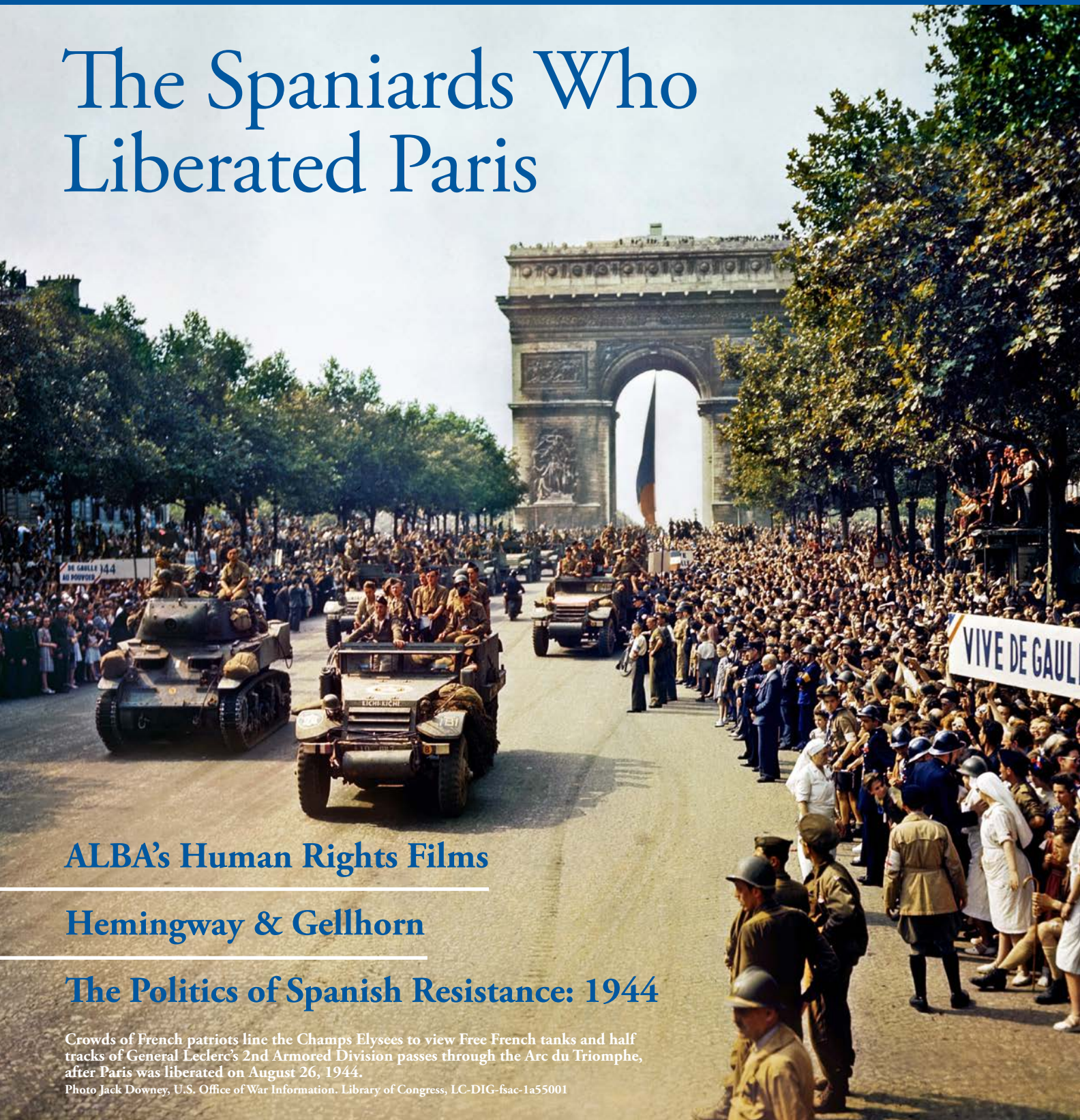


The Volunteer

PUBLISHED BY THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE ARCHIVES

The Spaniards Who Liberated Paris



ALBA's Human Rights Films

Hemingway & Gellhorn

The Politics of Spanish Resistance: 1944

Crowds of French patriots line the Champs Elysees to view Free French tanks and half tracks of General Leclerc's 2nd Armored Division passes through the Arc du Triomphe, after Paris was liberated on August 26, 1944.

Photo Jack Downey, U.S. Office of War Information. Library of Congress, LC-DIG-fsac-1a55001

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Dear Friends,

It was thrilling to receive such positive responses to our September issue, featuring Pablo Iglesias, the 36-year-old political scientist who may well be Spain's next Prime Minister. (Even Pablo himself took to Twitter to say how honored he was to be on our cover.) Events in Spain continue to develop in an exciting direction; PODEMOS is now leading in the national polls.

You may have noticed that the magazine you are holding, like the September issue, features a color cover. Over the past year we have been working to improve *The Volunteer's* visual identity to be as compelling as its content. This is part of our effort to reach out to younger generations of readers, activists, and ALBA supporters. The creativity and commitment with which the generations who have been hardest hit by the economic crisis—people who are now in their 20s and 30s—are taking to the streets, the media, and politics is a source of hope and inspiration. When they learn about the Lincoln Brigade they immediately get it. That's really no surprise: today's young activists are as internationalist as the volunteers were, whether their concern is climate change, economic inequality, or human rights.

