

NEW MASSES

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Washington March

WITH Congress adjourned, Harry Hopkins, W.P.A. administrator, has told the job marchers assembled in Washington he can neither reinstate the half million W.P.A. workers who have been dismissed during recent months nor check further layoffs that are scheduled for 200,000 more. It seems that Mr. Hopkins's hands are tied because one tory Representative, Clinton A. Woodrum, refused to allow the House to vote on the Schwellenbach-Allen resolution. Though one hundred and seventy congressmen were pledged to support the resolution, which would have provided job security for nearly a million W.P.A. workers and their dependents, Mr. Woodrum, as chairman of a small sub-committee, took it upon himself to condemn this huge army to the idleness, poverty, and bitter suffering of unemployment.

No one seriously pretends that men and women dismissed from W.P.A. are finding steady jobs. Here and there a few are given temporary work, now that farm crops need harvesting, but a nation-wide survey conducted by the Scripps-Howard papers indicates plainly that the overwhelming majority are hopelessly stranded. Many have been forced to apply for relief in their own localities, though most communities are either unwilling or unable to provide for them. To all intents and purposes the others just "disappear." That may satisfy reactionaries like Representative Woodrum, but the Workers' Alliance, now numbering 800,000 members, is not content with such a "solution."

And the thousands of men and women from every part of the country who assembled in Washington are living proof that dismissed W.P.A. workers have not "disappeared." On the contrary, this demonstration marks the beginning of a determined drive to win some measure of security and justice for millions of unemployed. In a conference with Harry Hopkins, David Lasser and other Workers' Alliance leaders proposed the creation of an appeals board which will enable workers who have suffered discrimination to get a fair hearing. The entire scope of labor relations on W.P.A. has also come up for dis-

cussion. Both as a symbol of solidarity among the unemployed and as a prelude to more concerted action, this job march has been a success. Congressmen with their ears to the ground will hear more from these marchers and the Workers' Alliance.

A Mass Party

ON September 1 the Communist Party will mark the eighteenth anniversary of its formation with a coast-to-coast broadcast by Earl Browder over the blue network of the N.B.C. Browder will address the nation from 6:15 to 6:30 p. m., Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

The great distance the Communist Party has traveled since 1919 to its present position of influence among the masses is indicated in the plans announced to the press last Tuesday. About the first of next year there will be launched two more daily newspapers, in Chicago and in San Francisco, which with the *Daily Worker* in New York will constitute the beginning of a national chain. The new papers will start modestly, as the *Daily Worker* did, with four pages, and their program gives them, in these times of the rapid growth of the labor movement, a sure guarantee of success. They will be militant organs of the progressive and trade-union forces allied with the farmer-labor-party movement. Spokesmen for the Communist Party, they will supply vital news to the masses, especially that which is suppressed by the capitalist press. With these two papers serving the Middle West and the Coast, the New York *Daily Worker* will be free to concentrate on its own field, and to make itself a major metropolitan newspaper for the working people of New York and the eastern states.

Together with these plans, Browder announced a national party-building campaign for large-scale mass recruiting. The sum of \$500,000 is to be raised for a broad educational campaign. A \$250,000 fund drive is being launched for an intensive state-wide campaign in New York.

All these plans and figures, on a scale which would have been fantastic a few years ago, emphasize the full emergence of the Communist Party on the political field in the United States as a mass party, with an important role to play in the uniting of all progressive forces in the country.

Teachers and C.I.O.

AS we go to press, the battle for unification of the labor movement on a progressive program opens on one more front. Meeting in Madison, Wis., the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers is focused on the question of

C.I.O. affiliation. The inner-union sentiment on this issue duplicates to some extent that found in the American Newspaper Guild: there is a considerable body of opinion ranged on each side of the question. The large Chicago delegation is committed to vote against C.I.O. affiliation, and Chicago has drawn Cleveland into its wake. The big New York delegation is instructed to vote for affiliation, and Philadelphia takes the same position. A. F. of T. progressives as a whole, including the Socialists and Communists in the union, are for the C.I.O. tie-up, but they are determined that there shall be no rift in the ranks of organized teachers. They are confident that unity can be preserved without capitulation to reactionary influences.

