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University in Lewisburg, Pa., is ALBA's host

# Visitors at Bucknell enliven *Shouts From The Wall* exhibit

by Paul Susman

Bucknell University's long-anticipated turn to host ALBA's *Shouts From The Wall* exhibit arrived October 30th when this especially inviting and appealing poster, text and photographic display opened at Bucknell University's Art Gallery. Under the leadership of Stuart Horodner and Cindy Peltier, the Art Gallery went all out to make this show magnificent. Graphic designer Ruta Karelis, of Bucknell's Administrative Services, designed and printed a striking "Shouts" poster, copies of which virtually covered the campus. There was a sense of excitement in the Gallery and at all the events which made visitors feel this is what learning is all about.

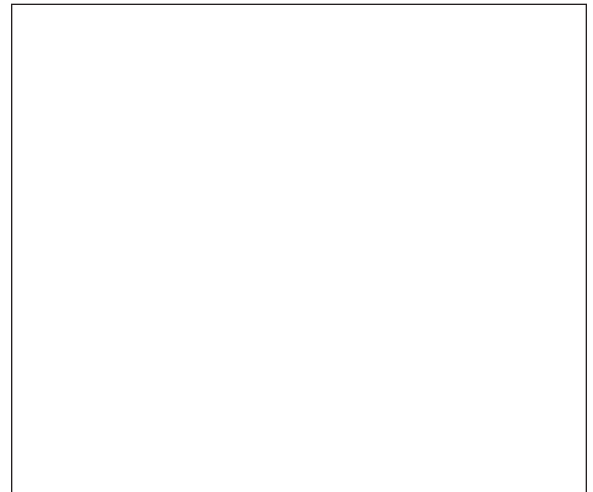
Especially exciting for me, as the son of one of the speakers, was the visit to Bucknell on November 9th and 10th by two ALBA board members,

*Professor Paul Susman is Chair of the Geography Department at Bucknell University.*

Bill Susman and Cary Nelson. They met with faculty and students, attended classes, and presented public lectures. For those who know how difficult it is to entice students to extra events, it was rewarding to have full houses for each of their talks. Public events were followed up by class discussions and some faculty asked students to submit short essays and poems on what the exhibits and talks meant to them.

Cary Nelson, co-curator of *Shouts From the Wall*, got off to a running start as he visited a poetry workshop class taught by Prof. Cynthia Hogue. He quickly captivated the students as he presented the poetry of Edwin Rolfe, poet laureate of the Lincoln Brigade. The time flew and the class reluctantly let him go. [One of these students, Gail E. Allison, was then inspired to write the poem which appears on p. XX of this issue.]

Cary also conducted a walking



Father and son: Bill and Paul Susman.

tour of the exhibit for about sixty students and faculty and other visitors. For an hour or so, he wove a compelling picture of the historical context, politics, and artistic themes and styles. The tour whetted appetites of many of the students who came back to hear his outstanding evening lecture, "The Aura of the Last Great

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# Barcelona goes all out for our vets

by Robert Coale

Sixty years after the beleaguered and war-weary citizens of Barcelona bid an emotional farewell to the International Brigades, the Mediterranean capital of Spain once again was host to a contingent of Spanish Civil War veterans. Although the number of invitations sent out was limited because of organizational restraints, it was apparent from the very first moment that those attending were very excited to visit Spain and link up with old comrades again. The military strut has long vanished and hair under the ubiquitous boina is grey, but the spirit of these unique men is still strong as the weekend of events would prove. A total of 24 brigadistas from 14 countries, coming from cities as far away as Toronto, New York and Moscow, attended the events from November 13 to 15.

Originally limited by the Catalan and municipal officials to two representatives per country, several veterans were forced to cancel at the last minute for health reasons. This allowed four additional brigadistas from neighboring France to join their official delegation, raising that country's total to six veterans — a fitting tribute to the nation which was the largest contributor of volunteers during the war. Fifteenth Brigade veterans in attendance included Moe Fishman and Bill Van Felix from the U.S., Maurice Constant from Canada, Salman Salzman from Israel, Michael O'Riordan and Bob Doyle from Ireland, as well as Bernard McKenna and Wally Togwell from England.

The commemoration stemmed from an AABI (Asociación de Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales) initiative to mark the 60th anniversary of the Despedida of October 28, 1938, that day Prime Minister Juan Negrín promised Spanish citizenship to the Volunteers for Liberty and "La Pasionaria" delivered her unforgettable "You are history, you are legend" speech.

As the Amigos saw it, such a landmark anniversary should not go unnoticed. Once the idea was launched, the Catalan partners from the Homenaje of two years ago, (Ayuntamiento, Generalitat and Diputación) took over the organizing and funding of local events, with the Madrid-based AABI contacting brigadistas to recruit delegations and acting as consultants to the organizers. Locally, Catalan veterans associations, trade unions and the Fundación Comaposada, a Barcelona-based foundation whose aim is to set up an archive for the UGT, took care of

Brigadistas at Sitges, Catalonia, Spain.

welcoming veterans upon their arrival and shuttling them to the hotel in the resort town of Sitges.

Although some veterans had arrived earlier in the week, and several Barcelona university students had carted off a few Spanish-speaking brigadistas to address packed lecture halls, the first official event of the weekend was the Friday luncheon where brigadistas shared tables with representatives from trade unions, veterans associations and progressive political parties.

That evening the municipal theater of Sabadell, just outside Barcelona, was the venue for what turned out to be one of the emotional highlights of the weekend, a concert in honor of the Volunteers for Liberty: No Pasaran: Songs from the War against Fascism by a Catalan musical group led by Pi de la Serra. Those who have attended New York Lincoln Brigade affairs of recent years would have recognized many of the tunes, such as Jarama Valley and The Cookhouse translated into Spanish and arranged with a

Robert Coale

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***Then came the moment veterans and audience alike were avidly awaiting: Amaya Ruiz Ibarri, daughter of Dolores Ibarri, repeated the unforgettable speech her mother gave to the same men and women 60 years earlier.***

new twist and a jazzier beat. As the director Pere Camps states so well in the introduction to the compact disc edition: "The songs are ... a musical initiative in order to counter historical amnesia as well as an emotional homage to those who fought against tyranny."

Each song was put into context and linked to a specific event of the Civil War. A series of illustrations projected on stage added a visual perspective to the show, including two Spanish Republican air mail stamps, one featuring the Statue of Liberty with the dates 1776 and 1937, and another which showed the red, gold and purple flag of the Republic next to the American Stars and Stripes. Both were attempts to draw international support and sympathy towards Spain in its struggle for freedom. The impressive concert ended with an impromptu homage to the veterans.

The next day's events included a bus tour through Barcelona, ending with a visit to the familiar International Brigade monument on the Rambla Carmel in Guinardó. The veterans were then welcomed in the historic Salon

de Cent of the Barcelona Town Hall by the socialist mayor Joan Clos, and were shown an excellent video highlights from the Homenaje in Barcelona two years earlier.

The luncheon was followed by an afternoon off to enjoy the balmy weather and the sights of Sitges. In the evening, the vets were the honored dinner guests of the Amigos. The AABI contingent was headed by Ana Pérez and included Gervasio Puerta, vice-president; David Carcaboso, secretary; Juan Rey and several of the young volunteers who were the backbone of the 1996 event.

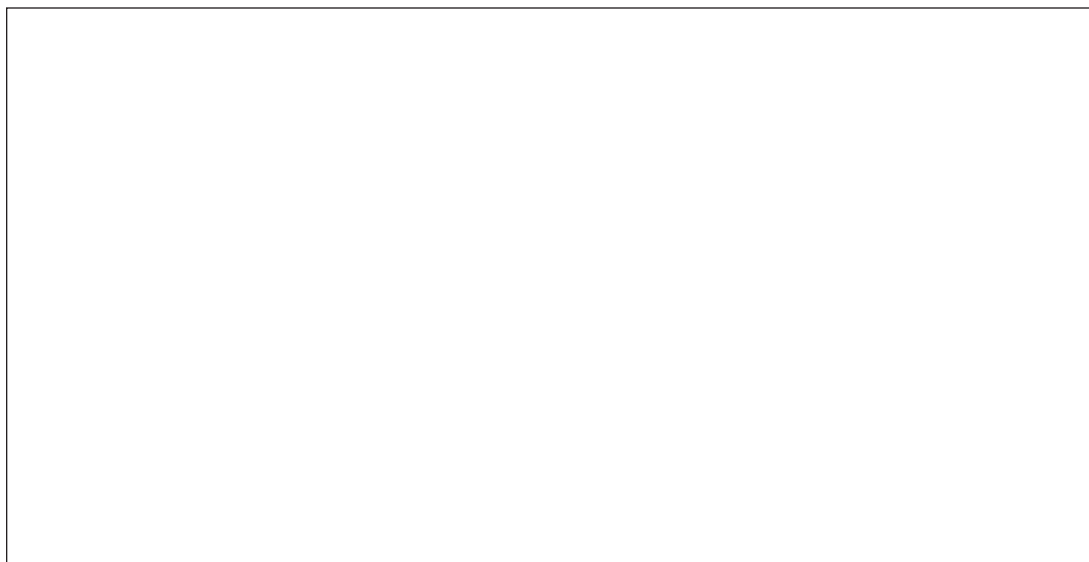
The last day of events, Sunday,

November 15, began with a midday ceremony at the Fossar de la Pedrera, the final resting place of numerous victims of franquist firing squads, including Luis Companys, last president of the Generalitat of Catalonia of the Republican period. This quarry with its unmarked graves and small stone monuments has come to symbolize Spain's sacrifices in the anti-fascist fight. There, the Austrian brigadista Hans Landauer addressed the crowd, and laid a wreath next to the monument to his Spanish comrades.

Then came the moment veterans

Brigades by bringing delegations together to commemorate an unforgettable day of their history. For many it was too short. In fact, some veterans left directly from the luncheon with tears in their eyes at having to bid adieu yet once again. Monday morning brought further goodbyes, as the different delegations were escorted to the airport to catch flights.

The Despedida commemoration affected the brigadistas and their Spanish hosts in many positive ways. Most papers in Barcelona and throughout Catalonia featured illus-



Moe Fishman and Bill Van Felix with Guillermo Rodriguez on the right.

and audience alike were avidly awaiting: Amaya Ruiz Ibarri, daughter of Dolores Ibarri, repeated the unforgettable speech her mother gave to the same men and women 60 years earlier. Thus the speech, followed by the playing of The International was a fitting tribute to all IB veterans. The brigadistas were then taken to the Palau Güell, just off the Ramblas in downtown Barcelona, where Joan Serret, a representative from the Diputació de Barcelona, addressed veterans and guests over lunch.

And with that, the festivities were over. Barcelona had again paid its tribute to the International

trated stories about the events, as did such national newspapers as El País and La Vanguardia. It also afforded the Amigos an opportunity to update the veterans on initiatives past, present and future, designed to preserve the legacy of the International Brigades in Spain and to tighten the ties between the veterans and the AABI. Altogether the event was a tremendous achievement for the Amigos and for Spain. And it provided another thrilling occasion for the veterans of the anti-fascist struggles of six decades before to meet and greet each other in particularly significant historic locales.

# Bucknell U. plays host to *Shouts From The Wall*

*Continued from page 1*

Cause: Art, Politics, and Culture of the Spanish Civil War.”

My father, Bill Susman, and my mother, Helene, talked to Prof. Lavonne Poteet’s Latin American Studies class about the many connections between Spain and Latin America. Bill spoke not only about the Spanish Civil War period, but about later activities of many Vets in support of peace and justice in Latin America. Helene Susman’s work on many Latin American films was also of great interest to the students. Prof. Poteet, drawing on her own lifetime of activities in Latin America, for example as a film maker in Chile (*Dance of Hope*) and in efforts to marshal medical support for indigenous people in Guatemala, added to the lively discussion in which themes of hope and struggle and connections to humanity surfaced time and again.

