

Coming NY VALB-ALBA weekend: April 23-25

The last weekend in April will provide nearly full-time immersion in Spanish Civil War-related events for New Yorkers (or out-of-towners coming to New York) who want them. They begin on 6:00 PM Friday evening, April 23, at New York University's King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center (53 Washington Square South), where Professor Gabriel Jackson will deliver the second annual Bill Susman Lecture. (ALBA

Board member and distinguished historian of the Spanish Civil War, Jackson lives in Barcelona, and writes frequently for *El Pais* and *The Volunteer.*)

The second phase of the VALB-ALBA weekend takes place on Saturday, April 24,



Odetta

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;Justicia! The 62nd Annual Dinner of the Bay Area Post of VALB

by Roby Newman, Dave and Sophie Smith

Nearly 900 people attended the 62nd annual gathering of the Bay Area Post of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB), held on Sunday, February 28. As in years past this event took place in Oakland, at the Calvin Simmons Theater in the Henry J. Kaiser Convention Center. Most of those attending the afternoon's program also enjoyed a wonderful luncheon buffet.

The mixed crowd of old and young purchased, before and after the program, almost \$3,000 worth of books and posters, including all of Ariel Dorfman's material for sale (the tape of his speech will be available sometime after April).

The afternoon was opened by Dave Smith, new Commander of the

Bay Area Post (The past Commander, Milt Wolff, has "retired" from the office, though not from involvement with the Post). Smith summarized the main activities of the Bay Area Post during the past 12 months, emphasizing Post members' attendance at both the Seattle (Lincoln Brigade) and British Columbia (Mac-Pap) monument dedications last Fall.

Peter Carroll, co-chair of the event and chair of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA), then spoke about ALBA's ongoing activities, including the touring exhibition of Spanish posters (*Shouts From The Wall*) and photos of the International Brigades (*The Aura of the Cause*), as well as the upcoming ALBA-Bill Sennett lecture



Cover of the Bay Area VALB invitation.

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NSIDE

A vision realized:

The new IB **Documentation Center in Albacete**

by Robert Coale

s one of the initial objectives of the Asociación de A Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales since its earliest days, the inauguration of the International Brigades Documentation Center in Albacete on July 11, 1998, was an especially gratifying experience for all those present. After two years of planning and negotiations with official institutions, which were occasionally quite difficult, the determination of the Amigos was rewarded.

Unable to attend the official opening, I pledged to take the first possible opportunity to visit the center. It came this past February. During a short stay in Madrid, I was able to run down to Albacete, eager to report for The Volunteer on how things were shaping up. It was a memorable trip, not only due to the earthquake, 5.2 on the Richter scale, which shook Murcia and tremored La Mancha all the way to the outskirts of Madrid. In many ways it was a trip back in time.

Those veterans or family members who have not been to La Mancha over the past 60 years may rest assured. Even though many things have changed along the route from Madrid to Albacete, others remain exactly the same. White windmills still silhouette the arid landscape and the modern highway parallels the Jarama River for the first part of the trip. Albacete, the provincial capital, holds few traces of the town of 1936. It has grown from 40,000 inhabitants to 150,000. The Guardia Nacional Republicana barracks is gone. The bullring was given a new façade in the 1940s, and the Ayuntamiento is now the municipal museum.

The only buildings which remain unchanged are the Diputación Provincial and the Gran Hotel. Near the latter, quietly resisting time, the sunny Plaza del Altozano is a relic of turbulence — an air raid shelter. The entry is covered by a grate and known to few people apart from the municipal gardener who tends the flowers.

The underground convent crypt is a mere 20 yards in front of what was the main entrance to the Town Hall, now a museum. A quick visit reveals the Spanish watchwords neatly painted in red and still clearly visible, "Don't bunch up at the entrance, continue inside," "No smoking" and "Remain as orderly and calm as possible."

Pockmarked buildings along the avenue which leads

Robert Coale, a member of the AABI, is an American studying in France. He visits Spain frequently. His previous article in The Volunteer on An American 'Amigo' in New York, appeared in the Summer 1997 issue.



The Albacete archive building.

from the train station attest that the construction of the small town's shelters was not unfounded. Albacete, beginning in February 1937, was bombed several times by fas-

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an ALBA publication

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Submission of Manuscripts

Please send manuscripts typewritten and double-spaced, if possible. If you wish your manuscripts returned, enclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Material for The Volunteer may also be sent via E-mail at: mgettlem@duke.poly.edu or

A resolve is made — 'Chicago Friends' is born

by Bobby and Chuck Hall

 $\mathbf{F}^{ ext{lying home from the Homenaje}}_{ ext{November 1996 and inspired by}}$ the remarkable example of the Madrid-based Asociación de Amigos de Las Brigadas Internacionales, the two Chicago vets who attended with their wives, Aaron Hilkevitch and Chuck Hall, made a pledge to bring the story of this 60th anniversary reunion to a home-town audience. We decided to call ourselves the Chicago Friends, formed an ad hoc committee and invited VALB and ALBA members in the area, as well as anyone interested in preserving and telling the story of the Lincolns and the International Brigades, to help us plan an appropriate commemorative event for Chicago.

Toward May 1997

The Chicago vets, their ranks decimated by illness and death, had lost contact with each other after the local 50th anniversary commemoration in 1989, but we located a core group of six Lincolns. (We have since lost Manny Hochberg.) Next, with the help of Victor Berch at ALBA, we identified some 150 volunteers who had a Chicago connections, among whom were 10 African Americans. Foremost of these. of course, was Oliver Law, who fell in the Brunete offensive. We were able to find family members and friends of some of the vets and began to collect additional biographical and genealogical information. Our contact list grew, and through all of these initial efforts, ALBA and VALB (especially Peter Carroll and Roby Newman) continually encouraged and assisted us.

After our return from the *Homenaje*, we organized house parties, spoke to seniors and community

Lincoln vet **Chuck (Charles) Hall** and his wife **Bobby (Yolanda)** are long-time progressive activists in the Chicago area. Chuck is co-chair of the Chicago Friends.



Bobby and Chuck Hall

groups in various parts of the city, often showing the Judy Montell film *You Are History, You Are Legend*, which captures the exuberance of the welcome we received from the Spanish people, expecially the youth. At each local event, we added to our growing mailing list.

During this time we had the good fortune to meet Jamie O'Reilly and Michael Smith while they were developing a critically acclaimed program called Pasiones: Songs of the Spanish Civil War, which has brought (and continues to bring) the story to audiences in a variety of venues around the city and beyond. And through Jamie we met Peter Glazer, a long time friend of the Bay Area VALB and ALBA. With his artistic, musical, theatrical experience, and his organizational knowhow, Peter has contributed immeasurably to our fledgling group. He ably chaired the early meetings of the ad hoc committee, and has become a friend of many of the vets as well, having interviewed several of them for his doctoral studies at Northwestern University.

The Robeson Tribute: December 5, 1998

After a successful event in May 1997, attended by more than 200 Chicago-area folk, the committee dropped the designation "ad hoc" and decided to become the Chicago Friends of the Lincoln Brigade. Two major projects were set for 1998: to help find a venue for *Shouts From The Wall* and to celebrate the Paul Robeson Centennial with a program dedicated to his contribution to the fight for Republican Spain.

For the Robeson event we borrowed a production originated in California by the Bay Area VALB: The Artist Must Take Sides. This dramatic performance piece, assembled by Roby Newman, consisted almost entirely of Robeson's own words, also featured skillfully woven excerpts from his recordings of Spanish Civil War songs, spirituals, and political ballads. An artist, but never an advocate of art for art's sake, Robeson sang, acted and spoke from his deep commitment to the priogressive causes of his day, not least of which was the struggle against fascism in Spain. He visited and sang behind Republican lines and was one of the very few to be awarded the three-point star of the Lincoln Brigade volunteers.

To produce *The Artist Must Take Sides,* Roby Newman came east from San Francisco to work with director Phyllis Griffin, of De Paul University, and Chicago actors to produce at the O'Malley theater of Roosevelt University an event that will be long remembered in the windy city. (It is important to note that this production was supported by the St. Clair Drake Center for African American Studies and the Center for New Deal Studies at Roosevelt University and the Robeson Centennial Committee at Columbia College.)

Shouts From The Wall to come to Chicago

We were successful in also realiz-

Chicago Friends formed

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ing our other goal: arranging for ALBA's famed Spanish Civil War poster exhibit, *Shouts From The Wall*, to come to Chicago. An appropriate site, the Harold Washington Library in downtown Chicago, was found. The exhibit will run from August 14 to October 17. Along with the dramatic posters and informative wall texts, to be viewed by thousands of visitors to the Library, a whole series of activities will accompany and parallel the exhibit at several local colleges and universities.

