

# The Volunteer

JOURNAL OF THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

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

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Vol. XXVI, No.3

September 2004



Four generations: Desmond Hawkins, Laurel Kailin, Clarence Kailin, and Jennifer Hawkins at the Madison Monument. See page 7.

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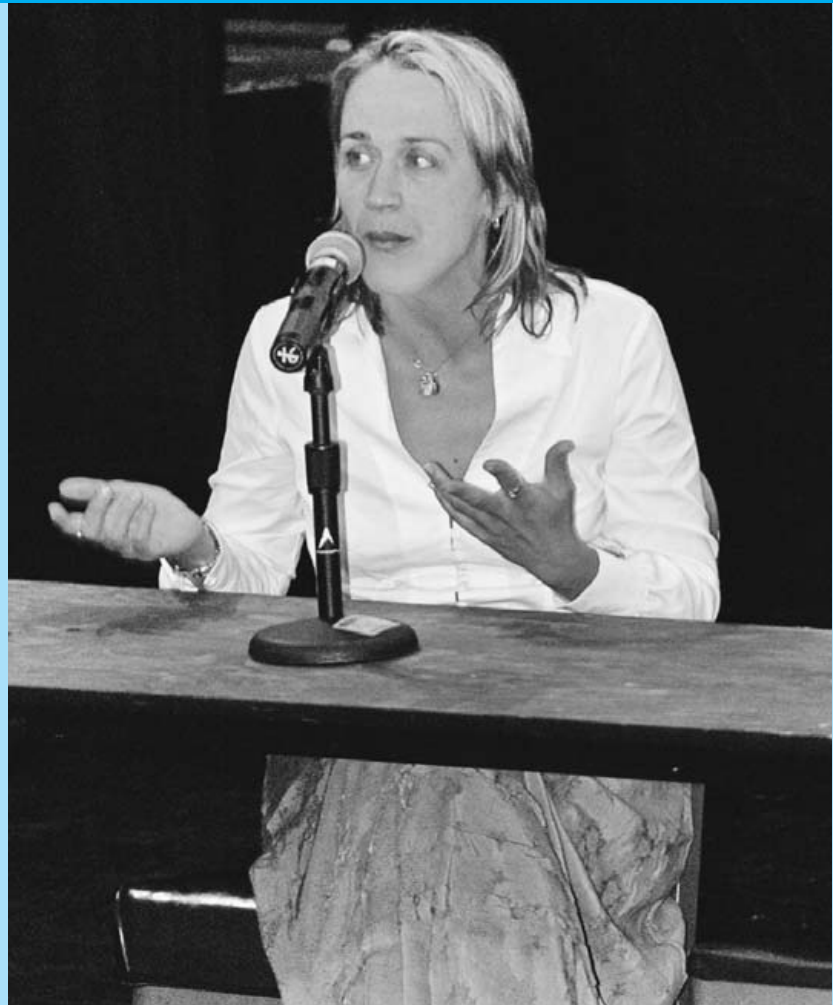
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C.M. Hardt, producer of *Death in El Valle*, discusses her autobiographical film about uncovering the secrets behind the killing of her grandfather by Franco's police. She joined Ramon Sender and Peter Carroll in "History, Family Memory, and the Spanish Civil War," a program hosted by University of California Professor Peter Glazer. See page 5. Photo by Richard Bermack.

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

## Letters

Dear *Volunteer*,

On a recent trip to London, I took time to visit the International Brigades Memorial Trust, located in the Marx Memorial Library. Secretary Marlene Sidaway and committee members David Marshall (veteran of the British Battalion) and Tish Collins welcomed us. Lunch and a tour of the IBMT archives followed. I brought along a few books and pamphlets to add material about the Lincolns to their collection. We ended our visit with a harmonica session, as I played some favorite songs from the good old days.

The Trust was organized in 2000. It has over 500 members, including surviving IB veterans, family, friends, and historians specializing in the Spanish Civil War, as well as organizations and members of the public inspired by the heroism and sacrifice of the volunteers. The IBMT publishes a newsletter three times a year and holds an annual public lecture. This year's lecture was about British writer Laurie Lee.

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## The Volunteer

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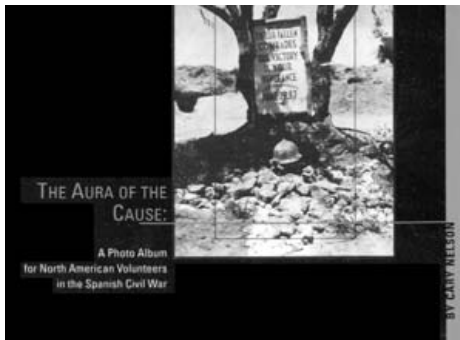
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# Puffin Grant Lifts ALBA Arts Projects Into High Gear



**T**he New Jersey-based Puffin Foundation, long a supporter of ALBA's programs, announced in August an unprecedented grant of \$50,000 to underwrite projects that will bring archival material about the Lincoln Brigade and its historical activities after the Spanish Civil War into public view through arts, cultural, and educational programs.

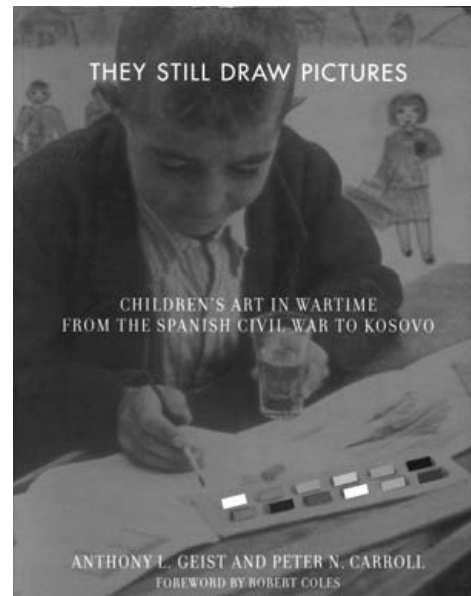
These projects include a traveling exhibition, tentatively titled "American Voices from the Spanish Civil War," which will examine the dialogue between the U.S. volunteers

and the Spanish people since the 1930s. The funds will also support expanded teaching programs on the ALBA website, curriculum development, and public programs.

We wish you "all the best in your continuing efforts on behalf of your mission, which we too feel committed to," said Puffin Foundation President Perry Rosenstein in extending the generous gift.

"ALBA's main mission today is to disseminate the endangered history of the American Left," said ALBA Chair Peter Carroll in accepting the grant.

The Puffin Foundation has previously supported ALBA's three museum shows and accompanying catalogues, *Shouts From the Wall: Spanish Civil War Posters*, *The Aura of the Cause: Photographs of the Spanish Civil War*, and *They Still Draw Pictures: Children's Art in Wartime from the Spanish Civil War to Kosovo*; the ALBA-Bill Susman Lecture Series; and *The Volunteer*. ■

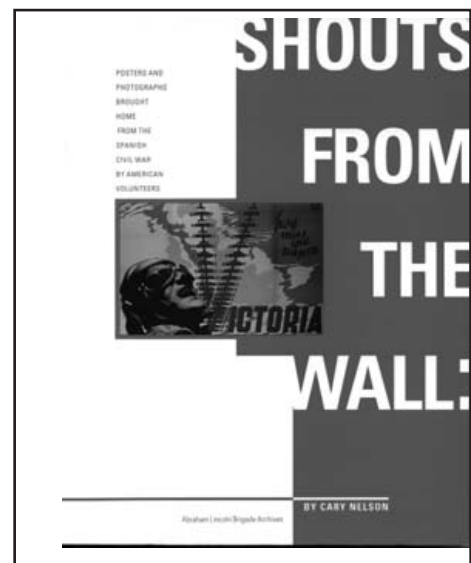


## ALBA'S TRAVELING EXHIBITION THE AURA OF THE CAUSE

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

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

**BRING THIS EXHIBIT TO YOUR LOCALITY.**





# Winners of George Watt Awards Announced

By Daniel Czitrom

**Y**ale undergraduate Megan Trice and Ontario graduate student Andrew Bienefeld shared this year's George Watt awards, having written significant essays about aspects of the Spanish Civil War. Trice's "The Lincoln Brigade Sisterhood: U.S. Women's Involvement in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939" and Bienefeld's "Appeasement Debated: An Assessment in Context of Great Britain's Adoption of Formalised 'Non-Intervention' at the Onset of the Spanish Civil War" brought each student \$500.

