



The Volunteer

"...and that government of the people,
by the people, and for the people,
shall not perish from the earth."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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Rally to welcome members of the Lincoln Brigade returning to New York. This photograph is one of the many images in "Facing Fascism: New York and the Spanish Civil War," at the Museum of the City of New York. See page 3. (Photograph from the Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library, New York.)

Letter From the Editor

The 70th anniversary of the Lincoln Brigade provides a backdrop for one of the most ambitious projects in ALBA's history.

The national monument, soon to be unveiled in San Francisco, is a dream literally being made. The lawyers are fine tuning the contracts, craftspeople are designing the words and images for the onyx, the steel is in transit. Your generous response to our November appeal is heartening. We have raised about \$200,000, but we are still only two-thirds of the way to the necessary target. If you've already given, as Moe Fishman says, give again. We're serious!

Meanwhile, in New York, the opening of the exhibition "Facing Fascism" demonstrates the importance of building something else: bridges to kindred groups, beginning with the Puffin Foundation and extending to the Instituto Cervantes, which are sponsoring this incredible project. New York University's Tamiment Library, home to the ALBA collection, opened its shelves to the curators of the Museum of the City of New York; the King Juan Carlos I Center, led by James Fernandez, provides the setting for numerous collateral programs that will go on all spring. New York University Press is publishing the companion volume of essays/catalogue for the show, edited by Peter N. Carroll and James Fernandez.

Just as important as this institutional collaboration is the fresh conceptual framework that distinguishes this exhibition. During the 1930s, the public perceived the Spanish Civil War through two competing dichotomies: democracy vs fascism or radicalism vs order.

It would be difficult to identify another historical episode that has been more distorted by the lens of subsequent events. The long decades of the Cold War produced a wholesale rewriting of history, in which domestic fascists disappeared and those who defended the Spanish Republic were dismissed as un-American. Even after the Cold War has ended, this view prevails in the mainstream media.

The new exhibition—and the published catalogue—attempt to restore the original terms of debate. Here we find the United States of the 1930s, much like the country today, bitterly divided about the international situation. German-American bundists, pro-Mussolini Italian-Americans, leaders of the Roman Catholic hierarchy fought strenuously for their versions of a better world, while other constituencies adopted an agenda based on anti-racism, social justice, an interventionist foreign policy.

You will see all this on the walls of the Museum of the City of New York: the struggles as they were fought in the hearts and minds of ordinary New Yorkers, in newspapers,

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political cartoons, photographs, works of literature and art. You will also see the exciting exchanges between those who went to Spain and those who stayed at home. There is a freshness about this project: a dialogue between past and present that is the hallmark of ALBA's mission.

—Peter N. Carroll

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor,

Enclosed you will find a modest contribution for the proposed VALB monument in memory of my father, who, as a member of El Club Obrero, contributed what he could to the cause of the Republic and brought me as an infant to events sponsored by that organization of which I have a very distant and hazy memory.

He was a working man but learned his history and got his political acumen as a result of that organization's seminars and lectures.

He was nicknamed "El Comandante" by his aunts and village crones as an infant because of his serious demeanor and studious gaze as he stared at the older ladies while in his mother's arms. The nickname stuck and that is what he was called by my uncles and their friends, all immigrants from the fishing village of Sada, near La Coruna.

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Bay Area Reunion Honors Activist Legacy

With expectations of unveiling the new monument to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade later this year, friends, family, and vets will celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Spanish Civil War on March 3 at a Saturday afternoon gathering in Oakland, California.

Russ Ellis, emeritus vice chancellor of the University of California/Berkeley, will give the keynote talk, "A Monument to the Activism of the Lincoln Brigade." Five years ago, Ellis was instrumental in launching the campaign for the monument and shaping its message of the vets' lifelong activism. Constructed of open steelwork and onyx, the planned monument will be 39 feet long and 8 feet high. The translucent design allows visitors to see photographic images of the Lincoln volunteers in Spain, as well as inscribed texts of poetry and prose that depict their experiences as activists.

Although several smaller plaques commemorate the Lincoln Brigade at various sites—the University of Washington campus in Seattle; a wall plaque at City College in New York; a stone monu-

ment in downtown Madison, Wisconsin; and a granite stone at the Centro Asturiana in Tampa, Florida—the new monument is dramatic in scale and presentation and will be located at a major intersection of pedestrian traffic near San Francisco's historic Ferry Building.

According to Linda Lustig, treasurer of the Bay Area Friends and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which initiated the project, the current campaign to fund the monument has reached \$200,000, about two-thirds of the anticipated cost. "It's important for our donors to realize that we still have a way to go to complete the fund drive for this terrific monument," she says.

The monument will not be the only cause for cheer at the gathering. There will also be a musical performance by Barbara Dane, Bruce Barthol, and Barrett Nelson, bringing up memories of the good fight and the feeling that younger generations will continue the struggle.

Tax-deductible contributions for the monument should be made out to ALBA and mailed to ALBA, 799 Broadway—Room 227, New York, NY 10003.

Requetes. He was a block captain and would have been murdered by the Fascists. The funds arrived on Christmas day in 1938 and shortly, he and two others broke out of the camp in the dead of winter and made it to Paris. He always remained amazed that French authorities actually delivered the wired funds.

My cousin, his daughter, was one

of those placed on the children's refugee ships which slipped out of Bilbao while that city was undergoing its blitz. Her ship was the one diverted to Leningrad. After the war, in 1948, the Soviets managed to repatriate her to Mexico, which her ever resourceful father had managed to reach, again, thanks to help arranged by my father to get him on one of the last ships to make it out of LeHavre. The Nazis were already overrunning France.

I share these tidbits for whatever they may be worth. I know you probably have access to many more dramatic and important stories, but often not about the "little people" caught in the maelstrom of power politics and international intrigues, who are often mute and inarticulate about their travails.

Guillermo's story is actually longer and more dramatic than what I've been able to just hint at. I learned about his adventures crossing the mountains in Spain to avoid main roads, and subsequently what he and his mates did in France prior to its fall, when I visited Mexico many years ago when he was still alive. He always attributed his luck and means to get away to my father.

Incidentally, tired of WW II conventional wisdom stuff and its ignoring of the implications of Spain's Civil War or even mentioning it, I have been badgering PBS and William Baker to produce or finance the production of documentaries about the Spanish Civil War, the American volunteers, and the real position of the U.S. and the Western Powers and their surreptitious support of the Fascists. At least run the movie "To Die In Madrid" occasionally. I never even get an acknowledgment of my letters.

Best of luck on the monument project and my humble thanks for your

Letters

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I know he managed to get funds to my uncle Guillermo Lecuona (mother's side), who had been disarmed and placed in one of those French concentration camps after he walked the distance to the border from Bilbao after its fall to the

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The Return of ETA

By Miguel Ángel Nieto

When the president of the Spanish government, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, announced in mid-2006 that he had initiated contact with the Basque terrorist organization, ETA, seeking a negotiated settlement, his British counterpart, Tony Blair, warned him that peace doesn't win votes, pointing to his own experience in Ulster.

But Zapatero is a bit dense at times, delighted with himself and thrilled with his own confabulations. So he spent the final months of last year patting himself on the back for the success of his negotiations with the band of murderers and scorning those in the opposition who cautioned him about playing with fire.

Zapatero is also a bit perverse. He insinuates that he can offer more than he can legally deliver. In this way he led ETA to believe that the political concessions he was willing to make to the terrorist group were as great as the murderers' commitment to stop killing. And the murderers, whose numbers are dwindling as the police close in on them, believed him.

Zapatero is a bit ingenuous, and this is dangerous, for he believes that the country's legal framework is as flexible as his dreams of it. Fortunately, the Spanish legal framework concerning terrorism is inflexible and does not depend on presidential whims, as it did under Franco, but on the Parliament.

In other words: when it came time to set the terms for the concessions ETA could receive in exchange for laying down its arms, Zapatero in fact had nothing to offer.

There are more than 3,000 ETA militants in Spanish prisons, and ETA believed—Zapatero led ETA to believe—that the negotiations would begin with full pardons for all those convicts. This was the President's first error.

Second error: ETA considers independence for the Basque country non-negotiable (though a majority of Basques do not want it), and in their negotiations with the government, apparently it was not made clear that the constitutional principle of Spain as a national unity is, as things now stand, non-negotiable.

And the third error: Zapatero's determination to finish off ETA as a personal mission, not a State mission.

In this context, the ETA bombing that took place on December 30, 2006, in Madrid's Barajas airport must be understood as a corrective to Zapatero's enthusiasm, but also as a warning that the killers are in a hurry to leave 40 years of terrorism behind them, and as a consequence, want immediate results.