Their confidence is justified on the basis of the union's history. A year ago, the A. F. of T. took the lead among national organizations in adopting a forthright stand in support of Spanish democracy. By the time this issue of the NEW MASSES reaches its readers, the desire of some progressive teachers to see a similar stand on China's independence may have been realized. But while such issues will be given serious consideration, this year's convention is expected to concentrate chiefly on the economic problems of the teacher and the organizational means for solving them. It is in this sense that C.I.O. affiliation is the dominant issue at Madison.

Ironical Anniversary

IT is supremely ironic that the anniversary of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact should be commemorated this week while the pact itself is being pounded to tatters by Japan's guns in China. An elaborate ceremony, in which both the U. S. assistant secretary of state and the French under-secretary of foreign relations will participate, gives notice to the world that the existence of the pact has not been forgotten. Washington, however, would prefer to forget.

For years a proud defender of the Open Door for American capitalists in China, the United States has forsaken this policy in favor of the so-called "neutrality" law. Neither the Kellogg pact, signed in 1928, nor the Nine-Power Treaty, ratified in 1922, has been abrogated. Both remain part of the foreign policy of the United States, antecedent and superior to the "Neutrality" Act.

The hesitation of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull to invoke the "neutrality" legislation is based on the obvious fact that nothing will so completely cancel real neutrality as this law. In Spain it helps Franco; in the Far East it will strengthen Japan.

Isolationist politicians like Senator Nye have been urging enforcement of the law in

the belief that it will be effective in keeping the United States out of war. Actually, it puts the United States into war, on the side of the aggressor.

It is not yet too late to invoke the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty, which, designed specifically for such a situation as this, can be effective in curbing Japan. The Nine-Power Treaty guaranteed China territorial integrity, the right to establish her own stable government, and equality of commercial opportunity for all the imperialist powers. Every one of these principles has been violated by Japan, precisely because the United States and other signatories have failed to apply this treaty to her current attack on China.

Finance Neutrality?

PERHAPS another reason lies at the root of Washington's hesitation to apply the neutrality law. The immediate benefit to Japan is undesirable because of the basic conflict between American and Japanese imperialism, and in addition, the consequences to American-held bonds on Japan's tremendous external debt would be disastrous.

Japan's bonds declined precipitously last week. Its 6½ bonds maturing in 1954, which has been 100½ early this year, were 90 on August 13 and dropped to 75¾ by August 21. "Authoritative quarters" considered it extremely likely that the enforcement of the Neutrality Act would immediately result in a default in interest. They had in mind that during 1936 Japan spent 46.8 percent of its total revenue on its war department and only 18.8 percent on its finance department; that as the war proceeded the percentage going to the military would increase; that the Neutrality Act

would cut Japan off from foreign exchange.

They recalled with satisfaction, to be sure, that through the entire Manchurian conquest and ever since, Tokyo has been meeting its foreign interest payments, although Japan's bonds dipped into the thirties. What was not particularly emphasized was that Japan has bought back large amounts of its bonds at a fraction of their value—the bankers call it repatriation. There seems no reason to doubt that the Tokyo financiers would do the same again, waiting until the proper moment to obtain the greatest bargains.

Altogether, then, the international financiers are caught in one of the major contradictions of capitalism. They want Japan weakened in the Far East, for that means more opportunity for American exploiters; but they don't want it weakened too much, for that means they lose the interest on their bonds. And when a banker loses his interest, he loses all.

W.P.A. and Truth

"Sacco and Vanzetti had become for a new generation . . . the classic example of the administration of justice to members of unpopular political minorities.

"It was widely believed that, although legal forms were observed, the determining factors in the case from the start to the finish was the affiliation of the two men with an unpopular minority political group."

