

upon the State Highway Commission. The Governor of South Carolina has taken a leaf out of the Governor of Georgia's book. Huey Long, you recall, used the National Guard too in the internal politics of the State. So did Governor Murray of Oklahoma. In an economic system based upon the enslavement of a majority of the population armed, physical terror is necessary to maintain the status quo. As the crisis plunges along and alignments in Dixie become more and more unstable, we can look for actual armed conflicts between the various political groupings. As a matter of fact the press of Georgia today is asking whether Gov. Talmadge will set up a dictatorship after the first of the year.

Here is what happened: the state legislature adjourned its sessions this year without voting appropriations for next year. There is a wide split in Georgia state politics—some of the politicians lining up in the anti-Talmadge category, favoring Roosevelt and opposed to Gene's aspirations. It is fratricidal strife of the ruling groups for the fat pickings of politics. Talmadge refuses to call a special session to discuss the question of appropriations for 1936. As a result the state's functions will come to a standstill on January 1 for lack of funds unless something turns up. Talmadge is cheerful about it all. "There are three divisions in government," he told me, "legislative, judicial and executive. If the other two break down then it's up to the executive." He plans to take the reins in 1936 and levy taxes where he damn well pleases. If the others in the government don't like it, well, the National Guard is under his jurisdiction.

I believe we can look for frequent use of the military to enforce the will of the ins against the outs in Dixie's politics. That means government of the type we used to think characteristic of Central America, in Guatemala, Honduras, etc. In other words, the parties of capitalism will resort to terror against each other; divisions of each party will take up the pistol against one another. If you think this is far-fetched, who shot Huey Long? No longer the cry "Anarchist!" It was an eye-and-nose specialist who wielded the gun. The outs in the major capitalist parties did the trick.

The progressives in Georgia are beginning to realize this. They see that unless they immediately line up and fight for democratic forms of government, military dictatorship is inevitable. Hence, there is a good deal of sympathy for Angelo Herndon on this basis alone. He has been jailed on an outdated "insurrection" law. What will prevent the authorities from using that law next time against a Republican, an anti-fascist, a pacifist? Already arrests have been made of pacifists.

I spoke to a number of Georgia liberals, Negro and white. They understand this well. "We have, in effect, what can be called fascism," one of them told me—after I had promised not to reveal his name. He is a highly respectable man, of the upper middle class, but he has a family and he "does not want the Governor's friends to come down and smash up my home."

He does not want fascism. He does not want a military dictatorship. He doesn't particularly care for Herndon or Herndon's beliefs. He is committed to "the genuine

Jeffersonian democracy." Not the Eugene Talmadge brand.

He sees that Dixie's civil liberties are being shattered all along the line. He knows the Negro never had but the shadow of these liberties. But today, on the basis of destroying the "black menace" and "the Red menace" the rights of even middle-class whites are being revoked. He sees the connection here and it was he who quoted Booker T. Washington's phrase to me that you can't keep a man in a ditch without getting down there yourself.

There you have it: if Herndon goes to the chain gang you have one step further toward outright fascism or military dictatorship. Thus, though the southern liberals hold no brief for Communism, they cannot afford to remain silent when the shackles are prepared for Herndon's legs. Tomorrow or the next day the fetters may be on theirs.

The case of Angelo Herndon has connotations even beyond the imprisonment of a heroic, working-class youth, farther even than the fact that he is Negro. The fundamentals of American democracy are involved. The freedom of the majority of America's 120,000,000 are involved.

The red-suspended, tobacco-chewing governors are far shrewder than they seem; don't let their back-country mannerisms fool you. These are days for the humble, Cincinnati pose. These are days to sport overalls instead of tuxedos. These demagogues of Dixie realize perfectly well the importance of the Herndon case.

And that is why Georgia has its chain gangs, its bloodhounds, its Winchesters and its Governor Eugene Talmadge.

## Radio's Role as Red-Baiter

J. R. ATKINS

**A**MERICA'S HOUR! Over the network of the Columbia Broadcasting System comes the newest radio program. A "Communist" is railing at a crowd of coal miners. "If we had Communism over here, you wouldn't be underground digging coal . . . you'd be the owner to eat caviar and drink champagne. . . . Let's smash what's left."

*Army Day!* The National Broadcasting Company flashes speeches of the big army patriots. Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas echoes their sentiment in his talk, "Increasing Armaments."

