



The Volunteer

JOURNAL OF THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

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

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Vol. XXVI, No.2

JUNE 2004



PHOTO BY RICHARD BERMACK

NY Vets Celebrate 68th Reunion with *Patriots Act!*

By Anne Taibleson

Paying tribute to 68 years of political activism, over 800 people attended the spring reunion of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade at the Skirball Center for the Performing Arts at New York University on May 2. Eleven vets, some traveling with their families from as far away as Arizona and Wisconsin, received enthusiastic cheers for standing up against fascism in Spain and continuing the

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An Urgent Message to Our Readers

In recent years, *The Volunteer* has been keeping you informed of the latest news about the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the other brigadistas overseas. It also keeps you abreast of the many projects and programs sponsored by ALBA and the latest books and historical findings related to the Spanish Civil War. Our contributors include eminent scholars and writers, such as Paul Preston, E. L. Doctorow, Ariel Dorfman, Helen Graham, and Nicolas Sanchez-Albornos.

The Volunteer is now the largest and most successful publication that deals with the broad issues of the Spanish Civil War, and its mailing reaches nearly 6,000 homes and educational institutions. It is the tie that binds the extended Lincoln Brigade family together, and we take great pride in these pages that remind us of the importance, and continuing heritage, of the young men and women who made their way to Spain to save a democratic republic from fascist suppression!

But publishing *The Volunteer* is expensive—and increasingly so. The cost of production continues to rise, and the publication is now running a deficit that makes a nominal subscription fee necessary. Rest assured that we are not about to go out of business or suspend publication. But if you would like to continue receiving *The Volunteer*, we ask that you fill out the subscription form and send it with your check to:

ALBA
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Or you can subscribe by credit card in a safe and secure way at our website www.alba-valb.org. Click on contributions.

Thank you for your continued support in keeping the fine traditions of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade a vital and living legacy!

Letters

Dear Editor,

I've just seen a documentary on the History Channel here on the cable T.V. in Spain about the Lincoln Brigade. One third of the volunteers died in this land for the liberty against the fascism! I'm just shocked. I just want to say that you are for us the best side of the human being.

Just thank you,
Elias Izquierdo
Spain

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PHOTO BY RICHARD BERMACK

Author Grace Paley Presents Susman Lecture

By Anne Taibleson

Grace Paley, this year's guest speaker in the ALBA-Bill Susman Lecture series, is a writer well-known. She is the author of many books, including *The Little Disturbances of Man*; *Enormous Changes at the Last Minute*; *Later the Same Day*; *New and Collected Poems*; and the collection of non-fiction, *Just as I Thought*.

Many of us have read her extraordinary contributions to litera-

ture as well as the high praise and plaudits for that writing. We are also aware of her selfless commitment to the peace movement, of her anti-war travels to North Vietnam and El Salvador and Nicaragua. Think of the most fancy superlative, and that has also been applied to Grace Paley's actions and deeds.

What more can I say, except that on April 30 Grace Paley came to town, and for a little while she was ours! She

talked about the things that led to her political activism, almost as if her writing were secondary. She read some of her poetry, talked about her childhood, her family, and memories of her role as army wife during World War II. Her lecture was held in the auditorium of the King Juan Carlos I Center and was packed, though this event was more akin to a family get-together around the dinner table. All eyes and ears were tuned to the street-smart charmer, Grace Paley, a diamond in the literary jewelry box.

Grace Paley was born in the Bronx in 1922, destined to be an activist. In addition to her socialist parents, there were communists, Zionists, and anarchists on her family tree. She wasn't a particularly happy teenager, and at that time in her life, even politics didn't help. Later politics did help, and her writing reflects the intense experiences in her campaign against war and inhumanity. As an idealistic teenager demonstrating against Franco in the mid-thirties or as an adult visiting embattled North Vietnam in the late sixties or a women's prison in El Salvador, her visceral observations resonate in her prose and poetry.

From "In San Salvador," she recited: "...We are called The Mothers of the Disappeared / we are also the mothers of those who were seen once more / and then photographed sometimes parts of them / could not be found / a breast an eye an arm is missing..."

She did not specifically mention the current horrors in the Middle East. She offered us this poem instead, written over 30 years ago and referring to another horror: "My father said / how will they get out of it / they're sorry they got in / My father says / how will they get out / Nixon Johnson the whole bunch / they don't know how / goddamit he says / ...greed greed time / nothing is happening fast enough."

Grace Paley—writer, teacher, humanitarian—generously brought us into her world. ■

Anne Taibleson is a member of the ALBA Board of Governors.

Teaching the Spanish Civil War on the Web

By Fraser Ottanelli

As most of us know, the rich history of the Spanish Civil War, with its stories of courage and responsibility of the Spanish people and of the members of the International Brigades, remains unknown by the vast majority of students and teachers. For this reason, as part of its web-based educational series "For Your Liberty and Ours," ALBA has produced two new multimedia educational tools directed specifically at elementary, middle, and high school teachers. These programs provide educators with necessary background information and other teaching tools, such as sample lesson plans and student activities, as well as access to rich resources to incorporate the history of the Spanish Civil War and of the antifascist struggle into their curriculum.

Focusing on ALBA's exhibit on children's drawing during the Spanish Civil War in "They Still Draw Pictures: Teaching Materials," co-authors Sheilah Vaughn, Nancy Wallach, Joan Levenson Cohen, and Julia Newman illustrate the different ways in which these images of the experiences of war and peace can be effectively incorporated into the Elementary and Middle School Performance Standards for English Language Arts (ELA), the New York State Learning Standards for the Visual Arts, and the New York State Social Studies Resource Guide.

In "Tools for Teachers and Educators," Howard Lurie shows high school teachers how to use material relating to the Spanish Civil War to confront students with questions of identity, civic responsibility, and political participation. By placing Spain in the broader context of the antifascist struggles of the 1920s and 1930s, World War II, and the Holocaust, students confront the issues that continue to be relevant today: Why do people



For Your Liberty and Ours

Multimedia Educational Programs produced by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives. Series Editor: Fraser M. Ottanelli
www.alba-valb.org/curriculum/index.php

Jewish Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War

www.alba-valb.org/curriculum/index.php?module=1

African Americans in the Spanish Civil War

www.alba-valb.org/curriculum/index.php?module=2

They Still Draw Pictures: Teaching Materials

www.alba-valb.org/curriculum/index.php?module=3

Tools for Teachers and Educators

www.alba-valb.org/curriculum/index.php?module=4

risk their lives for others? What kinds of circumstances compel young men and women to reach out beyond their own family and community to help those facing brutal repression and even death? Why do some people choose to look the other way, while others take a stand? What does it mean to fight for your own liberty while also fighting for the liberties of others?

ALBA is pleased to acknowledge the generous support these projects have received from Alfred Knobler and the Estate of Isabel Johnson Hiss.



Fraser Ottanelli is chief editor of the website series "For Your Liberty and Ours."

Dispatch from Madrid:

The Opinion Makers' Civil War

Inflammatory statements of professional opinion makers close to Aznar: "We are on the verge of a new civil war."

By Miguel Ángel Nieto

Since the victory of the Socialist Party in the March 14 elections, the daily discourse of the opinion makers of the right (and the left) has risen to a fevered pitch. Carlos Castilla del Pino, one of Spain's most prestigious psychiatrists, points out with alarm: "We must recover harmony within the parameters of our normal disagreements. The last four years have taken me back to the landscape of the 'Two Spains'—an irreconcilable Right and Left—that I experienced before 1936."

Reading the op-ed pages of Spain's dailies has begun to turn my stomach: columnists insult each other, and two of the most important radio stations in the country, Cadena SER (pro-Socialist) and Cadena COPE (financed by the Church), spend hours and days working up their listeners in an irresponsible attempt to make them believe that conditions are ripe for a new civil war.

As Castilla del Pino suggests, this comes mainly from the arrogant style with which the right wing has governed in Spain for the last four years, systematically ignoring the will of the people and creating an invisible but highly effective control of the media. But it is equally true that it all came tumbling down in the wake of the terrorist attacks of March 11 in Madrid and the subsequent defeat of José María Aznar in the general election, giving victory to José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero.