They are in a hurry because elections are just around the corner (in May) and their political arm, Herri Batasuna, has been declared illegal and cannot run candidates. If its candidates can't run for office, ETA's friends will be excluded from local government, and consequently ETA will have no legal source of funding. And without funding they have no tools to maintain their dwindling support from the Basque people.

Zapatero's socialist government now says that, after the airport bombing, the peace process has been "liquidated." And ETA maintains just

the opposite. Both discourses are part of the game, and neither of them is relevant to the kind of negotiation that took the British government more than 10 years, and which has scarcely begun in Spain.

Zapatero has heard the wake-up call. He is aware that to make any new attempt at dialogue with ETA he must achieve political consensus and have the support of the opposition. The pity is that the shift from peace process as the President's personal goal to a state campaign cost two lives in a country that had gone three years without a single victim of ETA terror. ■

Translated by Tony Geist

Miguel Ángel Nieto is a prominent journalist in Madrid and director of the documentary film, *Souls Without Borders*.

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work to keep the memory of these brave and dedicated Americans alive.

Yours, sincerely,
Edward Garcia

Dear Editor,

I was delighted to read the 2-page article in *The Volunteer* concerning vet artist Irving Norman of San Francisco. One of his very large paintings was bought by the Museum of Modern Art in San Francisco and now hangs in the main gallery. It is an art work that I hope many of the Bay Area residents and visitors will have a chance to view.

Sincerely,
Dave Smith
Oakland, CA

The Faces of “Facing Fascism”

On March 23, 2007, the Museum of the City of New York will inaugurate a major exhibition titled “Facing Fascism: New York and the Spanish Civil War.” The show, over two years in the making, is the most ambitious cultural/educational event on which ALBA has collaborated. Over 400 objects and artifacts from an astounding array of collections—chief among them, the ALBA collection at Tamiment Library—are featured. The exhibition has been sponsored by the Puffin Foundation and the Instituto Cervantes of New York and has enjoyed the collaboration of NYU’s Tamiment Library and King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center. The exhibit will be at MCNY through August.

To accompany the exhibition, ALBA has co-produced a pioneering volume of original essays and archival illustrations examining the U.S. response to the Spanish Civil War. The book, *Facing Fascism: New York and the Spanish Civil War*, is edited by Peter N. Carroll and James Fernandez and is published by New York University Press.

During the MCNY exhibition, ALBA is also co-hosting a variety of free public programs around New York City to draw attention to connections between the past and present. (See page 6.) Among our offerings is a revised version of our exhibit, *They Still Draw Pictures: Children’s Art of the Spanish Civil War*, at the Cervantes Institute of New York.

Sarah Henry and Tom Mellen are the co-curators of the MCNY exhibition. As the preparations for the exhibition entered the homestretch, we asked them to discuss their intentions:

Ed: Please tell the readers of *The Volunteer* about the title of this exhibition, “Facing Fascism and the Spanish Civil War.”

Sarah Henry = SH: Finding a title that fit the ambitions of the exhibition



“Dart in the Heart” game at the Village Fair, Greenwich Village, circa June 1938. Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library, New York.

was challenging. We wanted to convey the enormity of the significance of the conflict itself and the intense engagement of New Yorkers and other Americans with the events in Spain. We also wanted to reflect the breadth of the exhibition, which does not focus exclusively on the volunteers or even on those who supported the Republic. Rather, it’s about a truly global and diverse city coming face-to-face with a world historical event—facing fascism. Given the recent re-politicization of “fascism” in our own political discourse, the title also points to the resonance of this war down to our own times.

Tom Mellen = TM: I hope the title, “Facing Fascism,” conveys a sense that the 1930s in New York constituted a time and place when ordinary men and women, as well as political activists and leaders, had to confront the

fact that fascism was a potent political force with the potential to spread throughout the world. While some embraced this possibility and most New Yorkers abhorred it, the realities became increasingly difficult to ignore. The Spanish Civil War became a touchstone in the process of Americans facing fascism.

From a curatorial perspective, what part of this exhibition has been the most interesting and/or challenging to you?

SH: Every exhibition is interesting and challenging, but this one has been especially so. The biggest challenge is to achieve an emotional tone and intellectual impact for the exhibition that equals the intensity of the experience of the war at the time. We want the visitors to feel and to understand the importance of this conflict, its resonance around the world, and the

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Facing Fascism

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passion with which the political commitments of the participants were felt. Inanimate objects and pictures can convey some of this, but they sometimes speak loudest to those who are already engaged in the story. For me, the quest is for the perfect blend of photographs, objects, video, audio, design, and words to connect emotionally with the audience so that understanding can follow.

TM: For me, there have been two principal challenges. The first regards the broad spectrum of people who are likely to see the exhibition at the Museum of the City of New York, ranging from veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to students who have never heard of the war and are not familiar with the conflict's basic issues. One ramification of this is that the objects need to communicate directly and, whenever possible, in a dramatic visual fashion, so that the exhibition does not become too "text heavy." Additionally, it is important for us to always remember that the exhibition is on New York and the Spanish Civil War, not the war alone, and to emphasize the level of engagement, on both sides of the conflict, that was manifest here in New York. The second largest challenge for me, though this rests to a large extent on the shoulders of the exhibition's designer, Constantin Boym, and the graphic design firm of Pure and Applied, is the fact that many of the items on display will be small and flat. How do we create a viewer experience that has a physically dynamic dimension and is thus both accessible and memorable?

As a New Yorker and as an American, what have you learned that has most surprised you while working on this exhibition?



From the Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library, New York, circa 1937.

SH: I think it was coming to grips with the sheer reach of this issue and the degree of political mobilization across the political spectrum. When you consider how much smaller the world supposedly is now in our globalized information age, the immediacy of the Spanish issue to untold numbers of New Yorkers in the 1930s is all the more striking.

TM: What I have found most surprising, very simply put, is that ordinary people did such extraordinary things. Now clearly ordinary people do extraordinary things every day around the globe, but nonetheless, it is still astounding to me that New Yorkers invested so much effort, and sometimes sacrificed their lives, on behalf of an armed conflict being waged so far away.

In terms of the objects that you have identified for possible inclusion in the exhibition, what are some of your personal favorites? What is it that is so special about these objects?

SH: It's hard to choose favorites among the hundreds of items that speak so powerfully to the complexity of the experiences of New Yorkers and the Spanish Civil War. So much of the material from the ALBA collection is

extraordinary. A captured banner with a swastika powerfully dramatizes the theme of "Facing Fascism," while an unassuming postcard from Harry Meloff, saying with a wink "Had to leave town in a hurry—understand?" points to the individual dramas of hundreds of individual choices involved in going to Spain. A beautiful hand-painted certificate from the City of Valencia to the Confederated Hispanic Societies in New York speaks to the links between the Spanish Republic and its supporters on this side of the Atlantic. Fliers from CCNY, Brooklyn College, and Columbia bring to life the student movement and vividly invoke hallway bulletin boards papered with political content. And the Ralph Wardlaw memorial issue of the City College "Teacher-Worker" dramatizes the political mood on campus as well as the loss of promising young lives. The Columbia University collections yielded extraordinary photographs of the "Village Fairs" organized by Dorothy Parker. Dozens of individuals have loaned poignant objects, including a nurse's medical kit, a rifle stamped with a hammer and sickle,

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Tamiment Celebrates With Poster Exhibition, Symposium, and Screening

By Michael Nash

On Friday April 27, in conjunction with ALBA's annual spring meeting, New York

University and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives will celebrate the official opening of the archive of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade at the Tamiment Library. After a three-year preservation and cataloging project supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the ALBA collection is now fully accessible and available for research.

To bring public attention to this extremely rich collection, NYU is organizing a major exhibit of Spanish Civil War poster art in the Elmer Homes Bobst Library's first floor gallery. The title of the show is "Art and Politics: Posters from the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939." The exhibition will illustrate how public art became a crucial element of the Republican government's efforts to rally support for its cause, impart political lessons, and convey a vision of a better world and a more egalitarian society. This exhibition, drawn from the Lincoln Brigade collection at the Tamiment Library, will be on view from April 25 through August 15, 2007.

The second part of our celebration will be a half-day symposium at the

Tamiment Library, 10th floor Bobst Library, from 4:00 to 9:00 P.M. This program is being organized to raise public awareness about the extraordi-

Labayni (NYU), Peter Carroll (ALBA), Michael Nash (Tamiment Library), and Andrew Lee (NYU). Each will discuss the recent literature about the

Spanish Civil War and the International Brigades within the context of the Lincoln Brigade archive. Our symposium is designed to raise the profile of the Lincoln Brigade collection, encourage use, and provide a framework for discussion about needs and opportunities for research. A number of our speakers will explore the relationship between the increasingly tense political situation in Spain and the contested memory of the Spanish Civil War. During the symposium we will view a new documentary film on the Lincoln Brigade, *Souls Without Borders* (2006), made by Spanish journalist Miguel Angel Nieto and ALBA's Tony Geist. The symposium will be at the Elmer Bobst Library on the New York University campus, 70 Washington Square South (West 4th Street between Mercer and LaGuardia).

