

# NEW MASSES

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## Open War

THE shelling of Almeria by a German naval squadron has inaugurated a new stage in the Spanish war. In essence, it signifies that both Italy and Germany have decided that the insurgents must gain a speedy victory or no victory at all. It is no secret that the fascist dictatorships of Germany and Italy inspired and planned the Franco uprising. Both powers have poured so many of their own troops, planes, tanks, and munitions into Spain that an aggressive, ruthless intervention was apparent from the first. Instead of intimidating the Spanish people, this intervention served to stiffen the defense. The war on the loyalist side became one for national preservation as well as democracy.

That Hitler and Mussolini have thrown off all the grim fictions by which they tried to combine force with fraud is testimony of desperation on their part. They are in too deeply to draw out unless absolutely forced to do so, and they hope to prevent such an eventuality by their last thrust: full and open warfare.

The resignations of Italy and Germany from the London Non-Intervention Committee now put the matter squarely before France and Great Britain, the powers responsible for maintaining the neutrality farce. There is no longer even the glimmer of reason behind the refusal of both powers to sell arms to the Spanish government. It can no longer be said that the fascist powers can be tricked into "neutrality." It can only be said that the fascist powers blackmailed the democratic ones.

As for our own country, the present crisis confronts the recently passed Neutrality Act with its first real test. The act is now in operation against Spain to the damage of Spanish democracy. Will the President declare Germany and Italy at war with Spain, as demanded by Senator Borah, and invoke the act against the fascist powers? Failure to do so will be a clear violation of the very terms of the act.

Both Hitler and Mussolini leave no doubt

that the bombardment of Almeria was a joint venture, though carried out by the German fleet. Twenty-four hours after the actual shelling, the *Piccolo*, afternoon edition of the semi-official *Giornale d'Italia*, served notice of an imminent Italian expeditionary force against Spain. Those were exactly the terms used for the invasion of Ethiopia. This similarity characterizes the present phase of the Spanish war.

The destruction of Almeria was in the tradition of primitive arrogance which once distinguished the Hohenzollern clique. On the mere assertion that the German cruiser *Deutschland* was bombed without provocation by loyalist planes, Hitler took upon himself the roles of examining attorney, judge, and executioner, as Samuel Kagan, the Soviet spokesman at the Non-Intervention Committee, aptly put it. No attempt was made to refute authentic loyalist reports that the *Deutschland* had first fired on loyalist planes when discovered in the French patrol zone in flagrant violation of the agreement.

This fascist *Uebermensch* can be dealt with effectively only by the united strength of the free and democratic peoples. The governments of Great Britain, France, and the United States must be forced to join the Soviet Union in a forthright defense of democratic Spain. In that direction only lies the hope of averting a world war in the coming, critical period.

## Life or Property

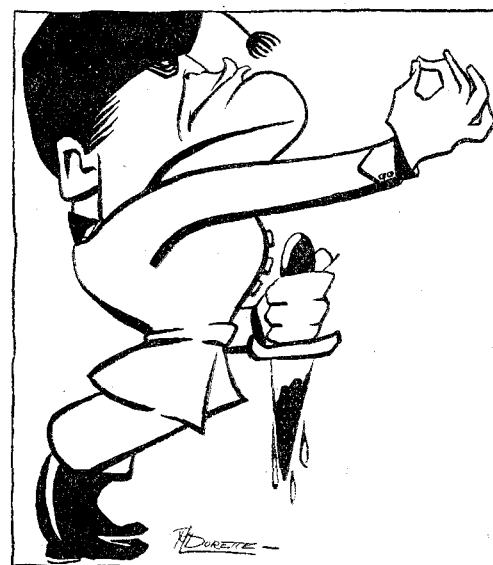
WHEN the C.I.O. announced that it intended to organize the steel industry, observers anticipated mass murder and all the sanguinary incidents that marked the steel empire's dealings with its employees in the past. It remained for Republic Steel to revive the old barbaric tradition. In South Chicago, near the Republic plant, police used tear gas, clubs, and guns against men and women marching peacefully toward the picket lines. Five deaths and almost a hundred injuries resulted. Mayor Kelly was not unduly disturbed. Commenting on the "riot," he attributed it to "outside mobs who came into Chicago to make trouble." The mayor had previously expressed his confidence that "the well-disciplined police" would fulfil its duty to protect "life and property." Frank A. Lauerman, superintendent of public relations for Republic Steel, said his concern planned to make no statement because the riot did not occur on company property. But Van A. Bittner, regional director of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee (S.W.O.C.), before a mass meeting of 5000 strikers and sympathizers, described the "riot" victims as "those brave soldiers who were murdered by the Chicago police." Several investigations are under way.