The Right fails to understand its fiasco at the polls (all indications were to the contrary) and has refused to recognize, and perhaps never will, the serious political errors it made run-

ning the country. The Right has announced that it will be a "loyal and patriotic Opposition," while in fact it has warned that it will "have its eye" on the new government. More than a warning, it is a threat, and has taken the form of a mobilization in the streets of rightwing supporters, whipped into a frenzy by the inflammatory statements of professional opinion makers close to Aznar. "We are on the verge of a new civil war," is the message they send to spread hatred and fear among the people, a

Incredible as it seems, given this state of affairs, Spaniards are more fearful than ever, and conversations in homes, cafés and bars no longer run to the latest movies and soccer scores, but oddly to trying to understand if it is true that the phantom of the Two Spains has returned to haunt us.

It is time for peace to reign and for so many opinion makers to keep their opinions to themselves. Spain is not standing on the threshold of a new civil war, and the *brigadistas* will not have to pack their bags and come once

Incredible as it seems, given this state of affairs, Spaniards are more fearful than ever, and conversations in homes, cafés and bars no longer run to the latest movies and soccer scores, but oddly to trying to understand if it is true that the phantom of the Two Spains has returned to haunt us.

fear easily fanned now that Spaniards have learned there is a new terrorist threat from an enemy, a militant Islam, previously unknown.

The opinion makers on the Left, for their part, have been caught in this irresponsible trap because, among other reasons, they have not changed, though 60 years have passed since the civil war ended. It's hard to believe, but the stable of leaders of opinion in this country has never been renewed. It seems likely that, whether or not they believe we are on the threshold of the civil strife their right-wing colleagues write about, they fear that if they don't respond they'll find themselves out of work.

again to the defense of Spanish democracy. The agitation from right and left notwithstanding, Spain has shown a political maturity unthinkable 30 years ago, and has always shown good judgment at the polls. This time it has done so with conviction: it was necessary to vote out of power a leader—Aznar—who ruled like Franco's star student, and vote him out they did. A new breeze is blowing in Spain, and we can breathe easily once more. ■

Miguel Ángel Nieto is one of Spain's leading investigative journalists.

THEY STILL DRAW PICTURES DRAWS 7,500 TO AXA GALLERY

By Anthony Geist

They Still Draw Pictures: Children's Art in Wartime from the Spanish Civil War to Kosovo, ALBA's third traveling art exhibit, ended its run on April 10 at the AXA Gallery in midtown Manhattan, where over 7,500 people saw these powerful works of art on display. It showed previously at the University of California/San Diego, Lehigh University, Dartmouth College, and Southern Illinois University, bringing a new vision of the Spanish Civil War to responsive audiences.

The exhibit, curated by ALBA's Tony Geist and Peter Carroll, features 77 drawings created by Spanish

Evacuation and Displacement; 4) Camps and Colonies; and 5) Visions of Peace (Life After the War). The exhibit juxtaposes with the Spanish works 22 drawings done by children in later wars, from the Holocaust to Kosovo, showing that this is a current as well as an historical problem. It also features seven photographs, including four original prints by Robert Capa.

The AXA exhibition received broad and enthusiastic press coverage, ranging from reviews in the *New Yorker* and the *Village Voice* to features articles in *newsweek.com*, *El Mundo* (Spain), and *La Repubblica* (Italy), as well as a primetime spot on Spanish national television. Nancy Wallach, daughter of vet Hy

civil war decades earlier.

The drawings will now return to UCSD for an evaluation of their condition by an art conservator. At the time of this writing there is indication that



we may be able to extend the show's run to other venues, but that will depend on a careful inspection of the drawings and a determination that they are not deteriorating because of over-exposure to light.

U.S. foreign policy and world events have conspired to make *They Still Draw Pictures* tragically timely. We can only hope that after the bombs fall, there will be enough crayons and paper for the children of Fallujah, Tikrit and Baghdad. ■

Anthony Geist is chair of the Spanish department at the University of Washington.



Republican children between the ages of 5 and 15 in refugee camps and government-sponsored Children's Colonies. These little masterpieces are organized in a five-part chronological narrative that depicts a child's experience of the civil war: 1) Memories of Peace (Before the War); 2) War; 3)

Wallach, and Joan Cohen, daughter of vet Len Levenson, created an extraordinary K-12 teaching curriculum coordinated with New York City's rigorous public school standards. Hundreds of school children visited the exhibit and were able to witness how Spanish kids their age experienced the

Correction

Two errors appeared in "Spanish Exiles Pay Homage to Lazaro Cardenas" (March 2004): First, Mexico was not the only Latin American government to support the Allies during World War II; Brazil did also. Second, Mexico's treaty with France on April 2, 1939, to protect Spanish refugees preceded the formation of the Vichy government in 1940.

Catalonia's Teresa Pàmies: A Communist Literary Life

By Gina Herrmann

In 2001, at 81 years of age, the Catalan writer and Communist militant Teresa Pàmies became the second woman to receive Catalonia's most revered literary prize, the *Premi d' Honor de les Lletres Catalanes*. With this prize, Pàmies stands in the unusual position as having won nearly every important Catalan literary honor of the last century while being virtually



Teresa Pàmies

unknown outside of Catalonia.

A life-long Communist, Pàmies began her career of political militancy and activist journalism when she was a teenager in Lérida. As a young adult, Pàmies gained recognition for her work as a youth leader in the United Socialist Youth of Catalonia (Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas) and as a spokesperson for the Republic on international fundraising tours during the Spanish Civil War. The end of the war forced Pàmies into an odyssey of exile that took her from France to the Caribbean and México, to Czechoslovakia, again to France,

Gina Herrmann is a member of the Spanish department at the University of Oregon.

and finally, in 1971, back to Catalonia.

In 1971, Pàmies published her master work, *Testament a Praga* [*Testament in Prague*], a co-authored memoir that creates a dialogue between her dead father's memoir and Teresa's letters written in response. The book's publication and enthusiastic reception coincided with Pàmies' return to Catalonia, where she embarked on a career as a writer and journalist, in which she remains active today. As a columnist in the Catalan newspaper *Avui* and a contributor to the influential leftist magazine *Triunfo*, Pàmies initially earned more recognition as a journalist than as a novelist or memoirist, despite the fact that she published nearly one book a year between the mid-1970s and the late 1980s. Today, Pàmies retains her visibility as a journalist and political commentator, but as publishing houses have reissued her works in new editions, she has attracted a new generation of Catalan readers.

Pàmies' more than 30 books, most autobiographies or autobiographical novels, touch on the life circumstances familiar to Party cadre: involvement in Communist youth movements, the experiences of socialist activism, war, exile, imprisonment, clandestine work in the anti-Fascist or anti-Franco resistance, and finally the passing of political values from one generation to the next. In her portrayals of Communist families, she exposes how political activity intrudes on and changes the quality of civilian, domestic, and personal life, but also captures the emotional and intellectual intensity of a life devoted to the advancement of socialism through the militancy of Communist Party members. Pàmies' work is decidedly feminist, not because she questions the social structures of her generation, but rather because her writing is always concerned with the experiences of politically committed women who inevitably function at the mar-

gins of Party governance and pursuits. Through her novels' heroines (most based on her own personal history) and as the protagonist in her own life stories, Pàmies communicates the perspectives of rank-and-file women in a political culture dominated by men. Such Communist women often carried the brunt of domestic and family work alone while they held down jobs, participated in resistance efforts, and supported their male partners who, as a function of their political work, were either imprisoned or often absent.

It is somewhat ironic that Pàmies should be known for her portrayals of conflicts between the private and public lives of political women, since "her marriage and maternal trials," as Hispanist Janet Perez puts it, "remain cloaked in privacy." We know that she married twice, the second time with Gregorio López Raimundo, the former Secretary General of the Catalan Communist Party, and that she gave birth to five children.

