

The **V**olunteer

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

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

JOURNAL OF THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

Vol. XXIV, No. 3

September 2002



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PHOTO BY ELOY ALONSO GONZALEZ

Letters

Dear Volunteer:

A SALUTE AND SOME UNSOLICITED SUGGESTIONS FOR ALBA

Our readership is well aware of the great accomplishments of ALBA in mounting a number of traveling exhibitions, sponsoring annual events on both coasts, and most importantly, enhancing and maintaining our archives.

What troubles me is the lack of an aggressive response to the steady stream of columns coming from the Radoshes and others of his ilk.

I am not proposing that ALBA answer in kind. That would be counterproductive and lead nowhere. A fit answer is to publish, publish, and publish. Looking down the ALBA board roster I see a wealth of academic resources that can be tapped to undertake writing projects on many as yet unexplored aspects of the Spanish Civil War.

For example, what has been written on the Fascist Italian intervention into Republican Spain? I assume there is literature in Italy on this subject. But in the USA? Nada. In that regard I am skeptical about Hemmingway's account of the route of the Italian army by the Garibaldis at Guadalajara. Did it happen? Or was it Hemingway Hype?

Another event irks me; I'm easily irked these days. Tom Brokaw, the voice of NBC, now writes "The Greatest Generation." The generation he is referring to is the one

that spans the period of the Great Depression through World War II. That's us. That's ALBA. Yet not a line, not a word about the 2700 young Americans who left the safe shores of the United States to defend the Spanish Republic. The book was enormously popular. I think ALBA could have pointed out this glaring omission, maybe even provoked a dialogue with Brokaw. That's a long shot but who knows?

Enough bitching.
Salud, Comrades!
Abe Smorodin

Dear Volunteer:

It's been a very interesting few months for me, and I'm anxious to tell readers of *The Volunteer* what's been happening. In late April and early May, Uli Kolbe—my good friend from Germany and translator of my book—arrived for a week's stay with his daughter, Desiree, and two German filmmakers, Frank Dittmeyer and Joerg Briese. We had a wonderful time as they worked on a documentary about the Lincolns called *The Other America*. Among the American vets interviewed were Moe Fishman, Jack Shafran, Clarence Kailin, Lou Gordon, Abe Smorodin, Len Levenson, and me. They also plan to interview Abe Osheroff by mail.

For me, the highlight of their visit came on May 1, when we went to the New York University archives with documents concerning a German named Fred Schofs. Schofs had lived in the U.S. from 1929 to 1937 and was in the process of becoming an American citizen when he

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Yes, I want to support ALBA's important work in reaching out to the young people of this country. Here is my tax-deductible donation of \$_____.

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The Volunteer

Journal of the
Veterans of the
Abraham Lincoln Brigade
an ALBA publication

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ALBA Programs Coast to Coast

The scope of ALBA's autumn calendar reveals both our amazing growth and organizational progress that will carry the story of the Lincoln Brigade and the Spanish Civil War to new educational arenas from San Diego, California, to Washington Square, New York, from Tampa, Florida, to Chicago and Allentown, Pennsylvania. With two exhibitions on tour, the unveiling of a new monument, and star speakers like E.L. Doctorow on the agenda, this fall's programs anticipate larger audiences than ever before.

Just after the anniversary of September 11, Muhlenberg College's Center for Ethics and Leadership in Allentown is sponsoring a week-long series of programs on the theme "Patriotism in a Global Era: The Boundaries of Home." ALBA's celebrated photography show, *The Aura of the Cause*, will be the featured cultural event in the college's Martin Art Gallery for the fall semester. On September 18, ALBA Chair Peter Carroll presents the keynote speech "Global Intervention and Moral Choice: The Legacy of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade." For more information, contact Marjorie Hass, Director of the Center for Ethics and Leadership, 484-664-3321.

The same week, ALBA's newest traveling museum exhibition, *They Still Draw Pictures: Children's Art in Wartime from the Spanish Civil War to Kosovo*, will open its national tour at the Mandeville Special Collections Library at the University of California, San Diego. Consisting of 78 color drawings by Spanish refugee children and 22 by children of later conflicts, the show also includes photographs by Robert Capa and posters that depict the youngest victims of warfare. For more information, contact the UCSD library, 858-534-2533.

The catalogue for *They Still Draw Pictures*, which includes a foreword by Harvard psychologist Robert Coles and essays by ALBA's Anthony Geist, is available at a discount at the ALBA

website bookshelf: www.alba-valb.org.

After the premier in San Diego, the exhibition will tour the east coast and the midwest during 2003.

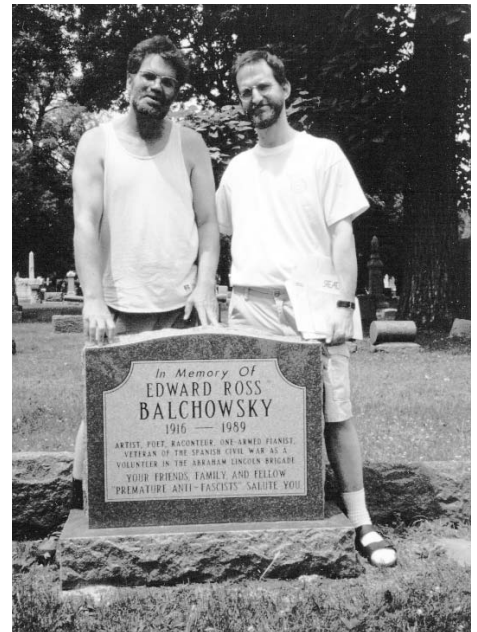
Back on the east coast, the award-winning, best-selling novelist **E. L. Doctorow**, author of *Ragtime*, *World's Fair*, *Billy Bathgate*, and *The Book of Daniel*, highlights the 5th annual **ALBA-Bill Susman Lecture** on Friday October 18, 6:15 pm, at the Tishman Auditorium, New York University Law School, 40 Washington Square South between MacDougal and Thompson Streets. The program is co-sponsored by NYU's King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center. Admission is free and open to the public. For more information, call 212-998-3650.

Since its inception in 1998, the ALBA-Susman Lecture has featured a roster of prominent speakers, including the classicist Bernard Knox, historian Gabriel Jackson, Judge Baltasar Garzón, and poet Philip Levine. The lecture honors ALBA's founder, the Lincoln veteran Bill Susman.

The next day, Saturday October 19, 2 pm, ALBA and the Juan Carlos Center are also co-sponsoring a public program, **The Wound and the Dream**, featuring **Cary Nelson's** newest book, an anthology of U.S. poetry about the Spanish Civil War. The site is the Greenberg Lounge, New York University Law School, 40 Washington Square South between MacDougal and Thompson Streets. This program is supported by the **New York Council for the Humanities**.

Plans are also set to unveil a **new monument** honoring the volunteers who went to Spain from the region around **Tampa, Florida**, at a site in front of the Centro Asturiano in Ybor City on November 2. The stone used for the memorial was shipped from Spain. For more information, contact Willy Garcia at 813-224-9185.

Meanwhile, on the 66th anniversary of the arrival of the International Brigades in Spain, our **Chicago**



Ed Balchowsky's cenotaph stone was placed last June at Forest Home Cemetery (west of Chicago), site of the Haymarket Martyrs' memorial, Emma Goldman's grave, "Dissenters' Row," and many other notable memorials. Ed, whose stone is well-situated near the path to the Haymarket memorial, was the first known Lincoln Brigade veteran buried at Forest Home. Participants in the three-year effort to fund and create Ed's stone included the Chicago Friends of the Lincoln Brigade, Ed's many pals, his cousin Jeff Balch (right), cemetery guidebook co-author Mark Rogovin (left), and donors too numerous to name here.

Friends of the Lincoln Brigade are launching a new organization, **CFLB/ALBA Associates**, with a full cultural program including Cary Nelson speaking about U.S. poetry and the Spanish Civil War at **Roosevelt University** on Veterans Day, November 11. For more details and information, contact Marta Nicholas, 773-288-1538 or email yfhall@mindspring.com.

Homage to John Cookson

By Juan María Gómez Ortiz

A large, emotional crowd gathered in Marçà, Tarragona, on June 29 to pay homage to John Cookson, an International Brigadista from Wisconsin who was killed during the battle of Ebro on September 11, 1938. Due to Cookson's unique personality, his death was especially painful to members of the XVth Brigade, where he was lieutenant of transmissions, and to all the people who knew him.

Before the war, Cookson had been an assistant professor of physics and mathematics at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He was also multilingual, which accounts for his position as instructor and trainer on transmissions to volunteers of many nationalities at Albacete. In addition to his great intellectual capacities—before the war he had written to Albert Einstein to correct an erroneous equation in one of the physicist's books—his comradeship, humility, and courage made for a man who was greatly admired by the men that fought at Brunete, during the retreats from Teruel, and in the battle of the Ebro, as well as his fellow injured comrades at the Red Cross hospital in Albacete.

When he died, his heart punctured by a piece of shrapnel as he was preparing his return home, his men decided to erect a small monument in his honor. It consisted of a gravestone on which a German quarryman engraved his name, unit, and place and date of death under the three pointed star of the International Brigades. The stone was placed in the middle of a field near Marçà. The people of this little town, currently with 625 inhabitants, helped to hide the stone, preserving it from fascist vandalism.

On Saturday, June 29, a floral tribute began with the offering of a laurel crown with red, yellow, and purple ribbons, which was placed on the grave. The American brigadista Len Levenson, an 89-year-old New Yorker, opened the homage, describing

Cookson's death as a supreme expression of international solidarity. He finished with a ¡Viva! to his life and memory.

After Levenson's words, a statement by Wisconsin brigadista Clarence Kailin was read. Kailin, a friend of Cookson from their student years when John had lived with Kailin, was shattered by Cookson's death, and through the course of his life he fought to preserve his memory. In 1992 he published a book collecting the letters and articles about Cookson that were published during the war and afterwards.