Heart of Spain & prisoners of war

After the May 1997 program, Peter Glazer organized and performed at programs using the music, poetry and art from the Spanish Civil War. And this April 17 his musical play, *The Heart of Spain*, will be performed at Northwestern University. This performance will be preceded by a reunion of those American defenders of the Spanish Republic held in the San Pedro de Cardena prison until their release in April 1939. Among them was the present co-chair of the Chicago Friends of the Lincoln Brigade, Chuck Hall. A reception for the San Pedro vets will follow the Saturday afternoon performance. The next evening these vets will speak at International House, on the University of Chicago campus. A future issue of *The Volunteer* will carry an account of all these exciting events.

Despite these achievements, We are still a relatively small group of aging activists who recognize - as VALB and ALBA groups all over the country are similarly recognizing - that we must reach out to younger people. We now have a young school teacher, Brian Peterlinz, who has become the co-chair with Chuck Hall and has initiated VIVA, a newsletter, which will report on Chicago

activities. But we have a long way to go. We are interested in sharing and exchanging — as well as getting advice, especially from cities and towns where similar groups may be getting started. These should be sent



The cover of the invitation to the Robeson event. It was designed by Peggy Lipschutz.

to the Chicago Friends of the Lincoln Brigade, 5320 N. Sheridan, Apt. #1902, Chicago, IL 60640, or by E-mail to **yhall@aol.com** and/or Brian Peterlinz **juanyen@entezact.com** where we await your suggestions. —

HE TOOK SIDES - Paul Robeson performing for the brigaders at Teruel, Spain.



New light on Australian IB volunteers in Republican Spain

by Amirah Inglis

Exactly how many Australian vol-unteers went to Spain, no one can say. The authors of the 1938 pamphlet Australians in Spain, said "at least 44" and 10 years later in the second edition estimated 53. Those who had gone to Spain without the knowledge of the Communist or aid committees in Australia or Britain were not counted: nurses Dorothy Low and Elizabeth Burchill were two of these, as were the Independent Labor Party supporter Harvey Buttonshaw, and Arthur Sime, who left Australia in 1931 for the USSR and went from there in 1936 to Spain. Several Spanish immigrants from north Queensland were also hard to identify.

Recently, more information came to light when the International Brigades' records held by the Comintern became open to scholars. An Australian Communist working in Moscow arranged for material to be photocopied and two new names (only surnames available) — Holloway and Jackson — have been added from this small, rich collection which provides valuable additions to our knowledge.

The "Leading Committee" of the XVth Brigade prepared an evaluation of "the whole life of this comrade... in Spain" for all volunteers about to be repatriated, or already abroad, for whatever reason. The document brought them to the notice of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, it said, "in the hope that this information will be of service." Good qualities and faults were noted. Charles Riley, "disciplined and steady," was given a good conduct appraisal by John Gates and Sam Brown of the British Battalion, who also noted on June 14, 1938, that a Lieutenant Olorenshaw also considered Riley "very brave under fire and



in the line" his conduct "was that of a good Party member and soldier." Another volunteer received a bad character report. His fault was laid to drunkenness and he was summed up as a "declassed element."

A searching biographical questionnaire (Biografia de Militantes, also found in the Comintern archives) in Spanish was administered by the Foreign Section of the Central Cadres Commission of the PCE to those comrades, Spanish or not, "who desire to enter the ranks of the Communist Party of Spain." Among the questions to be answered were: When did you join the Party? Who recruited you? Have you ever opposed the Party line? Do you have relations with Trotskyists? Did you come to Spain with the authorization of the Party? What communist works have you studied?

On the eve of the Brigades' repa-

triation from Barcelona in December 1938, the Cadres Commission (foreign section) produced a line or two on each volunteer, written in English and headed "A Brief but Final Estimate." Australian volunteers of the International Brigades (divided into members of the CP of Spain and Non-PCE members) were summed up as either "Good" or "Fair."

By far the most interesting and valuable of the documents was the four-page questionnaire produced by the War Commissariat of the International Brigades in Barcelona, printed in English and administered to outgoing Brigaders at the end of 1938: Any previous military experience? How did you get to Spain? Have you ever had leave? Outside Spain? What work did you do in Spain? Wounded? Punished? What for? What do you now think of the punishment?

The questionnaire provides a rich portrait of each brigader. For what purpose was this information collected at the end of 1938 when the IBs were no more? To what use, if any, was the information put? Or was it simply a case of bureaucracy? We cannot now give definitive answers to these questions.

We now know a great deal about some, and little about most, of the Australian volunteers; but we can identify one striking characteristic: 10 of them were women (all nurses) proportionally more than in a conventional army. Outside of this gender diversity, they were not markedly different from other groups of Australian soldiers. More than a third were born outside Australia, most of whom had started life in the United Kingdom. This differed from Australia's adult population, 70 percent of whom were native born.

Few of these native born were very young or married. Spanish and Italian volunteers, more closely tied to relatives and friends, left wives and children in Australia. The majori-

Amirah Inglis's interest in the Spanish Civil War was kindled when her mother's youngest brother joined the International Brigades in 1937. Inglis later edited the Letters From Spain of Regimen de Tren member Lloyd Edmonds (1985) and wrote Australians in the Spanish Civil War (1987). She participated in the successful efforts to erect in Canberra a monument to the memory of Australian volunteers in Spain. This paper was originally prepared for the 1997 conference on the International Brigades held in Lausanne. Switzerland.

The brigaders, all internationalists, remained conscious of themselves as Australians and of their country's contribution to the fight against fascism.

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ty of their British-born comrades considered the working-class movement their family; their closest companions were fellow unionists or party members.

Of the 52 volunteers whose activities in Spain we know, 36 were attached to fighting groups and 16 served in nursing capacity, or as organizers, investigators or propagandists. Twenty-seven of the 36 known fighters were manual workers - seamen. shearers. a shearers' cook. a boilermaker, a sugar worker, a printer and general laborers. Charles McIlroy had trained as a nurse, a fact I had not known until I read his Biografia. Four of the group worked for the Communist Party, three as organizers, one as a printer; one was a writer, four were farmers, one a school teacher and one a poster artist. The 16 non-fighters (including the 10 women mentioned above) had been nurses. the others white collar workers or students.

Of those whose politics I know, 26 — or 40 percent — were members of the CPA. Two were Communist sympathizers; two others described themselves as anarchists: several were liberal democrats or Christian socialists; and three were supporters of the Australian Labor Party. Most were battlers who had struggled through the deeply hard times of the depression. They were in no way "marginal" to the Australian working-class experience of the time when the unemployment rate of trade unionists averaged close to 25 percent in 1931 to 1935, and over 17 percent of the overall work force.

Neither were they typical, because they went to Spain without government sanction. But fighting in overseas wars was not new to Australians: International Brigaders Jack Franklyn and James McNeill had each volunteered in the First World War. The Comintern documents show that Franklyn spent 3 1/2 years fighting in that war.

Half a dozen or more volunteers

had been in jail for political offenses; for "riotous behavior," for brawling or stealing. They had been educated up to anger and class consciousness by their experience, by the syndicalist socialism of the Industrial Workers of the World and by the classes they attended in the CPA.

Robust anti-clericalism and socialism figured in the early reading of Jack Franklyn. To the Biografia question, "When did you become interested in the proletarian cause? And by what means?" He replied it was in 1920, "From reading Upton Sinclair, Joseph McCabe, Voltaire and Ingersoll." As a member of the CPA he added. "Palme Dutt's Fascism and Social Revolution; Stalin's Leninism; Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto, Stalin's The October Revolution ; Strachey, The Coming Struggle for Power." If only this bibliographical information had survived about all the Australian brigaders!

A diverse group

In personality the volunteers were as diverse as any group of human beings. Harry Hynes, an Australian seaman, living on the east coast of the U.S. in 1937, took to Spain his discharge certificate from every ship he had served; on each was stamped "V.GOOD" twice, once for conduct, once for ability. Arthur Hayman, who arrived in June 1937 and was attached to the Lincoln Battalion, was arrested for drunkenness, imprisoned for a month and described by the Leading Party Committee as having no good qualities.

Supporters of the Republic in Australia combined anti-fascist, antiwar and socialist sentiments with an anti-clericalism that was often a disguised form of traditional anti-Catholicism. All volunteers gave "anti-fascism" as their motivation. Jack Franklyn wrote, "Con motivo antifascist" when answering the question "Why did you come to Spain?" Anti-fascism to him, and to others, implied anti-capitalism.

At the nurses' farewell from

Sydney on October 24, 1936, the hundreds who gathered sang "*The Internationale*" and "*The Red Flag.*" Jack Stevens, former secretary of the West Australian Communist Party, wrote from Spain to his paper, "A Spanish toilers' victory will be a victory for the toilers of Australia and the world's toilers."

The brigaders, all internationalists, remained conscious of themselves as Australians and of their country's contribution to the fight against fascism. "Just tell the boys back home to do all they possibly can to help the Spanish government.... I hope Australia will send a contingent." These were "Blue" Barry's last words, broadcast by Barcelona radio.