What makes her books relevant beyond their compelling renderings of the lives of leftist women is the fact that Pàmies witnessed first hand the key moments in the history of Western communism. Her writings embrace events as temporally and geographically distant as the Spanish Civil War, World War II, the Stalinist purges of the 1950s in Eastern Europe, the Prague Spring of 1968, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the events of May 1968 in Paris, and the transition to democracy in Spain.

From her humble origins and leadership in the Socialist youth during the Spanish Civil War to her work as a radio journalist in Communist Prague and her continued activism in the Spanish Communist Party after the death of Franco, Pàmies would seem to have earned her reputation as a stalwart "Stalinist." But this label fails to capture the political, creative, and ideological complexity of a

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A Communist Literary Life

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woman who has spent much of her intellectual energy struggling with the legacy of Stalinism and searching for a historically relevant, renewed understanding of socialism that is both free of the weight of the crimes of the past and in the service of an alternative to capitalism for the future. Her writings constitute an example, as she says in her little epistolary book, *Els anys de lluita: carta a la néta sobre el comunisme* (2001), [*The Years of the Struggle: A Letter to My Granddaughter About Communism*], of how communism is “not just an ideology, but a way of life”—a way of life that can and should be passed on as a family legacy.

Pàmies learned about politics from her father, Tomás Pàmies Pla, an eccentric, energetic, and womanizing character who was a leader in the fledgling Catalan Communist Party, *Bloc obrer i camperol* (BOC). Observing her father organizing peasant cooperatives and worker’s unions, which often led to his periodic incarcerations, Teresa developed a political consciousness as a girl. By the time she was 10 years old, she was selling the BOC’s newspaper, *La Batalla*. Her father’s example of self-sacrifice served as the political model on which Pàmies has forged her identity as a militant. In a letter in *Testament in Prague*, she pays homage to the legacy of progressive values: “If one day in Balaguer there were to be some kind of official recognition of your life, it would not be with a plaque at the entrance of a hotel, but rather on the doors of the prison. The prison where you spent so many nights for having dared to reclaim the soil for those who till it, for demanding the nationalization of church lands and the separation of church and state, free lay education, the emancipation of women and the rehabilitation of prostitutes, for fighting for free love and so many other wild ideas.”

Pàmies never studied formally beyond elementary school and became a self-educated revolutionary.



In 1937, by the time she was 18, Teresa held the distinction of being a leader in the United Socialist Youth in Catalonia (JSUC) and the co-founder of the proto-feminist Aliança Nacional de la Dona Jove (the Young Women’s National Alliance). Her career as a journalist began when she worked as a war correspondent for the JSUC during the civil war. As she gained recognition for her journalistic and rhetorical skill, Pàmies functioned as a kind of teenage “Pasionaria,” “presiding at meetings, delivering speeches, and working in information and propaganda.” Although she did not fight on the battlefield, Pàmies and other young women in the Socialist youth made periodic “morale-boosting” trips to the frontlines. But perhaps the most intriguing work Pàmies undertook during the war was as a fundraiser for Spain during a propaganda tour to the US, England and France in 1938. Although one of many in the politically diverse Republican delegation, Pàmies became known in the U.S. media as “the Spanish War’s Girl.” In her memoir, *Quan érem capitans* (1974) [*When We Were Captains*], Pàmies explains “They needed to showcase someone youthful, enthusi-

astic, open, even a bit naïve, a representative of what at that moment had captured the imagination of the whole world.”

The fact that Pàmies began her career as a writer relatively late in life—at the age of 50—may account for the deeply reflective and self-critical nature of her work. Time and again we find that she interrogates her own unquestioning devotion to the Party, while at the same time attempting to honor what part of Communist idealism was and remains viable and humane. As in the memoirs of many former or de-Stalinized Communists—such as those by Jorge Semprún, Arthur Koestler, or Artur London—guilt and regret about the extent to which Party cadre acted in collusion with the darkest acts and attitudes of Stalinism play prominently in Pàmies’s works. From the exclusion of Anarchists in the youth delegations sent to raise money for Spain to the failure to censure the show trials and executions of loyal Party members in the infamous 1952 Slansky trial, Pàmies’s narratives trace a lifetime of conflicting sentiments

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The Sinking of the *Ciudad de Barcelona*, May 1937

This article is excerpted from Suomalaiset Espanjan sisällissodassa 1936-1939, just published in Finland by Jyrki Juusela after 10 years of labor. The book contains the Spanish Civil War biography of each of the 72 Finnish loyalist volunteers (as well as of the 14 fascist volunteers) and a study of each battle in which they participated, mostly in the XV Brigade, but in other units, such as partisans, motor vehicle drivers, artillerymen and cooks, as well. The book deals with the political situation prior to and during the war and contains numerous photographs in its 400 plus pages. This article was written from Spain to the (Finnish) Daily Eteenpain in New York about the sinking of the SS Ciudad de Barcelona, near the port town of Malgrat, by the Finnish-American, Hjalmar Sankari, who was an editor of that newspaper. He was a victim of the sinking and was subsequently killed after being taken prisoner in the Aragon.

Translated by Matti A. Mattson

A Submarine Sunk the SS Ciudad de Barcelona off the Town of Malgrat—About 60 Drowned

A truly dramatic ocean voyage was made by those volunteers who, on Saturday the 29th day of May 1937, boarded the SS *Ciudad de Barcelona*, a freight and passenger vessel, in Marseilles, France. The ship was previously owned by the Falangist's great financial supporter and millionaire member of the Spanish parliament, Juan March, and had been nationalized. A day earlier, while in the harbor, the ship's cargo of flour had been sabotaged by having had kerosene poured upon it. The preparation for boarding the volunteers had been scrutinized from an Italian warship that had lain at anchor nearby.

An effort to sink the *Ciudad de Barcelona* had already been attempted in January, but the Italian torpedo aimed at the ship had malfunctioned. Now it was intended that the ship go

to Barcelona or Valencia, depending upon whether there had been success in quieting the rioting that the Anarchists had engaged in recently. About 250 volunteers—Americans, English, Germans and Italians, and some men who had come from as far as New Zealand and Australia. One group was composed solely of French pilots.

Also boarding were the Finns, Hugo Koski, Valentin Vattulainen, and the Lassila brothers, Ahti and Sauli, as well as the Finnish-Americans—hunting guide, Frank Arvola; union representative, Martin Kuusisto; and agricultural page editor,

distance of approximately a kilometer and a half from shore.

Suddenly all passengers were ordered below decks, and the only way that men could observe the silhouette of a large Italian battleship was through the portholes. The London Non-Intervention Committee had ordered that this part of the sea be controlled solely by the Italians. When Spanish waters were reached, Republican airplanes made trips greeting the ship from time to time. One seaplane landed, and the pilot came aboard to warn the captain of submarines lurking in nearby waters. After some time a small motorboat

A seaplane appeared and its pilot made frantic arm movements of warning. But it was too late.

Daily Eteenpain, Hjalmar Sankari. The Finnish brothers related to Sankari, prior to sailing, that had the Finnish officials known of their intentions for this trip, they would have been summarily imprisoned for a couple of years. (They used the quaint phrase, "reading the ends of red bricks for a couple of years.") Now, however, the men were on their way to strike a blow at Franco and, in effect, at the same time "batter Finland's fascist Lapua's corporal punishment heroes."

When the horizon became dark, the ship headed for the open sea with all of its lights extinguished. The volunteers had been hidden in small cabins and salons below decks but were now allowed to go above to get some fresh air. They were warned against smoking, as lights can be seen over long distances at sea. The voyage began pleasantly. A New Zealander and an Australian gave a fast-paced wrestling exhibition, some men were singing and playing instruments. For security reasons, the ship sailed only a

pulled alongside the *Ciudad de Barcelona* and a uniformed officer of the Coastal Patrol again warned of nearby submarines. Later a gunship appeared and patrolled alongside.