Kailin was unable to attend the event in person due to health concerns, but his son and daughter, John (named John for John Cookson) and Julie, represented their father in Marçà. In his statement, Kailin expressed gratitude to the people of Marçà for having preserved Cookson's memory. Kailin also suggested that the memorial stands not only for John's memory, but for all the International Brigaders fallen in Spain, as well as the memory of the resistance of the people of Marçà and all Spanish people against fascism.

An especially moving moment was when John Kailin read his father's request to have his ashes buried next to his dearest friend and comrade and his wish for a larger monument to the international volunteers to be erected on that site. The mayor, Mr. Joan Francesc Piqué, closed the floral tribute with words of support for the idea of a monument to the IB.

After the speeches those present gathered in the town square. Beside a Catalan flag and a Republican flag, there was a huge photo enlargement of John Cookson wearing a military beret with the star of lieutenant of the People's Army. Twenty-five per cent of the inhabitants of Marçà were present, and the square in front of the Town Council was full of people of all ages, and attendants from different parts of Catalonia, Spain, England, and the United States. Among those in

attendance were Manuel Requena Gallego, director of the Centro de Estudios y Documentación de las Brigadas Internacionales at Albacete; the English writer Angela Jackson, author of the book **British Women & the Spanish Civil War**; the members of ADABIC (Associació Catalana d'Amics de les Brigades Internacionals); Amparo García; Lola Delgado; and Olga Gascón Flanagan, granddaughter of Irish brigadista Andrew Flanagan. Angel Archilla, who with some friends repaired Cookson's gravestone some months ago, was also present for the events.

Later the mayor read the opening statement for the conference portion of the memorial celebration, which began with a reading, put together by John and Julia Kailin, of Clarence Kailin's memories of the childhood and youth of John Cookson in Wisconsin and the years before he went to fight in Spain against fascism. The Spanish translation was read by the deputy mayor, Enriqueta Muntané, member of the Culture Council of the Town and one of the main Town Council event organizers. After these words, the schoolteacher of Marçà, Pere Audi, read a passage from the book *Comrades*, by Harry Fisher, where he explains the incredible serenity and courage of John Cookson to save his transmission group, which found itself surrounded by a fascist unit during the retreats from Aragón in March 1938.

The historian and member of ADABIC Juan María Gómez Ortiz read a lecture, based on Clarence Kailin's memories, about the biographical trajectory of John Cookson in Spain. He emphasized four main items: the interest of John Cookson in science, his political commitment to Marxism-Leninism, his deep respect and love for the Spanish people, and his love of his home state of Wisconsin. John's father, Alfred, a Methodist minister, held a special

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Hidden Past



Search for the Graves of Missing Victims of Civil War Atrocities

By Mary Kay McCoy

Photos by Eloy Alonso González

Tens of thousands of bodies lie scattered across the Spanish earth in unmarked graves, victims of mass executions during the Civil War and Franco's regime. Motivated by a desire to give their loved ones an honorable burial, families have begun a grim search to locate the bodies of the many missing people whose fate has never been officially acknowledged. Their endeavour is attracting widespread interest both nationally and internationally.

The driving force behind this search is Emilio Silva Barrera, whose efforts to recover his grandfather's body unlocked the silenced memories of many of the Spaniards whose lives were touched by the horrors of the events starting with Franco's rebellion 66 years ago.

When just a kid, Emilio learned of his grandfather's "disappearance." It was October 15, 1936, only three months into the war, when Emilio Silva Faba was summoned to the town hall in Villafranca del Bierzo (León). Since it was not the first time he had been asked to report, he didn't think

much of it and allowed his 8-year-old son, Ramón, to accompany him. Once they arrived, the boy was told to go home and that his father had to stay there. That evening when Emilio's wife took him dinner, he handed over his watch and ring. He had no doubt about what was to be his fate. His wife solemnly walked home to her six children with the secret hope that Emilio would somehow be spared.

Early the next morning their son, also Emilio, was told by the guard at the jailhouse entrance that his father was no longer there, that he had probably escaped through the window during the night. But what really happened was what had been recurring night after night in many areas throughout Spain. A truck had pulled up in front of the jailhouse and 15 innocent men were piled in. As it drove off, another truck followed. Traveling in the second truck was a group of pistoleros, armed falangists who were to carry out the executions. Riding through the darkness, the 15 men *knew* they would be dead before dawn. The trucks suddenly came to a stop at a bend in the road. Minutes later shots pierced the silence of the late night. One man managed to escape, running off as fast as he could while darting through the bullets. The

other 14 were murdered, their bloody bodies hurled into a ditch at the side of the road and left uncovered.

What was Emilio Silva Faba's crime? He was affiliated with the Republican Left; in other words, he was "Red."

As Emilio Silva (the grandson) grew up, he felt an increasing affinity for his grandfather's progressive ideals. Two years ago last spring he decided that he would recover his grandfather's remains, restore his identity, and redeem his honor and goodness. He traveled to Villafranca del Bierzo and started talking with the old villagers. It was not long before he had discovered the location of the unmarked grave on the outskirts of a place called Priaranza. A few of the villagers remembered how, as children, their teacher had taken them to see the massacred bodies to show them what happened to "men like these." They still lay uncovered in pools of blood a few days later when Francisco Cubero, today 85 years old, was forced to bury them. (One of the dead bodies was secretly taken away by the family.)

The remains were exhumed in October 2000 by a group of archaeologists and anthropologists who volunteered their work and expertise. All 13 bodies were uncovered. Most had received two bullets in the back of the head.

Digging up the earth not only uncovered the remains of the "13 of Priaranza" but also unleashed the memories that fear and repression had silenced for more than 60 years. Many of the men and women who had come from surrounding villages to oversee the excavation had lost family members in similar circumstances. They shared painful stories with grim details. Some of them knew the whereabouts of other common graves in the area. It was because of these unlocked memories, this sharing of a common historical past that has not yet been recorded in Spanish history books, that Emilio Silva realized he had taken only a first step and that there were still many to go. The recovery of his grandfather now became a

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Mary Kay McCoy juggles her time as English teacher, translator, and dialogue coach in Spain.

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larger project, the recovery of all of his grandfather's comrades.

He contacted Santiago Macías, a young man who has spent most of his free time the past seven years talking with and recording the memories of ex guerrilleros (members of the armed resistance against Franco) throughout the region of El Bierzo. Together they founded the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory (ARMH), whose objective is "to recover the bodies and bestow recognition upon those men and women who were assassinated for believing in a better world." They are also collecting oral testimonies and photographs of those dark years.

Santiago emphasizes the urgency of the project: "Very few of the generation that survived those events are still alive. We must record their memories; they are the ones who can help trace down the unmarked graves, identify the bodies; we cannot allow this heritage to be lost." According to the Association there are at least 30,000 men and women in common graves throughout Spain, though the true figure probably amounts to thousands more. Spain has just celebrated 25 years of democracy, but its governments have yet to recognize these citizens.

"Nobody should be left buried in a ditch at the side of the road!" stresses Emilio. It is a basic human right that all people know the whereabouts and cause of death of their loved ones and that these be given a respectable burial, he says.

For that reason the ARMH presented over 300 petitions of Spaniards who claim "missing" family members to the body dealing with enforced dis-

appearances within the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva. They hope that the UN, in turn, will lobby the Spanish government to locate, exhume, and identify these victims. One of the first moves will have to be the declassification of the thousands of government and military records containing information about the disappearances. Within these files lies much of the country's hidden history. Today, families and researchers do not have access to most of this information.

The excavations in Priaranza were followed by others this summer in Piedrafita de Babia and surrounding areas in the regions of El Bierzo and Babia (León). They were arranged by the ARMH, this time in collaboration with the NGO "International Civil Service," which organized a 15-day work camp with 12 volunteers from nine different countries to come and help with the digging. Again, an expert team of volunteer archaeologists and anthropologists conducted the exhumation. The work is slow and tedious and must be done carefully using special techniques. Once the bodies are removed there is the task of identification. Although in many cases studies by forensic anthropologists are sufficient, especially if personal belongings and oral testimonies back the findings, in others it is essential to do DNA testing.

This year the first DNA testing ever to be done on a victim of the Spanish Civil War was carried out by Dr. José Antonio Lorente, director of the Department of Forensic Medicine at the University of Granada. He analysed the DNA of four of the bodies recovered in Priaranza. Dr. Lorente, a renowned expert in genetic identification, has done similar testing on "missing" people during Pinochet's dictatorship in Chile as well as on victims of the September 11 tragedy in New York. "It is purely a question of justice, historical and humane," says Lorente. A family has the right to be sure of the identity of the exhumed body before a proper burial takes place.

A proper burial in the village cemetery next to their parents is exact-

ly what Isabel González Losada, 85 years old, has wanted for her brother for more than half a century. Isabel was the driving force behind the excavations in Piedrafita de Babia. Her brother Eduardo was one of the many Republican soldiers who came down out of the mountains after the Nationalists had seized the Asturian Front in October 1937. Franco had promised impunity to all those who turned themselves in. So Eduardo returned to his village. The next morn-



ing he was dead. Also dead was Isabel's brother-in-law Francisco.

The two could be among the seven bodies unearthed at Piedrafita. When the first bones of these seven appeared three days into the excavations, there were a few moments of deathly silence. Then the emotions contained for over 65 years erupted into tears. Isabel had possibly just achieved one of the biggest goals of her life. Alongside her, also in tears,

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ALBA has given the Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica (ARMH) a list of Lincolns who went missing in action in Spain. For more information, contact: Emilio Silva
Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica
Website: www.memoriahistorica.org
email: memoria36@hotmail.com
Mailing address:
Apartado de correos nº 7
Ponferrada
24400-León
España

George Watt Awards for 2002

By Daniel Czitrom

ALBA proudly announces the winners of this year's George Watt Awards, established in 1997 to honor the memory of this Lincoln vet, author, activist, and leading figure in creating and supporting ALBA. The competition was designed to encourage student research and writing on the American experience in Spain, as well as related topics in the Spanish Civil War and the larger history of anti-fascism.