The Watt Awards aim to encourage student research and writing on the American experience in Spain and related topics in the Spanish Civil War and the larger history of anti-fascism. Brief abstracts of the winning papers appear below; the entire essays can be read on the ALBA website, at [www.alba-valb.org/educationgwmc/](http://www.alba-valb.org/educationgwmc/).

This year's committee of judges included Mel Small (Wayne State University), Sebastiaan Faber (Oberlin College), and Daniel Czitrom (Mount Holyoke College).

The George Watt awards were established to honor the memory of this Lincoln vet, author, activist, and leading figure in creating and supporting ALBA. George, who died in 1994, would have been 90 this year. Those interested in his remarkable life story and his passionate commitment to radical social change may look at his engagingly written 1990 memoir, *The Comet Connection: Escape from Hitler's Europe*. After his stint in Spain, George served in the Army Air Corps during World War II; his plane was shot down over Belgium and he escaped from behind Nazi lines with

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

the help of local Resistance fighters.

Our congratulations to this year's winners!

**Megan Trice**, "*The Lincoln Brigade Sisterhood: U.S. Women's Involvement in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*"

In 1977, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade hosted a 40th anniversary banquet honoring women from the United States who participated in the Spanish Civil War. The program, entitled "The Premature Anti-Fascist Women," highlighted the stories of feisty females who broke down gender stereotypes, such as ambulance driver Evelyn Hutchins. These proto-feminists, however, were exceptions to the rule. The overwhelming majority of female volunteers in Spain did not challenge gender expectations. U.S. women participated in the war as nurses, wives, reporters and fund-raisers. These were traditionally feminine roles because Popular Front activism in the 1930s emphasized socialism, not feminism.

This paper examines women's involvement in the war through the windows of family, politics, and publicity. "Family" for women in Spain meant the tie between husband and wife, the extension of a maternal sympathy for thousands of orphaned Spanish children, religious kinship, and the pseudo-familial relationships that developed in hospital. Politically, anti-fascism motivated many from nurses to journalists and eclipsed the cause of women's rights for this generation of leftist women. Publicity and fund-raising in the United States were significant aspects of female involvement. In the attempt to spread socialism, the left used women volunteers to garner broad support from the mainstream.

Ultimately, the paper concludes that a banquet for these volunteers in 1977, at the height of the feminist movement, was not entirely misguided. Although the Aid Spain

movement did not promote equal gender rights, it did create a community of socially and politically active women who fought for their cause to be realized. In this sense, the Lincoln Brigade women were the antecedents of the feminists of the 1970s.

**Andrew Bienefeld**, "*Appeasement Debated: An Assessment in Context of Great Britain's Adoption of Formalised 'Non-Intervention' at the Onset of the Spanish Civil War*"

My paper constitutes an attempted re-examination of the place of the Spanish Civil War in the process of appeasement, principally by tying the concept of appeasement more closely to the need to uphold international law. By grappling closely with the issues of international law raised by the reaction to the conflict in Spain, I have come to the conclusion that in legal terms no "Agreement" ever in fact existed to link or define the conduct of European states with regard to the conflict in Spain—despite the fact that up to now the term "Non-Intervention Agreement" has thus far made a comfortable home in the historiography of these events. Carefully studied, the evidence best fits an explanation that the fiction of an agreement was orchestrated and maintained not to prevent or discourage foreign intervention, but rather to conceal and facilitate it.

Viewed in the context of Britain's foreign policy during the 1930s, I argue that "Non-Intervention" is best understood as a pivotal element in allowing the National Government to fundamentally realign its public approach, from ostensibly leading the international community to organize against aggression, during the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, to appreciably submitting to threats or acts of aggression in the Anschluss and the German seizures of Czech territory in October

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# Dispatch from Madrid: *The Pits of Silence*

By Miguel Ángel Nieto

**R**abbi Eliezer Papo, a wise young man who lives in Jerusalem, says that you die at least three times. First, physical death. Second, when no memory of you remains. And third, when your memory is falsified, when your history is distorted.

Recently a number of books and documentaries have studied in depth one of the most shameful episodes in the history of Spain: the execution and interment in unmarked common graves of some 30,000 anti-Franco combatants in the years following the end of the Civil War.



Panelists: filmmaker C.M. Hardt, Peter Carroll, Ramon Sender, and Peter Glazer.

## Film & Memory of the Spanish Civil War

C.M. Hardt's documentary film, *Death in El Valle*, highlighted an evening's discussion of "History, Family Memory, and the Spanish Civil War" held at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, hosted by Bay Area Vets and Associates, ALBA, and the Department of Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies. After the screening, Hardt fielded questions about the making of her autobiographical film, which focuses on her effort to understand why her grandfather was killed by Francoists in the 1940s. Other panelists included Peter Glazer, a member of the UC faculty and author of the forthcoming book *Radical Nostalgia*, and Ramon Sender, whose memoir of his family's tragic upheaval in the war, *A Death in Zamora*, has recently been reissued. Peter Carroll served as moderator. ■

One of those books, titled *Las fosas del silencio* (*The Pits of Silence*) and written by journalists Ricard Belis and Montserrat Armengol—authors of a documentary film with the same title—sets this issue in its proper perspective: Why has this extermination been shrouded in silence for 60 years?

In their book, Belis and Armengol state that they "do not understand why Spain has been unable to confront its own history and has maintained strict silence about the unmarked graves left by the Franco regime as well as about the mass executions in the ditches bordering country roads. Other countries, like South Africa, Chile or El Salvador, have established truth and reconciliation commissions to break this guilty silence, but our democratic administrations have not seen fit to undertake such measures." They add: "The official reluctance crosses all party lines: between 1982 and 1994, the Socialist administrations did nothing to dispel the silence; the Popular Party took an identical stance for the last eight years that they were in power."

Spanish politicians, in fact, still do not dare to stir the murky waters of

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Miguel Ángel Nieto is a prominent journalist based in Madrid. This piece was translated by Tony Geist.

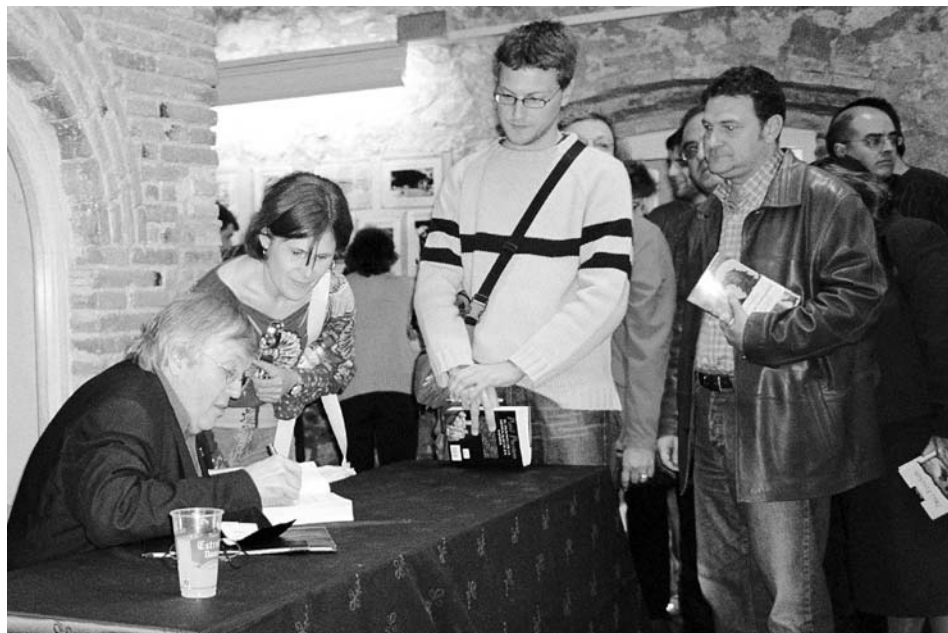


# Catalunya Town Honors IBs

By Heather Bridger

**T**he people of Marçà, Catalunya, continue in their journey to recover and remember the history of their region during the Spanish Civil War. Building on the success of last fall's events (attended by several U.S. veterans) commemorating the 65th anniversary of the Farewell to the International Brigades, local organization No Jubilem La Memoria and the town mayor again sponsored activities on April 24-25. Hundreds of participants attended.