Bill and Cary together presented “Memory and Commitment: Two Generations Look at the Legacy of the Spanish Civil War.” Bill recounted the context and the nature of his commitment and that of others who went to Spain. He talked of the meaning of commitment today and its significance for the students filling the audience. Cary, too, spoke of the many ways Lincoln Brigaders thought about and articulated their commitments, reading examples of powerful, humorous, and poignant letters from his book, *Madrid 1937*.

It was a provocative and moving event that led to many questions and comments — more than could be answered in the time available. Discussion continued as the group went to the Art Gallery, to look with fresh eyes at the exhibit and, of course, enjoy refreshments.

In the weeks since their visit, I continue to learn from Bucknell faculty and students how inspirational and important the exhibit and speakers have been for them. Cary’s lecture opened eyes and minds to the whole era. The students in Prof. Iarocci’s Spanish class commented on how the “direct evidence” of the

exhibit and Bill’s experiences had moved them. Most were astounded that they had not been taught about the Spanish Civil War before this series of educational events came to the University.

Bill’s closing comment about the inhumanity and barbarity of war affected everyone. As one faculty

member commented: “Nelson was eloquent. Your father was powerful. His final words at the panel session still resound in my head.” It seems that the exhibit and of the ALBA visitors to the university may lead people to generate their own statements and acts of commitment — their own *Shouts From The Wall*.

**Gail E. Allison**, a student in Prof. Cynthia Hogue’s Advanced Poetry Seminar at Bucknell University, and her fellow students met in the Bucknell Art Gallery to see the *Shouts From The Wall* poster exhibit and to hear a lecture by ALBA Board member, Cary Nelson.

Afterward, Ms. Allison wrote this poem drawing on the “Letters Home” wall-texts that accompany the posters. Intrigued by these letters, she found that “they really seemed to ‘scream a message’ that I couldn’t get out of my mind. . . . The poem seemed to generate itself from the notes I had taken. . . . to write itself.”

For additional student poems from Bucknell, see page 7 of this issue.

## LINCOLN BRIGADE LETTERS

by Gail E. Allison

flies buzz	thick	like clouds
uncivilized	creeping	heavy
like footsteps	not like parasitic	burrowing lice
And men	acquiesce sleep	to stamp-out
flies,	and swap home	for a plagued pit

DESPOTIC      thick fly-swarms

Franco  
Hitler  
Mussolini

flies  
lice  
fascism

## TRINITIES

swarming	sucking	stealing
----------	---------	----------

LIFE-BLOOD      from human veins      targets in the pock-  
marked existence of oppressed society

Spain!  
The world!  
The smell!

acid powder  
decaying flesh

once searched for

a miracle  
a transfusion  
a life

Stave-off resignation to      lifelessness — a body — a shell  
of a once living form: a man

a woman  
a child

Throw Orange Flames

into the gray day.

## Book Review



## Humanizing the Lincolns

**COMRADES: Tales of a Brigadista in the Spanish Civil War**

By Harry Fisher

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997. 197 pp. (Available for \$25 + \$2 shipping costs from VALB office, Room 227, 799 Broadway, New York NY 10003.)

by Alan Wald

Ernest Hemingway spoke the truth when he said of the U.S. participants in the International Brigades that "no men ever entered earth more honorably than those who died in Spain." The men and women who fought to defend Spanish democracy set an example of political commitment that few of later generations of socialist activists would ever match. Still, left-wing poet Genevieve Taggard made a useful observation in the manner in which she celebrated their idealism and self-sacrifice in her 1941 ode To the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade:

Say of them they were young,  
there was much they did  
not know,  
They were human.

The 40,000 IB volunteers were placed under extraordinary pressure on the battlefield because they bore the brunt of a horrific betrayal. The so-called liberal democracies, such as the United States and England, announced a policy of non-intervention that left the "premature anti-fascists" with limited resources against overwhelming odds. In fact, they found on their arrival in Spain that the main donor of military supplies to

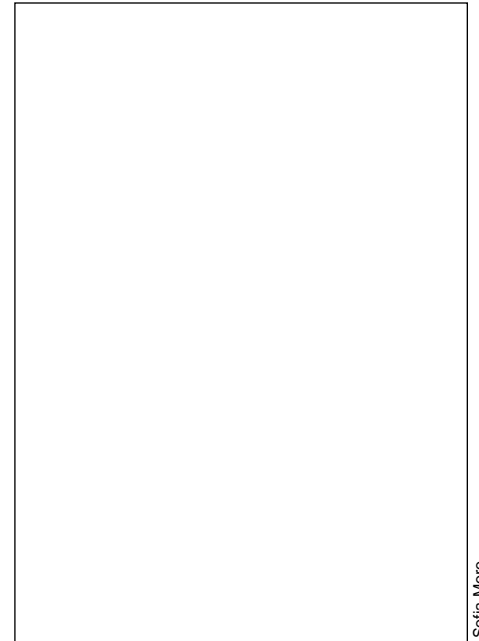
*Alan Wald, Professor of American Culture at the University of Michigan, is the author of Writing From the Left (1994) and several other books. He is also a member of the editorial boards of Science & Society and Against the Current.*

their cause was the Soviet Union, but in amounts that were dwarfed by Hitler's and Mussolini's assistance to the Franco side.

A second feature of this excruciating situation was the controversial role of official Soviet policy, as well as Comintern representatives and the Spanish Communist Party; all could act in ways that compromised the democratic goals of the volunteers. Yet full and honest discussion of the generous heroism of the brigadistas in the context of this complex political and human history has been difficult to achieve. A 60-year political onslaught by the anti-communist right has been balanced by an understandable reaction of defensiveness by the Brigade's partisans.

This polarization of discussion about the events in Spain began in the late 1930s. It has continued so long afterwards due to the anti-radical witch hunt of the late 1940s and 1950s, a consequence of the Cold War between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Pressure to avoid talking candidly about "contradictions" in the Spanish experience probably fell hardest on those members of the Lincoln Brigade itself, the volunteers in various battalions and capacities who stayed loyal to their cause and comrades. These authentic American heroes and heroines became the object of government investigating committees, blacklisting, and grotesque slanders, sometimes abetted by apostate veterans who gave testimony against them. To talk candidly even of honest mistakes, misinformation, and the complex relationship of Brigade members to Soviet realpolitik, could easily become grist for the anti-communist propaganda mills maintained by the militarist government in Washington, and by academics who made their living by bashing the left.

In 1989, the ice was significantly broken when Steve Nelson, who had been appointed political commissar of the Lincoln Battalion after arriving in Spain in March 1937, published a



Harry Fisher

Sofia Moro

lengthy interview in the special Spanish Civil War issue of Salmagundi (Fall 1987/Winter 1988). Here Nelson defended the Popular Front strategy, yet also acknowledged that Comintern leaders in Spain ordered the killing of anarchists and "Trotskyists" (referring to the POUM, which was more accurately a Bukharinist organization). At the time, "under the spell of the Party," he accepted this aspect of the struggle, but now added: "I want to go on record that the Party was wrong to assassinate its leftist opponents. This has got to be said." He furthermore characterized George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* as "a good book," even as he convincingly defended the role of the International Brigades as crucial to the anti-fascist cause.

Not long after Nelson's remarks, other partisans of the Lincolns took it upon themselves to address in print some additional issues. In 1994, for example, Peter Carroll published *The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, bringing fresh research to bear on the question of the morale of the Lincolns and the possibility of political repression within their ranks.

*Continued on page 6*

## Comrades: Tales of a Brigadista in Spain

Continued from page 5

That same year, Milton Wolff released a remarkable "autobiographical novel," *Another Hill*, which largely centers on the decision of the protagonist to order the execution of a Lincoln Battalion member accused of cowardice and who fraternized with the POUM. Now, in his stirring memoir *Comrades*, Spanish Civil War veteran Harry Fisher, who knew Nelson and Wolff in Spain, has published a breakthrough book that is the most "humanized" portrait of the Lincolns yet available.

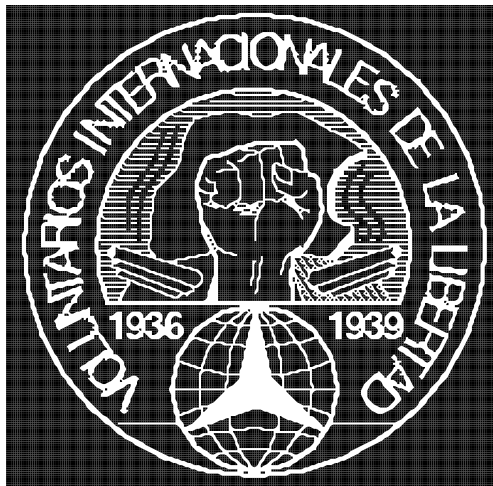
The basic story of *Comrades* will seem familiar to those who have studied the Lincolns or who have seen the film *The Good Fight* (1984). Fisher, from a New York Jewish working-class family, volunteered at the start of the war along with nearly a dozen other members of his Local 1250 of the Department Store Employees Union. During an 18-month sojourn in Spain, he saw action in most of the central battles. *Comrades* tells not just what happened to himself and his friends in Spain, but frequently jumps forward to refer to the activities of those who survived during the subsequent years of their lives.

### Why he wrote it

One of Fisher's objectives is to explain why he made his decision to go. The book relates how he was motivated to join up by the same dream of a better world that induced him earlier to join the Young Communist League after seeing members of that organization returning furniture to the homes of evicted tenants who had been kicked out on the street. What impressed him about the YCL was that it was "an organization that didn't just talk, but actually did something." A few years later he felt the same way about the necessity of taking action to stop fascism. Along with friends and comrades, he left the United States by boat, telling his family that he was shipping out as a seaman, while informing others that he was going to ski in the Alps. First he stopped in France, and then he and other volunteers trekked through the Pyrenees into Spain. There he underwent military training and in July 1937 he went

into battle for the first time.

This aspect of the narrative comprises a fine introduction to many of the historical facts of the Spanish Civil War and also the Lincoln Brigade for the new reader. Yet even those who have heard this kind of story many times before will not remain unaffected by the moving episodes of the sequence of deaths in battle of so many of Fisher's dear friends and associates. Fisher's graphic reconstruction of battle scenes and life in the ranks of the Lincoln Battalion are intended to remind us that even though fascism is a greater evil than war, war itself is



not "an acceptable solution to the problem presented by fascism." Thus *Comrades* is ultimately an anti-war story with an "anti-war message."

The tragic-heroic atmosphere of the book is captured by the beautiful cover, which extends across both front and back of the book; it should be opened to expose its panoramic view. What is revealed is a ghostly photographic image of nine members of the International Brigades hovering over a battlefield scene in which the figures of African-American martyr Oliver Law and a dozen other fighters are advancing across a field. For me, the cover evokes lines from Edwin Rolfe's 1943 poem about Spain, *First Love*:

the dust-rimmed memory of faces  
that moved among the trees there  
for the last time  
before the final shock, the glazed  
eye, the hasty mound.

But there is also much that is new in *Comrades*, making it an essential volume for any student of the Brigades, as well as a powerful means of passing on the story of the Lincolns to the next generation. The new aspect is the frank and honest emotional landscape created by Fisher as he narrates the war experience from the perspective of an ordinary soldier. Without for a moment disparaging the essential integrity of the brigadistas or nobility of their motives, Fisher describes a fistfight in the foodlines, several threats made by rank-and-file Lincolns to shoot certain officers whom they distrusted, the purging of one of Fisher's close friends from the Battalion for anti-Party talk, the frequenting of prostitutes as "a favorite pastime," the nearly successful effort of a drunken Brigade member to knife Fisher, a phony promotion, and a huge amount of griping when the men are not on the front lines.

### A distressing episode

In one of the most distressing episodes, right at the start of his Spanish sojourn, Fisher is told by Lincoln Battalion commander Robert Merriman and Political Commissar Sam Stember that the Lincolns had just carried out a very successful action on February 23 and 27, 1937, that received "high praise from the Spanish general Staff." The information passed on to Fisher and the new volunteers was that, while defending Madrid at Jamara, there were "only five killed and seventeen wounded...in a great victory." Shortly afterwards Fisher is informed by veterans of this battle that there were perhaps hundreds of casualties; that Merriman had knowingly sent Brigade members to their deaths (thereby earning among some of them the nickname "Butcher," although others defended Merriman as simply carrying out orders he disliked, and Fisher himself has great respect for Merriman); and that Stember had behaved in such a cowardly fashion that he faced the threat of assassination by his own men if he returned to his unit.