This year we received more submissions, and from a wider geographical range, than ever before—an excellent sign of the continued and growing interest in these issues among young people. The 35 entries came from seven graduate and 28 undergraduate students from all over the U.S., as well as Canada, Scotland, and England. Each winner receives a check for \$500 from ALBA. This year we made one graduate and two undergraduate awards.

The selection committee's task has been made more difficult as the number of applicants rises—but we all agree that this is a nice problem to have! This year's committee consisted of Eunice Lipton, Fraser Ottanelli, Shirley Mangini, and Daniel Czitrom.

The winners are:

Graduate:

John Kraljic,
PhD. candidate at Hunter College/CUNY
"North American South Slav Volunteers in Spain"

This paper is part of a pathbreaking doctoral thesis examining Croatian and South Slav volunteers in the International Brigades. Kraljic employs his exceptional language skills to mine previously unused primary sources, fleshing out the experiences of roughly 150 South Slav immigrants to the U.S. and Canada who fought in Spain. The paper weaves together several key themes: how political experiences of South Slavs in the U.S. and Canada differed

from those who remained in Yugoslavia; the recruitment efforts of Communists in South Slav communities; a collective biography of the men; and their continuing political activism—and persecution—after returning home.

Undergraduate:

Ben Francis-Fallon,
Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations
"Fascism and Immigrant Workers in New York City"

Francis-Fallon analyzes how Locals 89 and 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union participated in fundraising, education, and protest activities in support of Republican Spain. The largely Italian Local 89 was reluctant to lend conspicuous support to the Republic due to widespread negative reaction among Catholic union members to anti-clerical violence in Spain. Instead, Local 89 directed its efforts toward supporting the exiled Italian Socialist Party and the campaign to stop Italian aid to Franco. Local 22 raised substantial

sums for the Republic; yet its support work was limited by wariness over forming coalitions with other Left groups, especially the CPUSA.

Undergraduate:

Jonathan Baum,
Northwestern University
"Propaganda, Art, and the Spanish Civil War"

Baum's work focuses on the use of posters as a crucial medium for the Republican cause. He looks at a wide range of poster art produced by government ministries, labor unions, political parties, and religious organizations, showing how different styles, colors, images, and symbols communicated a wide range of meaning. Baum discusses Nationalist poster art and other propaganda techniques as well, but he shows how and why the poster proved a much more crucial tool of mobilization and education for the Republican side. ■

Daniel Czitrom, former chair of the ALBA Board of Governors, teaches American history at Mount Holyoke College.

The War Diary of Vladimir Copic

By John Peter Kraljic

Vladimir Copic, born in Croatia in 1891, had been a prominent member of the Yugoslav Communist Party prior to his arrival in Spain. His tenure in Spain is for the most part associated with his command of the XVth International Brigade, which included most U.S. volunteers in its ranks. (For more information concerning Copic, see my article in *The Volunteer*, Fall 1999.) He was killed during the Stalinist purges in the Soviet Union shortly after his service in Spain.

The paucity of sources has made a study of his role in Spain difficult, but Copic's War Diary sheds light on his views of some of the major actions in which he participated.

The War Diary was initially discovered in Moscow in 1967. It was translated into Serbian and published in Belgrade in 1971 in the five volume *Spanija: 1936-1939*, a collection of memoirs of Yugoslav Spanish Civil War veterans.

Access to the War Diary is now easily available to scholars at ALBA's archives at the Tamiment Institute at New York University. It is part of the tremendous amount of microfilmed

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John Peter Kraljic is an attorney living in New York. He recently won the George Watt Award for his master's thesis on the North American Croatian community in the Spanish Civil War

Copic Diary

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material from the Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Recent Historical Documents. (The exact citation is fond 545, opis 3, delo 467.)

The diary consists of a short version in Spanish and English and a long version in Spanish and German. The diary may have been based on contemporaneous notes, but it includes a number of references written in the past tense and interesting criticisms of various people and actions taken during the war. One can hypothesize that Copic wrote the diary after his removal from command to justify his actions and to point the finger at others for various military failures. Still, the diary offers a unique insight into some of the more controversial aspects of the war. (Because of the author's relatively poor knowledge of Spanish and German, the excerpts presented here are based on the Serbian translation of the long version of the diary found in *Spanija*.)

Certainly, the most controversial aspect of Copic's command for the U.S. veterans concerns the Jarama campaign. Copic blames Division Commander General Gal for ordering the suicidal attack. The diary notes that the Americans arrived at their position on February 24, 1937. The attack came two days later. "The 24th and 69 Brigades took part in the attack. Our right wing had the task of assisting in their advance and to move forward if the 24th Brigade advanced. It is supposed to begin at 10 a.m. The Americans send word that the 24th Brigade did not advance. From the Division [i.e., Gal] comes word that the 24th Brigade advanced and they ask why don't [the Americans] advance. Somewhat later the commander of the Division categorically demands that the American battalion immediately move forward and, at any cost, take the enemy's position. He [?] sends word that the 24th Brigade is retreating. [Col. Claus Becker] sends word that the 24th Brigade is located behind the Americans."

This entry is one in a series in which Copic criticizes Gal for various actions. Copic later noted that Gal "has the habit of interfering in the internal affairs of the Brigade." In another example, on July 6, 1937, during the Brunete campaign, Copic notes that "our artillery is working intensively, but it for the most part hits settlements and not enemy positions. . . . When I advised the Division commander that the artillery was performing poorly, he answered that he clearly saw that the artillery was hitting very well."

The March 1 entry notes that the Jarama attack caused "morale among Americans to be very poor. It is said that the Battalion lost half its men. In reality the Battalion lost around 60 to 70 men, some dead others wounded, the greatest part having dispersed. During the next several days more and more [men] return."

Poor morale among the Americans and other members of the Brigade remained a constant theme in the diary. On April 9, 1937, for instance, Copic notes a discussion he had with the nominee for the Lincoln's political commissar, Bill Henry. "He believes that all the men in the American Battalion want to go on leave, that Headquarters doesn't know anything about it, because the earlier political commissars did not advise anyone about this."

The morale problem apparently led to the emergence of a movement in early May 1937 among the Americans to replace Copic. The diary records a conversation Copic had with Alan Johnson, "who uses his position as commander of the sector against [Copic]. He recognizes his error and promised that he would continue to work in loyal manner." Nevertheless, the diary notes six weeks later, on June 18, that party delegate James Harris told Copic that he was required "to state that the men have no faith in the Brigade commander [i.e., Copic] and want him to be replaced by another commander, and that it was another matter whether such lack of faith was justified or not, and that he didn't want to go into it, but that the [men's decision] must be respected

and the thoughts of the masses must be taken into account. Harris had already previously held talks in the Battalion intriguing against [Copic]. I told him that he could take his thoughts to the Division commander, but that he will be arrested and sent to Albacete should he attempt to again organize fractional meetings in the Battalion against the Brigade commander."

Morale problems ultimately led to a number of cases of desertion. On October 5, 1937, Copic notes the results of a trial of deserters. "Despite the great successes which the Brigade had in recent times, a great part of the men are demoralized, especially among the Americans. We are supposed to judge 12 deserters. Two are sentenced to death, and the remainder to jail. The two condemned to death have been in Spain a short time (2 months), did not ever participate in any operations, and they stole an ambulance in which they were heading toward the border. They were pardoned and later they held up well." The next day, "in connection with deserters a meeting was held with the political commissars at which was discussed the weakness in political work."

(These entries shed light on the unsigned letter to Bill Lawrence which asked for Lawrence's opinion of the trial and which appeared in *The Secret World of American Communism*, by Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes and Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov. The diary notes that on October 10 the Brigade was visited by, among others, Robert Minor and Lawrence and that on October 11 "consultations were held with the commanders of the Battalions, and afterwards consultations with the American comrades. A report by Minor concerning the situation, his criticisms of discipline, hygiene, etc." It is possible that these consultations may have led to the ultimate reversal of the death sentences.)

Copic had good words for the Americans who fought at the battle of Quinto. "During the course of maneuvers, the Dimitrov Battalion

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The Barcelona May Days

By Helen Graham

One of the most famous images of the Spanish Civil War may be that of the street-fighting-across-the-barricades that occurred in Barcelona between May 3 and May 7, 1937. Those days of social protest and rebellion have been represented in many accounts, of which the best known is George Orwell's contemporary diary, *Homage to Catalonia*, later given cinematic form in Ken Loach's *Land and Freedom* (1996). But the May events nevertheless remain among the least understood in the history of the civil war.

On the afternoon of Monday, May 3, 1937, a detachment of police arrived at Barcelona's central telephone exchange (Telefónica) with orders to remove the anarchist militia forces inside the building. The news spread rapidly through the neighborhoods of the old town center and port. By evening the city was on a war footing, although no organization—inside or outside government—had issued any such command. The next day barricades went up in central Barcelona, workers called a general strike, and armed resistance commenced against the Catalan government's attempt to occupy the telephone exchange.

The presence of anarchist militia in the Telefónica dated back some 10 months to the attempt by rebel military to overthrow the democratic Republic on July 17-18, 1936. In Barcelona, the historic stronghold of Spain's anarcho-syndicalist movement, the cadres of its trade union, the CNT, were at the forefront of this battle, during which they took the Telefónica, along with other key buildings in central Barcelona.

In Barcelona, as elsewhere, the July 1936 coup caused the collapse of

government and state institutions (in particular police and security forces) and of market-based economic activity. This, combined with the role of organized labor in resisting the military rebels, saw the emergence of workers' committees to restore crucial food supply, transport, defense, and public order functions. But unlike anywhere else in Republican Spain, the Catalan CNT in Barcelona was strong enough to spearhead a wide-ranging program of industrial and commercial collectivization in a bid to reinvent not only the economy, but also social and cultural life, on anti-capitalist lines.

