



# The Volunteer

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

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

JOURNAL OF THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

Vol. XXIII, No.3

Sept 2001

## An Event to Remember,

New Hampshire State Senator Burt Cohen and  
Studs Terkel spoke at VALB's 65th anniversary in NY,  
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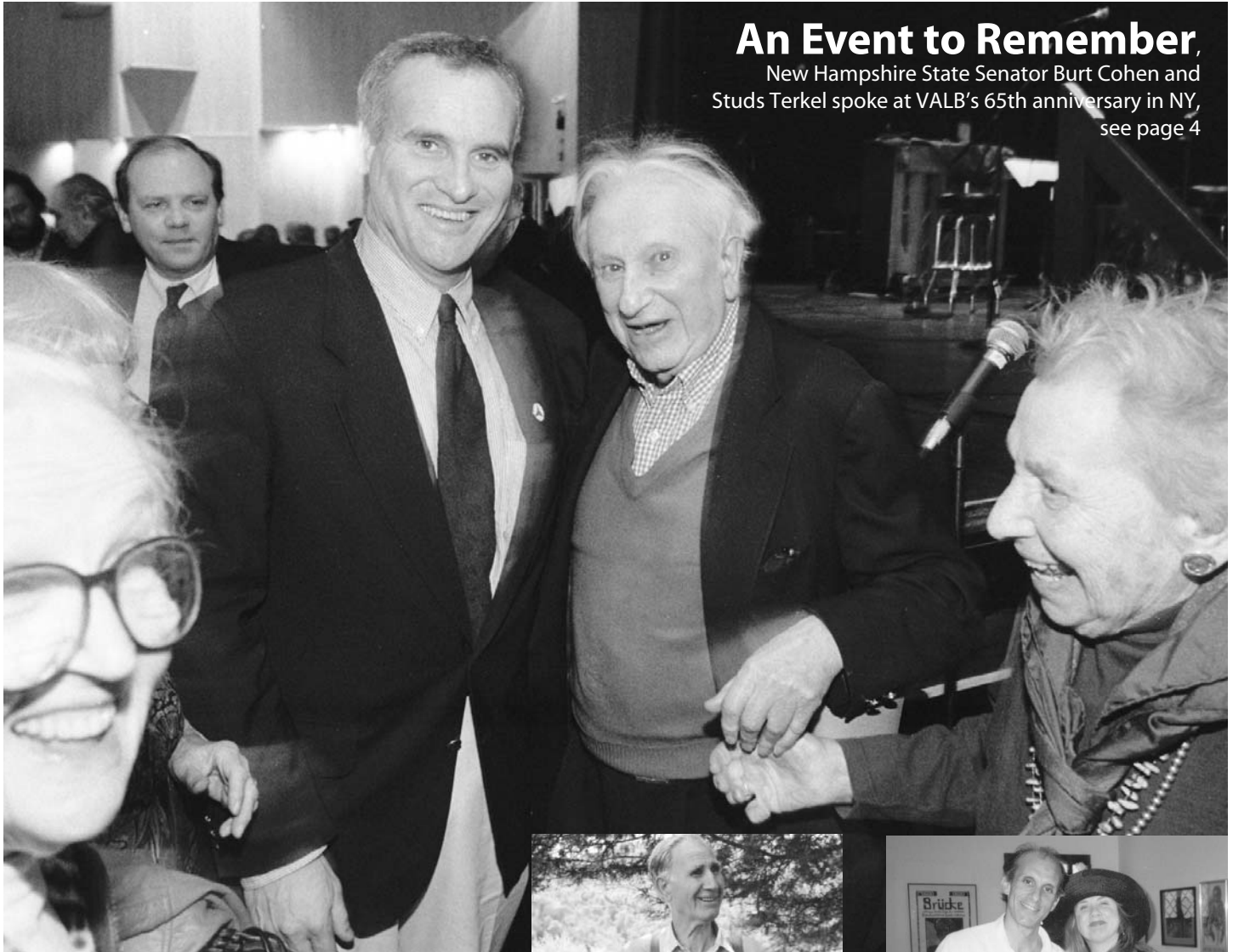


PHOTO BY RICHARD BERMACK

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Chicago VALB says goodbye  
to Peter Glazer, Bay Area says  
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# Letters

## NEW BOOK ABOUT SPANISH CIVIL WAR AND CINEMA

Dear friends,

I am enclosing the description of a new book about films and the Spanish Civil War, titled *La Guerra Civil española: cine y propaganda* (Ariel Publications, 299 pages, ISBN 84-344-6626-0). Its author, Magi Crusells, is a research fellow of the University of Barcelona and has been working in the cinema related to the Spanish Civil War for many years now. His doctoral thesis was "The International Brigaders in Film Documentaries." Magi teaches history in a college in the province of Barcelona and is secretary of the magazine *Film-Historia*, a publication of the Department of Contemporary History of the University of Barcelona.

The book is very well researched, with a clear and thorough style, and has the advantage that it is for everybody, not only academics. Professor Paul Preston very recently said to me that *La Guerra Civil española: cine y propaganda* is a very interesting book. What a good recommendation!

The book studies the relationship between the Spanish Civil War and cinema, using films as testimony of society and mentalities and as new ways to understand or teach history.

The book has 8 chapters: (1) a chronology of the Civil War by Spanish documentary films between 1936 and 1939; (2) the Spanish production companies during the war; (3) the foreign production companies during the war; (4) two documentary films compared: *Mourir á Madrid/To Die in Madrid* (1963, dir. Eric Rossif) and *Morir en España/To Die in Spain* (1965, dir. Mariano Ozores); (5) the oral history by Spanish documentary films after Franco (1975-1977), analyzing various films, especially *La vieja memoria/The Old Memory* (1977, dir. Jaime Camino); (6) fiction films I, which describes Spanish cinematography between 1939 and 1975, studying various films, especially *Raza/Race* (1941, dir. José Luis Sáenz de Heredia), adaptation of the script written by Franco; (7) fiction films II, which examines Spanish cinematography between 1976 and 1999, analyzing various films, especially *Libertarias* (1996, dir. Vicente Aranda); and (8) fiction films III, which explores foreign cinematography between 1939 and 1999, studying various films, especially *Land and Freedom* (1995, dir. Ken Loach). The book also has a bibliography.

Lala Isla

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## Robert Capa Documentary Seeks Vets

AMERICAN MASTERS, the award-winning arts and culture biography series produced by WNET/-THIRTEEN for national PBS broadcast, is in the research and development phase for a 90-minute documentary film on the life of Robert Capa (1913-1954), the renowned war photographer who devoted his life to creating the visual legacy of five wars.

Robert Capa was committed to telling the true story of war and its effects on the men and women who served. With this film, the first biographical documentary portrait of Capa, we have the unique opportunity to pay tribute to this extraordinary man.

It is our sincere hope that by reaching out to veterans who had personal connections with Robert Capa, or direct knowledge about his life and/or work, we will be able to enhance our film with exclusive stories and original materials.

If you knew Robert Capa and have any evocative stories, photos, audio recordings or moving images, please let us know so that we may share them with the audience of this film. If you or anyone in your family was ever the subject of one of Capa's photographs, please tell us your tales of working with Capa or the anecdotes that have been told to you.

You can reach Joanna Rudnick and the American Masters: Robert Capa Project at 1-800-426-7027, ext. 2966 or by email at [RudnickJ@thirteen.org](mailto:RudnickJ@thirteen.org).

We welcome your contributions to the film.

## The Volunteer

Journal of the  
Veterans of the  
Abraham Lincoln Brigade

an ALBA publication

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# Chicago Friends Celebrate Fourth Year

The Chicago Friends of the Lincoln Brigade gathered to celebrate their fourth year of organized activity on June 17 and also to say goodbye to Peter Glazer, musical director and creator of *The Heart of Spain* and *We Must Remember!* who is leaving Chicago to join the Theater and Performance Studies Department at the University of California at Berkeley. Chicago singer Jamie O'Reilly acted as emcee for the affair, while veteran Chuck Hall presented a farewell message. The Chicago Friends have resolved to enroll 100 new ALBA Associates to honor Glazer's work.

Chuck Hall's remarks follow: "From the very beginning our own Peter Glazer has been the ultimate 'friend' of the Friends. In my mind Jamie and Peter are linked—I first met Jamie at a Gala celebration of the Women and Labor History Project at the UNITE Union Hall. She came up and said she was working on songs of the Spanish Civil War and asked if she could come over to my house to talk. What she and Michael Smith were working on eventually became 'Pasiones'—this tremendous performance piece that has been done from coast to coast and is available on CD. And it was Peter who directed that first performance at the Lunar Cabaret—and many more after that.

The next thing that happened—in November, 1996—Bobby and I went to Spain for the 60th anniversary of the International Brigades, sponsored by that wonderful organization the "Amigos"—the Asociación des Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales. On the way home from Spain, talking on the plane with Joyce and Aaron Hilkevitch, we decided to have a Chicago celebration of the 60th anniversary.

You should know that there hadn't been a public event in Chicago with the Lincolns for 10 years. There was a big event for the 50th anniversary, at which time Mayor Harold Washington issued a proclamation in honor of Oliver Law and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. (Sadly,

that proclamation was his last official act before his fatal heart attack a few days later). Incidentally, Nancy Mikelsons, who is here today, read La Pasionara's speech at that event, and Peggy Lipschutz, also here, designed the poster that was given to the surviving vets (which was quite a few more than we have today).

It was when we were planning our first event that Jamie introduced us to Peter, and it was he who orchestrated that very successful and wonderful affair at Roosevelt University in May 1997 at which we celebrated the 60th anniversary, with Peter Carroll as our main speaker. A "connoisseur" like Fred Fine, former Cultural Director for the City of Chicago, called it "perfect," and we know it couldn't have been done without Peter.

I remember in the beginning we called ourselves "Chicago Friends of VALB and ALBA." Peter said that was quite a mouthful, and we cut it in half, and that's how CFLB was born.

And so it has been for 4 years.