In another episode, Fisher describes meeting Harry Haywood, a U.S. Communist leader, in the compa-

ny of Steve Nelson. In contrast to the popular but sloppily-garbed Nelson, Haywood was “dressed in a shiny uniform, complete with brass buttons and expensive-looking boots, and he carried a thin stick that closely resembled a whip.” Every time there was gunfire from the fascist lines, Haywood “dropped to the ground” even though Nelson kept assuring him that “the bullets were way above our heads.” One can easily see how a scholar or memoirist, either out of ignorance or malice, might pick up on some of these episodes, confuse some and exaggerate others, to create a false and distorted portrait of the Lincolns’ experiences, in the way that a half truth becomes a lie.

Perhaps the most compelling episode in the memoir involves the story of the execution of Lincoln Brigade member Bernard Abramofsky. Here we gain the fullest insight into Fisher’s sense of human decency and the strain under which it was placed by the Spanish experience. Fisher’s outrage at the decision was rooted in the self-knowledge he had gained under fire.

#### Fear under fire

During Fisher’s first encounter with the enemy, he was trapped in a wheatfield for several hours near the town of Villanueva de la Canada. While he lay there in the hot sun, suffering dehydration and hearing the wounded moaning for water, he was seized by a fear of being “wounded in the head, in the groin, in the stomach, in the eyes.” Recalling the scenes from the World War I movie *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Fisher realized that “in reality I knew I was more of a pacifist than a soldier” and that “the fear in me was so great, it overwhelmed my anti-Fascist feelings.” Suddenly he knew that “I had to desert. I had made the decision. I was getting out.”

However, Fisher was pinned down and unable to move. Then, instead of being ordered to go forward into further battle, he was told to retreat back over the hill when darkness came. Unable to wait that long, Fisher began crawling in that direction at once, dashing over the top of the hill to safety. There, the first person he met was a wounded friend, a veteran of Jamara, who pledged to

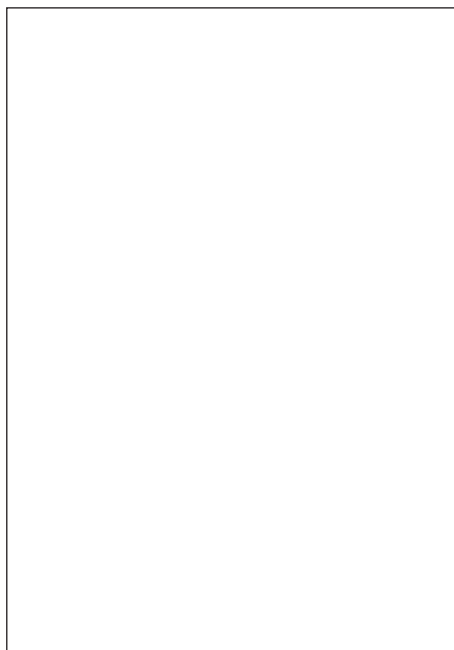
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***One can easily see how a scholar or memoirist, either out of ignorance or malice, might pick up on some of these episodes, confuse some and exaggerate others, to create a false and distorted portrait of the Lincolns’ experiences.***

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return as soon as he could. Fisher immediately felt ashamed of his intention to desert, yet he knew that he could never regard an authentic deserter as a “coward” because “I have experienced the unspeakably horrible feeling of fear, and I realize how close I came to deserting.”

Thus a year later Fisher was dumbfounded when Lieutenant Paul Blake informed him that there were orders to quietly execute Bernard Abramofsky, a soldier accused of deserting three times. Abramofsky had been a member of a trio of singers and actors popular among Brigade members, but had become unable to function under fire when his two comrades were killed. After refusing to



José Bardasano, 1937

carry out the execution, Fisher encountered a friend, John Murra, who had also refused to cooperate. Together they discussed warning Abramofsky, but, before they could figure out where he was, they heard a shot. Fisher was haunted by the episode ever afterwards, and 30 years later he exploded and cursed out Blake when he ran into him at an annual dinner for Lincoln vets. But Fisher remained publicly silent about the incident until he read Milton Wolff’s thinly veiled fictionalization of it in *Another Hill*.

There are many other incidents in *Comrades* also showing how there was no single “culture” in the Lincoln Battalion; men like Fisher fought alongside men like Blake and those who gave Blake his orders. In one instance, a Brigade member “forced a Spanish boy, at gunpoint, to climb a hill that was being heavily shelled, while he himself remained in a safe cave.”

#### An execution

In another instance, the execution of a prisoner of war is carried out by one of the most beloved U.S. political commissars, despite the protest of a non-Party brigade member “that we should not lower ourselves to the level of the fascists.” In another memorable scene, Fisher recalls the shock he felt looking into the face of a dead teenage fascist: “He seemed so young and innocent, not what a fascist was supposed to look like. A picture of himself, his mother, father, sister, and the family dog, was sticking out of his pocket. My heart ached for him. I put the picture in my pocket.” Remarkably, Fisher reproduces this very picture in the center of his spread of photographs in the memoir, surrounded by those of his anti-Fascist comrades.

In preparing *Comrades*, Fisher reports that he hesitated about whether he should include many of the events I have described above, along with the more familiar recollections of self-sacrifice and heroism. It was only at the insistence of his children that he did so. His son, John, was adamant “that I tell the whole story, the good and the bad, and that the good would surely shine through.” No one who reads this book should have any doubt that it has.

# Mussolini's Spanish war

by Paul Preston

Italy became involved in the Spanish Civil War largely because the military rebels had dramatically miscalculated the scale of the task facing them on 17-18 July 1936. However, the Italian interest in Spain predated the military uprising. Mussolini had given financial and other support to parties of the extreme right during the Second Republic, subsidising the Falange, providing funds for conspiratorial activities for both the extreme monarchist organization, Renovación Española and the Carlist traditionalists, as well as providing training facilities in Italy for Carlist *requetas* (militias). He did so partly out of ideological imperialism and partly out of a sense that anything that he could do to help create a sympathetic regime in Spain would weaken France. By meddling in Spain, therefore, he was seeking to make a significant contribution to his plans to undermine the Anglo-French hegemony of international relations which he believed kept Italy imprisoned in the Mediterranean. However, his pre-1936 interference had little connection with the uprising of 17-18 July.

## Unanticipated resistance

The military rebels had not anticipated the scale of working-class resistance on the Spanish mainland nor that a naval mutiny would lead to the blockade in Morocco of the most powerful rebel force, the ruthless mercenary Army of Africa, commanded by General Franco. In the days immediately following the uprising, the insurrectionary generals desperately sought help from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. After initial hesitation, Mussolini's involvement would escalate from the provision of trans-

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*Paul Preston, Professor of International History at the London School of Economics, is the author of many books on modern Spain. His last article for The Volunteer, on the Spanish Socialist politician Indalecio Prieto, appeared in the Fall 1998 issue.*

**Benito Mussolini — Il Duce**  
from *Volunteer for Liberty*, Vol. II  
Special supplement 17, April 18, 1938

port aircraft to a point at which Italy was, in everything short of a formal declaration of hostilities, at war with the Spanish Republic. In consequence, his contribution to Franco's victory would be decisive. In the process of collaborating with Hitler in support of Franco, Mussolini enthusiastically tied his foreign policy to that of the Third Reich. He also squandered financial and physical resources in Spain on a scale which severely diminished Italian military effectiveness in the Second World War.

The precise calculation of the financial and military costs to Italy of the Duce's Spanish entanglement is a difficult subject which has only recently started to receive the treatment which it demands. His first steps in the direction of the Axis were significantly aided by the fact that on June 9, 1936, he had appointed as Foreign Minister his son-in-law, Galeazzo Ciano, who came to the post determined to give Italy a totally Fascist foreign policy. Relying on an inner cabinet of like-minded Fascists, Ciano dispensed with the wiser heads of experienced functionaries and thereby ensured that the Duce's tendency to wild and whimsical leaps would be unrestrained. However,

while Ciano reacted enthusiastically to the first emissaries from the Spanish military rebels, Mussolini himself was initially very cautious.

On July 19, Franco had sent the right-wing journalist Luis Bolmn to Rome to ask Mussolini for transport planes for an airlift of his troops across the Straits of Gibraltar. While Bolmn was still travelling, the Italian Minister Plenipotentiary in Tangier, Pier Filippo De Rossi del Lion Nero, had — in response to the first news of the uprising — sent his military attaché, Major Giuseppe Luccardi, to Tetuan to assess the situation. In Tetuan on July 20-21, Franco saw Luccardi several times, and repeated the request already sent via Bolmn. Franco made a cunning appeal to Mussolini, offering flattery, certain success, future subservience and a bargain price. Presenting himself as sole leader of the military uprising — which was not, yet — Franco declared that his objective was to establish “a republican government in the Fascist style adapted for the Spanish people.” He claimed that success would be assured if the limited request for eight Italian transport aircraft was granted. Finally, he promised that if Italy smiled on his cause, “future relations will be more than friendly.” The future Caudillo was apparently offering Mussolini the tempting prospect of a Spanish client state which could clearly tip the Mediterranean balance in his favor and against both Britain and France. However, the situation was far too confused to tempt the Duce into a precipitate response. Franco was told that no aircraft were available.

## 'Miopia politica'

Over the course of the next week, Franco continued to insist, describing the failure to send aircraft as “miopia politica.” Although too cautious to take the risk of war with either France or Britain, the Duce's interest in the Spanish situation and in the role of General Franco was being maintained by the stream of telegrams from Tangier. The Duce's reticence derived from his reading of reports that the French had decided



## ***For all his sincere anti-communism, the Duce could not contemplate a military conflict with the Soviet Union.***

to grant Spanish government requests for military aid. Mussolini began gradually to incline towards support for Franco between July 25-27 as a result of several factors. He was much impressed by reports from Paris which showed that the French were reversing their original decision to send aid to the Republic. This was in reaction to the massive right-wing press campaign mounted after leaks about French military assistance by the military attaché at the Spanish Republican Embassy in Paris, Major Antonio Barroso.

Ironically, the French volte-face had also been made partly as a consequence of rumours and press speculation in Paris about possible German and Italian intervention. These events were followed closely in Rome through detailed reports from the Italian Embassy which was liberally supplied with information from rebel sympathizers within the Spanish Embassy. By July 25, Mussolini was fully informed of how pressure from London was paralyzing the Blum cabinet and making it think again about help for Spain. He knew for certain by July 25 that the French had decided definitively not to help the Spanish Republic.

### **Risky estimations**

For a variety of reasons, Mussolini also came to the conclusion that the British establishment supported the Spanish military rebels. Information reaching Rome as Mussolini and Ciano considered granting Franco's insistent requests strongly inclined them to believe that their action would enjoy the covert approval of Britain. Both the Duce and his Foreign Minister were convinced, for instance, that Portuguese support for the rebels would not have been possible without the tacit permission of the British. The clinching factor in favor of Franco was the arrival in Rome on July 27 of a

Mussolini, Hitler and Franco  
with Fascist symbols  
— Volunteer for Liberty  
Vol. I, No. I, May 24, 1937

detailed report that the Kremlin was deeply embarrassed by events in Spain and had no intention of helping the Spanish Republic. The Duce boasted later that he participated in the Civil War because he wanted to fight communism. In fact, for all his sincere anti-communism, the Duce could not contemplate a military conflict with the Soviet Union.

What emboldened him to intervene in Spain was the well-founded belief that the Kremlin wanted no part of the events in Spain. Believing that a rebel victory would seriously undermine Franco-Soviet collaboration and a left-wing victory by "armed workers" would inspire a wave of international anti-communism, the Soviet position would be one of "prudent neutrality" since, according to a highly placed Soviet source, "in no circumstances would the Soviet government let itself get involved in the internal events of the peninsula where there was nothing to gain and everything to lose."