The core of the CNT's support in Barcelona came from its immigrant industrial working class. But the CNT's mobilizing capacity stretched beyond, via its neighborhood networks, to the most marginal sectors of the urban poor: the long-term unemployed, the itinerant, street vendors, and vagrants. In short, the CNT provided a kind of organic link with what social historians have called "outcast Barcelona." Since the birth of the Republic in 1931, the urban poor of Barcelona had been at the sharp end of its budgetary stringency (which severely limited social reform) and of its law and order legislation. There had been running street battles with the police (whose personnel was largely unchanged from monarchist times) as the security forces attempted to dismantle the informal street markets and stalls selling cheap food to the unemployed and socially marginal.

The CNT's vision of a revolutionary new society after July 18, 1936, had many opponents inside Republican Spain—not least among Catalonia's own middle classes—small farmers and businessmen, traders and professionals. During the civil war these groups sought protection in two political parties: the Catalanist left Republican Esquerra and the recently formed PSUC. The PSUC was actually a coalition of

forces that included Catalan communists and socialists. But the party's most important component was a Catalan social democratic party, the USC, which both emulated and rivaled the Esquerra.

Between the end of July 1936 and May 1937 Catalonia would be the arena of a complex power struggle in which the Esquerra and the PSUC, representing urban and rural propertied interests, sought to re-establish both a police force and a free market-based economy. In rural areas of Catalonia, where there was little collectivization as such, the CNT's supply committees constituted the main source of tension. They went into the Catalan countryside to requisition food for poor, urban, working-class neighborhoods suffering the economic dislocations of the war. But the committees were hated by the small holding peasantry, who saw their demands as a thinly disguised form of coercion. The PSUC was increasingly picking up support among these small farmers, traditionally the preserve of the Esquerra.

The CNT needed allies in its political battle against the Esquerra and the PSUC. But it found itself isolated. This was mainly because of its poor relations with the other major left force in the region, the POUM. Like the PSUC, the POUM was a coalition of forces. It comprised a small, strongly anti-Stalinist group, the Communist Left, led by Andreu Nin, and a much larger radical left Catalanist party, the BOC (Worker and Peasants Bloc), which drew a substantial support base from among Catalan-speaking white collar workers and some sectors of the rural lower middle classes—tenant farmers and the like. The disagreements and rivalries between the CNT and the BOC went back years. Since the Republic's birth, BOC had been highly critical of the CNT's refusal to engage in parliamentary politics. This, the BOC argued, rendered Barcelona's industrial workforce defenseless.

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Helen Graham teaches history at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her new book, *The Spanish Republic at War*, will be published this autumn by Cambridge University Press.



Poems of the Spanish Civil War

The Wound and the Dream: Sixty Years of American Poems about the Spanish Civil War. By Cary Nelson. University of Illinois Press.

Review by Gina Herrmann

Cary Nelson's latest publication, the anthology *The Wound and the Dream: Sixty Years of American Poems about the Spanish Civil War*, stands as testament to his continuing commitment to the dissemination, analysis, and valuation of radical culture in the United States. Of all the many collections of Spanish Civil War literature, this new book stands out not only for its moving and incisive introductory essay, but also for the temporal and stylistic breadth of the poems selected therein. *The Wound and the Dream* covers 60 years of this country's poetry written about the war in Spain, reminding us that the memory of the war and its ideals remained in the American poetic imagination long after 1939.

Nelson makes a claim for an American tradition of Spanish Civil War poetry. It is the fusion of lyricism with political utility that makes this tradition so unique in American culture: the memory and the experience of Spain served as a source of strength for those persecuted and prosecuted in the McCarthy era. One of the most gripping anecdotes of Nelson's introduction recalls how Alvah Bessie wrote verses about Spain from his jail cell in 1951. Nelson explains the relevance of Spain during the dark days of the inquisitorial culture of Red-baiting: "The sixty-year tradition of American poems about the Spanish Civil War not only encompasses the moment of the 1950s but in some

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ways pivots on it, for the 1950s is central to understanding why the tradition—not only the wartime poems of 1936-1939—might still matter to us."

While *The Wound and the Dream* is dedicated exclusively to American poetry, it contextualizes that artistic production within an internationalist anti-fascist political movement whose solidarity and sense of common cause, Nelson suggests, is difficult to imagine today. What Nelson does so well is to put together decades worth of poetry for the sake of reminding an American public of an American tradition of progressive radicalism that has been lost to us through the patriotism aroused by World War II, McCarthyism, the Cold War, and now by the so-called "War on Terror." The poems conjure up not only the international arena but also the choral, collective, and interactive quality of peoples and their political and cultural responses to the civil war.

By emphasizing these two elements, the international and the collective, Nelson seeks to release the poems from the constraints of contemporary reading practices for the sake of encouraging different, more active tactics for approaching poetry. The Spanish Civil War gave fertile ground for revolutionary methods of writing, reading, and even performing poetry. The creation and the recitation of these poems was often a group activity. Poems were performed live, an act that enhances a sense of community and participation, but they were also charged with concrete military utility. Nelson reminds us that while poems appear to be passive artistic units, they actually *did* something (and, by implication, can *do* things now). They were printed not only in literary journals and mass-circulation newspapers in Spain and abroad, but also in propaganda fliers distributed by the Republic government. In this way

poetry moved as a vehicle for agency: it inspired military recruitment, supported fund-raising efforts, and politicized people, among other things.

The selection of poems includes some of the best-known poems of the Spanish Civil War, including those by Langston Hughes, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Edwin Rolfe, and Muriel Rukeyser. The anthology's strength lies in its recovery of lesser or unknown poetic treasures that generally can be divided around three primary themes: the heroic defense of Madrid and its symbolic resonance, the death of poet Federico García Lorca, and the International Brigades. Yet some of the most compelling poems of the collection fall outside of these three grand themes.

The Wound and the Dream opens with Martha Millet's "Women of Spain":

Have you seen on the barricades
the women of Spain?
They shoulder rifles, shoot
with their men,
Calculate distance, take aim,
report
Trigger fingers untrembling
and alert.[. . .]
Empty are the kitchens.
The women of Spain are on
the barricades.

Given that the Spanish Civil War and especially the mythical status of the International Brigades are strongly associated with male heroism, it is both refreshing and jolting to begin this book with a poem about militiamen. From the very first page, it seems, Nelson wants to rattle and shift our most entrenched conceptions about the relationships between art, agency, and political commitment.

Perhaps the single most starkly beautiful poem of the collection, and one whose history Nelson analyzes in his introduction, is Mike Quin's "How Much for Spain?" It tells the story of people who contemplate how much money they can donate after having

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gathered together in public to bear witness to someone giving testimony about what is happening in Spain. The poem *imitates* the action that is the intention of the testimony and the collection of funds; that is, it recalls the collective performance of a political act of "singular moral and political urgency," while simultaneously placing the reader in a position of common cause with the public that the poem evokes. But it also has broader implications: "The counting of coins is not only personal but political and institutional; it mimics the calculations Western business was making about which victor would be a better ideological ally."

The cliché that the Spanish Civil War was "the poet's war" or the "lyrical war" overshadows the emotional experiential quality of the war and its memory. Nelson points out that the cause of Spain was a "mass emotion." The anthology brings this fusion of feeling and political action to the fore; the collection of poems, which can be understood as a single poetic event, "one vast poem," helps us understand that Marxism can be a feeling.

The collectivizing power of this emotion, both empowering and deeply painful, is captured brilliantly in Barbara Guest's verses:

To make an elegy of Spain
Is to make a song of the
abyss.
It is to cut a gorge into one's
soul
Which is suddenly no longer
private.

In this book, one feels the extent to which academic, aesthetic, and ideological concerns are intensely at stake. Cary Nelson's passion once again makes us care about the "cultural work poems can do." ▀

Mike Quin

How Much For Spain?

The long collection speech is done
And now the felt hat goes
From hand to hand its solemn way
Along the restless rows.
In purse and pocket, fingers feel
And count the coins by touch.
Minds ponder what they can afford
And hesitate . . . how much?
In that brief, jostled moment when
The battered hat arrives,
Try, brother, to remember that
Some men put in their lives.

Alvah Bessie

For My Dead Brother

The moon was full that night in Aragón . . .
we sat in the black velvet shadow
of the hazel (called avellano there);
the men lay sleeping, sprawled on the packed earth
in their blankets (like the dead)

With dawn we'd move in double files
down to the Ebro, cross in boats,
and many lying there relaxed
would lie relaxed across the river
(but without their blankets).

He said: "You started something, baby—"
(I was thirty-four; he ten years less;
he was my captain; I his adjutant)
"—you started something, baby," Aaron said,
"when you came to Spain."

Across the yellow river
there was a night loud with machine guns
and the harmless popcorn crackle
of hand grenades bursting pink and green,
and he was gone and somehow Sam found me in the dark,
bringing Aaron's pistol, wet with blood.

He said:
"The last thing Aaron said
was, 'Did we take the hill?'
I told him, 'Sure.' "

MEET THE AUTHOR

Cary Nelson will introduce his book, *The Wound and the Dream*, in a program co-sponsored by ALBA and NYU's King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center on Saturday, October 19, at 2 p.m. in Greenberg Lounge, NYU Law School, 40 Washington Square South, between MacDougal and Thompson. This program, partially funded by the New York Council for the Humanities, is open to the public.

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Women Face Spain's War

Doves of War: Four Women of Spain.

By Paul Preston. London: HarperCollins. (To be published in the U.S. by Northeastern University Press in spring 2003.)

Review by Sebastiaan Faber

Paul Preston's new book is clear proof that, in spite of the gigantic bibliography on the Spanish Civil War already existing, important stories remain to be told. *Doves of War* presents four of these stories through the biographies of two Spanish and two English women whose lives were deeply affected by the Spanish tragedy. As a direct consequence of the war, all four registered enormous losses—of loved ones, innocence, health, and happiness. However, Preston shows that the war brought them some unexpected gains as well: wisdom, friends, a purpose in life and, above all, courage and strength in the face of tremendous hardship. For all four women the war was a disaster that was also, paradoxically, liberating because it allowed them to move beyond the limited role reserved for women in their respective societies.