"An aroma of suspicion surrounds us" in Spain, wrote nurse Agnes Hodgson in her diary. When she was left behind after three other Australian nurses were finally sent to the Madrid front, she wondered whether there was "some other suspicion or idea behind this rather tardy re-arrangement."

It was possible that the responsibility lay with Mary Lowson, leader of the group, who worked for a time in the Foreigners section of the Cadres department of the Communist party of Spain and was suspicious because Agnes had earlier nursed in Italy. One of the other nurses wrote home in alarm about "Mary's unguarded hatred of Hodgson." None of this was made public at the time — and why would it be? But perhaps it was raised when Mary was brought home early in 1938 to become an energetic propagandist for the Republican cause.

Most of the Australians were in front line activity during the winter of 1936-7. Scattered among the newly formed XVth Brigade with the British, the Franco-Belge and Dimitrovs, or joined with the Lincolns, wherever they were, Australians took part in all the battles of the International Brigades. They fought and nursed at Aragon, at Brunete, Teruel and on the Ebro. Many were wounded, and after recov-

Retirada — tragic exodus remembered

by Robert Coale

ne of the final and most dramatic events of the Spanish Civil War was duly commemorated in the South of France during February. It was the 60th anniversary of the collapse of the Catalonian front and the withdrawal of Spanish Republican forces and civilians into Southern France. Known as the Retirada, these events took place from January 27, 1939, when the French authorities first opened the border to women, children, the elderly and wounded Loyalist soldiers, to February 14, when the last of the Republican army rear-guard units crossed into France to be disarmed by gendarmes and marched off to concentration camps such as Argelés sur Mer and Saint Cyprien.

Newspapers and local authorities have not allowed this important anniversary to go unnoticed. Not surprisingly, one of the regional newspa-

Robert Coale's description of the International Brigade Archive in Albacete, Spain, appears elsewhere in this issue of The Volunteer. pers which remembered the events most vividly had several months earlier covered the *Despedida* commemoration in Barcelona [see the Winter 1998-9 *Volunteer*].

The weekly La Semaine du Roussillon ran an extensive nine-page report on the Retirada, which included emotionally-charged photographs of masses of Spaniards in 1939 crowding into the narrow streets of the border town of Le Perthus, and personal accounts of witnesses. These descriptions of the sea of desperate refugees resonate with thinly veiled criticism of the rightward-leaning French government of the time for not having anticipated the events and for the occasionally rough handling given to anti-fascist Spanish soldiers who had spent over two-and-a-half years combatting Franco's forces. Other testimonies recall women who looked skyward at the slightest engine noise to search for dreaded fascist planes and the experience of one Republican army unit which crossed the border with its 2,000 fascist prisoners in tow. These prisoners were taken aside by French authorities to await repatriation back to Spain.

The local daily from Perpignan, *l'Indépendant*, ran an informative two-page spread on the anniversary of this mass exodus with an extensive bibliography for those seeking further information. The total number of refugees who crossed the border in January and February of 1939 is estimated at 450,000, although small groups continued to sneak past franquist border guards well into March.

Proof that the International Brigade legacy remains present is the frequent mention of a group of some 700 IB veterans who had not been repatriated and who were among the first residents of the camp in Argelés sur Mer.

An exhibition of photographs of the 1939 cross-border migration, organized by the Spanish Republican Army veterans in Perpignan, attracted a sizeable young audience eager to learn about their region's role in those turbulent times. This curiosity was rewarded by seeing pictures not only of the *Retirada* itself, but also of con-

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After the Soviet Union was invaded in June 1941 and the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in December, more Brigaders again joined the fight against fascism.

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ering, fought again. Thirteen of the 65 volunteers identified in my *Australians in the Spanish Civil War* were killed in Spain.

When the International Brigades were withdrawn from the front and sent home, less than a dozen Australians remained to be repatriated by the British government on January 6, 1939. Most returning volunteers began lecture tours as soon as they landed. They spoke on public platforms all over the country, publicising the plight of Spanish refugees and raising money for them. They continued this outraged activity after Franco was recognized as head of the Spanish government. Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia, and Barcelona fell, but with the outbreak of World War II organized support in Australia for Spanish refugees fizzled out.

Jim McNeill lowered his age by five years and enlisted for World War II on the first day of recruiting and two nurses immediately volunteered for the army. Others accepted the Communist interpretation of the war as imperialist, and lay low when the Communist Party was declared illegal in 1940. National Security Regulations were promulgated and the Spanish Relief Committee's papers were seized. They were returned later to the committee's lawyer and kept safe during the war. Brigaders who had been under federal police surveillance before they left for Spain — Sam Aarons was one — remained so when they returned; others were subject to mild harassment as the government attempted to recoup its passage money (the government paid for the London to Australia passage for the IBs) and keep its dossiers of Communists up to date.

After the Soviet Union was invaded in June 1941 and the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in December, more Brigaders again joined the fight against fascism. Jack Franklyn was one of these; he put his age down and enlisted in his third war. Small in number and scattered over a huge country, the Brigaders never formed an organization, but in the decades after the war they were often invoked as heroes in the radical and socialist tradition. The memorial to Australian Brigaders, which stands today in the national capital, paid for by public subscription, was unveiled in December 1993 by Lloyd Edmonds, one of the last surviving volunteers.

Retirada

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centration camp life for Spanish Republican refugees in France, and of the part played by the exiled Spanish in World War II, both as volunteers in the French Army and as members of the Resistance movement against the occupying German forces and the profascist Vichy government.

The exhibition and articles have sparked several other initiatives. The latest news is that the Town Council of Argelés sur Mer is planning commemorative activities for the near future; either a symposium or the raising of a local monument. Today the only physical reminder of the more than 77,000 men and women refugees, who lived literally on the beach, is the camp cemetery.

The Spanish Department of the University of Perpignan is soon to follow suit. The professors in charge are in the midst of planning a series of commemorative events to take place sometime over the next few months.

Thus, not only are the Spanish



Republican refugees on their way into France.

taking a fresh look at their contemporary history, but also their French neighbors seem to be taking stock of the part they played in the Spanish Civil War. This leads them also to remember the role of Spanish Republicans in the struggle against Nazi Germany and its allies.

A final note, the *Amigos* have just published an issue of their

Bulletin, the first since the special Homenaje issue of 1997. Soon to reach IB veterans and friends, this publication will bring everyone up to date on the activities of the Asociación de Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales in Spain. Its regular publication is intended to improve communication between all those interested in the International Brigades. _

ALBA'S TRAVELING EXHIBITIONS

SHOUTS FROM THE WALL

(Poster exhibit, 1999)

PENNSYLVANIA

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

ILLINOIS

August 14 — October 17 Harold Washington Library

<u>TEXAS</u>

Nov. 8, 1999 — Feb. 21, 2000 Southern Methodist University Dallas, TX

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 revealing the Abraham 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, and its companion exhibit Shouts From The Wall, posters from the Spanish Civil War, contact ALBA's executive secretary, Diane Fraher, 212-598-0968.

Both exhibits are available for further museum and art gallery

BRING THESE EXHIBITS TO YOUR LOCALITY

Book Reviews



Franco's repression analyzed

A TIME OF SILENCE: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945 by Michael Richards Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1998

by Paul Preston

hroughout 1964, General Franco L and his supporters were delighted by a noisy nationwide celebration of the "Twenty-Five Years of Peace" since the end of the Civil War. It began with a solemn Te Deum in the basilica at the Valle de los Camdos. Franco's great mausoleum for the Nationalist war dead, to mark not peace but victory. Every town and village in Spain was bedecked with posters asserting that the Nationalist war effort had been a religious crusade to purge Spain of the atheistic hordes of the left. For the Caudillo, the defeated were the "canalla (scum) of the Jewish-Masonic-Communist conspiracy" and the civil war "the struggle of the Patria [the fatherland] against the anti-Patria, of national unity against separatism, of morality against iniquity, of the spirit against materialism." One of his regime's central post-war objectives was to maintain a festering division of Spain between the victorious and the vanguished, the privileged "authentic Spain" and the castigated "anti-Spain."

For the defeated, Franco's peace meant the silence of the graveyard. Between 1939 and 1944, the so-called Ministry of Justice admitted to a figure of over 190,000 executed or died in prison. Torture accounted for the large numbers of suicides in prison the authorities, feeling cheated by these "escapes" from their justice, often reacted by executing a relative of the prisoner. As Dr. Richards' eloquent and moving study, A Time of *Silence*, argues, "the violence amounted to a brutal closing down of choices and alternatives: the extermination of memory, of history." He shows how the Francoists used a psycho-pathological language to depict the enemy as subhuman — dirty, filthy, stinking depraved scum, slime, whores, criminals which then justified the need for "purification." Richards provides horrendous examples of the cruelty car-



ried out in the name of redemption: rape, confiscation of goods, execution because of the behavior of a son or husband.