Along with indications of French weakness, reports on Russian embarrassment convinced Mussolini and Ciano that any Italian aid to Franco would be all the more decisive. Eventually, Moscow would intervene, but the decision to do so came about well after Mussolini had committed himself to meet Franco's first pleas for help.

### **Aid to Franco begins**

Accordingly, arrangements were made during the night of July 27 and the early morning of July 28 for help to be sent to Franco. A squadron of 12 Savoia-Marchetti S.81 bombers was assembled in Sardinia on July 29 prior to flying to Spanish Morocco on the following day, and a cargo ship was loaded with munitions and aviation fuel. At dawn on July 30, they took off to fly to Nador in Spanish Morocco. They were followed by 12 sea-borne Fiat C.R.32 fighters.

The later escalation of Italian aid was a response to the fact that Franco's success was nowhere near as

## *Mussolini*

*Continued from page 9*

rapid as he had anticipated. In the first eight days, the African columns advanced 200 kilometers and the first important town in their path, Mirida, fell on August 10. It would take them more than two weeks to traverse the next 100 kilometers. They would not reach Talavera de la Reina in the province of Toledo until August 27. To reach Talavera, the last major town before Madrid, 300 kilometers from their starting point, in 25 days was a remarkable achievement. However, Franco was shaken by the perceptible slow-down of their progress as the Republicans began to organize better defenses. Accordingly, he had requested more Italian assistance in the form of a squadron of light bombers, 24 armored cars, 200 light machine guns with one million cartridges, 20,000 gas masks and poison gas bombs.

Franco's request was largely successful — although, despite serious consideration in Rome of the use of poison gas in Spain, none was ever sent. Soon there would be an Italian force in Mallorca. Then, as Franco encountered ever greater difficulties in his march on Madrid, he turned to Italy as a matter of course. And the more that Mussolini said “yes,” the more difficult it would become for him to say “no” since, although the democracies had turned a blind eye, the world knew that the cause of Franco was the cause of the Duce.

### **Full commitment**

In the course of barely one month, Mussolini had moved imperceptibly but catastrophically from his initial cautiously reached decision in favor of limited aid towards the open-ended commitment that, within five months, would see Italy effectively at war with the Spanish Republic.

Mussolini was now a substantial way down the road to a commitment which would soon be barely distinguishable from war against the Spanish Republic. Between the end of July and the end of November, the Duce had moved gradually from the relative caution of his initial decision to supply limited aid in the form of the original 12 Savoia-Marchetti

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***After an initial delay because of a lack of sufficiently high-octane fuel, the nine Savoia Marchetti S.81s which arrived safely in late July 1936 had soon gone into action and were bombing Republican targets.***

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bombers, via the delivery of substantial numbers of Fiat C.R.23 aircraft and of light tanks, artillery and other vehicles throughout August, September and October, to formal recognition of Franco. After that romantic gesture of Fascist comradeship, there could be no turning back. Henceforth, there could be only a humiliating withdrawal from the Spanish adventure or an unconditional commitment to Franco's cause.

Between mid-December 1936 and mid-February 1937, nearly 50,000 “volunteers” were shipped to Spain. They consisted of Fascist militiamen, hastily recruited workers and some regular troops. Despite the fiction that the Italians in Spain were volunteers, the Italian Air Force (the Regia Aeronautica) acted as the Nationalist Air Force.

After an initial delay because of a lack of sufficiently high-octane fuel, the nine Savoia Marchetti S.81s which arrived safely in late July 1936 had soon gone into action and were bombing Republican targets. At the same time as the departure of the original 12 S.81s, a squadriglia of 12 Fiat C.R.32s and volunteer pilots and mechanics, drawn from different units, were sent by sea, arriving in Melilla on August 12. The Fiat C.R.32 was a fighter biplane of great maneuverability, stability and handling. It was the principal fighter of the Regia Aeronautica by 1936 and it bore the main burden of air combat for the Nationalists from late August 1936 until the end of the Spanish Civil War.

### **Air superiority — for a time**

A further 21 aircraft arrived in late August and early September to permit the formation of a second squadron. Under the overall command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bonomi, they guaranteed air superiority for the Nationalists during the advance on Madrid. Unlike their Republican

opponents, the Italian pilots were well-trained, experienced in the use of their aircraft and had full technical backup.

The arrival of Soviet Polikarpov fighter aircraft at the beginning of November 1936 put an end to that superiority. A further group of 12 aircraft were instrumental in repelling the Republican attack on Mallorca and securing it as an Italian base. Large quantities of arms and equipment were delivered to Palma. Italian flags flew over the island. Italian servicemen were much in evidence and a reign of terror was instituted against both Spanish leftists and German and other exiled anti-Fascists.

### **The Italian navy plays a role**

Spanish cities were bombed by the Regia Aeronautica flying from Mallorca and sometimes from Italy. The Regia Marina (Italian Navy) acted similarly as an extension of the Spanish Nationalist Fleet. Italian cruisers contributed decisively to breaking the blockade of Morocco and pushing the Republican navy out of the Straits of Gibraltar. Mussolini's warships bombarded Malaga (and its fleeing population), Valencia and Barcelona. Italian submarines, guided by reconnaissance aircraft of the Regia Aeronautica, sank the merchant ships of other nations (particularly the USSR but also Britain) supplying the Spanish Republic.

Because of the relative proximity of Italy to Spain, deliveries of war materiel had a much greater impact on immediate operations than those received by Republican Spain from the Soviet Union. According to the official Italian military history of the Spanish Civil War, “the timeliness of deliveries was often more crucial than their scale given that one side or the other might have had to give in or seek a compromise peace if necessary supplies had not been received in time.” The fact that the Italian Air Force could protect

the Italian merchant ships carrying supplies ensured a rapid and virtually uninterrupted supply.

Nearly 80,000 Italians fought in Spain, of whom nearly 4,000 were killed. Italy supplied 759 aircraft, 6,600 cannons, mortars and machine-guns, 157 tanks, 7,400 motor vehicles, 1.8 million uniforms, hundreds of thousands of rifles and 7.7 million shells, 319 millions of small arms cartridges. This cost some 8,500,000,000 Lira (\$95,000,000 in 1939 terms; \$2,375,000,000 in 1995 terms), although the generous payment deal was of 5,000,000,000 Lira.

By November 1937, the scale of the economic strain was causing Mussolini considerable anxiety. It has been claimed that what was lost in Spain made little impact on Italy's subsequent military effectiveness since it was old equipment that needed

replacing anyway.

In September 1939, Italy had 10 relatively well-equipped divisions and 800 functioning combat aircraft. By May 1940, there were 19 divisions and 1,600 relatively modern aircraft. If what was used up in Spain had been available in September 1939, Italy would have had 30 divisions. Some 764 aircraft were left in Spain,

including 100 Savoia-Marchetti SM79 trimotors — a quarter of those available for bombing, air-torpedoing and reconnaissance.

An additional 442 modern artillery pieces and 7,000 vehicles might have made a decisive difference in Albania or in Libya where the Italian commander, Rodolfo Graziani, complained that he could not attack

Egypt for the lack of 5,200 aircraft. Similarly, had the 373 Fiat C.R.32 fighters left in Spain, condemned as obsolete, been available in North Africa, they could still have dominated the even more antiquated British aircraft in use there. The scale of Italian assistance to Franco gives some small indication of the magnitude of the task facing the ill-equipped Republican army and the volunteers of the International Brigades.

REST IN PEACE — Mussolini gets his bird.

From *The Volunteer for Liberty*, Vol. I, No. 11, August 23, 1937

## Poems by Bucknell University students

### Upon Hearing the Mortar's Whistle

by Fritz Wisor

You fall, a dead man, aware of  
the fact:  
The body which is lifeless has  
only  
A mind which knows its  
lifelessness.  
Hands out, to God.  
Cold, before they fall down  
Clutching gun,  
Stiff fingers sink into wet earth.  
  
Eyes pinned open  
By invisible hands  
  
Permitan escapar la vida  
  
Forever rest.  
Into earth giving yourself  
Forever rest.  
Into earth giving yourself

For your cause.  
Nourishing the wheat for next  
year's campaign.

You've done well,  
Now rest, in homeland.  
Back to your hills and country  
What you willingly give.

Hoy mas que nunca.

### Frank Capa's Most Famous Photograph

by Connie Hamlin

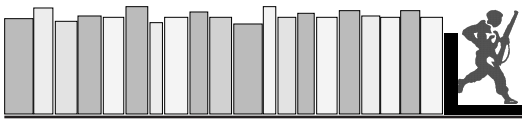
Captures the exact moment when  
Some mother's son is dying  
Scared,  
Shot.  
A piece of this man's head is gone,  
And this man is some mother's son.  
He is falling  
Back to earth, war-stained hands

extended,  
Palms up, reaching for —  
His mother.  
Some mother's son is dying.

### Single Apartment

by Caitlin Konicky

In a trench  
a single apartment in  
Aragon  
dug into olive root and grape vine  
  
boys write letters home  
to brothers and fathers  
wives and mothers  
in cool earthy silence  
only matched by dying  
or its equivalent  
where whispers to friends  
  
tickle blood running through soil  
under olive trees and grape  
vines  
near a single apartment in Aragon.



## ALBA BOOK, VIDEO AND POSTER LIST

## WRITINGS OF LINCOLN BRIGADERS

**Madrid 1937 —**

**Letters from the Spanish Civil War**  
ed. by Nelson & Hendricks (cloth) \$35

**Another Hill**  
by Milton Wolff (cloth) \$25

**The Anti-Warrior**  
by Milton Felsen (pbk) \$15

**Trees Become Torches,  
Selected Poems**  
by Edwin Rolfe (pbk) \$10

**Collected Poems of Edwin Rolfe**  
(pbk) \$21

**From Mississippi to Madrid**  
by James Yates (pbk) \$15

**Spain, the Unfinished Revolution**  
by Arthur Landis (cloth) \$25

**Prisoners of the Good Fight**  
by Carl Geiser (pbk) \$15

**Spain's Cause Was Mine**  
by Hank Rubin (new) (cloth) \$29

**Comrades**  
by Harry Fisher (new) (cloth) \$25

## OTHER BOOKS

**Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade**  
by Peter Carroll (pbk) \$15

**Remembering Spain:  
Hemingway's VALB Eulogy**  
by Ernest Hemingway, Cary Nelson  
and Milton Wolff (audio tape & pamphlet) \$15

## EXHIBIT CATALOGS

**The Aura of the Cause, a photo album**  
ed. by Cary Nelson (pbk) \$25

**Shouts from the Wall, a poster album**  
ed. by Cary Nelson (pbk) \$16

## VIDEOS

**The Good Fight**  
a film by Sills/Dore/Bruckner (VCR) \$35

**Forever Activists**  
a film by Judith Montell (VCR) \$35

**You Are History, You Are Legend**  
a film by Judith Montell (VCR) \$25

## POSTERS

In addition, the VALB has two Spanish Civil War posters (Madrid Lion and Victoria) available at \$10 plus postage, and thanks to Eva and Mark Fasanella, copies of five of Ralph Fasanell's posters (\$20 each, plus postage). They are: Subway Riders (1960; Family Supper (1972); The Great Strike, Lawrence, 1912 (1978); The Daily News Strike (1993); South Bronx Rebirth (1995).

These books and tapes are available at the indicated prices from:

**Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade**  
**799 Broadway, R. 227**

**New York, NY 10003-5552**

**Tel: (212) 674-5552**

Shipping cost: \$2 per copy of book, album or tape.  
Make checks payable to ALBA.