THESE sentences, part of a forty-one line reference to the case, are included in the recently issued *Massachusetts: A Guide to Its People and Places*, a W.P.A. Writers' Project publication. They are surely as restrained a statement about the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti as could well be set down, ten years afterwards, but they have aroused to fury the anti-labor forces of Massachusetts, headed by Governor Hurley. Hurley has an added incentive for the hullabaloo he is raising. He is chagrined at having endorsed the book without having read it. Now he is bestirring himself to have the distribution of the book stopped, to hunt out and get the writers fired, to drag President Roosevelt in—all to defend the "proud record of Massachusetts"—and he sums up his statesmanlike position by telling the American Legion convention: "If these men don't like Massachusetts and the United States, they can go back where they came from." All of which is good publicity for the book, as it seems unlikely that the Washington W.P.A. authorities will be bluffed into interfering by the Massachusetts reactionaries.

Ten years is a relatively short time for a written history bearing an official stamp to catch up with the facts. The judgment of honest people everywhere on the Sacco-Van-

zetti case was formed finally on August 23, 1927, when the fisherman and the cobbler were put to death while millions the world over stood aghast and incredulous, unable to believe that such things could be. The W.P.A. guidebook merely indicates, in the most sober language, the judgment of the world. The rage it has awakened among the Massachusetts Tories proves that Sacco and Vanzetti are not as dead as these gentlemen would like to think. Ten years after their murder, Sacco and Vanzetti are still fighting names, an accusation which the workers will continue to hurl, a challenge and a symbol which they will never forget.

The Klan Sues Again

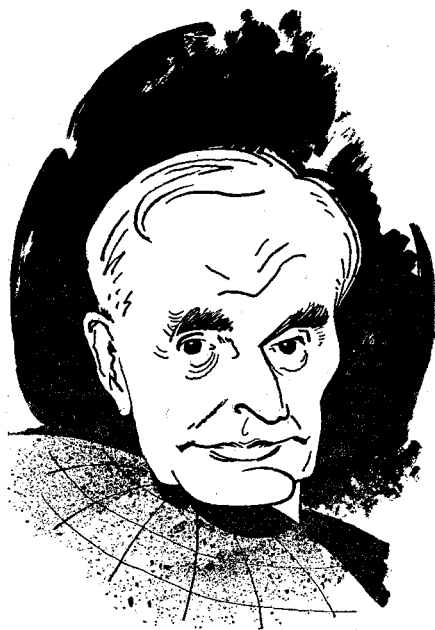
THE Ku Klux Klan has suddenly decided to whitewash itself and indulge in a bit of movie censorship at the same time. Acting as a corporation, exponents of the fiery cross have brought suit against Warner Bros. and Vitagraph, Inc., for alleged use of the K.K.K.'s patented insignia in the film, *The Black Legion*. The petition has been filed in the state of Georgia, whose prison commissioner sued Warner Bros. for libel because they produced, *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*.

The K.K.K., according to its petition, is so intimately identified with the insignia, particularly when it is attached to a white robe, that the Klan feels it has a "definite proprietary interest and a distinct good-will therein." That being the case, we wonder if the plaintiff hadn't better charge Warner Bros. with libelous understatement, since the film in question is only a feeble reminder of the Klan in action.

Land of Plenty

FROM the dispatches of anti-Soviet correspondents an uninformed person might conclude that nothing was happening in the Soviet Union except the arrest of saboteurs and traitors. The tears which the capitalist press daily sheds over the execution of spies and wreckers—do they expect the Soviet Union to give these enemies medals?—could float one of Franco's cruisers. And in wailing over the sad fate of the rats whom the Soviet people are hunting out of their holes, the press manages to overlook almost completely the most important thing that is happening in the Soviet Union today: the harvesting of the greatest crop in its history.

It was otherwise last year when a prolonged and widespread drought—which under the czar would have meant starvation for millions—cut down the crop. Nobody starved in the Soviet Union, but the promised cuts in food prices had to be postponed because of



Hull—he still hesitated

the poor crop and the heightened war danger. Then the attention of the press was focused daily on the Soviet fields, and the lie-factories of Riga and Warsaw and Berlin worked overtime to turn out tales of hunger and bread riots to curdle the blood. Today, despite the masterly silence of the correspondents generally, enough is known to make it clear that the Soviet Union's food crop this year will reach at least seven billion poods—one hundred and fifteen million metric tons. The announced objective of the Soviet Union has been seven to eight billion poods. This year the goal will be achieved. To grasp the meaning of this figure, it is necessary to remember that before the World War the annual average Russian grain yield was about eighty million metric tons.