Peter has participated in our meetings and helped put on a series of

successful events, including a celebration of Paul Robeson's centennial, "The Artist Must Take Sides," and two successful events around "Heart of Spain," as well as a symposium on Northwestern's campus around the Spanish Civil War. He worked with a committee to help draft the first document on "Why A Monument" in Chicago. And to top it off he did his dissertation research (which he's going to tell us about today) around the topic of commemorative events and the role of theater, using VALB and ALBA events as his focus. He interviewed many Chicago vets as part of his work.

Words cannot convey how much we're going to miss him—but we're going to keep in touch. Peter has just become a member of the ALBA Board, and we are determined to increase our ties with ALBA. I think it would be a nice tribute to Peter if we were to pledge to recruit 100 new members from the Chicago area in his honor, and so I'm going to propose that as a goal for the next meeting of the Chicago Friends. ■



*Spanish Consul General Lorenzo Gonzalez-Alonso and Milt Wolff*

## **San Francisco Honors Milt Wolff and the Lincoln Brigade**

The San Francisco Board of Supervisors declared July 25 Milton Wolff day, in honor of the Lincoln Brigade crossing the Ebro River in Spain, July 25, 1938. The day culminated in a reception at the home of the Spanish Consul General.

PHOTO BY RICHARD BERMACK

# VALB Celebrates 65th Anniversary in New York



PHOTO BY RICHARD BERMACK

The vets take the stage, and Moe Fishman wins the audience's hearts with a quick verbal riposte. After failing three times to pronounce the word "globalization," he quipped: "It was so much easier when we called it 'imperialism.'"

## By Sue Susman

"Why fight?" New Hampshire State Senator Burton Cohen asked himself when opponents took down a plaque honoring the Abraham Lincoln Brigade from the statehouse wall. His answer came from the Lincolns themselves, Cohen told the 800-plus audience who came to honor the veterans at their 65th reunion at the Borough of Manhattan Community College. The Lincolns "exemplify going beyond oneself, caring about something bigger," said Cohen. So he could not let McCarthyism reappear unchallenged. The result: all of New Hampshire now knows about the Brigade, and a hefty portion want to restore the plaque.

"Why fight?" asked author and radio host Studs Terkel, whose text for the afternoon's "sermon" was taken from this country's labor and freedom struggles, home for many Lincolns. Because, said the silver-haired Studs, the Lincolns "are crazy enough to dream of a world in which people treat each other decently." The audience responded with cheers. "To demonstrate," he pointed out, is to live, and the Lincolns and their followers have lived powerfully, demonstrating from the McCarthyite

'50s through the current anti-globalization movements in Seattle and Quebec—with everything in between.

Studs was introduced by *Nation* magazine publisher Victor Navasky, whose readings from Terkel's book, *Talking to Myself*, showed the author's unfailing generosity—even to the FBI men whose employment he assured. Terkel, he concluded, was not only this nation's oral historian, but also its moral historian. (Studs Terkel's talk is available on audiotape; send \$5 to ALBA, Room 227, 799 Broadway, NY, NY 10003.)

Terkel's fellow historians, moral or otherwise, will have a great deal to examine, given the growth of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade's archives, now at NYU's Tamiment Library, and ALBA's educational exhibits that were summarized by board member Fraser Ottanelli. Then there are the many recent press clippings read by VALB spokesman Moe Fishman, covering veterans' activities from one end of the country to the other. To complete the record, Moe noted vets' recent demonstrations against the Navy presence in Vieques and a managerial coup at a local Pacifica radio station.

Then Moe summoned his comrades to the stage, and the vets, all in

their 80s or older, stood beneath the fraying fringes of the Lincoln Brigade's banner as the audience rose to its feet. Each veteran took a minute to explain why he went to fight, exhorting us to activism.

The emotional underpinnings of that activism came to life with Pasion, a musical trio presenting a wider range of Spanish Civil War songs than we've heard in many years. With beautiful vocal harmonies and creative guitar and clarinet accompaniment, Jamie O'Reilly, Michael Smith, and Katrina O'Reilly sang cabaret-style, showing the passion, fear, and poignancy that accompanied and moved the Lincolns and their international comrades.

The program, directed by ALBA's Peter Glazer and emceed with humor and skill by Henry Foner, proved to be an inspiring success. Lots of people also worked behind the scenes, including production manager Sam Ellis, Sylvia Thompson, Moe Fishman, Diane Fraher, Miriam Gittleson, Charles Bayor, Ruth Ost, and Camp Kinderland's Social Action Committee.

We'll be back for the 66th next year. ■

# Canadian Volunteers to Unveil Ottawa Memorial

By Jules Pavio

A national memorial monument honoring the Canadian volunteers of the International Brigades will be unveiled in Ottawa on October 20 in a ceremony hosted by the Honorable Adrienne Clarkson, Governor General of Canada, at Green Island Park. The monument pays tribute to some 1,545 Canadians, most of whom served in the Mackenzie-Papineau battalion, which, with the Lincoln and British battalions, formed part of the 15th Brigade. Other speakers at the ceremony will include Jose Cuesta, Spain's ambassador to Canada; officials of the Canadian government; and members of the Mac-Paps. After the unveiling, a reception will be held at the adjacent Canada and World Pavilion with music, entertainment, and refreshments.

For more information about the affair, contact Jules Pavio (705-524-1775; FAX 705-524-5943) or email: ccfatoronto@lefca.com.

The monument is the culmination of many years of lobbying on the part of the Veterans and Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion. There has been a long-standing opposition to a monument in the nation's capital, but in recent years the groups opposed have largely withdrawn or muted their objections. The result is that by 1999, the National Capital Commission, a federal commission responsible for approving the building of monuments in Ottawa, granted its conditional approval.

What had been up to then a monument lobbying activity has now become a monument building activity. We've been through fund raising, a design competition, site selection, and design reviews with the Commission, all demanding processes that sometimes produced a certain nostalgia for the old lobbying days!

We started out on a strong footing. A design competition held in May 2000 produced 10 excellent sub-

missions. The winning entry calls for a 14-foot-high plate of corten steel, out of which has been cut a dramatic silhouette of Prometheus, the Greek god who brought fire to humans and was subsequently punished by the gods for his defiance of autocratic authority. Incorporated into the site design is a memorial wall bearing stainless steel plates on which are inscribed the names of the approximately 1500 volunteers who traveled to Spain from Canada.

A number of sites were proposed for the monument, requiring several visits to Ottawa. As one site or another became unavailable, revisions to the design were required. We perse-

vered, however, and now have a fine site, near the Canada and World Pavilion, close to the Ottawa River.

We've also had to deal with the very demanding architectural standards of the government. Anti-graffiti coatings, extra deep footings for Ottawa winters, and molding details on the concrete walls, among others things, have all added to the design—and cost—and extended the process of review and approval. Happily, we started construction during the summer.

In parallel we've obtained government review and approval of the

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## New Hampshire Monument Still on Hold

By Burton Cohen

It goes up and down. Sometimes it looks impossible. Occasionally there is a seeming breakthrough. The old holes in the wall where the plaque was supposed to be are well repaired and invisible now. It is erased, which seems to be what has been the case for the Lincolns and many others in U.S. history. Erased, not useful to the official line. Our job is to continue to fight to make the truth known.

People across New Hampshire often come up to me and say how pleased they are that I did "the plaque thing." Really, it's great. My goal to wake up New Hampshire to the exceptionally proud history of the volunteers for liberty has been met far more successfully than I could have imagined. The fact is, in New Hampshire people have been talking about the Lincoln Brigade.

It has, of course, died down quite a bit in the legislature, as we are focused on a budget and ways to pay for the schools. There is a subcommittee that met once to discuss the plaque

and a possible rewording. After this meeting the infamous, rabid Union Leader published yet another vicious editorial attacking me. But in doing so, they simply isolate and marginalize themselves. Actually, the editorial writer has been let go from the paper. She is leaving, I am still here.

You should know that there's a state senator on the subcommittee who basically equates all communists with the North Koreans, whom he personally fought. Lost friends, etc. Very hot about the Korean War, he is. Anyhow, his presence as head of Senate Finance (which should make Wall Street nervous about the state's finances!) and admitted power among the Republicans makes it rather unlikely this plaque will be hung in the State House. However, we are looking into other sites, at a possible auction of the original plaque. The famous World Fellowship Center, which was harassed in the 1950s for its progressive politics, is interested in

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# The Civil War

By Paul Preston

About six months ago, in what was meant to be a judicious contribution to a debate about George Orwell on the ALBA internet discussion list, I posted the following paragraph. "For what it's worth, my view of the problem concerning Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* and, by extension, Ken Loach's *Land and Freedom* lies not so much in what they say but in their audiences and how they are perceived. Orwell's book is an interesting eyewitness account by a partial witness of a tiny fragment of the Spanish Civil War. If I were assembling a list of one hundred or so important books on the war, I would probably include it. Unfortunately, for thousands of

people, it is the only book on the Spanish Civil War that they will ever read – its year-on-year sales show that it outsells any other single book on the war. So, it is not a question of attacking Orwell—although his perceptions are often wrong precisely because they are so narrow and so localised. It is a question of Orwell's book in isolation giving the impression that the key events of the war took place on the Aragón front and during the May Days of 1937 and, worst of all, the idea that the Spanish Republic was defeated because of Communist policy. Orwell's book makes it too easy to forget that the Spanish Republic was defeated by Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, and the pusillanimity and narrow-mindedness of the

British, American and French governments. Stalin has a lot to answer for but NOT for Franco's victory."

The immediate consequence was that I received some obscene hate mail from someone claiming to be a distinguished scholar. I had not known until then that distinguished scholars, even self-proclaimed ones, used such words or even knew what they mean. My distress at having to read such filth is not the point, of course. I suppose I was naïve to think that a reasonable debate was possible among those who would claim to be anti-fascists. Since there are nearly 20,000 books written on the Spanish Civil War, reasonableness seems to me to be a basic requirement of debate, if only in recognition of the huge amount to be read before setting off to pontificate. Having spent more than 30 years studying the Spanish Civil War and still believing myself to be in the foothills of knowledge on the subject, I never cease to be amazed by those who, without having fully served the necessary apprenticeship, launch in, not with contributions to debate, but with exclusivist and categorical statements that invite no reply.