## SHOUTS FROM THE WALL

(Poster exhibit, 1999)

### DELAWARE

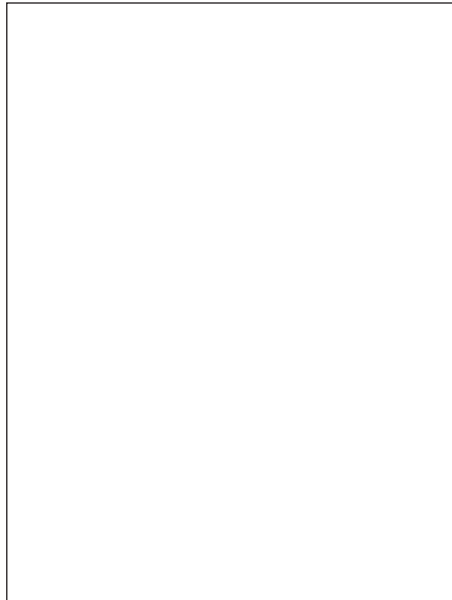
Jan. 15 — March 7  
 University Gallery,  
 University of Delaware  
 114 Old College  
 Newark, DE 19716

### PENNSYLVANIA

April 7 — June 6  
 Zoellner Art Center  
 Lehigh University  
 420 East Packer Ave.  
 Bethlehem, PA 18015

### ILLINOIS

August 14 — October 17  
 Harold Washington Library



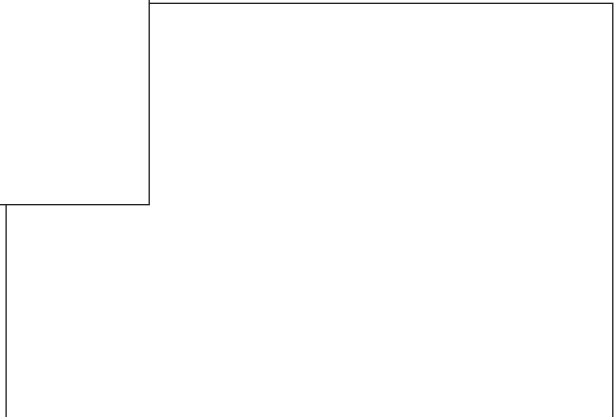
Above: AL FRONT! (in Catalan) TO THE FRONT! by Carles Fontseré

## THE AURA OF THE CAUSE

(Photography exhibit, 1998)

### ILLINOIS

Sept. 18 — Nov. 1  
 University of Illinois  
 500 E. Peabody



Right: New recruits exercise with their weapons.

**BRING THESE EXHIBITS TO YOUR LOCALITY**

## WEB SITE AND RELATED NEWS

ALBA's web site, circling the globe to the right, has been under reconstruction recently, and readers are urged to visit or revisit the site.

The moderator of [alba@lists.nyu.edu](mailto:alba@lists.nyu.edu) reminds users of the guidelines that govern this ALBA chat-box. They are: (1) write a subject line when you send a submission; (2) sign the messages you send with your name; you are responding to a prior message on [alba@lists.nyu.edu](mailto:alba@lists.nyu.edu). do not include that previous message in your reply, except quote selectively the passages that relate to your reply. Messages that fail to meet these guidelines cannot be posted. The chatbox can accommodate postings on impeachment of Bill Clinton. Lewinsky.



PLEASE NOTE: Web site [www.spunk.org/texts/places/spain/sp001780/index.html](http://www.spunk.org/texts/places/spain/sp001780/index.html) devoted to the Anarchist leader Buenaventura Durruti, who fought for the Republic. An English translation of Augustin Guillaman's

# The Spanish Civil War and American culture

*This article is a considerably abbreviated version of a lecture given by ALBA Board member Gabriel Jackson at the Casa de America in Madrid, December 9, 1998. Professor Jackson's previous Volunteer article, comparing Bill Clinton with Felipe Gonzáles, appeared in the Fall 1998 issue.*

by Gabriel Jackson

Sustained American interest in Spanish culture and politics dates from the outbreak of the Civil War in July 1936. Politically conscious Americans had been gnashing their teeth over the complete failure of the democratic powers to resist Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia and Hitler's anti-semitic and anti-communist tirades combined with his feverish rearmament and his recent occupation of the demilitarized Rhineland. When General Franco's military revolt met strong popular resistance, and he was forced to request immediate military aid from Hitler and Mussolini, Spain suddenly became the one spot in Europe where active resistance to fascist aggression was taking place.

Approximately 4,000 U.S. and Canadian volunteers joined the International Brigades. Most of them were trade unionists and students, and most were either Communists or members of anti-fascist organizations which cooperated willingly with the Communists in creating the Brigades. Very few of them knew anything about Spanish history and culture. But they knew that Hitler was openly aiding a military revolt against an elected government. They were disgusted with both the appeasement policy and American neutrality, which, like the so-called Non-Intervention policy, favored Franco. The overwhelming motive was to stop fascism in Spain — and if they had succeeded we would have been spared the Second World War.

Which brings us to a most interesting sequence in the fate of the American volunteers. In going to Spain they lost their U.S. passports, and those of the survivors who served

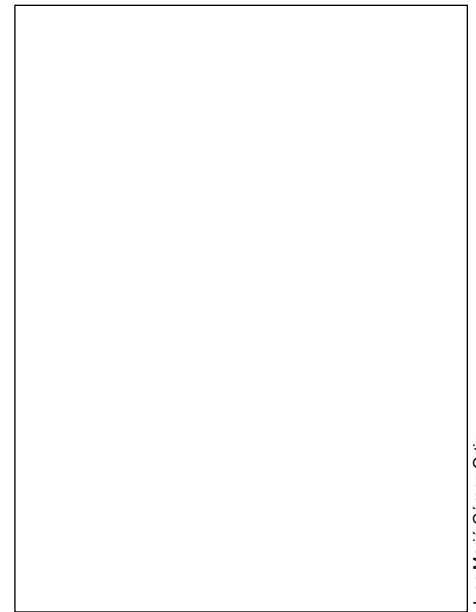
in the U.S. army during the Second World War were officially listed as "premature anti-fascists." As long as Hitler was the main enemy, their Civil War military experience and their proven anti-fascist convictions were welcome in the U.S. war effort, but when the wartime Soviet-Western alliance gave way to the Cold War in 1947 they were now suspected of being "Soviet agents." Several trade union leaders were convicted and imprisoned under the McCarran Act, and several Hollywood writers were imprisoned for Contempt of Congress when they refused to "name names" and testify about the political beliefs and activities of their Communist and fellow-traveling friends since the 1930s.

An unquantifiable but substantial number of Spanish Civil War veterans lost jobs, or were denied promotions and raises during the McCarthy era, roughly 1948-1955. This economic and professional persecution of the IB veterans after the Second World War added substantially to the aura

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***On the whole, For Whom the Bell Tolls and Homage to Catalonia are true to the main outlines of history. They constitute magnificent tributes ("warts and all") to both the Spanish Republican forces and the International Brigades.***

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Gabriel Jackson in Barcelona, 1998

Juan Mariá Gómez Ortiz

of heroism dating from their Spanish experience.

Perhaps the most tangible influence of Spain in American culture since the Civil War has been that of the dozens of exiled professors who transformed the study of Spanish literature in American universities. Established scholars such as Americo Castro, José Fernández Montesinos, Joan Corominas, José Ferrater Mora and Vincente Llorens; poets and novelists such as Jaime Salinas, Jorge Guillén, Ramón Sender and Francisco Ayala; scholars at the very beginnings of their careers, such as Juan Marichal, Carlos Blanco and Claudio Guillén — all brought an entirely new depth and perspective to the teaching of Spanish literature, and hundreds of their disciples are now carrying on the traditions which they established.

A further development that was surely encouraged by the strong presence of the exile generation, were the frequent visits of leading dissident intellectuals from within Franco Spain, such as Julián Marias and Enrique Tierna Galván.

Equally important in transforming American cultural consciousness of Spain were the Civil War writings of Ernest Hemingway and George Orwell. As a teacher of Spanish history in American universities I often had to point out questionable interpretations and naive stereotypes in the best-selling works of these authors. But on the whole, *For Whom*

***As a byproduct of these renewed contacts between Spain and the IBs, several projects are now under way to establish archives in Spain to receive photocopies of Civil War documents in the public and university libraries of Europe and the Americas.***

*the Bell Tolls* and *Homage to Catalonia* are true to the main outlines of history. They constitute magnificent tributes ("warts and all") to both the Spanish Republican forces and the International Brigades.

The critical role of the Spanish Civil War in the anti-Fascist struggles of the 1930s is sufficient in itself to account for the sudden upsurge of interest in Spain at that time. But in the entire six decades since that war, it has continued to kindle the interest of American college students, whether or not they were enrolled in courses dealing with Spanish history or literature. Documentary and feature films, campus visits by Spanish Republican exiles and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, have always attracted large audiences.

**'The last great cause'**

The explanation of this fact, I think, lies in the nature of the war, often referred to as "the last great cause." The second half of this century has witnessed dozens of anti-colonial liberation struggles, dozens of revolutionary uprisings, dozens of ethnic struggles. With the exception of the sheer horrors of "ethnic cleansing," most of these wars have involved some elements of unselfish sacrifice in the name of broad human ideals. And there are, of course, the well known examples of Lafayette and Kosciusko in the American Revolution, and of small groups of individuals who volunteered in the cause of Greek liberty in the 1820s.

But the Spanish Civil War stands absolutely alone as an instance in which 40,000 volunteers from some 50 nations gave up whatever security and wealth they possessed at home in order to defend the liberty of another people with whom they had no family or national or cultural connections. This last point is also the one I hear most frequently referred to by Spaniards: admiration of the incredi-

ble solidarity and heroism involved in laying one's life on the line for the liberty of complete strangers.

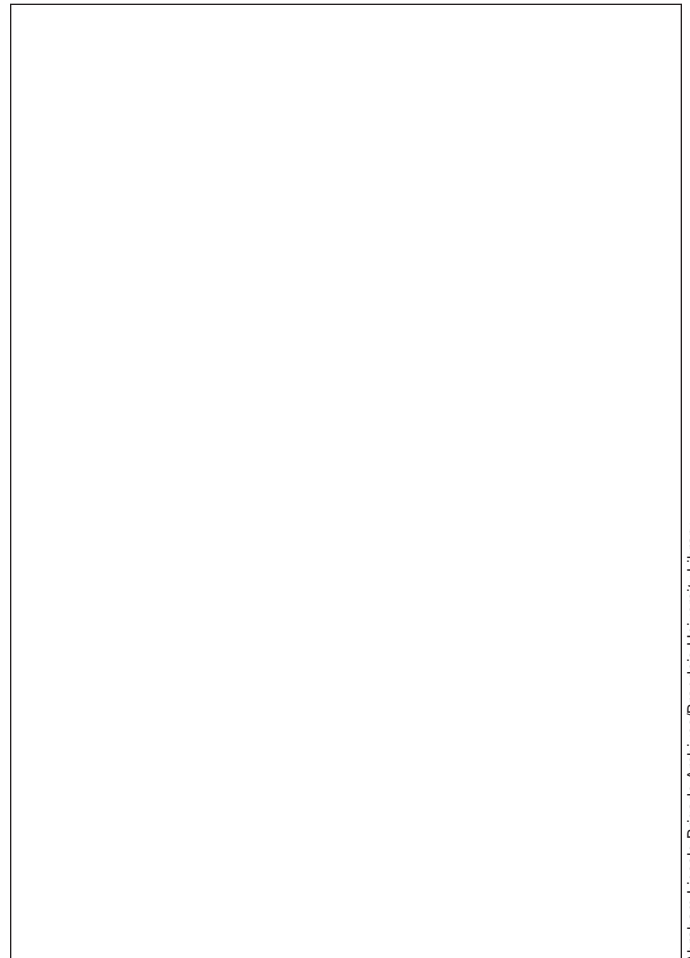
This admiration was beautifully symbolized in 1996 by an act of the Spanish Cortes. Looking toward the 60th anniversary of the war, these legislators voted — with a few abstentions but no negative votes — to offer Spanish citizenship to the remaining veterans of the International Brigades. It was a frank and generous acknowledgment that, without denying the crimes and atrocities that occur in all wars, especially in civil wars, the 40,000 volunteers had indeed come to Spain for the purpose of defending civilian liberty against a military, fascist-supported uprising.

And that Spain was now a constitutional, democratic monarchy ready to recognize in official form the motives of the IBs.

Also of great symbolic importance were such things as the visit paid by the King and Queen of Spain to the widow of President Manuel Azaña in Mexico, the frequent admiring remarks about Azaña by prominent conservative politicians, and the visits by the king and numerous dignitaries to the restored synagogue in Madrid.