There is little doubt that the buccaneers of the independent steel companies had a working foreknowledge of Mayor Kelly's definition of "life and property." Their confident preparations for conflict testify to this. These economic royalists were a little late getting started, but they are running true to form. Newspapermen and photographers, fired on from company grounds, are learning what happens when steel kings "mean business." The steel organizing campaign has left its honeymoon period when contracts with Carnegie-Illinois and Jones & Laughlin were signed by negotiation. The independents have chosen industrial warfare, but they have made their decision too late for victory.

## Twenty Murders

NO indictment of American imperialism in recent years has been so conclusive and utterly damning as that of the non-partisan committee, headed by Arthur Garfield Hays, which has just completed its inquiry into the massacre at Ponce, Puerto Rico, on Palm Sunday. The committee's report (the most important sections of which we publish exclusively this week) places the full responsibility for the massacre of twenty people, the strangulation of civil liberty, and the denial of academic freedom squarely on Governor Blanton Winship. After reading this document, no American who cherishes the causes for which our war for liberation from British imperialism was fought can fail to support the people of Puerto Rico in their demand for complete freedom.

We have been informed on good authority that Dr. Ernest Gruening, head of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration and the U.S. government's liberal front on the islands, made strenuous efforts to get the investigating committee to soften its indictment. The committee refused. Governor Winship and Dr. Gruening hastened to



Dorsette

*Il Duce—Plans Second Invasion*

Washington to present their case against the report. The nature of this "case" may be judged from the news that pressure by the State Department succeeded in keeping out of the press a release by the Civil Liberties Union on May 24 giving the Hays committee's conclusions.

There is little wonder in all this, considering the three main conclusions of the Hays committee:

(1) "That the Insular Police on instructions from the governor refused to permit a group of Nationalist cadets, perhaps eighty of them in number, to engage in a peaceful parade; that the cadets, in the face of fifty or seventy policemen armed with revolvers, shotguns, machine guns, and tear-gas bombs, were given the command 'Forward march!' and stepped forward one or two paces when the police opened fire on them and the crowd. The fire came from three or four different directions so that the police themselves were in their own cross-fire.

(2) "That civil liberties for the last nine months have been denied the people where they wished to hold parades and demonstrations, on subjects that interested them, such as Puerto Rican independence, the attitude of Governor Winship, and the conviction for a conspiracy of leaders of the Nationalist Party.

(3) "That the University of Puerto Rico has passed regulations under which teachers who take part in any of these activities may be penalized or lose their jobs; that such regulations are for the purpose of curbing civil liberty and should be canceled."

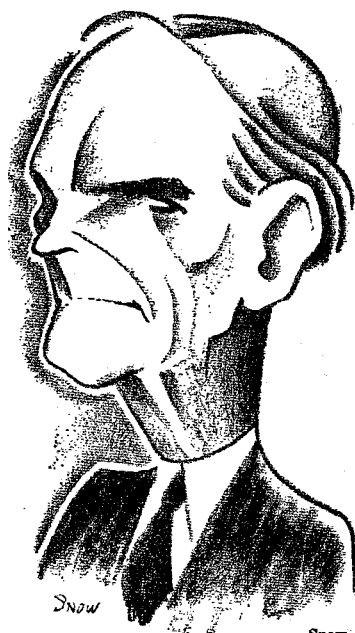
The NEW MASSES has wired President Roosevelt as follows:

"WE URGE YOU IMMEDIATELY SUSPEND GOVERNOR WINSHIP OF PUERTO RICO PENDING OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION HIS RESPONSIBILITY MURDER OF TWENTY PERSONS AND WOUNDING ALMOST TWO HUNDRED OTHERS AT PONCE ON PALM SUNDAY STOP HE HAS BEEN DECLARED RESPONSIBLE FOR MASSACRE BY NON-PARTISAN INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE HEADED BY ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS WHOSE MOST IMPORTANT FINDINGS WE PUBLISH THIS WEEK."