With this crop the Soviet Union stands out for all the world to see as a land of plenty. With its land 95 percent collectivized, with a higher degree of mechanization in agriculture than any other country can show, and with substantial reductions in food prices this year a practical certainty, the Soviet Union presents a picture of growing prosperity. This, however, is not "news" as the capitalist press views news about the Soviet Union.

Weir's Artistry

FOR many years observers have felt that the labor policies of Ernest T. Weir put this steel magnate more or less in a class by himself. The National Labor Relations Board has now pretty well established Weir's right to claim the blue ribbon. The recent N.L.R.B. hearing at New Cumberland, W. Va., was originally scheduled to take place in the auditorium of the Weir High School in Weirton. Permission had been granted by the county school board. Possibly Mr. Weir's native reticence made him frown on the proposal. At any rate, the chairman of the school board, who happens to work for the steel company, had the permit rescinded—ostensibly because Weirton's fire chief insisted on installing a fire escape before the hearings could begin.

It is difficult to pick highlights from evidence that realistically portrays a particularly vicious company union, liberal use of espionage, and the customary manhandling of union organizers. The general pattern is indicated by a remark credited to one John Larkin, chairman of Weir's employee representation outfit. Rebuking one of his hired "hatchet men" for failing to "get" a C.I.O. organizer, Larkin said: "You could have hit him on the head and drove him down into the weeds, and no one would have found him for two weeks."

Perhaps the best example of the Weir

technique was shown by the testimony of Elwood Turley, a former grand jurymen. After the hatchet gang had half killed two C.I.O. organizers, the victims appealed to the law. The grand jury heard their complaint and the evidence seemed sufficiently direct, but five or six of the jurymen refused to vote true bills because the men who had been attacked were engaged in union organization. The complaint was summarily dismissed on the ground that the whole thing was "a drunken brawl."

In general the picture drawn at New Cumberland deserves a prominent place in the Labor Board's national collection. Ernest T. Weir should feel well satisfied with this culmination of his labor-baiting artistry.

Educating Farmers

A GAIN tenant farmers have been left holding the bag. Congress has appropriated twenty million dollars to aid them and to retire submarginal land from use. This sum falls far short of the fifty millions suggested by the administration at the beginning of the session. And, of course, it is only a shadow of the amount needed if there is to be a real attempt to solve this problem, or even to check the alarming increase in farm tenancy. Secretary Wallace has estimated that it would require annual appropriations of one hundred and sixty million dollars merely to reestablish on a sound ownership basis the number of farmers who "normally" lose their holdings each year.

Even such a program would still leave more than two and three-quarter million farms operated by tenants. Since 1880, when 75 percent of the farms in this country were owner-operated, the average yearly increase in tenant farms has been 33,465. During the decade 1925-35 the rate increased to more than forty thousand. Today only three farmers out of five own the land they work. Worse still, most of this so-called ownership rests on the thinnest of equities. Thus, in 1930 farmers' debt-free holdings amounted to considerably less than half the land's total value. In other words, while 60 percent of our farmers could nominally be classed as owners, their real ownership is restricted to some 30 percent of the nation's farm land. In eighteen states the "owning" farmers owed 60 percent of what their real estate was worth. In three of the best farming states this figure amounted to 70 percent.

With such a debt structure syphoning off a large proportion of their cash income and pressing the less fortunate down into tenancy, farmers have begun to revise their political and social outlook. The present Congress has shown its incapacity to cope with fundamental agricultural problems, just as it

has failed in the fields of industry and business. As insecurity and pitifully small cash returns continue to decimate the ranks of small owners, the farming population will see the need for united action by small and middle owners, tenants and wage-earners. The logical instrument for such action is a farmer-labor party.