About 400 vets from 30 different countries came to Spain in November 1996. They were in fact snubbed by the Aznar government, which had come into office several

months after the Cortes offer of citizenship. But they were received enthusiastically by numerous municipalities and autonomous governments, and by the Catalan and Basque governments. And as a byproduct of these renewed contacts between Spain and the IBs, several projects are now under way to establish archives in Spain to receive photocopies of Civil War documents in the public and university libraries of Europe and the Americas. Both in the U.S. and in Spain poster and photo exhibits have been circulating in schools and museums, and a new converging consciousness of the historical significance of the Civil War is being created.



THE FARMER'S PRODUCE IS AS SACRED AS THE WORKER'S WAGES. Josep Renau

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 28

***VALB Bay Area Post  
to commemorate 62nd  
anniversary of  
defense of Madrid***

Featuring:

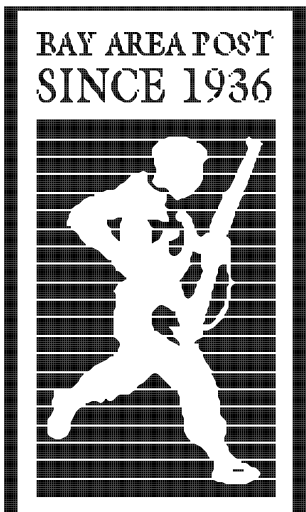
- **ARIEL DORFMAN**, Chilean poet, novelist and playwright, speaking on "Bringing Pinochet to Justice."
- **GRUPO RAIZ** and others presenting Chilean protest music.
- Songs of the International Brigades sung and played by members of the SF Mime Troupe Band.

At the Calvin Simmons Theater  
Henry J. Kaiser Convention Center  
10 Tenth Street, Oakland. California.

Tickets:

Luncheon at noon, \$20  
Program at 2:00 pm, \$15

Call **415-468-5870** or **510-582-7699**  
for tickets.



Chiapas, Mexico, and joining Global Exchange in supporting a cross-country human rights try speaking tour by activist Jennifer Harbury;

- Continuing to press forward on the project (described in the Fall 1997 Volunteer) to get the cottage of Lincoln vet/labor activist Bill Bailey made into a public center—for science and labor studies, and to honor the Lincoln Brigade — close to the Garfield School in the Telegraph Hill neighborhood in San Francisco. The project has been approved by a zoning commission and now goes on the the City Board of Supervisors.

THURSDAY, APRIL 8

***California poet to launch  
ALBA's Bill Sennett  
Lectureship at U. of  
California at Berkeley***

As ALBA expands its public lecture programs in 1999, the acclaimed poet Philip Levine will present the first ALBA-Bill Sennett Lecture, co-sponsored by the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley, on April 8. The talk, focusing on Spanish Civil War poetry, reflects Levine's lifetime interest in the subject and aims to attract both ALBA's California supporters and a wider community audience.

Born in Detroit, Michigan, in 1928, Philip Levine has often depicted working-class subjects in his extensive body of poetry. Commenting on this choice of theme, Cary Nelson writes in his forthcoming *Anthology of Modern American Poetry*:

"The ruined industrial landscape in Detroit helped shape the settings and political loyalties of his poems. . . . Although Levine's work is pervaded by an eloquent rage at injustice, it also reaches repeatedly for a visionary lyricism that Levine's

SAVE THE DATE!

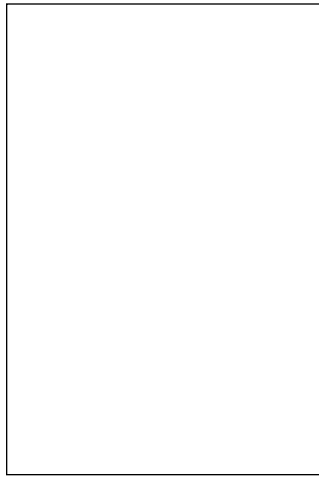
In addition to the annual event on February 28, the Bay Area Post carries on a variety of ongoing and short-term projects and activities, some directly relating to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade:

- Contributing funds to ALBA, to indigent International Brigade veterans in Bulgaria and Romania and to the Gray Panthers in California;
- Supporting humanitarian projects in Cuba: the Soler Pediatric Hospital in Havana and a farm in the Cuban countryside that produces soybean-based milk products;
- Contributing to the cause of the Zapatistas in



subject matter makes uniquely his own.”

Many of his poems (including *a soldier of the Republic*, printed adjacent) draw inspiration from the Spanish Civil War. “My obsession with the Spanish Civil War began during the civil war itself...when I was very young,” Levine once told an interviewer. “The Nazis and the Italians were there supporting the fascist army....And so-called western democracies were doing a pathetic job of combating it. They were looking the other way. And if you look into history you know that they wanted fascism to succeed. It was a way of eliminating communism.”



Bill Sennett

Richard Bernack

Among Levine’s recent books are: *A Walk With Tom Jefferson* (1988), *What Works* (1991), and *The Simple Truth* (1994).

The ALBA-Bill Sennett Lecture honors ALBA’s first West Coast Board Member. Sennett, a veteran of the International Brigade’s Regiment de Tren, drove trucks in Spain and is a longtime resident of San Francisco. For more information on Philip Levine’s scheduled delivery of the first ALBA-Bill Sennett lecture, contact the Bancroft Library, 510-642-3781.

On the East Coast, the second ALBA-Bill Susman Lecture, featuring historian Paul Preston

## To P.L., 1916-1937

### a soldier of the Republic

by Philip Levine

Gray earth peeping through snow,  
you lay for three days  
with one side of your face  
frozen to the ground. They tied your cheek  
with the red and black scarf  
of the Anarchists, and bundled you  
in canvas, and threw you away.  
Before that an old country woman  
of the Aragon, spitting on her thumb,  
rubbing it against her forefinger,  
stole your black Wellingtons,  
the gray hunting socks, and the long  
slender knife you wore  
in a little leather scabbard  
riding your right hip. She honed it,  
ran her finger down the blade, and laughed,  
though she had no meat to cut,  
blessing your tight fists  
that had fallen side by side  
like frozen faces on your hard belly  
that was becoming earth. (Years later  
she saw the two faces  
at table, and turned from the bread  
and the steaming oily soup, turned  
to the darkness of the open door,  
and opened her eyes to darkness

that they might be filled with anything  
but those two faces squeezed  
in the blue of snow and snow and snow.)  
She blessed your feet, still pink,  
with hard yellow shields of skin  
at heel and toe, and she laughed  
scampering across the road, into  
the goat field, and up the long hill,  
the boots bundled in her skirts,  
and the gray hunting socks, and the knife.  
For seven weeks she wore the boots  
stuffed with rags at toe and heel.  
She thought she understood  
why you lay down to rest  
even in snow, and gave them to a nephew,  
and the gray socks too.  
The knife is still used, the black handle  
almost white, the blade  
worn thin since there is meat to cut.  
Without laughter she is gone  
ten years now,  
and on the road to Huesca in spring  
there is no one to look for you  
among the wild jonquils, the curling  
grasses at the road side,  
and the blood red poppies, no one  
to look on the farthest tip  
of wind breathing down from the mountains  
and shaking the stunted pines you hid among.

© Philip Levine, from *New Selected Poems* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

**T**he Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA) is pleased to again announce the continuing annual competition for the ALBA George Watt Memorial prizes for the best college student essays about the Spanish Civil War, the anti-fascist political or cultural struggles of the 1930s, or the lifetime histories and contributions of the Americans who fought in Spain from 1937-1938.

Two prizes of \$500 each will be awarded each year — one to the best undergraduate paper and one to the best graduate student paper written on one or more of the above topics. Papers will be judged on the basis of originality, effectiveness of argument, and quality of writing. The paper must have been written to fulfill an undergraduate or graduate course or degree requirement.

The deadline for receipt of essays is April 10, 1999. Essays written either during the year of submission or during the previous calendar year are eligible for the competition. Essays must be at least 5,000 words long to be considered for the prize.

Applicants should submit five copies of their paper, typed, double-spaced, and with an SASE for return. Please mail entries to:

**Professor Arnold Krammer  
Department of History  
Texas A & M University,  
College Station TX 77843-4236.**

The award winners will be announced each Spring. The Executive Committee of ALBA will appoint the judges for the contest.

## *Winning Watt Memorial undergraduate essay*

*Following is an abstract of American and Red to the Core: The Abraham Lincoln Brigade Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War. The longer essay, of which this is a highly condensed version, won ALBA's undergraduate George Watt Memorial prize for 1997. Kathleen Unger was a student at Yale University when she wrote the essay.*

by Kathleen Unger

*"You cannot dismiss these youngsters with the contemptuous label 'Reds.' They remain American to the core."* Herbert Matthews, The New York Times, 1937.

**T**he alternatives posed by Matthews defined the main lines of scholarly and popular interpretation about the men of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Both sympathetic and hostile observers have downplayed the "redness" of the volunteers. They have been described as idealists and apolitical adventurers, as Communists in name only, and even as pawns; anything except as committed members of the Communist Party, USA. Yet the volunteers and their organization have openly acknowledged for decades

that the majority of the men were Party members. Their letters and stories are filled with their politics — their communism. Most were committed and thoughtful activists before going to Spain. The methods of analyzing and understanding world events and organizing effective collective solutions that drew them to the CPUSA in the Depression shaped their decision to volunteer. They went to Spain as Communists.

During the war, faced with the physical stresses of fighting in an under-equipped, outnumbered, and often disorganized army, the Lincolns displayed determination, perseverance, bravery, and commitment to their task and to each other. Some see this as proof that they were not really "red." But to the men of the ALB, this was how real "reds" were supposed to act — as conscious Communists rather than as blind crusaders or idealists finally confronted by harsh reality. Certain historians refer to the details of serving in Spain — reactions to military discipline; shaping the role of the office of political commissar; the role of the CP in Spain; relations with other left forces in Spain; dealing with deserters; dealing with non-Communist ALB members (there were some) — to argue that

politics and order were imposed on the idealistic volunteers by their truly Communist, often foreign officers. The men tell a different story. They analyzed and argued and worked for collective solutions to allow them to most effectively participate in what they hoped would win the war. They firmly believed that politics could not be separated from waging war and that conviction and understanding through continuous discussion and education as well as action, was the key to their performance in battle. In short, they tried to act like conscious Communists.

The loss of the war in Spain, the challenges of World War II, the McCarthy years, and the Cold War did not change most ALB veterans' clarity on what they had done. For them the Spanish Civil War was a cause in which political conviction, organization, and personal ways of seeing the world converged. They called the war "the Good Fight," not simply out of nostalgia but from an understanding that, in Spain, who they were and what they did had made sense. They were Communists. The historical work about them must acknowledge that were real American Communists in action, and must be remembered that way.

## Added to Memory's Roster

### Hannah Olson Creighton

**H**annah Olson Creighton, 55, a driving force of the Bay Area Associates, the daughter of vet Leonard and Jean Olson, died on September 15 of lung cancer. She leaves behind an inspiring legacy of political activism that ranged from leadership of the Marin County Peace Center and support of the Chiapas rebels to the problems of mass transit and environmental protection.

"She was a tremendous person," said David Smith, commander of the Bay Area Post, at an outdoor memorial that was held in October in Marin County. "She had a strong sense of moral principles and she knew how to get things done."

Hannah was born to political activism. Her childhood stories described the special feelings of being the daughter of a Lincoln vet and also the painful lessons of the McCarthy period. As a young adult, she followed her parents' commitments in the civil rights and anti-war movements of the '60s and she remained an outspoken advocate of social justice. While raising two

daughters and earning college and postgraduate degrees in sociology, she added a strong feminist perspective to her political repertoire. During the '80s, she created an important bridge between the politics of equal rights and the environmental movement.

She was especially skilled in personal advocacy — a wise counselor to her friends and a potent, uncompromising critic of her foes.