For more information about these events, please email Michael.Nash@nyu.edu or call (212) 998-2428. ■

Michael Nash is the director of the Tamiment Library and an ALBA board member.



nary value of the Lincoln Brigade archive—the most significant collection of historical materials in the world documenting American participation in the Spanish Civil War. Speakers will include Noel Valis (Yale University), Gabriel Jackson, Judy Montell (ALBA), Fraser Ottanelli (University of South Florida), Jo

ALBA's Spring Calendar of Events

Saturday, March 3, 2:00 P.M.

Reunion: Bay Area Friends and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade honor "The Legacy of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade." Featured speaker Russ Ellis; Songs of the Spanish Civil War with Barbara Dane, Bruce Barthol, and Barrett Nelson. 2501 Harrison Street, Oakland, CA. For ticket information, call (510) 582-7699 or email hbrosita1@aol.com.

Monday, March 5, 6:15 P.M.

Colloquium: Sarah Henry (Chief Curator, Museum of the City of New York), Tom Mellins (Project Coordinator), and Beth Compa (Researcher) on curating the Facing Fascism exhibition. With Miriam Basilio (NYU) and James D. Fernandez (NYU). Auditorium, King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center, 53 Washington Square South.

Monday, March 19, 6:15 P.M.

Lecture: Juan Salas (NYU) on the photographic unit of the 15th International Brigade. Auditorium, King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center, 53 Washington Square South.

Friday, March 23

Exhibition Opening: "Facing Fascism: New York and the Spanish Civil War," Museum of the City of New York, 1220 Fifth Avenue (at 103rd Street). (See article page 3.)

Saturday, March 24, 1:00 to 3:30 P.M.

Lecture and Panel Discussion: "Culture and Politics in a Time of War" looks at New York City as a locus of political discourse, cultural creativity, and engagement during a critical period in world history. Speakers: Mike Wallace, Pulitzer-Prize winning author of *Gotham: A History of New York City* (Chair, the Gotham Center for New York City

History); Peter N. Carroll, author of *The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: Americans in the Spanish Civil War*; Peter Glazer, award-winning writer and director of *Woody Guthrie's American Song*, *Heart of Spain: A Musical of the Spanish Civil War*. New York Academy of Medicine, Auditorium, 1216 Fifth Avenue (entrance on 103rd Street).

Monday, March 26, 6:15 P.M.

Book Presentation: *Facing Fascism: New York and the Spanish Civil War* (NYU Press, 2007), with Peter N. Carroll (ALBA), James D. Fernandez (NYU, Director, King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center), and several of the contributing authors. Auditorium, King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center, 53 Washington Square South.

April 1 to 30, 2007

Exhibition: "They Still Draw Pictures: Children's Art in Wartime from the Spanish Civil War to Kosovo." (See article page 7.)', 62 Center for Theatre and Dance, Williams College, Williamstown, MA. Updated details on the event will be posted at www.williams.edu/CFLang.

Wednesday, April 4

Panel discussion on Spanish Civil War children's art. Speakers include Anthony Geist and Marysa Navarro. Adams Memorial Theatre, Williams College, Williamstown, MA.

Wednesday, April 11, 6:15 P.M.

Short Films: New York in the 1930s. A program of short films that represent New York City in that tumultuous decade. Colloquium with Thomas Bender (NYU history professor) and Arthur Simon (professor of film studies, Montclair State University). Auditorium, King Juan

Carlos I of Spain Center, 53 Washington Square South.

Friday, April 20, 6:30 P.M.

Screening and Panel: *Into the Fire: American Women in the Spanish Civil War*, award-winning documentary. There will be a Q & A with the filmmaker, Julia Newman, followed by a panel discussion. Presented by the Women's Studies Department, CUNY Graduate Center's Elebash Hall, Fifth Avenue between 34th and 35th Streets.

April 25 to August 15, 2007

Exhibition: "Art and Politics: Posters from the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939." Drawing on the ALBA collection at the Tamiment Library, the exhibition presents prominent graphics of the war. NYU's Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, 70 Washington Square South, first floor gallery.

Friday, April 27, 4:00 - 9:00 P.M.

Symposium & Screening: To celebrate the official opening of the ALBA collection for research at the Tamiment Library of New York (See article page 5.) For information, contact Michael.Nash@nyu.edu; (212) 998-2428.

Sunday, April 29, 1:30 P.M.

ALBA's Annual Reunion and Salute to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, an original musical program at the Teatro Heckscher, Fifth Avenue between 104th and 105th Streets. Program to be followed by a reception at the Museum of the City of New York and a tour of the exhibition.

Tuesday, May 1

Theatrical Reading: from *Numantia* (Cervantes and Rafael Alberti), Alberti's *Noche de guerra en el Museo del Prado* (A Night of War in

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They Still Draw Pictures

2nd Children's Drawings Exhibit Shows in Moscow, Begins U.S. Tour

Following the success of the original exhibition of drawings done by Spanish refugee children during the civil war, which toured the U.S. from 2003-2005 with the title "They Still Draw Pictures," ALBA Board members Tony Geist and Peter Carroll have curated a second exhibit using facsimiles of a similar set of drawings owned by the Avery Library of Columbia University. The new show has just completed a two-month run at the Cervantes Institute in Moscow, Russia. This exhibit was sponsored by the Asociación de Niños de la Guerra (now called Centro Español de Moscú), a group of young Spaniards evacuated to the Soviet Union in 1937 who never returned home, and was facilitated by José Zorilla, Cultural Attaché in the Spanish Embassy in Moscow.

The new exhibition now begins a tour of the U.S., opening at Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, for the month of April.

The facsimile show will also be touring museums and galleries in Spain.

For information on booking the show, see the ALBA website, www.alba-valb.org.

An Interview with a Spanish Refugee

Editor's Note: Spain's cultural attaché in Moscow, Jose Zorilla, has made films in Spain and was an early supporter of ALBA's photograph exhibition, The Aura of the Cause. His interest in the Spanish Civil War led him to coordinate the exhibition of children's drawings. While the exhibition was on display in Moscow, Zorilla conducted an interview with one of

the exiled Spanish children, Francisco Mansilla, President of the Niños, which we are now publishing for the first time.

Zorilla: Let's talk about the Children's Colonies.

Mansilla: If you don't mind I think we should start by talking a bit about my life in Madrid. I was born in 1926. My family was very poor. Though we weren't until the Crash of 1929. My father was a calligrapher and worked in the Banco Hispano Americano. I remember this quite clearly because my mother sent us to collect the money he earned every day, five pesetas. That was enough for us to live on. Not well, but we got by. Then two things happened: the Crash of Wall Street and, in its wake, typewriters. My father lost his job and we sank into poverty.

*There were five of us and the *guardia**

civil came to evict us. In all fairness I must tell you that the landlord gave us a year to come up with the rent, but we weren't able to.

We wound up in a dump that cost us 30 pesetas a month. It was in the Vistillas district, not far from our original house, in the Rastro [Madrid's flea market]. The place was vile, with a communal toilet in the courtyard. We began to experience hunger, serious hunger. We ate bread dipped in wine and sprinkled with sugar. The days we were lucky enough to have a hot meal, we ate a pot of garbanzos or beans, the cheapest there was. And since my mother knew that this food had to be purified, or at least according to the wisdom of that period, she gave us an enema every Saturday.

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Children's Show at Williams College

"They Still Draw Pictures: Children's Art in Wartime" will be shown at Williams College from April 1 to April 30 at the '62 Center for Theatre and Dance. The exhibit powerfully describes the Spanish Civil War as seen through the eyes of children—before the war, during the war, facing evacuation, life in the colonies, and after the war. Substantial drawings from more recent conflicts underscore the ongoing trauma suffered by children in a contemporary geo-political framework.

A panel discussion will take place on Wednesday, April 4, at the Adams Memorial Theatre, followed by a reception in the Mainstage Lobby. Speakers will include Anthony Geist (University of Washington), who cu-

rated the exhibition, and Marysa Navarro (Dartmouth College), who experienced the Spanish Civil War as a child.

The collection of pictures draws from Spanish Civil War materials owned by the Avery Library of Columbia University and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives.