This richly textured study traces the complex interplay between institutionalized violence, ideology, organized religion, economics and social deprivation in the humiliation and exploitation of the defeated. Franco imposed a policy of economic self-sufficiency, or autarky. Considering himself to be an economist of genius, he did so oblivious to the fact that Spain lacked the technological base which made autarky possible for the Third Reich. Autarky brought economic and social disaster; shortages provoked the emergence of a black market, the estraperlo, which exacerbated the differences between rich and poor. State intervention in every aspect of the planting, harvesting, processing, sale and distribution of wheat was so corrupt that it made fortunes for officials while creating shortages which saw prices rocket. Access to work and ration cards meant getting identity cards and safe conducts which involved certificates of "good behavior" from local Falangist officials and parish priests.

Dr. Richards' perceptive account of autarky and the workings of the black market shows that the social consequences, if perhaps more inadvertent and with less of a guiding purpose than he implies, fitted well with the regime's rhetoric of the need for the defeated to seek redemption through sacrifice. The destruction of trade unions and the repression of the working class ensured starvation wages which permitted banks, industry and the landholding classes to record spectacular increases in profits. Prisoners were forced into labor battalions and "redeemed" their sentences through poorly paid labor in dreadful conditions which gave rise to a terrible death toll. Strikers were often shot without trial.

Drawing on an impressive range of research in both primary and secondary sources, ranging from police reports to novels. Dr. Richards uses social, economic, political and cultural analysis to demonstrate in A Time of Silence how repression went beyond execution, torture and imprisonment to material deprivation and the unquantifiable psychological costs of the annihilation of past hopes and achievements. His sophisticated analysis of the social dimensions of state terrorism and Spanish industrialization in the 1940s adds immeasurably to our knowledge of contemporary Spain. The book's wide comparative resonance illuminates both social policy and economics within European fascism.

Paul Preston, Professor of International History at the London School of Economics, is the author of a 1993 biography of Franco. His last contribution to The Volunteer was "Mussolini's Spanish War" in the Winter 1998-99 issue.

Book Reviews

Latin American Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War

THE LATIN AMERICAN VOLUNTEERS IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR by Geraldo Gino Baumann San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Gauyacan Centro Americana, 1997

by Bill Susman

A t last, here is a book that begins telling the important story of the Latin American volunteers who fought on the side of the Spanish Republic. Baumann's book describes the rightwing governments in almost all the Latin American countries in the 1930s, and the tendency for the upper

Lincoln vet **Bill Susman** is an editor of The Volunteer and a founder of ALBA.

classes and regimes there to support Franco. But the large majority of the populace supported the Republican side, which may be why there was so little government action to impede volunteers from traveling to Spain.

In Cuba, the dictator Fulgencio Batista posed as a populist, and he allowed over a thousand Cubans to cross the Atlantic to aid Republican Spain.

Once there, most Latin American volunteers served in such units of the Republican Army as the Fifth Regiment. Some did serve in the International Brigades, and we had a Latin American battalion in our Brigade, the Fifteenth.

For every hundred Latin Americans fighting for the Republic, there was one serving Franco. Some of the latter group came from the mercenaries of the Spanish Foreign Legion fighting against the Moroccans. These men were among the troops airlifted into Southern Spain from North Africa by Hitler's and Mussolini's aircraft. It was at this point that the Spanish Civil War became an international war of aggression. The International Brigades were organized to stop this fascist invasion of Spain. It took two-and-a-half years, and betrayal by the western democracies, to defeat the Republic.

Baumann shows the extent of Latin American participation in the Spanish Civil War by detailing the countries from which the volunteers came: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. Nicaragua seems to be missing, perhaps because of the turmoil in that country after the dictator, Anastasio Somoza, ordered the assassination of former guerrilla leader Augusto César Sandino, in 1934.

Future students of the interrelationship of Spain and Latin America in the early 20th century may begin with this book, available only in Spanish. _

French supporters of the Spanish Republic

L'ÉPOIR GUIDAIT LEURS PAS. LES VOLONTAIRES FRANÇAIS DANS LES BRIGADES INTERNATIONALES 1936-1939. by Rémi Skoutelski Grasset: Paris 1998, 411 pp.

by Fraser Ottanelli

Monsieur Silvestri was my high school French teacher in Paris. Older than the rest of the faculty, he was demanding, reserved and somewhat intimidating, not exactly the kind of teacher students warm up to. Yet, our small group of left-wing students liked him because we knew he was one of "us." In mid-May 1968 I had seen Monsieur Silvestri in one of the inner courtyards of the occupied Sorbonne as,

Fraser Ottanelli teaches U.S. history at the University of South Florida and is a vice-president of ALBA. in sharp contrast with the bedlam that surrounded him, he stood impeccably dressed arm in arm with his wife observing a group of musicians improvising on a makeshift stage. Others had run into him at anti-Vietnam war demonstrations down the boulevards from Place de la Republique to the Bastille. Most importantly we favored Monsieur Silvestri because of a rumor that he had fought in Spain against the fascists. My teacher did not conceal his politics but yet, in spite of repeated requests, without explanation, he never spoke to us about Spain.

After reading Rémi Skoutelsky's book, I see that my teacher's reticence was possibly a reaction to the dominant interpretation of the volunteers who fought in defense of the Spanish republic in France. Since 1945, while the country's political parties and institutions downplayed the International Brigades and their unsuccessful struggle against Franco in favor of the victorious Resistance of World War II, sympathetic historians and detractors have depicted the International Brigades either as unblemished heroes or as tools of the Soviet secret police. Based on extensive archival research in local and government archives in France and Spain, the records of the League of Nations in Geneva, scores of interviews with surviving veterans, and the recently opened Moscow archives, Skoutelsky combines a traditional account of the French units who fought for Republican Spain with an impressive collective biography of the French men and women who comprised them. His book goes beyond myths and polemics to provide a balanced analysis of the experience of the French anti-fascist volunteers.

The 9,000 French citizens who fought against Franco in Spain made





up the largest national group of volunteers in the International Brigades. Among the earliest to arrive in Spain, French volunteers crossed the Pyrenees in several waves during the course of the war. The first traveled south individually to join the various party and union militias irrespective of their politics as long as they provided a chance to fight. Only starting in the fall of 1936, after the formation of the Popular Army and of the International Brigades, a centralized organizational structure was put in place to recruit, select, and transport the volunteers to Spain directed by the French Communist party.

Although André Malraux's decision to volunteer might indicate otherwise, relatively few French intellectuals fought in Spain. Almost eighty percent of the volunteers were employed industrial workers and laborers. The low percentage of unemployed workers, the fact that on average French volunteers were a few months shy of their 30th birthday, and that over 25 percent were married, shows that the decision to go to Spain was not impulsive but rather the result of profound political convictions. Not surprisingly, while a small number of French Anarchists, Socialists and Trotskyists went to Spain on their own initiative, almost two-thirds of the volunteers were either members of or close to the Communist Party and its youth organization. Significantly, however, Skoutelsky points out that the process of recruiting and selecting volunteers was not aimed at establishing Communist sympathies but rather to weed out adventurers and infiltrators as well as to identify recruits with technical skills and previous military experience. In fact a high percentage of the French volunteers had already fought in World War I, or in the North African campaigns of the 1920s.

One of the most interesting sections of Skoutelsky's book deals with the issues of desertions and political repression within the Brigades. Most of the volunteers who deserted had grown demoralized after long periods on the front lines, recurrent bloody engagements, and the growing awareness of the inevitable Republican defeat. Accordingly, they sought refuge in French consulates to be repatriated. However, Skoutelsky shows that in many cases the leadership of the Brigade was able to convince the most politicized deserters to return to their units by appealing to their sense of duty. The records of the French foreign ministry reveal that out of approximately 500 French citizens repatriated by consulates only 225 are clearly identifiable as members of Brigades. Furthermore, deserters who willingly returned to the front were treated with leniency, and in several cases after they were repatriated at the end of the war were even given positions of responsibility within the Communist Party.

Skoutelsky takes to task historians who label the Brigades as either the army of the Comintern or as the armed extension of the NKVD.

The treatment of deserters is indicative of the broader issue of political control within the French contingent. Much of the image that the International Brigades conducted bloody internal purges against dissenters centers around André Marty, head of the International Brigades, and the claim that he was responsible for ordering the executions of hundreds of volunteers. Skoutelsky argues that Marty's sinister reputation rests on his personality and paranoia that led him to see spies everywhere. In fact, documents in the Moscow archives show that while the leadership of the Brigades ordered many volunteers accused of desertion and mutiny executed, few of these were actually carried out. Furthermore, Skoutelsky points out that even in those cases where official Brigade documents referred to individual volunteers as "defeatists" or Trotskyists, the terms were most often used to identify those who complained and had little to do with actual conduct or a specific ideology.

Accordingly, Skoutelsky disputes that there was a pattern of political terror within the French contingent, typified by nightlong interrogations followed by executions in the early morning hours. If all the French volunteers accused of serious infractions had been shot, he writes, "there would have been thousands of dead."