When Hannah became active in the VALB Associates, she brought along her talents for organizing, and she soon became the guiding force behind the Bay Area's annual Lincoln Brigade events. She helped produce two dramatic programs, *Postscript to a War and Spain in the Heart*. She also oversaw the nitty gritty details that made these gatherings so successful. In short, she transformed the Bay Area Associates into a viable group, now dedicated to carrying her work forward.

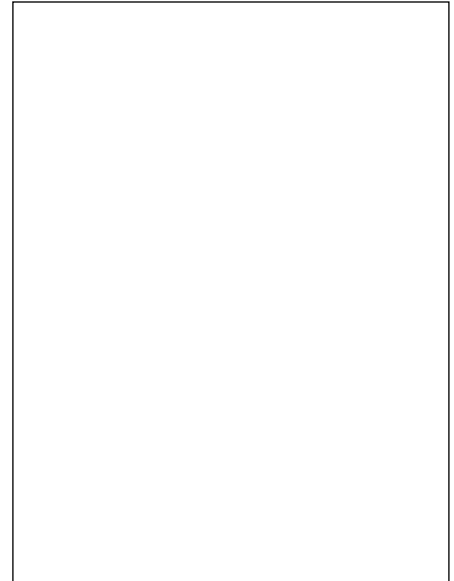
by Mildred B. Rosenstein

### Richard Cloke

**L**incoln veteran Richard Cloke died on October 13, 1998, at the hospital in Northridge, California, where he had lived and worked since 1950.

Motivated by anti-fascism, Cloke volunteered to fight in Spain, leaving his car by the side of a road, according to his son, Kenneth. He served in the Lincoln Battalion from April 1938 until the IB was withdrawn in September 1938. Hit by an explosive bullet at Brunete in June 1938, the shrapnel remained in his leg for life.

On his return he graduated from the University of California, having earlier studied briefly at the University of Virginia. During the McCarthy era Cloke repeatedly lost jobs when the FBI visited his employers with the charges that they had hired a Communist sympathizer.



Richard Cloke

Despite this he was never embittered and "continued to believe in people and in the possibility of change," said his son. He married the former Shirley Rodecker, whom he had met at Berkeley.

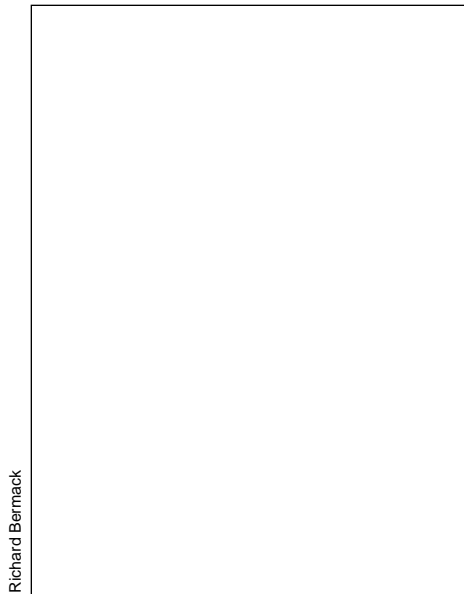
Unable because of political discrimination to retain regular employment, Cloke became a jack-of-all-trades: running a chicken farm, teaching mathematics, doing carpentry, working as an auto worker, and selling electronic equipment. He wrote an historical novel about Russia before Peter the Great called *Yvar: Prince of Rus*.

In 1978, active in the California Democratic Party, Cloke championed ending racial segregation and nuclear testing. He founded the San Fernando Poetry Journal to provide writers with an outlet to voice unpopular ideals.

### Irving Weissman

**L**incoln Brigadier and Veteran of World War Two, Irv died of congestive heart failure on Sunday,

*Continued on page 20*



Hannah Olson Creighton

## Added to Memory's Roster

December 20, at the age of 85. A native New Yorker, he attended City College where he was recruited into the Young Communist League. The Great Depression forced him to leave college and seek employment with the New Deal's Works Projects Administration.

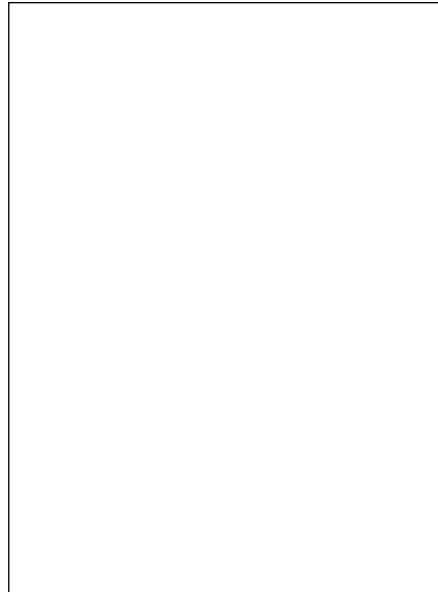
He sailed for Spain on the SS American with Milton Herndon and Walter Cobbs. He went through the major campaigns from Fuentes to the Ebro to Sierra Pandols (where he was wounded) and the Sierra Cabals. He served as Communist Party secretary in the Mac-Pap Battalion.

Between the wars, Irv worked in the shipyards, until W.W.2, when he volunteered to fight fascism again, and saw action in Italy. After the war he became a full-time organizer for the Communist Party, first in upstate N.Y. and later as secretary of party organization among the miners in West Virginia. In 1952, together with Steve Nelson, Irv was tried under the Smith Act.

Soon after, he became disenchanted with the party to which he had devoted so much of his life. Drawn to the C.P. by his radical humanism, he now saw it, and the Soviet Union, as neither radical nor humanist, but rigid, dogmatic and out of touch with American reality. He went to work in construction and rose to the rank of Project Supervisor. A number of N.Y. skyscrapers are monuments to his organizational abilities.

In addition to his neighborhood activism, Irv remained active in the Lincoln Brigade, heading the campaign for the rights of Polish-Jewish Brigade veterans who suffered from the anti-Semitism of the Polish regime. Also, for a number of years he was editor of our journal, *The Volunteer*.

Yet with all of the above, I have not even touched what was at the core of this remarkable man, in short why I loved him so much. Above all, Irving was a man of incredible integrity, for whom thought, word and act were all part of the same



Irving Weissman

cloth. Kind and compassionate by nature, he was ferocious in the face of injustice. For him, legitimate anger was a form of love.

His life was governed by a moral-ethical compass, deep-seated sense of right and wrong. Thus whenever there was a conflict between his politics and his morality, the outcome was predictable. It was the politics that underwent critical examination and reshaping.

In the early nineties he suffered the grievous loss of Freida, the love of his life for almost five decades. He then moved to San Francisco to be near his daughters and grandchildren. Despite sickness and frailty, Irv was active right to the end, raising funds for our Seattle Lincoln Brigade monument.

We talked often, and he brought some well-reasoned advice for my own thinking. Seldom in life have I respected and loved a man as I did Irv. The loss of him leaves an incurable wound in my heart.

Farewell beloved comrade!

by Abe Osheroff

## Adolph Ross

Adolph ("Buster") Ross, who meticulously compiled a roster of his fellow Lincoln Brigaders, died of kidney failure in a Seattle hospital on September 18. His mother, daughter of a Polish Rabbi, emigrated to the U.S. from England. She married Austrian-born Alexander Rosenblum, who died in the 1918 influenza epidemic. The infant Adolph was at first placed in a Knights of Pythias orphanage, where he acquired his nickname "Buster." His mother remarried a man named Ross.

While a high school student, Adolph joined the Young Communist League and the National Student League, and did soap-box speaking at left-wing open air rallies in New York City. After graduating from high school in 1934, Adolph found employment with the WPA and continued his active political life, participating in demonstrations, marches and in a delegation to Washington.

In 1937 Adolph volunteered for service in the Spanish Civil War. The Communist Party at first denied his application, but in 1938 he reapplied and was given permission. However, the government rejected his application for a passport due to his known political activity. A Spanish visa was obtained for him and he traveled under the name Adolfo Rodriguez. He entered Spain in the aftermath of the retreats, a time when it was widely assumed that the Republic was on its last legs.

In Spain Ross served with the Lincoln-Washington Battalion. He fought in the Ebro Campaign and in August 1938 was severely wounded while fighting in the Sierra Pandols. The remainder of his time in Spain was spent recovering in various hospitals, and he arrived back in New York harbor on December 31, 1938.

Between the wars Adolph returned to his job with the WPA and continued his left-wing activities. Later, along with several other Lincoln veterans, Adolph was hired into a shop where he became a mem-

*Continued on page 23*

## Forever Activists

### Lots of good things goings on in the Bay Area

Lots of Lincoln Brigade-Spanish Civil War-anti-Fascist activity in the San Francisco Bay area, or generated there. Some of it has spun off of the current exhibit, *Picasso and the War Years: 1937-1945*, at the Legion of Honor Museum in Golden Gate Park, which includes studies for the Spanish master's *Guernica*, and the anti-Fascist print, *The Dream and Lie of Franco*. Crowds have flocked to this exhibit, which will next travel to the Guggenheim Museum in New York City, where it will be on view from February 5 to April 26, 1999.

After bringing her class to see the Picasso exhibit, a Marin County teacher invited Lincoln vet David Smith, who is commander of the Bay Area ALB Post, to speak to the students.

### Spreading the good word on campuses and elsewhere

In recent months Smith has also been invited to address Professor Anthony Adamthwaite's European History seminar at the University of California at Berkeley, has spoken at Glendale Community College in Arizona, and even at a Rotary Club luncheon in Washington state. A retired naval officer invited him to show Judy Montell's video, *You Are History, You Are Legend*, and to talk about the Spanish Civil War to an audience Dave described as "polite, except for the warm response of a number of younger people."

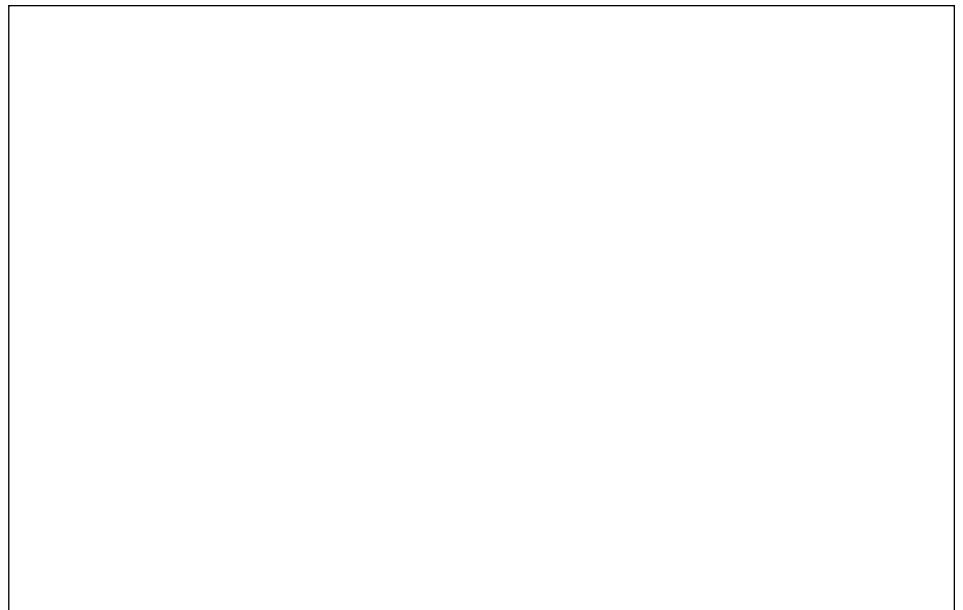
### A Britten concerto as 'requiem' for dead vets

Another important west coast cultural event was the November 19 concert of the San Francisco Symphony, at which Benjamin Britten's violin

concerto was played. The pre-concert lecture by musicologist Ronald Gellman, noting that this concerto was intended by the composer to be a "requiem" for the Spanish Republic and the international brigaders, some of whom were Britten's close friends. David Smith, who attended the concert with his wife Sophie and friends, reported that Gellman's lecture "was a clear and concise summary of the Spanish Civil War and of the role played by the International Brigades."

*Volunteer*, "is paid for by the U.S. taxpayer."