For more information on the inaugural event or the exhibition, please contact the organizers, Soledad Fox, sfox@williams.edu, Department of Romance Languages, or Jane Canova, janova@williams.edu, Administrative Director of the Center for Foreign Languages, Literatures, and Cultures.

Updated details on the event will be posted at www.williams.edu/CFLang. ■

Facing Fascism

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letters, diaries, and hundreds of photographs, each of which speaks volumes about the personal and political commitments and choices made by individual New Yorkers in confronting the issues of the Spanish Civil War.

TM: Among the items in the exhibition I find most compelling are the following:

- A photograph of wounded James Lardner, son of Ring Lardner, and his letter to his mother, written in Barcelona and dated May 3, 1938, explaining his reasons for joining the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. I find the mix of reasons, from the lofty to the mundane, expressed in the alternately sincere, ironic, playful, and profound tone that seems to be a hallmark of young adulthood, very moving, particularly in light of fact that he ultimately sacrificed his life for a cause in which he believed.

- A letter from Secretary of State Cordell Hull to Episcopal Bishop Francis J. McConnell in New York, in which Hull contrasts his personal feelings and official government policy. He states, "The heavy loss of life among non-combatants resulting from the bitter struggle now raging in Spain has caused me the deepest distress and you may be sure that I have given and shall continue to give all possible consideration to any suggested practicable means of alleviating the present deplorable situation consistent with the American Government's fundamental policy of non-interference in internal affairs of other nations."

- Two items reflecting New York-based labor union support of aid to Spain: a photograph of a group of women sewing beneath a sign stating "Volunteer workers making garments for Spain; Trade Union Committee";

and a handwritten list of union members and their donation amounts, ranging from 25 cents to a dollar, written on letterhead bearing the following name and address: Dressmakers Union, 2189-232 West 40th Street, NY, NY.

- A collection can marked "Save a Spanish Republican Child" that was introduced as evidence in the Rosenbergs' trial. The can is the same as countless others, long forgotten and discarded, but of course is redolent with associations, given its use in the trial, and suggests volumes about how the war and American support of the Spanish Republic was viewed by some. We have requested this object; we do not yet know if we will be able to borrow it.

How is this exhibition relevant for today's New Yorkers? Why should we care today about how New Yorkers reacted 70 years ago to a faraway foreign conflict?

SH: The story of New Yorkers' engagement in the Spanish Civil War resonates today as a reminder that being a global city doesn't just mean diversity in population—it puts New York in a special and complex relationship to the rest of the world. In fact, many New Yorkers of the 1930s saw themselves as citizens of the world, as engaged and moved by events an ocean away as they were by the pressing issues at home. Their level of personal, passionate, political engagement serves as a sounding board for today's New Yorkers as they consider their relationship to the global events of our own time.

TM: The exhibition seems to me to be especially relevant to New Yorkers today for two (among many) reasons. First, it documents a moment, much like our own, when Americans were

being challenged to evaluate their relationship to the rest the world, particularly in terms of responsibility, influence, and action. Second, as the Spanish Civil War progressed, the stances of the American government and the majority of the American people seemed to grow increasingly divergent. Some museum-goers may draw parallels to our own time and the war in Iraq in this regard.

What are the main ideas you hope each visitor takes away from "Facing Fascism"?

SH: Exhibitions are designed to have many layers so that they can be accessible to a wide variety of visitors, approaching the subject matter from different levels of interest, knowledge, and points of view. We would like even the novice visitor to leave the exhibition understanding three central points: 1) the significance of the struggle in Spain in the context of the world-wide events triggered by the Depression and the rise of fascism; 2) the intense engagement of New Yorkers from across the political spectrum in the unfolding international events of the 1930s; and 3) the extraordinary accomplishments of ordinary people acting in extraordinary circumstances.

TM: The main ideas Sarah mentioned have guided us throughout the preparation of the exhibition. I would just add that in terms of the last point, I hope people will come away from the exhibition understanding that many of the people that they have just learned about were very much like their neighbors, doctors, nurses, the students now at City College and elsewhere—that the people in the exhibition are much like the New Yorkers that they know.



Plane with banner flying over Coney Island beach, July 4, 1938. Tamiment Library, New York University, ALBA, VALB photographic collection.

How has the experience been of collaborating with ALBA, the Instituto Cervantes, and NYU (Tamiment, ALBA, KJC) throughout the process?

SH: One of the most exciting things about this project is its collaborative nature. We've had the great good fortune to have partners in several extraordinary institutions—the Instituto Cervantes, ALBA, and NYU—and all of the expertise and resources that they bring to bear. Through the ALBA collection at the Tamiment Library, we have access to an astonishing array of material—far more than we could ever hope to include. Instituto Cervantes has provided intellectual and practical access to the Spanish side of the story. NYU Press is publishing the compan-

ion volume. Public programs and prior exhibitions at the Tamiment Library and the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center have provided an intellectual foundation for planning our exhibition. And most important has been the collaborative nature of the development of the exhibition itself, drawing on the tremendous expertise of our team members as well as an exceptionally generous and knowledgeable scholarly advisory panel.

TM: My experience of collaborating with ALBA, the Instituto Cervantes, and NYU has been excellent, with everyone involved showing enormous support for our efforts, as well as providing insightful commentary and very helpful suggestions. ▀

Calendar of Events

Continued from page 6

the Prado Museum) and *Romances de la Guerra de España* (Romances of the War in Spain). A panel discussion will follow. Martin E. Segal Theatre, CUNY Graduate Center, 365 Fifth Avenue/34th Street. For information call (212) 817-1860 or go to <http://web.gc.cuny.edu/mestc/>.

May 2 – August 12, 2007

Exhibition: "They Still Draw Pictures: Children's Art in Wartime." A new version of ALBA's traveling exhibition. (See article page 7.) Cervantes Institute, 211 East 49th Street (near Third Ave.).

Children's Drawing: *Moscow*

Continued from page 7

That was your lunch. What about dinner?

Oh, dinner! My mother sent us to the “white sheet cinema,” that is, to bed, with no dinner. This was our routine. So food became an obsession. I remember my mother saying, “Don’t go outside, the tomato and cucumber kids are out now.”

Who were the “tomato and cucumber kids”?

In those days tomatoes and cucumbers were totally beyond our means. In that context, if a kid could eat a tomato or a cucumber with a little salt on it, this meant he was rich.

Did they do this to make you jealous?

No, but you know what people are like. They wanted everyone to see how rich they were. So their mothers sent them to eat the famous cucumbers outside.

Then the war came.

Franco led the rebellion and the Republican government established Colonias in Madrid. My mother took all five of us kids. That was too much so they gave each of us a physical to see who needed the most help. The doctors picked the weakest of us, and that was me. I was sent to the Colonia Puerta de Hierro, in a wealthy neighborhood. I wore pajamas there for the first time in my life and had three meals a day. I’ll never forget my first breakfast. Hot chocolate as thick as cement, and wonderful toast with butter and marmalade. It was incredible. But even more incredible was then we had lunch and then we had dinner. We lacked nothing. Steaks, ham, sausages. The government of the Republic took care of the kids.

Then came the evacuation from Madrid and we were taken to

Valencia. To Gandía, really. To be exact, to a town called Palma de Gandía. We moved into a country house abandoned by fascist sympathizers. A big house with lots of plants, in the middle of an orange grove. There were about 20 of us.

Do you remember your teachers?

Of course, two school marms: Conchita the Fair and Conchita the Dark. I remember their enthusiasm for the cause of the Republic and for the future of a new Spain. I remember how they took us to the beach and to see some caves that had paintings in them. And I remember how we used to throw oranges at each other. As for food, need I say that we ate three squares a day?

Did you draw pictures like these in the exhibit?

Well, I always liked to draw and to make wall newspapers. Sure we drew. We also wrote. I remember writing poems. The idea was to keep us busy so we wouldn’t get up to mischief.

What do you feel when you see these drawings?

Sometimes I think I could have drawn them myself. Of course, that was a long time ago. Who knows? I don’t see sadness in them, though of course they show sad things, bombings and evacuation...but you know what kids are like. Their vision is not usually melancholy. They remind me of Picasso. I think Picasso was inspired by kids in his painting.

When did your experience in the Colonias end?

In March of ‘37. The possibility of evacuation to Moscow came up and they asked our parents. You know, since we were minors they had to. Of

the 20 of us, eight parents said yes, mine among them. My father didn’t belong to any political party, but he was close to the PSOE [Socialist Party]. I remember the demonstrations in the 30s. When the Popular Front won the election we shouted PSOE slogans. The PSOE of that day, naturally. OK, back to my father and Moscow, he said yes, that I should go, that it was the paradise of the proletariat. And it was paradise until 1941, when the war began. Then things became quite difficult. And by the time we were adults, forget it. Anyway...