Noted historian Paul Preston spoke to an enthusiastic, standing-room only crowd in Marçà's community center. The talk, based on his forthcoming book, *The Spanish Holocaust*, attracted attendees from as far away as Barcelona. "I was bowled over by the entire Marçà experience," Preston recalls. "I had expected to be talking to about 20 people, and about 400 showed up. That was a tribute to the work of the No Jubilem La Memoria group in general and Angela Jackson's enthusiasm in particular. Talking to such a committed audience,



Paul Preston signing books at the exhibition. Photo by Felix Jackson.

some of whom had travelled some way, was exciting, but the most amazing thing was the deeply moving comments that many made afterwards when they told me about their own families' experiences during the Francoist repression."

After his talk, Preston received special recognition from village painter and sculptor-in-residence Marçà Giné, who presented him with a new painting on behalf of the town council to commemorate his visit.

Events continued as villagers and visitors trooped uphill to the Casal to sample local wines, stand in line for signed copies of Preston's books, and wander through the newly installed exhibition of photographs from the Harry Randall Collection. Culled from archives in New York, Canada, and London, the exhibition featured over 100 photos showing local residents and International Brigade volunteers around the time of the Battle of the Ebro. Most had been taken by Randall and the Brigade photographic unit in 1938. Older locals enjoyed trying to identify themselves, family members, and friends. All were grim-faced at

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Josep Bargalló, First Minister of the Catalan government (center), with members of NJLM Toni Orensanz (left) and Josep Munté, viewing pictures taken in Marçà by Harry Randall and the Brigade photographic unit in 1938.

Heather Bridger, producer of the new album "Spain In My Heart: Songs of the Spanish Civil War," participated in the April events, at which she was pleased to present her CD to the people of Marçà.



Vet Clarence Kailin with children and grandchildren, (l-r) Desmond Hawkins, Laurel Kailin, and Jennifer Hawkins, standing by the VALB memorial.

## Madison Memorial to Vets

By Robert Kimbrough

**O**n Memorial Day, over 100 Wisconsin Friends of the VALB gathered near the International Volunteers for Liberty Memorial (inclement weather forced the meeting indoors) in Madison to honor the Lincoln Brigade.

Vet Clarence Kailin presided at the ceremony, while Norman Stockwell, a member of the International Independent Media Movement, acted as MC. The day's events, a mix of talks and singing of Spanish Civil War songs, included Clarence's comments pointing to the irony of current U.S. policy that favors military intervention overseas. "While our immediate fight is against our own raging militarism," he said, "our struggle remains more than ever the constant battle for peace and justice, for freedom and equality, and for democracy."

Alan Ruff, historian of the Left and an independent bookseller, gave the keynote speech, setting the context of the Spanish Civil War. Vicente Guillot, a professor of Spanish at Viterbo University in LaCrosse, Wisconsin, also spoke.

As the event ended, the sun came out, and each attendee, in leaving, was able, one by one, to place a red carnation on and around Madison's Memorial for the International Brigades. ■

## Norman Bethune Remembered in Spain

By Robert Coale

The Andalusian Center for Photography, in partnership with the local governments of Andalusia and Malaga, recently sponsored a photographic exhibit dedicated to Dr. Norman Bethune, the Canadian-born physician who participated in the Spanish Civil War and later in the struggles in China. Organized by Jesús Majada Neila, the exhibit focuses on the fascist attacks on civilians who were fleeing Franco's armies in



1937. Titled "Norman Bethune: El crimen de la carretera Málaga-Almería (febrero de 1937)," the show opened in Málaga in April. It will appear in Almería during July and August and will travel to other southern Spanish cities.

The exhibit catalogue, in Spanish (ISBN 84-95783-24-X), includes a short biography of the Canadian doctor and his activities in Spain, fragments of his diary during the Malaga tragedy, and the testimony of four survivors of the exodus. The entire text is illustrated with photographs taken by Bethune or his team in Spain, especially during the events of February 1937, and also in China. ■



# The King as Democrat

By Paul Preston

Of the many problems involved in writing about Juan Carlos, none was more difficult than the fulfilment of the task that I believe central to any decent political biography—the discovery of the human being behind the political personage. Royalty tends not to welcome investigation into its humanity. I recall the grimace of shock and distaste on the face of a Spanish functionary when I told him that I was keen to examine the human sacrifices that lay behind the achievements of the Prince and later of the King. Yet, without such an ambition, would there be anything interesting about a biography? How else would it be possible to understand the process by which Juan Carlos spent 21 years as the ball in a game being contested by his father, Don Juan de Borbón, and General Franco? Or, having been nominated by Franco as his successor “with the title of King,” how was he able to juggle the apparently incompatible objectives of being faithful to the principles of Franco’s single-party state and establish a democratic constitutional monarchy?

Without some sense of the human issues, it is hardly possible to solve the mystery of how a Prince emanating from a family with considerable authoritarian traditions, obliged to function within “rules” invented by General Franco, and himself brought up to be the keystone of a complex plan for the continuity of the dictatorship, should have committed himself to democracy. To do so meant surviving the hostility of the clan that surrounded Franco in his palace of El Pardo before 1975, of the extreme-right known as the “bunker” before

1977, and of military conspirators until 1981. These are processes impossible to understand without some speculation of their human costs and of their context. They require some consideration of the role of Sofía of Greece, not as a political actor but as a wife. Accordingly, the central themes of the book are centered on, and I hope, enriched by, considerations of the human dimension to the political and dynastic issues.

At the beginning of February 1946, Juan Carlos’s parents moved from Lausanne to Estoril, leaving him in a Swiss boarding school. It caused the eight-year-old intense distress, and his unhappiness at the school was reflected in discipline problems. He refused to attend his first lesson: a priest physically carried him to the classroom and then slapped him to make him sit quietly. The priests failed to see that the boy’s behavior and poor academic performance were symptoms of his desperate unhappiness at being separated from his parents.

In the summer of 1948, at the famous meeting between Franco and Don Juan on the yacht, *Azor*, the Caudillo pressed Don Juan for the now 10-year-old Prince to complete his education in Spain. Juan Carlos would be a hostage whose presence in Spain would give a veneer of royal approval to Franco’s indefinite assumption of the role of regent. The entire episode was handled with little sensitivity to the boy’s emotional needs. Juan Carlos set off on the Lusitania overnight express on November 8. The possibility of driving the train might have diminished a 10-year-old boy’s sadness at having to leave his parents. However, that pleasure was monopolized by one of the dour and aged aristocrats that accompanied him.

Juan Carlos’s new home was an improvised school at Las Jarillas, outside Madrid on the road to Colmenar Viejo. Throughout 1949, the relationship between Franco and Don Juan



King Juan Carlos

deteriorated, and Juan Carlos returned to Estoril at the end of May 1949 for summer holidays that would last for nearly 17 months. To spite Franco, Don Juan kept his son in Portugal but had made no alternative preparations for the resumption of his education. In consequence, the 1949-1950 academic year must have been a depressing one for the boy. It was good to be back with his family, but having coped with separation a year before by becoming closely attached to his classmates at Las Jarillas, he now missed them. However, he mattered little within the bigger diplomatic game. The frequency with which he later spoke of certain individuals being “like a second father” suggests that the callous exploitation of his person affected Juan Carlos’s attitude to his father. Such references would include, bizarrely, Franco.

Finally, in the autumn of 1950, Don Juan allowed Juan Carlos to resume his education in Spain, now at the palace of Miramar on the bay of San Sebastián. After four years at Miramar, Franco insisted on a two-

Paul Preston is Principe de Asturias Professor of Contemporary Spanish History at the London School of Economics and the author of *Juan Carlos: Steering Spain from Dictatorship to Democracy* (Norton, 2004).



year period in the Military Academy of Zaragoza followed by six-month periods in the air force and navy academies. During this period, there occurred an incident that dramatically altered Juan Carlos's relationship with his father. On March 29, Maundy Thursday, in Estoril, Juan Carlos's brother died in an accident when they were both playing with a small revolver. Inevitably, however, there were rumors that the gun had been in Juan Carlos's hands at the time of the fatal shot. The incident affected the prince dramatically, accentuating his tendency to introspection. More alone than ever, he became morose and guarded in his speech and actions.

To get over the tragedy of Alfonsito's death, Juan Carlos seems to have adopted a forced gaiety and, understandably for a young man going on 19, spent as much time as his studies permitted in the company of girls. There were many of them, and he had a readiness to think himself in

tance between Don Juan and his son would be increased by the 1962 marriage of Juan Carlos to Sofía of Greece. On his wedding day, after toying with the idea of naval uniform, which would have pleased his father, the Prince sagely opted to wear the uniform of lieutenant of the Spanish army, which delighted Franco. Sofía was aware that her chances of acquiring a throne depended on the good will of Franco. Soon after the wedding, to the annoyance of Don Juan, the couple flew to Madrid to thank Franco for his help with the wedding.