We have also wired Senator Robert LaFollette, chairman of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, urging an immediate investigation into Governor Winship's role in the Ponce massacre and into Governor Winship's general administration of Puerto Rico. We urge our readers to send similar messages to President Roosevelt and Senator LaFollette demanding action by both.

### *Frankenstein vs. Ford*

**H**ENRY FORD'S private cops deliberately singled out union leader Richard T. Frankenstein among workers



Henry Ford—Conveyor Belt to Fascism

distributing leaflets in an organization drive. They gave him and his companions a systematic and cold-blooded beating. This episode emphasizes the fact that Ford's history is a carefully organized conveyor belt to fascism. When spies, rumors, leaflets, and intimidations fail to halt the auto workers in the exercise of their legitimate right to organize, Ford resorts to more strenuous methods. The storage rooms of his factories are filled with machine guns, tear gas, private detectives, and thugs.

Ford's criminal violence against his employees is not the result of hysteria; it is premeditated. In 1932, when 5000 unemployed Ford workers marched toward the Dearborn plant to ask for jobs or relief, they were met with tear gas and icy water from fire hose. Then Ford turned his machine guns on the marching workers, killing five of them. Two years earlier, in 1930, Ford used similar methods in Brazil. Hundreds of peons on his rubber plantation were shot down for striking against a slave wage of twelve cents a day.

Ford has supported anti-Semitism in the United States, the Black Legion, and Hitler himself. His benevolent wage for 1937 is \$850 a year. Naturally his workers want to protect themselves by a trade union. Last week, when cards with printed "Fordisms" failed to halt unionization, Ford's thugs cracked down upon the workers with violence.

Such methods are not confined to Ford. Espionage, provocation, and blood are the instruments of all the industrial companies in their fight against unionization. This much the LaFollette committee investigating labor spies has definitely established. The name of Richard Frankenstein came up in that investigation. It begins the series of articles by Leo Huberman starting in this

issue of the NEW MASSES. Those articles deserve the closest attention, for they vividly picture the methods of the industrial dynasties which use the most barbarous methods against their employees as a matter of routine.

### *Life Begins at "40-40"*

**T**HE Black-Connery Bill is coming in for rough treatment at reactionary hands. The only feature in the bill which has not yet been met with a frontal attack is that which bars child labor—but the attack on that sector is sure to come. Other provisions, notably one placing a limitation on hours of work and another setting a minimum wage, are criticized for a variety of reasons. It is argued sectional and industrial diversities are so great and so integral a part of our economy that national wage-and-hour standards are impossible; that all such problems should be left to the individual states; that administration would prove hopelessly difficult and complicated; that there are depressed trades which cannot stand a jump in wages or a cut in hours.

The first and last of these objections are somewhat naïve—they imply acceptance of the very conditions (sub-standard labor) that "40-40" sets out to correct. It was Judge Gary of steel trust fame who issued a solemn warning that less than a twelve-hour day would "wreck" the steel industry. Moreover, it is not true that most goods are priced in strict accordance with their labor costs. As for relying upon state action, one look at the record shows that this problem demands a national solution. The remaining objection, difficulties of administration, overlooks the wealth of technical and statistical resources already available to an administrative board.

There are additional features of "40-40" which may greatly enhance its value to labor. One is a clear provision to bar the use of strike-breakers, with a very effective definition of that term. The other, and more important section, empowers the board to examine labor conditions with the direct purpose of setting up new standards of "reasonableness and fairness." As Representative Connery has stated, the bill aims to go beyond the mere establishment of "rudimentary standards of human decency." Wisely administered, "40-40" should provide a means for steadily improving its own basic stipulations. As now written, the bill gives its administrative board jurisdiction over wages below eighty cents an hour, \$100 monthly or \$1200 a year. There would appear to be no good reason why these figures cannot be made the minima for practically all occupations within the law's range. This prospect, too, will alarm reactionaries quite as much as it heartens the rest of us.



## Hayashi Goes Out

THE fall of the Hayashi government in Japan is due, in the main, to the strategy employed by the opposition political parties of directing their whole fire against the cabinet to the virtual exclusion of other issues. General Hayashi's public statements to the effect that the parties would either back his policies without criticism or lose their right to criticize, confronted the party leaders with little alternative but to fight back. As a result, the two bourgeois parties, Minseitō and Seiyūkai, presented a firm front in favor of constitutional government for the first time in recent years.