Was it difficult to adapt to Russia?

The Russians decided we should continue our education in Spanish rather than in Russian, so our integration into Russian society was quite difficult. Even today I can’t say the word for “onion”—*luk*. I have to point at it in the market. You can imagine the Russian we learned in the streets. We said things you weren’t supposed to say. Curse words, of course. Naturally, we heard Russians speaking Russian all around us every day. And since we learned very little Russian in school, we repeated what we heard. I still remember the trouble I got in at school one day when I said that someone “cunted” my towel from me! I didn’t know the word for “steal.”

What hopes do you have for this exhibit?

That it will keep us alive. There were 3,000 of us. Now there are 199. ■

(Translated by Tony Geist)

See Calendar for listing of exhibit events, page 6.

The Spanish Civil War, 70 Years Later

By Julián Casanova

Editor's Note: Julián Casanova, a professor of history at the University of Zaragoza, presented the 8th annual ALBA/Bill Susman Lecture at New York University's King Juan Carlos I Center on December 12, 2006. He is the author of several books, including Anarchism, the Republic and Civil War in Spain: 1931-1939 (2005) and La Iglesia de Franco, Temas de Hoy (2001). The ALBA lecture series, which honors Lincoln veteran Bill Susman, founder of ALBA, has previously hosted such distinguished speakers as Bernard Knox, Gabriel Jackson, Baltasar Garzón, Philip Levine, E. L. Doctorow, Grace Paley, Antonio Muñoz Molina, and Francesc Torres.

"The elections held last Sunday clearly show me that I do not have the love of my people today," wrote King Alfonso XIII in a farewell note to the Spanish people, before leaving the Royal Palace on the night of Tuesday 14th April 1931. So began the Second Spanish Republic, with street celebrations and a festive atmosphere in which revolutionary hopes were combined with hunger for reform.

The Republic had vast problems in consolidating itself and had to confront firm challenges from above and below. It went through two years of relative stability, followed by another two years of political uncertainty and a final few months of disturbance and insurrection. The first firm challenges, which were the most visible as they usually ended up as confrontations with the police, came from below, first as social protests and later as insurrections from anarchists and socialists. However, the coup de grâce, the challenge that finally overthrew the

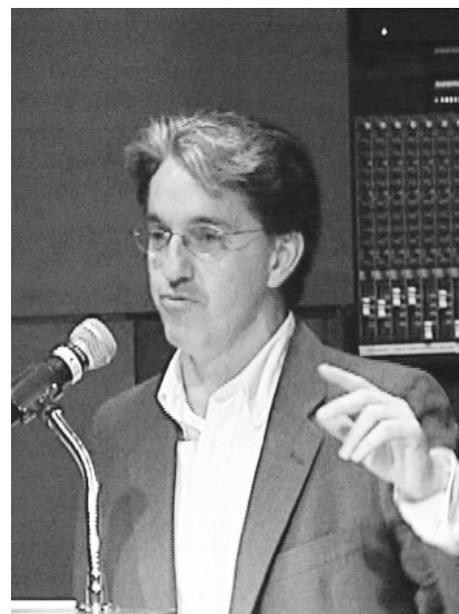
Republic with the force of arms, came from above and from within, that is to say, the military command and the powerful ruling classes that never tolerated it.

In July 1936 a large section of the Spanish army took up arms against the Republican regime. What was planned was an uprising, with all the violence necessary, and a quick victory. However, things did not turn out that way, and the result of this uprising was a long civil war lasting nearly three years.

The division of the army and police forces thwarted the victory of the military rebellion, as well as the achieving of their main objective: the rapid seizure of power. But by undermining the Republican government's power to keep order, this coup d'état transformed into open violence, such as never seen before, by the groups that supported and those that opposed it. It was July 1936 and thus began the civil war.

The Spanish Civil War is notorious for the dehumanization of the adversary, for the terrible violence it generated. Lawless, arbitrary shootings and massacres eliminated enemies, real or presumed, on both sides. The Francoist policy of extermination of the left was fervently approved by a large number of conservative people. Meanwhile, where the army coup failed, many of the left saw this as the hour of revolution and of final judgment against the rich, and class hatred and vengeance spread like wild fire. The Church suffered a cruel and violent persecution: almost 7,000 members of the clergy were murdered.

The military created, from the first moment of the coup, a climate of terror



that left behind almost 100,000 people murdered during the Civil War. Over 60,000 people were murdered on the other side. And 50,000 people were killed in the uncivil peace that followed the Civil War. At the end of the war, in 1939, half a million people languished in prisons and concentration camps.

There were various conflicts involved in the Spanish Civil War. It was a war of classes, between different conceptions of the social order, between Catholicism and anti-clericalism, about the idea of nation and about ideas and creeds that then dominated the international scene. The Civil War crystallized world-wide battles between landowners and workers, Church and State, obscurantism and modernization, which were also being fought out elsewhere between communism and fascism, while the debilitated democracies looked on.

From the outset, the Church and most Catholics placed all their resources, and there were a good many of

Continued on page 12

them, at the disposal of the insurgent military. The military did not have to ask the Church for its support, which it offered gladly, nor did the Church have to take its time in deciding. Both parties were aware of the benefit of the role played by the religious element, the military because they wanted order, the Church because it was defending the faith.

The international situation was not conducive to peace and this affected the war, in its origin an internal conflict. International support on both sides was vital in keeping the war going in the first few months.

When the war began, the democratic powers were attempting to “appease” the fascists, especially the German Nazis. So the Spanish Republic had to wage war against an army favored by the international situation. Dictatorships under the rule of a single man and a single party had been substituted for democracy in many countries; and, except in Russia, all these parties were of the right. Six of the continent’s democracies were invaded by the Nazis the year after the Civil War ended. Spain, then, was no exception in a continent ruled by the authoritarian right. But this cannot excuse a wide sector of Spanish society, the political and union leaders, soldiers and churchmen, who did nothing to develop a civil culture of respect for the law, for electoral results, for freedom of expression and association and for civil rights.

At the end of August 1936, the 27 European states, all except Switzerland, whose constitution decreed its neutrality, had officially subscribed to the Non-Intervention in Spain Agreement. The monitoring of

this agreement was conducted by a Non-Intervention Committee, set up in London on September 9, under the chairmanship of the Conservative Lord Plymouth, the parliamentary under-secretary to the Foreign Office, and a Non-Intervention Subcommittee made up of representatives from the states bordering Spain and the major arms producers, including Germany, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

In practice, non-intervention was a complete “farce,” as it was termed by people at the time, who saw that it put the Republic at a disadvantage with the military rebels. This policy put a legal government and a group of military rebels on the same footing.

The war was not a Spanish domestic matter. It became internationalized, thereby increasing the brutality and destruction. This was because Spanish territory became a testing ground for new weaponry that was being developed during those rearmament years prior to a great war that was on the horizon.

Tens of thousands of foreigners fought in the Spanish Civil War. It was, in fact, a European civil war, with the tacit sanction of the British and French governments. A little over 100,000 fought on Franco’s side: 78,000 Italians, 19,000 Germans, 10,000 Portuguese, plus over 1,000 volunteers from other countries, not counting the 70,000 Moroccans who made up the Native Regulars. On the Republican side, the figures given by Rémi Skoutelsky show nearly 35,000 volunteers in the International Brigades and 2,000 Soviets, of whom 600 were non-combatant advisors. Contrary to the myth of the communist and revolutionary threat, what in

fact hit Spain through an open military intervention was fascism.

In the closing years of Franco’s dictatorship, certain pro-Franco military historians, such as Ramón and Jesús Salas Larrazábal and Ricardo de la Cierva, attempted to show that the Republicans and the military rebels had received the same amount of material, that foreign participation was not enough to tip the balance in favor of Franco, and that the idea that non-intervention had harmed the Republicans was made up by the Communists and the International Left who sympathised with the Republic.

However, the foremost experts on the financing of the war and its international dimension, from Viñas to Martín Aceña, and including Howson and Moradiellos, have pointed out the imbalance in favor of the Nationalist cause not only in terms of war materials but also in terms of logistic, diplomatic and financial aid. The Republic had money from the sale of gold reserves at its disposal, an amount very similar to that provided to Franco in foreign aid, but the problem lay in the difficulties it had in legally purchasing arms from democratic countries. As Howson has pointed out, gold and foreign currency were not enough because the embargo and restrictions imposed by the Non-Intervention Agreement forced successive governments under Giral, Caballero, and Negrín to fall into the clutches of arms dealers who demanded exorbitant prices and commissions and blackmailed politicians and civil servants. As a result, the Republic often had to buy overpriced and obsolete equipment, disarmed planes or bomb-

ers that had no bomb bays. Russia, Poland and other countries were continually swindling the Republic.