*The Crusaders!* The Mutual Broadcasting Company appeals for moral and financial support by Fred Clark, fascist National Commander of the Crusaders. The announcer closes the program with "Join Crusaders as they are marching to the tune of 'Wake Up America.'"

Sixty-five million people sit before the radio in 22,000,000 American homes. They seek entertainment, advice and information. They listen to programs with minds beset by the problems of unemployment, high food prices, inefficient government and a way out. And the big radio chains are ready to give them the solutions. As a radio actor, who has been behind the scenes of the major network stations including the new Mutual Broadcasting System, I know the solutions very well. Solutions colored by the fact that radio heads are also looking for a way out—from growing resentment and disillusionment of the people with the New Deal and the entire social and economic structure. My experiences combined with original research, make the story of the advancing power of radio, its increasing control over the people and its definite tendencies towards fascism, a damaging document.

However, propaganda on the radio and the unconscious or conscious movement of those in radio to consolidate the whole finance-capital setup for the preparation of fascism, takes on greater significance when the background of the radio audience is seen through backstage eyes. Few people realize how effective the modern broadcast is on the lives of people who listen to it every-day.

Radio is the greatest power of mass communication today. America alone has more radio sets than the rest of the world combined. The radio listener ranges from my conservative estimate of 65,000,000 to the exact estimate of 80,000,000 by the broadcasters themselves.

In 1930 the census showed that radio ownership was broadest in the upper income brackets. At that time it was natural that the left movement showed a lack of interest

in the influence of radio. The fact that radio owners earned 93-percent more income than non-radio owners probably added to their indifference.

However, the situation becomes more serious with the publications of the latest figures. The increase in radio ownership in the lower income levels is striking. With every million radio homes, radio is bringing strength where strength is needed, massing new radio listeners where ownership has lagged. Today, the majority of the audience is composed of workers and the petty bourgeoisie.

For the first time, the masses of people who have hitherto escaped the greatest publicity medium in the world and who are the nucleus of every progressive and revolutionary movement, have become the target for the propaganda of radio. Are these people influenced by radio? They, themselves, would probably vigorously deny it: "I never buy a thing they advertise. With a turn of the dial or the switch I can control my radio and listen to whatever I want. And as for those dramatic sketches and speeches, who listens to them, anyhow? Sure, radio has some influence, but nothing to make a fuss about."

This carelessness and lack of knowledge is radio's great strength. Fostered by pamphlets from N.B.C., people are continually told that "Radio is America's Invited Guest. When we are tired we can yawn and dismiss it." Take a look at some of these figures and see what happens before you "dismiss it when you're tired."

A recent National Survey of Social Trends cites no less than 150 different effects upon the social life of people, directly traceable to the influence of radio.

**R**ADIO has always claimed to be impartial. Executives and backers shriek from every corner that aside from its entertainment values radio's objectives have been educational and social in nature without political prejudice or control. The headlines of Friday, October 11, 1935 reveal the hurt feelings of the Columbia Broadcasting System when the speech of Baron Aloisi of Italy was prevented from going over its network by Great Britain, who controlled the connecting links to America. Columbia claimed that the Ethiopian side of the war had been given over the network and that it would only be fair to present the Italian side. This "impartial" attitude was acclaimed by all as in keeping with radio's past policies. But Columbia overlooks the facts when they come out so vigorously for impartiality. For example, out of forty-one radio speeches made by important financial and industrial leaders in the month of April, 1935, one fifteen-minute talk was allotted to a labor leader to offset big business propaganda and balance the program schedule.

It is this insistence on "impartiality" by leaders and educators that has lulled people into a lethargy which causes them passively to agree with such statements as "radio's

purpose is to effect better understanding of labor, industry, etc., in relation with each other and the public; to improve international understanding and friendship."

Fortunately, we can pump these statements full of lead.

Said William S. Paley, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, before the Federal Communications Commission:

It is worth noting that all broadcasts which tend to *develop in our nation a unity of sense and feeling* may be considered to have an important educational value, whatever their subject.

Avowedly, Mr. Paley believes that nationalism is the road to education and internationalism.

Said Merlin H. Aylesworth, president of the National Broadcasting Company:

And herein we find the reason why radio's most popular function (*entertainment*) has grown so mightily . . . unhappy, scowling people are dangerous. These abnormal people not only endanger themselves, they endanger society.