The next day, a Sunday, at about 14 o'clock, the *Ciudad de Barcelona* had reached a point off shore of the town of Malgrat, about 60 kilometers from Barcelona. Editor Sankari had, along with friends, gone to the top deck, where the men, to pass the time, had started to play cards. A seaplane appeared and its pilot made frantic arm movements of warning. But it was too late—all that was heard was a muffled vibration followed by an explosion.

Weeks earlier a Franco submarine, the *General Sanjurjo*, which had been rented from the Italians, had maneuvered in Spanish waters. Now it had left its home port, Soller, in Mallorca, in the night, obviously seeking revenge for the Germans. A few days earlier Republican planes had made a surprise attack against the German

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SPANISH AVIATORS HONOR LINCOLN VETS

Thirty-eight years after the International Brigades bid farewell to the people of Spain, a veteran of the Spanish Republican Air Force sent Milt Wolff a bronze medal with the following inscription:

**Spanish Republic
International Brigades—Combatant**

The following letter accompanied the medal.

Dear Friends and Comrades of the Lincoln Brigade:

We Spaniards will never be able to repay the debt of gratitude to the Brigadistas who came to fight on our side to defend Liberty, and sowed the fields of Spain with their blood. We aviators of the Republic will never forget your actions. Honor and Glory to the Lincoln Brigade.

With a great abrazo from your friend and comrade,
Antonio Vilella
Christmas 2003

Wolff accepted the medal on behalf of all the international volunteers who came to the aid of the Republic.

The organization representing the veterans of the Spanish Republican Aviators is in Barcelona, and they were represented at the festivities held in Marsa last November by one of their members. The medal is intended for all the Brigadistas and may have been presented to them as they left Spain, although Wolff does not recall



Medal from the University of Alcalá de Henares

this. "But I do remember how much the aviadores accomplished in clearing the skies of Madrid from Junkers, Fiats, Fokkers and so on," Wolff said. "We ought to send them a medal or two."

Long ago someone wrote, "They went to Spain as volunteers expecting neither pay nor medals, only the opportunity to join in the resistance to Fascist aggression." That medals are forthcoming now is because the legend of the International Brigades is not forgotten. "Forty thousand volunteers from so many countries, the living and the dead, and what they did there, are preserved in the heart of

Letters

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To the Editor:

In 1938, the notable American sculptor Jo Davidson went to Spain to create a series of 10 busts of Spanish Loyalists. Davidson's busts of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933), Fiorello LaGuardia (1934), Carl Sandburg (1934), Mahatma Gandhi (1931), Albert Einstein (1934), and George Bernard Shaw (1931) had already won him an international reputation. The National Portrait Gallery in Washington D.C. owns a large number of Davidson's portraits in bronze, marble, terra cotta and plaster.

In Spain, Davidson created busts of Manuel Azana, Julio Alvarez del Vayo, General Jose Miaja, Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria), Colonel Enrique Lister, Constanca de la Mora, Lt. Colonel Valentin Gonzales, Colonel Juan Modesto, a piece called "The Peasant of Pain, Refugee from Palencia, Old Castile," and Major Milton Wolff. It is probable that he also did one of Negrin. After having languished in storage for decades, these busts, except for that of Lister, are now available. They are powerful and evocative works of art that testify to the idealism and antifascist spirit



Aviators' Medal

that drove all who fought to save the Spanish Republic. As part of our work to keep the memory of this struggle alive, it is incumbent on us to find an appropriate museum, gallery, or well-frequented archive to house them. The busts cost \$6,000 each or \$45,000 for all nine. Any suggestions that will help find a buyer and home are welcome. Contact VALB or ALBA.

Spain," said Wolff. He also recently accepted a medal given by the University of Alcalá de Henares, Spain, on behalf of all the International Brigade volunteers. ■

Susan Wallis

Dear Vets,

If you are a veteran of World War II, you may be interested in the following information: Plans are now underway to create a memorial in Washington D.C. for WWII vets. The website www.WWII Memorial.com will give you information about how to register your name or that of other WWII veterans. As part of this registration, they are asking WWII vets to list their areas of service, rank, etc. Lincoln vets who fought in WWII can take this opportunity to list "Spain" among the places they served. After all, we know that Spain was the first battleground of WWII!

Salud,

Moe Fishman, Exec-Secretary

Teresa Pàmies

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about her activism and loyalty. By her own admission, her literary production could be considered “a literature of remorse.” But at the same time, there may be no other writer working today in Spain more concerned with leaving a candid written legacy for younger generations about the positive, constructive principles of communism. In her most recent autobiographical book, *The Years of the Struggle: A Letter to My Granddaughter About Communism*—which recounts a century of communism as Pàmies lived it—she hands a radical baton to the future, bringing full circle the testament her father wrote to her about his life as a Communist.

The Spanish Civil War as the emotional focus of her lifetime allegiance to communism informs all of Pàmies’ writing insofar as her later life experiences as a Communist continue her role as a female youth leader at the moment when communism was wholly equated with anti-fascism. The allure of communism around the world during the years of the Spanish Civil War cannot be emphasized enough as a factor that especially shaped Spanish Communists’ understanding of their place on the contemporary ideological and political landscape. For millions of people, Spain not only signified the cradle of the struggle against fascism, it additionally served as the meeting place for those political tendencies sympathetic to the Popular Front. For this reason, those historical actors whose lives intersected significantly with the Spanish Civil War have retained an aura of authenticity in their militancy that no other event in post-1917 history of communism can claim.

When the war ended, Pàmies joined half a million refugees who took refuge in France. Separated from her family, she was interred in the infamous French concentration camps. Although she was eventually reunited with her father, she never saw her mother again. After a daring escape

from the Magnac Laval refugee camp, recounted in *When We Were Refugees*, Pàmies made her way to the Dominican Republic, Cuba and, eventually, Mexico, where she studied journalism.

Longing to be in a Communist country, Pàmies moved to Prague in 1947, where she lived for approximately 12 years, employed by Radio Prague as an editor of their Spanish and Catalan language broadcasts. It was then that she witnessed one of the most brutal examples of Stalinist terror, the Slansky trials held in Prague in the early 1950s. Like so many Communist cadre, Pàmies silenced her discomfort and fear. The accumu-

example of the Prague Spring—Dubcek’s “Socialism with a Human Face”—as *the* socialist model her grandchildren should look to if they wish to resist the ravages of unbridled capitalism in the age of globalization.

As an amazingly prolific but inconsistent writer, Pàmies has nonetheless created what in my opinion is the most moving, honest, and thought-provoking memoir about the complexities of the Spanish Communist experience, the *Testament a Praga* (1971) [*Testament in Prague*]. Teresa’s portion of the memoir, composed with great anguish as a result of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, represents her attempt

She purports to expose the realities of Communist conviction for the sake of passing on an honest legacy.

lated effect of so many years of rationalizations in the face of the errors of the Party led to an eventual crisis of conscience—sparked by the 1968 Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia—from which Pàmies has never recovered. The years Pàmies spent in Czechoslovakia led to a painful rupture with Sovietism, a theme obsessively revisited in most of her books. By 1959, Pàmies had moved to Paris, where she lived until her return to Catalonia in 1971.

The end of Pàmies’ more than 30 years of exile were marked by the Prague Spring of 1968 and the Paris May events that year. While the reinvigoration of communism initiated by the students gave many disillusioned Stalinists a new field of activism and cause for hope, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia simultaneously and definitively closed the door on the Stalinist past, leaving little room for continued allegiance to the USSR. In her *Letter to My Granddaughter About Communism*, Pàmies concludes her didactic testimony by resuscitating the

to balance regret and shame with a justification of the constructive ideals of socialism. By engaging her father’s memories and questioning her own behavior, she purports to expose the realities of Communist conviction for the sake of passing on an honest legacy to her grandchildren. Her commentary and corrections of her father’s life story constitute a coming to terms with her own ideological blind spots, as well as an attempt at reconciliation with her father, who remained stubbornly faithful to Stalinism even when faced with evidence of its errors and transgressions. Happily, selections of this work have been translated into English and published in the British journal *Granta* (volume 27, 1989) under the title “Letters to My Father, Now Dead.” While Pàmies’s entire oeuvre can be read as a multi-volume autobiography that recounts the forging and the passing of a love affair with communism, *Testament* encapsulates that politico-emotional trajectory in a single volume.