The Japanese political set-up is such that the fall of the government does not necessarily mean that the opposition will come into its own. As a matter of fact, it does not even appear that the political parties will be represented in the next cabinet. This exclusion of the parties from the cabinet was a precedent set by General Hayashi, and one step backward in this respect would mean two steps forward towards real democracy. Instead, it is likely that a fairly colorless civilian or imperial adviser may replace Hayashi in order to let political passions subside. In this event, the premier will be a puppet in the hands of the war minister. The real political complexion of the next government will be determined more by the army faction in control than by the premier.

The fall of the government comes clearly within the lines of development charted for Japan's intricate politics by Albert Brown in last week's *NEW MASSES*. "The army groups," Brown wrote, "may decide to sacrifice the Hayashi government in order to play for time for a better opportunity to go forward towards their brand of military fascism." In other words, the dominant military cliques have found it advisable to slacken their drive towards military fascism, but they have not revised the nature of their goal. Much depends on how the political parties follow up their present advantage. The fall of Hayashi has unquestionably encouraged them, but the next trial of strength will tell just how far this victory extends.

## 3,990,000 to Go

ORGANIZATION of the four million office workers in this country, long obstructed by the executive council of the A. F. of L., is now expected to parallel the great gains made in other unorganized industries during the past year. At a convention in Philadelphia last weekend, representatives of twenty-three white-collar unions from eleven states voted to form a new national organization, the United Office & Professional Workers' Union of America. This group will seek affiliation with the C.I.O.

Starting with a membership of only 10,000, the new union is prepared for a major organizational drive. It will organize in financial institutions, publishing houses, non-governmental social services, and in all industries where clerical workers are in the majority. It will also have the job of organizing in some industries where industrial unions have already been given charters. The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, for example, which originally had anticipated organizing the white-collar workers into the steel industrial union, has found that such a move is premature. Not only steel, but auto, rubber, and a number of other industrial unions are expected to turn over present white-collar membership in their unions to the newly established C.I.O. affiliate.

Unionization of office and professional workers is only one indication that this year will mark the final dissolution of the myth that white-collar workers can never identify themselves with the labor movement. On June 7, nearly two hundred delegates will attend the American Newspaper Guild Convention in St. Louis. The convention will celebrate the doubling of the membership of the Guild last year and will discuss the question of C.I.O. affiliation. In August, the convention of the American Federation of Teachers in Madison, Wis., will be confronted with the same question. The Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, & Technicians, which has already joined the C.I.O., anticipates an unprecedented recruiting campaign. The triumphs in basic industries should not obscure these important developments among the white-collar trades and professions.

## The Play's the Thing

MARRIED by ambiguities and confusion, the "First National Convention of the Legitimate Theatre" has come and gone. The fanfare that preceded it and continued through its sessions was keyed to give it the sound of a cultural renaissance, but its concrete accomplishments stamp it for what it clearly was: a piece of traditional trade promotion.

From this arise its major faults. The American Theatre Council, which called the convention and will continue its program, is self-constituted, thus lacking both responsibility and authority. Furthermore, by planning a \$100,000 trade-promotion fund as a way out of the theater crisis, the council failed to recognize the industry's basic ills. Among these are an uneconomic admission-price scale; the fact that so long as the theater rests on its present narrow economic base, the best writing and acting talent will go to Hollywood; the discouragement of theatrical fare of broad, vital appeal; and the lack of

organized audience participation. So blind are the theater men on this last point that even in the convention there was a barely discernible minimum of discussion—most of the proceedings were set speeches read in monotone.

On the credit side are several noteworthy items. These include plans for a national theater festival in August 1938, which may permit a vital upsurge despite the stale traditionalism of the American Theatre Council, and plans for an international theater convention in 1939, ditto. Moreover, there is the fact that all the theater unions except the musicians are represented (albeit without real authority and responsibility) on the council, which lays the basis for some vitalization from that quarter. Five thousand-dollar "scholarship" subsidies for playwrights have been provided and ten more are hoped for. Lip-service, at least, was paid to the idea of a central air-conditioning plant for Broadway legit houses, to more cooperation with W.P.A. theaters, and to stimulation of revival, children's, and rotary-stock theaters. Chalk up a couple of plus marks for the comments of Prof. Barrett H. Clark, who praised the vitality of the left-wing theater, and of Burgess Meredith, who gave the producers hell for their sterility in general and their enmity to trade unions in particular.