Here's one place where the hackneyed phrase "doping" the minds of the listeners to take their minds off the class struggle has its basis in fact and not theory. Radio does its part as the servant of the public by causing the masses to forget the problems facing them—unemployment, starvation wages, foreclosures, etc. Aylesworth continues:

The social values of radio broadcasting growing every day in volume and intensity, cannot but affect profoundly the cause of a great country and the trend of life itself. . . . Radio broadcasting, with its tremendous power of mass communication is helping to preserve the social order.

The radio form of "preserving the social order" proves to be lectures and speeches given by federal and state officials, business heads, civic leaders, etc.; in nationalistic dramas and in martial music.

Now, as a radio actor who has had actual contact with the forces of radio in the field of drama, I should like to illustrate my point by analyzing one of the most chauvinistic, fascist and Red-baiting dramatic programs ever given over the air since radio started in 1920.

On July 14, 1935, Sunday from 9 to 10, the Columbia Broadcasting System opened a new series of programs called "America's Hour." It was revealed to me in secret by a talkative employe that the entire idea was the suggestion of Vice-President Paul Kesten. The program was designed, through dramatizations of the leading industries, to convince the people that "in America especially, do we have reasons for buoyant hope and deep national pride." Beginning with the railroads the program moved to the coal industry where half their program was devoted to the "blood and sinew" of America—the workers. And in order to make the story of the mine laborers entertaining and interesting, the program included a harmless and rather mild sort of plot.

Ross Rankin, a "Communist," (just released from jail in Valparaiso) comes to a mining town to visit his father and his brother, Joe. Following are his actions:

1. At a dance he monopolizes the attention of his brother's girl, Hazel. Onlookers' typical remarks delivered with open-mouthed incredulity, "You mean, Ross is stealing his own brother's girl?"

2. When Ross and Hazel go out in the garden for a breath of air, Ross the Communist, immediately attempts to take liberties with her person and when not occupied in that pursuit, is making sarcastic remarks about workers who have dirty hands and work in mines.

Typical conversation after Hazel asks Ross how he would solve the industrial problem:

Ross: "Listen baby . . . give me a good mob of these huskies with blood in their eye and some gin down their throat . . . and I'll show you."

Hazel: "Why Ross—you talk like a Communist."

Rose: "Do I scare you, kid? Gimme a kiss." Jim enters and mildly asks for a dance. Ross impolitely drags Hazel away with a "Come on, Hazel—I'll show you that new step I picked up when I lived down on Fourteenth Street in New York."

3. At a gathering of workers Ross makes a characteristic Communist speech: "In Russia you'd own everything. If we had Communism over here you wouldn't be underground digging coal . . . you'd be the bosses . . . you'd be the owner to eat caviar and drink champagne. . . . Everything's going to ruin. . . . Let's smash what's left. . . . We got 'em down."

From the crowd the voice of his father booms out. "Got who down, Ross Rankin? . . . Seems to me if this country's in trouble, this is the time we got to be working together." (This from the man who is representing the starved and overworked miners.) Scene ends with wild cheers by miners.

4. A mine cave-in traps Ross' brother and Hazel's father. Townsend, mine superintendent who has been fighting the workers, decides to risk his life by leading a volunteer rescue section into the mine. Two more men are needed.

Townsend: "How about you, Ross Rankin?"

Ross: (In great fear) "I'm no miner."

Townsend: "You mean you ain't comin'?"

Ross: (Whining) "Why should I?"

Hazel comes frantically rushing in. Finds that Ross is holding up the volunteers by not going.

Hazel: "I know you're no miner, Ross Rankin—but . . . [sob] . . . I thought . . . [sob] . . . I thought you were a man."

Van Voorhees, the announcer, chimes in with:

You, multiplied by other millions, are America! The mutual cooperation of all these millions make the health of America. Nations can grow ill just like individuals: The most terrible illness is the illness of class conflict. It starts to occur the moment anyone tries to convince us that we should fear, hate or destroy any of our neighbors, to maintain our advantage. . . . Let's keep our heads.