In his conclusion Skoutelsky takes to task historians who label the International Brigades as either the army of the Comintern or as the armed extension of the NKVD. Skoutelsky states that the political composition of the French brigade which included a significant number of non-Communists and even a Spanish anarchist battalion, and the fact that none of the International Brigades were involved in the internal struggles that lacerated the Republican side, shows that they were used exclusively to fight fascist aggression.

In addition, Skoutelsky describes the International Brigades as military units that in the chaos of war escaped from the day-to-day supervision of Moscow and of their commander in Albacete. Even after they were restructured in 1937, he writes, the Brigades found it hard to overcome the amateurish and improvisational character of the early days. In the French units men were promoted because of the leadership capabilities and courage they displayed under fire, rather than for their politics. Irrespective of Moscow's demands, the volunteer nature of the Brigades and the great sacrifices they were asked to make, meant that "however militarized their organization might have been, brigadistas could not be treated the same way as if they were plastering notices on walls, handing out leaflets or leading strikes."

As for my French teacher, not long ago I found proof that our suspicions were correct: due to his anti-fascist activities Mr. Silvestri had been forced to flee his native Italy for France in the early 1930s. When the Spanish Civil War began he volunteered and served with the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia, the PSUC. I wish I had known 30 years ago so that I could have thanked him. __

Two Spanish artists confront fascism: Miró and Picasso

Joan Miró: Black and Red Series

The Museum of Modern Art, New York curated by Deborah Wye November 19, 1998 to February 2, 1999

Picasso and the War Years

The Guggenheim Museum, New York curated by Steven A. Nash February 5 to May 9, 1999

Picasso's *Guernica* installed in the Spanish Pavilion of the Paris International Exposition, 1937.





Study for Guernica, Picasso, 1937

by Marvin Gettleman

When the fascist revolt against the Spanish Republic began in 1936, the Catalan artist Joan Miró (1893-1983) had been living in France for over a decade. Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), from Málaga, had settled in Paris even earlier. Both were sympathetic with the Republican cause and both produced major works of art displaying that sympathy.

Along with other artists, Picasso and Miró contributed illustrations to poet Paul Éluard's pro-Republic volume *Solidarité* (1937). Both also produced large-scale paintings for the Spanish Pavilion at the 1937 Paris World's fair. Picasso's work was, of course, the well-known *Guernica* mural, long in New York City and now in the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid. The current Guggenheim exhibit, *Picasso and the War Years*, has a blown-up photograph of one of *Guernica's* early stages. Miró's monumental painting for the Paris Fair, *El Segador* (The Reaper) has been lost, although photographs survive. It portrayed what MoMA curator Deborah Wye called a mas-

sive "terrorizing and terrorized" iconic figure, perhaps representing a Catalan peasant striking an anti-fascist attitude. In that same year Miró produced the colorful postage-stamp design, reissued as a pro-Republican poster, *Aidez l'Espagne*.

The centerpiece of MoMA's recent Miró exhibit, cunningly and even brilliantly curated by Deborah Wye, is the newlyacquired *Black and Red Series* of eight 1938 etchings. These etchings are carefully contextualized not only by relating them to the Spanish Civil War, but also locating them in the Parisian school of

A member of The Volunteer's editorial board, **Marvin Gettleman** studied at the Tyler School of Fine Arts of Temple University.





Above: Miró's *Aidez l'Espagne* (Help Spain), 1937

No. 4 of Miró's Black and Red Etchings, 1937

surrealism of whom Miró was an active member. Consisting of two copperplates containing abstract shapes along with fairly representational tongues of flame and four figures: a monstrous head threatening a woman and girl, with a male figure (Miró himself?) watching helplessly. These two plates inked first in red, then black, were rotated, superimposed and printed in eight distinct variations. MoMA is the only American museum with a complete set of these *Black and Red* prints. Much of the rest of this imaginatively and convincingly assembled exhibit was given over to an additional 150 items (drawings, photographs, paintings, illustrated books) that richly illustrated the impact of social and political forces on the artists of that time.

icasso and the War Years: 1937 to 1945 is far less convincing in its portrayal of the interaction of art and society. To begin with, the exhibit now at the Guggenheim is misdated: it should properly begin in 1936, when the Spanish Civil War began, when Picasso was planning the two copperplate etchings completed in January 1937, called Sueño y méntrado de Franco (Franco's Dream and Lie). Each plate was divided into nine panels, so that prints could be cut into postcard size for wide distribution. Moreover, the wall texts - and presumably the audio cassette messages - accompanying Picasso's art works (and a few other items: Spanish Civil War posters, including a rare Francoist, and several Vichy regime posters) are unconvincingly didactic: the tears of his model Dora Maar are interpreted as symbols of war's pathos, but so are the dour still lifes of this same period. More appropriate is the attribution of post-1942 charnel house series of large paintings in the style of Guernica to wartime horrors. (Neither Miró nor Picasso fought militarily for the Spanish Republic and both stayed in Nazi-occupied France during World War II.)

What is perhaps Picasso's greatest painting of the period

after *Guernica*, the bold, enchanting *Night Fishing in Antibes* (1939), is described by the curators as foreshadowing the war, which raged for over two years before the U.S. became formally engaged. A child taking his first steps (1943), painted with a brighter palette, supposedly reflects the rebirth of hope as the war — in the European-North African theater at least — turns against the Axis side. But viewers wending their way up the Guggenheim ramps would do well to ignore these often tendentious interpretations and see these painting from one of the least creative periods of a 20th century artistic giant with their own eyes and sensibilities.

The MoMA's Miró exhibit, unfortunately, was dismantled, and apparently will not be shown more widely in exhibition form, but will be permanently posted on the web at www.moma.org/exhibitions/miro/ or through the current exhibitions link at www.moma.org —

Still Life With Skull, Leeks and Pitcher, Picasso, 1945



The new IB Documentation Center at Albacete

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cist planes, targetting the International Brigade Headquarters.

The Archivo Historico Provincial

One of the deciding factors for the Amigos' choice of Albacete as the site for the center dedicated to the International Brigades was the role the town played in the Civil War. Also important was that the new documentation center would be incorporated into an established archive which since 1962 had an experienced, professional staff.

The Archivo Historico Provincial, justifying its name, houses local and provincial archives, some from the 14th century. It is located a short walk from the old Town Hall (and wartime air raid shelter) on the Plaza del Altozano.The interior of the stately building was completely renovated so as to improve conservation conditions as well as to provide more space for researchers.

The IB documentation center, which cannot be officially classified an "archive" for technical reasons, is part of the larger archive and therefore greatly benefits from the existing infrastructure. The building itself is several storeys high; the ground floor provides a reception area as well as space for temporary exhibits. Offices and the research room are on the first floor, and the rest of the building houses the archival documents, among which is the budding IB documentation center.

Shared responsibilities

According to the terms of the agreement signed between the AABI and the Regional Government of Castilla-La Mancha. the IB documents which are kept in the Archive actually belong to the Amigos, who have deposited them for a minimum period of 25 years. The roles of each partner are clearly defined: the Archivo Regional has the mission of caring for and cataloguing the collection, as well as opening it to public use. The Amigos, on the other hand, are charged with maintaining the flow of donations from institutions, veterans or family members who have



The interior of the Documentation Center at Albacete.

no pre-existing archives to turn to.

The *Amigos* will correspond with existing archives, especially those like the ALBA at Brandeis University. Catalogues of other related archival material will be indexed and made available. The objective is not to gather all IB archives in one single place, but rather to be able to inform researchers across the globe of other sources and, if possible, offer copies of material held elsewhere.

With this laudable yet difficult objective in mind, a mission was recently sent to the National Library in Madrid to trace photographs and related documents to the International volunteers. Among the many documents uncovered were pamphlets and books published by the IB Commisariat during the war, as well as photos of the Despedida, a small portrait of a group of nurses and doctors, including the American Salaria Kee, scenes from Madrid, Belchite, Teruel, etc., and even shots of the funeral of Hans Beimler in Barcelona. Once the complete list of findings is deposited in the center, researchers who visit Albacete can be informed of what other sources are acccessible in Spain.

The IB sources in Albacete

Concerning the Albacete holdings in particular, the documents which have been deposited so far are of two different types. Firstly, there is the massive amount of material gathered by the Amigos in preparation for the Homenaje of 1996. This consists of the personal questionnaires completed by attendees as well as original documents which began pouring in even before the event got off the ground. Due to the personal nature of much of the information, access will be restricted for a certain time to guarantee privacy. The other type of source is that sent by veterans to the Amigos after the events of 1996. Most is material published in the home countries of veterans since 1939 and covers the Civil War as well as postwar experiences.

Unsurprisingly, the diversity of material is reviving one of the original problems which beset the Brigades: the babel of languages. While texts in French, English and even German do not pose a problem to those assigned to catalogue the contributions, Russian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian and even Finnish, for example, are another story altogether. The hope of Ms. Blanca Pascual-Gonzalo, director of the Archivo Historico Provincial, is to sponsor summer internships for archival and language majors in order to surmount the multilingual barrier.