There was a noticeable difference in the Prince after his marriage. Now enjoying the emotional security deriving from a supportive wife, he manifested a far greater confidence in himself. Sofía had known exile with the Greek Royal Family and brought a hard realism to her assessment of the Spanish situation. She surely reiterated what her husband already knew: that the only route to the throne was

son. For the Caudillo, the birth of a male heir to the Prince made him an even better candidate for the succession. In 1969, he was designated as Franco's heir, a decision that broke with both the continuity and the legitimacy of the Borbón line. The new monarchy was intended to be Franco's and Franco's alone. This



Queen Sofía

### *To swear fidelity to the Fundamental Laws caused Juan Carlos considerable anxiety.*

love. The most likely candidate for marriage was his childhood friend, the vivacious and attractive blonde daughter of the exiled King Umberto, Maria Gabriella di Savoia, whose photograph he kept on his bedside table in the Zaragoza academy. He was ordered to remove it because General Franco disapproved. Such intrusions on the Prince's privacy were common. At one point, Franco declared that Juan Carlos would have to marry a royal princess, preferably of a ruling dynasty, financially comfortable, but never a Greek princess because they were not Roman Catholics and he thought they were freemasons.

After the military academies, Franco demanded that the Prince's education be entrusted to a specially selected team of professors in Madrid. Juan Carlos moved to the Palacio de la Zarzuela. It was increasingly apparent that Franco's contempt for Don Juan was matched by a growing affection for the Prince. The consequent dis-

via a closer rapprochement with the Caudillo. Sofía had quickly become aware of the affection between Franco and her husband. She noted how the dictator's eyes would light up when he saw the Prince, whom he regarded as the son that he had never had.

Don Juan seemed oblivious to Juan Carlos's problems. For him, his son was still "Juanito." He treated him as a child, yet "Juanito" was now a 28-year-old married man, with two children, and a coolly realistic wife as companion and adviser. Juan Carlos would have preferred to see his father on the throne but knew that the Caudillo had long since discounted Don Juan as a possible successor. To clash with Franco would merely have destroyed any chance of his family returning to the throne.

On January 5, 1968, Juan Carlos reached the age of 30, the age at which Franco's Law of Succession made him eligible to be King, and on January 30, Sofía gave birth to a

would be an enormous burden for the future King.

To swear fidelity to the Fundamental Laws caused Juan Carlos considerable anxiety. He intended to introduce some kind of future democratic reform. He had revealed this over several years in conversations with British diplomats, with Lord Mountbatten, with American journalists, and with progressive Spaniards. Now, he wanted reassurance that the oath of loyalty would not chain him to the regime in its present form. His legal advisors convinced him that all Franco's Laws could be reformed or even repealed. Franco had made it obvious that he

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## Juan Carlos

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expected his successor to continue his work, seeing him as a figurehead, a ceremonial head of state, with the steely Admiral Carrero Blanco to keep him on the path of true Francoism.

Nevertheless, by accepting the nomination of Franco, he had earned the suspicion and contempt of the majority of the democratic opposition, including the supporters of his father. At the same time, his determination to carry out democratic reform could not remain entirely a secret within the regime. Accordingly, he was the object of outright hostility in many Francoist circles, especially within the Falange and within El Pardo.

At the end of the decade, sympathizers in Franco's family circle began to undermine Juan Carlos's position by pushing the cause of Don Alfonso de Borbón-Dampierre, the fiancé of Franco's eldest grandchild, María del Carmen Martínez Bordiu. When Carrero Blanco was assassinated in December 1973, Franco did not include Juan Carlos in the decision to nominate the hard-line Carlos Arias Navarro to replace Carrero Blanco. Considering his position as official successor, and the proximity of Franco's inevitable demise, his exclusion from the decision was humiliating.

Juan Carlos was obliged to watch helplessly as Arias Navarro drifted directionless through the waves of inflation and working class militancy that followed the energy crisis. Arias lumbered into one conflict after another, leaving Juan Carlos able only to wait apprehensively. During Franco's death agony, the relationship deteriorated further. The six months after Franco's death on November 20, 1975, were nerve-racking for the new King. To placate the extreme right, he had to retain Arias Navarro as prime minister while trying to convince the left of his commitment to democratization.

It was not until the summer of 1976 that the King was able to choose the young and charismatic Adolfo

Suárez as the man to take charge of the next, crucial, stage of the process. It was a major gamble, and the fate of the monarchy hinged on his success or failure. Suárez commented later that the King "risked his crown" on his appointment.

In an atmosphere of military suspicion, the King thought it crucial that Suárez submit his reform project to a group of senior officers and appeal for their "patriotic support." There was no artifice about the fact that Juan Carlos felt himself to be a soldier. It was at the heart of the combination of camaraderie, informed concern, and authority that characterised his frequent contacts with the armed forces. Both his public appearances as commander-in-chief and his private meetings with officers were a crucial part of restraining military hostility to the democratic process.

After the democratic elections of June 1977, the problems that lay ahead were, strictly speaking, now the business of the King's government, but there were immediate political issues that would be impossible to resolve without the assistance of the King. Democracy would not be viable until both the army and the majority of the Basque people were brought into the democratic fold. The anti-democratic violence of right and left would bedevil the task of constructing a widely acceptable constitutional framework, and royal support was to be crucial for the consolidation of democracy. In theory, the King wanted to keep out of politics, but his involvement in the democratic process made that impossible. The



King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia

government needed his constant vigilance as supreme commander of the armed forces.

Between 1977 and 1981, Juan Carlos faced a situation which, in its demands on him, must have been deeply galling after all that he had already done. A democracy had been established, in considerable measure as a result of his sacrifices. However, democracy was in some danger, and it would require the tireless efforts of the King to prevent it being crushed between the hammer of Basque terrorism and the anvil of military subversion. As commander-in-chief, the political neutrality of the armed forces was his immediate problem. Far from being able to relax after years of tension and sacrifice, he had to be as alert as ever.

As terrorism intensified, right-wing circles seethed with angry resentment. The descent into violence could hardly have served the interests of the ultra-right more directly. The backlash inevitably reached the King, and he became the object of extreme right-wing hostility. The government was being overwhelmed by the ongoing and interrelated problems of Basque terrorism, military subversion, and economic stagnation. Juan Carlos was deeply sensitive to military feeling and was fully aware of the widespread popular discontent with the government's performance. The military situation was worsening by the day. When Adolfo Suárez resigned at the end of January 1981, military pressure grew for a coalition headed by a general. This reached a peak on the night of February 23, when Colonel Antonio Tejero seized the Spanish parliament and effectively held the entire political class hostage. The job of defeating the military coup was headed by the King himself.

The key moment came when he confronted and faced down the leading officer behind the coup, General Jaime Milans del Bosch. "I tell you the following in the clearest possible terms. 1. I affirm my firm decision to maintain the constitutional order within existing legality. After this message, I cannot turn back. 2. Any coup d'état cannot hide behind the King, it is against the King. 3. Today more than ever, I am ready to fulfil my oath to the flag. Therefore, with full responsibility and thinking only of Spain, I order you to withdraw all the units that you have mobilised. 4. I order you to tell Tejero to desist immediately. 5. I swear that I will neither abdicate the Crown nor abandon Spain. Whoever rebels is ready to provoke a new civil war and will bear responsibility for doing so. 6. I do not doubt my generals' love of Spain. First for Spain and then for the Crown, I order you to obey all that I have told you." Some of the military conspirators believed, on the basis of what they had been told by one of the senior officers involved, General Alfonso Armada, a man considered to be close to the King, that Juan Carlos

approved of the coup, an accusation frequently repeated since. In fact, there is little doubt that, if the King had been involved, the coup would have succeeded.

The extent to which the success or failure of the coup had been in the hands of Juan Carlos was underlined when the Minister of Defence asked the Captain-General of Madrid for his version of events. He replied, "Minister, before sitting down, I must tell you that I am a Francoist, that I adore the memory of General Franco. For eight years I was a colonel in his personal guard. I wear this Military Medal that I won in Russia. I fought in the Civil War. So you can well imagine my way of thinking. But the Caudillo gave me the order to obey his successor and the King ordered me to stop the coup on February 23. If he had ordered me to assault the Cortes, I would have done so."