**G**ARBAGE? Sure. Unimportant? Certainly not. That program in time alone was worth \$17,000 (ninety-one stations). Add to this the cost of the best symphony orchestra (Howard Barlow conducting), the cream in announcers and directors (Van Voorhees, Max Wylie and Dwight Clark) and figure out for yourself if the Columbia Broadcasting System was using its facilities every week for something that it considered unimportant. This poison



was estimated to have reached five million families (about 15 million listeners); and if one takes into account the fact that the most valuable spot on the air is Sunday evening, that the Columbia network is, by recent polls, proven to have the greatest popularity amongst listeners and that every department of the station was used to make this program click, it is easy to gauge the effectiveness of the propaganda.

This is one chain, one program, one hour. Multiply nine such weeks of nationalism and the extolling of the decadent capitalistic, individualistic system to the minds of the masses and one has a faint idea of what the ninety-eight C.B.S. stations and eighty-eight N.B.C. studios are throwing over the air "to preserve the social order."

It has just been announced that Columbia has a new series of sponsored programs similar to "America's Hour," titled "The Cavalcade of America." Its purpose is to spread nationalistic propaganda by reaching the minds of educators and children. Heard Wednesday evening from 8 to 8:30 and sponsored by the Du Pont Co., it will stress (says the press release) "achievements in colonization, transportation, etc., and it will use *fundamental traits of American character as a background theme*. . . . This program will be of particular interest to parents and teachers."

Need one ask what Mr. du Pont's idea of "fundamental traits of American Character" is (rugged individualism, "my country right or wrong, the constitution, competition and progress," and blind faith in a government controlled by politicians and bankers)? A persuasive program such as this under the guise of Americanism can do immeasurable harm. It should be met with vigorous protest; even a postcard will do the trick. More effective, since this is a sponsored program, would be the threat of a boycott of the advertised Du Pont product. There's only one voice that can make a sponsor change a program—the public through the mails. I've seen radio broadcasting concerns scrap material that has taken weeks to gather and write because of adverse public opinion.

**N**O periodical, motion picture, play or chain of newspapers can influence so many people simultaneously as the large radio networks. For example, in time of war or any emergency, we may well shudder to think of what will happen when the power of radio is utilized by the government. On October 2, 1935, preliminary to the actual invasion of Ethiopia, Mussolini began his war speech to the Italian nation:

Black Shirts of the Revolution. Men and women of all Italy! Italians all over the world! —beyond the mountains, beyond the seas! Listen!

From the first word, 20,000,000 people in Italy and millions of Italians over the world were able, *at the same moment*, to listen and be aroused to the proper war fever

through the facilities of the Italian and American networks. But there is no need to look to fascist Italy for material. The files of the National Broadcasting Company, where all important statistical data as to lectures is kept, give some very important facts.

Under Programs and Personalities for the Month of April, 1935, we find:

Classifications	Number of Broadcasts
Federal, Public and State Officials.....82	(2nd highest of month)

[Included in this list and typical of the speeches given were those of Sen. Gerry of Rhode Island on "Peace and Naval Programs"; Harold Ickes, Secretary of State, who spoke "In Defense of the Present Administration"; and Sen. Morris Sheppard on "Increasing Armament" at Army Day.]

Business Heads .....	41
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[This classification has very unusual fascist leanings of the better sort. As illustrations, take the talks of Lamont du Pont, president of the Du Pont Company on, ironically enough, "Human Wants and the Chemical Industry" (War?) Will B. Bull, president of the American Cyanamid Company on "Recovery by Alchemy or Chemistry"; and C. L. Bardo of the National Association of Manufacturers on "Art in Industry." Alfred Sloan, Jr., president of General Motors; Gerard Swope, president of General Electric; Felix Warburg, banker; Owen D. Young, Grover Whalen, etc.]

Leaders of Civil, Patriotic, Political and "Peace" Societies.....	26
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[One example will suffice to explain this heading. On Army Day, Capt. Francis Adams of the Minute Men of America (a proven fascist group), spoke an hour. On the same day Frank Belgrano, Jr., National Commander of the American Legion spoke. Prominent among other featured speakers was Mrs. Russel Magna, president-general of the Daughters of the American Revolution.]

All Government, State and Public Officials .....	81	63	66
Leaders of Civic, Patriotic and "Peace" Societies .....	28	21	34
Business Heads .....	28	16	9

#### TYPICAL SPEECHES GIVEN JULY, 1935

General Douglas McArthur on "National Preparedness"; Frank Belgrano, Jr., American Legion, on "Wake Up, America"; Jouett Shouse, president of the American Liberty League.