Priscilla "Pip" Scott-Ellis, a wealthy, aristocratic, "society girl," went to Spain in 1937 to be a nurse with the Nationalists, but primarily to be close to a Spanish prince, the object of her obsessive, but unrequited, love. Once in Spain, the frivolousness that had characterized her life until then—including her decision to go—turned into serious, untiring dedication at various military hospitals on the Nationalist front.

Also in 1937 Nan Green, who had joined the Communist Party in the

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early thirties, decided to leave her children in England to join her husband George in the fight against fascism. As a nurse and hospital administrator, she did very important work in Spain, most of the time separated from her husband, who would die in action in September 1938. After the war Nan dedicated herself fully to the rescue and welfare of refugees and former combatants.

Mercedes Sanz-Bachiller, wife of a prominent militant falangist, miraculously overcame the latter's death at the beginning of the war—and a miscarriage resulting from it—by founding an enormous relief organization for widows and orphans that would at one point make her one of the most powerful women in Franco's Movimiento.

Margarita Nelken, finally, a Jewish intellectual and feminist, combined her work as an art critic with a deep involvement in the grass-roots struggles of farm laborers in the Spanish south. When the Spanish socialists proved too moderate, she switched to the Communist Party, mistakenly thinking it would be more revolutionary. After the war, she went into exile in Mexico, and, never afraid to voice her criticisms, was expelled from the party in 1942.

Each of the four biographies is based on meticulous research, masterfully narrated, and fascinating in its own right. Among other things, they shed light on the sheer dividedness and infighting of both the Republican and Nationalist camps. They also show that, politics aside, passion, conviction, and courage—as well as squalor, misery, and misogyny—existed on both sides.

Yet the added value of *Doves of War* lies precisely in the juxtaposition of these lives. Their combination into one book reveals interesting parallels

and contrasts that many times belie simplistic presuppositions. Scott-Ellis and Sanz-Bachiller, for instance, are, not surprisingly, politically more naïve than Nelken and Green. In their views on love, sex, and the role of women, however, the two Francoist women are at least as progressive as the Communists. One would almost say they are *less* repressed. While Scott-Ellis writes freely in her diary about a "hot" encounter with a film director in a London taxi ("I seem to have become so damn oversexed I just can't stop myself"), Nan Green beats herself up over one brief extramarital affair in the midst of the war. Even Margarita Nelken, for all her bragging about sexual freedom, was quite traditional in her attitude toward relationships. To be sure, for many years she lived together with a married man with whom she had a child; but apart from its legal status, their relationship was conventional and monogamous.

There are many other ways in which these life stories create a more nuanced picture of the Spanish conflict. They are part of Preston's lifelong effort to break down crude, black-and-white representations of the war—albeit always from a basic identification with the Republican cause. In *Doves of War*, Preston moves beyond a historiography whose main purpose is to settle political accounts. Rather than judge his subjects morally or politically, he aims to *understand* the war and its participants at the individual level. Preston calls this a work of "emotional history," but one could also think of it as a "human" or "humanist" history. In addition to its focus on individual lives and emotions, it is characterized by a certain modesty on the part of the historian, who is not afraid to take advantage of the insights granted to him by the distance in time, but who resists the temptation to translate that advantage into moral superiority.

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Aaron, we did not take the hill.
We lost in Spain. Aaron,
I know, finally, what you meant that night
under the black shadow of the avellano,
sitting here in prison twelve years later.
We did not take the hill, mi commandante,
but o! the plains that we have taken and the mountains, rivers, cities,
deserts, flowing valleys, seas!
You may sleep . . . sleep, my brother, sleep.

James Neugass

Es La Guerra

Of the bomb-wings that fell
In the hospital courtyard, we made candlesticks;
It was cold at night, colder
Than steel of our surgeon's instruments;
And always the smell of burning damp bandages,
Clothing and blankets polluting the sunrise:

Our hospital lived for sixteen days
Wide open to all the lead and iron
That poured out of the infected Spanish sunlight,
But on the morning of the seventeenth died,
Disembowelled into the village streets.

We had moved that night,
To a new place, just as close to the lines.

William Lindsay Gresham

Last Kilometer

Since morning over a knotted road
The camions had jolted on.
Now in the shivering twilight
They stopped. We got down.

It was deadly quiet under the sky
With the night coming over.
We stared at the hills. We were too green
To look for cover.

Then the ground stirred with a rumbling shudder
As thunder runs
Solid and deep through upland fields—
The sound of guns.

Doves

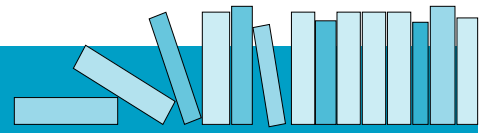
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Doves of War can also be read in combination with Preston's book *Comrades* (1999), which presents the political biographies of nine of the more prominent actors in the Civil War. *Doves* is both *Comrades'* sequel and its counterpart. If the latter book focuses on the mostly male protagonists that are still in the historical spotlight, *Doves* directs itself to the female figures that have passed into oblivion. In practical terms, this is more of a challenge; with much less of a public record to rely upon, the historian is forced to take on considerable detective work. In the case of Preston, it gives rise to a different kind of writing, too. The life stories in *Doves* are more emotional and personal than those in *Comrades* and are told with even more empathy. Like *Doves*, *Comrades* uses biography "to provide a different perspective on the complexity of the Spanish Civil War," relating "the personal life of the individual to his or her political role." But while *Comrades* "looked at individuals of left, right and center . . . with some empathy for human frailty," and tried to think "not in terms of good and evil but in terms of human weakness," the life stories contained in *Doves* focus less on weakness than on the unexpected *strengths* of their subjects.

To these two fascinating and important books of Civil War biography several more could be added. One can only hope that Preston, already among the most prolific Civil War historians, will continue to produce them—although something tells me that he is already doing just that. ❏

And down the road we saw two men
Walk out of the coming night.
When they came close we saw their rags;
Some of them were white.

They wandered past us in the cold.
One stumbled and the other swore.
That sling had no room for a hand.
We had met the war.



The Women Volunteers of Britain

British Women and the Spanish Civil War. By Angela Jackson.
London: Routledge, 308 pp.

Review By Karen Egenes

Through oral and written narratives, author Angela Jackson offers a pioneering study of the British women who participated in the Spanish Civil War. Her book describes the women's backgrounds, motivations for becoming involved, and types and degrees of involvement in the effort, and the effects of the war on their individual lives. The author's subjects came from a variety of backgrounds and represented a broad spectrum of political affiliation.

Although during the 1930s the British Conservative government pursued a policy of appeasement toward the fascist leaders Hitler and Mussolini, approximately 2,400 British citizens expressed their support of the Spanish Republic by volunteering for the International Brigades. Few studies have focused on the response of the British populace to the war in Spain, particularly the widespread "Aid Spain" campaigns intended to provide support to the Spanish Republic. A notable exception cited by the author is *The Signal Was Spain: The Aid Movement in Britain, 1936-1939*, by James Fyrth, who noted that many of the leading figures in the relief movement were women. Angela Jackson's study, originally written as her doctoral dissertation at the University of Essex, builds on the work of Fyrth.

Jackson begins with the question of why so many British women became involved in a war in Spain, a

country most had never visited, when a multitude of "worthy causes" could be found at home. She found that many of her subjects, in their youth, had developed an awareness of suffering and injustice in society. Many cited both compassion for the misfortune of others and a determination to do something to relieve their suffering. Jackson also found that these women were unable to distinguish their political motives from their humanitarian motives and postulates that humanitarianism was a form of personal politics. She concludes, "Spain was the clarion call that offered an opportunity to which they could respond, whatever the mixture of the personal, the ideological, the humanitarian, and the political on which their motivation was founded."

Jackson next describes the work of women involved in relief campaigns in Britain. Approximately 180 organizations, many with numerous local branches, eventually came under the umbrella of the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief. Thousands of British women were engaged in the organization of marches, concerts, bazaars, plays, food collections, and knitting projects in support of Aid to Spain. One significant committee effort was a project undertaken by women in Cambridge to support a colony of 4,000 refugee children from the Basque region of Spain following the bombing of Guernica. The author concludes that the "Aid Spain" campaigns led to the mobilization of a substantial number of British women at a time when the country was not at war. Through this committee work, Jackson asserts, women who would never have become involved in formal politics could demonstrate their support of a cause they believed was important.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter describes the work of British

women in Spain, as nurses and administrators in medical units, hospitals, and refugee centers. Jackson learned that many of the nurses found themselves in difficult situations because of the poor standards of hygiene and asepsis they encountered in Spanish hospitals. As the war progressed, British nurses cared for patients in trains, railway tunnels, and even in a cave near the Ebro River. However, the war in Spain led to the development of techniques used in later wars that increased the survival rate of those injured in battle. These innovations included the system of triage for casualties, the placement of medical units closer to the front lines, new methods for blood transfusion, improved abdominal surgery and fracture repair, and wound treatment techniques to prevent gas-gangrene.

Although the British nurses were generally treated with great respect, they often found themselves victims of gender stereotyping by Spaniards unaccustomed to the relative emancipation of British women. Jackson further explores the anguish of the British nurses who regretted they were unable to do more to ease the suffering they encountered.

Jackson offers a poignant description her subjects' adaptations to the war's aftermath. The women's initial reactions were attempts to aid Spanish refugees in France, political prisoners of Franco, and others suffering in the wake of defeat. Over time, some of the women who had been affiliated with the Communist Party felt the need to review their beliefs in view of subsequent actions by the Soviet Union, such as the Soviet-German Pact of 1939. Yet amid their disillusion, the women viewed the Spanish Republic as a "beacon of what might have been," a repository of ideals that had been destroyed by war, but were nevertheless valid and righteous.

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Norman Bethune in Spain

By Larry Hannant

Norman Bethune is not well known in the country of his birth, but internationally he might be the most famous Canadian. Some of his well-justified international renown comes from his anti-fascist contribution in Spain in 1936-1937.