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The Photographs of the 15



Benjamin Katine, and Anthony Drossel created this extraordinary photographic record for the newsletter *Volunteer for Liberty* and for distribution to news outlets in the United States, England, and Canada. The photographs were intended to build political support for the war and to boost the morale of the volunteers in Spain.

This collection represents a portion of the

negatives and prints that Harry Randall brought back from Spain at the end of the Civil War. The images taken between August 1937 and September 1938 capture the daily life of the volunteers in combat, in the camps, and in the towns and villages where the Lincoln Brigade trained and fought. The collection depicts major battles, aspects of the everyday life of the Spanish people, their interactions with the American volunteers, the devastation caused by fascist aerial bombardment, political assemblies, and other celebrations. There are also portraits of many of the volunteers and images of visiting dignitaries and journalists, including Langston Hughes, Ernest Hemingway, Earl Browder, Alvah Bessie, Edwin Rolfe, and American military attaché Stephen Fuqua.

This digitization project will allow the library to preserve these images for the long term and make them accessible to the public. The work is scheduled for completion by December 31, 2004. Next year the Tamiment Library will mount a web exhibition drawing on the Harry Randall photographs. ■

Michael Nash is Director of Tamiment Library and a member of the ALBA Board of Governors.



By Michael Nash

As part of a National Endowment for Humanities funded project to process and preserve the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archive, New York University's Tamiment Library is digitizing a collection of 1,832 photographs taken by the Photographic Unit of the 15th International Brigade, which consisted of volunteers from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Cuba, and Yugoslavia. Harry Randall, Jr.,



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5th International Brigade



Ciudad de Barcelona

Continued from page 9

warship *Deutschland* in the port of Ibiza. The submarine found its target with relative ease, and it had knowledge from the Italians that the ship was carrying Republican volunteers.

The *Ciudad de Barcelona* began sinking rapidly, and its passengers attempted hurriedly to save themselves. Passageways began to be congested, and at least one lifeboat collapsed immediately as it was lowered. The ship's stern was sinking into the sea, and the aft cabins were flooded. That is where the torpedo had done the greatest amount of damage. Sankari rushed speedily to his cabin to get life vests (made of cork for buoyancy), but found that none were left. Some men began to jump into the sea, some wearing corkvests and others without them. The ship began slowly to roll, forcing Sankari to jump into the water. Still on the deck were some men, who attempted to inspire a final dirge—The International. The ship sunk in five minutes.

A seaplane that had come to the scene was dropping depth charges in an effort to force the submarine to flee. When the depth charges exploded, it looked to onlookers as if they were tearing the limbs off of those in the water. Now those in the water began an earnest battle for the alternative: life or death—in the most critical cases even grabbing the lifejacket from another person's body.

A seaplane descended and commenced lifesaving, but its pontoons would only hold a few men before it was forced to skid along the surface toward shore. Some succeeded in gathering flotsam to create crude rafts. With the assistance of the Canadian, Liversedge, and the New Yorker, Shosteck, Sankari, weighing nearly one hundred kilos, poorly trained in swimming, and completely spent of energy, managed to climb aboard such a raft

The havoc took place in a broad bay, from which point to the sandy shore of Malgrat was about a kilome-

ter and a half. The weather was calm, and it was Sunday, so many people were strolling about on the shore. That was lucky, for many were saved by fishermen who rushed to the scene and plucked them from the sea into their boats.

Hospital workers rushed to the shore and provided warm blankets and toddies of cognac to the victims. The President of Catalonia, Lluís Companys, came from Barcelona to observe and direct the lifesaving effort. That evening an emergency meeting was called at the Workers' Hall, where it was decided that volunteers who wished to return to their home countries could do so. Only one person turned his back and left. About 60 passengers on the *Ciudad de Barcelona* had drowned.

Among the survivors some were, already on that evening, being transported to Barcelona. Others had to wait some days. Martin Kuusisto was in that town for a week, as it was his responsibility to sort out how many were still not accounted for.

The Republican government tried to censor news of the sinking of the ship that was transporting volunteers, apparently so that it would not have a negative effect on future shipments. Already on the next day the newspaper *Ajan Suunta*, using the services of an Italian news agency, informed the Finnish people that "a torpedo from a submarine of unknown source" had sunk the cargo ship *Ciudad de Barcelona* and, according to Italian sources, there had been 110 passengers aboard, of whom 50 lost their lives. ▀

Teresa Pàmies

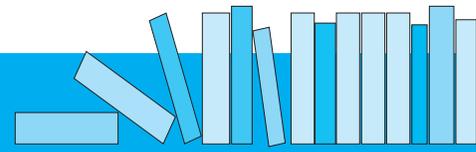
Continued from page 11

The body of Pàmies' writing, not unlike that of Jorge Semprún, forms a stunning document about the affective relationship of the militant to the idea of communism and the eventual disillusion of that ideal in the wake of the revelations about Stalinism and the failures of Sovietism internationally. Some of her best works, especially those memoirs, like *Va ploure tot el dia* [*It's Going to Rain All Day*] and *Amor Clandesti* [*Underground Love*], that deal with life in the underground resistance, exile, and political repression, explore what it felt like to be a Communist. The inspiration and fortitude she drew from the Communist ideal, Pàmies aspires to bequeath to her grandchildren:

"I have never asked myself how my life would have been if I had chosen another path, with a different ideology, or without one altogether, like the vast majority of my contemporaries have done. Those who have

had my background, who found themselves faced with a civil war at seventeen years old, a war set loose by political and social upheavals like those of Spain's war of 1936-1939, cannot have regrets, like the Edith Piaf song, 'Je ne regrette rien.' There are many things I would not do again if I could go back to my seventeen year old self, but I would join the fight as a Communist militant, with all its illusions and deceptions. That, granddaughter, is what I propose to explain to you in this letter. [. . .] Your grandma's generation can no longer fight the battle against the capitalist greed that threatens our planet, but yours can if it sets its mind to it. With communism or without it, but never against it because it is still necessary for the challenges that await you. Salud, darling grandchildren, salud and courage!" ▀

Book Reviews



The King as Democrat

Juan Carlos: Steering Spain from Dictatorship to Democracy

By Paul Preston. New York: W.W. Norton

By Teresa Kennedy

Paul Preston's new biography of King Juan Carlos is a welcome arrival. Until now, there has been very little biographical information in English on the king of Spain. Preston's exhaustive (nearly 600 pages) book changes that in one fell swoop. Preston, who is the Prince of Asturias chair of contemporary Spanish history at the London School of Economics and Political Science and the author of the definitive history of Franco, as well as several books on the Spanish Civil War, presents the major formative moments of Juan Carlos' life, both personal and political, in this fastidiously researched and extremely detailed book. The prolific Preston has dedicated the past three years to the task of illuminating how this man—a product of a bitter exiled monarch willing to do anything to regain his throne and the protégé of the longest ruling Fascist dictator in Europe—was able to bring democracy to Spain.

Preston's examination of Juan Carlos' life covers much of 20th century Spanish history, from the exile of his grandfather Alfonso XIII in 1931 through the end of the century. Juan Carlos was born in Rome in January 1938 during the Spanish Civil War. With his parents, the exiled monarchs, the young prince would move several times around Europe before settling in Estoril, Portugal. As we see in this

Teresa Kennedy is a freelance writer and translator living in Long Beach, California.

book, Juan Carlos' father, Don Juan, was a political opportunist who would cast his lot with whomever he thought could most help him to recover his family's lost throne. During the Civil War, Don Juan attempted to join the Nationalist cause, but Franco denied his participation, knowing that the pretender to the throne could become a threat to his power.