The conclusions are obvious. The tendency toward fascism lies in the consolidation of the more powerful capitalist interests and organs of the government to protect themselves against the protesting masses. Radio as a weapon is used toward that end by filling the air with speeches of government officials, business heads and patriotic societies. In this way it not only caters to its advertisers, but insures its own safety by molding the minds of the people after its ideology through the distribution of demagogic viciousness.

**T**HERE is one more field of radio concerning us that today occupies approximately 60 percent of the time on the air—music. In the last war the George M. Cohan song hits had much to do with rousing the war fervor. With radio's ability to communicate

a rousing war song to more than 60,000,000 listeners, the government can play havoc with the feelings of the masses in time of war.

Knowing this and understanding that the only way to prevent the arrival of such a condition is to organize band leaders, Richard Himber of Studebaker Champion fame, one of the foremost orchestra leaders of today and a member of the N.B.C. artists' bureau, took the first important step. Several months ago he stated that he and several other orchestra leaders had agreed not to play any martial tunes on the air, because they stirred up false patriotism. This announcement caused such veterans as Paul Whiteman, ex-Navy man, to shriek that the whole idea was unpatriotic and un-American.

I called at Mr. Himber's apartment in Essex House. He reiterated everything he had formerly said, then plunged into greater detail:

"Regardless of my personal opinions on questions of emergencies that may beset this country, such as war, I feel that music should not be used as an instrument to create false emotions that becloud the issues. At the time the statement was made public a few months ago, several other orchestra leaders merely agreed with me that the exclusion of martial music on the air would be a progressive step in the peace movement."

"How did you find the response to all this, Mr. Himber?"

"Great. Enthusiastic letters poured in from women's clubs, and supporters from all over the country, but [here he chuckled] I received quite a lambasting from some super-patriots including Paul Whiteman." Himber frowned. "Whiteman never did get what I was driving at."

I decided to visit both major networks to see what the reaction of the other baton wielders to this statement would be. While in the offices of Mr. Wimbish, publicity department of the N.B.C., I managed to dig up quite a few opinions. "Jolly" Coburn, who had just completed twenty-six weeks at the Rainbow Room in Radio City, remarked: "Himber has a good idea there. When you come to think of it, I don't believe I'd play martial music at all — and that includes 'There's Something About a Soldier'."

I came up against a stone wall in the case of Harold Stern. My general impression was that it seemed hard for him to comprehend my questions. He began by telling me that "a march is an inspiring thing. Why I've always played them. There's nothing like them. Vallee, Lyman and Waring play them."

"But you see, Himber said that marches arouse false patriotism and emotion." He nodded emphatically. "Now Madriguera," I continued, "said that he thought it was a bad thing to use music to stimulate fellows to go to war and kill." He again seemed to agree. "What is *your* opinion about it?"

"Well, I don't think there's anything wrong with martial music. I could think of

nothing better than to begin a program with. Especially at a party where things have to be livened up." I again asked if he thought music had anything to do with sending men into the last war. "Absolutely not. Music has never had anything to do with a situation like that. No, you can quote me as saying that I don't agree with Mr. Himber at all."

I was anxious to get a statement from the "King of Jazz" because of his former vitriolic outburst on the same question. I called his office. When I told his press agent what I wanted, she told me that Mr. Whiteman had nothing to say. Besides, he was very angry at the adverse publicity he had already received the last time he came out against Himber and didn't want to be mixed up in anything of that sort again. He was an ex-Navy man and an American. What could I expect him to say? I visited Whiteman's office anyway. Again his press agent refused to permit me to see him, telling me that Mr. Whiteman refuses to comment on mat-

ters military. This is understandable when you know that Whiteman gets many engagements through the influence of the Army and Navy officials.