The young Albacete depository has yet to be assaulted by researchers. A current event in the provincial capital,

Spanish Civil War songs, *Pasiones,* featured at Lehigh's exhibit of *Shouts From The Wall*

Part of the activity accompanying this Spring's opening of ALBA's Spanish Civil War poster exhibit at the Zoellner Arts Center in Bethlehem, PA, will be a performance by the noted Chicago-area musicians Jamie O'Reilly and Michael Smith of *Pasiones: Songs of the Spanish Civil War*.

This cabaret songfest has drawn praise from *Singout* magazine (their rendition "resonates throughout time and space") and from Studs Terkel ("At a time when passion is so lacking in our lives, these two artists set our hearts on fire!").

The exhibit opened on April 7 and runs to June 6. The *Pasiones* performance takes place at 7:00 PM on May 15. Admission is \$10. For information, call 610-758-4836.



Albacete Documentation Center

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however, will soon contribute to turning the spotlight on the legacy of the Brigades. On March 18, the Education and Culture Council of the Regional Government, the president of the University of Castilla-La Mancha and Ana Pérez, chair of the *Amigos*, inaugurated the exhibition *Voluntarios de la Libertad, Las Brigadas Internacionales* in the Albacete museum. This collection of testimony is the work of the *Amigos*, it traces the history of the IB and its contribution to the Loyalist effort in the war.

After this highly symbolic first showing in the birthplace of the Brigades, it will travel around Spain and possibly abroad. In the framework of activities around the opening of this impressive exhibition, Manuel Requena, professor of history at the University of Castilla-La Mancha, and member of the Amigos, is sponsoring a round table discussion on *Cinema and the International Brigades* with the participation of several Spanish experts. Professor Requena is, in fact, the founder of the first Documentation Center on the International Brigades, begun several years ago with the backing of the university.

These sources formed the nucleus of the exhibition in Albacete in November of 1996 seen by brigadistas and famiily members who visited during the *Homenaje*. It is hoped that through an agreement between the university and the Archivo Historico Provincial, the former will eventually deposit its documents in the *Amigos*sponsored Documentation Center so that a larger public may benefit from them.

The setting up of the Documentation Center is the latest achievement of the *Amigos*. It is also yet another sign of the lasting public interest for the legacy of the International Brigades and the desire of the Spanish people to discover the complete history of the conflict of 1936-1939. It is truly fitting that a permanent archive has been established in Spain, and in a place that is intimately related to the IB history and almost all of its remaining veterans. _

An invitation for posterity

The Volunteer invites our readers to consider making a bequest to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives.

ALBA is a non-profit taxexempt organization. Contributions and bequests provide donors with significant advantages in planning their estates and donations.

For more information, contact

Diane Fraher executive secretary VALB/ALBA 799 Broadway, Rm. 277, New York, NY10003

Telephone: 212-598-0968 E-mail: amerinda@spacelab.net

The 62nd Anniversary of the Bay Area Post of VALB

Continued from page 1

series at UC Berkeley in April.

Then came the customary roll call, read by Dave Smith, assisted by Hilda Roberts, a Post member and nurse in Spain. They began with the names of those vets who died in 1998. Among them were Leonard Olson and Mary Rolfe, both long-time Post Associates. Mary Rolfe was the widow of Lincoln poet laureate Edwin Rolfe; her obituary can be found in this issue of *The Volunteer*. The 15 Lincolns present joined Dave and Hilda on the Simmons Theater stage to the warm applause of

the audience. They were: Clifton Amsbury, Delmar Berg, Maurice Constant (from Ontario, Canada), Ruth Davidow, Carl Geiser (from Oregon), Al Gottlieb, Ben Lane, Perley Payne, Coleman Persily, Hank Rubin, Bill Sennett, Al Tanz, Nate Thornton. Anthony Toney and Ted Veltfort. They stood shoulder to shoulder as they did more than 60 years earlier, men and women still strongly committed to The Good Fight.

Dave Smith made special mention of a Post Associate who died last September, Hannah

Olson Creighton, the older daughter of Leonard and Jeanne Olson. Hannah's tireless work for the Post over the last seven years were critical in making past events, such as our annual dinners, well attended and well received, and in her name, an ophthalmic clinic was formed in El Salvador. He then honored Milt Wolff for his long history of work for VALB. Milt was National Commander of the VALB from 1940 to 1965, and was instrumental in its formation. During World War II, he worked in the OSS under General Donovan, and later fought a successful campaign, along

Lincoln vet **Dave Smith** is Commander of the Bay Area Post, VALB. **Roby Newman** and **Sophie Smith** are Post members. with Sylvia Thompson, to have her husband, Lincoln vet and Distinguished Service Cross holder Bob Thompson buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

In a protracted legal battle, Milt, Moe Fishman, and Kentucky attorney Homer Clay spearheaded removal of the VALB from the Attorney General's "subversive list."

Milt Wolff was Bay Area Post Commander for more than two decades, for many years working alongside his late wife Frieda. Together, they helped build the Post into a vital and active organization. the present international situation were made by the keynote speaker, Ariel Dorfman. He spoke eloquently of being with his father, a diplomat on a U.N. mission to Spain, at the Spanish-French border as a child of eight in 1951. His father angrily pointed to a spot on Spain's side of the border as the place where England, France, and the United States betrayed the Spanish Republic by their non-intervention embargo. "They could see it [the arms waiting on trucks on the French side]," Dorfman said. It was a bitter image that would not change until Dorfman learned more of the role

> of the International Brigades, and specifically the Lincoln Battalion, as counter-balance to the West's indifference to fascism.

Dorfman then turned the story to Chile and the complicity of the U.S. in the September 1973 coup against Salvador Allende's socialist government. He completed the circle by telling how Pinochet, at the time of Franco's death in 1975, plotted the death of Spanish citizens on Spanish soil, thus giving a Spanish judge 23 years later legal grounds for his extradition.

"How poignant it

is," Dorfman said, "that Spain, the old fascist country, was turning around and bringing fascists to justice. The Franco of our time is under arrest. It inaugurates a new chapter in human rights legislation. The Lincoln Brigade volunteers were anticipating this moment at the end of the century."

For Dorfman, however, the thrust of his speech was as much personal as political: he humbly and gratefully thanked the Abraham Lincoln Brigade for restoring his faith in the promise of the United States, and of international solidarity as a fact in the world, which had influenced the course of history in both Spain and Chile.

Dorfman's moving speech, which brought sustained applause, was followed by two Chilean singers, Lichi



Dave Smith, left, and Ariel Dorfman during the West Coast event.

He is also a published author: *Another Hill*, an "autobiographical novel" set during the Spanish Civil War, came out in 1994.

Bruce Barthol, Post Associate and musical director of the San Francisco Mime Troupe, next led a group of fellow Mime Troupe musicians through four Spanish Civil War songs, including *Freiheit* (in German and English), and *Hans Beimler* (German only). The tight ensemble arrangement included Barrett Nelson on lead guitar, Eduardo Robledo on second guitar (along with Bruce), Randy Craig on banjo and keyboards, and Doug Morton on trumpet. Their interpretations were strong and stylized, with at times an almost bluegrass feel.

Important links between the struggle in Spain during the 1930s and

Lincon vet Barney Baley wrote this sonnet in 1940. Now, at 88 years of age, he lives at the Sunrise Nursing and Rehabilitation facility, 1115 "B" Street, Petaluma, CA 94952.

Lice Drew No Color Line by Barney Baley

Once, looking for that vamp, Forgetfulness, All soldiers seek when they return to "Peace" And find it a mirage that's worse than war, I went into a bar, sat down to drink. Above the bottle-stacks I saw a sign Which read, "We cater only to white trade." In Spain, white, black, between, we were all one. We shared tobacco, water, blankets, food. Lice drew no color line; so why should we? Since Nordic Hitler and the Samurai Join hands to rule the world with whip and torch, Can anyone be saved just by his skin? Suddenly I left the place. I had forgotten the biggest war of all.

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East Coast: Events are slated in NY for April 23-25

Continued from page 1

when the ALBA Governing Board meets to set policy for the coming year. A future issue of *The Volunteer* will carry a report of this meeting.

But the main event of the weekend will be the commemorative lunch and program to be held (as it has for the past two years) at the Borough of Manhattan Community College, Chambers Street at West Street (199 Chambers street on Manhattan's lower west side). The event begins at 12:00 noon, on Sunday, April 25, with a lunch.

The program starts at 2:00 PM at the College's Tribeca Performing Arts Theater. This year the entertainment will be provided by the renowned folk singer Odetta. Congressman Jerrold Nadler will be the main American speaker. Emilio Cassinello, Spain's Consul General will address the gathering. The poet Martín Espada will read his poems, and there will also be readings of classic Spanish Civil War texts by Barbara Pasternack and Wally Glickman. Henry Foner will again serve as Master of Ceremonies. A literature table will feature Harry Fisher's acclaimed new book, *Comrades*, and other books on the Spanish Civil War. Award-winning poetry by Martín Espada will be available, along with videotapes and classic posters by Lincoln vet Ralph Fasanella.