Through personal correspondence and eyewitness testimony, Preston shows how both Don Juan and Franco used Juan Carlos to further their own ambitions. In a desperate move in the political chess match that raged between the pretender and Franco, the ten-year-old prince was definitively sent off to live with Franco in Madrid. Don Juan pawned his son to Franco in the hopes of a Borbón restoration in Spain and without much thought about how it would affect the boy. Franco, for his part, wanted the boy as a token for his pro-monarchist supporters, all the while knowing he would never allow Don Juan to be king. Furthermore, by leaving the education of the young prince to a succession of Falangists and archconservative Catholics, Franco ensured the "proper" training for the boy, who Franco felt might one day be a handy figurehead for the Movimiento.

The book reveals that while Franco was alive, the prince was forced (and seemingly content) to remain in the background and, thanks to his affable, unprepossessing personality, to get people to like and trust him. His presence appeased both pro-monarchist forces within Spain and foreign powers hungry for some semblance of progress from the Franco government. Preston also reiterates that Juan Carlos genuinely cared about Franco, who became his father

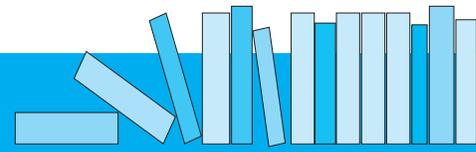
figure for a large part of his youth, despite Franco's spying on his every move, controlling all aspects of his education and free time, and pitting him against his father. Somehow Juan Carlos was able to compartmentalize his personal and political feelings. Despite his semi-paternal feeling toward Franco, Juan Carlos accurately perceived that the Francoist government was antiquated, divisive and cruel.

Preston illustrates how Juan Carlos was consistently underestimated by most everyone—from his family, to his government, to his compatriots. An average student and a silent companion to Franco at many formal occasions, Juan Carlos was looked on with scorn by both sides of the political spectrum. For this same reason, both sides found him to be non-threatening. It seems his father's advice to listen politely to Franco and keep his mouth shut was taken to heart. Nevertheless, Preston makes the case that Juan Carlos was the most apt person to carry the government from Franco's dictatorship to a representative democracy.

The most riveting part of the book and Juan Carlos' life story is certainly the transition period between 1975 and 1981 when, as Preston suggests, the king began to show his true colors. For nearly 40 years, Spain was held in check by a repressive government with a brutal military and civil guard prone to evoke the spectre of the Civil War at the slightest hint of opposition. Thus, change was a frightening thing for many Spaniards. During the transition, we see evidence that Juan Carlos was the only person who could have placated the major players: Franco's hard line *bunker*, the military, and the opposition parties. Even before the February 23, 1981, coup attempt, the country was teetering on

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Book Reviews



Lorca

Lorca: A Dream of Life by Leslie Stainton, Farrar, Straus, Giroux. New York. 1999. \$17.00.

By James Schevill

In 1936 at the age of 16 in Berkeley, I began to learn about the Spanish Civil War. My father, Rudolph Schevill, was the founder and chairman of the Spanish Department at the University of California. For many years he had been traveling back and forth from Spain working as co-editor with Adolfo Bonilla on a complete Spanish edition of Cervantes' work to be published in Madrid. The work was financed by Phoebe Apperson Hearst, the great University patron, and the mother of William Randolph Hearst.

At the beginning of the Civil War, my father was in Madrid being honored by the Loyalist government for his work on the Cervantes edition, which he was now carrying on alone. Bonilla had died, and my father kept his name on the published volumes of the edition because of their close friendship. The ironic result was that some jealous Spanish pseudo-scholars claimed that Bonilla had done most of the work, whereas the opposite was the truth.

As Leslie Stainton shows in her fine new biography, the Spanish Civil War really began in the devastating miner's strike in Asturias in 1935. Stainton writes: "The battlelines were clear. Spain had plunged into a bitter struggle between Republicans and Nationalists, Left and Right, communist and fascist. In Asturias, a stretch

James Schevill, a professor emeritus of Brown University, now lives in Berkeley, California. He is the author of several volumes of poetry.

of rugged green land along the country's northern coast, Spanish miners launched a full-scale working class revolution in opposition to what they regarded as 'the fascist conquest of power in Madrid.' The Asturias revolt began on the morning of October 5, 1935. Within three days striking miners controlled much of the region...by mid-October thirty thousand workers were mobilized for battle, and the Spanish military had imposed martial law. The miners' strike had become an undeclared civil war.

"Francisco Franco, a short pallid forty-two year old general in the Spanish Army known for his right-wing views and icy demeanor, was put in charge of all military operations in Asturias. A vehement nationalist who in time saw himself as a contemporary El Cid come to vanquish the heathen communist hordes, Franco reveled in his powerful new rule as military and, by virtue of martial law, political commander of Asturias. From his command room in the Ministry of War in Madrid, he directed the movement of troops, ships, and trains to be used in crushing the miners' revolution. He shipped Arab mercenaries from Morocco to Asturias, ordered the bombing and shelling of working class districts in Asturian mining towns, and instructed army units to fire on civilians. 'This is a frontier war against socialism, communism, and whatever attacks civilization in order to replace it with barbarism,' he told a reporter."

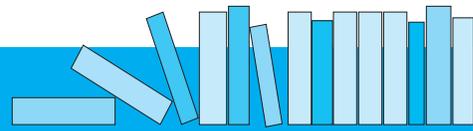
In 1936, having just been honored by the Republican Government in Madrid for his work on Cervantes, my father traveled to Barcelona to visit his friend, the cellist Pablo Casals. Casals had created a remarkable orchestra in Barcelona, which he was about to disband as Franco's military rebellion

against the Republican Government spread throughout Catalonia. "Come with me to our final rehearsal, we will make music for ourselves," Casals invited my father. "We will celebrate our existence and say farewell for the time being through Beethoven." My father sat and listened entranced, as Casals conducted Beethoven's Ninth Symphony straight through. Many years later my father told me, "You can imagine how that felt. The sounds and words of Schiller's poem, 'All men shall be brothers,' as the war raged on outside. I think this was the most passionate musical experience I have ever had. Truly, one believed in the universal brotherhood praised by Beethoven and Schiller in the superb final movement, but then outside after the rehearsal the evil of Franco's fascist revolt against the Republican Government asserted itself again."

The result of my father's final trip to Spain was that Casals and another new friend, none other than Lorca's mentor, Fernando de los Rios, who had become ambassador to the United States, asked my father to create a West Coast committee in defense of the Republic against its enemies. Whenever de los Rios visited the West Coast to confer with my father, he stayed with us, and in this way I heard of Lorca's murder by Franco's fascist forces. At the age of 16, naturally, I became passionate about the defense of the Loyalist government. Alas, I soon became aware of the many people in the Catholic hierarchy who were supporting Franco merely because he was a Catholic. Then, too, there were the isolationists, who were attacking my father, who was raising money mainly for ambulances and medical aid. The result was that my father was blacklisted by the state Tenney committee, the California version of the Un-American Activities Committee that later dominated national politics with its witch hunts.

Also, as I grew increasingly inter-

Book Reviews



ested in poetry, I became aware from de los Rios of the extraordinary generation of poets that the Spanish Civil War was affecting. As Stainton writes, "Jiménez, Machado, Guillen, Salinas, Cernuda, Altolaguirre, Prados, Mendez: 'They all left,' wrote Vincente Alexandre, one of the few poets of the Generation of 27 to stay behind, 'altogether at one moment, on very different paths.'" A vital culture was smashed by Franco's dictatorship, which lasted for 40 years after his military triumph in 1939 until a democratic government was restored in Spain.

In 1944, Edwin Honig's acute, seminal study of Lorca's poems and plays, which introduced Lorca's work in the United States, was published by New Directions. (It is a small flaw in Stainton's biography that she fails to include Honig's work in her bibliography.) Honig's fine book established the development of Lorca from a lyric poet to a superb, dramatic poet, who, along with Beckett and Brecht, brought a new sense of poetry into the modern theater.

