the final six years of the sample. The post-war rise of the entire category suggests as an explanation the over-all change from a narrow group-interest magazine to one of wide general interest. It seems to be more pleasure and less business for the Legion magazine. It is also interesting that the official Legion viewpoint pervades even to this "Leisure-time" category. All value-judgments of the movies, books, and other recreational outlets are true to the group "line".

5. Historical Material.

This category, with 5% of the magazine's content, has been a rather consistent item. A large portion, perhaps a majority, of this material has been written by one man--Marquis James. James is also the semi-official biographer of the Legion. Many of the "Historical Material" articles were of the middle 1800's on the frontier. Almost all were written in a robust, colorful way that at times smacked of western-fiction pulp stories. Many of the articles related thrilling battles the American forces had won. There was never a scarcity of action in them. The stories seemed to be designed to give the reader an insight into the best sides only of the most successful phases of the American heritage. The idea corresponds to the Legion's campaign to eradicate from the public schools the books of the "debunking" historians. Perhaps the hardest

hit by the storm of protest was Charles A. Beard's Economic Interpretation of the Constitution. Even the histories of David Muzzey came into fire. One of his books was condemned by a Legion pamphlet which was quoted as complaining that John Paul Jones got only one sentence and the story of Bunker Hill was "compressed into 17 insipid words."[18] The pamphlet went on to say, "In this tabloided and denatured account of the War of Revolution there is not...an example that stirs desire for emulation, nor an ideal that thrills to patriotic fervor."[19]

6. Sports.

This category includes: Miscellaneous; sports of the ordinary citizen; football; baseball; and other competitive sports.

What has been said of "Leisure-time Activity" also holds true here. Here is part of a trend to a magazine of general interest. In this case, the tendency toward greater play of sports material has been increasing at a steady rate over the years. The category had 5% of the magazine's total content.

7. Foreign Nations and U.S. Foreign Relations.

This category includes: European, Asian, and other single nations; international organizations and world peace; and U.S. Colonial policy.

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[18] Marcus Duffield, King Legion (New York, 1931), 268-269.

[19] Ibid., 269

The category contains 4% of the total content. Its real impact comes in the sub-category of "international organizations and world peace". This actually makes up less than 20% of the category and less than 1% of the total content of the magazine. It is important, however, in that the ideas of the Legion in this area give great insight into the "personality" of the organization.

The Legion opposed our entry into the League of Nations after World War I. It sneered openly at the "dreamers" who thought world peace could be attained by mutual understanding. The Legion view seems based on a pessimistic idea of human nature that is essentially Hobbesian in orientation. One writer said in 1938:

> "The American Legion attributes war to certain fundamental traits of human nature, such as greed, hate, malice, and jealousy, which are alleged to be so deeply rooted in human nature that war is part of the nature of things and is therefore inevitable. The organization has no confidence in the possibility of preventing war through international agreement and implies that the only value of international conferences for the promotion of world peace is the publicity obtained for those who participate in such conferences."[20]

It is important to note that the position of the Legion changed, outwardly at least, as a result of World War II. From the first, the Legion has advocated and supported the

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[20]Gellermann, Legion as Educator, 196-197

entry of the U.S. into the United Nations. The Legion has even made some suggestions to "improve" the workings of the U.N. Does the support of the U.N. by the Legion represent any real change in fundamental attitude toward government and human nature? It is hard to say.

8. Economic Activity.

This category includes: Business, industry, and commerce; money, finance, and taxes; use of natural resources; general discussion; labor; and agriculture.

The material in this category has not been very large in terms of percentage (4%). It will be noted that there has been a considerable increase in "Economic Activity" after World War II. It is possible only to speculate as to the reasons for this increase. It is also noteworthy that thirty times as much material appeared on "business, industry, and commerce" as appeared on "labor". This may or may not be meaningful. It is known that the Legion has been antagonistic to certain elements in the labor movement; nevertheless, on occasion the group has asked labor leaders such as Samuel Gompers and William Green to speak before their convention. The sample failed to turn up one single instance where the C.I.O. was mentioned in the Legion magazine; whereas the A.F. of L. was mentioned occasionally. During World War II, the Legion advocated compulsory arbitration of labor disputes; a position which neither labor nor management supported.

The economic ideas of the Legion during the late twenties and the thirties show considerable shifting of position.

William Gellermann, in his The American Legion as Educator, traces the economic ideas of the Legion for the period:

> "During the period from 1926 to 1929 the economic philosophy of the American Legion was definitely laissez-faire. There was general agreement that the U.S. was the best country in the world,,that anyone who worked could attain economic independence, and that the less government interference with private enterprise the better for all concerned. 'Rugged individualism' was so completely assumed it was not even defended. By 1929, the American Legion had accustomed itself to mounting governmental costs; there was a faint suspicion that there was something fundamentally unsound in the then prevailing 'profitless prosperity'. For a considerable period after financial recession began in October, 1929 the American Legion took no official notice of the changed situation. Then it declared that the recession was temporary and that recovery would follow."[21]

This analysis checked with a general impression of the material of the Legion magazine for that period; however, it must be stressed that the subject-matter categories are not fine enough to catch this. An article by Marquis James in March of 1932 may be typical of the sources for some of Gellermann's contentions.

> "One points out that other depressions have been more severe and have lasted longer than this one will in all probability...
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> 'Each failure (bankruptcy) hard as it is on those involved, clears the air as

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[21] Gellermann, Legion as Educator, 166

> soon as the smoke blows away, leaving hopelessly entangled debtors to work for themselves again. In other depressions, the bank curve has gone up sharply, even for a little while after the turn has come...
>
> "The turn will come when the boom debts, contracted on fictitious ideas of value and false expectation are paid, compromised or erased. As time goes on we shall need many things, but not until those boom debts have been liquidated will people really begin to buy them. In less than six months after this happens, the long nights that closed upon us in 1929 will seem as remote as a half-forgotten evil dream."[22]

The conclusion of Gellermann's analysis of the Legion's attitudes toward the depression follows:

> "As the depression dragged on, adversity was glorified as an end in itself because of the 'spiritual' benefits which were inherent in it. This was early in 1931. In October, 1931, or before, the American Legion affirmed that the then current depression was no ordinary depression, that there was something fundamentally wrong. The Detroit convention late in 1931 made unemployment relief the major concern of the American Legion for the ensuing year, and there followed a vigorous campaign to meet the problem of unemployment. In the campaign it was taken for granted that unemployment was a local problem, and that it could be met through 'relief' and 'finding jobs'. There was carried on simultaneously in the Monthly a campaign of 'psychopathic' treatment intended to create 'confidence', and thus restore 'prosperity'. By the middle of 1932, great confusion marked

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[22] Marquis James, "The Steep Road to Recovery", in ALM (March, 1932) 12:70

the thought of American Legion leaders...

> "After the election of President Roosevelt in 1932, the American Legion supported the New Deal and the New Deal policies were favorably represented to the membership. By the latter part of 1934, this support had dwindled to the point of non-existence. In 1935 the American Legion was tired of the whole situation and was not disposed to mention it any more often than necessary, but occasionally suggested such solutions as the payment of the bonus, the upbuilding of the navy, and the deportation of all foreigners."[23]

9. Science and Health.

10. Crime and Accidents.

11. Education, Safety, and the Family.

12. Miscellaneous Material.

13. People: Personal and Social.

14. Civic and Domestic Political Activity.

Together, the preceding six categories constitute only 9% of the total subject-matter content. Being so small in percentage makes all conclusions extremely hazardous. Neither does the nature of these categories require further comment or analysis.

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[23] Gellermann, Legion as Educator, 167

Chapter V

THEMATIC ANALYSIS: THE METHOD

The intent here was to describe in considerable detail the manifest content of the magazine. Subject-matter analysis, taking a rather large percentage of the magazine's content, described in general terms the "type" of thing the magazine said. Here, more specifically, we have the kinds of ideas which made up the "types".

It was first necessary to limit and define the kind of material which was to be studied. In broad terms, this was the "ideology" of the magazine. It was an attempt to describe the political, economic, and social views of the group as they were reflected in the manifest content of the Legion magazine, 1919-1951. The effort was to include only the important controversial issues which went to make up these areas.

The study included: all articles, editorials, and letters dealing with: war-related activity including defense, preparedness, discussions of war, civilian responsibilities, and military occupation; views of the readers and the national commander; domestic ideological conflict including Americanism and Americanism programs, the radical threat, and other threats

to national security; foreign nations, international organization, and U.S. foreign policy; economic material including business, finance, government economic policy, labor and agriculture; education and the family; and civic and domestic political activity.

The study excluded: fiction; advertising; pictures and picture stories; cartoons; humor; poetry; directories and official listings; illustrations, painting, and other art work; quiz material; explanatory aid-to-veterans articles; intra-group activity including announcements, state and post news, convention reports and publicity, service promotions, financial reports, leader's biographies, and auxiliary news; leisure-time sports, and historical material; technological advances, medicine, and health; crime, accidents and charity; and all other material which might broadly be called "non-ideological."

The exclusion was made both as a matter of convenience and also to keep extraneous themes from beclouding the more meaningful material of the magazine. It is believed that the percentages of the frequencies in the tables would not be materially affected by the exclusion; moreover, it is felt almost certain that the total overall picture would not have been changed. It is important to remember the selection of the material was made on the subject-matter level so as to limit the possibilities of throwing out an article through unconscious bias resulting from a reading of the article.

The next problem was the preparation of the theme list. A pre-analysis covering every eleventh issue was used. All the material of the type to be used in the final tabulation was included in the pre-analysis. Each expression of an opinion was recorded on a 3x5-inch card. In the 38 issues covered by the pre-analysis, there were 1,393 expressions of opinion. Sorting the cards by grouping closely similar themes resulted in a list of approximately 200 different themes. In order to get any sort of coherent analysis, it was felt that fewer, more general themes should be derived from the 200.The process was one of combining, not eliminating. After sorting the themes by their generic likenesses and psychological ties, a final list of 85 themes was completed.

A final "systematic" sample of one issue in every five was decided on largely from a general impression of the consistency of each issue and the frequencies that could be expected from the final sample. The final analysis of the themes gave no cause for regretting this choice of sample. It was decided that, since the time-interval was the factor desired to be kept constant, that a sampling ratio of only one issue in every twenty would be used for the period that the magazine was a weekly (1919-1926). The first issue of the sample was randomly selected among the first 20 issues of the magazine.

A total of 80 issues were included in the sample. In order to make some "trend" comparisons, nine time-periods

were set up to cover the 33 years of the magazine's publication. Most time periods were four years in length; however the number of issues in each was not quite the same because of the sampling employed and the odd-size periods. The odd-size periods were used in order to make a break at the change to a monthly magazine and to make the "cuts" correspond to like-events of each period. Ten issues were included in four of the periods; nine issues in five others; and five issues in the final period. The periods were: 1919-1922; 1923-1926 (June); 1926 (July)-1929; 1930-1933;1934-1937; 1938-1941; 1942-1945; 1946-1949; and 1950-1951. A total of 252 articles were reviewed in the 80 issues.

The "theme" was both the context unit and the recording unit of the study. The "theme" was defined as an "idea unit"--a sentence; part of a sentence, or parts of more than one sentence.

Each expression of a theme was put on a separate 4x6-inch card in the form of a number corresponding to the theme mentioned. Also recorded were numbers corresponding to: the article from which the reference came; the chronological number of the reference; and the direction of the statement. Agreement and disagreement with the thematic idea was also recorded. A letter corresponding to the sub-theme for each theme was used. Since these sub-themes were used largely as guides for coding and for later analysis of the themes, they do not appear in the statistical tables.

The tabulation was made on large graph paper ruled off by the smallest breakdowns to be used. The needed data was obtained by making the appropriate sortings of the 4x6-inch cards.

A total of 4,065 references were obtained from the sample. Of these, 3,619 were in "agreement" to their respective themes; 411 were in "disagreement"; and 35 were coded as "neutral-balanced". Seventy-nine of the 85 themes set up by the pre-analysis were used.

The re-wording of about 15 of the themes was found to be necessary to make them more closely correspond to the agreement-disagreement frequencies and the picture presented by an examination of the sub-themes for each theme.

In order to get a richer analysis it was felt desirable to center the discussion on certain major areas to which certain groups of the themes lend themselves. The attempt was to describe the "personality" of the Legion magazine.

The areas used were: the "American Dream"; the internal threats to our nation; war and war-related activity; U.S. foreign policy, world outlook, and international organizations; economic structure; the Legion as a group; domestic governmental policy; veterans, their problems and actions; and personality and human behavior. Themes are often listed in more than one area.

Chapter VI

THEMATIC ANALYSIS: ANALYSIS OF THE CATEGORIES*

A. The "American Dream"

Among the national symbols of America, perhaps none is so basic and yet so equivocally defined as the "American Dream". The symbol expresses the sum total of America's hopes --its past, its present, and its future. What had America given the world? What did she now offer the world? And what did the future hold for America? The answer to these questions were answered by varying interpretations of the symbol.

Was America a dream?--or a nightmare? Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman had first given the "dream" a roseate setting and a "spirit"; theorists and politicians alike have broadened, defined and eulogized the image since that time. Only the vague and varying rumblings from Marx to Mencken disturbed the "dream" and suggested the nightmare. In the main, the dissenting voices had been drowned out in the noise of America on the move.

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*A complete listing of the themes and their frequencies and percentages will be found in the appendix.

If individual theorists and political aspirants had echoed the affirmative case for the "American Dream", surely the nation's interest groups had sent the symbol back with amplification. It's defense and interpretation among the groups was not only the bedrock of the political thinking of each, but the affirmation had become a pre-requisite to respectability. Like "motherhood" and "prosperity", every one was for it. Only the interpretations varied. To the extent that we are to derive what the "American Dream" means to each group, we are able to set down a major part of the group's "personality".

The interpretation of the "American Dream" by the American Legion was not at all difficult to derive; it was apparent. Delineating the "past" of the "American Dream" were the themes: "5. America has a more honorable and glorious past than any other nation in the world. Theodore Roosevelt (etc.) were the really great leaders of America;" "10. While the U.S. has never been nor should it ever be 'imperialistic' like most other important nations, it should not let other nations take advantage of our altruism;" "30. Our Constitution is the perfect framework and should never be altered. The Legion and other patriotic groups must defend it;" and "38. God is on our side and fosters our destiny. God and government are inseparable in America."

The theme, "America has a...glorious past...", fifth most common theme with 4.3% of the favorable references, gave

rather strong testimony as to the past of the "American Dream". The theme gave attention to the strength and morality of the former leaders of America. The sample showed 24 such leaders; eight of whom were primarily military leaders and five other who were partially identified with the military. Little can be gleaned from an anlysis of the men included in the list without constructing a more thorough study. It might be mentioned that only General Omar Bradley, General Douglas MacArthur, Herbert Hoover, Woodrow Wilson, and Theodore Roosevelt were mentioned in more than one article of the sample.

The theme also expressed great admiration for the causes for which our forefathers fought and the traditions they laid down for posterity. These traditions were said to be deserving of devotion and permanent application.

This heritage was seen as a unique quality not possessed by any other nation now or at any time in our history. On occasion, there were indications that the traditions had produced a truly "American race".[1]

Perhaps the outstanding feature of the theme was the lack of opposition to it. Even the slightest trace of the notion that "we have our faults" was evidenced in only seven of the 160 occurrences of the theme.

The theme "while the U.S. has never been...imperialistic", 10th most common theme with 2.7% of the favorable

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[1]Roy Dickinson, "The Coward Never Started", in ALM (August, 1933), 15:12

references, gave further evidence of our spotless past. Our altruism in foreign affairs was contrasted with the imperialism of most large European nations. This theme, too, was in almost complete agreement on our continuously perfect national conduct. Only three of the 30 references to the sub-theme of America's altruism gave any indication that our mis-conduct was possible or that we had any past misdeeds.

The official document of the "American Dream" was mentioned under "our Constitution is the perfect framework." The theme, 30th most common theme including 1.0% of the favorable references, told how the wise founders created a Constitution that was just and virtuous. It also included that the document was the permanent creation of freedom and free opportunity. This "permanency" could be maintained only by a constant vigil; ideas like Socialism were seen as the destruction of the Constitution. The Legion, in 8 references in 5 articles, was seen as the proper custodian of the spirit of the document.

The vote for the permanency of the Constitution and for the wisdom of its founders was not unanimous. One article, with five references, said that periodic changes in the Constitution are needed. Another article, with eight references, said that historians pictured the founders as a group of selfish, rich landowners. The falsity of their argument was clearly labeled later in the article, however.

A 1951 article told of a renewed challenge to the Con-

stitution.[2] It warned that the basic principles of our Constitution were being thrown out by a little group of willful men who were trying to weaken our national sovereignty. The willful men were not named; however, the group seemingly included various members of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press and "left-wing" newsmen.

The devotion to both God and country, as set down in the preamble to the Legion's constitution, was seen in the content of the Legion magazine as being a dedication to a single objective. The spiritual union between God and America was titled "God is on our side..." in the analysis. The theme, with 0.7% of the favorable references made claims that this is "God's country"; atheism is one of our enemies; there is an inseparable association of God and government in the United States; this was the only nation in history where man was oriented to his God; and "our flag is the living symbol of the glorious promises on earth of the Eternal Father; it unites the Ten Commandments and the laws of God."[3]

Turning to the more "present" manifestations of the Legion's "American Dream" we find the image has been brought down to apply to more specific issues. "Present" manifestations of the "American Dream" in the Legion magazine's content are: "2. America is the greatest nation in the world

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[2]Burton Rascoe, "The Professors and the Press", in ALM (July, 1951), 41:28

[3]Robert Lee Beveridge, "So Proudly We Hail", in ALM (June, 1939), 26:1

and has unlimited potentialities;" "4. The primary function of the public school system is the continuation of the "American Way". We should teach and make people aware of the virtues of "Americanism". The Rugg "frontier thinkers are trying to destroy our system;" "8. Aliens and foreign elements in this country should be made to conform to the "American Way"; if they don't, they should be "booted out"; "12. There's still plenty of room at the top; ability will be recognized;" "13. America and the English-speaking peoples must control and regulate the world economy. If we are to keep our American economic supremacy, we must retain control of the seas. We must keep up the merchant fleet and maintain our wartime bases;" "16. Immigration is hurting this country; it should be rigidly controlled or eliminated completely. We may already have more immigrants in this country than we can handle."

Other themes contributing to the "present" of the "American Dream" were: "20. Hardship and deprivation make men and nations stronger and more virtuous;" "22. Most business leaders are moral, upstanding, and virtuous;" "27. Since Germany and some other European nations are pretty well off today, they should be made to pay their reparations and debts;" "39. Free enterprise and democracy are the same thing; they cannot exist apart;" "43. There is no real conflict between economic or racial groups in the U.S. Labor and management are really partners in progress;" "45. Ever-increasing popular ownership of corporations shows that big business is a

truly democratic institution. Market research has helped towards this end by enabling industry to give the public what they want;" "49. America should support world organization as long as it conforms to our system and we do not lose any of our sovereign powers;"

Other themes of this type were: "53. The business community has been largely responsible for American progress;" "60. The 'common man' is the cornerstone of the 'American Way';" "67. Foreigners have no right to be adversely critical of the U.S.;" and "78. It is to the best interests of foreign nations to adapt and use the ways of our economic system."

The theme "America is the greatest nation in the world...", second most common theme in the study with 10.7%, set the tone for the current "American Dream". America, according to the Legion magazine, had the most and the best of everything. She had the highest level of productivity, the highest standard of living, the highest educational level, the highest employment level, the highest morality, the highest loyalty, --the highest everything. From such a glorious past she had created by the gifts of God and the virtues of her people a national temple of progress that would demonstrate the highest point of man.

The content of the theme did point out some faults in America. Eighty-three of the 365 references to this theme pointed out faults or admitted that we had some. Thirty-nine

of these 83 said in general terms that we did have some faults; 16 references pointed out that there was a considerable degree of public apathy; 14 references said we had lost some of our treasured individualism; 12 references, all in one letter to the editor, said that America showed an "hysterical herding"; and 2 references bemoaned the fact we had lost world leadership in possession of natural resources.

One of the facets of the Legion's "American Dream" was the presence of a classless society. The refutation to Marxian theory was contained in the theme "there is no real conflict between economic or racial groups in the U.S....". It was 43rd most common and 0.6% of the favorable. The small number of poor people in the U.S. and the efforts being made to close the gap between income and racial classes were alluded to under this theme. Dissent was registered to the classless society on 12 of the 33 references. These pointed to the maldistribution of income and the frequent instances of industrial conflict in America. These did not take the opposite view and say that there were classes in America, but merely pointed to the examples of ways in which the nation could improve.

The "present" of the Legion's "American Dream" had very definite economic orientation. It was the theme "there's still plenty of room at the top..." which sketched the economic possibilities of the "American Dream" as it was brought home to the "common man". If this theme were true, he could still rise

from poverty through the fruit of his labor to become the admired "captain of industry". Here was a forthright expression of naked optimism in the "American Dream".

The road to the top, as defined by the Legion, was not an automatic one. Certain things were necessary: hard work; virtue; courage; unselfishness; saving; and determination. In most cases, it was said, men who fail have only themselves to blame; a man can be whatever he wants to. Everyone has an honest chance at success in this land made for the underdog, the magazine said. A genius was defined as merely a hard worker.[4] The man on his way up should not be impatient, it said, since ability will be rewarded and recognized;[5] the fact that most successful men had come from the bottom proved this. The road to success was perhaps uncertain, but the Legion was convinced a man could still make a million dollars. In fact, a post-World War II article told him how to do it.[6]

The man bent on success should not depend upon luck or the government the magazine said. Luck seldom brings anyone to the top, it said, and warned prospective successes not to go in for those "share the wealth programs".[7] Furthermore,

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[4]Thomas C. Sheehan, "Pessimists, Optimists, and Peptomists--Coining a Word for the Man Who Achieves", in ALM (January 2, 1920), 1:14

[5]For example see: D.Earl Daniel, "The Core of Americanism", in ALM (May,1942), 32:21

[6]Harold Helper, "You Can Still Make a Million", in ALM (June, 1947), 42:18

[7]For example see: ALM "The Voice of the Legion", letter from New Jersey Legionaire (September,1935),1:56

it said, the way should not be barred for those who want to go to the top; we need no office-holder to tell each man how far he can succeed in our land.[8] The Legion seemed confident the average American believed in their "American Dream"; they summed it up by saying he sticks to his job, is satisfied, saves his money,[9] and wants only to make a decent living in the American way.[10]

It was also this average man who was the hero of the "American Dream". The sentiment found expression in the theme "the 'Common-man' is the foundation of the 'American Way'." He was at the center of the democratic process and the economic system, and it was he that formulated our foreign policy and ran the economic "show", the magazine said. The theme was the 60th most common and constituted 0.2% of the total favorable references. There were no unfavorable references.

The idea of Darwinian struggle was close to the idea of the economic phase of the "American Dream". The idea was clearly implied in the need for hard-work and getting to the top in the theme "there's still plenty of room at the top". It was also stated in the references to the sub-theme that

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[8]Henry J. Taylor, "How to Win the Peace", in ALM (January,1944), 36:14

[9]Dana Hubbard, "Got a Job; Get Me a Room", in ALM (December, 1941), 41:8

[10]ALM "The Voice of the Legion", 56

praised the national quality of being able to fight up through adversity in the theme "America is the greatest nation in the world..." (3 art. 9 refer.) It received more direct mention under the theme "hardship and deprivation make men and nations stronger..." The theme was the 20th most common with 1.6% of the favorable references.

In depression times, the magazine pointed out the economic hardship was actually making people work harder to bring the public better value and that it would result in a post-depression era of a "new prosperity". The depression, it said on one occasion, would weed out shoddy men and shoddy schemes; it would fortify the virtues essential to the moral health of the nation.[11] The doctrine of struggle also came up in the sample in World War II. An article, with 16 references, said that nations just like people must keep strong and fit. It pointed out that France was over-run in World War II because her "flabby-souled leftist government" let ease and luxury make her soft. On the other hand, it said, Germany succeeded because her people were strong and competitive.[12]

The economic orientation of the Legion's "American Dream" was further clarified by the theme "free enterprise and democracy are the same thing..." Its occurrence, 39th most common, was shown in seven articles with 25 references. No disagree-

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[11] ALM, editorial, "Bedrock" (February,1931), 11:24

[12] Hudson Hawley, "France--Loved Long Since and Lost Awhile", in ALM, (September,1940), 29:16

ment to it was registered. The theme equated democracy and free enterprise (10 references) and said that if democracy was to be preserved free enterprise must also be kept pure. We are living in a capitalistic age in which, it said, production is the most vital factor in the welfare of America.

Other themes which developed the economic phase of the "American Dream" were: "most business leaders are ... virtuous;" "...big business is a truly democratic institution;" and "the business community has been largely responsible for American progress." These themes constituted favorable statement percentages of 1.5, 0.6, and 0.4 respectively. They furthered the orientation of the business community in the "American Dream". They presented the business community as the humble servant, not the oppressive master, of the people. It was an institution of the people and for the people; it was a thing not apart, the magazine said. The business men, it said, were a "true cross-section" of the American people. It freely admitted that some business men were cruel, selfish and dishonest, but said that 95 to 99% of them were moral and trustworthy.[13]

There were relatively few instances of disagreement to these three themes. Only 15 unfavorable references were noted of the 103 that alluded to the themes. These noted that some

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[13]Clarence Woodbury, "Return of the War Swindlers", in ALM (July, 1951), 51:14

business men had made undeserved profits from the two wars and that there were some undesirable aspects of the industrialization of the nation.[14] None of these suggested that anything was fundamentally wrong with the alliance between free enterprise and democracy.

The Legion's "American Dream" as applied to other nations can be seen in the theme "America and the English-speaking peoples must control and regulate the world's economy." It was the 13th most common theme appearing in seven articles with 2.3% of the favorable references. There were no references in disagreement. America must take her place as the leader of the world, the magazine said. The conomic control was emphasized as well as the political. To lose domination of world trade, the magazine said, was to give survival to some "unfit" form of economy; it was, moreover, turning our backs on the responsibility to lead the world. This doctrine of "mission" was expressed by the then-Congressman Carl Vinson when he said, "It is the particular mission of the U.S. Navy to own control at all times of ...(the) oceans and the skies above them."[15] Among the suggested measures for maintaining the control of the world's economy were the building up of the merchant fleet and the maintenance of our wartime bases.

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[14] Henry Ford, "The Idea Behind Greenfield", in ALM (October, 1932), 13:7

[15] Carl Vinson, "Don't Scuttle Our Navy", in ALM (February, 1946), 40:16

The attitude of the Legion toward world organization showed that, in order to have a satisfactory world order, the "American Dream" must be extended to a world order. The corresponding theme "America should support world organization...", was the 49th most common with 0.4% of the favorable references. The theme was divided roughly into two parts: one expressing a need for the building and support of world organization and the other warning of dangers in the world identification. Warnings took the forms of: dangers in adhering to decisions of the World Court; ideas that some other form than Constitutional Democracy could bring world peace; and the transferring of power to the U.N. from Washington which would endanger our American institutions.