Fascism for Export

THWARTED by the strength of the people's front in France, and by British distaste for totalitarian doctrines, Hitler and Mussolini have undertaken to export fascism in new ways. Dispatches from England reveal interesting details that center round the recently expelled Nazi journalists. Messrs. Crome, Wrede, and Langen improved their leisure time by establishing five fascist centers in merrie England. These gatherings, often held at fashionable hotels, have been known to the British government since October 1935.

The wife of a cabinet minister joined the German ambassador and prominent members of influential circles to plan the work of fascist espionage. The three Nazi journalists were closely linked with this activity. So closely, in fact, that the British Home Office took the unusual peace-time step of expelling them. Since Joachim von Ribbentrop was appointed ambassador to Great Britain, the National-Socialist Party has doubled its foreign organization—and in consequence the activity of fascist groups on English soil has grown tremendously.

The *Week*, a well informed English news service, reports that more than sixty-five thousand francs went from Berlin, via the Nazi party of Luxemburg, to one fascist organization in Britain. This is said to have roused British backers of fascism—Lancashire cotton interests, two bankers, and a large motor car manufacturer. Not wishing to lose control of their own movement through heavy foreign subsidies, these patriots put pressure on the cabinet to oust Hitler's agents.

The sums involved seem small, however, when compared with recent fascist exports to France, where Colonel de la Rocque, chief of the dissolved Croix de Feu, somehow got his hands on nine million francs to purchase the left radical *Petit Journal*. For years de la Rocque has been supported by ex-Premier André Tardieu. Now it is revealed that Mussolini has been in direct contact with the colonel, using members of Jabotinsky's fascist-inclined Zionist-Revisionist group as go-betweens.

M. Jacques Doriot, deposed mayor of St. Denis, has likewise turned to journalism. Doriot purchased the ultra-reactionary

Liberté just before government inquiry into a coal scandal forced his removal from office. Former Premier Laval is said to have supplied the purchase price. Another curious angle to this deal is that *Liberté*, with a rapidly falling circulation (now less than forty thousand), owes an enormous debt to the Semard printing works, and M. Henri Simond, director of Semard's, has agreed to allow Doriot to pay the sum in easy installments.

The Semard works are owned by the *Echo de Paris* and M. Beghin, publisher of

the *Paris Soir*. Until recently M. Simond was proprietor of the *Echo de Paris*. He resigned when the Blanc family, which owns 57 percent of the paper, demanded to know why the *Echo de Paris* was not returning a profit. M. Simond did not care to explain that the profits of the Semard printing works were being used to carry former mayor Doriot's venture in fascist journalism. Rather than sacrifice *Liberté*, M. Simond severed his connection with the *Echo de Paris*. How long Doriot's fascist sheet can survive may soon depend on Mussolini.

pleading with Roosevelt to stave off a revolution, is now standing behind the President with a knife, ready to kill any attempt at social legislation that might cut into its profits. It has just given an exhibition of its power, by slaughtering almost all the legislative program which the people had voted for, in the session just closed.

The first session of the Seventy-Fifth Congress has ended; now the people are in session. It should shortly become clear to the representatives and senators who disregarded the clear mandate of last November that the people are in no mood to have their wishes disregarded. The warning of John L. Lewis when the Wages and Hours Bill was finally killed is obligatory homework for every legislator to study between now and the next session:

To the leaders of the Democratic Party it presents the challenge either to restore sufficient party discipline to permit government to function under their guidance or to confess that their party is not the vehicle by which the people of the country may progress to a solution of their pressing social problems.

Sabotage of the Democratic Party by a small group of its more conservative members, which came to a head in the House Rules Committee and in the caucus of last evening, shows that Democratic leadership is unable to carry out the pledges made in the name of their party during the 1936 campaign.

If the Democratic Party as at present constituted cannot make good on its election pledges to the people, there are strong and growing forces in the country, inside and out of the Democratic Party, who can and will carry through the vitally necessary program. The session of Congress just closed has produced one result of immeasurable importance for the future, in uniting and testing in battle the group of progressive legislators. As Congressman Bernard describes the session from the inside, in his article in this issue, the progressives in Congress have learned in battle the need for unity, organized action, and a common legislative program.