This is by way of prelude to saying that one of the benefits to be derived from years of study should be an ability to see more than one side of any particular question. It should also provide the wider context with which to evaluate the many questions. Hence the final sentence of the posting to the ALBA list which saw my mailbox filled with such unpleasantness. The *Volunteer* has invited me to review the collection of Soviet documents on the Spanish Civil War published by Yale University Press as *Spain Betrayed*. Before doing so, I wanted to be able to put it into the wider context I see as so crucial. Accordingly, what follows, which is based on an article I published in 1996 in the British weekly, the *New Statesman*, will, I hope, provide some

*Editor's Note: Several weeks ago, in July, Yale University Press published a long-awaited book of documents relating to Soviet policy and the Spanish Civil War titled Spain Betrayed: The Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War, edited by Ronald Radosh, Mary R. Habeck, and Grigory Sevostianov. The book has received wide attention around the country, including reviews in the New York Times Book Review (as well as the Times's regular edition), the Wall Street Journal, and a front-page review in the Los Angeles Times's Sunday Book Review (followed by a review of George Orwell's writings about Spain, Bernard Knox's "The Confessions of a 'Premature Anti-Fascist,'" which appeared originally as the first ALBA-Bill Susman Lecture in 1998, and poems by Federico Garcia Lorca).*

*In addition, Nation columnist Christopher Hitchens published a favorable review of the book in the Wilson Quarterly that concluded with the following words:*

*"The survivors of the International Brigades publish a journal that presumably will have to review this volume; it will be interesting to see how they confront the frigid cynicism of the archive. It is clear that the brave volunteers were repeatedly and systematically manipulated, and their reputation exploited, by a nexus of commissars whose names very often turn up in the later Stalinization of Eastern Europe. Yet, perhaps paradoxically, this book is not just another rebuke to misguided idealism. It shows that Spanish democracy was vital and vivid enough to resist the false friend in Moscow, to continue fighting Hitler's and Mussolini's mercenaries at the same time, and ultimately to outlive both communism and fascism. Some defeats are exemplary as well as moving, and the murder of the Spanish Republic is indubitably preeminent among them."*

*To address these important questions, the editors have asked the preeminent English scholar Paul Preston, historian at the London School of Economics, to undertake a full review of Spain Betrayed, which will appear in the next issue of the Volunteer. Meanwhile, Professor Preston has invited us to reprint selections from his essay about Orwell and filmmaker Ken Loach (Land and Freedom) to provide a historical context for his forthcoming essay. Portions of this piece originally appeared in the New Statesman.*



# in the Civil War

prior thoughts on Orwell and Ken Loach's film, which owes so much to Orwell, as a preface to the forthcoming review of *Spain Betrayed*.

In 1996, the Spanish government granted citizenship to the surviving members of the International Brigades who fought against fascism during the Civil War. It was a welcome but belated gesture of gratitude and a fulfilment of the emotional words spoken by the Communist leader Dolores Ibarruri, "Pasionaria," at the farewell parade held in Barcelona for the Brigaders on October 29, 1938. Her moving speech ended: "Political reasons, reasons of state, the good of that same cause for which you offered your blood with limitless generosity, send some of you back to your countries and some to forced exile. You can go with pride. You are history. You are legend. You are the heroic example of the solidarity and the universality of democracy. . . We will not forget you; and, when the olive tree of peace puts forth its leaves, entwined with the laurels of the Spanish Republic's victory, come back! Come back to us and here you will find a homeland." It has taken 60 years, but the Spaniards are not the only ones to be late in giving their thanks.

The volunteers who went were among the first in Europe to do something about the fascist menace. Italian, German and Austrian refugees saw the Spanish Civil War as their first chance to fight back against fascism. French (the most numerous contingent), British and North American volunteers went to Spain out of concern about what defeat for the Republic might mean for the rest of the world. They were the first in the field in a war which would not end until 1945. These "premature antifascists" were reviled on their return home to Britain, treated as the "scum of the earth" in French internment camps or regarded as dangerous and un-American in the United States.

Despite this, the surviving volunteers fought in the Second World War—after all, the antifascist war was their war. They are not bitter about the lack of universal recognition of their contribution to the defeat of fascism. They are, however, outraged at the belief fostered by the success of Ken Loach's *Land and Freedom* that the fight of the brigaders and of the Spanish people was not a fight against Spanish fascism and its German and Italian allies but rather part of an internecine leftist civil war in which the central enemy was the Communist Party.

For all its many merits, Loach's script seems oblivious to two central facts about the Spanish Civil War: in its origins, it was a Spanish social war and, in its course and outcome, it was an episode in a greater European Civil War that ended in 1945. The anniversary of the electoral victory of the Popular Front in Spain, on February 19, 1936, is an appropriate moment to reflect on where that left-wing alliance came from and the Spanish problems that it faced and on its heroic defense against, and ultimate defeat at the hands of, the forces of international fascism. It will be seen that Loach's film about the fate of a small Trotskyist militia unit fighting on the peripheral Aragón front should be regarded by no one as explaining anything much about the Spanish Civil War.

When the Second Republic was established in 1931, people thronged the streets of Spain's cities in an outburst of anticipatory joy. The new regime raised inordinate hopes among the most humble members of society and was seen as a threat by the most privileged, the landowners, industrialists and bankers, and their defenders in the armed forces and the Church. For the first time, control of the apparatus of the state had passed from the oligarchy to the moderate left. This consisted of representatives of the most reformist section of the organized working class, the Socialists,

and a mixed bag of petty bourgeois Republicans, some of whom were idealists and many of whom were cynics. Together, they hoped, despite considerable disagreement over the finer details, to use state power to create a new Spain by curtailing the reactionary influence of the Church and the Army, by the break-up of the great estates or latifundios and by granting the autonomy demands of Basque and Catalan regionalists. These hopes, and the atmosphere of popular fiesta which had greeted the coming of the Republic, were soon blunted by the strength of the old order's defenses.

Social and economic power—ownership of the land, the banks and industry, as well as of the principal newspapers and radio stations—remained unchanged. Those who held that power were united with the Church and the Army in being determined to prevent any attacks on property, religion or national unity. Their repertoire of defense was rich and varied. Propaganda, through the right's powerful press networks and from the pulpit of every parish church, denounced the efforts to carry out reform as the subversive work of Moscow. New political parties were founded and lavishly funded to defend the interests of the most powerful sections of society. Conspiracies were hatched to overthrow the new regime. Government and trade union officials who sought to implement the Republic's timid agrarian reform were terrorized by thugs in the pay of the big owners. Rural and industrial lock-out became a regular response to legislation aimed at protecting worker interests.

So successful were the obstacles erected to reform that by 1933 the Republican-Socialist coalition began to break up. That was partly a reflection of the differing priorities of its components—the Republicans being

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concerned above all with institutional reform, the disestablishment of the Spanish Church, the curbing of militarism; the Socialists more interested in labor legislation and social reform. In an electoral system which heavily favored coalitions, the decision of the Socialists to go it alone in the elections of November 1933 was a tragic error. It gave power to a right-wing determined to dismantle the Republic's social reforms. Employers and landowners celebrated the victory by cutting wages, sacking workers, evicting tenants and raising rents. The largest party, the Catholic CEDA, was not offered power because the Republican President, the conservative Niceto Alcalá Zamora, suspected its leader, José María Gil Robles, of harboring more or less fascist ambitions to establish an authoritarian, corporative state. Thus the conservative Radical Party ruled. Dependent on CEDA votes, the Radicals were to be Gil Robles's puppets. Social legislation was dismantled and, one after another, the principal unions were weakened as strikes were provoked and crushed.

There was an atmosphere of great tension. The Left saw fascism in every action of the Right; the Right smelt revolution in every left-wing move. The Socialists began to threaten a revolutionary rising in the hope of forestalling the destruction of the Republic. Gil Robles seized the opportunity to insist on the CEDA joining the government in October 1934, knowing that it would provoke a leftist response. The Socialist trade union, the Unión General de Trabajadores, called a general strike which, in most parts of Spain, was a failure largely because of the swift declaration of martial law and the hesitance of Socialist leaders. However, in the mining valleys of Asturias, spontaneous rank-and-file militancy impelled the local Socialist leaders to go along with a revolutionary movement organized jointly by the UGT, the anarcho-syndicalist CNT and, belatedly, the Communists, united in the Alianza Obrera (workers' alliance). For three

weeks, a revolutionary commune heroically held out against repressive forces coordinated by General Franco until finally the miners were reduced to submission by heavy artillery attacks and bombing raids. The savage repression that followed the defeat of the Asturian uprising was to be the cauldron in which the Popular Front was born, although its ambitions were to be anything but revolutionary.

It was the brainchild of two men, Manuel Azaña, leader of the Left Republican party, and Indalecio Prieto, centrist leader of the Socialist Party. Both moderate pragmatists, they were determined to ensure that the divisions which led to the 1933 electoral defeat would not be repeated. At the same time, the small Spanish Communist Party, prompted by Moscow's anxiety for an understanding with the democracies against the aggressive ambitions of the Third Reich, supported the Popular Front. In this way, the Communists found a place in an electoral front which, contrary to rightist propaganda, was not, in Spain, a Comintern creation, although it did take the title of Popular Front coined at the VII Congress of the Comintern in August 1935. The left and center left closed ranks on the basis of a program of amnesty for prisoners, of basic social and educational reform and trade union freedom.

In late 1935, the Radical Party collapsed under a welter of corruption accusations and pressure from Gil Robles for ever more rightist policies. Elections were called for mid-February 1936. The right enjoyed enormous financial advantages in mounting a campaign aimed at frightening the middle classes. The elections were presented as a life-or-death fight between good and evil, survival and destruction. The Popular Front based its campaign on the threat of fascism, the dangers facing the Republic and the need for an amnesty for political prisoners. The elections held on February 16 resulted in a narrow victory for the Left in terms of votes, but

a massive triumph in terms of seats in the Cortes.