The international intervention of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and the retraction, for the most part, of the western democracies determined in a major, if not decisive, way the evolution and duration of the conflict and its end result.

Many Spaniards saw the war as a horror right from the start; others felt they were in the wrong zone and tried to escape. Some Republic figures did not take sides in the war, forming a "third Spain." But millions of people were forced to take sides, though some got their hands dirtier than others. There is no simple answer to the question of why such barbarity broke out. Spain began the 1930s with a Republic and ended the decade under a right-wing, authoritarian dictatorship. Whatever we may say of the violence that preceded the Civil War, it is clear that in Spanish history there is a before and after to the coup d'état of July 1936. And then, for at least two decades after 1939, there was no attempt at positive reconstruction, as occurred in the countries of western Europe after 1945.

The two sides in the war had such different ideas of how to organize the state and society, and were so committed to their aims, that settlement was difficult. Nor did the international scene afford much room for negotiation. The new dictatorships had to face movements of mass opposition, and to control them required new instruments of terror. It was no longer enough to prohibit political parties, censor the press or deny individual rights. Murder, torture and concentra-

tion camps were the brutal result.

Why did the military rebels win the war? They had the best trained troops in the Spanish army, economic power and the Catholic Church on their side, and with them, international sympathy blew their way. This was Spain as portrayed in the poster by Juan Antonio Morales, "Los Nacionales," published by the Republican government under-secretary for propaganda: a general, a bishop, and a capitalist with a swastika, a vulture and colonial troops in the background. They could not lose.

Thus there is no simple answer as to why the climate of euphoria and hope in 1931 was transformed into the cruel, all-destructive war of 1936. The Republic lasted for eight years, five in peace and three at war, and interpreting them still arouses passionate opinions rather than historical debate.

The history of the civil war and the dictatorship is no longer the exclusive preserve of historians, and there are now hundreds of people who wish to address this past in political terms and, in the case of the heirs of the victims of Francoism, ethical terms. Trenches have begun to be opened in search of the remains of murder victims who were never registered, and there are some magnificent documentaries that unearth the aspects of this past that have been hushed up the most. This is a new social dimension for history, with testimony playing the main role. But the most significant events of the civil war and the dictatorship had already been investigated previously, and the most important questions have now been answered. And this is the result of painstaking work by dozens of historians who, over

the last 40 years, have been conducting constant research in archives, press repositories, and libraries. Without these documents and books, thousands and thousands of them, we would know very little about this period.

This is why it is so important to compile and preserve all the documents and testimonies of this past. The struggle for information and truth and the refusal to forget must be, as has been the case in recent years, the distinguishing marks of our democracy. But as well as disseminating the horror that the war and the dictatorship generated and making reparation to the victims that have been forgotten for so long, we must make archives, museums, and education in schools and universities the three basic hubs of the public memory policy. Beyond the testimonial and dramatic recall of those who suffered political violence, future generations will learn history through the documents and photographic and audiovisual material that we manage to preserve and hand down to them. This is the responsibility of the politicians who govern us and of those in the opposition who refuse to administer this past of death and terror. Because with no archives, there is no history.

Franco's victory was also a victory for Hitler and Mussolini, and the Republic's defeat a defeat for the democracies. Now, 70 years later, we have to teach the young that violence and intransigence are the worst legacy of that period. Only dialogue, political debate, democracy and freedom can heal the wounds of the past, and help to create a better present. ■

New Zealand's Spanish Civil War

By Mark Derby

The first-ever seminar on New Zealand and the Spanish Civil War, organized by the Trade Union History Project, took place last November at Turnbull House in Wellington. Coinciding with the 70th anniversary of the arrival of the International Brigade in Madrid, the conference was well attended, with 95 participants from a wide variety of backgrounds, including trade unionists, historians, anarchists, and interested members of the public, including several from Australia. The presentations examined New Zealand's foreign policy in the late 1930s; the work of aid organizations; the reaction to the war of the Labour Party, the Communist Party, and the trade unions; the pro-Franco activities of the Catholic Church; New Zealand literary responses to the war; and the stories of individual New Zealanders who served as combatants, medical staff, and war correspondents in Spain.

Two Australian keynote speakers addressed the seminar. Judith Keene of the University of Sydney spoke on the Spanish Civil War and historical memory; Amirah Inglis, author of a number of books on the Australian connection with the civil war, covered the topic of Australians in the Spanish Civil War. The two leading New Zealand researchers on the Spanish conflict also spoke. Michael O'Shaughnessy gave a paper on New Zealanders in the International Brigade, based on research he is currently undertaking for his thesis. Susan Skudder, whose 1986 thesis remains the definitive work on New Zealand and the Spanish Civil War,

spoke on the role of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee.

Other highlights included author James McNeish telling the story of New Zealand war correspondent Geoffrey Cox; literary expert Lawrence Jones outlining the reactions of New Zealand writers to Spain; anarchist poet Farrell Cleary speaking on New Zealand connections to the Spanish anarchists; and Rosamund



Droescher, daughter of civil war veterans Werner Droescher and Greville Texidor, telling the story of her remarkable family and their involvements in Spain and New Zealand.

A particular feature of this seminar was the high level of audience participation. This was evident at a panel discussion on New Zealanders who had served in Spain, with audience members adding their own knowledge to the information presented by the panel. This session complemented talks already given on individuals such as New Zealand International Brigaders Tom Spiller and surgeon Doug Jolly, as well as Anna Rogers' paper on the New

Zealand nurses in Spain. As was fitting in discussing an event that generated so much art and literature, a number of cultural events were held in association with the seminar. The New Zealand Film Archive ran a short festival of films relating to the Spanish Civil War; Diana Burns organized an evening of music, poetry, and drama based around the same theme, including an extract from the Hemingway play *Fifth Column*; and a new edition of Geoffrey Cox's 1937 book, *Defence of Madrid*, was launched by Otago University Press.

A memorial ceremony was held at the Wellington Cenotaph for the New Zealand International Brigade and all those who died fighting fascism in Spain. Green Party MP Keith Locke addressed the crowd, followed by a wreath laying and the singing of *The Internationale*.

Canterbury University Press is now planning to publish the seminar presentations in edited and revised form.

For further information, contact <markderby@paradise.net.nz>. ■

Dark Metropolis

An exhibit of the paintings of Lincoln vet Irving Norman, "Dark Metropolis: Irving Norman's Social Surrealism," is on display at the Pasadena Museum of California Art from January 21 to April 15. According to the museum flyer, "Norman's monumental paintings reflect a troubled turbulent world." For more information, see www.pmcaonline.org or call (626) 568-3665.

Paris Conference on Spanish Civil War

By Robert Coale

On November 17 and 18, the historic Hôtel de Ville of Paris was host to an international conference on the Spanish Civil War and the International Brigades. The third conference of its type this year, following Bristol in July and Salamanca in October, was initiated by ACER, an association of veterans, family members and friends of the French volunteers in the International Brigades. Other national organizations joined the project, providing a broad cross section of official participation. The City of Paris, the National Museum of the Resistance, and the Museum of the Liberation of Paris-Leclerc-Jean Moulin all participated directly in the conference.

This wide support is proof of the evolution of thought on the Spanish Civil War and the International Brigades over the last decade in France. In 1996, following the massive “homenaje” in Spain, the French government officially granted former IBers the status of “veterans.” Then in 2004, during the ceremonies to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Liberation of Paris, the city government paid special tribute to the Spanish Republican volunteers who fought in the Leclerc Division and were the first to enter the occupied capital. Now, two years later, Paris, whose lieutenant mayor is of Spanish origin, played a key role in holding this international conference by making generous resources available to the organizers.

The conference itself was varied and the papers presented covered many aspects. In addition to the different perspectives on the war, participants discussed such subjects

as IB participation in the French Underground, Spanish republican prisoners in German concentration camps, IBers in the Cold War, and the issue of historic memory in Spain today. The presentations often led to lively question and answer periods.

Several Spanish Civil War activists also participated, including Lise London, former secretary to André Marty; Cecile Rol-Tanguy, widow of Henri Rol-Tanguy, hero of the French Resistance and former 14th IB political commissar; and Ramón Santisteban,

Spanish survivor of Mauthausen. One unfortunate turn of events was that most of the surviving French International Brigade veterans were so exhausted from the week-long anniversary commemorations in Spain a few weeks earlier that they were unable to attend the proceedings.

The papers are expected to be published next year as a lasting record of the memorable occasion. ▣

ALBA board member Robert Coale teaches Spanish literature at the University of Paris.