In retrospect, the February 23 coup marked a turning point not only in the transition to democracy but also in the role of the King. The real significance of the coup as far as the Crown was concerned was revealed on February 27. Three million people demonstrated across the cities of Spain in support of democracy and the King. The mood in most of Spain, however, was summed up in an article by a Spanish republican who wrote of the night of February 23, "When we Spaniards thought that we deserved something better than a King, it turned out that we had a King that we didn't deserve."

The King's own sense of exasperation was expressed in his later comment to the leaders of the main parties that his role should not have been that of the fireman of democracy always ready to put out a fire. Nevertheless, what he had done was to wipe away his original sin of nomination by Franco and to give the Spanish monarchy a moral and practical legitimacy that no King had enjoyed since the golden age of Spanish imperial glory in the 16th and 17th centuries. ■

## Catalunya

Continued from page 6

the sight of aerial shots of the bombardment of villages and bridges along the River Ebro, taken by Nationalist photographers. NJLM organizers were pleased to be able to display several contact sheets of photos taken in the area by Robert Capa, many of which had never been published.



Paul Preston

Attendees also enjoyed the premiere of a new documentary film by the NJLM, featuring interviews with local residents and International Brigade volunteers who were there in 1938. The film includes footage of Milt Wolff, Clarence Kailin, Harry Randall, and Scottish veteran Steve Fullerton. According to local historian, novelist, and organizer Angela Jackson, "Undoubtedly one star of this video is Steve Fullerton, who was filmed last summer walking around the village, revisiting old haunts, and describing what it had been like during the war. As he sat in the new school, built on the former site of the Brigade parade ground, he remembered La Pasionaria's invitation to return to Spain and spoke of how glad he was to be back again in times of peace. Many people in the audience were moved to tears." Jackson was excited to report that, as a result of the NJLM's recent activities, there is now an extensive list of local people willing to be interviewed about their memories of the International Brigade volunteers. The organization hopes to add more extensive interviews to the film and work toward wider distribution in the future. ■



# Anthony Toney, 1913

By Nancy Wallach



Anthony Toney (top) with Dolores Ibarruri, Madrid, 1986. Photo by Robert Coane.

A portfolio of Anthony Toney's work can be seen on the web at [www.Atelier-RC.com/Atelier.RC/FeaturedArtist.html](http://www.Atelier-RC.com/Atelier.RC/FeaturedArtist.html), where he is currently the Summer 2004 featured artist. This show, launched on June 28, the occasion of the artist's 91st birthday, contains work painted and exhibited as recently as 2003.

Lincoln vet Anthony Toney has spent a lifetime painting and teaching, producing a body of work spanning nearly every decade of his 91 years. An equally prolific writer, he is the author of four books on art, including his most recent, *On Painting Realistically: A Memoir*. Toney joined the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in 1938 and was wounded at Gandesa. He continued his fight against fascism from 1942 to 1946 in the U.S. Air Force in the southwest Pacific. Toney taught and produced mural paintings for the WPA during the early 1940's. He was a beloved teacher at the New School for Social Research for over 40 years, and his large-scale compositions reflect the integration of social and historical concerns into his art and writing. His work is recognizable by a signature style that combines elements of realism and abstraction in the hands of a master colorist. Whether you are becoming reacquainted with or learning about Toney's work for the first time, we invite you to view these featured selections, whose contents and sentiments remain more timely than ever. ▀



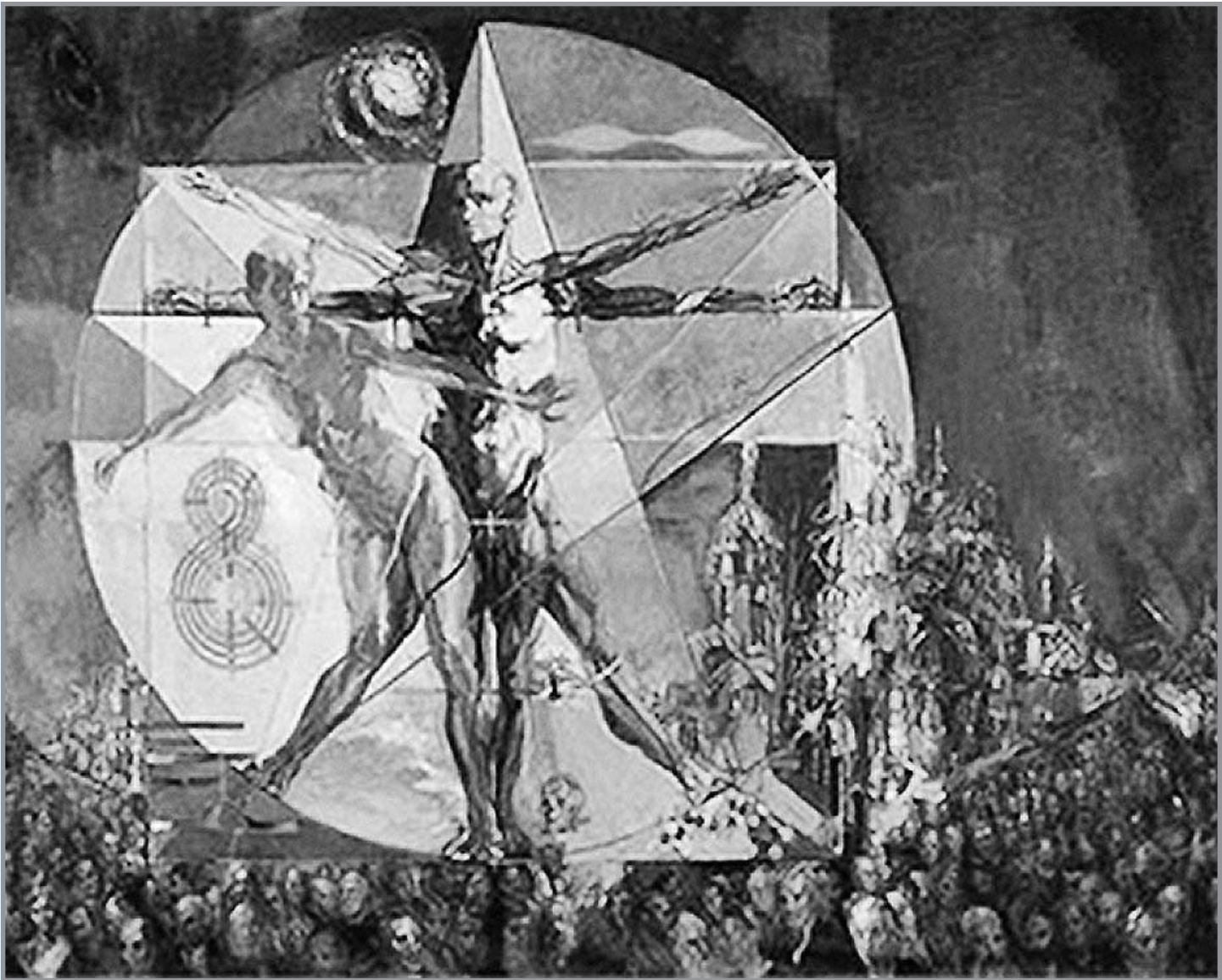
*Crouching Brigadistas*, 1939, Robert Coane collection



*Past and Present*

"I want my paintings to inspire a sense of optimism in the face of the seriousness of the human predicament."

**Anthony Toney**



The mural *Man and Universe*, 1967



*The streaker*, 1977



*No*, 1970, an anti-war painting



## Letters

Continued from page 2

The Archives includes several hundred books and pamphlets on the SCW, posters, and other material. The Archives of the British Battalion are also located here. The Archives are stored in modern glass and wood bookcases which, along with the temporary services of four archivists, were paid for by a grant by the British National Lottery. A bright note of color is the handsome banner of the British Battalion, hanging in a protective case. It is taken out for veteran funerals and other important occasions. To learn more about the Trust, see [www.international-brigades.org.uk](http://www.international-brigades.org.uk).