Although it was never suggested that other nations could duplicate the "American Dream", it was said on one occasion, that the other nations would do well to adopt our system. The article said that "we want all peoples to enjoy the virtues that have characterized America" and that we should, therefore, trade with all nations and show them the benefits of the "American Way".[16] The article contained both the references to the theme "it is to the best interests of foreign nations to adopt...the ways of our economic system."

In spite of the strength and superiority of the "American Dream", the Legion saw great need in defending the purity of

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[16] ALM, editorial, "On This Memorial Day" (June,1939), 26:27

the heritage. The dangers were viewed as both clear and present. The view will be taken up in much greater detail in the next section on "Ideology and Internal Threats", but it is important to note that the Legion says many threats to the "American Way" exist.

Immigration was one of the earliest threats to the "American Dream" the Legion saw. The theme "immigration is hurting our country" corresponded to the mention of this danger. It was the 16th most common theme with 2.0% of the favorable references. Disagreement was registered in six of the category's 80 references. None favored a liberalization of the immigration laws. Various sub-themes that showed the danger to the "American Dream" were: that the quota law gave little "protection" to Americans; that the Japanese, unless something was done, would immigrate and propagate their way into a majority in this country; that immigration was a menace to American institutions; that many immigrants were our physical inferiors; that immigration would mean a "mongrelization" of our blood; that many immigrants were criminals and addicts; that the immigrants were the "sweepings of Europe"; that immigration fosters radicalism; and that there were certain groups who could not assimilate to our customs.

"Communists", "Radicals", "Fascists", "Socialists", "foreign elements", "subversives", and "secretive and dangerous persons" were among the other domestic threats to the "American Dream". All will be discussed in other sections.

Perhaps it is sufficient to generalize that the Legion saw any form of or any idea from any of them as being a threat to the security of all that makes up the "American Dream". The security could only be maintained, the Legion said, by government and other patriotic groups working together to keep a check on the purity of American institutions.

Nor was the "American Dream" only a negative idea according to the Legion. Its positive blessings could and should be taught. The sentiment is expressed in the theme "the... function of the public school system is the continuation of the 'American Way'..." It was the fourth most common theme with 4.7% of the favorable references. There were 19 references that expressed disagreement among the 193 expressions of the theme. All of these were clearly labeled as "what the other side says". The majority of references to this theme can be divided into two major ideas. One is that a "positive Americanism" should be taught in order to maintain the "American system" and to preserve the ideals of our founding fathers. The other is the warning that many of our American schools were not teaching "Americanism". The fault was in large measure that of our history books the magazine said. It complained that modern history books were not following the "American Way" when they debunked American heroes and told only of the more unusual phases of American life; it advocated that more fundamental phases be taught. The magazine also looked with despair at the failure of many American schools to teach the

values of competitive sports.

The leaders of the conspiracy to teach un-American ideals were men and groups like Professor Rugg, Dr. Counts, Dr. Hutchins, "liberals", progressive educators, "socialists", "frontier thinkers", and other educators and historians. They not only taught foreign "isms", it said, but also advocated a pacifistic softness and antagonism to God.

Perhaps the essence of the Legion's dream is summed up in the term "100% Americanism". The idea corresponds to the theme "the only acceptable 'ism' is '100% Americanism'". The theme is the 27th most common with 1.1% of the favorable references. The magazine told of the failure of all other "isms". It said that they had failed wherever they had been tried; that they advocated "survival of the unfittest"; that they all were "un-American"; that they all were the same; and that they all destroyed freedom. The theme also included sub-themes that advocated the vigorous prosecution and elimination of these blights to "100% Americanism". Two of the 43 references to this theme indicated disagreement; they explained that the Socialists had worked hard to keep out the Communists.

If the "present" of the Legion's "American Dream" offered comfortable though precarious opportunities, the "future" had an even more promising glow. There were no themes on the category that in themselves predicted what would come of the "American Dream"; however, parts of the theme "America is the greatest nation in the world" did give evidence of an even-

greater future. The relevant sub-themes were: "America has unlimited possibilities", in 12 articles with 17 references; "America is the hope of the world", in one article with three references; and "America has a glorious destiny" in one article with one reference. One author expressed the hope for the future when he said, "...let us look back for a moment to consider whence we came and why we are sure to go surging forward to a sounder civilization, a finer integrity of national spirit."[17]

Here, then, we have the "American Dream" as visualized by the American Legion.

Thus far, we have ignored the distribution of the themes over the nine time periods. It is impossible to obtain a quantitative measure of the relative frequencies between time-periods of the formation of the Legion's "American Dream". Such an analysis would necessarily assume the contribution of each relevant theme to the "American Dream" to be in direct proportion to its frequency. This is obviously not the case. It is possible only to generalize as to the time-period distribution for the entire area. The period, 1926-1929, seems to clearly be the most dominant one for the mention of the Legion's "American Dream". It is perhaps significant that this period has frequently been referred to as the zenith of American optimism. The "prosperity" possibly found expression in

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[17]Dickinson, "The Coward Never Started", ALM, 15:12

the visionary claims of the "American Dream".

It would be unfair, however, to say that the "American Dream" merely reflected the optimism of the times. The three other periods which showed a great deal of material in this area were the years 1930-1933, 1938-1941, and 1942-1945. This could indicate that the "American Dream" was still strong in the face of economic and political conflict.

The theme "America is the greatest nation in the world" seems to be the best expression of the "American Dream" on the offense. It is interesting to note that a majority of the total references to this theme occurred in only one time period-- 1926-1929. This may indicate that this theme was ideal for a time of prosperity, but that it would console the jobless man very little to know that he was part of the world's best nation.

The idea that certain themes are applicable at certain times might also be indicated by the theme "America has a glorious past..." Its peaks of occurrence came in the periods, 1942-1945, 1926-1929, and 1923-1926 -- corresponding, perhaps, to the peaks of nationalistic feeling. The low incidence of the theme during the depression years may indicate that the destitute man would not be interested in the past -- the "here-and-now" would have to prevail.

It is necessary before turning to other areas to set up some hypotheses regarding the meaning of the Legion's "American Dream".

The "purity" of the American heritage as taught by the Legion would be challenged by many, if not most, historians. The crux of the argument centers around more than just some of the scattered details of the American past; indeed, it goes back to the fundamental philosophy of the teaching of history. The historians would argue that a critical interpretation of history provides a pattern against which present actions can be held and judged in order to separate the "wheat" from the "chaff". They would claim that the explosion of some of the national myths is necessary in order to help build the better society. Their view is that their critical interpretation of history builds, not destroys, the "American Dream". If it is worthwhile, it will stand the test of criticism. The acceptance at face value of all American "traditions" and the glorification of all our past deeds, as implied in the historical theory of the American Legion, is seen by many historians as blind and false acceptance of a national myth. They could point out that such uncritical acceptances of the national myths throughout history have produced totalitarian forms of government. Nazi Germany could be cited as a case in point.

The Legion could counter with the argument that the critical study of American history tends to break-down the "American Dream" and substitute in its place the various "isms". They have indicated on occasion that differences in criticism of democracy-capitalism between the current American histories and the literature of the Marxians were not differences in

kind but only in degree. The Legion has visualised the effect of critical thought upon the American public as bringing a disillusionment toward the "American Dream" and a turning to totalitarianism. They have viewed with alarm the explosion of the national myths that "inspired" many of the wonders of the "American Dream". The Legion might admit that the use of the national myth has at times produced totalitarianism, but would claim that the "American Dream" was entirely different from all other myths. It was a thing to be adored--to be preserved. To preserve it, the Legion has indicated, we cannot water it down with criticism. Here we have the Legion's concept of history as being a feeling, a belief, a spirit--not as a quantity to be weighed on a scale.

Critics could make a claim that the Legion's view of history falsely emphasized the more militant aspects of the American past. The sub-theme of the "strength and morality of the former leaders of America" of the theme "America has a glorious past..." could be used to back this claim. Thirteen of the 24 leaders mentioned were partially or wholly connected with the military. A study of the "history" articles of the Legion magazine might be used to back this up.

The Legion might reply that it gave no more than a proper share of space to the military side of American history. They could also argue that these articles such as the stories of American battle victories were wholesome and served to strengthen the "American Dream" by showing how the forces of demo-

cracy had gone through ordeals to triumph in combat. They might also claim that the emphasis of the magazine should be on the military since that is what all the readers have in common -- service experience.

The critics might also claim that the Legion's use of the "American Dream" was not to preserve the heritage, but was to solidify certain aspects and traditions which were atypical of the former American life. To do this the critics might say, the Legion assumes a superiority, an unwarranted paternalism over American society by dictating what was to be "preserved" and what was to be eliminated. They might also doubt the Legion's independence in the "guardian" function; studies had shown the Legion leadership to be closely alligned to corporate interests. They might also cast some doubt that the Legion was a "true cross-section" of the American veteran.

The Legion's right to judge the nation's heritage is perhaps best expressed in two of the themes, "the Legion...is a true cross-section of the American" and "service in the armed forces makes men virtuous". The Legion as it has argued in its magazine, does have the omniscient ability to judge since it is the cross-section and the voice of the American veteran. And what person, the Legion says, is better qualified to prescribe the national patriotic conduct than the veteran who has, through his war experiences, learned the real essence of democracy? It has many times denied the charge of a biased leadership by saying that they were elected by truly democratic

means.

The Legion's use of the Constitution in the development of the "American Dream" also produces a great deal of conjecture. Just how narrowly has the Legion drawn its definition of the unalterable nature of the Constitution? One interpretation might be that merely means the preservation of the spirit of the Constitution; not an opposition to change in various phases of it. The general approval by the Legion of the 21st amendment could be offered as proof of its willingness to accept change. Another view might point to the fact that the word "unaltered" was often attached to the phrase, "preservation of the Constitution". This could indicate a decided conservative spirit in regard to the Constitution and governmental action. It could be pointed out that the Legion magazine had an article that went so far as to bemoan the popular election of senators. [18]

Was it merely the Constitution in general that the Legion was guarding? One view is that the Constitution is used here in the context of more general opposition to any sort of economic or political reform. It may be that it is used to protect property rather than human rights and that the Legion seeks to use it as a sanction to preserve the status quo. Another view is that the Legion is seeking to preserve nothing more than the "American Dream" as part of its mandate

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[18] Clarence Budington Kelland, "Why I Am Proud to Be an American", in ALM (July, 1931), 11:11

from the American people. If it used the Constitution to apply to many phases of American life, it was because the Constitution lay at the existence of all national life and, therefore, that all facets must be weighed against it.

The association between God and America suggest numerous interpretations as to the intent and meaning of the Legion. If our nation "unites the Ten Commandments and the laws of God", why did the founding fathers provide for a separation of church and state? Was this a contradiction or was it the essence of the religious spirit? It was also puzzling that we have lost some battles since "God was on our side". Perhaps the Legion did not mean this in a strict sense. Or perhaps the fact that we are the "world's dominant nation" shows the hand of divine providence. It may be argued that the Legion was using God as a mere shield to justify the actions of our nation and of its organization. Following along the same line of argument, would it not give the reader the association of God with the Legion also -- if he equated the Legion and patriotism? The other side of the argument might be that the Legion was only pointing out the obvious when it associated God and America; one had only to look around to see God's work in all American institutions.

Why had the theme "America is the greatest nation in the world" figured so prominently in the thematic analysis of the Legion magazine? Perhaps because it is--or so we believe. Only subversives believe otherwise, the Legion has said. It

might also be argued that the fact of the American supremacy should be taught as part of the needed public education as to the wonders of the "American Dream". If all Americans could be made to thoroughly believe this wouldn't they all be inspired to rise to new heights in production for the national plant? The other side of the coin might be that the Legion was using this theme as a "cover up" for flaws in the American economic system. Was the greatness of America being used to justify too much? Did this make us infallible? Was this not an overly sweeping statement? Were we the best in everything? If so, why were we so worried about the military power of foreign aggressors and of the natural resources possessed by the "backward" peoples of the world?

What of the claim of the Legion of the classless society? Was it truly classless? One could argue that, though there are no rigid economic classes in America, there are huge differences in income between the rich and the poor. This could be the Legion trying to quell the clamor for reform. Had not the entire Legion content tried to point out the similarities rather then the differences in American life and the presence of class differences in Soviet life? One could also argue that America had an almost classless society --certainly the least rigidly stratified in the world. This argument would also hold that the differences, where they do exist, are being broken down.

The emphasis on the economic phases of the "American

Dream" can lead to an interpretation the Legion is merely giving a true interpretation of American life. It may be said that it is the economic system that gave us our high standard of living. Is it not fair that this side should be portrayed in the Legion magazine? One could point to the great economic opportunities that are offered "here-and-now" as being worthwhile exponents of the promise of the "American Dream". Another interpretation might be that the Legion was trying to justify the excesses of the present economic system by glorifying the system's role in the "American Dream"? Was the Legion trying to link all phases of the economic system with patriotism--thus committing all critics of any phase of the economic system to being "un-American"? This side could argue that the Legion was defining success entirely in economic terms; a single standard by which people are defined only in terms of how much money they have made? Did this define a ruthless, all justifying "individualism"? The doctrine of struggle as seen in the Legion magazine could also be challenged as being entirely economic and as offering the "survival of the fittest". The whole issue is perhaps centered around the question: Is the tie of the Legion with business a natural expression of mutual admiration of the "American Dream" or was it an alliance to quell critical thought and make the common man content with his lot?

The attitude of the Legion toward foreign nations and world organizations could be called an example of political

and perhaps racial chauvinism. Examples of the Legion's reference to an American "race" and the "English-speaking peoples" could be cited as showing a racist doctrine of the pure-bred American as much as had the Aryan preachings of the Nazis. Was the Legion using the "American Dream" to justify the exploitation of the "inferior" peoples? The Legion concept of national "mission" could also be said to be typical of the sentiments of the imperialists who have cropped up throughout American history. The other side of the argument might say that to assume American superiority is to merely face the facts. America now has to finance the world; is it not proper that she direct the world in our mutual best interest? The denial to the racist charge could be made by pointing to the Legion magazine theme "we should guard against demagogues..." and to its record of opposition to the methods of the Nazis.

The necessity of defending the "American Dream", as seen by the Legion, is a defense against a "clear and present" danger. It is said to be needed to keep the "American Dream" clear and pure. Was not democracy always in need of defense from the impingement of the foreign "isms"? The stand of the Legion towards immigration could be defended by pointing to the Malthusian doctrine of over-population. Why, then, should we allow others to enter when we were not sure that we could absorb the immigrants already here? The possession of foreign ideas by these potential immigrants is seen as an additional

reason to warrant the end or the limitation of immigration. It might also be argued that the Legion was attempting to rigidify "Americanism" by defining its boundaries. It could be pointed our that America grew, and indeed was born on, the basis of dissenting thought. The Legion's campaign might be interpreted as an attempt to put across a system of regimented thought control. The continued opposition of the Legion might be seen as serving a scapegoat function--to quell economic dissatisfaction by offering a pat solution to the reader. If immigration was ended, the Legion seems to say, the worker would no longer have to fear for his job. Did the Legion use the "radical" and "immigrant" to cover up flaws in the "American Dream"? If so, perhaps the Legion works toward the death of the "American Dream".

The roseate future of the "American Dream" presented by the Legion might be interpreted as a promise for a "better tomorrow" in order to secure a "quieter today". If the reader of the Legion magazine could be convinced that better days were coming, would he not be more satisfied with his lot and less likely to join in some of the reform movements that were offered by the government? The optimism for the future might be merely the expression of great expectations of Babbit--who could be said to be the hero of the Legion. A different analysis might claim the Legion to be merely a disinterested observer in the process. It might say that the Legion was merely a "partner in progress" as America went to her destiny.

B. The Internal Threats to Our Nation.

Much of the material for the remaining areas has been covered under the "American Dream". The analyses of these areas will serve largely to amplify and explain in greater detail the ideas presented under the "American Dream".

"The internal threat" might be defined as the sum total of internal challenges to America. The nature of the challenges can also serve as an indicator of the Legion's personality. Where did the threat arise? Were they largely in the form of foreign "isms" or did they come to a larger extent from a native movement in reaction to foreign "isms" and economic privation?

The Legion gave a great deal of mention to the internal threats to the security and welfare of the nation. The threats, as they saw them, took five different forms: foreign "isms"; aliens, immigrants, and unassimilated elements; native agitators; malfunctioning American institutions; and the undirected veteran.

Telling of the threat from the foreign "isms" were the themes: "3. There is a large, active, and dangerous element of Communists and Communist-sympathizers in all American institutions"; "11. Since U.S. Communists are really Soviet agents, they and their supporters should be eliminated from activity in all American institutions"; "27. The only acceptable "ism" is '100% Americanism'"; "47. Congressional committees investigating Radicalism have done a great deal to pro-

tect Americanism"; and "58. 'Liberals' and 'intellectuals' are dangerous in that they defend exposed Communists."

The theme "there is a large...element of Communists... in all American institutions", the third most common theme with 5.8% of the favorable references, was the most frequently mentioned among all the "Internal Threat" themes. Mention was made to Communists in specific institutions in 152 of the category's 208 favorable references. The institutions were: the mass media, 63 references in eight articles; labor and labor movements, 55 references in nine articles; schools, 20 references in six articles; government and governmental agencies, 11 references in 4 articles; churches, 2 references in two articles; and business, one reference in one article.

The theme also expressed that: there were Communists in hiding just waiting for their day; the Communists were the most active subversive group in America (1938); the Communists used the technique of "boring from within"; the Communists preyed on immigrants and minorities; the Communists worked to prevent preparedness; the danger was clear and present.

Varying degrees of dissent were registered in 14 or 6% of the 222 total references to this theme. The disagreement took three forms: that there were many anti-Communists in Hollywood; that the number of Communists in America was not large enough to be dangerous; and that labor was no longer Communist-dominated.

If the previous theme had been the "diagnosis" of the

situation, the theme "U.S. Communists...should be eliminated from activity..." was the "cure". The theme, 11th most common with 2.4% of the favorable references, made clear the idea that U.S. Communists took their orders straight from Moscow. The sample also showed the Legion to be alarmed about the lack of adequate protection against Communists; more money devoted to detection and a better coordination of investigating agencies were advocated. The Legion also urged that Communist and Communist-front organizations be given greater publicity.

Other "remedies" included: the picketing of movie houses where pictures with Communists are playing; the boycott of magazines with Communists on their staffs; the denial of movie Oscars to Communists; the elimination of teachers with such leanings; a thorough self-cleansing by the institutions themselves; an outlawing of the Communist party; removal of the Communists from the ballot; and a peaceful prevention of Communists from speaking at public gatherings.[19]

The lone dissenting reference deplored the use of strong arm methods in the prevention of Communist appearances.[20]

The theme "the only acceptable 'ism' is '100% Americanism'", 27th most common with 1.1% of the favorable references, has been discussed under the "American Dream". To summarize in brief, the theme told of superiority of "Americanism",

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[19] James F. O'Neil, National Commander, "How You Can Fight Communism", ALM (August,1948), 45:8

[20] Ibid.

the dangers of all other "isms", and of the need for action against these other "isms".

The theme "Congressional committees investigating Radicalism have done a great deal to protect America" was the 47th most common with 0.4% of the favorable references. The sample showed an approval of: the Dies committee of the 1930's, with six references in three articles; the post-World War II House Un-American Activities committee, with five references in two articles; the post-World War II Senate investigating committees with four references in one article; and the work of Sen. Joseph McCarthy, with one reference in one article. The one reference in disagreement called the Congressional investigations crude methods of thought control.

The final theme under the threat of foreign "isms", "'liberals' and 'intellectuals' are dangerous..." was the 58th most common with 0.3% of the favorable references. There was no indication given in the magazine what the quotes that surrounded "liberal" or "intellectual" meant. It is impossible, therefore, to discover how narrowly these terms were drawn. They were said to attack American institutions, to make martyrs out of exposed Communists, and to have guilty consciences. The four dissenting references out of the total references told of the valuable function the liberals performed in pointing out the flaws in our system that would later be changed by altering laws under the conservatives.[21]

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[21] William Allen White, "A Thought for a Great Occasion", ALM (July,1926), 1:8

Themes which tell of the threat of "aliens, immigrants, and unassimilated elements" are: "8. Aliens and foreign elements in this country should be made to conform to the 'American Way'; if they don't, they should be 'booted out';" "16. Immigration is hurting this country; it should be rigidly controlled or eliminated completely. We may already have more immigrants in this country than we can handle"; and "61.Aliens smuggled into the U.S. tend to be despicable, treacherous, and diseased; they must be kept out at all cost."

The theme "aliens and foreign elements should be made to conform..." was the eighth most common with 3.1% of the favorable references. It included a wide variety of sub-themes. Among them were: the recognition of the Fascist threat (one article with 14 references); aliens who don't file for citizenship should be deported; "foreign elements" should be jailed; the Legion should help in the assimilation process; all aliens should be made to take up arms in defense of our country; aliens, in order to become citizens, must give up their religious liberty in so far as it is necessary in pursuance of their patriotic duty; aliens with foreign traditions are at the base of subversive movements; all other "isms" should be denied the right of the use of our flag; seductive influences have kept us from being prepared; and that all Americans must salute the flag and that if they don't they should be regarded as traitors.[22]

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[22] ALM, letters from readers, "Front and Center" (August, 1938), 25:56

Other sub-themes included: all aliens who are not satisfied with our government should be deported; Harry Bridges should be jailed or deported; aliens should drop their old language when they come to America; many alien traditions are not compatible with ours; and it is not necessary to prove membership in the Communist party to deport radicals.[23]

Sub-themes that showed a disagreement were: that it was not necessary to swear to take up arms; that deportation was not the answer to subversion; and that religious liberty was a legitimate basis for failure to take up arms. All three articles containing 13 references were letters to the editor.

The themes "immigration is hurting this country..." and "aliens smuggled into the U.S. tend to be despicable..." will be discussed in greater detail later. Both themes pointed to menaces of people from foreign lands; they saw both the immigrants and the smuggled-in aliens as deep threats to our national existence.

The lone theme under the threat of "native agitators" is "42. We should guard against demagogues who stir up conflict around race, creed, or class." The theme, 42nd most common, contained 0.6% of the favorable references. The sample showed the Legion calling for Americans to fight class hatred, intolerance and religious persecution. It told Americans they should not listen to demagogues and that we should have none of the old-world racial conflicts. On one occasion the Legion

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[23] ALM, editorial, "The Bridges Case", (January, 1939), 26:19

said that we must not tolerate intolerance on the part of certain American and alien-resident classes towards the race, religious, and political beliefs of American citizens.[24] There were no themes in disagreement.

Commenting on the malfunctioning of some American institutions were the themes: "37. The press often tends to mislead its readers; the 'left-wing' press strikes at freedom;" "25. Many of the wise labor leaders have joined in support of the 'American Way' and are anti-communistic; a few; however, have helped the Communists"; and "26. It's good to stick to the old ideas in education, 'common sense' psychology, and economics. Now is the time to return to the traditional values of family, home, church, and the 'individual'."

The theme "the press...misleads its readers..." was the 37th most common and contained 0.7% of the favorable references. The criticism of the press discussed widely differing aspects. The most frequent was that it distorted news of veterans' affairs to rob them of their rights. The sample also showed a Legion article attacking the "liberal" magazines and papers for conspiring to suppress anti-Communist books.[25] Other charges shown were: the "liberal" magazines were hitting at American institutions; that some of the press was trying to make the army look like bums and pranksters; that the press

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[24] ALM editorial, "The Duty of the Present Hour" (September, 1940), 29:21

[25] Rascoe, "Professors and the Press", ALM, 28

was a "tool of capital" (alluding to the Hutchins report); that a "new deal" was needed in journalism; that it dramatized crime and the criminal; that it sometimes used its influence as a club; that it attacked the Legion on occasion; and that the left-wing journals were producing revolutionary and subversive propaganda.[26]

The themes "many of the wise labor leaders...are anti-communistic..." and "its good to stick to the old ideas..." will both be discussed at length later; therefore, only brief mention will be made of them here. The former indicated worry that the labor movement would swing to Communism. It expressed confidence in most of the labor leaders, but pointed out there were still many unions that had subversive affiliations. The latter showed concern that the nation was slipping away from the traditional values of "Americanism" by changing to new fads and dangerous ideas. It indicated that the old way was the best way in many areas.

Pointing to the dangers of the undirected veteran were the themes "44. We must be wary and protect ourselves against entrenched politicians, dangerous elements, and secretive individuals who conspire against the veterans" and "31. While veterans should be content with their lot under the "American Way" and should not be led into forming radical political blocs, they should band together to protect "Americanism". An

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[26] Rascoe, "Professors and the Press", ALM, 28

international organization of veterans might be able to keep the peace."

The theme "we must be wary and protect ourselves against ...individuals who conspire against the veteran" was 44th most common with 0.6% of the favorable references. It asserted that entrenched politicians, slackers, and shady and secretive individuals had conspired to keep the veteran out of office. One article said that "ambitious groups representing segments of our population and ambitious individuals are seeking to use veterans as a cloak to screen their purposes."[27]

A fear that the undirected veteran would turn to radicalism is seen in the theme "...veterans...should not be led into forming radical political blocs..." Indeed, such a fear apparently was the real cause for the founding of the Legion. A breakdown of this theme will be found in the later section on "veterans; their problems and action".

The time-period analysis of this area is perhaps the most meaningful one in the study. While it should be remembered that the time-period frequencies for entire areas are but rough approximations, it is possible to say that the period 1950-1951 was decidedly higher both in frequency and in percentage than any other. The periods 1938-1941 and 1946-1949 also had rather large amount of material in this area. Having very few references in this area were the periods 1923-1926

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[27]Edward N. Schieberling, National Commander, "To Hold the Torch High", ALM (September, 1945), 39:6

and 1942-1945. This would seem to indicate that, except for the period of World War II, the amount of content devoted to internal threats has been rather steadily on the rise since the 1930's. It is also interesting to note the peaks of this area correspond to the periods that have been referred to as times of greatest anti-Radical spirit in all of American society.

The relative time-period frequencies of the themes "there is a large number of Communists in American institutions" point out that the Legion appears to have fallen in with the united-front agreement with Russia during World War II; a thing for which the Legion has spent a considerable amount of time condemning others. The references to these themes were especially numerous both before and after World War II, but both had frequencies of 0 during the war. The former had for percentages within time periods: 6.6% in 1938-1941; 0.0% in 1942-1945; and 13.3% in 1946-1949. The latter had: 1.8% in 1938-1941; 0.0% in 1942-1945; and 8.8% in 1946-1949. Other themes' time-period distributions also seem to bear out this conclusion.

It is also interesting to note that the number of references in these two anti-Communist themes was over 190% higher in the <u>six</u> years after World War II than in the entire period of <u>26</u> years up to 1945. This would seem to indicate that the anti-Communist feeling by the Legion, which has always been strong, has now increased tremendously.

All references to "immigration should be eliminated..."

came before 1937; and a majority of them were before 1926. It is problematical to state whether this indicates less concern with the immigration threat or whether it merely means the Legion's way has prevailed on the immigration issue.

The various themes in this area open up great fields for controversy. Few will deny the presence of some sort of "internal threat", but is it as real and as clearly-defined as the Legion seems to think? A case could be made to say that it is not.