Bethune was born in 1890. His successful but conventional career as a doctor was shattered in 1926, when he contracted tuberculosis. It was then a lethal disease, and he prepared for his death. But he insisted on receiving a radical medical procedure, an artificial pneumothorax, which spared him. Attacking life with new zeal, he moved to Montreal and became famous as a campaigner against tuberculosis. Through the 1930s he gained both favorable attention and notoriety in North American medical circles as an iconoclastic thoracic surgeon seeking to eradicate the "white plague."

In November 1935, shocked by the 1930s Depression and fresh from a visit to the USSR to study health practices, which impressed him, Bethune joined the Communist Party of Canada. He also helped to found the Montreal Group for the Security of the People's Health, advocating that governments and doctors abandon the failed system of private funding of health care. Known as a maverick in the medical fraternity, he now became an outcast.

In Spain from November 1936 to May 1937, Bethune initiated a pioneering blood transfusion system to assist the democratic forces fighting fascism. Recalled from Spain in May 1937, he returned to North America to help edit a documentary film about the unit, *Heart of Spain*, and to tour

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Canada and the U.S. raising money for the republican cause.

In July 1937, as Bethune was campaigning, the Japanese military invaded China. This helped to spur him to his next, and last, crusade. Journeying to China in January 1938 with the assistance of the China Aid Council and the communist parties of Canada and the U.S., over the next two years he gave magnificent assistance to the Chinese communists in their struggle against Japanese aggression, advancing the use of mobile operating units at the battle front. When he died in November 1939, succumbing to blood poisoning contracted while he operated on a wounded soldier, he became a revolutionary hero to millions in China and beyond.

These are the surface details, shrouding as much as they reveal of a mercurial life. His experience in Spain well illustrates the full brilliance, mystery, contradiction, and controversy of Norman Bethune.

Bethune departed from Canada on October 24, 1936, dispatched by the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (CASD), the only significant united front in Canadian history between the Communist Party and the social democratic Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

He arrived in Madrid on November 3, just days before Franco's forces opened a savage offensive on the capital. As a skilled surgeon, Bethune had the option of joining a military hospital in Madrid or working at the International Brigades training center in Albacete. But he rejected the anonymity of those roles. Bethune wanted a more visible presence for his country's anti-fascist contribution. Mere days after landing in Madrid, Bethune devised a plan that would bring him and Canada fame in the Spanish arena. It was a mobile blood transfusion service for the front. As he explained to the CASD, he wanted to "establish ourselves as a definite entity. England has the 'English Hospital,' Scotland has



the 'Scottish Ambulance.'" Canada would have the Instituto Hispano-Canadiense de Transfusión de Sangre, the Spanish-Canadian Blood Transfusion Institute.

Having cleared the idea with Spanish officials and the CASD in Toronto, Bethune and fellow Canadians Hazen Sise and Henning Sorensen set up the institute in a 15-room apartment close to the front on the western edge of Madrid.

From December 1936 to April 1937, Bethune and the team of Canadians and Spaniards in the transfusion unit established the service and extended it to the shifting fronts in the war zone. It was a considerable accomplishment. The Spanish government paid tribute to Bethune's role by making him an honorary military comandante, a major, the highest rank held by any foreigner in the medical service.

Hugh Thomas declared, "The medical assistance [from international anti-fascists] to the Republic brought many advances of military and civilian surgery and general therapy. Of these, the most outstanding were the remarkable developments in the technique of blood transfusion inspired by

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Bethune in Spain

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the Canadian Dr. Norman Bethune.” (*The Spanish Civil War*, p. 616). Thomas was at once too generous and too sparing in his praise of Bethune. He underemphasized the blood transfusion advances the Spanish government had made in the brief months between the outbreak of the war in July 1936 and Bethune’s arrival in November. In fact, there was a system in place when Bethune landed in Spain. But it was centered in Barcelona, far from the front lines. Bethune’s insight was to perceive the need for blood *at the front*. Bethune’s accomplishment in taking blood directly to the battlefield would save anti-fascist lives both in Spain and beyond. In World War II, the Western Allies studied and learned from the lessons of the Spanish experience in front-line transfusion and established their own blood supply system to their troops.

Bethune was also fortunate in the timing of his baptism into the horrors of the Spanish war, because it gave him the opportunity to render a service to Republican Spain that Thomas overlooked. Witnessing Franco’s brutal assault on Madrid, Bethune saw that the two conditions for an immediately successful blood service were at hand—demand and supply. The supply issue is often ignored. Blood banks were unheard of in 1937. The transfusion process was still primitive. Normally, when a transfusion was done, a volunteer simply lay down beside the wounded and a tube was connected from donor to receiver. Bethune’s institute was a breakthrough because it collected blood from civilians, typed, processed and refrigerated it, and then delivered it to the front.

Bethune’s brilliance was to see that donating blood to the institute was more than just a matter of charity. This was a way literally to tap into civilians’ anti-fascist sentiment. Not everyone could be a front-line combatant, but almost everyone could support the

fighters by giving blood. On the day the blood service opened, he recorded his elation at seeing the people of Madrid queue by the hundreds to donate blood for the anti-fascist cause. Bethune’s idea of collecting civilian donations of blood was an innovation that would have long-term significance, and far beyond Spain.

The month of April 1937, however, brought to a boil a simmering conflict within the transfusion unit. On April 19, 1937, Bethune resigned as head of the team. Remorseful yet bitter, Bethune left “the center of gravity of the world” on May 18. He had been in Spain just six months, time enough to make himself revered. The cause of his departure is a tangled tale that points to fundamental divisions within the Spanish Republic and the internationalist movement that supported it.

Bethune appeared to have medical, political, cultural, and personal conflicts with the Spanish staff of the transfusion unit, especially the doctors. He and the other Canadians questioned the qualifications and practices of the Spanish medical staff. One doctor had attached some of his relatives to the unit, and they were drawing pay and supplies, which infuriated Bethune. For their part, Spanish authorities and doctors were dubious of Bethune’s expertise in the area of blood transfusion, since he was known primarily as a surgeon.

Temperamentally, Bethune could be irascible and high-handed, character traits that must have been exacerbated under the danger and defeats of the war. Bethune’s independence and flair for publicity also made some Spanish government officials nervous. A large number of foreigners, many of them news correspondents, congregated at the institute’s headquarters. The favorable press coverage Bethune’s institute received may have made the Spanish jealous. His innovative idea of creating a film about the blood transfusion unit, for instance, showed typical panache. But taking pictures and collecting information at the front—both integral to any film project—were

deemed by Spanish authorities to be highly suspect.

A climate of suspicion and fear of treachery poisoned Republican Spain, and this led in part to Bethune’s recall. The elected government was fractured by internal jealousies. Beginning with the siege of Madrid in November 1936, “loyalty was everywhere suspect,” wrote Hugh Thomas. Reporters asked Fascist General Emilio Mola, at the head of the four columns of troops descending on the city, which one would take it. The “fifth column” of secret fascist sympathizers inside the city, he boasted. An already-edgy world immediately acquired a new phrase for treachery.

The Spanish government took Mola’s words to heart. The campaign against internal enemies became particularly vicious in the spring of 1937, when an internal war erupted, directed against perceived enemies of the Republic. In such a climate, even sincere anti-fascists could fall under suspicion, and Bethune did.

This is documented in a report recently obtained from the Communist International archives and deposited in the National Archives of Canada. Written by an anonymous figure in the Spanish government, it reflects the state of extreme suspicion ruling the government and its Communist Party ally in the spring of 1937. Its contents suggest that some Spanish officials were ready to raise any argument, specious or not, against Bethune. The report focuses in particular on Kajsa von Rothman, a Swedish volunteer who was Bethune’s secretary at the institute and his lover. The image we have of her suggests that Bethune—like other men—must have found her highly attractive. The unpublished memoirs of Kate Mangan—a Briton who worked in the Republican press and censorship office in 1936 and 1937—portray von Rothman as “a handsome giantess with red-gold flowing hair.” (I am indebted to Charlotte Kurzke, Mangan’s daughter, for this reference.)

The anonymous government report on affairs at the blood transfu-

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Letters

Continued from page 2

learned of the International Brigades. He joined the Lincoln Battalion and got to Spain in January 1937, going through most of the battles with us. He was unable to return to the U.S. after the war because he was not a citizen, and couldn't go to Germany because it would mean his death. So he continued to fight with the French underground against the Nazis, impersonating a German officer (since he spoke fluent German) and gaining valuable information for the Allies.

These exciting documents were discovered when Uli heard from Schofs's widow. She had read the German edition of my book, *Comrades*, and in it had seen a photo of her late husband! The caption on his photo read "unknown," and she was thrilled to be able to tell us his name for the next edition. She also decided to turn over all of his Spanish Civil War documents to the Lincoln archives at NYU. Uli had it all photographed for Mrs. Schofs and brought the originals with him to the States. The documents include a wonderful exchange of letters between Schofs and Moe Fishman, as well as a "resistance menu" written by Schofs while in a concentration camp in France, and many other fascinating documents.

But for me, the best was yet to come. As we were leaving NYU that day, Gail Malmgreen, who is in charge of the Lincoln archives, stopped me and mentioned that she had received an e-mail a few months earlier from the granddaughter of Oliver Law. Would I be interested in communicating with her? I was stunned. As someone who was mere yards away from Oliver when he was killed, and as someone who has admired his courage all these 65 years, I had no idea that he had left descendants! I immediately got in touch with his granddaughter, who put me in touch with her mother, Oliver's daughter.

It seems that the Law descendants had read Bill Katz's wonderful article about Oliver in *Legacy* magazine and

were understandably proud to learn that their father and grandfather had played an important role in the fight against fascism and in world history as the first black commander of integrated American troops. I sent each of them a copy of my book and let them know that some other Lincoln vets are still alive who knew Oliver and witnessed his death. Bill Katz sent each of them a copy of his book, *The Lincoln Brigade*, which was written with the late Marc Crawford. Since then, Clarence Kailin has learned that there is yet another granddaughter, who attended a recent memorial service Clarence arranged for Lincolns who died in Spain and after. The audience was thrilled to meet her.