The rising of October 1934 and the Popular Front victory shattered right-wing hopes of being able to impose an authoritarian, corporative state without having to fight a civil war. Having predicted that left-wing electoral success would be the prelude to the most spine-chilling social disasters, Gil Robles did nothing to stop the younger members of the CEDA moving into the fascist Falange Española. At the same time, right-wing leaders played up social unrest, in both parliamentary speeches and the press, to create the atmosphere which made a military rising appear to the middle classes as the only alternative to catastrophe. At the same time, two years of aggressive rightist government had left the working masses, especially in the countryside, in a determined and vengeful mood. Having been blocked once in its reforming ambitions, the Left was now determined to proceed rapidly with meaningful agrarian reform.

However, the central factor in the spring of 1936 was the fatal weakness of the Popular Front government. While Prieto was convinced that the situation demanded Socialist collaboration in government, Largo Caballero, fearful of a rank-and-file drift to the anarcho-syndicalist CNT, insisted that the liberal republicans govern alone. He fondly believed that the Republicans would carry out the Popular Front electoral program then, having reached their bourgeois limitations, would make way for an all-Socialist government. He was confident that, if their reforms provoked a fascist and/or military uprising, it would be defeated by the revolutionary action of the masses. Thus, by using his power to prevent Prieto forming a government, Largo Caballero ensured that there would be no real Popular Front. A cabinet of Republicans was simply not representative of the great electoral coalition which had defeated the Right in February. That popular aspirations could not be satisfied by the



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Republican government was demonstrated by a wave of land seizures in the south. Incapable of satisfying mass hunger for reform and too weak to put a stop to preparations for a military uprising, it watched feebly as the Falange orchestrated a strategy of tension, its terrorism provoking left-wing reprisals and an impression of a break-down of law and order.

The rising took place on the evening of July 17 in Spain's Moroccan colony and in the peninsula itself on the morning of July 18. The plotters were confident that it would all be over in a few days. Had they just had the Republican government to contend with, their predictions might have come true. In fact, Spain divided along the lines of the electoral geography of February. The coup was successful in the Catholic small-holding areas which voted for the CEDA, but in the left-wing strongholds of industrial Spain and the great estates of the deep south, the uprising was defeated by the spontaneous action of the working-class organizations.

Within days, the country was split into two war zones and there was every reason to suppose that the Republic would be able to crush the rising. While power in the streets lay with the workers and their militia organizations, there was still a bourgeois Republican government that had legitimacy in the international arena, control of the nation's gold and currency reserves and virtually all of Spain's industrial capacity. There was not that much to choose between the armed forces of both sides. What the working class militias lacked in training they made up in an enthusiasm that could not be matched by the conscripts of the rebel army. That situation was exemplified in the navy, where left-wing sailors had mutinied against their right-wing officers.

There were, however, two big differences which would eventually make all the difference between the two sides—the ferocious African Army and the help of the fascist powers. At first, the colonial army under Franco was blockaded in Morocco by

the fleet. However, while the Republican government in Madrid met only hesitation from its sister Popular Front government in Paris and covert hostility from London, Franco was quickly able to persuade the local representatives of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy that he was the man to back. By the end of July, Junkers 52 and Savoia-Marchetti transport aircraft were arriving to permit the airlift of the bloodthirsty Foreign Legion across the Straits of Gibraltar. That crucial early aid was soon followed by a regular stream of high technology assistance. In contrast to the state-of-the-art equipment arriving from Germany and Italy, complete with technicians, spare parts and the correct workshop manuals, the Republic, shunned by the democracies, had to make do with over-priced and obsolete equipment from private arms dealers.

The initial reaction of the Soviet Union had been one of deep embarrassment. The Kremlin did not want the events in Spain to undermine its delicately laid plans for an alliance with France. However, by mid-August, it was apparent that an even greater disaster would befall those plans if the Spanish Republic fell. That would severely alter the European balance of power, leaving France with three fascist states on her borders. Eventually, it was reluctantly decided to send help. The tanks and planes that arrived in the autumn were, together with the arrival of the International Brigades, to save Madrid in November 1936. However, they were also to be used to justify the intervention of Hitler and Mussolini. The motivation of both was principally to undermine the Anglo-French hegemony of international relations but they were sure of a sympathetic ear in London when they claimed to be fighting bolshevism.

Accordingly, the Spanish Republic was fighting not only Franco and his armies but also, to an ever greater degree, the military and economic might of Mussolini and Hitler. Besieged from outside, the Republic

also had massive internal problems unknown in Franco's brutally militarized zone. The crumbling of the bourgeois state in the first days of the war saw the rapid emergence of revolutionary organs of parallel power. A massive popular collectivization of agriculture and industry took place. Exhilarating to participants and observers like George Orwell and Franz Borkenau, the great collectivist experiments of the autumn of 1936 did little to create a war machine. That would lie at the heart of the undeclared civil war that raged within the Republican zone until mid-1937. Socialist leaders like Prieto and Juan Negrín were convinced that a conventional state, with central control of the economy and the institutional instruments of mass mobilization, was essential if there was to be an efficacious war effort.

The Communists and the Soviet advisers agreed—not only was this common sense but the playing down of the revolutionary activities of Trotskyists and anarchists was necessary to reassure the bourgeois democracies with which the Soviet Union sought understanding. Henceforth, there would be a struggle to establish a Popular Front government that fulfilled the expectations of the architects of the Popular Front electoral coalition of February 1936. That was eventually established under the premiership of Negrín from May 1937. Despite having crushed the revolution, incorporated the working class militias into the regular forces and dismantled the collectives, it still did not achieve victory—not because the policies were wrong but because of the strength of the international forces arrayed against the Republic.

In this context, Ken Loach's film, *Land and Liberty*, has to be seen as marginal if not perverse as an explanation of the Spanish Civil War for the 1990s. Its greatest value lies in its link to contemporary Britain by the cinematic device which frames its Spanish action. The message of that part of the

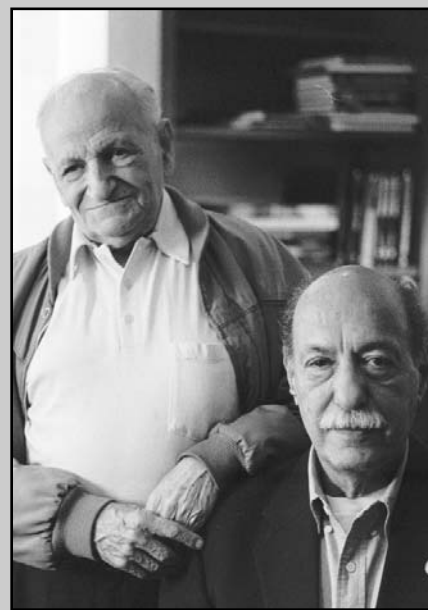
Continued on page 10

## The Civil War in the Civil War

film at least is clear: the selfless heroism of this man has come to an end in the despair of post-Thatcherite Britain. Otherwise, the film's purpose is, according to various interviews given by Ken Loach, to recapture for a young audience something of the emotional purity of the "last great cause." That is a laudable aim and one which is partially achieved in a number of emotionally charged moments. Elsewhere, the dividing line between cinematic licence and distortion is breached. It is easy to see why International Brigaders who faced death daily on the Madrid front feel diminished by the political and personal self-indulgence on the minor Aragón front of the attractive boys and girls of Loach's POUM unit. Ultimately, the problem lies in the fact that Loach's position is virtually identical to that of George Orwell.

Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* is a brilliant and painfully honest book but, contrary to the popular image of its author, it is not a "true" book. That is to say, it is not true if it is taken, as it is by most readers, as an overview of the Spanish Civil War, when in reality, it is a narrow and partisan account of one relatively marginal issue within the war. In both Orwell's book and Loach's film—and much less innocently in the historiography of the Spanish Civil War sponsored by the CIA-funded Congress for Cultural Freedom—a minor episode is allowed to dwarf the wider issues of the war.

With the Spanish Republic abandoned by the Western Powers and opposed by Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, only the Soviet Union came to its aid. Of course, Stalin did not do so out of any idealism or sentiment. Threatened by expansionist Germany, he was hoping like his Czarist predecessors to limit the threat by seeking an encircling alliance with France. He feared rightly that, if Franco won the war with the help of Hitler, France would crumble. Accordingly, he set out to give sufficient aid to the



## Then and Now

Abe Smorodin and Lou Gordon posed for a picture in May, 1937, a week before they left for Spain. Still friends and comrades in the struggle 65 years later, they posed for a picture the day after the VALB 65th anniversary event in New York. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives is collecting photos of the vets from the Spanish Civil War era and of vets involved in other struggles for social causes, such as civil rights, anti-imperialism, and economic justice. Contact Paul Mishler at the ALBA-VALB office, (212) 674-5552.

Republic to keep it alive while ensuring that the revolutionary elements on the left were prevented from provoking the conservative decision-makers in London from supporting the Axis in an anti-Bolshevik crusade. It is appalling that the revolutionary élan of the Spanish people, the Republic's greatest asset, should have been squandered or that the sincere revolutionaries of the POUM should have been smeared as Nazi agents and bloodily suppressed by the agents of the NKVD. It is certainly true that the quest for respectability did nothing to alter the contempt felt in Whitehall for the Spanish Republic.

However, Loach simplifies massively in the underlying assumption that it was the Stalinist repression that led to Franco's victory. As Orwell himself wrote in his 1943 essay, "Looking Back on the Spanish War," "The outcome of the Spanish war was settled in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin—at any rate not in Spain." In

other words, Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Chamberlain were responsible for the defeat of the Spanish Republic, not Stalin. It is difficult to imagine how a revolutionary Spain could have succeeded without the support of Russian arms. Indeed, without Russian arms and the International Brigades, Madrid would probably have fallen in November 1936 and Franco been victorious before the anarchists and Trotskyists of Barcelona became an issue.