Lou Gordon

To the Editor:

It was a great privilege to take part in the I. B. memorial celebrations in Marsa in October-November, 2003, and to see again many of the pictures which our 15th Brigade photo unit—Tony Drossel, Ben Katine, and I—took in and around Marsa in 1937 & '38. They brought back vivid memories of the Spanish people's dedicated, painful struggle against fascism, and the world-wide support it enlisted. The fresh response of the local population to these pictures, which included relatives and friends, was ample reward to the devoted volunteers who selected and printed them. Taking part in these events stirred my deepest feelings, and gratitude that I was finally able to visit Spain again. I hope the London commemoration—and others like it—will enlighten and stir younger generations, who need to know about these events and their relevance today.

Harry Randall  
July 2004

Dear Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade,

For the past several years, I've gained a great deal of knowledge about the Spanish Civil War, particularly the heroic sacrifice of the International Brigades and everyone



Marlene Sidaway, David Marshall, Lou Gordon, and Tish Collins (l-r) at the International Brigade Memorial Trust in London.

else who risked everything to fight fascism. It seems to me that the present time is just as critical to our common future as 1936 was, if not more so. I would like to extend my deepest thanks to everyone who contributed to the efforts to save the Spanish Republic, both the small

number still living and all those who have gone before. I hope that in some small way I can do something that approaches their contribution to humanity. Thank you. You are not forgotten, and never will be.

Sincerely,  
Scott Charney, Dallas, Texas

## Watt Awards

Continued from page 4

1938, and March 1939.

The importance of "Non-Intervention" in facilitating the transition in the National Government's foreign policy posture rests principally upon the political realities in Great Britain concerning the League of Nations and collective security in the summer of 1936. "Non-Intervention" was neither a well-intentioned nor a naïve failure as it has often been cast, but rather a success, which fulfilled its *raison d'être* by maintaining and exacerbating the divisions between diverse domestic and international forces that were inclined to organize an international coalition, founded on an Anglo-Franco-Soviet combination, to resist aggression by the fascist powers in Europe. In so doing, "Non-Intervention" became a catalyst in the transition of appeasement, from a measured endeavour to remedy injustice, to a stuttering attempt to mollify fascist expansionism through capitula-

tion. "Non-Intervention" played an important role in dividing advocates of collective security within the British government itself. As such it ultimately had substantial consequences by establishing the conditions in British policy making circles that allowed Neville Chamberlain the leeway, bare though it was, to dismantle the Franco-Czech-Soviet coalition for containing Nazi Germany at the Munich Conference in 1938. Perhaps the full measure of the success of the "Non-Intervention" scheme is best understood by its ability to conjure away the responsibilities of the League of Nations in the Spanish conflict, not only from the minds of many British politicians and members of the public at the time, but even from the vast majority of those who have crafted the historical record over the past six-and-a-half decades. ■



# Irish Memorial Honors Waterford Volunteers



**S**peaking before 500 people at the site where a marble memorial stone was to be unveiled, the newly elected Mayor of Waterford, Ireland, recalled how 11 local volunteers never wavered in the belief that their cause was just. They had joined the Connolly Column of the International Brigades in Spain.

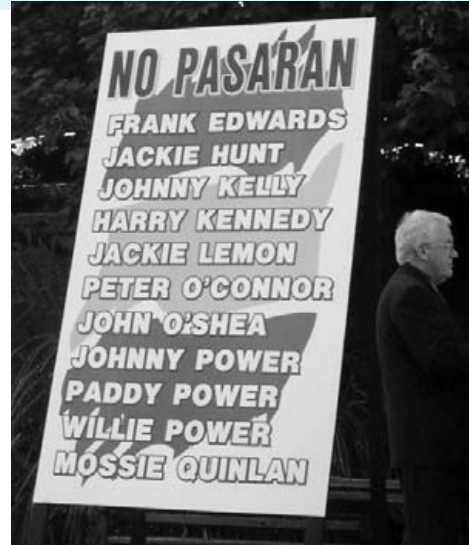
Jack Jones, former head of Britain's largest trade union, the Transport and General Workers Union, now President of the IB Memorial Trust in the UK, spoke of the strong feelings in

opposing the U.S.-led war in Iraq. "We appreciate your internationalism and pledge to oust President Bush in the upcoming election," he said.

Mike O'Riordan, the only one of some 200 Irish veterans of the Spanish Civil War still living, spoke of the discrimination suffered by the Irish veterans on their return from Spain. "The new monument is a vindication. It will remind people for generations to come that if the world had helped defend Spain, the horrors of World War II could have been prevented," he said.

The Committee of Relatives and Friends, who conceived the memorial, raised funds to buy a chunk of red marble from Spain. A noted sculptor, Michael Warren, donated his services, and the City Council of Waterford donated a site in the heart of Waterford.

The event was covered by *The Irish Times*, BBC, *Waterford Today*, and other stations.



The Waterford IB Vets

The following week, Fishman brought the same message to the annual Commemoration held at the memorial to the British Vets at the Jubilee Gardens in London, England. ▀



Moe Fishman

Liverpool in support of the legally elected government of Spain that motivated him to volunteer.

Moe Fishman, Secretary of VALB, on behalf of the U.S. peace movement, took the occasion to thank the Irish people for their demonstrations



## Film Review

# Maquis and the Movies: A Review of *Silencio Roto*

By Gina Herrmann

Every year in the tiny mountain town of Santa Cruz de Moya, in the province of Cuenca, an eco-political organization called La Gavilla Verde hosts an homage to the armed guerrilla fighters, the Maquis, who resisted the Franco regime between 1939 and about 1952. Santa Cruz de Moya was the site of the tragic confrontation between the Guardia Civil and the guerrilleros, when at least 12 members of the Aragon and Levante Group heroically lost their lives.

Historians, novelists, filmmakers, actors, political activists, and former guerrilla fighters come together for a weekend of panel discussions, book presentations, film screenings, lectures, songs, wine and meals. This yearly event is emblematic of what could be called "Maquis madness." Especially since the 2001 release of Montxo Armendariz's fiction film about the Maquis, *Silencio roto*, Spain's bookstores and newspapers, universities and cinemas have been abuzz with news of the recovery of the historical memory of the Maquis.

The phenomenon of the Maquis (from the French word meaning low scrub vegetation) dates from before the end of the Spanish Civil War, when some Republican soldiers, separated from their military units during Nationalist advances, took to the mountains in an effort to escape certain death at the hands of their foes. Many of these men, known as "huidos" (ones who fled), struggled to survive in mountainous regions all over Spain. Often supported by members of the civilian population ("enlaces") with food, ammunition, medicines, and clothing, many of these huidos survived for years hidden in caves, shepherd cabins, and forests.

In 1944, however, the material and ideological situation of these men changed significantly. Once it became clear that Hitler's and Mussolini's days were numbered, some Spanish exiles who had fought in the French Resistance returned clandestinely to Spain to join with the huidos, with the goal of creating an organized armed guerrilla army that would, ideally, coordinate attacks on the Franco regime.

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*The film decidedly seeks to represent a history of the Maquis from the perspective of the villagers . . .*

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It is this point in the history of the resistance where the film *Silencio roto* takes up its narrative. The film—inspired by Valencian novelist Alfons Cervera's wonderful novel titled *Maquis*—was a box office success in Spain and is now available in U.S. video stores. The film describes the Maquis in a small mountain village in Navarre from the point of view of a 21-year-old woman, Lucía, who returns to her hometown in the winter of 1944. Lucía is reunited with her friend, Manuel, a naïve and idealistic blacksmith who has been helping "those in the mountain." A romantic relationship develops between these two young people who find themselves caught up in the heady but frightening efforts to resist the repression of the Guardia Civil, even as their efforts at resistance bring only more terror and fear to the town. Manuel is eventually forced to join his father and other comrades in "el monte," and Lucía becomes one of the guerrilleros'

most reliable collaborators.

The film decidedly seeks to represent a history of the Maquis from the perspective of the villagers, particularly of the local women, who suffered physical torture, economic exclusion, and psychological terror from the local Falangists and Civil Guard. Needless to say, the finale is tragic.

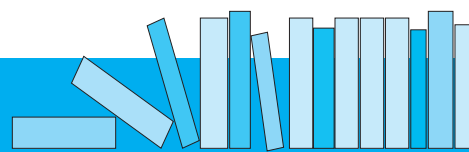
*Silencio roto*, while awakening new generations to the history of the Maquis and the valiant struggle against Franco, is not the first film based on the resistance. During the Franco era, cinemas saw a whole series of films about the "bandits and terrorists" in the mountains. During the transition to democracy, however, the theme was taken up in texts sympathetic to the Maquis. The groundbreaking work was Julio Llamazares's 1985 debut novel, *Luna de lobos* (*Wolf Moon*), adapted as a film by the same title.