You've heard our slogan: Know History to Change History. This month we are particularly proud to feature two exclusive excerpts from new books dealing with the connection between the Spanish Civil War and the fight against the Nazis. In the middle of this issue you will find eight pages from a wonderful new graphic novel about the Spaniards who fought fascism in World War II by the prize-winning artist Paco Roca, who worked on this project with ALBA board member Bob Coale. We are also honored to present you with a section of Paul Preston's new biography of Santiago Carrillo, which will be published in the U.S. next month.

October and November were a whirlwind of ALBA activity. ALBA's Human Rights Film Festival in New York attracted hundreds of visitors, many of whom were new to the organization. Our Bay Area reunion drew a higher turnout than previous years and the stack of Pete Seeger's CD *Songs of the Spanish Civil War*, in a new release with liner notes by ALBA's Peter Glazer, sold out in minutes. The day after the reunion, Marina spent a lovely and inspiring day with Lincoln veteran Del Berg in his California home. In late October, we had the opportunity to present our newly developed high school curriculum to the heads of Social Studies departments in the country's eighth largest school district in Florida. In November we held no fewer than three teacher institutes in New Jersey, Illinois, and New York. Attendance broke last year's record numbers.

That we can do so much is thanks to you. We don't need to tell you how important your donations are to keep our small but ambitious organization afloat. And we also rely on you to spread the word about ALBA and the Lincoln Brigade, about our Human Rights Award winners and our high school curriculum. When you've read your issue of *The Volunteer*, pass it on to a young person. Forward our emails or share them on Facebook. If you know high school teachers, or have school-aged children, point them to our new teachers' website (resources.alba-valb.org). The Lincoln's story is too important. We cannot allow it to be forgotten.

Salud,



Sebastian Faber
Chair of the Board
of Governors



Marina Garde
Executive Director

NOTE TO ALBA:

"It is nothing short of miraculous that year after year, you at ALBA continue to keep the legacy, extreme importance and reverent respect for the people, and high ideals of the civil war in Spain against fascism and all its manifestations"
—James Pandaru, Connecticut

Solidarity Forever: Bay Area Honors Pete Seeger & Equal Justice

On a sunny October Sunday, the city of Berkeley still buzzing about the 50th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement, many alumni of that good fight, together with family and friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, came to the Freight & Salvage Coffee House to pay homage to the anti-fascist volunteers and veterans who risked their lives in the spirit of solidarity for equality and social justice.



Marina Garde



Peter N. Carroll



Peter Glazer



Alison Mollman

"At ALBA," said Executive Director Marina Garde in her opening remarks, "we believe that awareness is the first step to effect change: You need to know history to change history. With your support, we draw on the history of the Left to offer alternative perspectives and open the landscape of possibilities to younger generations."

Focusing on the political legacy of the Lincoln Brigade, ALBA once again acknowledged the work of the Equal Justice Initiative, whose ground-breaking efforts on behalf of incarcerated youth and death row inmates were recognized when the 2014 ALBA/Puffin Human Rights Activism Award was granted to EJI founder and director Bryan Stevenson. Peter Carroll placed the award in the context of the Brigade's insistence

on racial equality, both on the battlefields of Spain and in the postwar years on the American home front. Excerpts from Stevenson's speech in New York last May were presented on video, and one of his staff attorneys, Alison Mollman, spoke about the EJI's work in the effort to bring justice to young prisoners facing lifetime sentences and for wrongfully convicted adults, as well as EJI's expanding educational programs.

This 78th Anniversary event also featured the Spanish Civil War songs made famous by their troubadour, the late Pete Seeger, who sang for the Lincoln veterans more than any other performer. UC/Berkeley professor and ALBA Board member Peter Glazer spoke about Seeger's influence on the Left and announced that Seeger's famous albums,

along with other recordings of Spanish Civil War, had just been released by the Smithsonian Institute. Glazer is the author of the CD's new liner notes.

In Seeger's absence, bass player and vocalist Bruce Barthol brought together a quintet of superb musicians—soprano Velina Brown, pianist Randy Craig, guitarist Barrett Nelson, and fiddler Tony Marcus—who touched the audience with familiar songs, as well as Barthol's haunting melody, "Taste of Ashes." Local singer Barbara Dane joined the band for the dramatic finale, "Viva La Quince Brigada," as did ALBA Board Chair and trumpeter Sebastian Faber.

In the end, as ever, it was the music that energized the audience and brought the memories back to life.



Sebastiaan Faber



Pianist Randy Craig



Corinne Thornton, Tim Parker and friends



The Freight & Salvage



Singer Velina Brown. Photo Jeannette Ferrary



Bruce Barthol



The Freight & Salvage



Tony Marcus



Bruce Barthol and band



Barbara Dane and Bruce Barthol



Danielle Varga, Marina Garde, and Fritz Schwarz debate the film *1971*



Danielle Varga, film producer of *1971*, receives the Randall Award from Marina Garde

HUMAN RIGHTS FILM FESTIVAL STIRS DEBATE ALBA GRANTS FIRST HARRY RANDALL AWARD

By Rodolfo Graziano

Documentary filmmakers almost always aim to denounce the unacceptable. The dozen films featured in ALBA's fourth annual Human Rights Film Festival, *Impugning Impunity*, brilliantly continue that pattern.