Loach has stated that he was inspired to make the film by the fact that the Spanish Civil War still lived in the popular memory as an inspiring anti-fascist struggle. Ironically, like Orwell before him, Loach has produced something which may stay in the memory more as an anti-Stalinist tract than a celebration of those Spanish and foreign men and women who gave their lives fighting Franco and his Axis allies. ■

# Feminist Revolution Within the Revolution

By Kenyon Zimmer

*Editor's Note: Kenyon Zimmer, an undergraduate at Bennington College, is the winner of the George Watt Award for 2001. We proudly print a synopsis of her essay below. The complete paper, entitled "Revolution Within the Revolution: Spanish Anarchist Women in the Civil War," is available at the following website address: [www.kalisti.com/spanish.htm](http://www.kalisti.com/spanish.htm).*

For anarchist women, the Civil War represented an unparalleled opportunity to break free from the constraints of Spanish society and to challenge the male chauvinism that existed within their own movement. Before 1936, there were great differences in the views among anarchist men and women regarding gender roles. The conception of the proper place of women ran from devoted mother to revolutionary equal. These diverse viewpoints stemmed, in part, from an inconsistent foundation, as the anarchism of the Spaniards was descended from the brazenly sexist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the ambivalent Peter Kropotkin, and especially Mikhail Bakunin, who emphatically supported equality between the sexes.

Women formed a small but prominent minority among anarchists who joined the fighting. Most of these women were young militants who were already involved politically or in unions before the war. Many were assigned to ancillary support tasks, such as cooking, laundry, and medical work, but others fought in the front lines alongside their male comrades. In many regiments the sexual division of labor and marginalization of women increased as time went on; after the first months of war women began to be turned away from the army and were later officially ordered to withdraw from the front. Yet not all women left, and others still served in anarchist patrols. However, their role was much more important behind the lines in the social revolution.

Catalonia, which accounted for 80 percent of Spain's total industry, was entirely under workers' control, with

an estimated 2,000 collectives. Women had a significant but marginal presence in many industries, ran most of the public transportation system in Barcelona and Madrid, and represented a majority of workers in textiles, the largest industry in Republican Spain at the start of the war. But most women did not achieve equality in these collectives. Not only were they still a minority in the workforce, but wage differentials remained, even under anarchist control. Some factories and industries left in place wage scales based on skilled labor, which affected women disproportionately, and other collectives, undeniably going against libertarian ideals, kept in place wage differentials based on gender. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that nearly all collectives raised their salaries, many did establish a single wage. Additionally, over half of the arable land in the Republican zone was amassed into thousands of successful agrarian collectives. Again, a double standard often extended to wages, although roughly half of the rural collectives were successful in equalizing them.

Mujeres Libres, an anarchist women's organization with 20,000 to 30,000 members, sought to prepare women for revolutionary engagement through consciousness-raising, self-empowerment, and education. Similar to the male anarchists' view that the war and the revolution were inseparable, Mujeres Libres felt that the revolution and women's emancipation were indivisible. It was the only Spanish women's organization that sought to liberate women rather than temporarily mobilize them. But while the CNT worked with Mujeres Libres to train women for industrial and agricultural work, the anarchist movement refused to recognize Mujeres Libres as an official organization.

During the war, however, anarchist women were largely able to emancipate themselves in conjunction with the anarchist social revolution. While by no means perfect, this women's revolution within the revo-

lution made fundamental changes in the conditions of their lives, as well as to the Spanish anarchist movement, which for the first time was forced to confront many of its paradoxes. Though the goal of total equality was not met, the anarchist women of Spain in many ways came closer to reaching it than women in any other revolutionary struggle of the past three centuries. ■

## Spain's History Inspires Solo Performance

By Marya Errin Jones

I've never been to Spain. I don't even speak Spanish, but the urge to create in the spirit of the Spanish Civil War was so incredibly strong that it haunted my waking life and permeated my dreams since I was 18 years old.

Maybe it was my recent pilgrimage to the beautiful, yet tucked away, monument to the volunteers on the University of Washington campus that pushed me forward, or discovering (and voraciously and constantly referring to) the continuous voice of activism and remembrance pouring through ALBA. Maybe it was looking at my opened right hand, and the quickening I felt when curling it into a fist, that called me to action.

Suddenly, at the age of 31, it was not enough to comb through all the library books I could find, trace the path of the war on maps, and bombard my friends with information about men and women who fought to save a country and rescue the world. The time came for me to actualize my dreams. Something stirred me and gave me the courage to walk into the dark cave of the theater and emerge with a story told in song, poetry, and gesture, of a plain worker turned freedom fighter, in my own production of *Propaganda, Moon*. This

*continued on page 22*

# Ebro's Cave Hospital

By Angela Jackson

During research on the subject of British women and the Spanish Civil War, I came across the moving words written by Winifred Bates following her visit to the cave hospital near La Bisbal de Falset during the Battle of the Ebro in 1938:

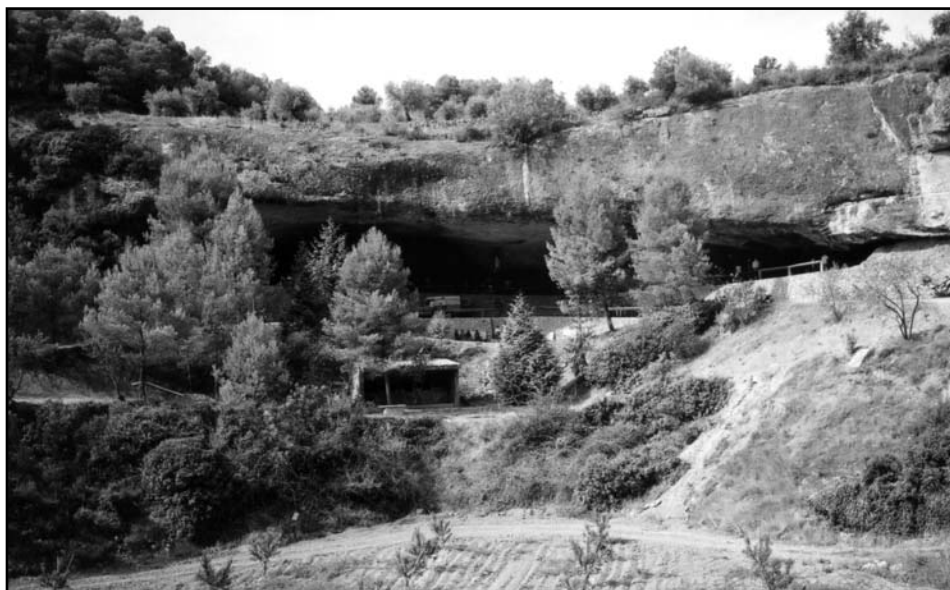
"Men died as I stood beside them. It was summer time and they had been in long training before they crossed the Ebro. Their bodies were brown and beautiful. We would bend over to take their last whispers and the message was always the same: 'We are doing well. Tell them to fight on till the final victory.' It is so hard to make a man, and so easy to blast him to death. I shall never forget the Ebro. If one went for a walk away from the cave there was the smell of death."

A British nurse working in the cave, Patience Darton, was amongst those who struggled under the most difficult conditions to save the lives of the wounded. She explained in an interview why their efforts were so often in vain. "We tended to get people in at night because the shelling was so enormous they couldn't move in the day. So for the first time, we got people rather long after the battle. We got them sometimes hours after they'd been wounded and some, of course, we couldn't save because of that—they were already too bad."

The villagers of La Bisbal de Falset buried the dead from the hospital in a communal grave along the entire length of the wall in the local cemetery. They tried to keep a record of the names, though in some cases identification was not possible. Among the dead were International Brigaders from many different countries, including Britain and America.

When the war ended, the list of casualties was carefully hidden. It was given to me when I went to the village last year to see the places described so vividly by Winifred, Patience, and others.

Talking to the villagers who



The Ebro Cave today

remembered the war added a further fascinating dimension to my research, so I went back several months later to carry out interviews. Teresina Masip

Although nothing marks the site, he clearly remembers the exact location.

After discussions with the Mayor of La Bisbal de Falset and the British



Inside the cave hospital in 1938

told me of the death of her two little girls during the bombardment of the village. Her own burns and shrapnel injuries meant that she spent many weeks as a patient in the cave. Josep Perelló had witnessed the burial of the dead from the cave as a boy of 16.

International Brigade Association, I am now co-ordinating a project to place a memorial plaque in the cemetery. An inauguration ceremony is being planned for November 3-4.

Anyone who would like more information can contact me through

# Memorial

## Ottawa Memorial

Continued from page 5



Teresina Masip with a photograph of her two daughters who were killed during the bombardment of the village



Patience Darton, a British nurse who worked in the cave

The *Volunteer* or by email: [ajackson@ntlworld.com](mailto:ajackson@ntlworld.com). Donations for the plaque should be sent to Dave Marshall, The Treasurer, International Brigade Association, 37, Reginald Road, London, E7 9HS, England. ■

final text on the monument. Not surprisingly, it turned out to be a sensitive issue, but we now have a suitable and agreed upon inscription, which will appear in both official languages, English and French. There will also be a brief inscription in Spanish. Incorporated into the memorial wall will be an extract from La Pasionaria's farewell speech in Barcelona. The National Capital Commission, I might add, has been very supportive of our efforts throughout this process.

Needless to say, we're looking forward to the event with great pleasure. We would be delighted to see as many of our American friends at the October ceremony as possible. If you would like to be kept up to date on progress and receive a personal invitation to this important unveiling, please send a note to our secretary, Sharon Skup, Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, 25 Waxham Road, Toronto, ON, M9W 3L4, CANADA. ■

Jules Pavio is a veteran and president of the Veterans and Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion.

## New Hampshire

*continued from page 5*

hosting the old plaque.

We (me and Republican leadership in the House, as opposed to the Senate) are also working on a new version of the plaque honoring the state's 12 Lincolns, and perhaps others who volunteered for other fights for freedom. If we get anything approved for state property display, it will be quite watered down, I expect. The people of New Hampshire are still, I report, being well protected from The Plaque, which rests in a vault in the State House. But we are planning an annual celebration of the founding of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade on February 12, no matter what. It took 20 years for New Hampshire to finally get a Martin Luther King Holiday. Patience and persistence!