In sum, the convention was largely sterile, but the basis is there for vitalizing it if the theater folk go about it seriously.

## Unpacking the Court

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON, in his review in this issue of Isidor Feinstein's *The Court Disposes*, says that "to 'pack' the Court, as the President plainly proposes doing, is not enough." It seems to us that what the President proposes doing is to *unpack* the Supreme Court. The proposal should have the most vigorous support, as it is a necessary step towards a solution of the problems involving the Supreme Court. We agree with Mr. Feinstein and Mr. Josephson that a more comprehensive solution would be a constitutional amendment protecting the rights of the American people against Court encroachments.

## Giotto and Gropper

BROWSING through the Metropolitan Museum among masterpieces as remote as the hierarchical bas-reliefs of the Assyrians, as near as the dynamic lithographs of George Bellows, you feel the full impact of man's creative spirit in all times and lands, under the most diverse and incredible circumstances. The imaginative energy which animates the plastic arts is so persistent in its desire to fuse the observed world of nature

with man's deepest dreams that you cannot help recalling the poet's lines that the bust outlasts the throne, the coin Tiberius. Yet you cannot help being equally impressed by the precise timeliness of the very masterpieces which seem to defy time. The historically progressive places its stamp on the most abstract statue, the most symbolic painting. Just as certain Chinese figures bear the imprint of Alexander's foray into the Far East, and Michelangelo's statues breathe the spirit of bourgeois humanism, revolutionary in its day, so the most recent additions to the Metropolitan voice the most advanced social movements of our own times.

For now, near the marvels of Giotto are housed the paintings of William Gropper, Reginald Marsh, Joe Jones, Max Weber, Doris Lee, Arnold Blanch, Raphael Soyer, and Rockwell Kent, all members of the American Artists' Congress, organized two years ago to combat fascism and imperialist war. Each of these artists has contributed drawings to the *New Masses*, particularly Gropper, whose remarkable gifts first became manifest in these pages. Gropper's development is one of the most inspiring sagas in American art, moving from those first brilliant caricatures in the old *Masses* to the Metropolitan and to the three panels he is doing for the Department of Interior.

The inclusion of these artists in the Metropolitan collection is a significant sign of the times. The painters who are most socially conscious are also leaders of their craft.

### *Landon's Heir*

THE great state of Kansas has had tough luck with its governors. First it was saddled with a fellow who, according to reliable reports, ran for President of the U.S.A. on the Republican ticket. His name has been lost to posterity, but our research department informs us it was something like Alf M. Landon. Now Kansas has a governor named Walter A. Huxman. Officially a Democrat, this gentleman is doing all he can to guarantee the return of the Republicans in the next state elections.

Landon, his eye on the White House, posed as a liberal. Huxman, his eye on Kansas industrialists, is a vociferous tory. The former balanced the state budget with empty stomachs, ignoring protests of the Kansas Workers' Alliance against closing the Emergency Relief Commission last year. The latter has refused the Workers' Alliance official recognition this year. Landon paid state employees and road workers out of \$750,000 obtained from federal relief funds. Huxman, elected on a platform opposed to a sales tax, recently signed a bill augmenting Kansas revenues through a two-percent sales tax

effective June 1. Another of Huxman's campaign pledges favored civil-service status for state employees, but in January of this year he vetoed a civil-service bill passed by the legislature.

Landon made himself nationally odious by sending state troops against Kansas coal miners. Huxman looked on passively in April while company union thugs shot and wounded nine C.I.O. men at the zinc mines of Galena. Obviously, Governor Huxman

is one of those Liberty League Democrats closer to Landon than to Roosevelt.

Those who are wisely intent upon driving out the Republicans from American political life may be interested in knowing that a Kansas law prohibits political parties from having hyphenated names. We hope, however, that the progressive people of that state will develop a powerful Farmer-Labor party before 1940, even if they have to compress its name to comply with the absurd law.