This year's selection covered an extraordinary range of regions and topics. A *Quiet Inquisition*, by Alessandra Zekka and Holen Sabrina, focuses on patients and physicians currently living in hospitals in Nicaragua, where the law prohibits abortion without any exceptions. The film provides a moving portrait of an inexplicable and incompensable situation. For Daniel Ortega's government, 12 and 13-year-old girls with failed at-home abortions and in danger of dying do not constitute reasons for medical intervention, and neither do rape

victims or challenging clinical cases. Health professionals are forced to choose: they either obey the law or abide by their ethics.

Another gem is Alfonso Domingo and Jordi Torrent's *Invisible Heroes*, a dynamic and effective montage of archival materials that tells the story of the black members of the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War.

The prize-winning 1971 provides a startling portrait of the civilians who uncovered Hoover's secret FBI.



(Clockwise) The festival crew | Xóchitl Gil-Higuchi | Angela Godfrey Goldstein, co-director of *High Hopes* | Student attendees | The reception

The film *1971*, the winner of ALBA's first Harry Randall Prize, provides a startling and entertaining portrait of the anti-Vietnam War civilians who managed to break into an FBI office and uncover illegal operations that violated the rights of ordinary U.S. citizens. The movie is based on Betty Medsger's recent book, *The Burglary: The Discovery of J. Edgar Hoover's Secret FBI*, which was the subject of this year's ALBA/Bill Susman Lecture. (See *The Volunteer*, September 2014.)

Another film with great emotional impact is *Bastards: Outcasts in Morocco*, by Deborah Perkin, which exposes the shameful situation of single mothers and their children in Morocco who are denied basic rights. The documentary is splendidly composed, both visually and structurally. *The Second Cooler*, by Ellin Jimmerson, depicts the harsh circumstances of the "illegal" immigrant entering the United States.

Perhaps the most unexpected and original film among the official selection was Tim Delmastro's *Freedom from Choice*, which shows how consumers are manipulated into consuming products and services that serve the

interests of the State and the economy rather than their own. Full of humor and irony, *Freedom from Choice* opens the viewer's eyes to the widespread manipulation and imposition behind the illusion of free choice.

Each of the screenings prompted lively discussion among audiences and filmmakers. The festival showed that the political documentary is alive and well—and a powerful tool for change.

Rodolfo Graziano is a multimedia artist and documentary film director. This article was translated from Spanish by Lyn Dominguez.

Impugning Impunity: ALBA's Human Rights Film Festival was made possible in part with public funds from the Fund for Creative Communities, supported by New York State Council on the Arts with the support of Governor Andrew Cuomo and the New York State Legislature and administered by Lower Manhattan Cultural Council.

Watt Awards: MINNESOTA VOLUNTEERS AND "CONFLICT ARCHEOLOGY"

By Gina Herrmann

ALBA essay prize winners bring fresh research to the issues of the Spanish Civil War.

IN THE UNDERGRADUATE CATEGORY, Fletcher Warren, a student at Bethel University in Saint Paul, wrote about the 60 Minnesotans who volunteered to fight fascism in Spain. His essay explores the lives of three men in particular: Benjamin Gardner, Clarence Forester, and George Zlatovski.

The graduate winner is Ashley Ellington, a Master's candidate in History at Georgia Southern University. Ellington writes about "conflict archeology," focusing on the exhumations of the remains of Republicans found in mass graves from the era of Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship. While Ellington covers the various polemics about contemporary exhumations, she moves into terrain that is normally not connected to the disinterment of Republican victims: the uncovering of ammunitions in archeological sites of the Civil War, including the battle for Madrid. Ellington shows how archeologists in Spain conduct battlefield surveys and carry out conservation work that seeks to understand "the complexities of entire landscapes altered by war." The essay concludes with a look at a third area of interest to archeologists in Spain: the labor camp. Ellington discusses what kinds of artifacts have been uncovered in the Francoist labor camps that held Republican soldier and civilian captives. These artifacts, mainly tin cans and materials to relieve boredom (like inkwells and dominos) help researchers piece together conditions of everyday life in the camps—at least before the prisoners were sent off to forced labor battalions or shot by firing squad.

The annual George Watt Memorial Essay Prizes award excellence in student writing about any aspect of the Spanish Civil War, the global political or cultural struggles against fascism in the 1920s and 1930s, or the lifetime histories and contributions of the Americans who fought in support of the Spanish Republic. The award—given to an undergraduate and graduate paper—was established



13 years ago to honor the memory of Lincoln vet George Watt (1914-1994), a social worker, writer, and lifelong activist central to the creation of ALBA.

This year's jury, consisting of Josh Goode (Claremont Graduate University), Mónica Cantero (Drew University), and Gina Herrmann (University of Oregon) received 20 essays; seven essays from graduate students and 13 from undergraduates. As in past years, the jury was pleased to find submissions from the U.S. and abroad, and remarked on the high quality of research coming from Spain. Among the undergraduate essays, students addressed a variety of themes that speak to ALBA's mission and Watt's legacy, including studies on poetry written by political prisoners during the Franco dictatorship, the political commitments of Picasso, British diplomatic responses to the civil war, and the exile of Spanish children during the conflict. Among the graduate submissions, topics included a study about what motivated men and women to enlist in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the Francoist blockade of the Basque region, and counterrevolutionary discourse during the Second Republic and the Civil War.