And just when I think the letters to the editor about the plaque have died down, a new rash of them appears. In addition to the Union Leader branding me as more interested in honoring communists than solving the education funding crisis, a silly exaggeration aimed at undercutting my credibility in the Senate, new letters claim the Lincolns were involved in the atrocities committed against nuns and priests, actions committed by anarchists in the first few weeks of the uprising. You and I know the Spanish government clamped down on such things, and it all occurred prior to the arrival of the International Brigades. I will be meeting with one such letter writer soon. ■

# French and Spanish Towns Unite Anti-Fascist Memories

By Robert Coale

The towns of Corbera d'Ebre in Catalonia and Rimont in southern France share a tragic page of history: both were destroyed by fascist forces. Corbera was reduced to rubble during the Ebro campaign in 1938, while Rimont was torched by a Nazi column in August 1944 in retaliation for French Resistance victories in the area.

The two towns are now sister cities, united in their will to remind future generations of their struggle for liberty and the horrors of war. This past April, Rimont and neighboring Foix, nestled in the Pyrenees foothills south of Toulouse, hosted meetings to organize a new association named "Terre de Fraternité-Terra de Germanor" ("Land of Brotherhood" in French and Catalan).

The previous year's cooperation between Rimont and Corbera culminated in the International Brigade commemoration on October 14, 2000. (See the *Volunteer*, Fall 2000.) This year, town leaders decided to proceed one step further and formalize this budding international cooperation in the framework of a formal association with an eye towards coordinating the many regional activities in Spain, France and beyond. Some of the founding organizations, in addition to the towns and several universities, include associations of former "Guerrilleros" and political prisoners, the "Amigos" of the International Brigades in Madrid and Catalonia, the French IB association ACER, and the Catalan Association of Republican Studies, to name just a few. The new umbrella organization is headed by the passionately dynamic Guy Saurat of Rimont.

The memory of the struggle against fascism and nazism from 1936 to 1945 in both Spain and France is the cornerstone of the new organization. The group seeks to encourage historical research and access to archives

concerning the International Brigades, the Spanish Guerrilleros and Spanish Republicans residing in France who fought shoulder to shoulder with the French Resistance to liberate France from Nazism, and the Anti-Franco Guerrilleros who continued the struggle in Spain well into the 1950s. Plans to build museums in both Corbera and Rimont are examples of how this primary objective is taking shape. Cooperation between archives in a variety of countries will be sought, an area where ALBA may be of considerable assistance.

Another aim of Terre de Fraternité is the justice and solidarity movements. Spanish authorities guilty of massacres, deportations and other crimes during the Franco regime have never been brought to justice. Several participating associations would like to change this in the wake of the Pinochet case. International solidarity with veterans of the brigades and the resistance movement is yet another aim.

Finally, programs to heighten public awareness of the historical significance of the struggle that shook Europe and, indeed, the entire world from 1936 to 1945 will be supported in schools and through international exchanges. Cultural and historical activities will be developed and supported.

This is a considerable agenda for one volunteer association to coordinate. Nevertheless, after the successful founding weekend, members began work immediately. A recent meeting in Barcelona saw representatives of all political parties in the Catalan parliament vote their support to Terre de Fraternité-Terra de Germanor. Furthermore, a delegation of 18 town mayors from the "Terra Alta" region of Catalonia, scene of much of the Ebro battle, are heading to France to visit the Museum of National Resistance near Paris and the Normandy Battle Peace Memorial in

Caen to study the latest developments in archival technology and museum planning.

Although Terre de Fraternité is just beginning, it has already managed to unite several groups that are now working together toward common goals. As the relationship between two martyred towns grows into a broader movement, this association is destined to become a major player in the preservation of antifascist historic memory. ■

Robert Coale is Assistant Professor of Spanish at Jacksonville University and founding member of Terre de Fraternité.

## British Groups Combine Forces

By Angela Jackson

Veterans of the International Brigade Association and the Friends of the International Brigade, together with archivists and historians specializing in the Spanish Civil War, have combined to form a new group in Britain, the "International Brigade Memorial Trust." The aims of the Trust are as follows:

- To promote education, learning and knowledge concerning the historical legacy of both the men and women who fought with the International Brigades against fascism in support of the legally elected government in Spain and those who sustained their fight.
- To maintain contact with relatives and friends of the International Brigaders.
- To develop links with comparable organizations throughout the world.

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# Lou Gordon Speaks at Hyde Park

*On May 3, the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, in Hyde Park, NY, honored local World War II veterans and their Commander-in Chief President Franklin D. Roosevelt with a wreath laying ceremony. Lincoln vet Lou Gordon was one of the speakers; he talked about his experiences in the US Army liberating Dauchau in 1945. The West Point Color and Honor Guard also participated in the ceremony.*

Looking back through the lens of history, with the benefit of hindsight, we, the American generation who fought and survived World War II - as Tom Brokaw wrote - did no less than save the world. Through that lens, it is plain to see that we fought not only nations, but a great evil. We fought and won a battle to save humanity from its darkest self, a fight some say will never end.

In the crucible of that war and from our vantage looking back, the Holocaust and the still-preserved death camps are testimony to a horror and our victory over it. That is history, but it is also personal to me.

In the spring of 1945, I was in the 1269th Combat Engineers Battalion, part of the 3rd Army, storming down the Autobahn toward Nuremberg and Munich. When we veered off to the



town of Furstendfelbruch, we were suddenly enveloped in a terrible stench we could not identify. We soon found out the source. We had reached the rail yards of the infamous concentration camp named Dauchau. The yards were 4 or 5 times the size of the freight yards in Croton-on-Hudson. There were scores of freight cars loaded with people in various stages of decay waiting for their turn to be fed into the ovens. In the camp, the chimneys were still smoking; the ghoulish operations had stopped only when the German guards heard our advance and attempted to flee. At Dauchau, the prisoners were mostly Slavic, French, Russian, and Gypsy. Thousands had been literally worked to death and their bodies cremated in the ovens. Many of those we liberated were beyond medical treatment and died. The freight cars that had been there the longest were full of rotting corpses.

The townspeople had the gall to tell us that they knew nothing about what went on, despite their presence in the midst of this rail yard and the pervasive stench! This was soon to be remedied. We were ordered to take large groups of people on a thorough tour of the camp facilities. The group tour made its way around hills of eye glasses, hair, and more, to view the dead and almost dead. It was a trip through Dante's Inferno. No one who was on that tour will ever forget any part of it. That includes the American soldiers.

In 1989, my wife and I visited Vienna, Austria. While there we visited the offices of an organization of former concentration camp prisoners. We met with one of the officials, and during the course of our conversation, I told him that I had been part of the liberating forces of Dauchau. He began to question me about details, including the exact date and even the exact time we entered the compound. I could not understand why he was interested in these minor details. I was soon to find out. He suddenly stood up and said that he had been a 15-year-old boy in the camp waiting his turn to be thrown into the massive oven. At this point, he came from behind his desk to embrace me with tears running down his face. Although I was about 10 years his senior, he looked 15 years older than I.

I had trouble sleeping that night thinking what the Nazi atrocities meant in terms of the multimillions of people whose lives were extinguished by these vermin.

The quotation from Tom Brokaw's book, which I mentioned at the outset of my talk, is worth repeating: We, the American generation who fought and survived World War II, "did no less than save the world."

What with history's habit of repeating itself, we must be more alert than ever not to tolerate genocide anywhere on the globe, and to use our strength and our mighty resources for peace and good will to flourish. ■

## Combine Forces

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We are now planning a program of activities to further these aims. Membership of the Trust has already grown substantially following our annual meeting in London on July 14, and new members from abroad will be very welcome. Veterans and spouses/partners and widow/ers of Brigaders will be honorary members. Other annual subscriptions will be £10.00 waged, £5 concessions and affiliating organizations by arrangement.

For more information, contact D. Marshall, 37 Reginald Road, London, E7 9HS, England. ■

# Germans and Americans Facing Each Other Again

By Harry Fisher

Just back from Germany, promoting my book *Comrades* about the Spanish Civil War. But that's not what I want to write about. I want to tell you about a wonderful experience I had in Germany. Joining me there were my son John, his wife, Dena, my grandson Paul and 7 singers from a singing group organized by Pete Seeger 17 years ago, the Walkabouts. This group was a huge hit. They sang songs of the Spanish Civil War and of the working class during a three-day antifascist festival in Dortmund, attended by about 25,000 from all parts of Germany.

One afternoon I was walking around the festival grounds, in a quiet area away from the stages and displays, when I heard some beautiful singing. I was with my German friend, Uli, and we finally discovered where the music was coming from. There, in a circle, were 14 people, among them my son John and my friends from the Walkabouts group. I asked Uli who the others were and he told me that they were part of a German group that sang progressive songs all over Germany. There were 7 Germans and 7 Americans in a circle facing each other.

The first song that I heard was a Jewish radical song that the Germans (none of whom were Jewish) sang in Yiddish. The song was beautiful, but what struck me was that there I was in Germany, the land of the Holocaust, the country that I had fought against twice, once in Spain as a member of the Lincoln Battalion, the American part of the International Brigades, and then in different parts of Europe during WWII as part of the American Air Force. Listening to these young Germans singing a Jewish song in Yiddish brought tears to my eyes.

My mind was racing. In the 1930s, in Spain, I was under bombs dropped by the Luftwaffe dozens of times, and



PHOTO BY DENA FISHER

many of my comrades and friends were wounded and killed. One of those killed was my dear friend Bernard "Butch" Entin, who had been wounded in a battle near Brunete. He had passed me on his way to an ambulance and had told me that the wound didn't seem bad, that he expected to be back in a week or so. He never did come back. He got into an ambulance with a few other wounded soldiers and became the victim of a Nazi bombing. Bernard Entin's ambulance was blown to bits and there was nothing left of him or the other wounded.

While listening to these Americans and Germans singing, it hit me that there was something left of Bernard Entin. My son's name is John Bernard Fisher, his middle name in honor of my close friend. And there was John Bernard Fisher singing with the Germans.

Oh, my memories. More than 60 years earlier I saw so much death and destruction in Spain. About 900 young Americans were killed trying to end fascism and prevent another world war. And then in the 1940s, more of the Lincolns were killed in WWII fighting against the same enemies we had fought in Spain, the Germans and Italians. Then I was in a B26 dropping bombs all over Germany. So much bombing; so much killing; so much

anger; so much hatred. And now my son and six of my American friends in the Walkabouts were facing young Germans once again, not with guns and hatred, but with music and love. They were singing and smiling at each other, and I couldn't hold back my tears, not tears of sadness, but tears of joy.