A new social and cultural enthusiasm for the anti-Franco Guerrilla continues and shows no sign of abating. In 2001, acclaimed documentary filmmaker Javier Corcuera released his marvelous testimonial film, *La guerrilla de la memoria*, and just this month, Jamie Chávarri released a new film in which the Maquis figures prominently, *El año del diluvio* (*The Year of the Downpour*), based on the novel by Eduardo Mendoza. At play in this "Maquis Madness" we find not only a long-overdue collective recognition of a repressed history, but also, hopefully, the beginnings of a social dialogue about Francoism that will culminate in the material compensation of the surviving members of the Guerrilla, who for decades have been lobbying for economic and moral rehabilitation from the Spanish government. ■

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

# Book Reviews



## The Brigade in Poetry

***La Brigada: Spain, 1936-39.*** By Cranston Sedrick Knight. Chicago: Third World Press, 2004, \$10.

**By Shirley Mangini**

Cranston Knight has written a poignant book of poetry that celebrates the "people of color" who were involved in the war and pays tribute to the author's Spanish grandfather, Jose Ramirez. Some of the poems are in both English and Spanish. There are poems to Oliver Law, the first African-American commander of an integrated military unit; Alonso Watson, the first African-American to die in Spain; nurse Salaria Kea; and Paul Robeson, among others. Knight also dedicates poetry to bards who wrote about the war, such as Garcia Lorca, Pablo Neruda, and the Cuban Nicolas Guillen. In his poem "Poetas," Knight speaks of these poets with heartfelt admiration:

I  
It is the Spanish rain  
or perhaps the draw of  
a Spanish Moon  
that lures  
and pulls and calls  
to the Poets of the  
Spanish World  
to reach out

Shirley Mangini is a professor of Spanish at California State University, Long Beach, and author of *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War* (Yale, 1995).

or perhaps it is the cafes  
and the gypsy music  
that brings them

perhaps

perhaps it is the  
beauty of the Spanish women  
and the night of unspoken  
softness of the skin

perhaps/perhaps

it's the touch of the sea  
shore and the splash  
of waves upon the shores  
and the finger like tides  
that touch their toes

perhaps it's the call of the  
Spanish Republic that  
needs them to give  
inspiration as only poets  
can give

but it is a call  
of brethren to come  
to this country  
to write about  
ideology in conflict

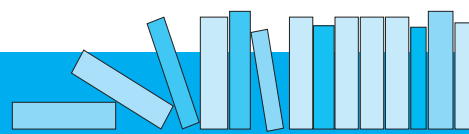
II  
the lyrics  
that came from your works  
ran like rain drops from  
your notebooks  
you captured the fire  
fury  
anguish  
of men and  
women in  
chaos  
in your lines

III  
you sit in the rain to write  
and in the hot sun  
on the roads  
and shades  
you captured  
a world event with pens  
and wrote a diary of life  
in silent and noisy corners  
who else could paint life as  
you could

This nostalgic book of poems reminds us that for those who are connected to the Spanish Civil War, the memory of their loved ones, friends, and those who recorded the war through poetry or prose continues to be a compelling and emotional topic. ■



## Book Reviews



# The Brits Who Fought Fascism in Spain

***British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War: The British Battalion in the International Brigades, 1936-1939.*** By Richard Baxell. London: Routledge/Cañada Blanch Studies on Contemporary Spain, £65.

**By Angela Jackson**

Richard Baxell's book is a wonderful example of how exhaustive research can be presented in a clear and interesting manner. It is essential reading for those who would like to know more about the British in the International Brigades, whatever their level of studies. Maps and tables make basic information easily accessible, and the well-chosen quotations in the text offer many insights into the attitudes and feelings of the volunteers.

The wealth of new information now available about the brigades, including material from the archives in Moscow, has brought a resurgence of interest among historians. Baxell draws on these sources and, while valuing the contributions made by earlier authors such as Bill Rust and Bill Alexander, who had themselves been members of the battalion, also engages with controversial issues that are currently being re-examined. He challenges some of the theories that have appeared in recent publications, examining their largely critical perspective on the role of the brigades with scrupulous care.

The book's brief introduction on the events leading to the outbreak of the war is followed by two chapters on the background of the 2,500 British volunteers, explaining who they were and why they went to Spain. The fascinating exploration of what motivated the volunteers shows how they were drawn together in the fight

against fascism, although their previous experiences of campaigning in Britain had varied from protests to gain the right to ramble in the Peak District to violent clashes with the Blackshirts of the British Union of Fascists.

Subsequent chapters cover the part played by the British Battalion in the main campaigns of the war. Military disasters are reviewed in detail, and events that have since become legendary, such as the capture of the British Machine Gun Company at Jarama, are thoroughly examined. However, amidst the strategy and tactics of the battles, the author never loses sight of the human beings involved, and readers are kept vividly aware of the tremendous stresses and difficulties that individuals confronted in the chaos of war. The faces in the photographs bear expressions of seasoned determination and weariness more often than youthful smiles.

A further chapter gives a harrowing account of the experiences of the members of the battalion who were taken prisoner. Those who were fortunate enough not to be shot had grim memories of the unsanitary conditions, lack of food, and beatings during the months they spent as captives. Baxell also gives a moving description of their efforts to develop strategies to make life bearable and their valiant escape attempts. Among the men who were repatriated in prisoner exchanges, there were some who returned to fight again in Spain, despite knowing they faced certain execution if captured again.

In the final chapter, "British volunteers for liberty or Comintern army?" Baxell examines this contentious question in detail, considering the relationship of the

Communist Party with the volunteers as symbiotic rather than parasitic. He also reviews the evidence regarding the treatment of deserters, retaining a clear sense of the context in which difficult decisions had to be made. Reference is made to international rivalries among the men and in particular the relationship between the Spanish and the International Brigaders. Given the ever-increasing numbers of Spanish in the International Brigades, needed as replacements for casualties, and the reluctance of many of the British to speak foreign languages, problems of communication must have been commonplace. One volunteer, Joe Monks, is cited as having justified this lack of enthusiasm to learn Spanish by claiming there was "a superstition that anybody that started to study Spanish grammar got killed." But later he was prepared to concede that this was probably "just an excuse for not doing it." The interactions taking place at the grassroots level between Brigaders and Spanish soldiers and civilians must surely be a subject worthy of more extensive research in the future.

As the sub-title of this book makes clear, this is a study of combatants rather than of British volunteers in general. Therefore very little mention is made of the British men and women who served in the medical units of the International Brigades. However, as far as the history of the British Battalion is concerned, this book should soon become widely recognized as a valuable work of reference and an important contribution to the understanding of the International Brigades. A copy of the data base that was created during the research process has now been placed in the International Brigade Archives at the Marx Memorial Library in London. ■

Angela Jackson is the author of *British Women and the Spanish Civil War*.

## Dispatch Madrid

Continued from page 5

our bloody past, despite urging by the United Nations in 2002 to underwrite with public funds the investigation of this secret taboo. All those who have governed during 25 years of democracy have found, for inexplicable reasons, the exercise of setting this episode in its just historical framework to be an impossible task. In our country, the Civil War continues to be present in the collective imagination of the elders, but its memory is constantly and deliberately muffled, and any sincere reflection on the war in conversation is still almost impossible without provoking a visceral outburst.

In the last five years, various associations of the families of victims have undertaken on their own the search for these unmarked common graves through interviews with survivors who were eyewitnesses to the burial of the victims of Franco-era repression. Following these leads, they have tracked down, excavated, and located the graves. In some cases they have unearthed the heaped remains of over 50 people, whose identification has been impossible due to the lack of government economic support necessary to carry out DNA testing. Very few families have been able to give the bones of their murdered ancestors a dignified burial. The vast majority have gone home with only the bitter smell of anonymous putrefaction.