## *Mr. Green's Monkey Wrench*

ONE sure result of the policy adopted by William Green and his delegates at the recent Cincinnati A. F. of L. convention is already apparent—employers are going to make desperate efforts to benefit from this labor war. Witness the editorial comments in conservative papers, discovering long-hidden virtues in Mr. Green's organization. Past quarrels within labor's own ranks, factional and jurisdictional disputes limited to single groups, were damaging enough. As W. D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Association of Street & Electric Railway Employees, said at Cincinnati: "You [the A. F. of L.] all have jurisdictional disputes, and you all try to get members that don't belong to you at times."

Such disputes will multiply and grow to the stature of full warfare all along the labor front between the C.I.O.'s progressive forces, which have revitalized labor policy and given it new direction, and the defeatist tactics of the entrenched A. F. of L. bureaucracy. It is significant that Mr. Green's sudden militancy is aimed, not at employers, but at the C.I.O. Coming at a time when industrialists and business men are actively "concerned" over labor's bid for proper recognition, this breach is peculiarly unfortunate. Signs are not lacking that employers are determined to make the most of any opportunity to block the broad sweep of workers' progress. Add the somber background of ten million jobless and reduced appropriations for all forms of relief, and the gravity of the situation is plain.

Moreover, since government action and public opinion make some form of unionization almost certain, it can be taken for granted that employers will choose what they believe to be the lesser of two evils, and will back the A. F. of L. in every conflict. This backing will find expression in factory and mill, as well as through the usual publicity channels open to organized business. We may expect a full measure of Red-baiting, with plenty of sanctimonious advice that labor put its house in order. The A. F. of L. has already struck this note in an appeal to

employers. Those willing to obey the Wagner Labor Relations Act and deal with "labor organizations" are especially solicited. Arthur O. Wharton, president of the International Association of Machinists, in a letter to his officers, writes, "These employers have expressed a preference to deal with the A. F. of L. rather than Lewis, Hillman, Dubinsky, Howard and their gang of slug-gers, Communists, radicals, soap-box artists, professional bums, expelled members of labor unions, outright scabs, and the Jewish organizations with all their Red affiliates."

These new features of the struggle will undoubtedly be reflected in the character of the groups that both sides are able to recruit. And since the A. F. of L. proposes to invade the C.I.O.'s own field by establishing industrial unions, the old question of craft versus mass organization will be submerged by much broader issues, issues that involve labor's future role in our political and economic life. By necessity identified with employers' interests, William Green's organization may well attract groups that differ little, if at all, from company unions. As now conceived, the A. F. of L.'s war policies do not offer any assurance that its membership drive will exclude such unwholesome elements.

Undeniably, the workers of America face a period of strain and struggle. They are being urged to a momentous decision, one which will either turn the current of labor activity into stagnant backwaters or else release its full power for social advancement. Events have made the C.I.O. represent the real interests of the whole trade-union movement. Both in his conception of the part union labor must play, and in his determination to enlist the unorganized millions, John L. Lewis has made this fact plain.

Mr. Green and his confrères have called for a labor war, in terms that repudiate more than two years of splendid achievement in mass organization. The stage is set. To us it is unthinkable that the nation's working people will fail in their efforts to establish a national federation of a progressive character despite great obstacles.



# American Fliers in Spain

*Frank Tinker, Jim Allison, the late Ben Leider, Albert Baumler, and others have proved their mettle in sky-fighting with the fascist airmen*

By James Hawthorne

**M**ILITARY observers have watched the war in Spain eagerly. With an eye to the next world conflagration, they evaluate the merits of the various types of machine guns, the effectiveness of artillery, the relative speed and efficacy of the aeroplanes seen in action here. Ethiopia offered little upon which to base positive conclusions. Spain, on the other hand, has given the military men much food for reflection.

A conclusion universally stressed is that artillery fire and aviation have not the physical, military efficacy ascribed them by "authorities" writing since the last war. But in interpreting this conclusion there have been frequent efforts to assign to aviation a purely moral value. Such an interpretation is of no help to us because it does not account for the outstanding role of aviation in this war. True, both rebel and loyalist planes, with their tons of bombs and thousands of machine-gun bullets, have often wasted their time and thousands of dollars to kill one man and wound another. In fortified positions and good trenches, soldiers can laugh at bombers. If they have good anti-aircraft guns and the protection of a certain amount of aviation, enemy planes can never drive them from a position by strafing. Even without protection from the air, they can dig in well and resist the machine guns from above.