**I**T IS well known that the chief source of information regarding the effect of radio programs is fan mail. Especially is this true of sustaining programs where the station is unable to use the yardstick of increased sales. As one who has seen programs changed time after time when an avalanche of mail hit the station, I cannot stress too strongly the importance of written protest. Every "America's Hour" should be fought. The slow poison of radio should be stopped before it can make further progress. Letters, phone calls, boycotts will do the trick. My suggestion is to start on "Cavalcade of America," Wed. evening (W.A.B.C.) and "The Crusaders," Thursday from 9:30 to 10 (W.O.R.). All fighters against war and fascism, including workers' organizations, churches, theater groups and liberal clubs

should check up on radio programs weekly. An excellent example is the column in The Daily Worker called "Around the Dial." The next step is organizing radio entertainers to refuse to participate in slanderous dramatizations, songs, war skits and material of similar manifestations. As for the announcers, Heywood Broun has found them in the same position as the actors. Not only reluctant to protest against low wages but with no idea of how important their organized strength would be to the other artists.

I have not devoted much space to the industrialists and bankers controlling radio programs. As an example, out of the eighteen members of the National Advisory Council of N.B.C., eleven are directly connected with leading banks and corporations. Others have discussed this problem more competently. My purpose is to urge immediate organized protest against those stations and programs that have abused radio's power and thus pave the way for a still greater fight against this weapon.

# Where Smedley Butler Stands

WALTER WILSON

**N**OW and then in history a member of the ruling class of a nation courts ostracism from members of his class and comes out to champion the cause of the bottom dog. Sometimes it is a famous writer; sometimes it is a famous statesman; sometimes it is a famous general; sometimes it is one kind of a man and sometimes another. Two famous examples that come easily to me are St. Francis and Tolstoy. Thomas Jefferson is perhaps the best known American example, but there have been many other lesser lights in our history. We need to be on the watch out for such men to appear in this period of American history and to be extremely careful not to scare them away.

I have just interviewed a man for THE NEW MASSES who has an excellent opportunity to perform notable work for his country and his fellow men and thereby to win an enviable place in American history. I refer to Major General Smedley D. Butler, United States Marine Corps (retired).

**S**MEDLEY BUTLER'S ancestors have been respected citizens around West Chester, Pennsylvania, for many years. A Butler has occupied the bench of Chester County without a break for the past seventy-five years. Both of Smedley's grandfathers were Hicksite Quakers and young Smedley was brought up as one—and still is one, he reckons, in good standing. As might be expected, his grandfathers were pacifists. One of them helped to maintain an underground

railroad. But when Lee got up around Gettysburg these two devout pacifists shouldered muskets and helped to oust the invaders. Grandfather Butler was put out of the Orthodox meeting house for his zeal in these eviction proceedings. Thomas N. Butler, Smedley's father, served his district in Congress for thirty-two years.

Smedley Butler was born July 30, 1881, in West Chester, Pa., and he had always lived—when not in the army—within a dozen miles of his birthplace. He went to school at the Friend's Graded High School in West Chester and later to Haverford School near Philadelphia. When he was sixteen the Maine went down in Havana harbor and he volunteered in the marines, over the protest of his parents. This was the beginning of his long career in the army (over 30 years' service), during which he rose from private to Major General, without ever having attended any form of officer-training school. That career carried him all over the world.

He served in Cuba, the Philippines, Haiti, China, France. The details of his military life have no place here. Much of it, of course, is open to criticism. But the criticism is not so much of Smedley Butler as it is of the imperialist policy of the American financiers, manufacturers and the American government. Had Butler not led the marines on their expeditions, some other officer would have.

At least one thing Butler did as an officer and that was to endear himself to

the rank-and-file soldiers in all branches. He treated them as human beings and not cogs in a military machine. He often called his men "you birds." He took off his coat and carried duckboards incognito while helping to clean up the disease-infested mudhole at Brest late in 1918 and won the name of "General Duckboard." The fact that he rose from the ranks and was hated by the West Pointers did not injure him in the eyes of the privates. And today General Butler (also known as "Old Gimlet Eye") probably has more influence among the American veterans of the World War than any other man living.

The main thing we need to bear in mind about his record in the army is that Butler, himself, has repudiated the imperialistic acts he was made to perform. He has on many different occasions in recent years exposed the role of the marines in "supervising" elections in various American colonies or semi-colonies. Speaking in Pittsburgh on December 5, 1929, the General told how the marines took charge of elections in Haiti and elsewhere. "Our candidates always win," he said in referring to the marine-sponsored candidates. He also exposed the method of declaring the opposition "bandits." In Haiti he said a marine-controlled president had dissolved the Haitian Congress illegally to prevent the legislative body from adopting a constitution which would have been unfavorable to American interests. Such an expose must be applauded. It meant that General Butler was making a public repudiation