One other memory. Among the Walkabouters' songs was one about the Lincolns and what they did after Spain, helping the people of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Guatemala. The song ends with the Walkabouts shouting the last words three times—"No Pasaran." I saw young Germans joining with the Americans and shouting "No Pasaran." To think that these are the descendants of the people that I fought against twice.

After more than three hours, the singing finally ended, and the singers hugged and kissed each other, promising to meet again soon. The thought went through my mind that for so many years I hated Germany and its people. How much better this was—Americans and Germans singing and hugging each other.

I hope that something symbolic happened in Germany that day, something that symbolized the future—a future with no wars, only peace and love. ■

# My Experience with the Irish Section of the Lincolns

By David Smith

In early February 1937, Dan Fitzgerald and I left Boston for New York. We shipped out to Spain on February 7 with about 80 men. On February 14 we had dinner at a union hall in Paris, then traveled by train over the Pyrenees—the border was still open—to Figueras. After a few days of exercise, we went on to Albacete. On February 24 we were behind the Morata-Jarama front. We embarked from the trucks and were handed rifles and three bullets each to fire into the hillside—"a well-known story of our military training."

As the men assembled again, the captain in charge called out, "The following step out," and David Smith was the last name. The captain explained that we 8 Internationals were to be part of a rear guard at Morata. No amount of arguing could change this decision. The trucks took off with the other men and I was assigned to a group of seasoned British volunteers in the rear guard. After I griped a great deal, the leader said, "So you want to get to the front? Just get out on the road and stop the next truck." This I did, and I soon arrived at the front.

As I wandered around, a volunteer came over, asked a few questions, and said, "Come with me." I was now in the Irish section of the Lincolns. By the next day I was acquainted with Peter O'Connor and Johnnie Power. I also found Dan Fitzgerald nearby, also in the Irish section. We stared at each other, embraced, and just sat together speechless for a while.

On February 26 we were told that there would be a full attack with full support, tanks, aircraft, etc., that would take place the next day. On February 27 we were up before daybreak waiting for orders. Soon we were in bright daylight, but no tanks, artillery or aircraft were in sight, and the men began to gripe. Eventually some said, this will be a f— operation. Later Peter O'Connor



David Smith with Manus O'Riordan at the grave of Frank Ryan

and Johnnie Power took me aside and told me in no uncertain language, "Since you are new, if you want to come through this operation, just follow us and do as we do."

When the attack order came through, we went over the top a short distance and I did as instructed. Men were falling all around us. I do not have to paint a picture of the horrible sight of men going down in action. Among those Irish who died were Robert Hilliard, a Protestant pastor, and Eamonn McGrotty, a Catholic priest. Unfortunately, this operation was not successful in the sense of driving the fascists back. It was thought, however, that it showed the fascists that they couldn't cut the road behind us to Madrid. Upon returning to the trenches I sat down numb and speechless and we just stared at each other. Later, when more machine guns arrived, I was transferred as a machine gunner with the Lincolns. All the years since Jarama, I have recognized that I owe my life to the men of the Irish section.

This spring I was finally able to visit Ireland with a friend, and in Dublin I met with Manus O'Riordan, chief economist of a large union and son of vet Michael O'Riordan, who is the author of *The Story of the Irish in Spain*. Peter O'Connor died last year. We visited many monuments, among them the memorial plaque to the

International Brigade's Connolly Column at Liberty Hall, the banner of the Connollys in the Irish Labour History Museum, and the graves of Connolly, Pierce, and heroes of the 1915 uprising, and that of Frank Ryan, the leader of the Irish in Spain. We spent time with Michael O'Riordan reminiscing about Spain and saw the wonderful posters and pictures from the Spanish Civil War at their labor hall. It was heartening to realize how many of the Irish are familiar with the history of the Irish volunteers and to be with Manus O'Riordan and his encyclopedic knowledge of the International Brigades.

In the evening we joined the family at a songfest. About 80 men and women, young and old, sat along tables with their pints of Guinness, conversing. Then someone started to sing an Irish song. No one directed the fest, but as soon as one song ended, another individual followed as they saw fit with songs and poetry recitations of Irish struggles, revolutionary songs, romantic songs—both in English and in Gaelic. This took place from 9:30 to 1:30. We had never experienced such a gathering. Manus and his sister, in good voice, sang songs of the Spanish War. All eyes turned to us. I am forever grateful for the opportunity of visiting and reuniting with such wonderful comrades. ■

# ALBA's New Planned Giving Program

## Tax Advantages for Gift Annuities



### 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.

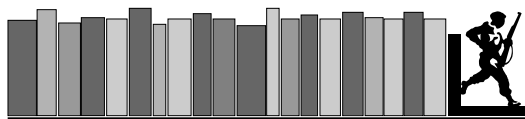
For more information on a customized proposal for your Charitable Gift Annuity, please contact:

Jay Greenfield  
539 Oakhurst Road  
Mamaroneck, NY 10543  
Ph. (914) 698-6283



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.



**ALBA BOOKS, VIDEOS AND POSTERS**

# ALBA EXPANDS BOOKSTORE

**Buy Spanish Civil War books on the WEB.**

**[www.alba-valb.org](http://www.alba-valb.org)**

## BOOKS ABOUT THE LINCOLN BRIGADE

### **The Lincoln Brigade, a Picture History**

by William Katz and Marc Crawford (pbk) \$15

### **Another Hill**

by Milton Wolff (pbk) \$15

### **Our Fight—**

### **Writings by Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: Spain 1936-1939**

ed. by Alvah Bessie & Albert Prago (pbk) \$15

### **Spain's Cause Was Mine**

by Hank Rubin (new) (cloth) \$29

### **Comrades**

by Harry Fisher (new) (ppb) \$15

### **The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade**

by Peter Carroll (pbk) \$15

### **Passing the Torch: The Abraham Lincoln Brigade and its Legacy of Hope**

by Anthony Geist and Jose Moreno (pbk) \$25

## EXHIBIT CATALOGS

### **The Aura of the Cause, a photo album**

ed. by Cary Nelson (pbk) \$25

## VIDEOS

### **The Good Fight**

a film by Sills/Dore/Bruckner (VCR) \$35

### **Forever Activists**

a film by Judith Montell (VCR) \$35

### **You Are History, You Are Legend**

a film by Judith Montell (VCR) \$25

Make checks payable to ALBA and send to:

**Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archive**

**799 Broadway, R. 227**

**New York, NY 10003-5552**

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

Shipping cost: \$3 per copy of book, album or tape.

☐ Yes, I wish to become an ALBA Associate,  
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have this donation acknowledged in *The  
Volunteer*.

**Please mail to: ALBA, 799 Broadway, Room  
227, New York, NY 10003**

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From the Wall*.**

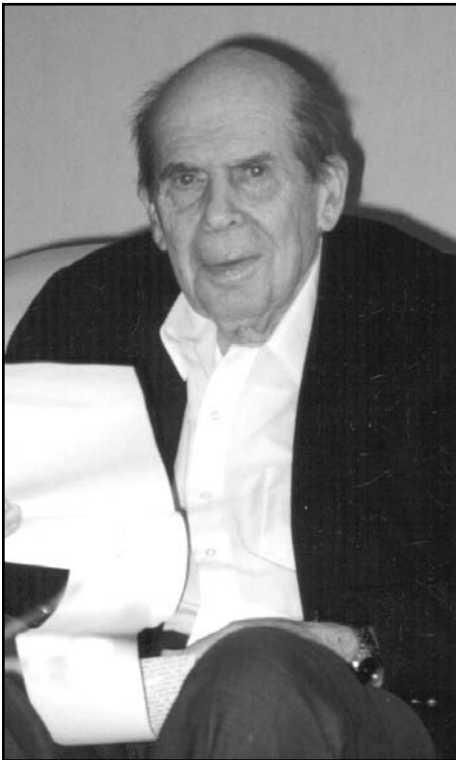


# Added to Memory's Roster



## Leo Solodkin 1912-2001

Leo Solodkin, who was attending New York's City College when he volunteered to serve with the Lincoln Brigade, died on April 5. A lifetime



resident of New York, he worked as an electrician after returning from Spain, then enlisted in the U.S. Army during World War II. He served from 1942 to 1946. He later formed a partnership with his brother in a stationery store and newspaper delivery service. He is survived by his wife of 58 years, Ada, two daughters, and four grandchildren.

## Lester L. Rowilson 1916-2001

Les, who died on May 21, was one of 6 children who grew up on a farm near Coldwater, Michigan. They suffered such poverty that the death certificate of one of his sisters read that death was due to starvation.

Les spent most of his adult life in

and around Detroit. He joined the Communist Party at an early age and participated in all the labor struggles that occurred in this area. When the civil war broke out in Spain, he was one of the first to volunteer in 1936, at the age of 19.

He was a truck driver by trade and was assigned a new truck to haul artillery shells from Barcelona to Madrid. He didn't want to drive a truck. He wanted to know why he couldn't take a gun and give the bastards what they had coming. But he accepted the job, which lasted until he was sent home in 1939.

When he got back to New York, a friend introduced him to the friend's sister; they had one date before Les had to return to Detroit. But after a few days, he went back. They eloped and got married. It was a wonderful marriage, most said the ideal marriage. They had two children, and she died one month before he did.

During World War II, Les joined the Seabees and served in the Pacific building barracks. They were also responsible for removing explosives from the beaches before invasions could take place. Les was one of those rare guys who went through the dangerous offensives, was in the most dangerous fights, and somehow never got a scratch.

After the war, he and his brother bought a used truck and started pouring concrete basements for the big building boom. They became one of the biggest independently owned concrete builders in the country. They refused to hire anyone who was not a member of the union, but when it turned out that there was no union for concrete workers, they persuaded the UAW to organize such a union. They also actively recruited African-American workers. One of their employees was one of the "Scottsboro Boys."