Catalonia Honors 70th Anniversary

By Angela Jackson

Last November the association ‘No Jubilem La Memòria’ (NJLM) sponsored the fourth annual commemorative weekend focusing on the Spanish Civil War in Catalonia. The program began in Marçà with a tribute to the Welsh Brigader, Alun Menai Williams. A moving BBC documentary was shown, presented by Anna Martí, telling the story of his return visit to this area in 2005 for the first time since the war.

The film was followed by the first public viewing of extracts from interviews recorded for the next NJLM documentary. Joan Maria Thomàs, Professor of Contemporary History from the University of Rovira I Virgili (Tarragona), took the chair for a round table discussion. It was a memorable occasion; for the first time, local people, many of whom were women, spoke of their wartime experiences.

To commemorate the start of the

Angela Jackson is the president of No Jubilem La Memòria and author of *British Women and the Spanish Civil War*.

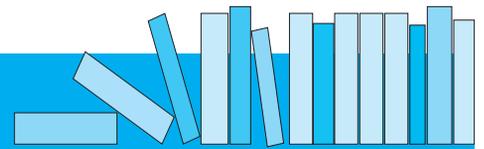
war, the lectures concentrated on the reasons for the conflict and the tragic events that took place in some parts of this region during the summer of



1936. The subject of the anarchist assassinations in the town of Falset during the first weeks of the war had been shrouded in darkness until now. The talk given by Toni Orensanz on his research into the killings carried out by the “Brigade of Death” was followed by a lively debate.

NJLM collaborated with ADAR (The Association of Aviators of the Republic) for the commemoration held in El Molar the following day. After a tribute to the pilots who perished nearby and to the soldiers and

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A Guide Through the Spanish Labyrinth

The Spanish Civil War. By Francisco J. Romero Salvadó. Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005.

By Gerald Blaney, Jr.

The Spanish Civil War, despite its occurrence in what was (and sometimes still is) considered a peripheral country, aroused passions and ideals like virtually no other conflict of the 20th century. Almost inevitably, this has led to a vast historical literature that, as the author notes, rivals that of the more “important” events of the past century. This massive literary output has been periodically augmented with every 10-year anniversary of the conflict, adding hundreds, if not thousands, of titles to an already staggering bibliography. It is in this context that the value of Romero Salvadó’s book becomes apparent. Written as part of a series on 20th-century wars, *The Spanish Civil War* provides its reader with a concise, easy-to-read account of the Spanish conflict, integrating the latest scholarship on the subject and guiding us through what Gerald Brenan described as the “Spanish Labyrinth.”

One of the principal benefits of the book is its account of the pre-Republican period. Romero Salvadó, a leading expert on this period of Spanish history, notes that many histories focus on the previous five years

Gerald Blaney, Jr., is a researcher at the Cañada Blanch Centre for Contemporary Spanish Studies at the London School of Economics.

of Republican rule when explaining the sources of the Civil War. His account gives the appropriate attention to the conflict’s slightly more distant roots in the Liberal Monarchy (1874-1931). Many of the social, cultural, and political problems afflicting the Republic had their origin in the rigid nature of the Alfonsine monarchy. Moreover, many of the benchmarks of the 1936 rebellion and later Franco regime (particularly the role of the military and the Catholic Church in Spanish politics and society) had their genesis in the monarchy. The first chapter outlines these developments, foreshadowing their significance for the civil war.

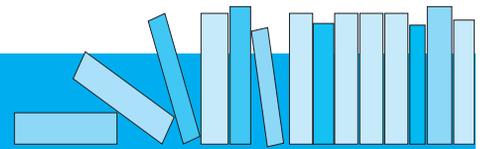
Chapter Two provides a balanced account of the pre-Civil War Republic. A potential danger of taking a longer view of the causes of the war is that it diminishes the responsibility of the Republicans for what occurred under their rule. Romero Salvadó avoids this interpretive trap, outlining both the Republicans’ mistakes and their virtues, as well as noting the considerable role played by semi- and anti-Republican forces in the destabilization of the Republic and the polarization of the political scene.

Discussion of the war begins in Chapter Three, which includes the international dimension. Romero Salvadó gives a detailed, yet concise, account of the reactions of the European powers to the Spanish conflict, particularly to the role of Britain

during the first months of the war. Sufficient attention is paid to the foreign volunteers who flocked to the Republican cause and not only boosted the morale of the loyalist forces, but also helped prevent the premature defeat of the regime in October-November 1936 during the rebel attack on Madrid.

Chapters Four through Six have a more domestic focus, though without forgetting the impact of foreign intervention. Romero Salvadó’s account guides the reader through the complexity of the war, which was not simply between two monolithic sides, but rather involved many underlying conflicts, both between the opposing camps and within them. The author integrates the latest historiographical literature into his narrative, introducing the reader to the most up-to-date research on various issues surrounding the conflict. One such issue is that of the divisions that existed within the Republican camp. The author points out that while there were considerable tensions, we should be careful not to exaggerate these divisions (nor overlook instances of unity). Indeed, if one had to assign primacy to a single factor, Romero Salvadó argues that the international dimension should be accorded its proper place: namely the significant aid received by the rebels as compared to the considerable hindrances placed on the Republic’s efforts to secure military supplies. The author notes that despite the material and organizational advantages enjoyed by the rebels, it still took them 33 months to defeat the Republican forces.

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Spanish War for Young German Antifascists

Madrid – du Wunderbare: Ein Amerikaner blättert in der Geschichte des Spanienkriegs. By Victor Grossman. GNN Verlag, 420 pp., Euro 19.

By Victor Grossman

Adding yet another book to the endless library on the Spanish War requires an explanation. Before any rationale, however, a description. My German-language paperback is entitled *Madrid du Wunderbare* (the first line of a German verse to “The Four Insurgent Generals”).

On the cover, instead of, say, an armed Thälmann Battalion volunteer, Evelyn Hutchins from the USA leans against her truck. Most U.S. vets and their friends will know the photo. My son suggested using it; a woman volunteer is unexpected enough to attract attention, while her nonchalant posture, winning smile, self-assurance, pride and friendliness made her a perfect symbol for what was great in the International Brigade tradition. In the book I quote Evelyn Hutchins on how skeptical decision-makers were about sending a woman truck driver to Spain.

My book is an anthology of personal anecdotes, descriptions, and ideas of participants, mostly IB volunteers, from as many countries as possible. I hunted up short quotations, rarely over a page or two, using two criteria. Each one had to be either sharply descriptive, dramatic, moving, suspenseful or, wherever possible, humorous. And, taken together, the

quotations had to tell, more or less chronologically, the story of Spain and what followed for those involved.

The main aim of my book, written with the help and cooperation of “Kämpfer und Freunde der Spanischen Republik 1936-1939,” the German equivalent of VALB, is to reach young Germans. In cities and towns all over Germany neo-Nazis are marching up and down, weekend after weekend, to win support from the unemployed, the disappointed, the hopeless. Their basic message, often enough violent, is one of hatred towards foreigners, especially the most numerous, Turks and Arabs, and the most conspicuous, Vietnamese and Africans. Also, of course, against Jews. They are increasingly getting elected into provincial parliaments and have hopes of getting into the national Bundestag in 2009.

But also, weekend after weekend, mostly youthful anti-fascists gather to block their marches, expose their lies, and alarm an often disinterested or apathetic citizenry. Too often it is the antifascists whom the cops attack and arrest. But the “Antifas” keep on fighting and sometimes shame the authorities into some kind of action.

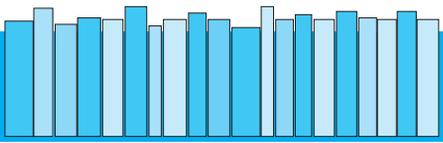
I view these young people as descendants of the International Brigaders—antifascist, internationalist, courageous. But with rare exceptions, German schools teach nothing about Spain. The few traditions officially maintained over the

years in western Germany were those of the Legion Condor and the aces who bombed Madrid and Guernica and later built up the West German armed forces. The story of how Communists, Socialists, democratic Republicans, and anarchists joined to defend a freely elected government, and how the western democracies, fearing such an alliance, chose to support Franco, Mussolini, and Hitler instead, thus giving Nazi Germany the go-ahead signal for World War II, contradicts too clearly the current obligatory analysis that Hitler fascism and Stalinist Communism, including the later GDR, were closely related, if not basically the same.