Gina Herrmann teaches at the University of Oregon and is a member of ALBA's board.

From Minnesota to Spain By Fletcher Warren

Snow flurries whipped through the freezing air as 22-year-old Clarence Forester crunched his way through the snow from the Minneapolis Auditorium, thoughts of a much warmer land an ocean away crowding his mind. An hour earlier, he'd heard students from the University of Madrid plead the cause of the Spanish Republic in its war against a fascist rebellion. Deeply moved by their struggle, Clarence knew he needed to help. So when he heard from a friend that the Communist Party was seeking volunteer soldiers, his answer was simple: "Sure I'll go."

As the magnitude of that decision settled in over the next days, Clarence sought company. Sitting with several friends in a warm house, Clarence revealed that he had volunteered to fight in Spain. Howard Stone quickly cut in—he'd like to go too. But before the two could celebrate their newly-shared purpose, the doorbell rang. Veikko Lindfors, a 26-year-old Finnish friend of Harold's stepped in. "Let's take him too," Harold said to Clarence. "Take me where?" the bemused Veikko wondered. "To Spain, which is a long way from Minneapolis."

The decisions of these three Minnesota men—and 57 others—to volunteer for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade grew out of their experiences in depression-era Minnesota. For them, homelessness, joblessness, and hunger were standard fare, and their privations awakened in them a fierce concern for the disadvantaged and a desire to rectify injustice. This paper examines for the first time the backgrounds, political and social context, and motivations of the Minnesota Lincolns.

Fletcher Warren completed this paper as his Senior thesis for B.A. in History at Bethel University, St. Paul, Minnesota with Dr. Christopher Gehrz.



Archaeology and Memory
By Ashley Ellington

Following the Spanish Civil War, the victorious dictator Francisco Franco used archaeology to legitimate his power as well as the official history of the war. Today, many Spanish people are working to change the official history to include those who the Franco regime erased or demonized. In modern times there has been a movement to have a more inclusive historical memory. Using different types of archeology, such as exhumations and excavations on battlefields and labor camps, current research focuses on bringing the Spanish Republicans back into history. The evidence gathered can speak for a people who were mostly erased from both the official history and memory of the Spanish Civil War.

The Franco regime focused on memorializing the fallen from the Nationalist side of the conflict, while modern research focuses almost exclusively on the Spanish Republicans. The problem facing archeologists and historians now is how to combine their findings to present a history that represents both sides of the conflict. The excavations and exhumations are helping to fix this by recovering the remains of Spanish Republicans and evidence of their fight against Franco. However, the decision of how much history to include is being left in the hands of individuals and non-government agencies for the most part. Only time will tell how the people of Spain deal with this issue, though as this paper suggests, they have started to address this old wound.

This paper was originally written for "Seminar in Archaeology: Conflict Archaeology" while pursuing a Master of Arts in History at Georgia Southern University. A version was presented at the 2013 Dr. Gregory P. Domin Graduate Research Conference at Columbus State University.

ALBA Institute Draws
Record Numbers

Teachers Appreciate New Resource Website



MORE THAN 80 HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS from New York City and New Jersey participated in back-to-back ALBA institutes during the first week of November. As in most ALBA classrooms, the majority of teachers work in Social Studies—including U.S. History, World History, and Government—but these groups also had significant numbers of Spanish teachers. Brooklyn’s Abraham Lincoln High School sent its entire Social Studies department.

The tightly-packed programs included presentations by Peter N. Carroll, James D. Fernández, and Sebastiaan Faber; video clips; and a workshop segment in which teachers engaged with the more than 20 organized lesson plans on ALBA’s new teachers’ website (resources.alba-valb.org), pre-aligned with the Common Core State Standards.

“We want you to leave with something ready to use,” said Faber, “so that you could teach this tomorrow if you had to.” Participants appreciated the wealth of materials made available to them. “This was the best professional development day I have been to in 18 years,” one Social Studies teacher remarked. “I am using these lessons next week,” said a Spanish teacher.

On November 4, New York teachers filled the auditorium of NYU’s King Juan Carlos Center, with NYU Steinhardt School’s Lee Frissell providing logistical support. The next day ALBA returned for the fifth time to Bergen County Academies, a New Jersey magnet school. Former institute participants Sergei Alschen and Gabriela Calandra shared their experience designing a semester-long unit on the Spanish Civil War. During the lunch break, the teachers got a sneak peek at an impressive student remake of Picasso’s *Guernica*, a project led by artist and Spanish teacher Irma Seltzer. Seltzer is a 2008 ALBA institute alumna whose grand uncle, Harry Freed, fought in the Lincoln Brigade.

ALBA’s teachers education program is made possible by the generous support of the Puffn Foundation, Neal Rosenberg, Paul Friedlander, Ralph Czitrom, and donors like you.