What does Lorca teach all Americans interested in poetry? He teaches us that the unity of experience represented in a fine poem, the unified display of all senses, vibrates out of natural sources, particularly the background of family reflections. In Lorca's case, gifted with strong musical interests, he began with "deep songs" reflecting the tragic moods of gypsy life. Honig writes, "From the gypsies, Lorca gradually learned that the fixities, the constance of natural law, were the lessons which had somehow escaped the modern world. What was given him as practically a gift at birth—the capacity for, the quick discernment of human suffering—were precisely those sympathies which were quickly atrophying in society's more heterogeneous than that of Andalusia. But the full tragedy of such stunting of the modern con-

science was only to penetrate his poetry later, when for a short time he left the translucent world of Granada to come to New York, 'the Senegal of steel.' With 'Poema del Canto Jondo' Lorca realized the new folk power of his poetic material."

In the summer of 1924, Lorca's lyrical powers reached a peak in a series of gypsy ballads. Stainton writes, "Years of casual contact with the form had taught Lorca to relish the ballad's traits: its shortened lines, an elliptical style, its abrupt beginnings and ends. The third of the ballads, 'Sleepwalking Romance,' suggesting the love and death of a gypsy smuggler and his green eyed sweetheart, became one of Lorca's most popular poems, and people on the street could be heard reciting the lines with the famous refrain, 'Green, how I love you, green, green wind, green branches...'"

In the great lyrical poems of Lorca, such as the gypsy ballads, one has to fill in the imaginary characters, understand the mood of threatening death that always hovers behind the Andalusian scene, and learn to appreciate the abrupt rhythms.

The next step for Lorca was clearly a dramatic one. Two events most clearly determined this direction. In the late fall of 1931, Fernando de los Rios was named minister of education in the Republican cabinet, which assured the funding for La Barraca, a traveling theater composed mostly of students, of which Lorca became artistic director. La Barraca was supported by the Spanish Students Union and consisted mainly of some two dozen carefully chosen students, none of whom were paid, but who were willing to spend long rehearsal hours in an idealistic endeavor to create a popular theater that would tour widely and play largely for free in town squares that would provide vivid architectural backgrounds in place of sets. As artistic director, Lorca's primary aim was to revive the great

plays of the Spanish Golden Age. For the first season he chose three of Cervantes' interludes, together with Calderón's famous play, *Life is a Dream*, in which he also acted the part of "Shadow," dressed all in black with a black veil. According to Stainton, Lorca demanded 80 rehearsals for *Life is a Dream*, and commanded complete authority over all aspects of the production.

He was fulfilling his childhood dreams of a puppet theater where he was the puppet master. But his new real theater was a completely democratic concept. Everyone wore the same workers' clothes colored blue; the women wore blue skirts and blouses, the men wore one piece coveralls. The uniforms also bore the company's new logo. With de los Rios, Lorca scouted out an appropriate town for the opening production, the small Castilian village of Burgos de Osma. As a new Populist theater, the opening free productions of La Barraca were very successful. Only one performance in the village of San Juan de Duero marred the successful debut of the theater, when bad weather forced the company to move indoors to a church. The actors fell apart, burlesquing Calderon's great play with comic results. However, the political right wing and the army's impinging dictatorship started strongly to attack Lorca's homosexuality and his sympathies for the Republican government. Lorca's protest that "the university theater has no political bent...it is simply theater" had no effect against the growing political frenzy. His ambitions for a theater of "noble purity," despite his dedication to restoring the great Spanish traditional theater, had put him high on the fascist death list.

The great achievement of La Barraca was to focus Lorca's dramatic talents on the stage. Always interested

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Added to Memory's Roster

Anne Shuldiner Goldman (1915-2004)

Anne Shuldiner Goldman, one of 86 registered nurses from the United States who served in the American Medical Bureau, died peacefully on April 1 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where she had lived since 1997.

Anne graduated from the Beth Israel School of Nursing in New York in 1936 and headed Out-Patient Services there until she joined the AMB, providing direct medical care and civilian training in Spain. She served in Albacete and on the Cordoba Front in Belalcazar with the 86th mixed brigade, where she worked in both frontline and rear-guard hospitals. She described the frontline hospital as "remarkable and fantastic," the rearguard hospital as "modern."

In a 1990 interview she said, "We slept in tents. We had round-the-clock duty with the patients after they had had surgery. The patients were in a ward, half sunk into the earth and covered with a camouflaged tarpaulin...the hardest part, I thought, was for the people who had to select who was to be the next patient. It was up to us to evaluate the condition of the patient in terms of whose best interest would be served by having surgical intervention...The process of selecting patients came very hard for me. That didn't mean I didn't do it...We worked day and night. We made the most of our supplies. And, it is to our credit that we did what was acceptable for 1937, out in the fields, and so many of our patients did not suffer." She traveled as many as 90 miles to buy drugs. In Belalcazar she trained Spanish civilians to assist in operating the hospitals as aides and practical nurses.

On her return to the United States in November 1937, Anne embarked on a speaking tour to fundraise and do

public relations for the Loyalist cause. She worked with the NYC Board of Health and later returned to her job at Beth Israel. From 1953 to 1980, she directed the Practical Nurse Training Program of the New Orleans Public Schools, one of the largest such pro-



PHOTO BY BOB ABRAMSON

grams in America, educating thousands of women and men. Her husband Benjamin, Executive Director of the N.O. Jewish Federation, died in 1955. Their two children, Robert Goldman of NYC and Eleanor Hershberg of Pittsburgh, both became social workers.

Anne Goldman completed her Bachelor of Arts degree with honors in history at age 57 at the University of New Orleans. She was active in the Urban League, the League of Women Voters, the National League for Nursing, the civil rights movement, and many organizations in the New Orleans and Florida Jewish communities. She retired to Deerfield Beach, FL, to be near her two sisters and brother, becoming involved in VALB and the Nuclear Freeze Movement there.

—Eleanor Hershberg

Frank Richards (1916-2004)

Frank Richards, a front-line communications specialist with the Lincoln brigade, died May 4 at the age of 87. He was born in New York City in 1916. His mother was from Romania, his father from Italy.

Around 1933-34 Richards joined the U.S. Army to help with the family finances. On a whim he ended up being trained for communications; the lark became his lifelong profession. In those days communications meant the Morse code, but during his life it went on to encompass a much wider field including voice, telex, etc. Following training, he was posted to the U.S. Army intercept station in Panama.

After his tour in the army, Richards returned to N.Y., where his social interests caused him to gravitate toward progressive circles. At one point during this period he was employed on a commercial high-speed Morse circuit to Austria. When his partner on the other end of the circuit was replaced by the Nazis, Richards sent unprintable text regarding der Fuhrer and was immediately relieved by the company. Soon afterward, he went to Spain, where he worked with front-line communications and served with the Mac-Paps.

After Pearl Harbor, Richards joined the Army Air Corps and was in on the landing at Baker Island in the Pacific. After the war, he used his experience in communications to work around the world—first in Hawaii salvaging surplus military aircraft, later in London, Beirut, and Damascus, in Venezuela for U.S. Steel, and finally in Saudi Arabia. He retired in 1976 but kept his hand in the field. As late as the first Gulf War of 1991 (at the age of 75) he volunteered and served as radio officer aboard military sealift ships carrying heavy equipment from Germany to the Persian Gulf.

—Jon Richards

Lorca

Continued from page 17

in theater because of its populist roots and its concern for all of the arts, he began to foster his playwriting gifts. However, in August, 1935, the second crucial event in his life occurred, producing his greatest dramatic poem. On Monday, August 13, at the age of 43, his close friend, the bull fighter Ignacio Sánchez Mejías, died from an infected wound sustained on his return to the ring. With great intuition, Lorca said to a friend, "Ignacio's death is like my own death, an apprenticeship for my own death." By the end of October, Lorca wrote the longest poem he had ever written, his "Lament for Ignacio Sánchez Mejías," "an elegy I never wanted to write." The lament opens with a clanging bell-like repetition of fading time when death arrives:

At five in the afternoon
It was exactly five in the afternoon

Although, actually, Sánchez Mejías died in the morning in the hospital, Lorca transforms the hour of the death to late afternoon, the time of fading sun when the hero must face the menacing extinction of night: "Beyond that death and death alone at five in the afternoon." In the concluding three sections of the elegy, Lorca seeks to establish his belief, as Stainton notes, that "the bull fight is an authentic religious drama where, as in the mass, a god is adored and sacrificed."