I felt that young people should learn the story of Spain so as to understand the present and support today’s battles. One problem was honesty. I did not want to conceal the tragic sides of Spain—not only the final defeat and the betrayals, but the complicated story of Barcelona in May 1937 and the tragedy of those heroes of Spain—Kleber, Kolzov, Smushkevich, Rajk and too many others—later killed in Stalin’s purges. I wrote of them, and I used quotations of some men who later “switched sides”: Orwell, Regler, Kantorowicz. But since the book is mainly for people with almost no knowledge whatsoever about the subject, I felt it unfair to overstress such issues, thus obscuring the heroic main message, expressed so clearly by U.S. Ambassador Bowers, who vainly warned FDR that a betrayal of Spain would lead to another world war.

To link up the many quotations, the largest number those of volunteers

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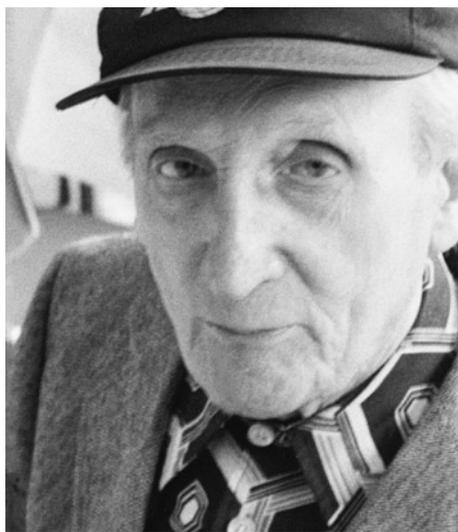
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Al Koslow (1909-2007)



Brooklyn-born vet Al Koslow has died at the age of 97 in New York. He was an organizer of the unemployed during the depression. In 1937 he went to Spain, where he saw combat on the Cordoba front. Seriously wounded in 1937, he attributed his survival to the surgical skills of Dr. Edward Barsky. Koslow remained active in refugee aid organizations and later served in the U.S. Army in World War II. He is survived by a daughter, Donna, of San Jose, California.

Robert Steck (1912-2007)

Bob Steck, one of the last surviving prisoners of war of the Spanish Civil War, died at his home in Arizona on January 30.

Born in Rock Island, Illinois, Steck discovered an interest in theater at St. Ambrose College and moved to New York. There he wrote for *New Theater Magazine* and linked his theatrical work with political activism at Studio One's Theater of Action, an offshoot of

the WPA-sponsored Workers Laboratory Theater.

An experienced truck driver, Steck served in the Regiment de Tren. He was captured by the enemy in 1938 and jailed at San Pedro de Cardena. He later collaborated as a researcher for Carl Geiser's book about that experience, *Prisoners of the Good Fight*.

After Spain, Steck continued to work in community theaters, served in the U.S. Army during World War II, and turned to public school teaching in the postwar years.

Coleman Persily (1916-2007)



Lincoln vet Coleman "Chuck" Persily, a lifelong political activist, died February 7 in Marin County, California, at the age of 90.

Raised in New York City, Coleman honed his organizing skills as a child on the streets of New York. At 12 he spoke to an estimated 20,000 people and led a march to City Hall demanding unemployment insurance. As a

teenager he organized high school students to demand recreational facilities at schools, led a strike against his uncle who owned a sewing shop, and was part of a group of young men who moved people who were evicted back into their residences.

As soon as he was old enough to get a passport without parental permission, he enlisted in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. He served as a telephonist/observer with the John Brown artillery battery and was one of the last Americans to leave Spain in 1939.

After the war, Coleman moved to East Los Angeles and found work in the shipyards. He later joined the merchant marine and served as an able bodied seaman until 1948, when he became a life insurance agent with a clientele that was primarily Mexican-American. He became involved in issues affecting the Mexican-American community, organizing against police brutality, and other local issues.

Coleman became active in Democratic Party politics and was elected president of the 40th Assembly District California Democratic Club representing East Los Angeles. During this period Coleman organized to get Edmund Roybal, the first Mexican-American City Councilman, elected.

Coleman moved to San Rafael in 1960 and helped organize the Canal Community Association. He also organized the Tenants Association of Marin and served as its chair. In this role he organized strikes against high raises in rents. He ran for San Rafael City Council to get a forum to raise the issue of rent control. When asked by his son what he would do if he was elected, he replied that he never

Continued on page 20

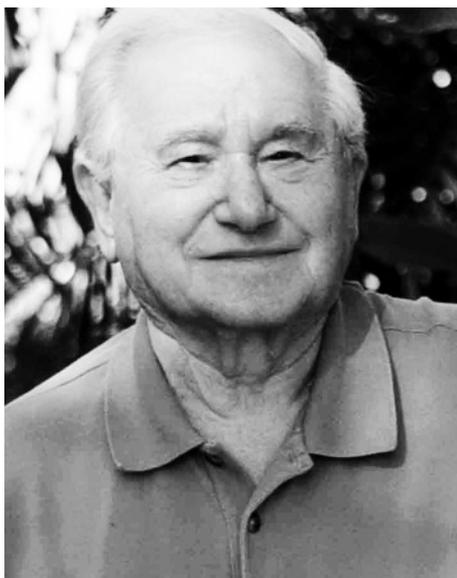
Memory's Roster

Continued from page 19

thought of that as a possibility. He enjoyed having a forum for his ideas and responded favorably when the Peace and Freedom Party asked him to run for state assembly.

After retirement, Coleman continued to organize on behalf of people's issues. He was also active in the Bay Area Post of the VALB. He leaves his wife, Pearl, brother Bernie, and children Fred and Harold, as well as grandchildren and great grandchildren. A memorial is planned for March 10.

Irving Rappoport



1910-2007

Irving "Rappy" Rappoport, husband to Florence Rappoport, died on January 17 at the age of 96. He is survived by their two daughters, Susan and Nancy, and grandson, Scott.

As their grandson, I learned that it is neither labels nor titles that make the person. It is strength of character and concern for the greater good.

As a young man in early 1930's New York City, my grandfather saw the economic inequities that affected not only him, but also those around him, and he acted. He helped to organize the first grocers' union in New York, bringing living wages and an equitable work week to thousands.

In January 1937, he sailed to Spain to fight the good fight against tyranny. Surviving the battle of Jarama, as well as many others, he returned to the states in October 1937 after contracting an illness. He returned to New York, where he met and married Florence Kreitzer in 1939.

As World War II began, with my grandmother pregnant with their first daughter, he left to continue the good fight. After the war, he started and ended a business, worked hard, and helped to raise his two daughters and, later, me, instilling in us his love, ideals, and humor. ▣

—Scott Louis Clancy

Catalonia

Continued from page 15

civilians in the communal grave, the medical notes and papers of Dr. Miguel Gras, a Catalan doctor serving with the Republican forces in the Priorat, were featured, including those of U.S. volunteer Yale Stuart. A digital copy of these papers is now in the NJLM archive.

The events were all well attended and there was plenty of opportunity for discussion and for social interaction.

Projects are now underway for the coming year. The NJLM travelling exhibition, which includes photographs taken by Harry Randall and his unit, will soon be completed. In May, NJLM will be collaborating with the International Brigade Memorial Trust (UK) to organize a visit to the

battlefields and other civil war sites in this region. The period spent here by the volunteers in the International Brigades before the Battle of the Ebro is the subject of an illustrated book due to be published later this year, first in Catalan, then in English.

Spanish Labyrinth

Continued from page 16

The Epilogue provides a brief discussion of the aftermath of the war and how Franco maintained the divisions of the conflict to perpetuate his power for 36 years. Finally, and also of great use to the reader, one can find a selected bibliography after the Endnotes that lists the most important works on the various topics dealt with in the book. All in all, for its clarity, conciseness, the breadth of its sources (including some primary ones) and the author's clear command of these, *The Spanish Civil War* is highly recommendable to readers of all levels of familiarity with the Spanish conflict.

▣

German Antifascists

Continued from page 17

from countries whose language I can best read, English and German, I added comments of my own telling how, though too young to fight, I got involved with a struggle whose significance and drama always moved me, especially when I got to know vets like Bill Bailey, Milt Wolff, Walter Schuetrum, Abe Osheroff, Moe Fishman, and others from Germany, Ireland, and Britain.

If anyone out there can read German, I would love to know his or her impressions.

GNN-Schkeuditz@t-online.de and www.gnn-verlag.de. ▣

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The following contributed to the fund to complete a national monument to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in San Francisco, California.

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The campaign for funds to install the National Monument is taking off. We have raised approximately \$200,000, two-thirds of the necessary funds to perpetuate the memory of the men and women who left their homes to defend the Spanish Republic.

We need your support to complete a project that is important not only for remembering the lives of heroic individuals, but also for the larger issues of our country's historical memory. In the words of the Lincoln volunteer and poet, Edwin Rolfe, "We must remember!"

If you've already contributed to this campaign, please consider an additional gift.

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