The young people of Spain, growing up with this dangerous and false version of their collective history, will pay a very heavy price for all this. For them the Franco regime died its physical death. The war is no longer part of their collective memory; for them it doesn't exist. Nonetheless, the version of the war, the absolutely necessary version of a war that must be known in order to understand the past of this country, still lies covered up by the wreckage of the lies of history, in these *pits of silence*. ■

## Added to Memory's Roster

### Dr. Ianto Kaneti 1910-2004

Dr. Ianto Kaneti, the last survivor of a group of doctors who fought at two anti-fascist fronts, first in Spain and later in China, passed away at home in Sofia, Bulgaria on June 15. Born into a Jewish family in Bulgaria in 1910, Dr. Kaneti graduated from Sofia University Medical College in 1935. Despite his successful career, he went to Spain in the summer of 1937 to join the International Brigades. Dr. Kaneti was first attached to the 86th Brigade in the Cordoba front, and later was transferred to the base hospitals in Albacete and Huete. He was the head of the Rehabilitation Center at Barcelona from March 1938 until the withdrawal of the International

Brigades. After the retreat to France, an "Aid China" campaign was organized among doctors who had served in Spain. Although many doctors volunteered to serve, 17 doctors from the Fascist-occupied countries were selected. Dr. Kaneti came out of the French camp and reached southern China in September 1939. In China, these "Spanish doctors" insisted on serving in the front to fight against the Japanese invasion. Dr. Kaneti returned to Bulgaria in 1945. He held a position in the government until 1956 and became a radiology professor in the medical school. In 1996, Dr. Kaneti and his wife returned to Spain to attend the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the International Brigades.

**-Len Tsou**

## Associaton for Historical Memory Recovery offers Genetic Identification

Dear Members,

First of all I would like to express my eternal gratitude to all of you. You came to my country to defend us from fascism and you suffered and died in order to preserve the ideals in which you believed. I do not have words to describe what I feel for you. Thanks, thanks, and more thanks. You were an example of coherence, strength and idealism.

But I am not only writing to tell you what you already know. I also would like to let you know that the "associacis per a la recuperacis de la memoria historica" (Association for Historical Memory Recovery) is promoting the identification of bodies buried in unidentified mass graves. I will be the person in charge of the genetic identification of these bodies.

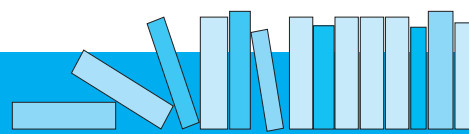
If you know cases of brigadists who were killed and left in these graves and you are interested in having these bodies identified and recovered for their families, please let me know. I can put you in contact with the people in Barcelona who are carrying out the work of grave localization. We are now starting this long but necessary work and we would be glad to do as much as we can in order to help you. This is a way to say thank you with something other than words.

Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

Pere Puig, PhD, Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center

# Book Reviews



## Stalin and the War

***Stalin and the Spanish Civil War.*** By Daniel Kowlasky. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. (Also available in a Spanish version: ***La Unión Soviética y la Guerra Civil Española: Una revisión crítica.*** Barcelona: Crítica, 2004)

**By Robert Coale**

Daniel Kowalsky's study of Soviet involvement in the Spanish Civil War is a welcome addition to the list of publications whose authors have gained access to archival holdings of various sorts in the former Soviet Union. Exploiting source material in the original Russian version, the study sheds light on a number of the more polemic issues surrounding Stalin and Spain. The result is an undeniably thorough study of the Soviet involvement in the Spanish Civil War. The work is divided into five parts that cover Soviet-Spanish relations, solidarity campaigns and humanitarian aid, Soviet cultural policy and the Spanish Republic as well as multiple aspects of Soviet military assistance, from planning and supply to personnel. Many of these subjects had not been studied previously in such depth. The author credits the Soviets with noble intentions and outright successes, but he also enumerates the many difficult and flawed aspects of their policy in Spain.

Relations between the two nations suffered from actions of both parties. The situation of the Spanish diplomatic mission in Moscow is an example. Given the considerable Soviet assistance, along with the refusal of western democracies to aid the legal government of Spain, the indifference and later neglect in which Madrid left its delegation in Moscow is astonishing, to say the least. This situation not

only offended Stalin, but also had other drastic consequences: rendering it virtually impossible for the Republican authorities to monitor or influence the care given to Spanish children refugees in the USSR. Furthermore, the absence of a Spanish military attaché allowed the Soviets a free hand in controlling the prices and quality of arms sold to the Republic. Other perplexing issues brought forth are the lack of adequate military preparation of many of the Soviet pilots and tankers sent to the peninsula and the scant attention paid to the language and cultural barriers between them and their Spanish counterparts, often with dramatic consequences.

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*The author credits the Soviets with noble intentions and outright successes, but he also enumerates the many difficult and flawed aspects of their policy in Spain.*

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On the other hand, Kowalsky refutes the most negative interpretations of Stalin's actions and motives. The author concludes that Soviet intervention in Spain always answered to multiple considerations and not just one easily identifiable objective, as many critics have stated. In all, the book presents a view that is extremely well documented, thoughtful, and balanced.

The book closes with two invaluable appendices for future researchers. The first is a critical bibliography of Russian, Spanish and English historiography of the war. The second is an

often amusing guide to the myriad Russian archival collections, with tips on locations, types of unclassified documents in holdings, and conditions of access.

Given the primary area of interest of the publication in which this review is to appear, I cannot resist mentioning the short passage dedicated to the International Brigades. It is, unfortunately, one point where the author does not seem to have used the Russian archival holdings to their fullest extent. In addition, some secondary sources of questionable scholarly value are taken at their face value. In all fairness, however, the IB is not one of the main subjects of the book, and these few errors must not distract the reader from the veritable contributions Kowalsky has provided in understanding Stalin's motivations and actions. All in all, this is a highly valuable contribution to the study of

the Spanish Civil War.

One note: the English language edition is part of the Gutenberg online history series created by the American Historical Association and Columbia University Press. Acquisition of the book comes with access to rare archival footage and photographs on-line (see: [www.gutenberg-e.org](http://www.gutenberg-e.org)). The version published in Spain by Crítica is a translation of the text portions of the original work. ■

Robert Coale teaches Spanish literature at the University of Paris.



# Contributions

## IN MEMORY OF A VETERAN

Philip Morrison in memory of **Dave Doran** \$80

Tony Pappas in memory of **Nick "Mike" Pappas** \$100

David Bortz in memory of **Louis Bortz** \$100

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Dr. Thomas C. Doerner in memory of **Dr. Harold Robbins** and **Dr. Randall Solenberger** \$100

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Harry A. Parsons \$500

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# ALBA's Planned Giving Program

## Tax Advantages for Gift Annuities



ALBA's planned giving program provides an extraordinary way to **make a gift, increase income and slice the donor's tax bill – all in one transaction!**

The charitable gift annuity program was created for our many friends who have expressed a desire to make a significant gift, while still retaining income from the principal during their lifetime. A charitable gift annuity gives the donor additional retirement income, while affording the satisfaction of supporting ALBA's continuing educational programs and its traditions of fighting for social justice and against fascism.

### HOW DOES A CHARITABLE GIFT ANNUITY WORK?

A charitable gift annuity is a simple contract between you and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA). Under this arrangement, you make a gift of cash or marketable securities, worth a minimum of \$5000, to ALBA. In return, ALBA will pay you (or up to two individuals) an annuity beginning on the date you specify, on or after your sixtieth (60th) birthday.

### WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF A CHARITABLE GIFT ANNUITY?

A charitable gift annuity has four distinct advantages:  
**Income for Life** at attractive payout rates.

**Tax Deduction Savings** – A large part of what you give is a deductible charitable gift.

**Tax-Free Income** – A large part of your annual payments is tax-free return of principal.

**Capital Gains Tax Savings** – When you contribute securities for a gift annuity, you minimize any taxes on your "paper profit." So gifts of securities save twice!

### PAYMENTS

You choose how frequently payments will be made – quarterly, semi-annually or annually. You can also choose a one-life or two-life

(two people dividing the income) annuity. Cash gifts allow maximum tax-free income; gifts of securities allow you to minimize capital gains taxes.

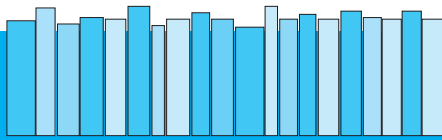
### DEFERRING PAYMENTS

If you are under 60 years of age, you can still set up an annuity and defer the payments until any date after your 60th birthday. This gives you an immediate tax-deduction for your gift while still guaranteeing you income payments in the future. Because you are deferring payments, your annuity payments will be larger than if you had waited to set up the annuity until your 60th birthday.

For more information on a customized proposal for your Charitable Gift Annuity, please contact:

Julia Newman  
 ALBA, room 227  
 799 Broadway  
 NY, NY 10003  
 Ph. (212) 674-5398





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Moe Fishman (right) at the unveiling of a monument for the Irish IB vets from Waterford who were members of the Connolly Column. See page 15.

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