Teachers at the New York institute.
Photos Rodolfo Graziano



Irma Seltzer with two of her students.
Photo Sebastiaan Faber

Faces of ALBA-VALB

Teaching the Spanish Civil War in AP World History. Interview by Aaron B. Retish



Dale Hueber did not follow the usual path to teaching history. His initial degree was in music education with a goal of becoming a band director. Instead, he enlisted in the Army, became an officer and served for 22 years. After he retired as a Lieutenant Colonel, he wanted to teach but not as a band director. He pursued a Masters in Social Studies Education at the University of South Florida. “On the day I retired from the Army,” Hueber said, “my daughters’ high school principal asked if I was ready to teach and whether I could teach world history and government.” The books and materials were waiting for him at the school. That was 15 years ago; he has been teaching in East Bay High School in the Hillsborough School District (Tampa, Florida) ever since. For the last 11 years he has taught Advanced Placement World History.

You attended your first ALBA institute in 2008. What did you get out of it?

I didn’t know much about American involvement in the Spanish Civil War, or the international involvement on both the Republic and Fascist sides. It was a boiling point, especially with the breakdown of the League of Nations. It told Hitler he could do what he wanted.

How many institutes have you attended?

I have attended three institutes. I also developed a lesson plan around Paul Robeson that was well received by teachers and has also worked well with students. The new Florida state social studies standards require a listening component to the primary sources and so I use a song from Robeson when I get to the Spanish Civil War.

How do you integrate the Spanish Civil War into your curriculum?

I do a single day on it, which is a lot of time in the AP World History curriculum. I developed a Documents Based Question (DBQ) at the teaching institute that I use in class. Students are doing DBQs at a very high level by the time we get to the Spanish Civil War. They have no trouble identifying the point of view in any primary source, which is a key part of the DBQ section on the AP exam. But the way I approach the topic changes from year to year. Sometimes I use the Paul Robeson comic from the ALBA curriculum resources (http://www.alba-valb.org/resources/document-library/volunteer-june-2009). I always bring in Picasso’s *Guernica* because students are sophomores and they are already familiar with the painting from their art curriculum. I also show video clips from the institute. The AP World History curriculum focuses on getting students to recognize when focal points happen and how their impact diffuses in history. Students *get* the Spanish Civil War. They can connect it with contemporary events, such as Syria, where the U.S. dropped weapons that ended up in the enemy’s hands, and both sides are supplied with weapons from outside sources. Look at ISIS, smartly recruiting Muslims from around the world. History lessons never get old.

Do students latch onto the Spanish Civil War?

I show the video *The Century: America’s Time*, narrated by Peter Jennings. The section on World War II opens with *Guernica*, so

it reinforces the significance of the Spanish Civil War. Together, the primary sources and Paul Robeson, *Guernica*, and the video lock it in for the students. It is one of the few single events with a narrow scope and duration that I drill down into throughout the whole year. I believe that the training with ALBA and the University of South Florida is important and needs to continue. It not only provides teachers and students with information about a pivotal moment in the 20th century, but does so with a wealth of different resources and methodologies.

Aaron B. Retish is a professor of history at Wayne State University

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The Spaniards Who Helped Liberate Paris

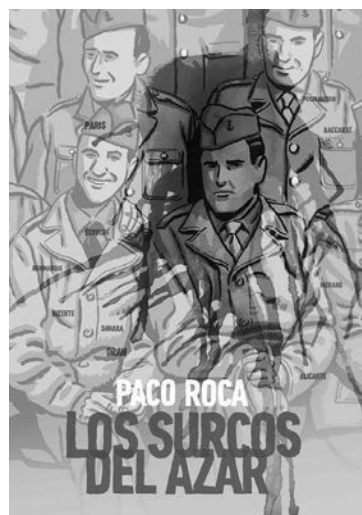
By Sebastiaan Faber

Graphic Novelist Paco Roca worked with ALBA's Bob Coale to chronicle the odyssey of "La Nueve," the company of Spanish Republicans who fought the Nazis with General LeClerc.

POSTWAR FRANCE was built on the proud notion that the whole country had bravely resisted the German occupation. As late as the 1960s, Tony Judt wrote, "any questioning of the myth of a heroic, nationwide resistance was still off limits—in historiography as in national life." What this myth obscured was not only the extent of French collaboration with the Nazis; it also erased the key role played in the resistance and liberation by non-French volunteers—particularly Spaniards. Thousands of the half million Spanish Republicans who had poured across the Pyrenees in 1938 and 1939 continued their fight against fascism in anti-Nazi guerrilla groups (the *maquis*) and in General Charles De Gaulle's Free French Forces. After their liberation from concentration camps in North Africa, hundreds joined the newly created Leclerc Division, in the well-founded belief—and implicit promise—that a defeat of Nazi Germany would lead to a defeat of Franco. It was a promise that the political situation in 1945, with the incipient cold war, did not allow to be fulfilled.

The company of LeClerc's armored infantry with the largest contingent of Spanish was the Ninth. Even non-Spanish-speakers, referred to it as "la Nueve" not the French "*la Neuvième*." The half-tracks of this company—guided by an Armenian volunteer on a motorbike—were the first to enter occupied Paris on August 24, 1944. The Spaniards had named their vehicles for the battlefields in which the Republic had beaten the Nationalists during the Spanish Civil War.

Most of these Spanish soldiers had survived a grueling odyssey. After three years of civil war, they had passed through French concentration camps, fought a long North African campaign, and spent a training period in England. They had disembarked on Utah beach in Normandy in early August and fought their way to the capital. It's a riveting story that is nevertheless still largely unknown to the public. It's unknown in France, for the reasons just outlined. But it's equally unknown in Spain, which until recently preferred not to see its history in relation to World War II.