They became wealthy but never changed their political point of view. Les was one of the founders of a scholarship we vets funded at Wayne State

University. He also made sure that at his funeral, the speaker would tell how proud he was to be a member of the Communist Party and a veteran of the Spanish Civil War.

—Marion Noble

## Robert Zane Ingalls 1919-2001

Bob Ingalls, Lincoln vet from Redmond, Washington, died May 8 of a heart attack while on a family trip.

Ingalls went to Spain from Seattle at an early age. In 1937, at age 17, he was made sergeant in the transport section with a crew under his command running a telephone service from a truck.

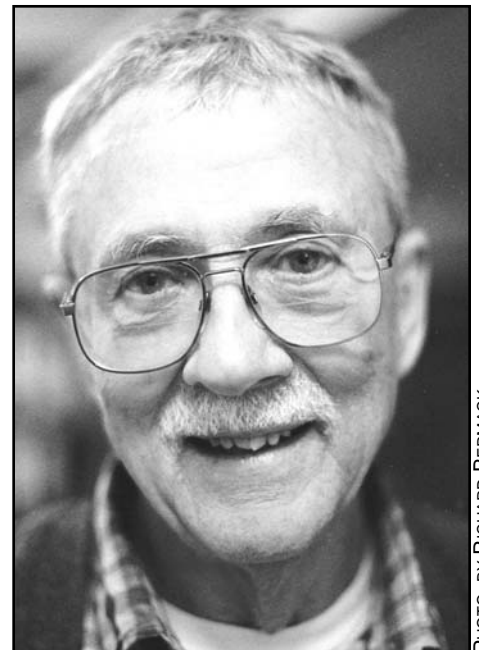


PHOTO BY RICHARD BERMACK

During World War II, Ingalls worked as foreman of final assembly at Boeing. Later, he brought his engineering skills into the television industry and taught at a community college in Tacoma. He later designed the internal television systems for the University of Washington's School of Medicine and Nursing.

*continued on page 22*





## Barney Baley 1910-2001

*Barney Baley, born in Arnett, Oklahoma, died on February 28 after a long illness. An active member of the San Francisco Bay Area Post, he had served in the merchant marine during World War II and worked as a construction laborer afterward.*

*After serving in the Lincoln Brigade, he returned to his home in southern California and wrote a book of poetry, titled Hand Grenades, that was published in 1942. The poems were both political and autobiographical, and we publish a few selections to remember this otherwise quiet man. The last poem was written in 1999.*

### LESSON IN SOCIAL RELATIONS

The workers lost; as thru the bitter ages  
They have so often lost; and most returned  
To their old jobs to toil at lower wages.  
But some did not go back. Either there burned  
In them too fierce a rebel flame; or they  
Were fingered out by stoolies.—Dad was one  
Of those let out. We went one Saturday  
To shovel snow. We passed a dwelling. "Son,  
That's Big-Bug's place; no work for us around  
Here." I observed the neat brick wall, barbed wire  
Atop. "He was my boss when. . ." So I found  
There are two classes: Those that fire and hire,  
And those that work or look for work with hat  
In hand. . . I never quite got over that.

### ALBACETE—OCTOBER, 1937

Welcoming us who journeyed far to join  
The Spanish people's fight for their New Deal,  
A band blared forth the Internationale;  
Marched us along to its familiar strains;  
But at the barracks played a livelier tune,  
A melody that sang the heart of Spain:  
Riego's Hymn. It sang of heroes who  
Made Spain too hot for Bonaparte to hold.  
And forced the native despot, Ferdinand,  
To recognize the people's will. Altho  
Riego was betrayed to brutal death,  
His spirit lives. His song rolls out today. . .  
No tyrants yet have killed the human race.  
Nor can they kill its courage and its hope!

### ALBAREZ—THANKSGIVING, 1937

Songs of all lands are medleys, here in Spain:  
Vienna, loved by Schubert and by Strauss,  
Survives the shelling of the Karl Marx House...  
Paris! The very name's a red refrain!  
Dansons le Carmagnole! "Marchons! The plain  
By tyrants' blood shall irrigated be!"  
And Ol' Man River's seed of workers' pain  
Blossom in song of Soviet victory. . .  
So do we strike a brighter chord; so strum  
Cowboy ballads for night-herd or trail!  
Chanteys that sing of salt and tarry sail!  
So roar the "Rich Man of Jerusalem!"  
"Waltzing Matilda"! or "Dad's Dinner Pail"!—  
The people's songs of work and play and love.

### GANDESA—APRIL, 1938

The first few months in Spain I was a good  
Soldier in many ways. But even as late  
As April the thought of shedding human blood  
I could not stand. I was not steeled in hate.  
Well I remember at Gandesa on  
April Fool's Day, a few of us held back  
The Fascist drive for many hours; in fact,  
Till dark gave time to get set for the dawn.  
I was the loader on a heavy Maxim,  
My chosen post. The gunner left, told me  
To fire if need be. Sighting, I saw some Fascist  
Cavalry, tried to press the trigger-bar,  
Could not. Just then the gunner came back. He  
Was not so squeamish... Time and war changed me.

### Cruzar Del Ebro—July, 1938

We crossed the river, dodged their planes all day;  
An hour from sundown they caught up with us.  
I felt the earth shake under me—  
When it was safe to rise,  
I saw in the terraced olive grove  
What looked like sacks of cement.  
There were six dead comrades;  
All of them I knew by name:  
Dutchy and Campbell, Lucas, little Ted,  
Steele from Toronto and the youth Ramon -  
Five sons of Canada and one of Spain.  
I thought of our last sing-song: Ted had sung  
"The Rose of Tralee," Campbell "County Down."  
Yes, songs of love and home make the best dirge  
For those who die that others might have life!

## Memory's Roster

*continued from page 20*

His family has established the Robert Z. Ingalls Memorial Endowment Fund at South Seattle Community College.

—Bob Reed

### Martin Maki 1912-2001

A Finnish-American volunteer from Minnesota, Martin Maki died at the age of 89. "He was just a very incredible idealist," said his daughter Maria Maki of Annandale, Minnesota. Maki was a prisoner of war at the San Pedro de Cardenas camp. He later served in the U.S. Army during World War II.

## More Letters

Dear Volunteer,  
I'm a journalist with a long-time interest in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. I'm looking for any info available on ALB volunteer James Hamilton Martin, who, according to Carl Geiser's book *Prisoners of the Good Fight* (pp. 164,267), was among the score or so captured ALB soldiers machine-gunned by their fascist captors on Sept. 7, 1938, in the Sierra Caballs. He hailed from Garden City, N.Y., not exactly a breeding ground for activists then or now, which helps stir my interest, and was 26 years of age at his death. I'm also interested in the names and stories of other ALB volunteers who hailed from Queens, Nassau and Suffolk counties.

Thanks,  
Gerald A. Regan  
20-67 38th Street, #D3  
Astoria NY 11105-1641  
e-mail: ger@garmedia.com

## Solo

*continued from page 11*

absurdist melodrama as solo performance debuted at the Riverside Theatre in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in June.

I am committed to the lifetime of work in front of me. Years of wrestling with text, gesture, truth, and the need to do justice to the Cause, and all of its people. I gladly accept this challenge and will be traveling to Spain in the fall to deepen my commitment to this project. Recent meetings with Peter Carroll and veteran David Smith have renewed my morale and have given me a sense of community. I feel empowered and will continue to move forward. Thank you, Brigadistas! Thank you all.

## ALBA'S TRAVELING EXHIBITIONS

### SHOUTS FROM THE WALL

#### **New York, NY**

September 15, 2001 - November 25, 2001  
Puffin Room  
435 Broome St.  
NY, NY 10013  
212 343-2881

#### **Lawrence, KS**

University of Kansas  
January 19, 2002 - March 10, 2002  
Spencer Museum of Art  
1301 Mississippi St.  
Lawrence, KS 66045  
phone: 785-864-4710  
fax: 785-864-3112

### 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.

#### **New Haven, CT**

March 20, 2002-May 23, 2002  
Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University  
70 High Street,  
New Haven, CT 06511  
(203) 432-0356/17 627-3505

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 museum and art gallery showings.

### BRING THESE EXHIBITS TO YOUR LOCALITY

Contact Diane Fraher, ALBA executive secretary: 212-598-0968; Fax: 212-529-4603



# Contributions



## DONOR, IN MEMORY OF VETERAN

Pearl Baley, **Barney Baley**, \$100  
Tibby Brooks, **Al Finkle & Sam Walters**, \$100  
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Patricia Morrall, **Her uncles Marvin Nelson and John Rody**, \$25  
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Ron Perrone, **In Loving memory of John and Ethel Perrone**, \$100  
Beverly R. Keller, **Leo Solodkin**, \$15  
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Norman Eisner, **Bill Susman**, \$250  
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Florence Barad and Irving Katz, **The 80th Birthday of Lou Czitrom**, \$80  
Moe Fishman, **The 90th Birthday of Ira Gollobin**, \$50

## CONTRIBUTIONS

Jack Arnow, \$25  
Herbert Aptheker, \$25  
Jamie O'Reilly, \$50

# ALBA's Autumn in NY

The Puffin Gallery is hosting the following events at  
Puffin Room, 435 Broome Street, 212 343 2881

**Sept 15-Nov 25, Sun 11-6pm**

SHOUTS FROM THE WALL, Poster Show

**Sept 30, 4 pm**

Len & Nancy Tsou, "The Call of Spain"

**Oct 7, 4pm**

Milt Wolff

The Good Fight

**Oct 13, 4pm**

Abe Osheroff

Art In the Struggle for Freedom

**Oct 27, 4pm**

Dramatic reading by Mass Transit Street Theater from

Cary Nelson, Madrid 1937

Discussion & book signing

**Nov 11, 4pm**

Travels with Harry

Discussion with Harry Fisher re: his European tour

Forever Activists

**October 12, 7 pm. ALBA-Susman Lecture**

"Poetry of the Spanish Civil War," PHILIP LEVINE,

NYU's Juan Carlos Center, 53 Washington Square South



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**October 12, Exhibition of ALBA Collection opens at  
Elmer Holmes Bobst Library**

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