Seven major hypotheses might be offered as to the meaning of the Legion's "internal threats to our nation": 1. The emphasis is not really on the "within"--it is always linked to the "without"; 2. The Legion consciously or unconsciously sets up the "Communist-Radical" threat as an all-inclusive fear-hate symbol; 2. The internal threat has been exaggerated; 4. The Legion uses the "Communist-Radical" symbol to fight things with which it has no real connection; 5. The methods used to combat radicalism are authoritarian in nature; 6. The Legion uses the "Communist-Radical" symbols to discredit the opposition; and 7. The Legion's internal threat has a base that appeals to the anti-intellectual sentiments of the audience.

It may be offered that the theme "U.S. Communists get their orders straight from Moscow..." is vastly oversimplified. It repudiates an "intellectual Communism" and makes all Communists Soviet spies. It might be said that the Legion uses

this internal threat to quell dissatisfaction with the economic "American Way" by having this "without" symbol as the common-enemy of all Americans. That is, the idea that "there is a far greater danger than those resulting from the few faults we have here in America."

The Fascist threat mentioned directly in one sample article might be contrasted to the Communist threat which was mentioned in the "...Communists in American institutions..." theme in 17 articles. Does this not indicate the Legion feared attacks much more from the left than from the right? Two sample articles called for "veterans all over the world to unite" and such an organization had been set up (F.I.D.A.C.) with the Legion as one of the charter members. Hitler's and Mussolini's men represented Germany and Italy. Does this not give rise to speculation that there might be parallels between the Legion and the Fascist organizations?

The native agitator was scored by the Legion in the theme "we should guard against demagogues...." It could be argued that this was used by the Legion merely to keep the group "respectable". Certainly three sample articles with 23 references is not very strong indication of anti-demagoguery. The theme could also be said to be a recognition by the Legion that it had within its organization many members of minority groups. It might also be argued the "Communist-radical" symbol served a "scapegoat" function; since it could hardly alienate many members of the Legion by its use, it served as "the other

guy" who was to blame for all our ills. It could be the Legion's anathema of evil.

Part of this hypothesis relates to a two-fold symbol of fear and hate. The Communist was pictured as a "giant" in the references to the large numbers of practicing Communists and the millions of others "in hiding just waiting for their day"; on the other hand he was a "rodent" in the references to his "boring from within" and "gnawing away at American institutions". It could be said that this fear-hate symbol was used as a device to fight the "common enemy" -- to get a common reference point in the drive for members and that attempt to gain uniformity of opinion among its members.

It might be said that considerable emphasis has been placed upon the "clear" and "present" aspects of the internal threat. If the threat has always been so imminent, why, then, were there no references to "there is a large...element of Communists...." and "...Communists...should be eliminated from activity..." during World War II? Did the threat disappear during these years? The articles relating to the weakness of our defenses against Communism could indicate another instance of the exaggeration of the internal threat and an attempt to arouse a feeling of fear and of the need for protection. Did not the mention of "Communists in hiding just waiting for their day" suggest that "even the man next door" might be one? It could be alleged that this opinion also over-emphasizes the internal threat and uses fear to create a "want" for pro-

tection.

The "Communist-radical" symbol, it might be argued, is used to fight many things with which it has no real connection. The references which said the immigrant and the minority-group member were prime targets for the Communists could constitute an attempt to associate them with Communism. Or it could merely indicate that the authors of the articles unconsciously lumped all the "threat-symbols" into one. Other things, it could be said, are also wrongfully associated with Communism. Did not the failure of the Legion to define the terms "liberal" and "intellectual" put them in the same category as "Communist" and leave the door open to link with foreign "isms" anyone whose views oppose the Legion? The reference to the "normal" conservatives might also indicate that the Legion believed anyone who opposed their "status quo" to be a wanderer from the correct path.

The methods advocated and used by the Legion to combat the internal threats might be labeled as "authoritarian". The mention in the Legion magazine of picketing movies, barring speaking appearances, and exclusion from the ballot, it could be argued, all went to set up a dichotomy of "good" and "evil" with the Legion as the judge. Did these methods not try to exterminate the radical ideas rather than letting them die in the "market place" of ideas? Instances of local Legion posts using strongarm methods could be pointed out as examples of "authoritarianism". The almost-unanimous approval

given the Congressional investigating committees in the Legion magazine could also be cited as an example of their unquestioning faith in all anti-radical methods. Their insistence on all Americans being made to salute the flag might be said to agree with the "authoritarian" methods previously listed.

The allegation that the Legion has made an unjustifiable association between the Communists and the immigrants and members of minority groups could be extended to include pacifists in the category of Communist-radical. It might be argued that these were moves to discredit anyone who opposes the Legion or challenges its ideas. The mention of the press in the theme "the press tends to mislead its readers..." could be another move to discredit the opposition. A bit of irony could be shown in the alleged discrediting of the critics of the press when it scored the Hutchins committee report. It might be said that the Legion saw a need for criticism of the press--as long as they agreed with their ideas.

A final charge is that the internal threat has a base that appeals to the anti-intellectual sentiments of the reader-audience. The linking of the "intellectual" with Communism could be seen as re-enforcing a vague antagonism toward "book-learning" and a latent fear of the educated and changing them into a stronger bias against all that the Legion opposes. It could be argued that the "authoritarian" methods, previously mentioned, also are forms of a defensive "anti-intellectualism"

or "anti-rationalism".

The Legion would, of course, deny all charges. It is only fair, therefore, to suggest some possible replies the Legion might use to disclaim these allegations. The counter-arguments are hypothetical and cannot be fixed as "what the Legion would say". They are taken from the themes themselves and from a general knowledge of the Legion magazine content.

The Legion could deny that it over-emphasized the "without" of the "internal threat" by saying that the evidence has shown this to be the case. It could poiht to the various instances of successful prosecution of Communists as Soviet spies. It could also point to the numerous references to the sub-theme "we have our faults" of the theme "America is the greatest nation in the world..." as being evidence that it did not try to quell reform.

It could claim that the fact that they mentioned the Fascist threat much less than the Communist threat did not prove anything about the viewpoint of the Legion. It was because it was so. On one occasion, for example, it said that the Communist threat was many times more prominent in the U.S. than the Fascist. It could also deny that mere membership in the F.I.D.A.C. meant that it shared any ideas with the Fascist groups. It could point out the organization's purpose was the creation of world peace. The Legion could point to the theme "we should guard against demagogues..." as an example of its opposition to the ideas of racial and religious persecution.

The Legion could deny that it had used any manipulative practices in the development of a fear-hate symbol. It might say that if fear and hate arose, it was the natural expression of a correct reaction to a real threat. It could say that if the emphasis was on the "clear" and "present" aspects of the Communist threat it was because it was so and has always been so. The continued presence of Communists in all American institutions might be held in account for the constant warning of their presence in the content of the Legion magazine. The absence of the threat during World War II might be explained by saying that other news crowded the threat off the pages or else that the Legion had never lost sight of the challenge, but that it had merely said nothing in the going-along with government policy.

The charge that the Legion was fighting things other than Communism with the "Communist-radical" symbol could be countered by saying that these persons and institutions were actually associated with Communism. The immigrant and the member of the minority group were susceptible to Communism, for example, because they had not had the chance to learn the advantages of the "American Way". It could say that it meant men hiding under the titles of "intellectual" and "liberal" when it struck out at these groups. Had they not always put these words in quotes?

The Legion might say that its methods were not "authoritarian", but realistic. After all, why should we protect the

men who are expressly out to break-down all we hold dear? If the action of the Legion posts did in a few instances constitute "strong-arm" methods, it would say they certainly did not have the blessing of the national organization. It might add that it has always sanctioned the Congressional committees because they were one of the real defenses of America against radicalism. It could also say that its insistence that all Americans salute the flag was perfectly justified; that it is one of the duties of citizenship to pay respect to the national symbol.

It might counter the argument that it had cast undue suspicion on the press by saying that it had merely criticized a few segments of the press and not challenged the press as a whole. Furthermore, it might say, the criticism was constructive--not destructive like that of the Hutchins report.

If there was any anti-intellectualism in the Legion magazine, the organization might say that it was entirely justified. It might say that it was always opposed to any form of intelligentsia--was not the "common man" the cornerstone of the "American Way"?

C. War and War-related Activity.

As a group that rose out of the waging of one war, the Legion has seen fit to produce much comment on subsequent wars and their causes. It has taken the responsibility to be "the expert" of the nation on the subject; consequently we can hope to gain insight into the "personality" of the Legion by inspecting what opinions it holds as an "expert".

The material in this area roughly falls into two major parts: the preparation-preservation of war and the conduct of war. Telling of the former were the themes: "1. America should always be prepared because force and strength, though not fear, are the only real means of keeping things under control. Unfortunately, most Americans don't realize this. Pacifists are foolish and wicked; they are fighting a hopeless and deadly battle;" "48. We hate war"; "72. The extremes of pacifism and militarism can only lead to war; 'preparedness' is peace"; and "19. Human nature, being what it is, there will always be wars and economic disasters. It is comforting to know, however, that they are of short duration and things are better than ever afterwards."

The most common theme in the study with 10.7% of the favorable references, "America should...be prepared" tells of a tremendous and constant need to build and maintain a strong army and navy. The sub-theme "America needs a strong peace time army and navy" was mentioned in 35 articles and

had more than one-quarter of the favorable references to the theme. Five sub-themes, each with between 5 and 10% of the references to the theme were: greater governmental defense appropriations are needed; pacifists are weak, deceitful,and blood-thirsty; disapproval of the Washington Naval Treaty; we need Universal Military Training; and we need an adequate civilian defense program.

Other sub-themes with frequencies of more than five included: we need planning for the next war; 'preparedness' is peace; we should retain our wartime bases (strategic reasons); soldiers are the real lovers of peace; and survival of the fittest applies to the nations of the world.

17 references of the 402 registered disagreement with the theme. Of these, 12 were clearly labeled as opinion "unfavorable" to the Legion and 5 were merely dissent to part of the theme. None gave real, unqualified opposition to the general idea of a strong army and navy.

The theme "we hate war", 48th most common with 0.4% of the favorable references, is perhaps a denial of the war-like implications of the previous theme. The public, the soldier, and the Legion were all mentioned as having a great distaste for war. There were no dissenting references.

A close parallel to the previous theme is "pacifism and militarism can only lead to war...preparedness is peace". It was the 72nd most common and had only 4 references. It did,

however, indicate that the Legion was here attempting to take the position of a "happy medium" between two extremes. In effect, it was the denial that the Legion is militaristic.

To be discussed in greater detail later is the theme "...there will always be wars and economic disasters..." It was 19th most common and contained 1.6% of the favorable references; however, less than half of the 59 favorable references of the theme made the claim that war was inevitable. Others discussed "human nature" and the inevitability of depression. Only seven references admitted the possibility of permanent peace.

Telling of the conduct of war were the themes: "6.Modern warfare requires a total effort; the government should prosecute draft-dodgers, conscientious objectors, and workers who interfere with the flow of war goods. They should also take over control, though not ownership, of the nation's natural resources;" "56. There are many elements in enemy countries that are ripe for revolt;" "15. Our hot and cold war enemies are brutal and inhuman;" and "33. The Legion is against war profiteers and high war-time industrial wages."

The theme "modern warfare requires total effort...", 6th most common with 3.7% of the favorable references, gave various ways in which the total effort required under the modern warfare could be obtained. Some of the aspects of total war listed were: that everyone should do their part; that it must be total; that we must all work harder at our jobs; that we

must have rigid economic controls; that the vital industries must make no extra profit; that strikes and "that sort of thing" should be stopped;[28] that everything should be drafted; that workers should stick to their jobs and not complain;[29] that alien-slackers must not be given citizenship and do not even rate a hearing;[30] and that the government should assume control of natural resources.

Dissenting opinion was evidenced in only four of the 139 references. Three of these called for the deferring of men in essential industries and the other was a clearly-labeled "unfriendly opinion" that exalted the conscientious objectors.

The hope for the internal capitulation of our enemies is a commonly used bit of "hot-war" or "cold-war" optimism. It is evidenced here by the theme "there are...elements in enemy countries that are ripe for revolt." It was 56th most common and contained 0.3% of the favorable references. It said, among other things, that Russia is seething with revolt, that Russia would soon be a land of poverty, that the Russians had no incentive, and that the average German was frightened stiff. There were no references in disagreement mentioned.

The other two themes making up the "conduct of war" discussed elsewhere can be summarized by saying that they gave

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[28] Warren H. Atherton, National Commander, "Labor and the Legion", ALM (January,1944), 36:6

[29] ALM, editorial, "Suckers?" , (October, 1942), 33:7

[30] ALM, editorial, "After the Alien-Slackers", (August 15, 1919), 1:10

ample testimony to the brutality of our enemies and of the desire of the Legion to "take the profit out of war".

A breakdown of the "area" by time-period produces results which may or may not be meaningful. The "area" seemed most prominent in the years 1923-1926. Perhaps this was the Legion responding to the disarmament feeling of the middle twenties. The other periods seem rather even; however, the periods, 1942-1945 and 1934-1937, seem to be rather strong and the periods, 1919-1922 and 1946-1949 seem to be weak. Perhaps the weak periods coming in immediate post-war eras indicates a failure by the Legion to insist upon a keeping up of the armed strength until the demand presented itself.

The theme "America should be prepared..."follows the same general pattern of the "area" in which it is located. The only changes are that 1946-1949 seemed somewhat proportionately higher and 1942-1945 somewhat lower. The theme "modern warfare requires total effort" is much stronger in the periods preceding 1946. This may be the result of the Legion's constant pre-war drive to "take the profit out of war".

The question is now presented: what meaning can be derived from the content of the Legion magazine in regard to "war and war-related activities".

As in the previous area, hypotheses can be set up as to the meaning of themes in this area. They are: 1. The Legion's views on war and armed strength are essentially delineated

from the concepts laid down by Thomas Hobbes centuries ago; 2. The Legion uses techniques for discrediting the views of men opposing its view in this area; 3. The Legion attempts to set itself up as a "golden mean" between the extremes of militarism and pacifism; and 4. The concept of "total war" was designed to limit labor more than management.

The concept that force is the only real reformer was an idea advanced by Thomas Hobbes many centuries ago. The view, based on a pessimistic outlook on human nature, saw force as a necessary product in order to preserve the state. The themes "human nature being what it is, there will always be wars..." and "America...should be prepared" could be said to fit into this concept. An extension of this idea might be that the U.S., as the leading nation of the world, could never relax her preparedness efforts if she were to retain her high place in the world. The Legion could hardly quarrel with this interpretation. It would insist, however, that America uses that force to help and not to enslave the world.

The pacifists offered the chief opposition to the Legion in this area. It might be argued that the Legion made a special effort to discredit both they and their argument. The references to the pacifists as foolish, wicked, blood-thirsty, and deceitful might be said to be applications of hate-fear symbols similar to those used on the "Communist-radicals". The wicked and blood-thirsty associations might be the attributes of the "giant"; the weak, deceitful, and foolish the marks of

the "rodent". Some quarrel could also be made with the generalizing of all pacifists as being alike. The Legion might say that these were the true descriptions of the pacifist--especially since the past shows the advocates of peaceful concession to be "wrong".

The theme "pacifism and militarism can only lead to war ...preparedness is peace" might be an example of the Legion trying to set itself up as the impartial umpire over the whole area of military preparedness. Since much of the material to this theme occurred in the 1930's, it could hardly be said that public opinion was even roughly divided half-and-half on either side of the Legion on this question. The Legion could reply that we might have won World War II sooner, or we might never have had to fight it at all, if we had earlier adopted their "golden mean".

It might be argued that although the Legion tried to sell its "total war" program on the slogan "take the profit out of war", it actually would have worked greater hardship on labor than on management. It is beyond the scope of this report to go into the background of the question, but it might be said there was a great discrepancy between the "total war" issue as the Legion tried to sell it to the American public and the actual bill as it was reported to Congress. From the data we have available, we can see that, although there was plenty of talk about "drafting capital" before the start of World War II, no references to the theme during the

war made such a statement. There were, however, many war-time references to measures that would have put limitations on labor. The Legion might reply that, since the bill never was passed through Congress, the true intent of the Legion to "take the profit out of war" could never be realized. It could also say that it had no control of the bill as it went to Congress; it had merely made suggestions beforehand.

D. U.S. Foreign Policy, World Outlook, and International Organizations.

The role of America among the nations of the world as envisioned by the Legion has been discussed earlier in the section on the "American Dream". Here it will be discussed in greater detail. The view of the world order, in the construction of "group personality", might be analagous to the relationship of the head of the household to the members of his family or to the attitudes of the family group to others in the neighborhood.

The "area" can be divided into three roughly drawn parts: U.S. foreign policy; a view of other nations; and the concept of world organization. The parts, of course, are not separate and distinct, but they are divided for the convenience of the discussion.

The themes relevant to a discussion of U.S. foreign policy are: "10. While the U.S. has never been nor should it ever be 'imperialistic' like most other important nations, it should not let other nations take advantage of our altruism"; "13. America and the English-speaking peoples must control and regulate the world economy. If we are to keep our American economic supremacy, we must retain control of the seas. We must keep up the merchant fleet and maintain control of our wartime bases"; "32. It is up to the U.S. to help those nations who help themselves"; "41. The U.S. State Department has given aid and comfort to our enemies and has

violated sacred American traditions. We have been naively trusting in our relations with Russia"; "46. The U.S. cannot afford to be 'isolationist'"; "73. In war, America has been and is on the side of good against evil".

The theme "the U.S. has never been...'imperialistic'...", 10th most common with 2.7% of the favorable references, will also be discussed in the part on "a view of other nations". Only 35 of the 96 favorable references to this theme dealt with U.S. conduct. These told of the altruism and unselfish devotion of American foreign policy and emphatically denied the U.S. had ever been imperialistic. The sample also showed Legion articles saying that those people who claimed we were imperialistic were foolish and deceitful and expressed no sympathy for foreign nations who injure our property or who take advantage of our good nature. Two of the 35 articles contributing to the theme gave 5 references of disagreement. Four were in the form of an "unfriendly" letter to the editor claiming the U.S. had been imperialistic; the other was an article warning that we could not impress our culture on the world.[31]

If the Legion was strong in its denial of ulterior motives for American foreign policy, it was equally as firm that we should not have a policy that was pure only by lack of contact. The theme "America...must control and regulate

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[31] ALM, editorial, "Tolerance" (April, 1940), 28:4

the world economy...", 13th most common with 2.3% of the favorable references, advocates a plan of economic global expansion. The magazine, in numerous instances, called out for a building up of the merchant fleet and said the life of the shipping lines depended upon the patronage of American business men and the travelling public. The expansion of the merchant fleet was deemed a governmental necessity since it would not only help our economic system but would serve as a protection to America in case of emergency. The theme also contained material calling for the retention of our wartime bases based on an economic need. The magazine's frequent references to a need for the dominance of the "English-speaking peoples" has already been discussed under the "American Dream". One article said they held the key to the world's future.[32] Other ideas pointed up in the sample were: that control of the seas meant control over the riches of the world;[33] that a limitation upon shipping would give undue economic strength to the weaker nations;[34] and that no nation could be "great" without sea power.[35] The Legion's doctrine of economic mission has also been taken up in the section on the "American Dream". No dissenting opinion on the theme was evidenced by

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[32] ALM, unsigned, "For Your Birthday, America" (July, 1926), 1:18

[33] Edward N. Hurley, "Sails On the Praries", ALM (December, 1931), 11:18

[34] Ared White, "In the Seats of the Mighty," ALM (November, 1929), 7:18

[35] Hurley, "Sails on the Praries", ALM 18

the sample.

The Legion's view of American altruism possibly took on a new aspect in the post-World War II articles. It saw a new policy of giving aid to other nations in a favorable light, but also gave warnings that American altruism was not without limit. Such material was contained in the theme "... the U.S. should help those nations that help themselves". It was 32nd most common and had 0.9% of the favorable references. A need for us to give aid to other nations made up roughly half of the material in the category; the other half gave warnings such as: that nations must help themselves before we can help them; that we should give only military aid; and that such aid should serve only as a stimulus to their production and not as a subsidy to keep them alive. Dissent to the theme was given in five of the 37 references to the theme. These expressed the ideas that since charity begins at home, we should not give aid to our former enemies and that we should not give assistance to countries like England, Yugoslavia, and Spain who had fallen to other "isms".

Although the Legion has continuously spoken with approval of the American conduct in foreign affairs, it has given evidence that it did not approve of certain current trends. Reflected in the theme "the U.S. State Department has given aid...to our enemies...", it has, since 1944, made the claim that the administration of foreign affairs had drifted away from the traditional American values. The theme was 41st most

common with 0.6% of favorable references. It has specifically mentioned that the state department had been naive to put such trust in Russia and that in doing so it had allowed many of our secrets to be stolen. Mention was also made that our policy of "anglo-Americanism and exaggerated internationalism" was "war-provoking and fool-hardy"[36] and that the government "world planners" had made promises it would be impossible to keep.[37] The same article complained that our government had given away our rights while the other nations had insisted on keeping theirs.[38] One letter accused the administration of being "un-American" in its dismissal of General MacArthur.[39] No references were found in disapproval of the theme.

The plea of the Legion for active participation in world affairs is seen in the theme "the U.S. cannot afford to be 'isolationist'". The theme was 46th most common and had 0.5% of the favorable references. The sample showed the Legion's concept of the nations of the world as being more closely related with the passage of time. The magazine said that isolationism was dead; that America should now take up its place

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[36] Henry J. Taylor, "How to Win the Peace", ALM (January, 1944), 36:14

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] ALM, letters from readers, "Sound Off!" (July, 1951), 51:4

as the leader of the world. Again there were no references in disagreement.

The theme, "America has been...on the side of good against evil", sets up a dichotomy of values in regard to the behavior of nations. It was 73rd most common and contained 0.1% of the favorable references.

Contributing to the discussion of the Legion's views of other nations are the themes: "2. While the U.S. has never been nor should it ever be 'imperialistic' like most other important nations, it should not let other nations take advantage of our altruism"; "15. Our hot-war and cold-war enemies are brutal and inhuman"; "50. Communist Russia is the worst enemy of the U.S."; "59. Since Germany and some other European nations are pretty well off today, they should be made to pay their reparations and debts"; "78. It is to the best interests of foreign nations to adapt and use the ways of our economic system"; and part of "11. ...U.S. Communists are really Soviet agents..."

The conduct of foreign nations phase of the theme "... the U.S. has never been 'imperialistic'..." was mentioned in 61 of the 96 favorable references to the theme. The entire theme was the 10th most common with 2.7% of the favorable references. Most of the references to the other nations in this theme said simply that these nations were "imperialistic". Of a more specific nature were references to other nations trying to deprive America of her "place in the sun" and to

these nations "suckering" us into disarming. Eight references in two articles indicated disagreement in their statement that European nations were not imperialistic.

The dark picture of other nations was applied, with emphasis, in the theme "our...enemies are brutal and inhuman". It was 15th most common and had 2.2% of the favorable references. Only five of the references were to the World War II Axis nations; whereas, 76 were to Russia and her agents. Among the charges made against the Reds were: that life in Russia and in her satellites was horrible and poor; that Reds throughout the world were cruel; that Russian leaders were savages; and that the Communists were anti-Semitic. The two references in disagreement said that there was no open anti-Semitism in Russia.

Another example of the criticism of Russia was seen in the theme "Communist Russia is the worst enemy of the U.S..." It was the 50th most common and contained 0.4% of the favorable references. It pointed out that Russia had control of one-quarter of the world's people and that she was merely waiting for the right moment to attack. On one occasion it was argued that we should break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Two of the 17 references registered disagreement. These advocated that we send aid to the Russians--"our gallant allies".[40]

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[40] ALM, editorial, "Suckers?" (October, 1942), 33:7

More examples of Russia as an active threat to America were contained in the previously mentioned theme "U.S. Communists are really Soviet agents..." Seven articles with 26 references made the point that Russia was flooding this country with spies and saboteurs.

A "get tough" policy toward foreign nations was evidenced in the theme "...some...European nations are pretty well off..., they should be made to pay their...debts." It was 59th most common and had 0.3% of the favorable references. It was pointed out that most of the European nations were economically strong and that their failure to pay their debts was hurting the economic structure of this country. Four of the 20 total references were in disagreement. These referred to efforts of European nations to pay their debts.

The inferiority of foreign economic systems was indicated by the theme "it is to the best interests of foreign nations to adapt...the ways of our economic system". It was 78th most common and contained 0.1% of the favorable references. It might be mentioned that there were only two references to this theme.

Included in the discussion of world organization were the themes: "40. All nations should be moral and just and should try to understand one another in order to have world peace"; "49. America should support world organization as long as it conforms to our system and we do not lose any of our sovereign power"; "62. The peace should be moral and just to all

concerned; however, we must have no soft peace"; part of "1. America should always be prepared because force and strength, though not fear, are the only real ways of keeping things under control"; and some of "19. Human nature, being what it is, there will always be wars and economic disasters ..."

The theme "all nations should be moral...and try to understand one another in order to have world peace" was 40th most common and had 0.7% of the favorable references. It saw tolerance and information as pre-requisites for world-understanding and urged all nations to be moral. One article in the sample called a United States of Europe a possibility.[41] There were no references in disagreement in a total of 25.

The direct view of the Legion on world organization was given in the theme "America should support world organization..." It was 49th most common with 0.4% of the favorable references. As was mentioned in the section on the "American Dream", this theme was divided fairly evenly between the advocacy of a world organization and dangers that could come from world identification.

A wartime theme regarding the end of the conflict was "the peace should be moral and just to all concerned". It was 62nd most common and had 0.2% of the favorable references. The only article in the sample which referred to this theme

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[41] ALM, editorial, "Tolerance", (April, 1940), 28:5

called for a just peace, but urged that we make sure the Axis nations got no overly soft settlement.

The concept of force and strength being the only ways to keep the peace is seemingly important to the study of the Legion's view on international organization. It was mentioned rather frequently in the "America must be prepared..." theme previously discussed. Also relevant is the idea that wars are inevitable taken from the theme "human nature, being what it is..." This theme, too, was discussed earlier.

The analysis of the time-periods for the entire area shows a proportionately greater amount of material in the last three periods than in the earlier ones. This was, perhaps, to be expected. The period, 1923-1926, also had a considerable number of references in this area. Interestingly, the periods, 1919-1922 and 1926-1928, immediately adjacent to the early peak period, had the smallest amount of material. It should be remembered, however, that these measures in amount of material for the areas are very rough.

A growing response to a world order may be indicated by noting that the criticism of the "imperialism" of foreign nations (theme 10) ceased after the 1942-1945 period while the idea that America must give aid to deserving nations (theme 32) began with the 1938-1941 period. Whether this indicates a shift in attitude by the Legion or merely a continued attitude with only an enforced recognition of public opinion on the question is beyond the scope of this study.

It may be noted that, while the Legion was apparently looking with more friendliness to the other nations in the later periods, it was criticizing our state department for going too far toward "friendliness" during these same periods. All material in this criticism (theme 41) was contained in the two periods, 1942-1945 and 1950-1951.