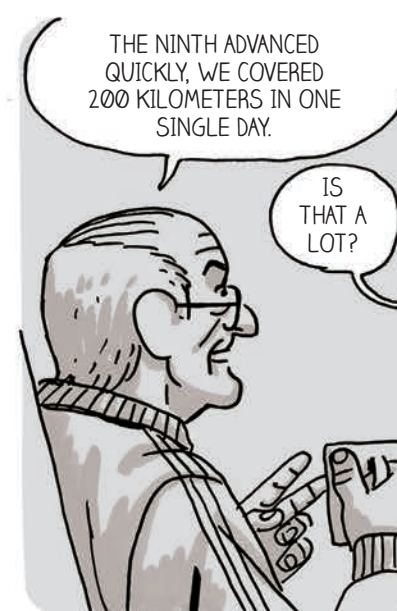
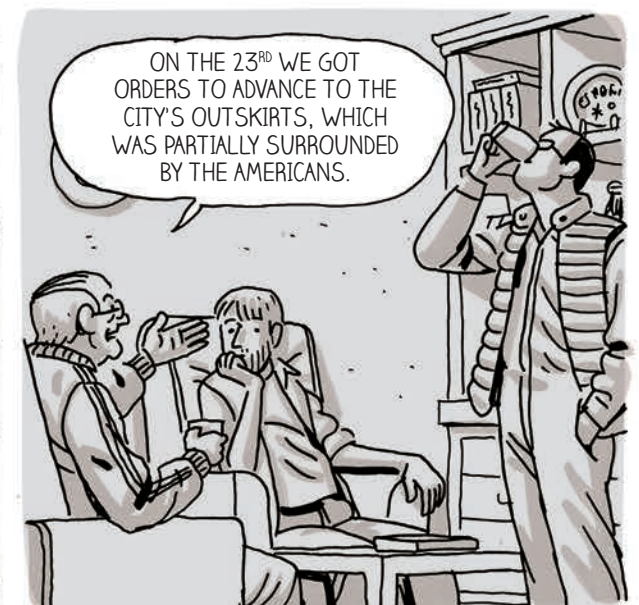
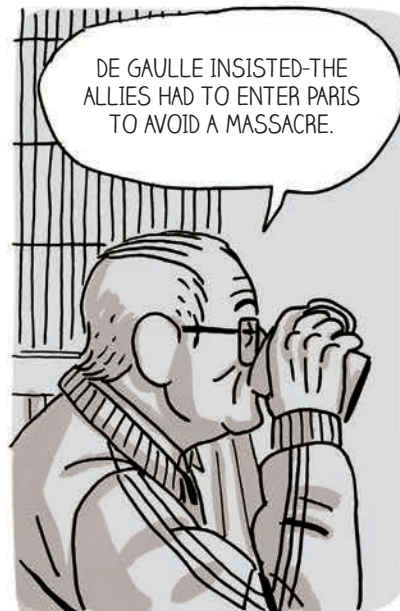


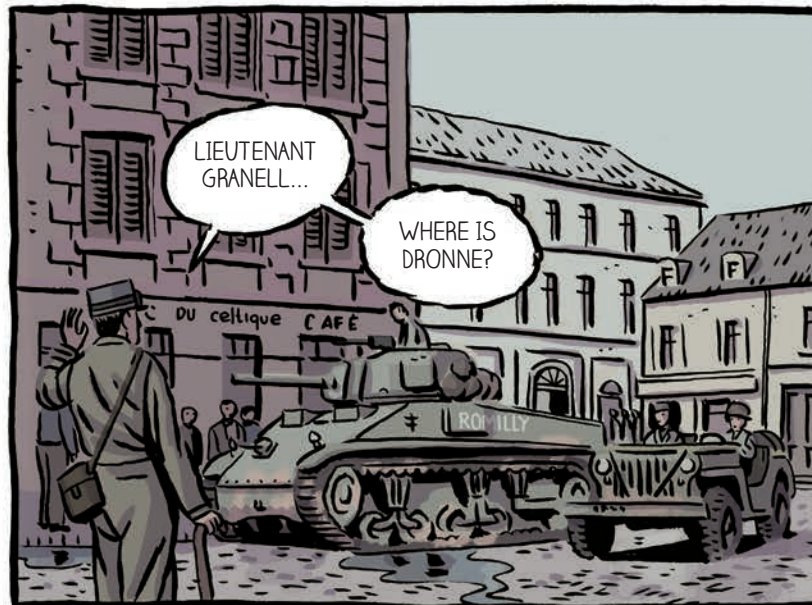
Paco Roca's *Los surcos del azar* (The Furrows of Chance), which came out to critical acclaim in Spain in 2013, now tells this story for the first time as a 300-page graphic novel. Roca, who was born in Valencia in 1969, is one of Spain's foremost graphic artists; his 2007 novel *Arrugas* (Wrinkles) won the National Comics Award. *Los Surcos* took him four years to write. Set in present-day France, it features a Spanish writer named Paco who tracks down Miguel Campos, aka Miguel Ruiz, a surviving veteran of "La Nueve." After some coaxing, Miguel tells Paco his story through long flashbacks. Miguel's character is based on one of the most famous members of the company, who disappeared in combat in December 1944. Some claim he was killed, and others that he deserted the French army to participate in the underground against Franco.