We can thank William Loren Katz for opening the door to this wonderful turn of events. I think at our next reunion, in April 2003, or perhaps even earlier, we should honor Oliver and his family.

Sincerely,
Harry Fisher

Dear Volunteer:

Killing outside of battle and the use of unnecessary force and violence will haunt Spaniards forever if there is no recognition of the atrocities that occurred during the civil war of Spain. It may take a long time, but those deeds can be forgotten if the crimes are published and openly discussed in society. The crimes of the losing side are always revealed. Crimes of the winners are swept under the rug. It is possible to heal national trauma if the winners also admit their guilt and part in the war. The deeds of the winners and losers must be published. There must be a mission of Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Spain to unite a nation after a cruel past. It will not be forgotten because the next generation still suffers. And they know the secrets revealed by their own families. They still struggle to understand why their parents, grandparents and siblings lived such lonely lives. Those who committed political crimes during the war should be guaranteed freedom of consequences if they confess their crimes and apologize to the ones their crimes affected. It is a true

beginning of a healing process.

I am American and I found an enormous amount of information. I traveled for many years to Spain, the country of my father's birth. Last year, for the first time in 65 years, we found my father's family. He was orphaned during the war of Spain. I returned four times last year and will continue traveling. I am amazed at the amount of information that can still be found.

In a small town called Fuente de Cantos, Badajoz, there is a church called Nuestra Señora de la Granada. During the war, people were trapped inside and burned alive. Some threw themselves from the tower above, in an attempt to flee. There were mothers, fathers and children inside. Originally, after the war, the names of the people who belonged to the "winning side" were inscribed on an enormous plaque as a memorial and posted on the exterior wall of the church. Many years later there was local political outcry over the list. The names were then removed. The list of all the people inside does exist: publicly—no. You must go the political government agency called the Juzgado. They will not allow you to review the list. They will confirm the name of a family member if you give them an exact name. Imagine trying to locate several people. You turn away because you are embarrassed to ask if 15 missing family members are possibly listed. Why the humiliation?

In the same town, there is another church that has a secret. It is no longer a church. It is used as a community hall and houses painting that belonged to the renowned painter Zurbaran. In the exterior of this church there are small rooms the size of broom closets. They are all lined up in a row with wrought iron windows. It is located in the exterior courtyard. These rooms were used to interrogate and kill people. Many were also left inside who died of starvation. This same church has an underground tomb that housed nuns from centuries ago. When the war was over and the tomb door was lifted, piles of bodies were found.

Continued on page 20

Barcelona May Days

Continued from page 9

There was also a fierce organisational rivalry between CNT and BOC/POUM, sharpened by the latter's attempts to attract CNT members. In addition, the POUM was publicly critical of the CNT's requisitioning activities. Strained relations between the CNT and the POUM prevented an alliance against the PSUC and the Esquerra. In May 1937 anarchists and some POUM members found themselves on the same side of the barricades, but even then they would not be in a state of political agreement.

The lack of an alliance between the CNT and the POUM made it easier for the PSUC and the Esquerra to erode the new order. In December 1936 they abolished the CNT supply committees, re-establishing the free market in staple goods sought by their supporters. The PSUC, seconded by the Esquerra, publicly blamed the supply committees for the war-induced food shortages facing the population. By the end of 1936, the POUM had also been squeezed out of the Catalan government. Its criticism of Stalin's repression of Bolsheviks in the first Moscow trial, plus its vociferous criticism of Esquerra and PSUC policies in Catalonia, meant it had no political allies. The CNT scarcely protested the POUM's exclusion. But it was itself made more vulnerable by the POUM's departure.

Meanwhile, the Republic's worsening military situation was pressing down on all its political constituents. With the fall of the southern city of Málaga in February 1937, even the CNT's attention began to shift beyond Catalonia to consider the needs of the Republican war effort as a whole. But in urban Catalonia, and especially Barcelona, social and political tensions continued to build. War had dislocated the Catalan economy and induced severe unemployment. By early 1937 the refugee influx was huge (comprising a 10% increase in Catalonia's population). Inflation was rampant. Food was increasingly scarce, espe-

cially for the urban poor who were unable to access either the burgeoning barter economy or the black market, and who now had lost the safety net of the CNT's supply committees. Nor could the poor of Barcelona claim assistance from refugee agencies. There were familiar scenes of the police clearing street sellers and breaking up food protests, as well as protecting commercial quarters from popular requisition. Clearing itinerant vendors could be publicly justified as controlling the black market, but such government action disrupted the fragile economies of the urban poor. Protests against the subsistence crisis grew during the early months of 1937 and, just as before the war, it was the CNT that connected the protests of organized labor with those of "outcast Barcelona."

The other great battle was over control of public order. Since September 1936, the Esquerra and the PSUC had been building up the regular police forces in Catalonia. In early 1937 a single Catalan police force was created whose members were not allowed to belong to any political party or trade union. While difficult to enforce, it did achieve PSUC's and Esquerra's main objective, which was to criminalize the workers' defense patrols (mainly, though not exclusively, CNT) while also debarring their members from the new unified police force. In reality, however, the patrols went on existing, now in open conflict with the government. The tension mounted further in mid-March, when the central Republican government ordered all worker committees, patrols and individual workers to hand over their arms within 48 hours.

By April 1937 worker patrols were excluded from all police functions in the other major Republican cities of Madrid and Valencia. Enforcement in Catalonia, and Barcelona especially, was bound to be more difficult given the strength of popular hostility to the police. But the Catalan cabinet was determined to enforce its authority. During the second half of April, workers in Barcelona were disarmed on sight by the police. According to one source, 300 workers were disarmed in

the last seven days of April. It was this escalating confrontation over arms, combined with a major subsistence crisis, that explains why the attempted occupation of the telephone exchange triggered street fighting on May 3.

What, then, were the political consequences of the May Days fighting? Certainly the Catalan government hadn't expected such a strong reaction. Taking the Telefónica was intended as one more step in its gradual process of government normalization. Even CNT's leaders were surprised by the strength of the response. But they backed off from a confrontation with the government and sought to broker a ceasefire: indeed even an unconditional ceasefire, against the advice of POUM leader Andreu Nin. Why did they do this? Certainly the CNT could have won in urban Catalonia. But holding Catalonia as a whole would have required calling up anarchist troops from the adjacent Aragón front. Elsewhere in Republican Spain there was uncertainty on the left over what was occurring in Barcelona. Even the POUM's small sections in Madrid and Valencia were uneasy. Moreover, the Republican government was already poised to intervene: had it been faced with an all-out CNT challenge it would surely have drafted far greater numbers of troops and police to take on "revolutionary Barcelona." Otherwise it could not have guaranteed the adjacent military front in Aragón nor retained control over Catalonia's war industries, even more essential now as Basque industry came under rebel attack in the north.

The Republic itself might well not have survived such a massive escalation of armed internecine conflict, but either way, the CNT would certainly have gone down in the blood bath. Its leaders never even contemplated making such a stand. But nor did they have the organizational means to resist the government by this point. Nevertheless, the outcome of the May Days increased the internal divisions in the CNT that led to its marginalization within the Republican coalition.

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Barcelona

Continued from page 18

A further consequence of the May Days was the weakening of Catalan autonomy. To quell the rising, the Catalans had to draft several thousand central government troops. But these came at a price: Catalonia lost control of its own public order policy—the jewel in the crown of its 1932 autonomy statute. Late October 1937 saw the central government move to Barcelona and assume direct control of Catalan war industry. Catalan nationalist morale plummeted. But for the central Republican government—composed of centralist-minded republicans, socialists and communists—the lesson of the May Days was that nothing must be allowed to threaten war production and overall Republican military resistance.

As a result, the Republican government detained many members of the CNT and the POUM in Catalonia. This was a legal repression, using state prisons rather than the *cheka* (private prisons run by political groups) and extra-judicial killing. The POUM leaders were arrested for having publicly defended the May rebellion, their arrest coinciding with the fall of Bilbao, the industrial powerhouse of the Republican north. They were charged with rebellion against the wartime government and imprisoned pending trial.

There was, however, also a bloodier, sectarian settling of scores in the aftermath of May. For example, Spanish communists colluded with representatives of the Comintern, most notoriously in the murder of Andreu Nin, who had once been Trotsky's secretary. But the Spanish Communist Party alone did not generate all the sectarian violence during and after the May Days. In the prewar Republic (when the Spanish C.P. was still a negligible force) many acute intra-organizational conflicts on the Spanish left had been played out violently. The coming of the war did not wipe out the memory of these disputes. Indeed, as these mainly arose over issues of political influence, clientele and membership rivalries, the

wartime situation, if anything, intensified such clashes in Republican Spain. Once the May street fighting had erupted in Barcelona, it precipitated bloodletting on all sides. These clashes occurred between members of the CNT and the socialist-led trade union, UGT; between socialists and communists; and between the rival branches of Catalan communism—as the ghosts of decades of labor wars and political infighting stalked the streets and meeting rooms of the city.

Bringing Catalonia under government control had also increased in urgency as the Republic faced escalat-

Copic Diary

Continued from page 8

became too scattered. There is a feeling of fatigue. As a result, around 1500 hours the order was given that the American Battalion go into action and in that matter to provide support to the Dimitrov. After a very strong artillery preparation during which the 11th Brigade also came closer, the Americans began their attack assisted with tanks. The attack on enemy positions was brilliantly completed and the enemy's positions at the cemetery were taken."

Copic's diary provides interesting information concerning the subsequent battle at Belchite where Copic clearly credits the Dimitrovs rather than the Americans with taking the factory building in the town, a key part of the battle. On September 1, 1937, the "Dimitrov Battalion took the initial factory buildings and then the factory itself. The Americans do not advance. . . . The Americans don't know what they're doing. The entire time they complain that they can't advance because the fascists have installed artillery weapons. Merriman and Nelson are sent to the Battalion. Nelson communicates that the Battalion won't attack 'because they haven't gotten coffee since last night.'"