Between now and the next session of Congress the demands of the American people for protection of their basic rights will grow louder. These demands may yet reach the ears of those weak-kneed legislators who have yielded to the reactionaries, and send them back to the next session prepared to do the job for which they were elected. But whether those who scuttled the people's legislative program decide to become honest or not, the time is ripe for a great change. It can come only by the united effort of all progressives, in getting together on a program which answers the pressing needs of the workers and farmers, and such a program, embodied in a national farmer-labor party, will sweep the country.

Roosevelt and His Party

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT's speech at Roanoke Island attacking the "American Lord Macaulays" was beautifully timed. Three days afterward Congress abandoned the job it was elected to do and ran home. The breakdown of Congress, openly engineered by the very forces of reaction that Roosevelt had pilloried, gave immediate dramatic emphasis to his speech. It pointed up in the strongest light the major political development now gathering speed in the country, the replacement of old party lines by class lines. It showed how rapidly Democrats and Republicans are disappearing, and progressives and reactionaries are taking their places.

Congress ran home—the abandonment of four fifths of the legislative program can scarcely be called an adjournment—because the reactionaries temporarily seized control. It refused to carry out the task assigned to it last November by the unmistakable voice of twenty-seven million voters. It allowed the well-organized opposition of the Tories, Republican and Democratic, to blind it to its duty to the country and to the most pressing needs of ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed America. It refused to reform the Supreme Court, to curb the power of nine old men to thwart the will of the nation. It put off action on an anti-lynching bill. It carried its surrender to the economic royalists to the point of allowing a handful of reactionaries to strangle in the House Rules Committee the Black-Connery Wages and Hours Bill after the Senate had passed it. By its open and wholesale betrayal of the confidence of the people, Congress, dominated by its Tories, completely justified in its closing week the words used by President Roosevelt in summing up the program of the "American Lord Macaulays":

They seek to substitute their own will for that of the majority, for they would serve their own interest above the general welfare. They reject

the principle of the greater good for the greater number, which is the cornerstone of democratic government.

Roosevelt's was a fighting speech, upholding "democracy—and more democracy" and holding up to public scorn by name such reactionary forces as the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the Liberty League.

As to the goal of "the greater good for the greater number," however, Roosevelt can serve only as a signpost, pointing to the future. He is himself rooted in the capitalist system, and proud of it. He would like to see conditions improved, but within the framework of capitalism. The Democratic Party which he leads includes in its headquarters staff representatives of the topmost layers of big business, and it can never be a unit in following any program of social legislation. Big business, which during the dangerous bank holidays of 1933 was travelling to Washington—with dust on its knees—



Soriano

He Named Names

Lawyer, Defend Yourself!

The reactionary bias of the Bar Association is only one of the influences which brought the Lawyers' Guild into being

By Malcolm Haskell

MANY references in recent weeks to the aggressively progressive activities of various local chapters of the National Lawyers' Guild have aroused public interest in the work of this organization.

The guild got under way when six hundred attorneys representing almost every state in the union gathered in Washington, D. C., last February to participate in its organizational convention. It is true that a few delegates came to the City of Big Noises to distribute professional cards, others to practice their oratory and still others merely to rid themselves of inferiority complexes. Yet the most captious observer would admit that by and large the delegates with exemplary energy and conscientiousness succeeded in launching a movement which may yet render their profession a definite force for general social and economic progress rather than the convenient tool of the fascist-minded clients of a few large law firms.

The first day of the convention disclosed the basic distinction between the new organization and the American Bar Association, which, representing only 20 percent of the profession, has heretofore been accepted by the press and the public as the voice of the American lawyer.

At the opening banquet, Senator Homer T. Bone of Washington reviewed the activities of a small group of well-paid corporation lawyers, typified by John W. Davis and Newton D. Baker, who had been blocking social legislation by attacking the constitutionality of the various acts before the Supreme Court. What contribution, asked the senator, have these attorneys and the American Bar Association, which they own body and soul, made to the cause of human rights?