The third section, "presence of the body," portrays the body's inevitable dissolution into death, and the fact that no one can recognize this vanishing "because your death is forever." But in the last section, Lorca writes:

No one knows you. No one. But I
sing you—
Sing your profile and your grace,
for later on.

The song, in celebration of myth, becomes more powerful than the dissolution of the body. The fatal time of

death—5 o'clock in the afternoon—has been transcended: "I sing his elegance in words that moan and remember a sad breeze in the olive groves." The deep song of moaning is transformed into the elegiac sound of the wind in the olive trees.

Lorca's own death was close at hand when he was arrested by a fascist group whose taunts of "queer!" and accusations that "here we have the friend of Fernando de los Rios" indicated the trap of hatred into which the poet had fallen despite his apolitical claims.

The excessive praise that follows the early deaths of gifted poets is always suspect because the praise stems largely from sympathy at the early demise caused by the cruel specter of death. In Lorca's case, however, time and the research of two good biographies, by Ian Gibson and Stainton, have proved Lorca's endur-

Democrat King

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the edge of a return to a totalitarian rule with the unrest caused by ETA attacks and military reprisals.

Preston gives a blow-by-blow account of the plotting of the coup and the king's artful handling of the situation. 23-F (as the coup is known in Spain) was the defining moment of the king's life, the day he earned the respect of his country and truly became the "King of all Spaniards," as he had long hoped. After the failed coup, realizing the military was too powerful and had too much time to hatch coups, Juan Carlos urged the country into joining NATO to lessen the military's involvement in domestic issues.

After covering Juan Carlos' childhood, youth, and the transition period in minute detail, Preston seems to run out of steam. Disappointingly, the last 20 years of Juan Carlos' reign are covered in about 20 pages. It would have been interesting to have a bit more about this period. It seems that Juan Carlos' political role since the election of the Socialists in the 1980s has

ing achievement. A master of lyric poetry, he transformed himself into a dramatic poet and finally into a theatrical revolutionary to rival the great 20th Century pioneers Brecht and Beckett. Like Brecht, Lorca proved that a new kind of epic theater could be created from traditional sources, in his case the great Spanish theater of the Golden Age. (One of Lorca's last ventures with La Barraca was a successful adaptation of Lope de Vega's *The Night of Olmedo*; in earlier years for La Barraca he also produced Lope de Vega's most controversial political play, *Fuenteovejuna*.) Like Brecht, too, Lorca spoke constantly for a "theater of social action," by which he meant not a theater of political action but a theater of myth and poetry with deep social roots. . . ■

This is an abridged version of an article that originally appeared in Poetry Flash (Winter/Spring 2004).

evolved into a mainly ceremonial one, like that of most other European monarchs. According to many reports, Juan Carlos seems to have spent the past 20 years recapturing his lost youth with fast moving hobbies such as cars, sailboats, and skis.

Paul Preston's rather favorable feelings toward the king shine through in this biography. Based on his extensive research, Preston demonstrates how Juan Carlos, a victim of circumstances as a child, was able to get beyond his oppressive upbringing. Preston is able to remove the royal trappings and look at Juan Carlos as a member of a family (who basically used him as a pawn); a young boy forced to study with a cadre of stodgy priests, archconservatives, and military men; a husband; a father; and a head of state. This book goes a long way toward explaining why Juan Carlos was the right man at the right time to bring democracy to Spain without more bloodshed. ■

Contributions

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- Martha Kransdorf *in memory of Saul Wellman* \$18
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- Nancy Singham *in memory of Saul Wellman* \$50
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Estelle Wellman, Jeri Wellman, Ronnie Wellman Berish & Nick Bryan *in memory of Saul Wellman* \$150

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John F. Burgoa *in memory of Father Joseba Zubikarai Burgoa, O.C.D., a Basque priest, who fought for the Spanish Republic* \$500

Wendy Amrkein *in memory of Leona Beal* \$10

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CONTRIBUTIONS

- Vivian & Douglas Perry \$50
- Berry & Gertrude Lerner \$100

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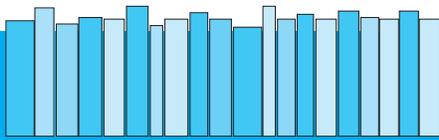
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Judith Montell

ALBA'S TRAVELING EXHIBITION

THE AURA OF THE CAUSE

ALBA's photographic exhibit, "The Aura of the Cause," has been shown at the Puffin Room in New York City, the University of California-San Diego, the Salvador Dali Museum in St. Petersburg, FL, the Fonda Del Sol Visual Center in Washington DC, and the University of Illinois. This exhibit, curated by Professor Cary Nelson of the University of Illinois, consists of hundreds of photographs of the Lincoln Brigaders, other international volunteers and their Spanish comrades, in training and at rest, among the Spanish villages and in battle.

For further information about "The Aura of the Cause" exhibit, contact Julia Newman, (212) 674-5398; exemplaryone@aol.com. The exhibit is available for museum and art gallery showings. BRING THIS EXHIBIT TO YOUR LOCALITY.

Yes, I wish to become an ALBA Associate, and I enclose a check for \$30 made out to ALBA. Please send me *The Volunteer*.

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Reunion

Continued from page 1

good fight against injustices in the decades since.

With staunch supporter Henry Foner at the microphone, the audience also acknowledged ALBA's 25th anniversary. James Fernandez, ALBA board member and director of the King Juan Carlos I Center at NYU, presented his highly informative, imaginative video about ALBA and the archives, now housed at NYU's Tamiment Library. With NYU graduate student Juan Salas, Fernandez interviewed students and researchers who have used the collection to learn more about the anti-fascist struggle.

Victor Navasky, the publisher of *The Nation*, followed with a moving keynote address. He observed that nothing, not even technology and the

Internet, will protect freedom and democracy better than the legacy of the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The message, more than the medium, is what counts.

Patriots Act!—an intense and powerful musical review written and directed by Peter Glazer and Bruce Barthol—captured the exciting spirit of the day. Blending text taken from letters written by Lincoln volunteers in Spain with other writings of 20th-century resistance, interspersed with songs of patriotic struggle, the show placed current events in the context of America's dissenting history.

The Skirball Center is a brand new venue for ALBA's reunion event, and this year's show was particularly charged. The band members per-



Vet Clarence Kailin (seated) surrounded by his family.

Contributions

Continued from page 20

ONLINE CONTRIBUTIONS

Katherine Unger, Brooklyn, NY \$30

George Johnson, Berkeley, CA \$100

Pauline Fraser, Ilford, England \$50

Brian Ferris, Turnbridge Wells, UK \$50

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(In memory of Yugoslav veteran Danilo Lekic)

Joan & Josep Verdaguer, Mataro, Spain \$75

Jose Maria Garcia Diaz, Bilbao, Spain \$50

Nieves Pousada, Montrose, NY, \$50

Wendy Lewis, Caerphilly, Wales, UK \$25

Ilona Mattson, Brooklyn, NY \$25

formed their hearts out, and legendary folk singer Barbara Dane sang powerfully, with her smoky, sexy tones ringing through the hall. Bruce Barthol's new song, "Cakewalk to Baghdad," provoked both laughter and applause. ▀

ALBA Board member Anne Taibleson is among the coterie of volunteer workers who made the day's events successful.

[More photos of event on back page](#)

William Herrick (1915-2004)

William Herrick (aka Horvitz, Harvey), one of the original Lincoln volunteers, died in January. Herrick was wounded by a spent bullet at Jarama and spent several months in a Spanish hospital before returning home in 1937.

After the announcement of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact in 1939, he departed from the VALB, only to return in 1954 as a key anti-Communist witness before the Subversive Activities Control Board. He later became a novelist, portraying International Brigaders as villains.



The vets take the stage at New York reunion (top);
 vet Harry Randall confers with *Patriot Act* co-
 writer Bruce Barthol (left).
 Photos by Richard Bermack

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