In attempting to gain some insight into the meaning of the Legion's "foreign policy" area the following hypotheses can be set up: 1. The Legion sets up false dichotomies of value when it speaks of imperialism vs. altruism and good vs. evil in the conduct of foreign affairs; 2. The Legion's foreign policy cannot be simply described--perhaps it can be called expansionist-nationalist-paternalist; 3. The Legion's acceptance of Darwinian struggle among the nations of the world is a basic motive in its concept of world affairs; 4. The Legion presents a foreign policy that shows considerable opposition to the administration's foreign policy after World War II; 5. The Legion's joining of the common-front in aid to Russia in World War II shows devotion to the nation; 6. The Legion makes comparisons to other nations and their economic systems in order to justify content with ours; and 7. The Legion only with great reservation accepts the existence of world organization.

The "altruism" of America and the "imperialism" of other nations can be seen in the theme "while the U.S. has never been imperialistic..." It could be argued that this was done

to purify the "American Dream" and to make all other nations look bad in comparison. It could also be a "whitewash" of our past activities and justification for a lack of complaint with the "American Way". While it would be foolish to argue that the reverse of this "altruism-imperialism" situation was true, it could be said that American conduct in foreign affairs has not been "pure white" nor have the actions of any foreign nation been at all times "black".

In the same manner, the theme "...America has been and is on the side of good against evil" seems to be a vast overstatement of the case. Perhaps Calvinist in its orientation, the idea could be used to justify any form of our actions against foreign nations.

It is seemingly impossible to classify the Legion's view in this area into one of the traditional views of foreign policy such as "isolationist" or "interventionist". Perhaps an adequate description of their stand would be "expansionist-nationalist-paternalist". The "expansion" could be seen in the favoring of government aid to the shipping lines and the advocacy of protection to American investment abroad. The fact that references were made to the desirability of our controlling the "riches of the world" may also indicate an expression of economic expansion. The "nationalist" might be seen in the previously mentioned view of other nations as "imperialist"; thus seeing them as our competitors. It could also be pointed out that in the Legion view on world organi-

zation, the "way" of our nation was given a clear and sovereign superiority over all other nations of the world. This could also be extended to include the Legion's demand that the selfish other nations pay their war debts. The "paternalist" comes in the themes "we should help those nations that help themselves" and "it is to the best interests of foreign nations to adapt and use the ways of our economic system." It might be argued that the Legion is here trying to set up America as a kindly father who doles out his wisdom and aid to the children who have done the most to please him.

A Darwinian "survival of the fittest" might be seen in the Legion view of the world order. This doctrine of struggle was mentioned directly in one reference and could be close to the expressed idea that we must control the seas and the "riches of the world". Did this not indicate that we were competing against all other nations of the world and that any form of long-term peaceful world order was impossible? Would this not justify a foreign policy that would be based on expedience and the greatest possible control over the nations of the world?

A case might be made for an antagonism by the Legion towards the administrations foreign policy since World War II. It would be based on the references to the theme "the U.S. State Department has been naively trusting in her relations with Russia". It included not only that we have been naive, but that it also criticized the general foreign policy as

contrary to American values and indicative of "anglo-Americanism and exaggerated internationalism". How did this square with the Legion's support of world organization? Was this much different from the "isolationist" views of the 1920's. It could be argued that the Legion acceptance of world organization was merely a curtsy to public opinion which strongly backed such affiliation.

The joining of the Legion in a common-front with Russia in World War II seems to point up at least some measure of sincerity in the policy of the group that would run counter to the muckraker's view of the Legion as a scheming mass of manipulators. Although it might be the "wrong" alliance as viewed in hind-sight, it does indicate that at least in this one instance the Legion was sincerely directed in a path toward what it considered to be the welfare of the nation rather than attempt the opposite course which would have shown greater consistency in policy. It is possible, of course,that they fell into the alliance with Russia; it could merely have kept its mouth shut and swallowed in bitter acquiescence the tie-up with its old enemy.

The theme "it is to the best interests of foreign nations to adapt and use the ways of our economic system," although it had only a few references, could be said to be an example of the Legion using the "American Way" in comparison with war-ravaged and under-developed lands to justify content with our economic system. If all other systems in the world were

worse than ours, was there not reason for the American to be content with his lot? Moreover, the Legion could appear to assume that having an economic system like ours was what every land wants and needs and that each nation could be made happy by being made rich. Isn't this like saying the Congo native would be much happier if we provided him with a Hoover vaccuum cleaner?

The reservations set aside in the theme "America should support world organization as long as it conforms to our system and we do not lose any of our power" plus the Legion's adoption of concepts of the "force" of Hobbes and the "struggle" of Darwinism combine to make an outwardly favorable opinion on the possibilities of world organization into an inwardly dubious antagonism toward such a structure. The reservations could be said to be of such stringency as to make the U.S. into the benevolent despot of the world.

E. Economic Structure.

We have already seen the close relationship in the Legion magazine between the economic structure and the "American Dream". Here we shall give closer inspection to the details of the structure. For convenience, the area has been broken down into three parts: success and failure in the economic system; business; and labor.

Themes relevant to a discussion of success and failure in the economic system include: "12. There's still plenty of room at the top; ability will be recognized"; "23. Production is the answer to our economic ills"; "34. We should do all we can to help the unemployed, the disabled, the aged, and the young"; "70. Farm tenancy and centralized farm ownership are threats to the 'American Way', although there is economy in such combination"; "63. Wild speculation can hurt the American economy"; and parts of "19. Human nature being what it is, there will always be wars and economic disasters....", "20. Hardship and deprivation make men and nations stronger and more virtuous"; and "43. There is no real conflict between economic or racial groups....Labor and management are really partners in progress".

The high degree of vertical mobility in the American economic system is told in the theme "there's still plenty of room at the top..." The theme was the 12th most common and constituted 2.4% of the favorable references. The theme was

discussed in considerable detail in the "American Dream" and bears repetition here only in its relation to its optimistic view of the economic structure. The lack of dissent in the numerous references to the theme seems to indicate a rather common and stable opinion in the Legion magazine that the economic "American Way" is deserving of strong defense.

A high level of personal and corporate production was often seen as the answer to the nation's economic troubles. The theme "production is the answer to our economic ills", 23rd most common with 1.4% of the favorable references, corresponded to this "cure" offered by the Legion. The magazine saw production as the source of national wealth; it was the cause of prosperity as much as shortage resulted in poverty. In two articles in the sample it was said that more silent determination and less talk and confusion would end depression. Confidence was expressed that most Americans were doing their part to end the economic calamity; manufacturers were turning out superior goods[42] and workers still on the job were working harder. One article warned the unemployed that they would have to work harder on their return.[43] Another article called for scientific production and said that the competent farmer, using technology, "could earn a reasonable income even during depression."[44]

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[42] ALM, editorial, "Bedrock" (February,1931),10:24

[43] ALM, "Bedrock", 24

[44] Cornelius J. Classen, "The Power Behind the Plow", ALM (November,1934),17:28

If production was seen as the "cure" for depression, it was equally upheld as a curb for inflation and post-war scarcity. The scarcity was said to be the result of building for war and the greatest responsibility of manufacturers was greater production for peace. One article called strikes a block to prosperity[45] and urged labor to work harder to bring down prices.[46] Only one reference of 50 expressed disagreement. It said that over-production was a major cause of economic calamity.[47]

It was not to be assumed that the Legion magazine did not extend sympathy to the unemployed. The theme "we should do all we can for the unemployed..." was 34th most common and contained 0.9% of the favorable references. It urged that all possible aid be extended to the unfortunates. Three references called for government aid while 13 said the Legion post could handle the aid. Nine of the 12 references to the New Deal and the depression said that it had done a great deal of good; the other three countered that the New Deal had brought in no real remedies. Also included in this category was material referring to problems of the disabled, the aged, and the young. These included only five references.

The theme "farm tenancy and centralized farm ownership

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[45] W.L.Whittlesey, "The Way Out--Produce", ALM (January 2, 1920), 2:8

[46] Ibid., 9

[47] Marquis James, "Blankville Sees It Through", ALM (October,1932), 13:14

are threats to the 'American Way'..." was not evidenced in great frequency nor strongly agreed upon. Four of the eight references to this theme saw tenancy as a threat to the American farm economy; the four others pointed out that there is economy in combination of small farming units. Probably the fact that few references were made to this theme prevents any judgment as to the "opinion" of the Legion on this question. The theme was the 70th most common and had only 0.1% of the favorable references.

As we have already seen, the Legion was adamant in its defense of the "American Way". There were instances, however, where the Legion criticized at least one segment of the business community. The theme "wild speculation can hurt the American economy", 63rd most common with 0.2% of the favorable references, saw speculation as a cause of depression and economic insecurity. All three articles in which the theme appeared made it clear that only a small percentage of Americans were guilty of this sort of financial mismanagement. No references in disagreement were recorded.

Perhaps the Legion saw a more important reason for depression in the unchanged ways of human nature. Twenty references to the theme "human nature, being what it is, there will always be...economic disasters..." made the claim that depressions were inevitable. The sample failed to show any articles that suggested economic disasters could be entirely eliminated.

The brighter side of the depression was often pointed to by the Legion magazine. Under the theme "hardship...makes men and nations stronger and more prosperous", for example, five articles with 20 references said that after the depression America would see the greatest era of prosperity the world has ever known.

The harmony of the economic system was attested to by the Legion in the theme "there is no real conflict between economic...groups....Labor and management are really partners in progress". The comparative harmony of the "classes" and the "equality of luxury"[48] were referred to in this theme. References of disagreement to the idea of harmony were seen in the worry over the presence of labor strife and some maldistribution of income. These have been shown in the section on the "American Dream" to be very few in number.

The Legion view of American business is given by the themes: "22. Most business leaders are moral, upstanding, and virtuous"; "39. Free enterprise and democracy are the same thing; they cannot exist apart"; "45. Ever-increasing popular ownership of corporations shows that big business is a truly democratic institution. Market research has helped towards this end by enabling industry to give the public what it wants"; "53. The business community has been largely responsible for American progress"; "77.Centralization of industry can be dangerous in that it brings a breakdown in the self-dependence of the workers"; and parts of "10. While the U.S. has never

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[48]Clarence Buddington Kelland, "Why America", ALM (March, 1928), 3:14

been nor should it ever be 'imperialistic'..., it should not let other nations take advantage of our altruism"; and "68. The U.S. should go to war, if necessary, to protect freedom of commerce from government domination and the security of contract of American investment abroad.",

The leaders of the business community were adjudged virtuous by a majority of the references to the theme "most businessmen are moral..." The theme was the 22nd most common with 1.5% of the favorable references. In addition to what was mentioned of this theme in the section on the "American Dream", it included references pointing to the sacrifices the businessmen made during the war and denying that these businessmen were to blame for high prices.[49] On other occasions it said that the kind of experience a businessman has had well qualifies him for the presidency[50] and that most business men use their fortunes to better help humanity than could our politicians and government with the same money. When Henry Ford came under attack in the early 1920's, a letter to the Legion defended the automobile magnate by saying that he was moral and had given unselfishly to the war effort. The letter also said that Ford had hired veterans in preference to slackers, had tried to lower prices, and was not prejudiced

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[49] Whittlesey, "The Way Out", ALM, 8

[50] Frederick Palmer, "A Personal View", in ALM (June, 1929), 6:31

against minority groups.[51]

Not including the material stating that some business men were dishonest, 11 of the 63 references to the theme were in disagreement. Among the objections were: that many bosses were trying to keep their employees from advancing; that the Chamber of Commerce was openly attempting to deprive the veteran of his rights; that some business men were not paying income taxes; and that some business men were trying to destroy the labor movement.[52]

The theme "free enterprise and democracy are the same thing..." has also been discussed under the "American Dream" and will only be further illustrated here. The theme was 30th most common and had 0.7% of the favorable references. A large majority of the references dealt with two sub-themes: that the life of democracy required free enterprise-capitalism and that production was the most vital factor contributing to the welfare of America. On one occasion the magazine likened working men and women to "human machines in the great world workshop."[53] Another article said that man was put on earth to give service. The service was defined largely in economic terms. No references in disagreement were noted.

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[51] ALM "The Voice of the Legion", (March 25, 1921), 3:13-18

[52] Dave Beck, president of Teamster's union, A.F.of L., "What Labor Wants", ALM (May, 1947), 42:10

[53] Sheehan, "Pessimists, Optimists, and Peptomists", ALM 14

The tie between capitalistic enterprise and democracy was further illustrated by the theme "...big business is a truly democratic institution...." It was 45th most common with 0.6% of the favorable references. References to the theme pictured the large corporations as eagerly responsive to the attitudes and whims of the public and anxious to see that their customers got exactly the product they desired.[54] Market research was seen as an aid in this process. Not only did the consumer run the show, but he also owned much of it according to one article in the sample which pointed to the ever-increasing number of owners of stock in the large corporations. On another occasion an article showed that many employees own stock in their companies.[55] The one dissenting reference among the 25 charged some business men with being "smugly complacent."[56]

Capitalistic enterprise was also closely associated with U.S. history in the theme "the business community has been largely responsible for American progress". The theme was 53rd most common and had 0.4% of the favorable references. Three references told that industrialization had brought the present

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[54]Arthur Van Vlissingen Jr., "You're the Boss", ALM (January, 1934), 16:12

[55]F.W.Cliner, assistant to the president of Goodyear Tire and Rubber company, "We Can Have Industrial Peace", ALM (February, 1946), 40:11

[56]Van Vlissingen, "You're the Boss", ALM,12

high standard and that salesmanship had played a leading role in the phenomenal success of the nation.[57] On one occasion it was said that what materials were essential to our major industries were essential to the nation as a whole. Another article predicted a future harmony of business and government when it said that business realized "its responsibilities of looking ahead and planning for a better life for a better world ahead."[58] Six of the 19 references to the theme were in disagreement. These charged that industry had made undeserved profits from the war and that industrialization had brought some undesirable changes.[59]

An article by Henry Ford contained the two references to the theme "centralization of industry can be dangerous..."[60] The article bemoaned the modern tendency toward centralization as a threat to the American tradition of self-dependence. It said the worker was no longer able to care for himself and that he was forced to look toward the devious alternatives of labor unions and government for aid. It offered as alternatives the de-centralization of industrial plants and the lending of small tracts of land by the large corporations for

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[57] Will E. Hollen, "Selling Cars: There's a Field", ALM (September, 1945), 39:25

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ford, "The Idea Behind Greenfield", ALM 7

[60] Ibid.

part-time farming by their workers. The theme was 77th most common and contained 0.1% of the favorable references.

The value of American business foreign investments and the need for their protection is seen in the themes "while the U.S. (shouldn't)...be 'imperialistic'..., it should not let other nations take advantage of our altruism" and "the U.S. should go to war, if necessary, to protect freedom of commerce...." Already discussed in previous sections, references to these themes viewed foreign investment contracts as no less enforceable than domestic ones. The welfare of the investor in foreign markets was seen as the welfare of the nation as a whole. Prompt retaliation was advocated against foreign governments who impaired this national welfare.

Labor was discussed by the Legion under the themes: "25. Many of the wise labor leaders have joined in support of the 'American Way' and are anti-communistic; a few, however, have helped the Communists"; "36. Labor has a right to organize, act and bargain collectively provided it behaves in a democratic way"; "68. A primary concern of business should be the welfare of its workers"; and "79. There is no such thing as a "right to work'; government does not owe a man a living."

The patriotism of labor movements was attested to by the theme "many of the wise labor leaders (are)...anti-communistic...." The theme was 25th most common and had 1.2% of the favorable references. It was said that the majority of labor leaders were not Communists, that most of the unions had

made a good effort to clean house, and that labor had done much for the war effort. The five references in disagreement among a total of 48 told of a lack of anti-communistic feeling by labor, of crippling strikes during World War II, and of the presence of ex-convicts and racketeers in unions.

The acceptance of unionism into the American economic system was seen in the content of the Legion magazine. The corresponding theme, "labor has a right to organize...." was 36th most common with 0.8% of the favorable references. The references said that the labor movement had helped American progress and that it had the rights of organization, collective bargaining, and action. These rights, as seen by the Legion magazine, were not absolute, but based on the performance of certain obligations. An article of the twenties' said that the six-day work week would have to be justified by the worker's leisure time being devoted to civic actions that would help democracy.[61] During World War II, references were made to labor's obligation to end work-stoppages and jurisdictional disputes. Another sentiment expressed was that labor, in order to enjoy its privileges, "must act in a public-spirited way".[62] There were no references that challenged any of labor's rights directly.

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[61]Frederick Palmer, "A Personal View--Why Not a Five-day Work Week?" ALM (December, 1926), 1:42

[62]Dexter M. Keezer, "For the Public--We Can Have Industrial Peace", ALM (February, 1946), 40:11

The theme "a primary concern of business should be the welfare of its workers" was 68th most common and had 0.1% of the favorable references. A good system of labor relations was seen as advantageous both to the workers and to management. The term "welfare" was described only in a general way. No references in disagreement were found.

The "...no such thing as a right to work...." theme appeared only once in the analysis. This represented less than 0.1% of favorable references. The reference said the government "owed no man a living". [63]

The time-period distribution for the entire area shows the periods, 1946-1949 and 1930-1933, as having the greatest amount of material and the periods, 1922-1925 and 1938-1941, as having the least. There are no apparent reasons for this distribution. Perhaps the time-period patterns must for this area be explained entirely in terms of individual themes.

The theme "production is the key to our economic ills" was most frequent in the periods: 1919-1922, with 6.1% of the favorable references for that period; 1930-1933, with 2.2% for that period; and 1946-1949, with 1.5%. These periods contained 40 of the 49 favorable references to the theme. The theme was found in only two other periods. The "peaks" in the immediate post-war periods could indicate that the Legion was campaigning to absorb the veteran into the production process.

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[63] Starnes, "They're On the Run", ALM 16

The "peak" in the years 1930-1933 might mean that production was seen as a pat answer to depression early in the depression. The lessened frequency of this theme in the next period and the lack of occurence in the period following could mean that production could no longer be the simple solution and the Legion had begun to realize, or to admit, other more serious causes. It must be remembered that these hypotheses are neither proved nor disproved by the evidence in the analysis.

The attempt to set forth some "meaning" to the themes of the "economic structure" area yields the following hypotheses: 1. The adoration of the Legion for the economic "American Way" is designed to develop in its audience a non-critical satisfaction with the economic system; 2. The Legion view of "production" as a panacea to economic ills has the effect of a blocking of popular clamor for government to alter the "normal" economic status quo; 3. The Legion accepts in large measure the "survival of the fittest" as applied to the economic system; 4. The Legion over-generalizes in claiming the status of morality of the American business man and tries to gain a face-value acceptance of Babbitt; 5. The Legion says that most labor leaders are anti-communistic and "100% American" in order to keep the support of the labor union members within its ranks; 6. The Legion tries to link free enterprise and democracy in order to justify the excesses of the formrwith the common acceptance of the latter; and 8. The Legion's

urging of business to be concerned with the welfare of its workers represents an attitude of "enlightened paternalism".

The most outright praise of the Legion for the economic system perhaps comes in the theme "there's still plenty of room at the top". This could merely be another way of saying, "be content with your lot; you'll make it to the top if you don't complain". In effect, this might be a method of quelling the public clamor for reform by instilling a feeling of fear of "tampering with American institutions". It might be argued that this is but one of several themes used by the Legion to still criticism of the economic system and of the business man. It is interesting to note that a good many of the articles that contain the "...plenty of room at the top" theme were written by "successful" men who were once poor "newsboys".

It might be argued that the Legion panacea of "production" is designed to justify a governmental policy of laissez-faire in regard to the producers. It might also justify governmental service to the corporate producer and the denial of aid to the individual who was the inefficient producer. To give such aid would be "survival of the unfittest". It might also be said that this view of "production" urges the worker to produce more and "talk" less and tries to reduce labor down to a Darwinian struggle between the workers. The Legion could be charged with falsification when it made the statement that the "competent farmer" could still make a good living in the depression and when it blamed the labor strikes for high

prices.

The "survival of the fittest" of the Social-Darwinists could be said to be used in the Legion's view of the economic system. It might be pointed out that the majority of the statements calling for aid in the depression had private individuals or the Legion in mind as the donors. Some doubt might be cast as to the sincerity of this appeal by claiming that the call for private charity was only the second best answer of the Legion; the total elimination of the "unfit" might be held by some to be the real attitude of the Legion. The call for the return to "rugged individualism" which was seen in the Legion magazine might be said to be the longing for the return to the "robber-baron" days when the economic pirates were allowed to roam at will.

The glorification of the business man might be seen as an appeal for its audience not to deal too harshly with the men "who built America". It may be said that, while the Legion magazine did criticize the practices of "some" business men, it did not at any time level any criticism at the entire institution of American business. It might be said that there was a lack of references to "some business men are dishonest". The few references to the theme "speculation is a cause of depression" may also be used to back up this argument. The Legion might say that it was quite true that "95 to 99% of American business men are honest" and that it was merely criticizing each group in relation to its true guilt.

It might be argued that the themes "many...labor leaders are anti-Communistic" and "labor has a right to organize..." are mere gestures to keep the organization "respectable" and prevent the loss of support of labor union members who are also members of the Legion. It may be said that neither of these themes gives its wholehearted support to the labor movement and both attempt to impose limitations on the function of the labor groups. The claim of the Legion to recognize that most labor leaders are anti-communistic could be used to justify the group's actions against a leader it claims to be in the minority. It might be argued that the Legion requires not only a tacit denial of subversion, but that it requires all who oppose Communism to shout it out or be counted with the doubtfuls. The "democratic way" that the Legion requires to justify the rights of labor might be seen to be unfair since business does not have to offer the same or comparable justification. The few references to the right of labor might also be said to be an indication of only hesitant acceptance of labor.

The inseparable union of corporate enterprise and democracy can be seen in the themes "free enterprise and democracy are the same thing...", "...big business is a truly democratic institution," and "the business community has been largely responsible for American progress". The purpose may be to shut off efforts to enact changes in the economic system by sanctifying the nature of the business community.

If it could be made the equal of democracy, it could become equally as "untouchable" as any of the sanctified American institutions. To say this another way, this may be the enhancement of one political symbol by the association of it with another symbol of pre-existing superior status. It may also be argued that this is an attempt to make "free enterprise" a quantity. If left untouched, it remains pure; if tampered with, it is the end of "free enterprise" -- democracy. It might also be said that this inseparable association between democracy and free enterprise places far too much emphasis on the economic function of "human nature" and political democracy.

The association of the business community with American progress could be the attempt to set up the business man as the protector of America. It might be argued that the picture of the business man as the servant of the consumer was overstated; the chief function of a business could be said to be the making of profit; pleasing customers is one and only one of the means to gain that end. Perhaps the customer gets what he "deserves"; not what he "wants", much less what he "needs". The popular ownership phase could also be said to be overemphasized. Workers, it could be argued, own only a small share of corporate stock; moreover, they do not even come close to controlling the running of the corporations.

The final hypothesis is that the Legion's urging of business to be concerned with the welfare of its workers repre-

sents an attitude of "enlightened paternalism". The lack of references to this theme might indicate this idea was not nearly so prominent as those which seemed to give the business leader morality and sanction his free-reign of activity. It might be said that the Legion justified the attitude of charity toward the workers in terms of a long-range monetary return to management. It might be charged that the Legion was here advocating its form of "scientific management" in which management would seek better ways to get a greater return from its workers for less money. The methods involved might be said to deceive the worker and thus keep down labor unrest. The references to this theme might also be said to be another example of the Legion bowing to the union members within its own organization.

F. The Legion as a Group.

The self-introspection of the Legion has only been vaguely alluded to thus far. It is, nevertheless, a very important part of the Legion's "ideology". It is the justification of its existence, its evaluation of itself as a worthwhile organization. It could be likened to an individual's analysis or rationalization of his own actions and values.

Self-appraisal was seen in the themes: "9. The Legion is one of the most important groups defending America against subversive elements"; "17. The Legion is completely non-partisan in the political guidance it gives to our government and to Americans generally"; "18. Critics of the American Legion are either disloyal, dupes of the disloyal, and/or are stupid"; "33. The Legion is against war profiteers and high war-time industrial wages"; "52. The Legion does not discriminate as to religion, class, race, color, or rank. It is a true cross-section of the American veteran. The Legion fights for veterans' rights"; "54. It is to America's advantage that the American Legion work in close cooperation with groups like the NEA etc."; and "69. Time will prove that the Legion's way is the right way."

Two themes, already discussed, which give indications in this same area are: "8. Aliens and foreign elements should be made to conform to the 'American Way'..." and "48. We hate war."

The Legion viewed itself as one of the important guardians of "Americanism" in the theme "the Legion...defend(s) ...America against subversive elements". The theme was ninth most common with 2.9% of the favorable references. The sample showed numerous articles with references to the Legion being the vanguard of Americanism and a bulwark against Communism. Other references were to their fight against all other "isms" except "Americanism" and to their undying hostility to Communism. The approval of the Legion's anti-subversive program was shown to be given by men with status such as the President and "leading American educators".[64] The magazine on other occasions urged local posts to supervise their community's text books[65] and to help to fill in the weaknesses of the F.B.I. and House Un-American Activities committee in combatting communism.[66]

Eleven of the 135 total references to this theme were in disagreement. All came in the form of letters-to-the-editor. One letter suggested that the Legion had gone to extremes in taking action against men who refuse to pay deference to the flag. Another charged that the Legion's fear of Communism

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[64] ALM, Collection of letters, "As the Leading American Educators See Us" (May 19,1922), 4:4, 5ff

[65] O.K. Armstrong, "Treason in the Textbooks", ALM (September, 1940), 29:8

[66] James F. O'Neill, Nation Commander, "How You Can Fight Communism", ALM (August,1948), 45:17

had fascist overtones,[67] and said that the Legion had erred in giving the National Commander's Gold Merit medal to General Franco for his opposition to Communism.[68]

The symbol of the Legion as a friendly, impartial judge of American institutions was presented in the theme "the Legion is completely non-partisan in the political guidance it gives to our government and to Americans generally." The theme was 17th most common and constituted 1.9% of the favorable references. The Legion magazine proclaimed that, although by its nature it works to have political influence, the organization has fought continuously to avoid partisan politics and steer a path of political and industrial neutrality. The magazine denied the Legion was trying to dictate policy to Congress; it said its guidance to legislators was American in every way.[69] The magazine indicated that the Legion's policy could never be anything but neutral; since the Legion used representative democracy in its governing process, its voice was the true voice of the veteran.

The neutrality of the Legion was denied in 18 of the 87 references to the theme. The dissent centered on: a claim that the Legion had used its influence as a "club" on Congressmen;

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[67] ALM, letter from reader, "Sound Off!" (July,1951),51:4

[68] ALM, "Sound Off!" (July,1951), 4

[69] Patrick J. Hurley,Secretary of War, "On These Civilian Components Depend the Defenses of our Nation," ALM (March, 1933), 41:19

alleged antagonism toward labor; a charge that the organization was out to hurt free speech and liberty;[70] and assertions that the Legion represented the military and "sound money".[71] As in the case of the preceding theme, all dissenting opinion came in the form of letters-to-the-editor or in "unfriendly opinion", clearly labeled as such in "Friendly" articles.