In previous years protestors had been arrested, but because of the large numbers this time, they were loaded onto busses, driven to a nearby town and told not to come back. But Corine and her fellow demonstrators made their way back to the rally by foot, and were greeted with applause by the support group that had stayed behind at the Fort Benning entrance. She urges *Volunteer* readers to sup-



Yes, that's actor Martin Sheen in the middle; but no, this isn't from a movie. It's from the protest at Fort Benning, Georgia, on November 22. On the left is Corine Thornton, and on the right is Barbara Wiedner, director of Grandmothers for Peace.

### A tireless activist makes a long trek

Another Bay Area Post activist, Corine Thornton, travelled to Fort Benning, Georgia, in November to join 7,000 other protestors in demanding that the School of the Americas there be closed. Specializing in the "fine arts of torture, blackmail, kidnapping, drug trafficking, disappearances, rape and death squad activity," this School has over the years trained thousands of military officials from murderous regimes throughout Latin America. Its operation, Corine pointed out in a communication to *The*

port the bill to close the School of the Americas that will be reintroduced in the next session of Congress.

### A glowing review of *The Spirit Lives*

Some readers will have also seen Margaret Loke's glowing description of the Puffin Room's *The Spirit Lives* exhibition in the November 13 *New York Times*, which featured Lincoln vet Sam Walters' photos from Spain. Loke characterized Sam's pictures as having "a certain Yankee humor and directness." Congratulations, Yankee Sam!

# British Columbia Legislature honors Mac-Paps with memorials

by Irma Penn

Almost two months after the dedication of the first U.S. monument to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Seattle, a similar event took place in Victoria, British Columbia, honoring the Canadian Mackenzie Papineau battalion.

Many vets, including several from the United States, England and Israel, watched on December 4 when a plaque was unveiled inside the Victoria Legislature, and another plaque and monument were unveiled on the Legislature grounds outside. This is the first such honor for the Mac-Paps at any Canadian legislative building. The interior plaque reads:

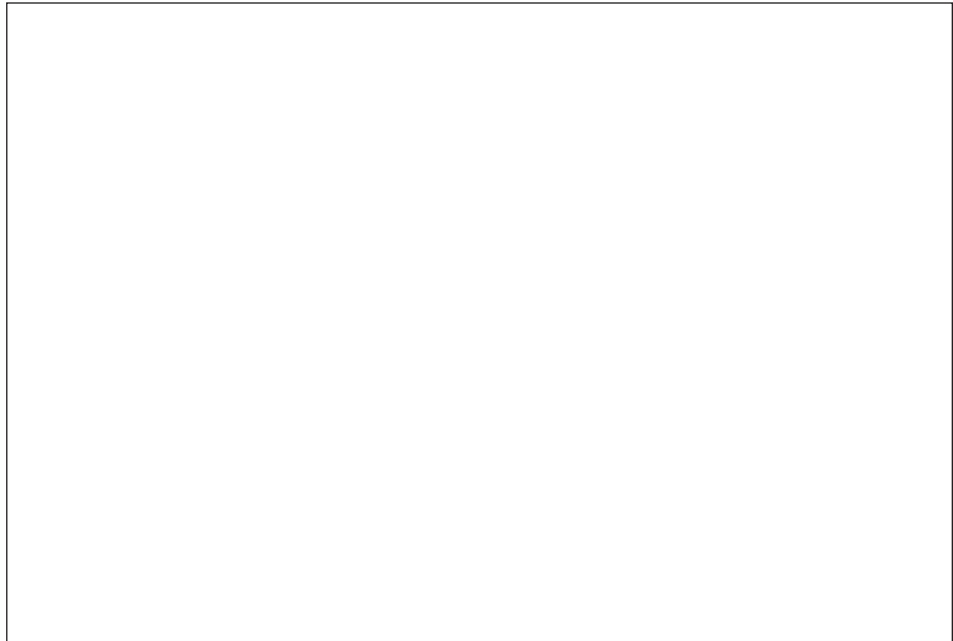
**In memory  
of those British Columbians  
who served in the  
Mackenzie Papineau Battalion  
of the International Brigades  
during the Spanish Civil War  
1936-1939**

The much larger exterior plaque sets forth a fuller picture of the nearly 1600 Canadians who served in the Mac-Paps — six hundred of whom died in Spain.

Among the distinguished guests and speakers at this historic December event were Glen Clark, British Columbia's Premier; Joaquin Ayala, Honorary Consul of Spain at Vancouver, Mac-Pap volunteer Jules Pavio, Carl Geiser, who was commissar for both the Lincoln Battalion and

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*Irma Penn, a Canadian writer, artist and scholar, and currently the Archivist of the Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, came from Winnipeg, Manitoba, to attend the dedication in Victoria. Her last contribution to The Volunteer was a description in the Fall 1995 issue of the unveiling of a monument to the Mac-Paps in Toronto's Queen's Park. Irma Penn's E-mail address is ipenn@aspercampus.mb.ca*

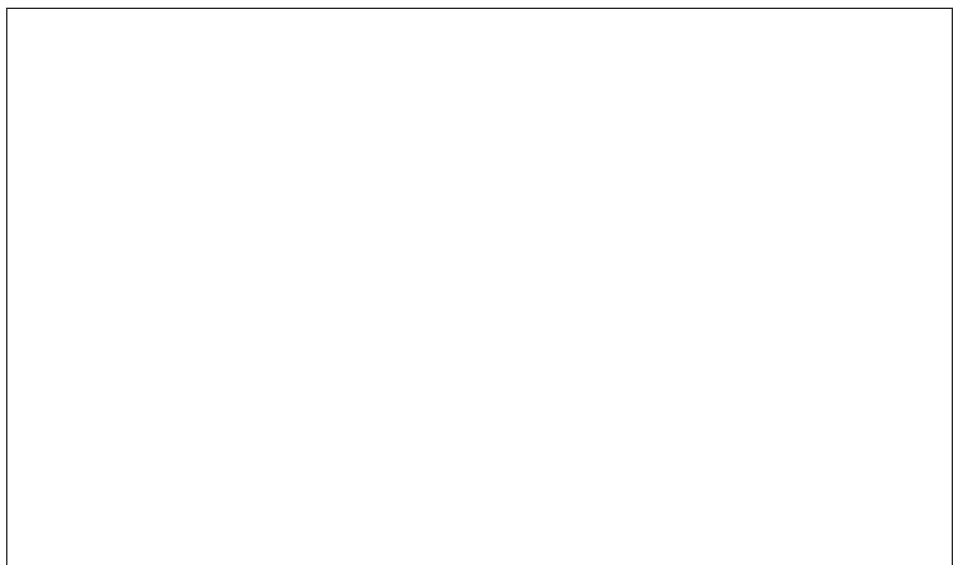


Marvin Penn points to the Mac-Pap memorial outside the Legislature in Victoria.

the Mac-Paps, prime organizers Joe Barrett and Tom Kozar. Several members of VALB's Bay Area Post came up from California: Lincoln vet Nate Thornton, Hon Brown, Victoria Peraga and Corine Thornton.

Although there are monuments

elsewhere in Canada, there is a hope that a monument will be erected at Parliament Hill in the capital city, Ottawa, and that this will be accomplished while there are still some volunteers of the Mackenzie Papineau Battalion alive.



Spanish vets who attended the event in Victoria, from left to right: The first two men were not identified at the time of publication; Saul Saltzman, Israel; Nathan Thorten, Lincoln Battalion; Rosaleene Ross, British Battalion; Tom Kozar, organizer of the event; Stan Giles, British Battalion; Frank Blackman, Mac-Pap; Maurice Constant, Mac-Pap; Jules Pavio, Mac-Pap; Marvin Penn, Mac-Pap; and Carl Geiser, U.S. Mac-Pap.

# Obituaries

*Continued from page 20*

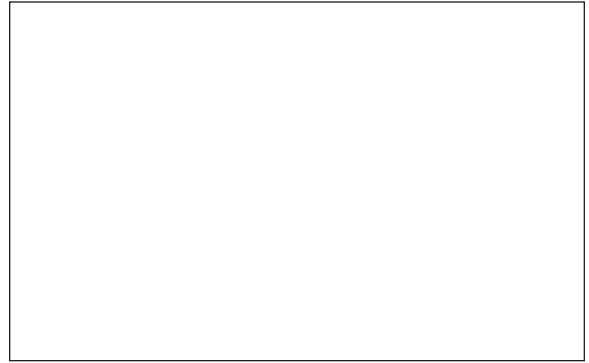
ber of the United Electrical workers union local. On January 11, 1942, he married Lillian.

He joined the U.S. Army Air Corps during the second world war, but his left-wing political activity was considered so objectionable that he was not permitted to go abroad with his unit, and remained back in the U.S. as a Link Trainer instructor. After the war Adolph returned to the United States and became a Lintotype operator, working for the Morning Telegraph and The New York Times. He became an official of his union. He was popular among his fellow workers and received their backing when many left-wingers were discharged from the unions.

In 1947 Adolph and Lillian moved into a housing development in

Levittown, Long Island, where African-Americans could not live. Adolph and Lillian challenged this segregation policy, and were promptly served with an eviction notice, which they ignored. Instead the Ross family publicized the issue and received support from union officials, politicians and baseball star Jackie Robinson. The Levitt organization had to discontinue their racist policy.

As a former employee of The New York Times, Adolph was able to get Times matching funds to supplement the money he was able to raise for what was called The Adolph Ross Project — a biographical directory of all those who served in the Lincoln Battalion. Now supported by ALBA, this project is being carried out by Chris Brooks. On completion it will



Lillian and Adolph Ross

### Other vets who died recently:

- Luba Brisker**
- Julius Deutsch**
- Irving Gold**
- Ray Harris Marantz**
- James T. McStravick**
- Max Silverman**
- Earl Payne**
- Ralph Stinner**
- Bill Wheeler**

Over two decades ago four veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade— Bill Susman, Leonard Lamb, Oscar Hunter and Morris Brier — created a new organization: ALBA, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives, bringing in a group of scholars interested in the Spanish Civil War and the International Brigades.

From the outset, one of ALBA's main tasks was to help manage and expand the Spanish Civil War archive housed at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts. Explicit in this undertaking were the educational goals of preserving, disseminating and transmitting to future generations the history and lessons of the Spanish Civil War and of the International Brigades.

To carry out these goals ALBA, in collaboration with VALB, publishes *The Volunteer*. ALBA also collaborates on the production of books, films and videos, maintains a website at [www.alba-valb.org](http://www.alba-valb.org), helps send exhibitions of photographs, documents and artwork throughout the United States and Canada, and organizes conferences and seminars on the Spanish Civil War and on the role of the International Brigades in that conflict, and

afterward. ALBA has established the George Watt Memorial prizes for the best college and graduate school essays on these subjects, and has designed a widely-used Spanish Civil War high school and college curriculum.

In the coming months and years ALBA will greatly expand its activity. To do so effectively ALBA must have your support. Please fill out the coupon below,

enclose a \$25 check (or larger amount) made out to ALBA and send it to us. It will insure that those of you who are not veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, or family members of a veteran, will continue to receive *The Volunteer*, and will enjoy other benefits of Associate status.



Fill out this coupon and send it to the address indicated below.

- Yes, I wish to become an ALBA Associate, and I enclose a check for \$25 made out to ALBA. Please send me *The Volunteer*.**
- I would also like to receive a list of books, pamphlets and videos available at discount.**
- would like to have ALBA's poster exhibit, *Shouts from the Wall*, in my locality. Please send information.**
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Sossenکو in memory of Emilio Alvarez Canosa, \$30      Martin Sramek, for all the  
Lincoln veterans, \$50      Bob Steck, to all our departed comrades, \$75      Jane Larson

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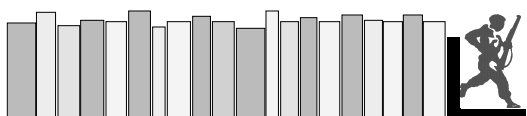
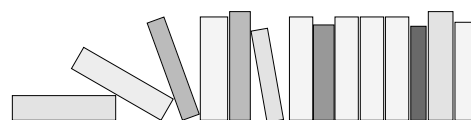


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