Yet who can forget the horrors of September and October in the Tagus Valley? It is too early to hazard a guess at how many thousands of militiamen fell beneath the pitiless fire of the new Italian and German planes. That the figure is staggering, there can be no doubt.

How can we reconcile these facts? That is, how can we accept the statement that an army can arm itself morally and be proof against aviation, and yet admit that planes can inflict more physical damage than any other weapon or combination of weapons? The war in Spain has answered the question. Aviation is a weak weapon as long as the opposing army is experienced enough to resist the fright of bombs and aircraft. But war costs men; the personnel of an army is constantly changing; and external factors are always raising or lowering its morale. When morale has fallen to a very low pitch, or is on the down-grade, the bombs and machine guns of the fliers can destroy whole armies. Situations are bound to arise in which morale flags. Then aviation becomes the decisive factor.

Last July, the loyalists had about fifty feeble planes with which they were able to destroy a similar number of ancient contraptions in the

hands of the rebels, losing a fair proportion of their own machines in the process. In August, the new, fast, modern Nazi and Italian planes soon destroyed the wobbly Breguets and wooden crates of the loyalists. The inexperienced, autonomous government militia was as helpless as the Ethiopians had been beneath the deathly fascist hail. At this point international solidarity threw up a wall against fascist intervention.

Months were needed to solidify that wall, and so it was not until January that American fliers were able to make their contribution.

There was the necessity for obtaining planes despite a virtual blockade, for training men and organizing an efficient army. Until Spanish factories could make plane parts, Spanish mechanics take care of the machines, and Spanish pilots fly them, there was, paradoxically enough, little room for the Yanks. In fact, previous Spanish experience had been that the wrong kind of "help" was apt to come from the United States. Drunken mercenaries wandered into Spanish airports and went out to sell their military information. One might have expected the real anti-fascist fliers, as a consequence, to find barriers set up against them. That they did not was due to the respect their sincerity aroused.

TO LOOK AT, or exchange a few words with, such a flier as Frank G. Tinker of Dewitt, Ark., for instance, would not lead you to an understanding of the depth of purpose inspir-

ing American participants in this little world war. Tinker looks, talks, and likes to feel pure Arkansas. Tinker (who pronounces his name Tanker) knows there is a Lincoln Battalion in Spain. [Some of the American fliers in Spain are not attached to the Lincoln Battalion.—ED.] He's secretly proud whenever he hears it mentioned by the Spaniards in conversation. But, he inquires plaintively, "Why Lincoln Battalion? How about a Jeff Davis Battalion?"

Southern, Annapolis- and army-trained, Tinker is no radical. But there is a fundamental fairness to the man that makes him see the justice of organizing sharecroppers to better their conditions even if, as he believed, they too often do not realize that a better life is possible. This same fairness provokes his antipathy to international fascist warfare against the inoffensive Spanish people. Above and beyond mere fairness, and more deeply ingrained, too, Tinker has a real American love of independence. That's why he is a fighting democrat; democracy to him spells popular independence and fascism its destruction.

That's what counts with the Spanish airmen, and that's what established Tinker, Jim Allison, Whitey Evans, and Ben Leider of one squadron, and squadron leader Albert Baumler of another, as veritable pets of the air force from the beginning. Professional skill reinforced their position. As human beings they grew close to the native pilots, mechanics, observers, field men, and political commissars.

If the Yank fliers were respected as men and admired as aviators, they won the absolute awe of the ground force as understanding and sincere anti-fascists, defenders of a cause that each understood in his own way but fought for in the same way. Mechanics at Alcalá like to tell about that. One day a disagreement between some Anarchist and Communist mechanics at the field stumped Chimarro, the clever chief of the Communist group. As a rule, the Anarchists, led by a child-like giant, always listened to Chimarro religiously. Tinker's plane needed a new propeller, a job for at least three men. But the angry Anarchists declared that they would not help one another or the Communists. Frank helped his own mechanic for a while, but the work didn't progress very well. Then he consulted with Jim and Ben and Whitey. They worked out a plan. Together they walked over to the plane, inspected it, discussed it, and then broke into a loud and heated argument. Naturally, the ground force drew near to find out what was the trouble. The argument got more intense. The Americans, red



Woodcut by Bertram Reibel (Chicago Artists' Congress Series)