What sets *Surcos* apart is not just Roca's superior drawing and storytelling, his eye for detail and anecdote, and his graphic ingenuity (with the present-day frame drawn in gray tones and the flashbacks in color), but also the high level of historical accuracy. Here Roca acknowledges the crucial assistance of the Paris-based historian Robert S. Coale, who is a long-time ALBA board member. Bob Coale's own book on one of the members of "La Nueve," which he has spent over a decade writing, is scheduled to be published next year. The excerpt published here is from one of the novel's last sections, starting with the last-minute decision to enter Paris rather than continuing east. We also meet Larry Cane, a veteran of the Lincoln Brigade who, as a member of the U.S. armed forces, had landed in France on D-Day and was thrilled to run into his former Spaniards comrades.

Interested in purchasing a copy of *Surcos del azar*?
More information at albavolunteer.org









I WAS A BRIGADER!

A LINCOLN
BRIGADER IN SPAIN,
COMRADES!



REALLY? WHERE?

I FOUGHT
WITH THE
FIFTEENTH
BRIGADE IN
TERUEL.



LONG LIVE THE
REPUBLIC!



THIS TIME
WE SHALL
TRIUMPH!



...AND WHAT
DO WE DO
ONCE WE'VE
ENTERED
PARIS?

THERE ARE
TOO FEW OF
US TO TAKE
THE CITY.

YOU HEARD WHAT THE GENERAL
SAID. OUR MISSION IS TO
BOLSTER THE RESISTANCE...



...THE HALF-TRACK
"GUADALAJARA" FOLLOWED
THAT ARMENIAN GUY ON
HIS RICKETY MOTORCYCLE.



WE FOLLOWED BEHIND,
THE STREETS WERE
SILENT AND DESERTED.



UNTIL WE GOT TO
THE PORTE D'ITALIE...
WHICH WAS WHERE
THE GUADALAJARA HAD
STOPPED...



WHAT'S
GOING ON, DE
POSSESSE?

AS SOON AS THEY
DISCOVERED WE ARE
THE FRENCH ARMY,
THEY RUSHED INTO
THE STREET, AND
IT'S IMPOSSIBLE TO
ADVANCE.



YOU'RE THE
FIRST FRENCH
SOLDIER I GET
TO KISS!

MWAHI
MWAHI

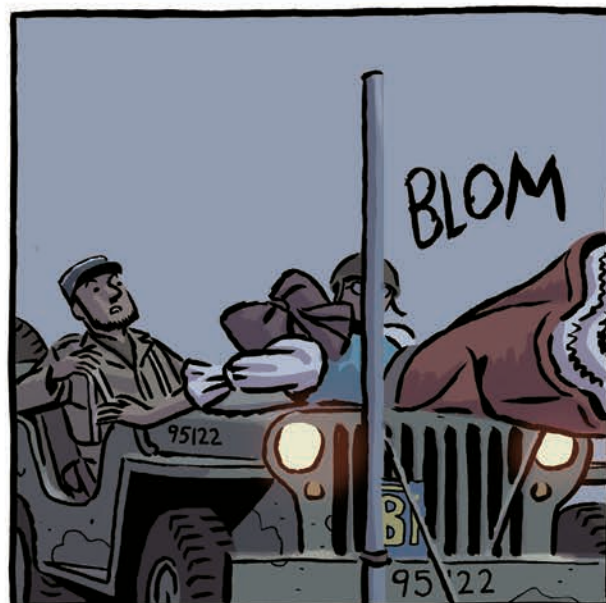


Photo: Marshall Mateer



MIND-BOGGLING LIES: Paul Preston on Santiago Carrillo

By Sebastiaan Faber

Paul Preston's new biography of Santiago Carrillo, the legendary Spanish Communist leader, stirred up serious controversy when it came out in Spain last year.

PRESTON'S REVEALING exposé of Carrillo's ruthless rise to power within the Party—a career strewn with lies, crimes, and betrayals—destroyed the positive image that Carrillo had managed to build in the wake of the democratic Transition, and to maintain until his death in 2012, at 97. I spoke with Preston in the summer of last year, as he was correcting the final proofs for the Spanish edition.

Is your critique of Carrillo particularly harsh because it's coming from the Left?

"There will be people on the right who say: Even left-wing historian Paul Preston criticizes Carrillo. I knew him and liked him but I ended up indignantly concluding that he undermined the struggle against Franco. By imposing unrealistic strategies, and destroying those who criticized him, he squandered the efforts and sacrifices of the hundreds of thousands of people who suffered under and against the dictatorship."

How do you explain the transformation of his image over the past quarter century?