West Coast: 62nd Anniversary

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Fuentes and Rafael Manriquez, who performed four songs from their native country, including one by the great Chilean poet, songwriter, and activist, Victor Jara, *The Worker's Prayer*. Using two guitars and their wonderfully harmonic voices, it was a moving elegy, and they followed it with two "rondas," a popular Chilean musical form.

When they were finished, Victor Ayala, the graphic artist who has designed the posters and programs for the Post the last several years, spoke of the need for medical aid to Guatemala, devastated by Hurricane Mitch and the legacy of U.S.-backed political repression. Accompanied by Dave Smith, the traditional collection now took place, with money principally earmarked for the Guatemalan *Fundación Guillermo Toriello* for purchase of a medical van, and the William Soler Pediatric Hospital in Havana, Cuba, the latter which the Bay Area Post has been supporting for half a dozen years.

The Mime Troupe then returned for a rousing rendition of *Viva La Quince Brigada*, which, followed by a few closing words by the Post Commander, ended the proceedings a few minutes after four.

Special thanks are due Martha Olson Jarocki, producer of this year's event, who with the considerable help of long-time Post associates and activists Hon Brown and Corine Thornton (and others), made this a highly successful, and memorable, gathering. *¡Viva Las Brigadas Internacionales!* __ The following is an excerpt from the acceptance letter by Ariel Dorfman, noted Chilean author and political activist, to Martha Olson Jarocki, daughter of Lincoln vet Leonard Olson and 1999 event coordinator.

Dear Ms. Olson,

I am honored and moved by your invitation to speak at the annual gathering of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The Spanish Republic and the role of the International Brigades have been at the center of my commitment to human rights and liberation all through my life, and I am delighted to accept your invitation.... I will center my keynote address on the attempt to bring Pinochet to justice and its impact on Chile....

Added to Memory's Roster

Bill Wheeler

William (Bill) Gilmore Wheeler, a two-tour veteran of the Lincoln Brigade, died in Atlanta, Georgia, on December 28, 1998, at the age of 88. A native of upstate New York, he was a Teamsters' union activist when he sailed for Spain on December 26, 1936, among the first contingent of U.S. volunteers. A few weeks later, in the Americans' baptism under fire on February 12 at Jarama, Bill earned a field commission as a lieutenant. Ten days afterward he received a leg wound at Morata.

After recovery, Bill was transferred in May to the newly organized Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion. He fought at Fuentes in October as commander of Company One.

Bill was one of the eight Americans ordered home for medical needs and propaganda purposes in the spring of 1938. Seven of them returned to Spain when the Republican Army was preparing for the recrossing of the Ebro after its costly April withdrawal. Bill rejoined the Lincolns as a company commander and served with distinction through the Caballs and Pandols battles.



Bill Wheeler

Returning home for the second time in December 1938, when the Republic disbanded the International Brigades, Bill went directly to organize farmworkers in Marysville, California. That resulted in an arrest for violating the state's anti-picketing law and a 39-day jail stint without a trial. He then sued the sheriff for false imprisonment and was awarded \$300. It provided a nest egg for organizing the workers, who delivered telephone books.

Bill and his wife Ione eventually moved from the west coast to Atlanta where he quickly became a stalwart among the ALBA activists in their work to make known the history and carry on the traditions of the Americans who fought in the Spanish Civil War.

Jim Skillman

Peter Leroy Reed

Peter Reed, in the Spring of 1937, was working with Henry Blaskiewicz in the oil fields of East Texas. Both men wanted to go to Spain but it was only after a chance meeting with a Kansas Communist that they were able to enter the recruiting path. Peter sailed for Spain on the S.S. American Importer in early May 1938 with a group that included Irving Weissman, Jack Teiger and Max Kerschbaum.

After a brief stint as an ambulance driver, Peter served in an International Brigade artillery unit on the Cordoba Front and at Teruel in support of the 15th Brigade. When their guns became ineffective through overuse, the units were returned to the Levante Front after being rearmed with effective new Swedish Skodas. Peter remained with them until repatriated in January 1939.

Responding to a letter from Ben Iceland, he wrote in a 1988 letter published in *The Volunteer*, "You asked what I had been doing for the last 50 years. Man it got away from me. I was a boomer — never in one place over six months. In the Army 3 years in the Pacific in WWII; a lot of logging camps, sheep and cattle ranches. ... I had my last drink 2 years ago, even quit smoking and got married: no religion yet, but anything is possible."

Pete died on October 14, 1998, in the Spokane Veterans Hospital, the day before the dedication of the VALB monument that he had planned to attend.

Len Levenson

Mary Rolfe

If you were reading the *Daily Worker* in 1928, you might have noticed a small display ad announcing that one Mary Wolfe was offering private piano lessons. In those days it seemed there was an alternative progressive version of every element of social and cultural life.

Mary Wolfe, who would meet Edwin Rolfe in 1933, was born on New York's Lower East Side in 1910 and grew up in that unique New York community, where there were left-wing restaurants to patronize and *New Masses'* balls to dance at on a Saturday night.

Mary's father Hyman was a "Pie Card," a salaried union representative for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Both parents had been active in revolutionary movements as young adults in Europe. Indeed, her mother Tillie had hidden firearms beneath the floorboards of her home in Lithuania in 1905.

Born into the New York left, Mary herself took courses at the Workers School and occasionally sold the *Daily Worker* on street corners as a member of the YCL. She also developed a lifelong interest in the arts, which led her to a job at the revolutionary Theatre Union in the early 1930s. The Theatre Union had founded a peoples' theater, with

Added to Memory's Roster

Margaret Larkin as its executive secretary, and Mary was her assistant. She met the young poet and *Daily Worker* features editor Edwin Rolfe at a fund-raising party. They began living together in New York in 1934 and were married in 1936.

That summer Mary agreed to be a reporter for the DW in Washington, DC. She was, as Len Levenson recalls, "a damn fine reporter," but she didn't like the job and liked segregated Washington in the summer even less. On returning to New York she took a job assisting in the public relations office of the Transport Workers Union.

It was but a year later that Ed Rolfe decided to go to Spain to enlist in the International Brigades, first becoming editor of The Volunteer for *Liberty* and later joining his Lincoln Battalion comrades in the field for the Ebro campaign. In the fall of 1938, Mary decided to go to Spain as well. Yet she almost did not make it into that country. In Paris she was asked to return to New York so she could hand-deliver a packet of confidential documents to Earl Browder. She refused the assignment, arriving in Barcelona in October and soon finding herself working for Constancia de la Mora, drafting letters to America, appealing for funds for orphans.

The very real skill she had as a reporter and writer came through that fall when she was trapped in a series of fascist air raids and wrote a vivid letter to film maker Leo Hurwitz about the experience. Her letter was read aloud at U.S. meetings, and was finally published in *Madrid 1937; Letters of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade from the Spanish Civil War* (1996).

Within a few years of the Rolfes' return to the U.S., with the Second World War underway, Edwin was drafted. Albert Maltz offered Mary a job in Los Angeles as chief administrator of a writers' school run by the left-wing Arts, Sciences and Professions (ASP) organization there. This program offered courses in screen and fiction writing, and counted Guy Endor among its teachers.

After becoming ill during basic training, Ed Rolfe joined Mary in L.A. and sought work on the fringes of the film industry.

Like everything on the left, the writers' school came under assault when the House Un-American Activities Committee arrived in Hollywood for hearings in 1947. Soon Mary was involved in anti-HUAC work for the ASP. She did



Mary Rolfe

fundraising in support of the Hollywood Ten, helped organize a speakers bureau, and joined the effort to mobilize people in the arts to speak out against the growing inquisition.

Meanwhile, Ed Rolfe was blacklisted, and plans for Warner Brothers to film one of his scripts was abandoned. Soon a blue Ford was parked outside their house all day; they were under FBI surveillance. Once two agents came to the front door, posing as camera salesmen, snapping photos continually. Playing along with the game, Mary asked to see the camera and immediately tore it open to expose the film. In those days, small victories were all one could hope for.

When the anti-HUAC effort succumbed to the full assault of 1950's anti-communism. Mary needed to find work again. Ed suffered two heart attacks and was much less mobile. His illness prevented them from adopting children, which they had tried to do after Mary's tubal pregnancy had made it impossible for them to have children of their own. So she changed fields yet again, this time becoming administrator at Alex Shulman's Industrial Accident Clinic, where workers injured on the job were brought for emergency treatment.

Most of their Hollywood friends were out of work. It seemed that the nightmare would not end. But soon her life in California did end for several decades. Ed died from another heart attack in 1954. and Marv returned to New York the following year. She had a variety of jobs, first doing administrative work at NPO, a film production company where Lincoln vet Bill Susman hired her. But her longest employment was as chief administrator for the Karen Horney Institute. When she retired from that job. she moved back to California. this time to San Francisco, where she was active in progressive causes for many years. including the Bay Area VALB Post.