A discrediting of critics of the Legion was seen in the theme "critics of the Legion are either disloyal, dupes of the disloyal and/or are stupid." It was the 18th most common theme and had 1.6% of favorable references. References to the theme showed the magazine's opinion that the Legion could well afford to ignore its critics since the derision came in the form of false claims from dark, questionable places. After the publication of the Gellermann thesis in book form,[72] the Legion magazine charged that it lacked the objectivity required to receive such a degree.[73] The editorial said that some men had attacked the Legion "only to sell books"[74] and that the public had shown its support of the Legion by refusing to buy these books. It is to the Legion's credit, the editorial continued, that in most instances it has not replied in kind to the attacks made upon the organization. In the 20

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[70] ALM, editorial, "Bow-wow and Woof-woof" (May 19,1922), 4:10

[71] Vilas H. Whaley, chrmn.,National Legislative committee of American Legion, "Shall the Legion Remain Non-political?" (September,1935),19:14

[72] Gellermann, Legion as Educator

[73] ALM,editorial,"Neither Tools nor Fascists" (Aug.1928)25:19

[74] Ibid.

dissenting references in a total of 79, the Legion admitted that it had received many healthy criticisms and two letters charged the critics were right in attacking the Legion.

The campaign of the Legion to "take the profit out of war" is illustrated by the theme "the Legion is against war profiteers and high wartime industrial wages." The theme was 33rd most common and had 0.9% of the favorable references. References to the theme called for a universal draft of men and machines in case of war. No references in disagreement were recorded.

A more direct statement that the Legion was the voice of the veteran was made in the theme "the Legion does not discriminate....It is a true cross-section of the American veteran ...." The theme was the 52nd most common and had 0.4% of the favorable references. It pointed out that, not only was the Legion democratic insofar as being truly representative of the veteran, but that its meetings and proceedings were open to all Americans. It pointed to a lack of discrimination in the Legion as to class, race, or religion. Again there was no dissent.

The need for cooperation between groups with shared interests is sanctioned in the theme "it is to America's advantage that the American Legion work in close cooperation with groups like..." It was 54th most common and had 0.4% of the favorable references. The F.B.I. and the N.E.A. were the groups specifically mentioned in the sample. One article agreed

with the theme, but stipulated these groups must have the interest of the nation as a whole if the Legion was to support them. All references were favorable.

Five references, all favorable, were recorded to the theme "time will prove that the Legion's way is the right way." It was 69th most common and had 0.1% of the favorable references.

Legion aid in the assimilation process of aliens was lauded in two articles with 10 references to the theme "Aliens and foreign elements in this country should be made to conform to the 'American Way'..." The theme has already been discussed under the section on "internal threats".

A denial of the Legion as "war-monger" was illustrated in three articles that had reference to the theme "we hate war." This theme was brought into the section on "war and war-related activity."

It is interesting to note that almost half of the references in this "Legion" area came in the post World War I period, 1919-1922. No such increase in references to this area came after the second war; indeed, the periods, 1934-1937 and 1938-1941, both had more references than the two post-World War II periods. It is hard to say just what this indicates. It could mean the Legion is so familiar to its "public" that it no longer has to sell itself. This was the hypothesis offered to the high degree of comparable "Legion" material in the early time-period of the subject-matter analysis. The fact

that a large part of the magazine's circulation came from news stand sales in the early days may account in part for the large amount of Legion publicity after World War I. The dearth of post-World War II material could also indicate the Legion had switched to other tactics to sell the group to the public.

The distributions of separate themes all seem to bear a great resemblance to the distribution of the area which they compose. Only the theme, "the Legion is...defending America against subversive elements" seemed to have a proportionate share of references in the post-World War II periods. It had 3.0% in the period 1946-1949 and 2.7% in the period 1950-1951; its overall percentage was 2.9%. It may be noteworthy, however, that this theme did not rise in the last two periods as did the other themes discussing subversive elements. This could be part of a Legion policy to "play down" the group's political activities.

The following hypotheses of "meaning" in this area can be offered: 1. The Legion over-simplifies the common purpose of its membership; 2. The Legion attempts to set itself up as a "big brother" to veterans in a "common-fight" against the "radical menace"; 3. The Legion could hardly be called non-partisan in view of the policy it promotes; 4. The Legion uses the technique of discrediting its opponents; 5. The Legion sets itself up as "the voice of the veteran" in order to carry out its political policies; 6. The Legion has on occasion used

a dogmatic defense against the possibility of its erring by saying "time will prove our way".

It may be argued that the Legion far over-states the common-purpose of devotion to the cause of "Americanism" among its members. While it may be assumed that a large portion of its membership actively supports or tacitly agrees to the Legion's definition of "Americanism", it might be pointed out that large numbers of Legionaires have joined the organization for other purposes. The desire to have a place to "belong", the chance to escape from a tiresome home life, the possibility of helping a struggling business, and the necessity of belonging to further a political career are other reasons which might be offered for members joining the Legion. It might be said that the active promotion of "Americanism" is openly advocated by only a small percentage of Legion members; by far the majority merely ignore the situation.

The latent fears of the readers could be seen to be stimulated and activated by the printing of the material warning of the Communist threat. It might be said the Legion capitalizes on these fears to set itself up as "big brother" to the "helpless" reader and tries to enlist his support by offering to "fight his battle" for him. The Legion would thus gain needed support and have reasonable assurance of the continued membership of these people. It could be alleged that the Legion uses the "imminent danger" of Communism, the weakness of existing defenses against Communism, and the Legion as a

co-ordinator and leader in the fight against the "menace" as part of a promotional program of the organization.

The challenge to the non-partisan claim of the Legion could offer that the analysis has thus far shown strong indication of the Legion taking "sides" in all areas of political and economic activity. Perhaps a better description of the Legion would be "bi-partisan". That is, it works with both or all sides to gain its viewpoint. It might also be said that previous studies done on the Legion have indicated that the leadership of the Legion comes from such backgrounds as to render impossible the quality of non-partisanship. It might refute a Legion claim of representative government by saying that the structure of the organization was such that the leadership could actually be selected by a inner-core of elite.

It might be argued that the Legion uses the technique of discrediting the opposition to its organization to still all criticism that might interfere with the chosen course of action. It could be pointed out that the sample showed the Legion scorned its critics by saying that they came from dark questionable places, were tools of the radicals, used unfair methods, and were trying to hurt the veteran.

Some doubt might be cast on the Legion claim that its membership was a "true cross-section" of the American veteran. Some studies of the group have concluded that the members did have interests and ties atypical of the veteran as a group. It

might be said that even if the organization were a "cross-section", the content of the magazine did not reflect that impartiality.

The dogma of denying the possibility of being wrong, though perhaps common to most groups, could be said to be shown in extreme measure in the theme "time will prove the Legion's way is the right way". It might be argued that the Legion thus cut off debate on all its decisions by assuming that it was incapable of wrong-doing and justifying even the most dubious decisions by claiming "time will tell."

G. Domestic Governmental Policy

The role of government in domestic affairs was connected in some manner to almost half of the themes in the category list. For this reason, only the themes that have a direct bearing on the area will be discussed.

The more relevant themes include: "16. Immigration is hurting this country; it should be rigidly controlled or eliminated completely. We may already have more immigrants in this country than we can handle;" "21. You can't trust today's politicians very far;" "24. The primary function of government should be service; the regulatory function is only secondary;" "28. The federal government should not go into areas, such as housing, where private enterprise is already operating; these public enterprises, where necessary, should be locally controlled and not given advantages private enterprises do not have. State governments are less inefficient than the federal government; they should be given power commensurate to the federal government in order to keep a balance;" "29. Waste, inefficiency, and excessive spending in government and the subsequent high taxes are threats to the 'American Way'; we must reduce the national debt."

Other themes pertinent to the area are: "57. We should guard against control by the few or tyranny by the masses;" "61. Aliens smuggled into the U. S. tend to be

despicable, treacherous, and diseased; they must be kept out at all cost;" "66. Government should develop water power and other natural resources of the nation;" and "74. "Let's keep partisan politics out of important issues."

The threat of immigration to the "American Dream" has already been discussed. The "threat" corresponds to the theme "immigration is hurting this country..." It was the 16th most common with 2.0% of the favorable references. The only thing that can be added is the bearing the theme has on government action. In this instance the Legion saw the federal government as the protector of the American people. It called on the Congress to stop immigration for a set number of years. If this could not be done, it recommended a strict quota system which would have to suffice.

A distrust of at least certain groups of public officials was a strong thread that ran through the content of the Legion magazine. It was expressed by the theme "you can't trust today's politicians very far." The theme was 21st most common with 1.6% of the favorable references. A wide variety of things were ascribed to the politicians. They built party machines; they were failures in the "practical world of affairs;"[75] they fought patriotic groups; they made false promises; they did not have the interest of the whole nation at heart; they were dishonest. Not all men in

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[75]Kelland, "Why I Am Proud to be An American," ALM 11.

political life were accused, but it was impossible to separate the "wheat from the chaff"; names were not mentioned. In roughly one-third of the 64 references a comparison was made to the more honorable politicians of the past. The four references in disagreement took two different forms. One said that modern politicians were no different from those of any other day; the other pointed out the need for a strong party organization in the modern world.

If the Legion magazine had been urging strong action by the federal government in the curtailment of immigration, it was equally as vehement in advocating the curbing of that federal power in other areas. This was illustrated by three separate themes in the category list. The first was the theme "the primary function of government should be service; the regulatory function is only secondary." It was the 24th most common with 1.3% of the favorable references. One article in the sample saw the regulatory function of government as having only to "maintain justice for all;"[76] much more important was the giving of service to the nation's industry. The article said our society was too complex to be simply regulated; government regulation with its "red-tape" only slowed down production and hurt prosperity. During the depression an article said the New Deal

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[76]Whittlesey, "The Way Out," 8.

"crude and imperfect."[77] Two articles and National Commander's message during World War II had references to the theme. One article said the "present administration" had been rightfully chastized for trying to "revolutionize our Constitutional Democracy" under the guise of war emergency.[78] It warned that the government must quickly drop its "dictatorial controls" after the close of war. The other article said that some people "high in government circles", had tried to encourage a "paternalistic system of government."[79] It continued that "the present political leadership" was "undermining our values and our national character" and were "opportunists" preaching the "inevitability of National Socialism."[80] The National Commander warned that "new foreign ideologies," entirely antagonistic to "our American Way of life" were seen threading their way through the halls of government."[81] Sixteen of the 62 references to the theme were in disagreement. All were contained in one article which was a largely favorable evaluation of the N. I. R. A. during the early days of the New Deal. It said the federal government was the only agency big enough to prevent

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[77]Marquis James, "History Under our Eyes," in ALM (January, 1934), 16:10.

[78]O. Glenn Saxon, "Victory: On From There," in ALM (March, 1943), 34:14.

[79]Taylor, "How to Win the Peace," 14.

[80]Taylor, "How to Win the Peace," 14.

[81]Roane Waring, National Commander, "No More Betrayals," in ALM (August, 1943) 35:7.

depression and lauded the New Deal "school of economic thought" which had cast off the "rugged individualism" which had become a "fetish" and had substituted a "democratic planned economy."[82] It is interesting to note that this article was written by the semi-official biographer of the Legion, Marquis James.

Another theme urging limitation of the power of the federal government was "the federal government should not go into areas...where private enterprise is already operating...." It was the 28th most common theme with 1.1% of the favorable references. Among the favorable sub-themes referred to were: the state governments should be given power commensurate with the federal government; no government should control the foreign trade and internal finance of the country; the government should not seize the coal mines; the federal government is more inefficient than the state governments;[83] unemployment is essentially a local problem;[84] over-centralization is evil - the framers of the Constitution feared federal power; capital and labor can solve the nation's unemployment problems;[85] government must

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[82]James, "History Under Our Eyes, ALM, 10.

[83]Kelland, "Why I Am Proud To be an American," ALM, 11.

[84]ALM, unsigned, "You Are Your Brother's Keeper," (December, 1931), 11:15.

[85]Starnes, "They're On the Run," ALM 17.

be the owner, not the umpire; and the government has travelled far along the road to socialism.[86]

Dissent was registered in eight of the 49 references to the theme. The references which said that the government could do much to regulate society; that it could help the depression by public works and aid the veteran in solving the housing problem.[87]

A final theme advocating a restraint of the federal government was "waste, inefficiency, and excessive spending ...are threats to the 'American Way'..." The theme was 29th most common and had 1.0% of the favorable references. Numerous articles had references to the threat posed to the "American Way" by the high national debt, the need to reduce the debt, and to the desire to curtail government spending. Other sub-themes with one article referring to each are; we must make sure there is not a dollar wasted in government spending; the government has spent too much on emergency measures; expensive social welfare legislation is dangerous; federal employees cost the government too much money:[88] the federal government's recovery plans have

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[86]Clarence Manion, "We Can Win on These Terms," in ALM (July, 1951), 51:9.

[87]ALM, letters from readers, "Sound Off!" (July, 1946), 41:6.

[88]ALM, letters from state posts, "The Voice of the Legion" (June, 1934), 16:38.

failed; individual's working out their own problems can solve the depression:[89] redistribution of income merely reduces all to the pauper class;[90] and the administration has spent unnecessary sums on government undertakings.

Six of the 43 references to this theme were in disagreement. Those referred to the sub-themes: balancing the budget can become a "fetish";[91] the government is trying to reduce our national debt (1928); and there is a great need for a public works program.[92]

The theme "we should guard against control by the few or tyranny by the masses" was the 57th most common and had 0.3% of the favorable references. Two articles with 12 references were recorded for the theme. The references were quite evenly divided between the two dangers. No references were in disagreement.

The dangers of unlawful immigration were told of in the theme "aliens smuggled into the U. S. tend to be despicable..." The theme was the 61st most common with 0.2% of the favorable references. The references told of the

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[89]William H. Garrigns, "Not This or This but This," ALM (April, 1935), 18:3.

[90]Saxon, "Victory: On From There," ALM, 14.

[91]ALM, letters from state posts, "The Voice of the Legion" (August, 1933), 15:36.

[92]Starnes, "They're On the Run," ALM, 17.

appalling number of aliens being smuggled into the country, of the menace they created to America, and of the need for appropriating more funds to be used in combatting the smuggling. Again no references were in disagreement.

A seeming reversal of the Legion concept of limited federal power was seen in the theme "government should develop water power and other natural resources of the nation." The theme was the 66th most common and had 0.2% of the favorable references. The references to the theme called for development of the national airports and of water power (pre-TVA). They often used a general term "national plant", to apply to this sphere of needed governmental development. Once again there was no dissent.

The need for governmental non-partisanship was expressed in the theme "let's keep partisan politics out of important issues." The theme was the 74th most common and its three references constituted 0.1% of the favorable content. One of the references accused the administration of using partisan politics in the prosecution of the war.[93]

The over-all distribution of references in each time period for themes in this area shows the highest proportion within each time period in 1923-1926 and 1919-1922; the lowest in 1946-1949 and 1950-1951.

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[93]Saxon, "Victory: On From There," ALM, 14.

Among the individual themes the distribution showed that: no references were made after the period 1934-1937 either to the theme "immigration is hurting this country..." or to the theme "you can't trust today's politicians very far;" and all six references to the theme "government should develop water power and other natural resources of the nation" came in the period 1926-1929.

As has been mentioned in the section on "internal threats", it is difficult to say whether the lack of later references to immigration indicates a lack of concern or whether it merely means that in regard to immigration policy the Legion's way has prevailed.

A similar drop-off of references to "you can't trust today's politicians very far" could indicate the Legion has gained greater access to the government and is now afraid to offend their "insiders". The location of all references to the development of the national plant in the period 1926-1929 could indicate that this development was intended to aid, not harm the business community. To balance this idea it could be argued that this period of occurrence was one when the interests of the administration and of the expanding corporations closely coincided. It must be remembered, however, that there were only six references--hardly enough to say very much about the distribution of the theme.

Some possible hypotheses that can be set up from the themes in this area are: 1. The Legion's domestic governmental policy cannot be classified simply--it calls for a limitation of governmental action in some areas and for an expansion of governmental power in others. 2. The Legion's advocacy of a strong governmental action in preventing immigration is designed to re-enforce the fear-hate attitudes of out-groups by its readers; 3. The Legion's call for the limitation of the regulatory function of government is an attempt to give the business community freer range of operation; 4. The Legion's urging of more power for the state governments and for warnings against excessive taxation are also attempts at giving the business community greater freedom; 5. The Legion support of the government building-up the "national plant" is, in reality, an attempt to subsidize private industry and illustrates the "myth of rugged individualism"; and 6. The idea of the Legion in "keeping partisan politics out of important issues" is an example of the "bi-partisan" nature of the interest group.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to place the domestic policy of the Legion in a simple category. Its call for the strength of government action on various issues ranges all the way from very strong intervention to extreme "hands off". The basis for its policy, the Legion has claimed, is the word of our founding fathers; however, it could be said that it is very difficult to find anything in

the Constitution or in the writings of any of the nation's designers that would give justification to the confusing and seemingly conflicting views of governmental power. The strong Legion feeling against immigration and the smuggled-in alien could be said to be an attempt to capitalize on the fear-hate attitudes of its readers toward the out-group in order to gain support for the organization and for the American economic system. It could be argued that the Legion attempts to set up an "either-or" situation with America, democracy, the Legion and the untrammeled economic system functions of the in-group and immigrant, the smuggled-in aliens, foreign "isms", and government regulations as the functions of the hated out-group. It might be said to be also part of the Legion's efforts to sell itself as the court of final appeal for American patriotism. If it could sell itself in this manner, it could help sell its policy of freedom-aid to corporate enterprise.

If the Legion called for a policy of strong government intervention in the immigrationquestion, it seemed to favor just as strong a view of non-intervention in the economic system. It might be said that the Legion here tried to make the government look like a block to, instead of a restorer of, the free flow of competition.

The government might be seen to assume a scapegoat function here. Government was always seen as a potential threat to our "cherished American traditions;" it was never,

in the field of internal regulation, seen as the protector of those values. It could be pointed out that the Legion made rather frequent references to the government turning toward other "isms". It might be argued that this was an attempt to associate the "government" with the hated out-group symbols. It could be said that many more references in the sample were opposed to the policies of the New Deal and Fair Deal than were for it. The only pro-New Deal references came in the early part of F. D. R.'s reign when the Chamber of Commerce had just given its blessing to the N. I. R. A. It could be argued that not much time had elapsed before the "honeymoon" was over.

The call for "commensurate powers" for the state governments and for the warnings about excessive taxation might be said to be in actuality attempts to give the government greater freedom. In the case of the "commensurate power" it may be argued this would not increase the power of the state governments nearly as much as it would have limited the sphere of the federal government. It seems true that the corporations have in almost all cases found it much easier to gain access to the state governments than to the federal governments. It might be said that as long as the corporations had the ability to threat to leave the state that "over-regulates" private industry, it would hold a strong weapon over the state legislatures and enable the corporations to gain a more free range of operation. It is

also noteworthy that the Legion used the phrase "less inefficient" instead of "more efficient" when referring to the state governments. The frequent references calling for a reduction of the national debt seem to leave little doubt that the Legion could be labeled as an advocate of conservative economics.

The development of the "national plant" and the call for government to give "service" to private industry, both shown to be advocated by the Legion in the theme analysis, might be cited as examples of the "myth of rugged individualism." The traditional "myth" of "free enterprise" has been seen as each business free of governmental restraint and private agreements competing in a free and equal market. It might be asked if these themes did not suggest the government as a participant in the production process--as the servant of corporative enterprise? The benefits of the call for governmental development of water power, under the Legion's plan, it could be argued, would go to private enterprise. The development of the national airports and the maintainence of the merchant fleet both advocated by the Legion on the basis of national best-interest, might be also seen as a mockery of the "rugged individualism."

The desire of the Legion to be bi-partisan may be seen in the theme "let's keep partisan politics out of important issues." This desire, it might be said, is held by most interest groups. It would seem to be to the advantage of

these groups to be bi-partisan in order to keep a greater cohesion of the group than would be the case if there was a split over party lines.

H. Veterans: Their Problems and Actions.

The Legion view of its real and potential membership also is a justification of the organization's existence. Unless the Legion could give the term "veteran" some status or function to make it stand out from other groups, it could hardly make a successful plea for membership. These distinctive properties of the "veteran" made up the material of this category.

Showing the Legion view of the veteran are the themes: "7. Since impoverished and badly treated veterans have been the core of past radical movements, business and government and everybody should try to help the veteran. The Legion fights for veterans' rights;" "14. Veterans have a natural leadership because of their war experiences. Service in the armed forces makes men virtuous;" "31. While veterans should be content with their lot under the "American Way" and should not be led into forming radical political blocs, they should band together to protect 'Americanism'. An international organization of veterans might be able to keep the peace;" and part of "44. We must be wary and protect ourselves against entrenched politicians, dangerous elements, and secretive individuals who conspire against the veterans."

The veteran was pictured as someone in need of help in the theme "...everybody should try to help the veteran..." The theme was the 7th most common and had 3.6% of the favor-

able references. In 15 of the articles studied, reference was made to the Legion fighting for veteran's rights. Other sub-themes mentioned were: politicians should go through with their promises to veterans; the public has not done much for the veteran; the administration,has gone too far in cutting veteran's compensation and in refusing to give veterans bonuses; it is the first duty of the President and Congress to see that veterans receive compensation for their war service; we must do more for the veteran; veterans have been thecore of past radical movements; and a "larger status" should be granted the veteran. There were no references in disagreement.

The virtues instilled by service in the armed forces were depicted in the theme "veterans have a natural leadership...." The theme was 14th most common with 2.3% of the favorable references. The theme can be divided almost evenly into two parts: the qualities and attainments of the veteran and the value of war training. The former contained references which said that veterans were gaining office on all levels of government because they had an undisputed leadership and were the fittest people to run the government.[94] They pictured the veterans of the past having an important place in politics and predicted the modern veteran would retain that place in the future. The veterans, how-

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[94]White, "In the Seats of the Mighty," ALM, 18.

ever, were superior not only in political leadership but in many other respects. Itwas said that they were the best physical and mental specimens, the best citizens,[95] and the fittest people in the nation to decide military policy.

The references to this theme viewed service experience as giving men "guts"[96] and making them virtuous.[97] The army discipline was seen as a benefit and good training for citizenship. Other sub-themes were: the army offers valuable vocational training, the army makes men "efficient";[98] and that few men were worse off when they came out than when they went in.[99]

Eighteen of the 101 references to this theme were in disagreement. Among the dissenting sub-themes were: veterans are not gaining public office in some areas; pacifists say service experience makes men militaristic; veterans should not try to hold offices for which they are not qualified; the army makes men inefficient; veterans don't make

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[95]Walter J. Kohler, "I Believe Our Legion Post is Typical," in ALM (December, 1936), 21:5.

[96] For example see: Meredith Nicholson, "All for One--One for All," ALM (March, 1928) 4:6.

[97]For example see: Meredith Nicholson, "All for One--One for All", ALM (March, 1928) 4:6.

[98]General J. G. Harborg, "Inside vs. Outside," ALM (July, 1931), 11:15.

[99]ALM, letters from readers, "Sound Off!" (July, 1946), 41:6.

better citizens than anyone else; and the army does not make men better physically or mentally. Most of these references were in the form of letters-to-the-editor and "what some people say" items.

The need for veterans to band together peacefully was stated in the theme "while veterans should be content with their lot...they should band together to protect 'Americanism." The theme was the 31st most common and had 1.0% of the favorable references. The theme told of the need of veterans to band together to protect their own rights and to preserve the values of "Americanism". Two articles with 11 references called for the veterans all over the world to band together to work for peace. During the depression one article urged the veterans to take the economic privation just as they had taken their war experiences--by marching forward.[100] Other articles urged the new veterans to get into the production process as soon as possible and rejoiced that this country's veterans had not formed political blocs. The association of veterans was justified on one occasion by saying that resiniscence of war experience produce patriotism and a comradeire of the patriotic.[101]

One article with three references said that some people

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[100]White, "In the Seats of the Mighty," ALM, 18.

[101]Harborg, "Do We Talk Too Much," ALM, 39.

claim it is harmful for the veterans to reminisce over battles which occurred more than a decade ago.[102] This was the only instance of dissent.

The theme "we must be wary and protect ourselves against...individuals who conspire against the veteran" has already been discussed in the section on the "internal threats to our nation." It is relevant here only to point out that the Legion magazine on numerous occasions warned the veteran that many people from dark places were conspiring against him.

The over-all distribution of references in each time period for themes in this area shows the period 1922-1926 to be the time of greatest occurrence and the period 1938-1941 to have the least incidence.

An analysis of the individual themes by time-period distributions in this area did not bring out much importance. The theme "...everybody should try to help the veteran" showed the greatest incidence in the periods 1946-1949, 1930-1933 and 1934-1937. These made up 9.1%, 6.9%, and 6.7% of their respective time periods. The lowest periods were 1938-1941, with no occurrences, and 1926-1929, with 1.0% . The peaks during the depression and the immediate post-World War II periods could be explained by both being primarily membership appeals: The former for the destitute veteran

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[102] Harborg, "Do We Talk Too Much," ALM, 39.

who never joined the Legion but may now if it will help him; and the latter for the World War II veteran who is in need of a group that will help him gain economic security. Again, it must be remembered that these are only hypotheses.

Hypotheses set up for this area area: 1. The Legion, in order to acquire greater power, depicts the veteran as weak and in need of help; 2. The Legion shows the veteran to be a "special person" in order to bestow status on such an identification and stimulate the need for the organization of the veterans; 3. The Legion tries to sell the organization to the veterans by showing that a "special need" exists for the function of such a group; 4. The Legion tries to capitalize on the veteran's fear of the secretive and the unknown by using the idea of "conspiracy" against the veteran in order to sell the "protection" of the Legion.

It might be said that the Legion attempts to make him discontent enough to join their organization and yet not irritated enough to register disgust with the "American Way." To say this another way, the Legion tries to effect a monopoly of veteran's unrest. It appears that the Legion tries to a greater extend to convince the veteran his "natural rights have been taken away than it has tried to convince him that he is deserving of some new kind of right. It could be pointed out that the Legion places considerable emphasis on the weakness of the veteran--that great harm will come to

him unless he promptly takes some action to defend himself.

The veteran as a "special person" might be said to be another phase of the Legion's program to sell itself to the veteran. It could be argued that, unless the term "veteran" was seen to be deserving of status by a large share of the American public, it could not hope to obtain new members and the confidence of the public. The frequent references of the legion to "service in the armed force makes men virtuous" may be seen as an illustration of this idea. If veterans were "virtuous" in the eyes of the American public, what better way was there for the veteran to raise his status in the community than by joining the organization that would show the people his "virtue"? The relating of the attainments of veterans in politics and in other fields apparently could be used in this same argument. It might be said that here was a "bandwagon" device of sorts being used to develop a "we" feeling of the veteran for the group.

If the superiority of the veteran could be said to be used to work on the potential membership of the group, it apparently was also being applied to the general public. The Legion claim that the veteran was the fittest to decide military policy could be taken to mean the Legion was the correct judge of such policy. It might be argued that such claims and others like the army giving men "guts" ignore some very important considerations For example, it could be pointed

out that it disregards the fact that only a small minority of men in the service ever saw battle. There is also a serious question whether military service, even battle experience, endows men with "guts" or special military "know-how."