To the defense of these humanitarians rushed Frederick H. Stinchfield, president of the organization thus slurred by the senator. He wrote in the *Washington Post*: "[Senator Bone] inquires when lawyers have ever been interested in human rights. It is apparent that the senator has forgotten the Declaration of Independence. That is America's declaration of human rights. It was drawn by lawyers. Its spirit is that of lawyers. . . . The senator may also have forgotten the constitution of the United States. There is another document dealing entirely with human rights. It, too, was written by lawyers. . . . The senator finds no good in lawyers, living or dead. His attack embraces Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln, Cleveland, and Wilson, those who founded and those who sustained human rights."

The issue being joined, as lawyers like to say, let's examine the record.



Martin

We find that in the name of dead revolutionaries and reformers, Mr. Stinchfield justifies the uniform opposition of his organization to every effort exerted in our generation in behalf of human progress. The appointment of Justice Brandeis to the U. S. Supreme Court was openly opposed by seven past presidents of the Bar Association. That organization was conspicuously silent when innumerable Americans were robbed of fundamental civil liberties during and after the World War. In the name of Abraham Lincoln, it has systematically excluded Negroes from its membership rolls. In the name of Thomas Jefferson, it has studiously avoided a consideration of the problem of constitutional rights of the masses—becoming articulate only when vested property rights are endangered. In the name of Woodrow Wilson, it has gone on record as opposing the Child Labor Amendment—and why not, when its hierarchy is retained by substantial members of the National Association of Manufacturers?

When the present strife in steel reaches the stage of litigation, the role of certain prominent lawyers, high in Bar Association circles, as the advisers and strategists of the confidently obstinate Girdlers, Purnells, Weirs, etc., will be revealed. To climax its shameful record, the association has never undertaken a realistic survey of the pressing problem of professional economic welfare, and indeed at its 1936 convention defeated a resolution calling for a lawyers' W.P.A. project.

What more conclusive evidence of the immediate necessity for an organization truly representative of the American lawyer could be submitted than this evasive, obfuscatory, flag-waving apology by the man who now poses as its ex-officio mouthpiece?

One may well ask what has compelled lawyers, whose very existence takes root in the old order of a profit economy, to appraise critically not only those who have purported to be their spokesmen in the past but also the general

problems of their contemporary society? The answer to this question is of major importance for in it is implicit the answer to the overwhelming problem of universal middle-class upheaval.

Social and economic crises cause reflective persons to pause for analysis of their society and determination of their role therein. What is a lawyer's function under capitalism? What part does he play in productive relationships? Ripping aside the deceiving veils of hoary traditions and scholastic bugaboo the lawyer finds that with very few exceptions all of his activities center upon the manifold fields of trade and commerce. "Most of the law (except the elemental law of community defense)," says Prof. Charles A. Beard, "is concerned with the property relations of men, which reduced to their simple terms means the process by which the ownership of concrete forms of property is determined or passes from one person to another."

It necessarily follows that the more numerous the commercial relationships, or the greater the number of independent business units existing in any given economic epoch, the more frequently will develop inter-functional problems requiring the specialized services of lawyers.

When capitalism was in the stage of growth and development and the American middle class was in its ascendancy, white-collar employees and professionals were at a premium. Stenographers, accountants, salesmen, lawyers, etc., could not be trained fast enough to satisfy the demands of expanding industry and commerce.

Lawyers as an economic group depended for clientele upon this powerful and influential middle class. A young lawyer of working or middle-class stock a generation ago could well look to his employed intimates with confident expectation that many of them would ultimately go into business for themselves and would thereby become his clients. As these enterprises would grow financially, his practices would also grow in volume and in importance.

Today the trend is in reverse. The average lawyer's acquaintances for the most part are not going into business but rather out of business. Lewis Corey has pointed out that in 1870, independent enterprisers comprised one seventh of all persons gainfully occupied in the United States, today only one twentieth. The conclusion is inescapable: legal business is being dried up at its source, not temporarily by a passing depression, but permanently by the inexorable march of monopoly.

The economic activities once dominated by