The subsequent battle of Fuentes de Ebro saw the appearance of the MacKenzie-Papinaeu Battalion, whose ranks included many Americans. Copic made a special note in a report

ing, total war against the German and Italian-backed rebels. Faced with external embargo, the Republic needed to mobilize its domestic economic and human resources to the maximum in order to ensure survival, let alone victory. This made urban, industrial, populous Catalonia essential to a successful Republican war effort. But it is also true that for republicans, socialists and communists (and the sectors of Spanish society they represented), "anarchist Barcelona" had in principle to be broken since it challenged the market-based parliamentary democracy they were seeking to reconstruct. ■

concerning the operation, which he apparently reproduced in toto in his diary, concerning the Brigade's performance: "the [Battalion] had very good results, and if one takes into account the fact that the Battalion had then for the first time entered battle then it can be said that it could not have given more from itself than it gave."

The diary contains many more entries concerning the XVth Brigade's actions in Spain. Its further study will no doubt open other avenues of inquiry. The numerous documents and microfilm reels maintained by ALBA provide a rich source of even more material concerning the history of the International Brigades that have yet to be fully studied. ■

British Women

Continued from page 14

A recurrent theme throughout the book is women's enthusiasm for political involvement on issues they believe are crucial. Their concerns about people who were suffering took priority over allegiance to a specific political party. As the first book to provide an in-depth exploration of the impact of the Spanish Civil War on the lives of British women, it offers insights into the political activities of women over time. ■

Letters

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I have an enormous amount of information regarding this town. There is a local singer who is somewhat famous. He sings a song regarding the suffering he endured during the war. As a small boy, he was tied to his father with rope and dragged along the streets on a horse. They were taken to the local cemetery and shot. The boy lived but not his father. Imagine for one second this event.

And it does not come from family members that I found. After the local people heard that I was an American girl who arrived with her father to meet his family for the first time in 65

Bethune in Spain

Continued from page 16

sion unit reveals that Spanish authorities stared down their noses at von Rothman, seeing her as a woman of loose morals, a supporter of the anarchists (and hence suspect to the communists) and, more ominously, a spy. At one point she was at risk of being detained for asking questions of a bridge guard. Although she was saved by the transfusion team's chauffeur, the report writer remained convinced she was engaged in acts that hinted of spying: "Currently, and due to Kajsa's initiative, it is said, there exists with the transfusion team a series of detailed maps, similar to military maps."

The report implicated Bethune in supposed nefarious acts and included this outlandish bid to portray him as a spy: "A suspicious fact which should also be considered is that Mr. Bethune openly takes detailed notes of the locations of bridges, crossroads, distances between determined points, journey times, etc., writing it all down carefully." Such details, of course, were vital information to the transfusion teams that delivered blood across a broad sector of the front day and night. The accusations are important mainly because they illustrate the

years, an outcome of the civil war, they came out in droves to tell their stories. They still whisper and are afraid. The older people took me by the hand through the streets and told me story after story of the things that occurred in homes, churches and businesses.

The capital of Badajoz itself has a bull ring where over 1,500 people were hauled inside and shot in one massive killing. This is documented fact. The bodies were then burned and the smell and smoke could be seen for miles. No one talks about this atrocity.

In a town called Lora Del Rio, Seville, they still harbor secrets and refuse to help anyone who searches for information. I found three Spanish authors that have written of the events that occurred and that lists exist of

widespread state of paranoia that weakened the movement.

In this climate, a flamboyant, self-confident, even arrogant risk-taker like Bethune was bound to come to grief. By May 1937 his contribution to the cause was undeniable, but his best work was probably back in the heady days when the blood transfusion system was first established. By returning to Canada, Bethune saved himself to fight—and die—in another anti-fascist cause.

Suggested reading:

Ted Allan and Sydney Gordon, *The Scalpel, The Sword: The Story of Dr. Norman Bethune* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971)

Larry Hannant, ed., *The Politics of Passion: Norman Bethune's Writing and Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998)

David A.E. Shephard and Andr e L evesque, *Norman Bethune: His Times and His Legacy* (Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association, 1982)

Roderick Stewart, *Bethune* (Toronto: New Press, 1973) ■

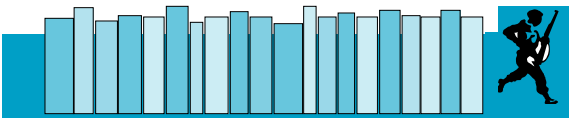
those who died. One famous author is Juan Manuel Lozano Nieto. He talks about the events that occurred and the bodies that were counted and many more who disappeared. When you ask the government agency called the Ayuntamiento and Registro Civil where is the list of those who died during the civil war, you reference the three authors and present material, they shrug their shoulders and say they cannot help. When you ask where is the cemetery where the bodies were taken after the war, again they do not know.

As I said before, the secrets are still revealed. The elders are still alive and the next generation will reveal their secrets. An older man approached me and whispered to me that I should go to the Avenida Castilla #23 where my grandparents lived. He said I would find answers and have questions. He told me to notice that the entire town is in a continuous process of refurbishing and restoring of its architecture, with the exception of this one region, the region where the war occurred. He then told me to look at the open land in the rear of the street. Why was this beautiful open land that spans acres abandoned? He told me that I will find the answer there. I can only conclude that the bodies were thrown in pits in this open land.

I just wanted to put my search to rest. I wanted to find where my grandmother, Josefa Antonia Iglesias Laina, and her children, Maria de la Hermosa Sanchez Iglesias, Bonifacio Francisco Sanchez Iglesias, and my father's twin sister, Josefa Sanchez Iglesias, were put to rest. My grandmother was not killed in battle. She was shot in her home, and my father witnessed the death of his mother. Where are the children? Did they die or were they evacuated to another country? No information is given. None!

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,
Maria Corrales
88 Moose Hill Road
Trumbull, CT 06611



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by Paul S. D'Ambrosio

Alvah Bessie's Spanish Civil War Notebooks
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British Women & the Spanish Civil War
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Spain's Cause Was Mine
by Hank Rubin

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The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
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Rare Birds: An American Family
by Dan Bessie

The Politics of Revenge
by Paul Preston

The Triumph of Democracy in Spain
by Paul Preston

The Lincoln Brigade, a Picture History
by William Katz and Marc Crawford

To Remember Spain
by Murray Bookchin

The Spanish Cockpit
by Franz Borkenau

The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War: Volume 1
by Robert Alexander

The Color of War
by Jordi & Arnau Carulla

EXHIBIT CATALOGS

The Aura of the Cause, a photo album
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VIDEOS

Art in the Struggle for Freedom
Abe Osheroff

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Added to Memory's Roster



PHOTO BY RICHARD BERMAK

Perley Payne

Frank Lister
(aka Frank Feingersh)

Paul Lutka

Joseph "Doc" Roffman

Perley Payne

Hidden Past

Continued from page 6

was Asunción Álvarez Méndez, 87 years old, whose two brothers, Porfirio and Joaquín, may be among the disinterred bodies. Asunción says she can finally die in peace. But the two women will not be sure of the identities until the DNA analysis is completed. This time the local judge, who recognized the importance of the humanitarian effort the Association is carrying out, offered to take all the necessary steps to help clarify the identification of the bodies, including assuming the costs of the DNA testing. She has set a precedent that the Association hopes will be followed elsewhere.

Throughout the 15 days of work, Theo Francos, 88-year-old French veteran of the IBs, accompanied the group "for moral support." He regaled friends and families with his memories. His lively character and generosity added a special touch to the arduous work. "The dead must talk. The truth must be known," emphasizes Theo.

If we can judge by the wide coverage the summer excavations received by the media, the "dead" have indeed talked. What they say can no longer

remain unheard by the Spanish government. The men and women who lie scattered in unmarked graves throughout Spain, victims of fascism for having sided with the legally elected Republican government, deserve recognition and honorable burials.

The first bodies of the victims of fascism were exhumed thanks to the efforts of Emilio Silva and Santiago



Emilio Silva Faba

Cookson

Continued from page 4

place in John's life. He stoically accepted his son's death, affirming that "[a] man may as well die young having died for a purpose than to live a whole life without one."

After this speech Manuel Requena said that the Centro de Estudios y Documentación de las Brigadas Internacionales, of the University of Castilla-La Mancha at Albacete, would publish the translation of Kailin's work on Cookson into Spanish. Requena spoke with great emotion about how Clarence Kailin's decision to be buried in Spain, next to his friend and comrade, stands as a moving tribute to Cookson and the cause of the IB. The lecture was closed by Len Levenson and the mayor.

Afterwards the speakers were presented with a set of three bottles of local wine, since Marçà is located in the Priorat, one of the main wine producing regions in Catalonia.

To end the event the attendants were invited to gather for dinner at a local restaurant, where the warm atmosphere of the entire event became evident at the time of the final toast and farewell.

The Tarragona press covered this event with a full-page article in the edition of *El Punt* of Saturday, June 29, and a long article in the Tarragona edition of *La Vanguardia*, headlined "The Brigadista who Corrected Einstein." ❏

Macías and to all of those who have supported the ARMH. They are the seeds of memory, each particular memory being a fragment of the tragedy which has begun to flower into the collective memory of the silenced past. These seeds must nourish younger generations with the truth in order to keep that history alive, in order never to allow those atrocities to repeat themselves. ❏

Visit the ALBA web site at www.alba-valb.org



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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 ALBA's executive secretary, Diane Fraher, 212-598-0968. The exhibit is available for museum and art gallery showings.

Allentown, PA

Sept 10, 2002-December 1, 2002.

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Contact Diane Fraher, ALBA executive secretary:

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NOVELIST E.L. DOCTOROW

HIGHLIGHTS

ALBA-SUSMAN LECTURE,
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 6:15 P.M.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR POETRY
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 2 P.M.

For details see page 3.



PHOTO BY NANCY CRAMPTON

E.L. DOCTOROW

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