The entire Legion view of the army might be said to evidence some sort of acceptance of the military authoritarian scheme of things. In addition to the "army making men virtuous" the Legion was also shown to refer to the "army efficiency" and the educational value of U. M. T. This may also be the result of having to appeal to a great number of professional military men who are members of the Legion. (It has been pointed out that 12.5% of the Legion magazine readers are government workers.)

The need for the veteran to be kept from turning to radicalism was an idea frequently mentioned in the content of the Legion magazine. It might be said that this reflects the worry by the Legion that the returning veteran would try to enact some changes in the economic order-of-things. It might also be said to be the rationale of the existence of the organization by claiming a "special need."

It could be argued that the Legion tries to sell the veteran the "protection of its organization against a conspiracy of the unknown and the hidden. It can be shown that the theme "we must be wary and protect ourselves against entrenched politicians, dangerous elements, and secretive

elements who conspire against the veterans." It might be viewed as the attempt to convince the veteran he should not "go it alone" and instead give his vote of proxy to the Legion to fight his battle for him.

I. Personality and Human Behavior.

The Legion's concept of motivation and its effect on personal action in political, economic, and social affairs is the general scope of this area. While the themes by no means afford comprehensive coverage of this concept, it is hoped they do point up some real considerations of what lies beneath the "ideology" of the Legion.

Themes included in this area are: "19. Human nature being what it is, there will always be wars and economic disasters. It is comforting to know, however, that they are of short duration and things are better than ever afterwards"; "20. Hardship and deprivation make men and nations stronger and more virtuous"; "26. It's good to stick to the old ideas in education, 'common-sense'psychology, and economics. Now is the time to return to the traditional values of family, home, church, and the 'individual'"; "35. We should always respect and be obedient to constituted law and order"; "51. Money isn't everything; you can be happy without lots of money. Money may be evil"; "55. Young people, being tender-minded, sometimes get radical ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down"; "65. Might is not necessarily right"; "71. You can't legislate human nature"; and "75. The devil makes work for idle hands".

Themes discussed in another area but also relevant to this area are: "1. America should always be prepared because

force and strength, though not fear, are the only real ways of keeping things under control...."; "15. Our hot and cold war enemies are brutal and inhuman"; "21. You can't trust today's politicians very far"; "37. The press often tends to mislead its readers...."; "44. We must ...protect ourselves against entrenched politicians...who conspire against the veterans"; and "69. Time will prove the Legion's way is the right way".

More than a dozen articles in the sample said that human nature remains forever unchanged. They were included in the theme "human nature being what it is, there will always be wars and economic disasters". The theme was 19th most common with 1.6% of the favorable references. It was said that human nature prevented permanent peace and perennial prosperity. Some articles said that to try to attain these goals by "world government" and by "economic planning" was foolish, if not dangerous. It was pointed out that these visionary schemes often blocked needed defense measures and interfered with the normal economic order of things. Other articles pictured life as an interminable war[103] and called upon everyone to fight the evil in themselves and in others.[104] A prediction of a better world after the calamities was a common sub-theme. All

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[103] James, "Blankville Sees It Through", ALM, 14

[104] For example see: Roy Dickinson, "The Coward Never Started", ALM (August, 1933), 15:13

pointed out that there was a chance for world peace today.[105]

A return to traditional value was urged in the theme "it's good to stick to the old ideas in education, 'common-sense' psychology, and economics...." The theme was the 26th most common and had 1.2% of the favorable references. Among the sub-themes in agreement were: we must guard against the adoption of crack-pot ideas that pose as economic panaceas--almost all are contrary to economic law;[106] we must regain our traditional free individualism; we must regain our democracy--our moral and intellectual foundation and the faith of our founding fathers;[107] self-dependence must be preserved;[108] we need a rebirth of spiritual values--'modern' clergymen must change their conception of religion and bring it back to American values;[109] the school and home training must be brought back to appreciate America; the old ideas of education will prevail;[110] and men cannot be made into statistics.[111]

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[105] ALM, editorial, "Christmas Card",(December,1926),1:26

[106] For example see: ALM,letters from post papers,"The Voice of the Legion", (August,1933),14:36

[107] Taylor, "How to Win the Peace," ALM, 14

[108] Ford, "The Idea Behind Greenfield," ALM, 7

[109] ALM, letters from state posts,"The Voice of the Legion", (June, 1934), 16:38

[110] ALM, editorial, "A Chance for the Unpromising", (March 19,1926), 8:8

[111] ALM, editorial, "A Chance for the Unpromising," 8

Two references in one article said that the progressive educators claim they are 'realistic'.[112] These were the only dissenting references out of a total of 44.

The benefits that can come from struggles in war and depression are told in the theme "hardship and deprivation make men stronger and more virtuous." The theme was the 20th most common and had 1.6% of the favorable references. Much of this theme has already been discussed under other sections. It is of significance to this discussion to note, however, that the Legion opinion on this theme indicates the individual becomes stronger through ordeal and combat. The corollary to this idea in the theme is that men and nations must keep constantly "in training" to keep "fit".

The theme "we should always respect...law and order" was 35th most common and had 0.8% of the favorable references. A reminder that "we must always wait for the President and Congress to declare war"[113] was the most frequently occurring sub-theme. Other sub-themes were: law and order must be maintained; the Legion stands for law and order; and lynching should be made unsafe and soon it will be unpopular.[114] There were no references in disagreement.

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[112]Armstrong, "Treason in the Textbooks", ALM, 8

[113]For example see: Raymond J. Kelly, National Commander, "Keep Out--Keep Ready!", ALM (November, 1939) 27:1

[114]Frederick Palmer, "A Personal View--France Shows the Way", ALM (May,1927) 1:84

It has been mentioned before that the Legion magazine seems to view success largely in terms of monetary acquisition; however, the theme "you can be happy without lots of money..." seems, outwardly at least, to be a denial of this single standard. The theme was 51st most common with 0.4% of the favorable references. It was said that money had no intrinsic value; it was meaningful only in terms of what it could buy. Money, the magazine said, could be good or evil; getting more and having more than your neighbor may bring unhappiness.[115] Four of the 18 references were in disagreement. These viewed money as the backbone of the economy and as a "changer of needs and so of price."[116]

Conservatism seemed to be equated with normalcy in the theme "young people...sometimes get radical ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them...." The theme was 55th most common and had 0.4% of the favorable referemces. Radicalism was seen as a function of being young; the subversives were said to believe in "getting them young". Conservatives were seen as being level-headed and tolerant; one article said they were needed to set the government's economic policies. There were no references in disagreement among a total of 18.

The theme "might is not necessarily right" was 65th most common with six references representing 0.2% of the favorable

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[115] White, "In the Seats of the Mighty", ALM, 18

[116] Whittlesey, "The Way Out--Produce", ALM, 8

items. One reference defined "might" in general terms; three saw it as exemplified by the Kaiser; and two viewed it as demonstrated by Mussolini.[117] Again there were no references in disagreement.

The unchanged ways of human nature as applied to the legislative process was seen in the theme "you can't legislate human nature". The theme was 71st most common and its four references constituted 0.1% of the favorable items. It was said that "laws that are not written in the consciences of men do little good and may do great harm"[118] and that you can't force "farm human nature."[119] No dissenting references were recorded.

The two references to the theme "the devil makes work for idle hands" said that men can learn viscious habits in idleness. The theme was 75th most common and had 0.1% of the favorable references.

Other themes relevant to the discussion of this area but discussed earlier are listed on the first page of this section. They testify in varying degrees to: the need for "force" in the control of the world order; the immorality of "today's" politicians; the immorality of the press; the presence of se-

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[117] Frederick Palmer, "A Personal View", ALM, (August, 1928) 5:33

[118] ALM, editorial, "What Say?" (May, 1927) 1:26

[119] Frederick Palmer, "A Personal View", ALM, (April,1930), 8:25

cretive elements plotting against the veteran; and the correctness of the Legion's views as to be shown by the test of time.

The over-all distribution of references in each time period for all themes in this area shows the periods 1930-1933, 1934-1937, and 1938-1941 as having the greatest amount of material. This could be the result of this area merely having a greater collection of themes dealing with depression topics. A more critical explanation might be that the Legion was here trying to rationalize the malfunctioning of our economic system or the status quo by reducing the national calamity to a personality level so as to make it appear as the natural order of things.

An analysis of the individual themes by time-period distribution shows the themes "human nature being what it is, there will always be wars and economic disasters" and "hardship and deprivation make men and nations stronger and more virtuous" to have very similar patterns of occurrence. The former had 0.2% of the favorable references in 1919-1922; 0.9% in 1923-1926; 1.6% in 1926-1929; 7.1% in 1930-1933; 1.7% in 1934-1937; 0.9% in 1938-1941; 0.8% in 1942-1945; 0.3% in 1946-1950; and 0.0% in 1950-1951. The latter had 0.7% in 1919-1922; 0.0% in 1923-1926; 0.6% in 1926-1929; 5.3% in 1930-1933; 3.4% in 1934-1937; 2.9% in 1938-1941; and no references in subsequent periods. The explanations that have been posited for the distribution for the entire area can also be applied here.

Twenty-seven of the 42 favorable references to the theme "it's good to stick to the old ideas...." came in the periods, 1942-1945 and 1930-1933. The remaining 15 references were spread over five other time-periods. The distribution in terms of percentage also shows these two periods to be the greatest for this theme. This could be seen as an example of the Legion "sitting on the lid of reform" by advocating conservative policies in periods of great change. Of course, this can neither be proved nor disproved by the available data.

As might be expected, the theme "money isn't everything" had its peak occurrence during the depression. Six of the 14 references to the theme came in the period, 1934-1937. This could be the worthwhile spreading of contentment and the advocacy of a more healthy standard than money. However, it could also be the reluctant admission by the Legion of widespread discontent and the attempt to quell the unrest as a result.

The area on "personality and human behavior" yields the following hypotheses: 1. The Legion holds a pessimistic view of human nature which is manifested in its views on political, economic, and social questions; 2. The Legion's support of "traditional values" is, in effect, an attempt to create a business community free from government intervention and a citizenry blindly loyal to the economic system; 3. The Legion's concept of the virtues of hardship and deprivation, perhaps delineated from Calvinism, serve to make the reader content

with his economic situation; 4. The Legion's urging the maintenance of "law and order" reflects the group's desire for conventional respectability and common-acceptance of its impartiality; 5. The association of the "conservative" and "normality" has an anti-intellectual base and represents a rationalization by the older members of the group; 6. The vastly over-simplified concept of the impossibility of "legislating human nature" is used by the Legion to resist change in the "old order" of things; and 7. The Legion's idea that "the devil makes work for idle hands" is another instance of the use of Calvinistic philosophy as applied to social situations.

The Legion apparently has accepted the Hobbesian idea of the "rotteness of life in the state of nature" judging by the frequent mention of the theme "human nature being what it is, there will always be wars and economic disasters." It would seem to make any basic reform impossible and perhaps paves the way for a "keeping things under control by force" idea. It might be said that there are also overtones of social-Darwinism in the Legion view of human nature. The argument seems to be that, since human beings are by their natures in direct competition with one another with nature selecting the fittest to survive and prosper, it is only in great error that man acts to change the inevitable scheme of things. It would thus be indicated the Legion favors a policy of a free and unregulated economic order--a situation where the Legion

apparently contradicts itself by calling for government service to business and a building of the "national plant". The pessimistic view of human nature could also serve a two-fold purpose: as a justification of his actions to the "successful" man and as a rationalization to the "failure" that his fellow humans "let him down."

It might be argued that the "traditional values" for which the Legion has spoken are actually inapplicable to an industrial society. It would be seemingly impossible to "preserve" them; a "regression" would be necessary to accomplish this. It might be seen that these "traditional values" were used only in the political and social spheres; no attempt was made to urge the return to an older economic structure. It seems to claim the presence of a body of economic "law"; once possessed and now threatened by the government. Apparently the Legion sees no contradiction in the modern corporation existing along-side a laissez-faire, limited governmental structure. From the evidence available, it would seem the Legion desires that the business community be given a free-rein of activity.

The label of "ultra-conservative" might be associated with the Legion's "traditional values" in religion, education, and in other forms of social behavior. In the religious sphere, this would seem to constitute a refutation of the "social gospel" and a return to fundamentalism. It is hard to say how this fundamentalism could be reconciled with

the doctrines of social-Darwinism which the Legion has seemingly incorporated into its ideology. It might be charged that the Legion actually wants to throw out all progress in American thought in the last century. At any rate, the return to the "traditional values" would seem to be a fiction -- we can never go back. The return to the "traditional values" in social behavior might be cited as an example of the Legion's advocating the use of authoritarian methods in the school and home. It may also be a vast understatement of the nature of social behavior -- a return to the "primary groups" would also seem very difficult in an industrial society.

The longing for the "traditional values" and the labeling of the "conservative" as "normal" might be said to have as their common base an anti-intellectual appeal. The resentment of the older generation towards the younger and of the uneducated toward the learned might be used here to foster the cause of the business community. The use of "you can't make men into statistics" is but one of the indications that the Legion uses an anti-intellectual appeal. The antagonism toward education may be especially effective as a counter to the threat posed to the self-made man. Studies of the Legion might be interpreted as bearing out that there are a great number of such men in the Legion.[120]

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[120]Starch, Consumer Magazine, 8.

The Legion's attempt to make the reader content with his lot may be seen in the theme "hardship and deprivation make men and nations stronger and more virtuous." The method here may be to make the reader feel part of a "far bigger thing" and try to instill in him patience to wait for a "better tomorrow". It may contain a note of determinism in the idea of the "eternal progress of America;" however, the Calvinistic doctrine of virtue through adversity may be the dominant root here. It might be argued that this idea fits in well into a militaristic-authoritarian point of view.

The Legion's urging "...respect and obedien(ce) to constituted law and order" apparently reflects the group's desire for conventional respectability and common-acceptance of it impartiality. The continued repetition of commonly agreed-upon axioms might be seen as the Legion's attempt to gain a status of impartial judge or neutral observer of American society.

The use of anti-intellectual appeal in the resistance to reform might also be indicated by the theme "You can't legislate human nature." It could be said that this sets up the "old way" as the natural order of things that "common-sense" had seen all along. It might also be argued that this idea denies that reform is possible without unanimous consent. It might, for example, fail to see any

difference between prejudice and discrimination and would conclude, therefore, that all civil rights laws were useless.

"The devil makes work for idle hands", although occurring only twice in the sample, might be an additional example of the Legion's application of Calvinistic philosophy to social situations. Here the Legion seemed to assume that an idle individual would, inevitably get into trouble. This idea might also have been the reasoning used in the Legion's calling for an acceptable substitute in the giving of shorter hours to workers.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We have seen in the preceeding chapter that the Legion magazine's content is largely concerned with telling of the glory of America and of the need for the defense of the nation against external nations and internal radicalism.

America was depicted as a great nation; with a past splendid in history, a present right in opportunity, and a future limitless in possibility. Its message was seen as being worthy of unimpaired propagation.

The challenge was seen almost as vividly as the glory. Since most other large nations were greedily competing against America, it was necessary to build and maintain a large force ready to meet any attack. The challenge was said not to come only from foreign armies, but also from foreign "isms". Come what may, the Legion gave full notice it stood ready to meet any agression.

After giving a lengthy breakdown of the Legion content by areas and by themes, it became necessary to decide what in sum total its place in the confusing mass of groups in the political process.

It is possible to conclude that the study did wrest some coherence out of the huge body of Legion content. While the large number of themes suggests a rather confusing "ideological" pattern, a great part of the measured content fell into relatively few theme categories. More than half the references were found in 12 of the themes. It was also true that a majority of themes had references in more than seven of the 252 articles. Although most themes were referred to in many different ways, almost all showed great internal consistency of meaning. It may thus be said that the results seem to justify the assumption of a "picture" being represented by the Legion content.

All evidence agrees with the basic assumption that the Legion is the true voice of its leadership--it appears to say just what the policy-makers want their members to hear. As evidence of this, it might be shown that over 90% of the total theme references were favorable. In addition, those that did disagree were clearly labeled "unfriendly opinion" or could be said to be intended by the leaders to give both sides of the question. The technique might be used to help raise the status of the group by purporting to be impartial while playing to both sides of the "fence". The method would seem almost a necessity for an organization whose ranks show such widespread over-lapping of group memberships.

The leadership appears, on the basis of the thematic analysis, to have advocated that its membership divest itself of many of their individual powers in favor of the collective action of the group; the veteran would be a junior-partner in the "father-son" protectorate with the Legion. The veteran was pictured as the weak yet virtuous victim of a conspiracy to defraud him of his rights. The Legion was depicted as the strong and vigilant "father" who watches benignly over his flock.

Much of the content of the magazine was shown to be devoted to the gaining of group membership and cohesion through the presentation of a "need" for such organization and of a "justification" of its continuing function as a group. The "need" may be said to be the most easily accomplished. The helplessness, of the veteran, the necessity of propagating the "American Way", and the "special person" of the veteran all serve the first end. The "justification" seems to depend upon the gaining and holding of "status." As one author says:

> "Groups that enjoy high status in the society can best succeed in their invoking for their purposes the values and attitudes that are held by most of the population. They carry the prestige that goes with such status.....
>
> The groups and individuals that enjoy most prestige in a society are

> those that are given major credit for the most highly valued achievements of the society; their status is high."[1]

The values and attitudes appealed to by the Legion might include: America, Americanism, the veteran, morality, law and order, economic equality, laissez-faire, success, non-partisanship, virtue, strength, frugality, tolerance, and truth. The Legion appears to try to associate itself with these values and purports to work for their defense.

The discrediting of "opponents" and their opinions was shown to be a technique frequently employed by the Legion. The pacifist was depicted as weak, deceitful, and blood-thirsty; the "anti-veteran" was entrenched, dangerous, and secretive; most foreign nations were imperialistic and untrustworthy; enemy nations were brutal and inhuman; immigrants were potentially subversive and un-assimilative; smuggled-in aliens were diseased and despicable; and the Communists were Moscow-directed and diabolical.

If the opponents were all "black", the friends were, conversally, all "white". America was glorious and benevolent; the veteran was moral and deserving; the economic system was strong and full of opportunity; the army was educational and efficient; and the business man was virtuous and far-seeing.

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[1]David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York, 1951), 249.

The Legion magazine offered many such "black" and "white" (dichotomous) situations. The good vs. evil and altruism vs. imperialism left little ground for "shades of grey".

It may be said that the study has given ample evidence to pass judgment on the question: Does the Legion support the view of the business community in its views as seen in the content of the group's magazine? The preponderance of evidence indicates that it does. Some of the indicators of the common-purpose are listed in the appendix as theme numbers: 4, 12, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 39, 43, 45, 53, and 64. The possible implications of the orientation of these themes with the economic system have been discussed in the preceeding chapter. The references are of such frequency and of near unanimity of agreement that there is little doubt the Legion magazine holds views of economic conservatism--closely similar to those said to be backed by the business community.

Thus far we have viewed the content of the Legion magazine as being separate and distinct from the views actually held by the group's leadership. Opinion, however, cannot exist in a vacuum. It would seem to be necessary for the leader to reconcile his opinions and behavior; either to the extent of believing the content in its entirety or in accepting the intent of the material as justification of the "manipulation" of the audience. A more meaningful analysis might be accomplished by searching for greater insight into the genesis of the Legion's ideas in the

in the personality of the leadership.

An amazingly close parallel can be seen between the themes from this study and the items offered as being characteristic of an "authoriatarian" person by T. W. Adorno and other psychologists at the University of California.[2] The group was attempting to discover basic psychological factors underlying the opinions and behavior of the prejudiced individual.

One of the manifestations of prejudice that was offered was "ethnocentrism". This was defined as "a provincialism or cultural narrowness...(and) a tendency in the individual to be 'ethnically centered', to be rigid in his acceptance of the culturally 'alike' and in his rejection of the 'unlike'.[3] Opinion-attitude scales were used in the measurement. The scale was divided into three sub-scales: "Negro", "minorities", and "patriotism". The "patriotism" sub-scale showed the similarity to the Legion content. The author described this ethnocentric sub-scale:

> "This subscale contains ten items dealing with international relations and viewing America as a group in relation to other nations as outgroups. The term 'patriotism" as used here does not mean 'love of country.' Rather, the present concept involves blind attachment to certain national cultural values, uncritical

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[2]T. W. Adorno et al., "The Authoritarian Personality (New York, 1950).

[3]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 102

> conformity with the prevailing group ways, and rejection of other nations as outgroups. It might be better termed pseudopatriotism and distinguished from genuine patriotism, in which love of country and attachment to national values is based on critical understanding. The genuine patriot, it would appear, can appreciate the value and ways of other nations, and can be permissive toward much that he cannot personally accept for himself. He is free of rigid conformish, outgroup rejection, and imperialistic striving for power.[4]

The description of "ethnocentrism" could seem descriptive of the Legion. A comparison of the separate scale items presents similar relationships. The scale item, "patriotism and loyalty are the first and most important requirements of a good citizen"[5] seems quite at least close to the Legion "ideology", if it is not mentioned directly in any of the themes. A much closer relationship seems to exist between the scale item "there will always be superior and inferior nations in the world and, in the interests of all concerned, it is best that the superior ones be in control of world affairs"[6] and the themes "America is the greatest nation in the world" and "America should support world organization as long as she has the biggest say." The themes certainly asserted American superiority and seemed to justify the

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[4]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 107-108

[5]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 108.

[6]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 108.

Legion's advocacy of American domination by saying it was the best for all.

An almost perfect alignment seems to exist between the scale item "the main threat to basic American institutions during this century has come from the infiltration of foreign ideas, doctrines, and agitators"[7] and themes such as "the only acceptable 'ism' is 100% Americanism," "there is a ... dangerous element of Communists in American institutions," and "since U. S. Communists are Soviet agents, they should be eliminated...." The Legion has certainly seen these foreign influences as a threat to our American institutions and judging by the frequence of occurrence of these themes, they were the "main threat."

The scale item "there will always be wars because, for one thing, there will always be races who ruthlessly try to grab more than their share"[8] seems very close to the themes "human nature being what it is..." and "...most other nations are imperialistic." The Legion clearly indicates that it believes war to be inevitable. While reference to "selfish races" never occurred in the sample, mention was made of the "American race" and told of the threat posed by the Oriental races.

Other "ethnocentric" scale items which may closely

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[7]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 108.

[8]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 108.

parallel Legion themes are: "European refugees may be in need, but it would be a big mistake to lower our immigration quotas and allow them to flood the country;" "minor forms of military training, obedience, and discipline, such as drill, marching and simple commands, should be made a part of the elementary school educational program;" and "present treatment of conscientious objectors, draft evaders, and enemy aliens is too lenient and mollycoddling. If a person won't fight for his country, he deserves a lot worse than just prison or a work camp."[9]

It perhaps should be noted that the sub-scale of "patriotism" correlated .83 and .76 with the "minorities" and "Negro" subscales.[10] This could indicate that the Legion's agreement to many of the items in the "patriotism" sub-scale also meant it had some "ethnocentric" ideas in other areas and that some deeper basis exists for the opinions they hold. It is also interesting to read that "ethnocentrism" was significantly correlated with support of the American Legion.[11]

The Berkeley group also constructed an "anti-democratic" scale.[12] Nine variables were derived which were said to be

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[9]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 108.

[10]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 113.

[11]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 152.

[12]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 222-224.

descriptive of a person receptive to anti-democratic propaganda.[13] Again we see many of the variables and their component items as possessing great similarity to the themes of the Legion study.

For example, the first variable, "conventionalism" is defined as rigid adherence to conventional, middle-class values."[14] The Legion could be said to contain a great deal of this type of material. The value the Legion sees in the regimentation of army life could be quite similar to "conventional" sub-scale item of "obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn."[15] A second item under this variable, "if people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off,"[16] appears even closer to the frequently mentioned sub-theme "more work and less talk will end the depression." This was part of the theme "production is the cure for our economic ills." It could be argued that a third item under "conventionalism", "the business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor,"[17] was just another way of saying

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[13] Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 228.

[14] Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 255.

[15] Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 255.

[16] Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 255.

[17] Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 255.

"the business community is largely responsible for American progress" and "...business men are virtuous."

Other variables and their definitions were: authoritarian submission, submissive uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup; authoritarian aggression, tendency to be on the lookout for, and to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values; anti-intraception, opposition to the subjective, the imaginative, the tender-minded; superstition and stereotypy, the belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate -- the disposition to think in rigid categories; power and toughness, preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power figures; overemphasis upon the conventionalized attributes of the ego, exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness; destructiveness and cynicism, generalized hostility, vilification of the human; projectivity, the disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the world, the projection outward of unconscious emotional impulses; sex, exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on."[18]

All variables except the last offer strong ties with the content of the Legion magazine. Perhaps the absence of

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[18]Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 228.

comparable themes is more the result of the difference from the attitude scale to the content study than a lack of real likenesses in this area.

Some of the items which show a great deal of similarity to the themes of the Legion study include: "human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict;" "science has its place, but there are many important things that can never be understood by the human mind;" "young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down;" "nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering;" "an insult to our honor should always be punished;" "when a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things;" "people can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong;" and "most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places."[19]

Leaving the field of the possible "authoritarianism" of the Legion, we become concerned with the problem of the Legion as a responsive group in the political process.

We have explored in considerable detail the "ideology" of the Legion magazine which may be authoritarian in nature. What effects do the expression of this "ideology" have on

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[19] Adorno, Authoritarian Personality, 255-257.

the attitudes and actions of its readers? It could be said that few people's thinking would be radically changed by reading the magazine. Rather, it would more commonly serve to reinforce and activate the pre-existing attitudes of the readers. Thus, if the Legion content is "authoritarian", it will have the greatest effect on those readers whose personalities would be susceptible to general anti-democratic material.

If the Legion views reached any widespread degree of popular acceptance, however, it would have far-reaching effects on all members in society. Without realizing it, they might be afraid to speak what is really on their minds and act in the way they really wish to -- the "playing it safe" to keep respectability. It is not comforting in today's crisis to realize that the increment of such "safe" behavior seems directly related to the degree of supra-emotional thinking in the nation.

The Legion viewpoint is at present probably riding on a high-tide of popular fear and reaction. Voices counter to the Legion viewpoint are small and unheard by most Americans. While it would be fool-hardy to predict that we are thus on a clear road to Fascism, it makes the need for adequate research in this area imperative.

Not only is it necessary for students equipped with ever-improving social science tools to gain clear and comprehensive insights into such problems, but that their work

be integrated, focused, and transformed to a level of popular comprehension. Until a more realistic picture of the governmental process reaches the average citizen, he will continue to be ill-equipped to make the necessary decisions in a modern democracy.

A P P E N D I X

Table A. SUBJECT-MATTER. Frequency of Occurrence: Column-inches and Items.