In her last years her health began to fade. On her 16th birthday her father had misguidedly allowed her to smoke a cigarette as a special treat: she smoked for the next 50 vears, and eventually suffered from emphysema and severe arthritis. But her memory and intelligence were sharp until the end. When I asked her once about their hotel room in Barcelona in 1938, her memorv acted like a camera on that scene, and she described every object in detail. She was neither the first nor the last octogenarian of her generation to sit me down and give me a stern political lecture.

Like the other veterans of the

Continued on page 20

Added to Memory's Roster

Continued from page 19

Spanish Civil War, she saw the 20th century from the vantage point of its fulcrum events. She understood them, and her (and their) incisiveness about them has been a lasting gift to those of us who followed. Mary Rolfe died on October 19, 1998. **Cary Nelson**

Helen Freeman Fineberg

Helen Freeman Fineberg, who headed the Los Angeles VALB post from 1988 until it was disbanded in 1998, died in Newport Beach, California, on February 22. Helen, a nurse trained at Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, volunteered for Spain at age 22. She was in the first American Medical team that reached Spain in January 1937. She was a frontline nurse through the battles of Jarama, Belchite and Gandesa in the late winter and spring of 1937-38. At Hijar in March 1938 when the base hospital was heavily bombed, Helen received a fractured skull and a severe arm wound.

To assure her recovery she was invalided home two months later. Helen's SCW injuries prevented her from serving as a military nurse in World War II. She managed nevertheless to spend the war years in Ecuador after its border war with Peru had ended. Working for the U.S. Government Emergency Rehabilitation in devastated mountain and jungle villages, she organized clinics and trained nurses.

When WWII ended, Helen spent time in Europe with the American Joint Distribution Committee and later served as a public health nurse in Oregon.

In 1952, while on the staff as a public health nurse at the Union Health Care Center of the ILGWU in New York City, Helen married Charles Fineberg, an organizer and public health administrator. Twenty years later, they moved to Orange County, California, where they continued their public service careers. Helen's work focused on the children and families of migrant and immigrant workers.

In 1985, the Newport Mesa Unified School District honored Helen and Charles by naming a new elementary school the Costa Mesa Fineberg.

Len Levenson

So that Americans may remember

Readers of *The Volunteer*, or even of the mainstream American press, will know of last year's tremendous achievement — the erection of the first permanent monument in America to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which took shape on the campus of the University of Washington. The Seattle monument was designed to be replicated. Now Lincoln vet Elias "Dutch" Schultz has crafted the plaque illustrated here, which may be replicated at much lower cost than even the Seattle design.

For those readers who may be in a position to accomplish elsewhere what was done in Seattle, here is another option. To find out the details, call Dutch at **206-329-6668**, or Abe Osheroff at **206-364-4521**.

From Benicasim, to Brownsville, to Seattle

by Len Levenson

Sixty years ago, if I had been asked eran most likely to be at the center of the first successful campaign for a monument to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, I would have answered, "Abe Osheroff." A note I've treasured since then explains why. Penciled on a brown wrapping-paper scrap, It reads, "Dear Len – Here's to you. You old [unprintable] – Good Luck, Abe."

Here's the story behind this little archival item.

It all began at Teruel on January 18, 1938, with a fascist sniper's somewhat off-target gift of a light wrist wound. The next day, I was checked into the International Brigade Hospital at Benicasim. Abe was there, recovering, but lamed, from a knee wound suffered three months earlier at Fuentes de Ebro. We had been casually acquainted as cabos (corporals), leading specialist squads of the Mac-Pap Headquarters Company – Abe, the mappers, I, the snipers.

At Benicasim, Abe and I were the only walking-wounded among the dozen or so Americans who were bedded in the medically-adapted, upperscale villas of the Mediterranean resort. A third ambient American was Larry Maynard. Not a patient, he was the *responsable* (administrative liaison) for the American IBers at the hospital.

Abe and I quickly buddied-up, spending most of our days talking at length and in depth about home, the war and how soon we might return to the front. We shared the once-in-alifetime experience when Paul Robeson spoke and sang to the bedridden soldiers in several of the villas. and in the Benicasim theater overflowing with recuperating patients and the staff.

Troubled by news of the Republican Army's retreat from Teruel and its need for replacements, Abe and I were anxious to return to the Mac-Paps. That desire was intensified by an enraging experience we had with Maynard. We had gone to his quarters one morning to ask his aid in getting back to the front. He was not there, but we found, shamelessly piled under his bed, dozens of undelivered holiday boxes sent from the USA for distribution to the Americans at the front. These packets held yearned-for gifts of cigarettes and chocolate but they had wound up as Maynard's criminal spoils of war. It was an infuriating exposure to this creep who, in later years, testified against VALB at the Subversive Activities Control Board hearings.

Spurred by this brush with Maynard, Abe and I pounded desks at the Administration office until we received our medical discharges and salvo conductos for return to the Brigade. In sub-zero temperature, a few nights later, we entrained in a file of freight cars headed for a replacement depot. Every car was so jampacked with troops that there was only squatting-room for sleeping. Abe's gimpy leg forced him to stand all night. When we reached the depot the next morning, we were separated. I was ordered to the Tarazona base as an instructor, Abe for invaliding home to the USA.

Shift the scene seven months forward to September 1938 and a rearguard bivouac in the Sierra Pandols. I had survived the battle of Gandesa, the second Ebro retreats and was a platoon commander in the *Batallón Especial de Ametralladores del Quince Cuerpo Ejercito*, the Special Machinegun Battalion of the 15th Army Corps. Like the Lincolns in the 15th Brigade, we had been pulled back from the inferno of the Pandols in preparation for the International Brigade's withdrawal from Spain.



Abe Osheroff

The Batallón Especial, somewhat battered, was desperate for an end to a long drought of cigarettes. One morning, I was ordered to report to the battalion headquarters. I was met there by the smiling commissar. He handed me a brown-paper-wrapped package posted from Brooklyn. I tore it open, uncovering a large cigar box filled with cigarette tobacco. An inner corner of the wrap carried the note [mentioned above] from Abe. After paying a small ransom to the commissar, I returned to my company and exultantly shared-out the bounty of Abe's thoughtfulness.

At my first encounter with Abe after I returned, I described the fortuitous arrival of his gift and the gratitude it evoked. When I asked about the source of the tobacco, Abe, pokerfaced, told how, as the Young Communist League organizer in Brooklyn's Brownsville community, he had mobilized the YCLers to gather up all the cigarette butts they could find. The ends were trimmed. the paper discarded and the tobacco, now indistinguishable from pristine Bull Durham, was added to the box destined for Spain. It was a truly monumental gift, a prescient early milestone in Abe's journey from Spain back to Brownsville, and on to Mississippi, Nicaragua and the Seattle campus of the University of Washington.

Lincoln vet **Len Levenson** is an editor of The Volunteer. The efforts of his comrade Abe Osheroff and others to erect the first U.S. monument to the Lincoln Brigade on the campus of the University of Washington is the subject of a special issue of The Volunteer, Fall-Winter 1998.



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POSTERS

In addition, the VALB has two Spanish Civil War posters (*Madrid Lion* and *Victoria*) available at \$10 plus postage, and thanks to Eva and Mark Fasanella, copies of five of Ralph Fasanella's posters (\$20 each, plus postage). They are: *Subway Riders* (1960; *Family Supper* (1972); *The Great Strike, Lawrence, 1912* (1978); *The Daily News Strike* (1993); *South Bronx Rebirth* (1995). These books and tapes are available at the indicated prices from: **Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade 799 Broadway, R. 227 New York, NY 10003-5552 Tel: (212) 674-5552**

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

See you on the web

ALBA's own website (the address of which circles the globe on the right) is being constantly updated: with ALBA activities and projects tracked, back issues of *The Volunteer* soon being added to the site; and links to related websites kept current. Here we wish to call readers' attention to **www.ateneo.uam.mx** — the website of the *Ateneo España de Mexico*, originally founded by exiles from Republican Spain, and now carrying out a variety of programs in support of liberty and justice, both in Mexico and Spain. Check 'em out.

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

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

To carry out these goals ALBA, in collaboration with VALB, publishes *The Volunteer.* ALBA also collaborates on the production of books, films and videos, maintains a website at www.alba-valb.org, helps send exhibitions of photographs, documents and artwork throughout the United States and Canada, and organizes conferences and seminars on the Spanish Civil War and on the role of the International Brigades in that conflict, and afterward. ALBA has established the George Watt Memorial prizes for the best college and graduate school essays on these subjects, and has designed a widely-used Spanish Civil War high school and college curriculum.

In the coming months and years ALBA will greatly expand its activity. To do so effectively ALBA must have your support. Please fill out the coupon below, enclose a \$25 check (or larger amount) made out to ALBA and send it to us. It will insure that those of you who are not veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, or family members of a veteran, will continue to receive *The Volunteer*, and will enjoy other benefits of Associate status.

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