	I 1919-26		II 1926-31		III 1932-38		IV 1939-45		V 1946-52		Total	
	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.
A. WAR-RELATED ACTIVITY.	1617	53	4046	45	4809	40	5304	61	2544	43	18320	242
1.Military Activity, Experiences, Tributes	444	14	2884	21	3179	22	2600	21	710	17	9817	94
a.World War I.	367	11	2384	16	2816	20	1739	12	11	1	7317	60
b.World War II.	-	-	-	-	-	-	562	6	699	16	1261	22
c.other & general.	77	2	500	5	363	2	299	3	-	-	1239	12
2.Veteran's Affairs.	877	30	958	12	651	7	380	4	1207	21	4073	74
a.general discussion & forms of aid.	516	12	688	8	427	4	258	2	661	9	2250	35
b.employment & self-employment.	283	8	150	1	82	1	117	1	524	10	1156	21
c.veterans' problems & news other than employment.	55	4	120	3	142	2	-	-	22	2	339	11
d.group action by veterans.	23	6	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	28	7
3.Defense, Preparedness, & Training.	159	6	198	11	645	6	1591	21	483	4	3076	48
a.general Congressional policy, new warfare, value of army.	93	4	59	5	546	5	851	9	343	3	1892	26
b.training, personnel, army conditions.	66	2	59	4	-	-	565	9	140	1	830	16
c.compulsory military training.	-	-	78	1	99	1	111	2	-	-	288	4
d.military science & education.	-	-	2	1	-	-	64	1	-	-	64	2
4."Current" Wartime Military Activity.	40	3	6	1	334	5	306	7	-	-	686	16
a.American soldier; problems, awards, conduct.	36	2	-	-	334	5	-	-	-	-	370	7
b.theaters of war-action	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	306	7	306	7
c.justification of "current" or recent war.	4	1	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	2
5.Civilian Responsibilities.	-	-	-	-	-	-	412	7	144	1	556	8
a.aid to servicemen-USO	-	-	-	-	-	-	254	3	144	1	398	4
b.homefront German-Japanese "problem".	-	-	-	-	-	-	110	2	-	-	110	2
c.response to war; draft dodgers, slackers etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	1	-	-	30	1
d.general.	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	1	-	-	18	1
6.Military Occupation.	97	1	-	-	-	-	15	1	-	-	112	2

	I		II		III		IV		V		Total	
	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.
B. INTRA-GROUP ACTIVITY.	2157	92	3665	50	5375	51	3849	40	2511	38	17573	271
1.Miscellaneous Legion News & Announcements.	145	12	2021	19	1046	10	23	1	1249	12	4484	54
2.State & Post News.	579	25	306	7	1716	14	1571	10	22	1	4194	57
3.Convention reports & publicity.	344	6	479	4	922	6	823	6	271	3	2939	25
4.Community, National, projects.	330	6	228	3	484	4	331	4	-	-	1373	17
5.Auxiliary news & publicity.	268	8	246	2	214	1	413	3	212	3	1353	17
6.Letters from readers.	168	6	-	-	209	6	63	3	478	13	918	28
7.Group personages.	44	3	172	2	583	7	93	1	12	1	904	14
8.Pleas for support.	112	16	6	2	33	1	352	4	96	1	599	24
9.Official messages; statements of purpose.	80	9	108	10	166	2	180	8	39	2	573	31
10.Financial Reports.	5	1	99	1	-	-	-	-	132	2	236	4
C. DOMESTIC IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT.	239	10	905	13	389	6	873	14	835	7	3241	50
1.Americanism & Americanism programs.	196	7	586	10	249	5	423	9	178	2	1632	33
a.general discussion.	26	1	370	4	-	-	306	7	-	-	702	12
b.youth programs.	-	-	3	1	183	3	99	1	178	2	463	2
c.assimilation & immigration.	135	2	206	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	341	4
d.patriotic programs, holidays, & dedications.	35	4	7	3	66	2	-	-	-	-	108	9
e.supervision over textbooks.	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	1	-	-	18	1
2.Communist, Socialist Threat	28	2	319	3	140	1	-	-	675	5	1144	11
3.Combined Threats of Communism, Socialism, & Fascism.	-	-	-	-	-	-	450	5	-	-	450	5
4.Fascist Threat.	15	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	1
D. LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITY.	175	9	510	5	521	6	217	4	1703	27	3126	51
1.Recreation,Travel, Games, Home Furnishing, Hobbies.	80	2	313	2	477	5	150	1	599	6	1619	16

		I		II		III		IV		V		Total	
		C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.
	2.Mostion Pictures, Radio, TV, Contests.	7	1	93	2	44	1	-	-	554	8	698	12
	3.Clothes, Fashions, Gifts.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	517	12	517	12
	4.Music, Painting, Classical Arts.	33	1	104	1	-	-	67	3	-	-	204	5
	5.Books, Comics.	25	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	1	56	6
E.	HISTORICAL MATERIAL.	129	2	1114	10	800	8	695	6	256	5	2994	31
F.	SPORTS.	41	3	347	5	737	8	790	7	1173	16	3008	39
	1.Miscellaneous.	3	1	4	1	364	4	240	2	455	7	1066	15
	2.Other Competitive Sports.	5	1	185	1	373	4	-	-	164	2	727	8
	3.Sports of Ordinary Citizen.	-	-	37	1	-	-	213	2	469	6	719	9
	4.Football.	33	1	118	1	-	-	228	2	85	1	464	5
	5.Baseball.	-	-	3	1	-	-	9	1	-	-	12	2
G.	FOREIGN NATIONS & U.S. FOREIGN RELATIONS.	360	10	350	18	575	5	548	9	729	5	2562	47
	1.European Nations.	324	6	257	9	324	3	209	3	433	2	1547	23
	a.France.	231	4	239	3	-	-	176	2	270	1	916	10
	b.Germany.	93	2	11	4	118	1	33	1	163	1	418	9
	c.Others & general.	-	-	7	2	206	2	-	-	-	-	213	4
	2.International Organization & World Peace.	13	3	77	4	125	1	113	2	157	2	485	12
	3.Other Nations.	23	1	4	1	-	-	76	1	138	1	242	4
	4.Asian Nations.	-	-	6	2	-	-	150	3	-	-	156	5
	a.China.	-	-	3	1	-	-	100	1	-	-	103	2
	b.Other.	-	-	3	1	-	-	50	2	-	-	53	3
	5.U.S. Colonial Policy	-	-	6	2	126	1	-	-	-	-	132	3
H.	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	196	9	322	17	694	7	261	3	1026	11	2499	47
	1.Business, Industry.	162	3	161	3	640	6	-	-	583	6	1546	18
	2.Money, Finance, Taxes.	26	4	151	10	54	1	-	-	137	1	368	16
	[illegible]	-	-	3	1	-	-	177	2	135	1	305	4

		I		II		III		IV		V		Total	
		C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.
	3.Use of Natural Resources.	-	-	3	1	-	-	177	2	125	1	305	4
	4.General.	-	-	-	-	-	-	84	1	47	2	131	3
	5.Labor.	4	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	34	1	40	3
	6.Agriculture.	4	1	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	3
I.	SCIENCE.	96	2	487	8	464	5	56	1	399	4	1502	20
	1.Technological Advances.	-	-	207	5	184	2	-	-	399	4	790	11
	2.Medicine & Health.	96	2	280	3	280	3	56	1	-	-	712	9
J.	CRIME, ACCIDENTS, & CHARITY.	117	1	19	3	346	3	249	2	67	1	798	11
	1.Non-ideological Investigations & Reforms.	117	1	13	1	-	-	175	1	-	-	305	4
	2.Natural Disasters & Charity.	-	-	3	1	225	2	74	1	-	-	302	4
	3.Crime & Criminal Law.	-	-	3	1	121	1	-	-	67	1	191	3
K.	MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL.	60	10	102	12	275	3	90	1	130	6	657	32
L.	EDUCATION, SAFETY, & THE FAMILY	99	2	11	4	206	2	-	-	244	2	560	10
M.	PEOPLE: PERSONAL & SOCIAL.	13	3	6	2	110	1	85	4	184	2	398	12
	1.Obitiuaries.	13	3	-	-	-	-	20	2	184	2	217	7
	2.Personal Achievement.	-	-	6	2	110	1	65	2	-	-	181	5
N.	CIVIC & DOMESTIC POLITICAL ACTIVITY.	23	4	129	12	179	2	33	1	-	-	364	19
	1.Citizen's Participation in Government.	5	1	99	4	96	1	-	-	-	-	220	6
	2.Acts & Processes of Govt.	14	2	24	6	83	1	-	-	-	-	121	9
	3.Minority Group Problems.	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	1	-	-	33	1
	4.Republican Personalities.	4	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2
	5.Minor Political Parties.	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1

	I		II		III		IV		V		Total	
	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.	C.I.	It.
O. RELIGION.	-	-	2	1	208	2	-	-	-	-	210	3
TOTALS	5340	210	12015	205	15686	149	13050	153	11801	167	57892	885

KEY

C.I.---Column inches
It. ---Number of items

Figures corresponding to lower case letters add up to the total in arabic numerals immediately above them.

Figures corresponding to arabic numerals add up to the total corresponding to the Capital letters immediately above them.

Table B. SUBJECT MATTER. Percentages of Column-inch Totals Within: Each Time Period; Category; Sub-category and All Time Periods.

Category	I 1919-26 %T*	%C**	II 1926-31 %T	%C	III 1932-38 %T	%C	IV 1939-45 %T	%C	V 1946-52 %T	%C	Total %T	%C
WAR-RELATED ACTIVITY.	30.2		33.6		30.6		40.6		21.5		31.6	
1.Military Activity, Experiences, Tributes.	8.3	27.4	24.0	71.2	20.2	66.1	19.9	49.0	6.0	27.9	16.9	53.5
a.World War I.	6.8	82.6	19.8	82.6	17.9	88.5	13.3	66.8	.1-	1.5	12.6	74.5
b.World War II.	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.3	21.6	5.9	98.5	2.1	12.8
c.other & general.	1.5	17.4	4.2	17.4	2.3	11.5	2.3	12.6	-	-	2.1	12.6
2.Veterans' Affairs.	16.4	54.2	7.9	59.2	4.1	13.5	2.9	7.1	10.2	47.4	7.0	22.2
a.general discussion forms of aid.	9.6	58.8	5.7	71.8	2.7	65.5	1.9	67.8	5.6	54.8	4.4	62.6
b.employment & self-employment.	5.2	32.2	1.2	15.6	.5	12.5	.8	30.7	4.4	43.4	1.9	28.3
c.veterans' problems & news other than employment.	1.0	6.2	1.0	12.6	.9	22.0	-	-	.1	1.8	.5	8.3
d.group action by veterans.	.6	2.8	-	-	-	-	.1	2.5	-	-	.1-	.8
3.Defense, Preparedness, & Training.	2.9	9.8	1.6	4.8	4.1	13.4	12.1	29.9	4.0	18.9	5.3	16.7
a.general Congressional policy, new warfare, value of the army.	1.7	58.4	1.4	29.7	3.4	84.6	6.5	53.4	2.9	71.0	3.2	61.5
b.training, personnel, army conditions.	1.2	41.6	.4	29.7	-	-	4.3	35.5	1.1	29.0	1.4	26.9
c.compulsory military training.	-	-	.6	39.3	.6	15.4	.8	6.9	-	-	.4	9.3
d.military science & education.	-	-	.1-	1.0	-	-	.4	4.0	-	-	.1	2.1
4."Current" Wartime Military Activity.	.7	2.4	.1-	.1	2.1	6.9	2.3	5.7	-	-	1.1	3.7
a.American soldier; problems, conduct.	.6	90.0	-	-	2.1	100.0	-	-	-	-	0.6	53.9
b.theaters of war.	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.3	100.0	-	-	0.5	44.6
c.justification of "current" or recent war.	.1	10.0	.1-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	1.4
5.Civilian Responsibility.	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.1	7.7	1.2	5.6	0.9	3.0
a.aid to servicemen-USO	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.9	61.6	1.2	100.0	0.6	71.5
b.homefront German-Japanese "problem".	-	-	-	-	-	-	.8	22.6	-	-	0.1	19.7
c.response to war; draft-dodgers, slackers, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	.2	7.2	-	-	0.1-	5.3

	I		II		III		IV		V		Total	
	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C
d.general.	-	-	-	-	-	-	.1	4.3	-	-	0.1-	3.2
6.Military Occupational.	8	5.9	-	-	-	-	.1	.2	-	-	0.1	.6
INTRA-GROUP ACTIVITY.	40.7		30.5		34.2		29.4		21.2		30.3	
1.Miscellaneous Legion News & Announcements.	2.7	6.6	16.8	55.1	6.6	19.4	.1	.5	10.5	49.7	7.7	25.5
2.State & Post News.	10.8	26.6	2.5	8.3	10.9	31.9	12.0	40.8	.1	.8	7.2	23.8
3.Convention Reports & Publicity.	6.4	15.8	3.9	13.0	5.8	17.1	6.3	21.3	2.4	10.7	5.0	16.7
4.Community & National Projects.	5.0	12.3	2.0	6.7	1.3	3.9	3.1	10.7	1.7	8.4	2.3	7.6
5.Auxiliary News & Publicity.	6.1	15.1	1.8	6.2	3.0	9.0	2.5	8.5	-	-	2.3	7.8
6.Letters from Readers.	3.1	7.7	-	-	1.3	3.8	.4	1.6	4.0	19.0	1.5	5.2
7.Group Personages.	.8	2.0	1.4	4.6	3.7	10.8	.7	2.4	.1	.4	1.5	5.1
8.Pleas for support.	2.0	5.1	.1-	.1	.2	.6	2.6	9.1	.8	.5	1.0	3.4
9.Official Messages; Statements of Purpose.	1.4	3.6	.8	2.9	1.0	3.0	1.3	4.6	.3	1.5	.9	3.2
10.Financial Reports.	.1-	.2	.8	2.7	-	-	-	-	1.1	5.2	.4	1.3
DOMESTIC IDELOGICAL CONFLICT.	4.4		7.5		2.5		6.6		7.0		5.3	
1.Americanism & Americanism Programs.	3.6	82.0	4.8	64.7	1.5	64.0	3.2	48.4	1.5	21.3	2.8	53.3
a.general discussion.	.4	13.2	3.0	63.1	-	-	2.3	72.3	-	-	1.2	43.0
b.Youth programs.	-	-	.1-	.5	1.1	73.5	.7	23.4	1.5	100.0	.7	28.3
c.assimilation & immigration.	2.5	68.8	1.7	35.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	.5	20.0
d.Patriotic programs, holidays.	.6	17.8	.1	1.1	.4	26.5	-	-	-	-	.1	6.6
e.supervision over textbooks.	-	-	-	-	-	-	.1	4.2	-	-	.1-	1.1
2.Communist, Socialist, Radical Threats.	.5	11.7	2.6	35.2	.8	35.9	-	-	5.7	78.6	1.9	35.2
3.Combined Threats of Communism, Socialism, & Fascism.	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.4	51.5	-	-	.7	13.8

	I		II		III		IV		V		Total	
	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C
4.Fascist threat.	.2	6.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.1-	.4
LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITY.	3.2		4.2		3.3		1.6		14.4		5.3	
1.Recreation, Travel, Games Homes, Hobbies,	1.4	45.7	2.7	61.3	3.0	91.5	1.1	69.1	5.0	35.1	2.7	51.7
2.Movies, Radio, TV, Contests.	.1	4.0	.7	18.2	.2	8.4	-	-	4.6	32.5	1.2	22.3
3.Clothes, Fashions, Gifts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.3	30.3	.8	16.5
4.Music,Painting, Classical Arts.	.6	18.8	.8	20.3	-	-	.5	30.8	-	-	.3	6.5
5.Books, Comics.	.4	14.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	.2	1.9	.1	1.8
HISTORICAL MATERIAL.	2.4		6.0		5.0		4.9		2.1		5.2	
SPORTS.	.7		2.8		4.6		6.0		9.9		5.3	
1.Miscellaneous.	.1-	7.3	.1-	1.1	2.3	49.3	1.8	30.3	3.8	38.7	1.8	34.5
2.Other Competitive Sports.	-	-	.3	10.6	-	-	1.6	26.9	3.9	39.9	1.2	23.2
3.Sports of the Ordinary Citizen.	.1-	12.1	1.5	53.3	2.3	50.7	-	-	1.3	13.9	1.2	23.5
4.Football.	.6	80.4	.9	34.1	-	-	1.7	28.8	.7	7.2	.8	15.0
5.Baseball.	-	-	.1-	.8	-	-	.1-	1.1	-	-	.1-	.3
FOREIGN NATIONS & U.S. FOREIGN RELATIONS.	6.7		2.0		3.6		4.1		6.1		4.4	
1.European Nations.	6.0	90.0	2.1	73.4	2.0	56.3	1.6	38.1	3.6	59.3	2.6	60.3
a.France.	4.3	71.2	1.9	92.9	-	-	1.3	84.2	2.2	62.3	1.5	59.2
b.Germany.	1.7	28.7	.1-	4.2	.7	36.4	.2	15.8	1.3	37.7	.7	27.0
c.other & general.	-	-	.1-	2.7	1.3	63.5	-	-	-	-	.4	13.8
2.International Organization & World Peace.	.2	3.6	.6	22.0	.7	21.7	.8	20.6	1.3	21.5	.8	18.9
3.Other Nations.	.4	6.3	.1-	1.1	-	-	.5	13.8	1.1	19.0	.4	9.4
4.Asian Nations.	-	-	.1-	1.1	-	-	1.1	27.3	-	-	.2	6.0
5.U.S. Colonial Policy	-	-	.1-	1.1	.7	21.7	-	-	-	-	.2	5.1

	I		II		III		IV		V		Total	
	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.	3.6		2.6		4.4		2.0		8.6		4.3	
1.Business, Industry	3.0	82.6	1.3	50.0	4.0	92.2	-	-	4.9	56.8	2.6	68.0
2.Money, Finance, Taxes	.4	13.2	1.2	46.8	.3	7.7	-	-	1.1	13.3	.6	14.7
3.Use of Natural Resource.	-	-	.1-	.9	-	-	1.3	67.8	1.0	12.1	.5	12.2
4.General.	-	-	-	-	-	-	.6	32.1	.3	4.5	.2	5.2
5.Labor.	.1-	2.0	.1-	.6	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	.2	3.3	.1-	1.6
6.Agriculture.	.1-	2.0	.1-	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	.1-	.3
SCIENCE.	1.7		4.0		2.9		.4		3.3		2.5	
1. Technological Advances	-	-	1.7	42.5	1.1	39.6	-	-	3.3	100.0	1.3	52.5
2.Medicine & Health.	1.7	100.0	2.3	57.5	1.8	60.4	.4	100.0	-	-	1.2	47.5
CRIME, ACCIDENTS, & CHARITY.	2.1		.1		2.2		1.9		.5		1.3	
1.Non-ideological Investigations & Reforms.	2.1	100.0	.1	68.4	-	-	1.3	70.2	-	-	.5	38.2
2.Natural Disasters & Charity.	-	-	.1-	15.7	1.4	65.0	.6	29.8	-	-	.3	17.6
3.Crime & Criminal Law.	-	-	.1-	15.7	.8	35.0	-	-	.5	100.0	.3	44.1
MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL.	1.1		.8		1.7		.6		1.1		1.1	
EDUCATION, SAFETY, & FAMILY.	1.8		.1-		1.3		-		2.0		0.9	
PEOPLE: PERSONAL & SOCIAL.	.2		.1-		.7		.6		1.5		0.6	
1.Obituaries.	.2	100.0	-	-	-	-	.1	23.5	1.5	100.0	0.3	54.5
2.Personal Achievement.	-	-	.1-	100.0	.7	100.0	.5	76.5	-	-	0.3	45.5
CIVIC & DOMESTIC POLITICAL ACTIVITY.	.4		1.0		1.1		.2		-	-	0.6	
1.Citizen's Participation in Government.	.1-	21.7	.8	76.7	.6	53.6	-	-	-	-	0.3	54.9
2.Acts & Processes of Government.	.2	60.8	.1	18.6	.5	46.4	-	-	-	-	0.2	33.2

	I		II		III		IV		V		Total	
	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C	%T	%C
3.Minority Group Problems.	-	-	-	-	-	-	.2	100.0	-	-	0.1-	9.0
4.Republican Personalities.	.1-	17.3	.1-	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1-	1.9
5.Minor Political Parties.	-	-	.1-	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1-	.8
RELIGION.	-	-	.1-		1.3		-		-		0.3	

KEY
C.L.---Column - inches
It. ---Number of Items

Percentages corresponding to lower case letters add up to the total corresponding to the arabic numberals immediately above them.

Percentages corresponding to arabic numerals add up to the total corresponding to the capital letters immediately above them.

Table C. SUBJECT MATTER: Percentages of Column-Inch Totals for the Main Categories.

	Category.	I 1919-26	II 1926-31	III 1932-38	IV 1939-45	V 1946-52	Ave.
A.	War-related Activity.	30.2%	33.6%	30.6%	40.6%	21.5%	31.6%
B.	Intra-Group Activity.	40.7	30.5	34.2	29.4	21.2	30.3
C.	Domestic Ideological Conflict.	4.4	7.5	2.5	6.6	7.0	5.5
D.	Leisure-time Activity.	3.2	4.2	3.3	1.6	14.4	5.3
E.	Sports.	.7	2.8	4.6	6.0	9.9	5.3
F.	Historical Material.	2.4	6.0	5.0	4.9	2.1	5.2
G.	Foreign Nations & U.S. For. Rel.	6.7	2.9	3.6	4.1	6.1	4.4
H.	Economic Activity.	3.6	2.6	4.4	2.0	8.6	4.3
I.	Science.	1.7	4.0	2.9	.4	3.3	2.5
J.	Crime, Accidents, & Charity.	2.1	.1	2.2	1.9	.5	1.3
K.	Miscellaneous Material.	1.1	.8	1.7	.6	1.1	1.1
L.	Education, Safety, & the Family.	1.8	.1-	1.3	-	2.0	.9
M.	People: Personal & Social.	.2	.1-	.7	.6	1.5	.6
N.	Domestic Political Activity.	.4	1.0	1.1	.2	-	.6
O.	Religion.	-	.1-	1.3	-	-	.3
		99.2	96.3	99.4	98.9	99.2	99.2

THEMATIC ANALYSIS: Frequency of themes: Favorable
nces, Total References, and Number of Articles.
Listed in descending order of occurrence.

	1919-22	1922-26	1926-29	1930-33	1934-37	1938-41	1942-45	1946-49	1950-51	Total* Fav.*	Total	No. of Art.
	5	48	61	43	75	51	20	32	50	385	402	60
	28	4	112	44	3	51	31	-	3	256	365	53
ns.	-	-	25	-	17	36	-	45	85	208	222	17
ican	13	4	19	9	31	62	1	4	27	170	193	23
	9	19	47	28	-	3	42	8	-	156	160	25
	19	8	28	11	4	22	40	1	2	135	139	24
	9	8	5	31	28	-	13	31	5	130	130	28
	27	-	1	21	16	45	1	2	-	113	128	18
	48	2	-	15	3	14	3	10	10	105	135	23
	1	15	16	13	19	25	7	-	-	96	109	25
	-	-	6	-	9	10	-	30	33	88	91	15
	11	3	9	9	9	8	17	19	-	85	87	18
ld	-	-	9	26	-	-	33	16	-	84	85	7
	2	27	20	6	13	-	8	7	-	83	101	19
	-	-	-	-	6	6	5	31	31	79	81	13
	29	40	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	73	80	8
	23	2	12	8	15	4	5	-	-	69	87	21
	11	3	-	4	27	14	-	-	-	59	79	17
itable.	1	2	8	32	7	5	3	1	-	59	66	25
	3	-	2	24	14	16	-	-	-	59	61	11
	41	2	3	10	2	-	-	-	-	58	64	11

Table D. THEMATIC ANALYSIS: Frequency o
References, Total References, and Nu
Listed in descending order of

		1919-22	1922-26	1926-29
1.	America should always be prepared.*	5	48	61
2.	America is the greatest nation in the world.	28	4	112
3.	Large number of Communists in American institutions.	-	-	25
4.	Function of schools is continuations of the "American Way".	13	4	19
5.	America has the most glorious past.	9	19	47
6.	Modern warfare requires total effort.	19	8	28
7.	Everybody should help the veteran.	9	8	5
8.	Aliens should be made to conform to the "American Way".	27	-	1
9.	The Legion defends America against subversive elements.	48	2	-
10.	The U.S. is altruistic; other nations are imperialistic.	1	15	16
11.	U.S. Communists are Soviet agents; they should be eliminated from activity.	-	-	6
12.	There's still plenty of room at the top.	11	3	9
13.	If we retain control of the seas, we can have world economic supremacy.	-	-	9
14.	Service in the armed forces makes men virtuous.	2	27	20
15.	Our hot and cold-war enemies are inhuman.	-	-	-
16.	Immigration should be slashed or eliminated.	29	40	2
17.	The Legion's political guidance is non-partisan.	23	2	1
18.	Critics of the Legion are disloyal and/or stupid.	11	3	-
19.	Human nature makes economic disasters & wars inevitable.	1	2	6
20.	Hardship makes men & nations strong & virtuous.	3	-	-
21.	You can't trust today's politicians.	41	2	-

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	11	-	3	16	1	1	-	1	20	53	63	12
	25	-	-	10	5	-	4	5	-	49	50	10
e overplayed.	15	-	4	-	3	1	23	-	-	46	62	8
	-	-	7	-	-	5	-	14	17	43	48	9
st return	3	6	-	13	2	1	14	-	3	42	44	10
ism".	4	-	3	-	4	15	3	2	10	41	43	17
private	-	-	-	3	-	17	17	-	1	38	49	7
re threats to	-	1	-	9	6	2	11	3	5	37	43	13
ltered.	3	-	6	8	-	11	4	-	4	36	51	17
they should,	23	-	9	1	3	-	-	-	-	36	39	7
selves.	-	-	-	-	-	9	8	3	12	32	37	12
gh wartimes	-	-	-	-	18	14	-	-	-	32	37	6
ployed and	-	-	2	17	13	-	-	-	-	32	35	7
	5	-	5	1	10	8	-	-	-	29	29	12
cts in a	1	-	3	-	1	3	1	20	-	29	29	9
	10	-	1	1	4	-	-	3	8	27	27	9
	-	-	1	5	-	4	2	2	12	26	26	9
thing.	13	-	-	2	3	2	5	-	-	25	25	7
rstand each	2	3	1	2	-	8	-	9	-	25	25	9
our enemies	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	12	23	23	3
up conflict	-	1	-	-	-	15	6	-	-	22	22	5

		1	2	3
22.	Most business leaders are virtuous.	11	-	3
23.	Production is the key to our economic ills.	25	-	-
24.	Government's regulatory function must not be overplayed.	15	-	4
25.	Most labor leaders are anti-communist.	-	-	7
26.	It's good to stick to the old ideas. We must return to the traditional values	3	6	-
27.	The only acceptable "ism" is "100% Americanism".	4	-	3
28.	The federal gvt. should not interfere with private enterprise.	-	-	-
29.	Excessive spending and high taxes by gvt. are threats to the "American Way".	-	1	-
30.	Our Constitution is perfect; it mus'nt be altered.	3	-	6
31.	Veterans should be content with their lot; they should, band together to protect "Americanism".	23	-	9
32.	The U.S. should help nations that help themselves.	-	-	-
33.	The Legion is against war profiteers and high wartimes industrial wages.	-	-	-
34.	We should do all we can to protect the unemployed and other unfortunates.	-	-	2
35.	We should always obey law and order.	5	-	5
36.	Labor has a right to organize provided it acts in a democratic way.	1	-	3
37.	The press often misleads its readers.	10	-	1
38.	God is on our side and fosters our destiny.	-	-	1
39.	Free enterprise and democracy are the same thing.	13	-	-
40.	All nations should be moral and try to understand each other in order to have world peace.	2	3	1
41.	The U.S. State department has given help to our enemies and has violated sacred American traditions.	-	-	-
42.	We should guard against demagogues who stir up conflict around race, creed or class.	-	1	-

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erans.	-	-	16	3	-	-	2	-	-	21	22	3
nows	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	5	-	20	21	2
	4	3	2	1	2	7	-	-	-	19	19	8
ch	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	4	7	16	17	6
	-	3	5	1	2	5	-	-	-	16	16	9
the	-	-	2	-	5	-	7	1	-	15	18	6
	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	12	2	15	17	5
vil.	4	-	4	-	6	-	-	-	-	14	18	8
ass,	-	-	-	-	-	12	2	-	-	14	14	5
	1	-	5	2	1	-	4	-	-	13	19	8
.th	2	-	-	-	-	2	9	-	-	13	13	3
row	-	-	-	2	-	11	-	-	-	13	13	3
	9	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	12	14	3
ay	6	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	12	12	2
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n	-	-	4	1	-	4	-	-	-	9	9	1
ot	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7	2

		1	2	3	4
43.	There is no real conflict between economic or racial groups in the U.S.	-	-	5	-
44.	We must protect against entrenched politicians and secretive individuals who conspire against the veterans.	-	-	16	3
45.	Ever-increasing popular ownership of corporations shows that big business is a truly democratic institution.	-	-	-	-
46.	The U.S. can't be "isolationist".	4	3	2	1
47.	Congressional investigation committees have done much to protect America.	-	-	-	-
48.	We hate war.	-	3	5	1
49.	U.S. should support world organ. as long as she has the biggest say.	-	-	2	-
50.	Communist Russia is the worst enemy of the U.S.	-	-	-	-
51.	You can be happy without lots of money; it may be evil.	4	-	4	-
52.	The Legion does not discriminate as to religion, class, race, or rank.	-	-	-	-
53.	The business community has been largely responsible for American progress.	1	-	5	2
54.	It is to America's advantage that the Legion work with various groups.	2	-	-	-
55.	Young people sometimes get radical ideas; as they grow up they ought to get over them.	-	-	-	2
56.	There are elements in enemy countries that are ripe for revolt.	9	-	-	-
57.	We should guard against control by the few or tyranny of the masses.	6	-	-	-
58.	"Liberals" and "intellectuals" are dangerous when they defend exposed Communists.	-	-	4	-
59.	Germany and other nations should be made to pay their debts.	-	2	-	4
60.	The "common man" is the cornerstone of the "American Way".	-	-	4	1
61.	Sumuggled-in aliens are despicable; they must be kept out at all cost.	-	7	-	-

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ect rce.	-	-	-	-	4	-	3	-	-	7	7	2
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	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	66	6	2
l of	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	2
fare of	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	5	5	3
y.	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	55	5	3
	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	8	3
	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	3
lead	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	1
ainst	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3	3	2
ssues.	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	3	2
	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	1
e better	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1
a	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1
o adopt	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	2	1
	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
TOTALS	407	217	499	450	415	547	381	339	364	3619	4065	

ndensed.

		1	2	3	4
62.	The peace should be moral and just.	-	-	-	-
63.	Wild specuation can hurt the American economy.	-	-	-	7
64.	The U.S. should go to war, if necessary, to protect American investment abroad and freedom to commerce.	-	-	-	-
65.	Might is not necessarily right.	4	-	2	-
66.	Govt. should develop the national plant.	-	-	6	-
67.	Foreigners have no right to be adversely critical of the U.S.	-	-	6	-
68.	A primary concern of business should be the welfare of its workers.	-	-	-	2
69.	Time will prove the Legion's way is the right way.	-	-	-	1
70.	Farm tenancy may be bad for America.	-	-	3	1
71.	You can't legislate human nature.	-	-	3	1
72.	The extremes of pacifism and militarism can only lead to war.	-	4	-	-
73.	In war, America has been on the side of good against evil.	-	-	-	-
74.	Let's keep partisan politics out of important issues.	-	-	2	-
75.	The devil makes work for idle hands.	-	-	-	-
76.	Immigrants from older racial stocks tend to make better citizens than those from newer stocks.	2	-	-	-
77.	Over-centralization of industry can bring about a lessening of self-dependence by the workers.	-	-	-	2
78.	It is to the best interests of foreign nations to adopt the ways of our economic system.	-	-	-	-
79.	There is no such thing as the "right to work".	-	-	-	-
	TOTALS	407	217	499	450

* The phrasing of the themes has been condensed.
** Taken before final recording of themes.

C. THEMATIC ANALYSIS: Percentages of Favorable References and Percentage of Total

	1919-22	1923-26	1926-29	1930-33	1934-37	1938-41	1942-45	1946-50	1950-51	Total Fav.	Total
	1.2	22.1	12.2	9.6	18.1	9.3	5.2	9.4	13.7	10.7	9.9
	2.0	1.8	22.4	9.8	0.7	9.3	8.1	-	0.8	7.1	9.0
tions.	-	-	5.0	-	4.1	6.6	-	13.3	23.3	5.8	4.7
erican	3.2	1.8	3.8	2.0	7.5	11.3	0.3	1.2	7.4	4.7	4.7
	2.2	8.8	9.4	6.2	-	0.5	11.0	2.4	-	4.3	3.9
	4.7	3.7	5.6	2.4	1.0	4.0	10.5	0.3	0.5	3.7	3.4
	2.2	3.7	1.0	6.9	6.7	-	3.4	9.1	1.4	3.6	3.2
can	6.6	-	0.2	4.7	3.9	8.2	0.3	0.6	-	3.1	3.1
	11.8	0.9	-	3.3	0.7	2.6	0.8	3.0	2.7	2.9	3.3
erialistic.	0.2	6.9	3.2	2.9	4.6	4.6	1.8	-	-	2.7	2.7
l be	-	-	1.2	-	2.2	1.8	-	8.8	9.1	2.4	2.2
	2.7	1.4	1.8	2.0	2.2	1.5	4.5	5.6	-	2.4	2.1
world	-	-	1.8	5.8	-	-	8.7	4.7	-	2.3	2.1
s.	0.5	12.4	4.0	1.3	3.1	-	2.1	2.1	-	2.3	2.5
	-	-	-	-	1.4	1.1	1.3	9.1	8.5	2.2	2.0
	7.1	18.4	0.4	-	0.5	-	-	-	-	2.0	2.0
an.	5.7	0.9	2.4	1.8	3.6	0.7	1.3	-	-	1.9	2.1
pid.	2.7	1.4	-	0.9	6.5	2.6	-	-	-	1.6	1.9
vitable.	0.2	0.9	1.6	7.1	1.7	0.9	0.8	0.3	-	1.6	1.6
ous.	0.7	-	0.6	5.3	3.4	2.9	-	-	-	1.6	1.5
	10.1	0.9	0.6	2.2	0.5	-	-	-	-	1.6	1.6
	2.7	-	0.6	3.6	0.2	0.2	-	0.3	5.5	1.5	1.5

Table E. THEMATIC ANALYSIS: Percentages of
References and Percentage of Total

	References. Listed in descending order of occurrence	1919-22	1923-26	1926-29	193 3
1.	America should always be prepared.*	1.2	22.1	12.2	9.
2.	America is the greatest nation in the world.	2.0	1.8	22.4	9.
3.	Large number of Communists in American institutions.	-	-	5.0	
4.	Function of schools is continuation of the "American Way."	3.2	1.8	3.8	2.
5.	America has the most glorious past.	2.2	8.8	9.4	6.
6.	Modern warfare requires total effort.	4.7	3.7	5.6	2.
7.	Everybody should help the veteran.	2.2	3.7	1.0	6.
8.	Aliens should be made to conform to the "American Way".	6.6	-	0.2	4.
9.	The Legion defends America against subversive elements.	11.8	0.9	-	3.
10.	The U.S. is altruistic; other nations are imperialistic.	0.2	6.9	3.2	2.
11.	U.S. Communists are Soviet agents; they should be eliminated from activity.	-	-	1.2	
12.	There's still plenty of room at the top.	2.7	1.4	1.8	2.
13.	If we retain control of the seas, we can have world economic supremacy.	-	-	1.8	5.
14.	Service in the armed forces makes men virtuous.	0.5	12.4	4.0	1.
15.	Our hot and cold-war enemies are inhuman.	-	-	-	
16.	Immigration should be slashed or eliminated.	7.1	18.4	0.4	
17.	The Legion's political guidance is non-partisan.	5.7	0.9	2.4	1.
18.	Critics of the Legion are disloyal and/or stupid.	2.7	1.4	-	0.
19.	Human nature makes econ. disasters & wars inevitable.	0.2	0.9	1.6	7.
20.	Hardship makes men & nations strong and virtuous.	0.7	-	0.6	5.
21.	You can't trust today's politicians.	10.1	0.9	0.6	2.
22.	Most business leaders are virtuous.	2.7	-	0.6	3.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
	6.1	-	-	2.2	1.2	-	1.0	1.5	-	1.4	1.2
verplayed.	-	-	-	0.7	-	3.1	4.5	-	0.3	1.1	1.2
	-	-	1.4	-	-	0.9	-	4.1	4.7	1.2	1.2
return to	0.7	2.8	-	2.9	0.5	0.2	3.7	-	0.8	1.2	1.1
".	1.0	-	0.6	-	1.0	2.7	0.8	0.6	2.7	1.1	1.1
vate	3.7	-	0.8	-	0.7	0.2	6.0	-	-	1.3	1.5
threats to	-	0.5	-	2.0	1.4	0.4	2.9	0.9	1.4	1.0	1.1
ered.	0.7	-	1.2	1.8	-	2.0	1.0	-	1.1	1.0	1.3
ey should,	5.7	-	1.8	0.2	0.7	-	-	-	-	1.0	1.0
ives.	-	-	-	-	-	1.6	2.1	0.9	3.3	0.9	0.9
wartimes	-	-	-	-	4.3	2.6	-	-	-	0.9	0.9
oyed and	-	-	0.4	3.8	3.1	-	-	-	-	0.9	0.9
	1.2	-	1.0	0.2	2.4	1.5	-	-	-	0.8	0.7
s in a	0.2	-	0.6	-	0.2	0.5	0.3	5.9	-	0.8	0.7
	2.5	-	0.2	0.2	1.0	-	-	0.9	2.2	0.7	0.7
	-	-	0.2	1.1	-	0.7	0.5	0.6	3.3	0.7	0.6
ing.	3.2	-	-	0.4	0.7	0.4	1.3	-	-	0.7	0.6
tand	0.5	1.4	0.2	0.4	-	1.5	-	2.7	-	0.7	0.6
our die	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.9	-	3.3	0.6	0.6
up conflict	-	0.5	-	-	-	2.7	1.6	-	-	0.6	0.5
r racial	-	-	1.0	-	-	0.2	-	4.4	-	0.6	0.8

		1	2	3	4
23.	Production is the key to our economic ills.	6.1	-	-	2.2
24.	Government's regulatory function must not be overplayed.	-	-	-	0.7
25.	Most labor leaders are anti-communist.	-	-	1.4	-
26.	It's good to stick to the old ideas. We must return to the traditional values.	0.7	2.8	-	2.9
27.	The only acceptable "ism" is "100% Americanism".	1.0	-	0.6	-
28.	The federal gvt. should not interfere with private enterprise.	3.7	-	0.8	-
29.	Excessive spending and high taxes by govt. are threats to the "American Way".	-	0.5	-	2.0
30.	Our Constitution is perfect; it mus'nt be altered.	0.7	-	1.2	1.8
31.	Veterans should be content with their lot; they should, band together to protect "Americanism".	5.7	-	1.8	0.2
32.	The U.S. should help nations that help themselves.	-	-	-	-
33.	The Legion is against war profiteers and high wartimes industrial wages.	-	-	-	-
34.	We should do all we can to protect the unemployed and other unfortunates.	-	-	0.4	3.8
35.	We should always obey law and order.	1.2	-	1.0	0.2
36.	Labor has a right to organize provided it acts in a democratic way.	0.2	-	0.6	-
37.	The press often misleads its readers.	2.5	-	0.2	0.2
38.	God is on our side and fosters our destiny.	-	-	0.2	1.1
39.	Free enterprise and democracy are the same thing.	3.2	-	-	0.4
40.	All nations should be moral and try to understand each other in order to have world peace.	0.5	1.4	0.2	0.4
41.	The U.S$ State department has given help to our enemies and has violated sacred American traditions.	-	-	-	-
42.	We should guard against demagogues who stir up conflict around race, creed or class.	-	0.5	-	-
43.	There is no real conflict between economic or racial groups in the U.S.	-	-	1.0	-

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and veterans.	-	-	3.2	0.7	-	-	0.5	-	-	0.6	0.5
ons institu-	-	-	-	-	3.6	-	-	1.5	-	0.6	0.5
	1.0	1.4	0.4	0.2	0.5	1.3	-	-	-	0.5	0.5
ne much	-	-	-	-	-	0.9	-	1.2	1.9	0.4	0.4
	-	1.4	1.0	0.2	0.5	0.9	-	-	-	0.4	0.4
e has	-	-	0.4	-	1.2	-	1.8	0.3	-	0.4	0.4
.	-	-	-	-	0.2	-	-	3.5	0.5	0.4	0.4
be evil.	1.0	-	0.8	-	1.4	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.4
on, calss,	-	-	-	-	0.2	2.2	0.5	-	-	0.4	0.3
nsible	0.2	-	1.0	0.4	-	-	1.0	-	-	0.4	0.5
work with	0.5	-	-	-	-	0.4	2.4	-	-	0.4	0.3
they	-	-	-	0.4	-	2.0	-	-	-	0.4	0.3
e ripe	2.2	-	-	-	-	1.1	0.8	-	-	0.3	0.3
	1.5	-	-	-	0.2	-	-	-	-	0.3	0.3
when they	-	-	0.8	-	0.5	0.4	-	-	1.4	0.3	0.3
ay their	-	0.9	-	0.9	-	0.9	-	-	-	0.3	0.5
merican	-	-	0.8	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	0.2
be kept	-	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	0.2
	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.8	-	-	0.2	0.2

		1	2	3	4
44.	We must protect against entrenched politicians and secretive individuals who conspire against the veterans.	-	-	3.2	0.7
45.	Ever-increasing popular ownership of corporations shows that big business is a truly democratic institution.	-	-	-	-
46.	The U.S. can't be "isolationist".	1.0	1.4	0.4	0.2
47.	Congressional investigation committees have done much to protect America.	-	-	-	-
48.	We hate war.	-	1.4	1.0	0.2
49.	U.S. should support world organ. as long as she has the biggest say.	-	-	0.4	-
50.	Communist Russia is the worst enemy of the U.S.	-	-	-	-
51.	You can be happy without lots of money; it may be evil.	1.0	-	0.8	-
52.	The Legion does not discriminate as to religion, calss, race, or rank.	-	-	-	-
53.	The business community has been largely responsible for American progress.	0.2	-	1.0	0.4
54.	It is to America's advantage that the Legion work with various groups.	0.5	-	-	-
55.	Young people sometimes get radical ideas; as they grow up they ought to get over them.	-	-	-	0.4
56.	There are elements in enemy countries that are ripe for revolt.	2.2	-	-	-
57.	We should guard against control by the few or tyranny by the masses.	1.5	-	-	-
58.	"Liberals" and "intellectuals" are dangerous when they defend exposed Communists.	-	-	0.8	-
59.	Germany and other nations should be made to pay their debts.	-	0.9	-	0.9
60.	The "common man" is the cornerstone of the "American Way".	-	-	0.8	0.2
61.	Smuggled-in aliens are despicable; they must be kept out at all cost.	-	3.2	-	-
62.	The peace should be moral and just.	-	-	-	-

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	-	-	-	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	0.2
ct e.	-	-	-	-	1.0	-	0.8	-	-	0.2	0.2
	1.0	-	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	0.1
	-	-	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	0.1
of	-	-	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	0.1
re of	-	-	-	0.4	-	-	-	0.9	-	0.1	0.1
.	-	-	-	0.2	0.2	-	0.8	-	-	0.1	0.1
	-	-	0.6	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.2
	-	-	0.6	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.1
lead	-	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.1
nst	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	0.5	-	-	0.1	0.1
ues.	-	-	0.4	-	-	-	0.3	-	-	0.1	0.1
	-	-	-	-	0.5	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.0**
better	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.0**
	-	-	-	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	0.0**
	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	-	-	-	0.1	0.0**
	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	-	-	-	0.0**	0.0**
	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.7	99.8	100.2	99.9	100.1	99.8	100.4	99.8

		1	2	3	4
63.	Wild specuation can hurt the American economy.	-	-	-	1.6
64.	The U.S. should go to war, if necessary, to protect American investment abroad and freedom of commerce.	-	-	-	-
65.	Might is not necessairly right.	1.0	-	0.4	-
66.	Govt. should develop the national plant.	-	-	1.2	-
67.	Foreigners have no right to be adversely critical of the U.S.	-	-	1.2	-
68.	A primary concern of business should be the welfare of its workers.	-	-	-	0.4
69.	Time will prove the Legion's way is the right way.	-	-	-	0.2
70.	Farm tenancy may be bad for America.	-	-	0.6	0.2
71.	You can't legislate human nature.	-	-	0.6	0.2
72.	The extremes of pacifism and militarism can only lead to war.	-	1.8	-	-
73.	In war, America has been on the side of good against evil.	-	-	-	-
74.	Let's keep partisan politics out of important issues.	-	-	0.4	-
75.	The devil makes work for idle hands.	-	-	-	-
76.	Immigrants from older racial stocks tend to make better citizens than those from newer stocks.	0.5	-	-	-
77.	Over-centralization of industry can bring about a lessening of self-dependence by the workers.	-	-	-	0.4
78.	It is to the best interests of foreign nations to adopt the ways of our economic system.	-	-	-	-
79.	There is no such thing as the "right to work".	-	-	-	-
		99.9	99.9	100.0	99.7

* The phrasing of the themes has been condensed.

** Rounds off to less than 0.1%.

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Complete Theme List--Revised Form.

1. America should always be prepared because force and strength, though not fear, are the only real ways of keeping things under control. Unfortunately most Americans don't realize this. Pacifists are foolish and wicked; they are fighting a hopeless and deadly battle.

2. America is the greatest nation in the world and has unlimited potentialities.

3. There is a large, active, and dangerous element of Communists and Communist-sympathizers in all American institutions.

4. The primary function of the public school system is the continuation of the "American Way". We should teach and make people aware of the virtues of "Americanism". The Rugg "frontier thinkers" are trying to destroy our system.

5. America has a more honorable and glorious past than any other nation in the world. Theodore Roosevelt (etc.) were the really great leaders of America.

6. Modern warfare requires a total effort; the government should prosecute draft-dodgers, conscientious objectors, and workers who interfere with the flow of war goods. They should also take over control, though not ownership, of the nation's natural resources.

7. Since impoverished and badly treated veterans have been the core of past radical movements, business and government and everybody should try to help the veteran. The Legion fights for veteran's rights.

8. Aliens and foreign elements in this country should be made to conform to the "American Way"; if they don't, they should be "booted out".

9. The Legion is one of the most important groups defending America against subversive elements.

10. While the U.S. has never been nor should it ever be "imperialistic like most other important nations, we should not let other nations take advantage of our altruism.

11. Since U.S. Communists are really Soviet agents, they and their supporters should be eliminated from activity in all institutions.

12. There's still plenty of room at the top; ability will be recognized.

13. America and the English-speaking peoples must control and regulate the world economy. If we are to keep our American economic supremacy, we must retain control of the seas. We must keep up the merchant fleet and maintain control of our wartime bases.

14. Veterans have a natural leadership because of their war experiences. Service in the armed forces makes men virtuous.

15. Our hot-war and cold-war enemies are brutal and inhuman.

16. Immigration is hurting this country; it should be a rigidly controlled or eliminated completely. We may already have more immigrants in this country than we can handle.

17. The Legion is completely non-partisan in the political guidance it gives to our government and to Americans generally.

18. Critics of the American Legion are either disloyal, dupes of the disloyal, and/or are stupid.

19. Human nature, being what it is, there will always be wars and economic disasters. It is comforting to know, however, that they are of short duration and things are better than ever afterwards.

20. Hardship and deprivation make men and nations stronger and more virtuous.

21. You can't trust today's politicians very far.

22. Most business leaders are moral, upstanding, and virtuous.

23. Production is the answer to our economic ills.

24. The primary function of government should be service; the regulatory function is only secondary.

25. Many of the wise labor leaders have joined in support of the "American Way" and are anti-Communistic; a few, however, have helped the Communists.

26. It is good to stick to the old ideas in education, "common-sense" psychology, and economics. Now is the time to return to the traditional values of family, home, church, and the "individual".

27. The only acceptable "ism" is "100% Americanism".

28. The federal government should not go into areas, such as housing, where private enterprise is already operating; these public enterprises, where necessary, should be locally controlled and not given advantages private enterprises do not have. State governments are less inefficient than the federal government; they should be given power commensurate to the federal government in order to keep a balance.

29. Waste, inefficiency and excessive spending in government and the subsequent high taxes are threats to the "American Way"; we must reduce the national debt.

30. Our Constitution is the perfect framework and should never be altered. The Legion and other patriotic groups must defent it.

31. While veterans should be content with their lot under the "American Way", and should not be led into forming radical political blocs, they should band together to protect "Americanism". An international organization of veterans might be able to keep the peace.

32. It is up to the U.S. to help those nations who help themselves.

33. The Legion is against war profiteers and high war-time industrial wages.

34. We should do all we can to help the unemployed, the disabled, the aged, and the young.

35. We should always respect and be obedient to constituted law and order.

36. Labor has a right to organize, act, and bargain collectively provided it behaves in a democratic way.

37. The press often tends to mislead its readers; the "left-wing" press strikes at freedom.

38. God is on our side and fosters our destiny. God and government are inseparable in America.

39. Free enterprise and democracy are the same thing; they cannot exist apart.

40. All nations should be moral and just and should try to understand one another in order to have world peace.

41. The U.S. State Department has given aid and comfort to our enemies and has violated sacred American traditions. We have been naively trusting in our relations with Russia.

42. We should guard against demagogues who stir up conflict around race, creed, or class.

43. There is no real conflict between economic or racial groups in the U.S. Labor and management are really partners in progress.

44. We must be wary and protect ourselves against entrenched politicians, dangerous elements, and secretive individuals who conspire against the veterans.

45. Ever-increasing popular ownership of corporations shows that big business is a truly democratic institution. Market research has helped towards this end by enabling industry to give the public what it wants.

46. The U.S. cannot afford to be "isolationist".

47. Congressional committees investigating radicalism have done a great deal to protect America.

48. We hate war.

49. America should support world organization as long as it conforms to our system and we do not lose any of our sovereign power.

50. Communist Russia is the worst enemy of the U.S.

51. Money isn't everything; you can be happy without lots of money. Money may be evil.

52. The Legion does not discriminate as to religion, class, race, color, or rank. It is a true cross-section of the American veteran.

53. The business community has been largely responsible for American progress.

54. It is to America's advantage that the American Legion work in close cooperation with groups like the N.E.A.(etc.)

55. Young people, being tender-minded, sometimes get radical ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

56. There are many elements in enemy countries that are ripe for revolt.

57. We should guard against control by the few or tyranny by the masses.

58. "Liberals" and "intellectuals" are dangerous in that they defend exposed Communists.

59. Since Germany and some other European nations are pretty well off today, they should be made to pay their reparations and debts.

60. The "common-man" is the cornerstone of the "American Way".

61. Aliens smuggled into the U.S. tend to be despicable, treacherous, and diseased; they must be kept out at all cost.

62. The peace should be moral and just to all concerned. However, we must have no soft peace.

63. Wild speculation can hurt the American economy.

64. The U.S. should go to war, if necessary, to protect freedom of commerce from government domination and the security of contract of American investment abroad.

65. Might is not necessarily right.

66. Government should develop water power and other natural resources of the nation.

67. Foreigners have no right to be adversely critical of the U.S.

68. A primary concern of business should be the welfare of its workers.

69. Time will prove the Legion's way is the right way.

70. Farm tenancy and centralized farm ownership are threats to the "American Way", although there is economy in such combination.

71. You can't legislate human nature.

72. The extremes of pacifism and militarism can only lead to war.

73. In war, America has been and is on the side of good against evil.

74. Let's keep partisan politics out of important issues.

75. The devil makes work for idle hands.

76. Immigrants from older racial stocks tend to make better citizens than those from newer racial stocks because their customs are more like ours.

77. Centralization of industry can be dangerous in that it brings a breakdown in the self-dependence of the workers.

78. It is to the best interests of foreign nations to adapt and use the ways of our economic system.

79. There is no such thing as a "right to work"; government does not owe a man a living.

The following items were listed on the original category list, but did not appear in the sample:

1. While we shouldn't assume that all Germans are bad, those we know to be guilty should be given "swift punishment".

2. We must have unconditional surrender; peace is to be made on our terms.

3. The laborer must be left free to bargain for himself.

4. Public opinion can be "molded and manipulated".

5. Children need to have a hero and a leader.

6. American ex-servicemen, no matter what their crime, should be given better treatment than the country's undesirable aliens.

THEMATIC ANALYSIS: List of Sample Issues.

I: August 15, 1919; January 2, 1920; June 18, 1920; November 5, 1920; March 25, 1921; August 12, 1921; December 30, 1921; May 19, 1922; October 6, 1922.

II: February 23, 1923; July 13, 1923; November 30, 1923; April 18, 1924; September 5, 1924; January 23, 1925; June 12, 1925; October 30, 1925; March 19, 1926.

III: July, 1926; December, 1926; May, 1927; October, 1927; March, 1928; August, 1928; January, 1929; June, 1929; November, 1929.

IV: April, 1930; September, 1930; February, 1931; July, 1931; December, 1931; May, 1932; October, 1932; March, 1933; August, 1933.

V: January, 1934; June, 1934; November, 1934; April, 1935; September, 1935; February, 1936; July, 1936; December, 1936; May, 1937; October, 1937.

VI: March, 1938; August, 1938; January, 1939; June, 1939; November, 1939; April, 1940; September, 1940; February, 1941; July, 1941; December, 1941.

VII: May, 1942; October, 1942; March, 1943; August, 1943; January, 1944; June, 1944; November, 1944; April, 1945; September, 1945.

VIII: February, 1946; July, 1946; December, 1946; May, 1947; October, 1947; March, 1948; August, 1948; January, 1949; June, 1949; November, 1949.

IX: April, 1950; September, 1950; February, 1951; July, 1951; December, 1951.

Approved Joseph O. Hoffman

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