"He left politics in 1985, but he lived for another 27 years—years that were used to build up an image of him as an utterly wonderful character who always had the national interest at heart. It is true that Carrillo played a very important role in the transition to democracy, by presenting the Communist Party as extremely moderate. And clearly, Carrillo's role during the night of the February, 1981 military coup is commendable. His own explanation of what he did—one of the three people in parliament who did not hide under their desks when Tejero and the others started shooting—is one of the few moments where I find him credible. He said he was sure he was going to die, and he did not want people to say that the leader of the Communist Party died as a coward. *If I am going to be shot, he thought, I might as well be shot sitting up rather than lying down.*

"But what that positive image of Carrillo as some sort of national treasure hides, is the viciousness with which he rose to power and the dirty tricks he did on comrades. And the lies are just mind-boggling. As you read the material you can't help thinking, *Oh, for God's sake!* Let me give you an example. Carrillo's great obsession in exile was the Huelga Nacional Pacífica, the pacific national strike, or HNP. He stuck to this against everybody's advise, especially that of Claudín and Semprún, and he did so with great damage to the militants in Franco Spain. Well, in an interview with Rosa Montero from the late 70s, he actually says: We wouldn't have insisted so much on the HNP if it hadn't been for Claudín—when in fact he got rid of Claudín for criticizing it!"



Is your critique of Carrillo a critique of the Left in general?

"A good part of my book is how Stalinist practice ended up undermining the Communist Party. But that doesn't mean that I would remotely draw the conclusion that the Left as a whole was corrupt or flawed. I still believe that, overall, the Communist policy during the Civil War was the only sensible one. And Carrillo during the war actually does a very good job as a leader as the United Socialist Youth (JSU), which is what provides the bulk of the rank and file of the Republican forces."

You yourself lived part of this history.

"The reason I was able to finish this book in relatively quick time is because in a sense it's a book I've been thinking about for 40 years. I worked as an interpreter for the Junta Democrática in the late 1970s, I knew Carrillo and knew a lot of the protagonists quite well. My role was what they would call a *tonto útil*, a useful fellow traveler. The people I was closest to at that time all have ended up hating Carrillo's guts. Everybody turned on him, because he had already turned on everyone else."

The Politics of Spanish Resistance: 1944

By Paul Preston



Jesús Monzón in the Teruel prison. Photo courtesy of Elvira Gómez Urrutia.

Having left Spain during the Civil War, Santiago Carrillo spent much of World War II on missions for the Communist International in Moscow, New York, Cuba, Argentina, and Uruguay. In 1943 he joined the political bureau of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), led by Secretary General Dolores Ibárruri (Pasionaria). The Party's leadership in exile insisted on wielding authority over the Communist resistance in Spain but its lack of awareness of real conditions in the country led to frictions with the anti-Franco resistance in Spain—and to strategic mistakes such as the failed attempt to invade Spain from the north in October 1944, through the Val d'Aran. In his efforts to deny responsibility for this military disaster, Carrillo unleashed a witch-

hunt against Jesús Monzón, a central figure in the Communist resistance in Vichy France during much of World War II, alongside Manuel Azcárate and Carmen de Pedro. In 1943, Monzón had returned clandestinely to Spain to create a broad anti-Francoist coalition, the Junta Suprema de Unión Nacional (Supreme Council of National Unity). The following abridged excerpt of Preston's book finds Carrillo in the Algerian city Oran in August 1944, hoping to reorganize the Communist Party within Spain.

In Oran, chicanery by Spanish dockworkers and truck drivers saw weapons, food, and medical supplies diverted from the deliveries to the Allied forces there. Motor launches were purchased in the hope of landing guerrilla groups in southern Spain to link up with those who had been fighting there since the end of the Civil War. These were the so-called *huidos*, Republicans separated from their units during the Civil War who took to the hills rather than surrender. According to Carrillo's memoirs, he planned to lead these groups himself. The implication is that, at the age of thirty, he had rediscovered the hot-headed temerity of his youth.

His idea was totally unrealistic and typical of what was to be his hallmark, his triumphalist rhetoric. It is true that, within a few months of the end of the Civil War, there was a significant number of *guerrilleros* in rural, and especially mountainous, areas. There it was easier to hide, to avoid the patrols of the Civil Guard and even to find the wherewithal to live, if not with the help of sympathetic peasants, at least by means of hunting and collecting wild fruit. As in other twentieth-century guerrilla wars, the principal activity of the *huidos* was defensive, their initial objective simply survival. Unlike their Chinese and Cuban counterparts, the Spanish *guerrilleros* had little possibility of establishing liberated zones that might have served as bases for

the future struggle against the regime. The only places sufficiently remote from the forces of repression to permit any possibility of establishing autonomous revolutionary communities were in the most inhospitable parts of the peninsula. Moreover, the depressed circumstances of the defeated Spanish left between 1939 and 1944 were hardly propitious for a revolutionary war. The repression, hunger, families destroyed by death and exile and, above all, the intense weariness left by the titanic struggles of the Civil War ensured that there would be no popular uprising in support of the *huidos*, who were condemned to a hard and solitary existence.

Occasionally they were able to emerge from their defensive positions. Attacks were carried out against Civil Guard barracks, local Falangist offices, and Francoist town halls. It is absurd to suggest, as Enrique Lister did in 1948 and the official Party history was still doing in 1960, that the guerrillas had sufficient troops to prevent Franco entering World War II on the Axis side. Nevertheless, the activities of the *huidos* were a constant irritant for the regime. In so far as the controlled press mentioned their activities, it was to denounce them as acts of banditry and looting. However, in some rural areas, the activities of the *guerrilleros* had the effect of briefly raising the morale of the defeated population until the savage reprisals of the forces of order took their toll on popular support.

Carrillo's euphoric idea of using units from North Africa to link up with the existing guerrilla groups and spark off a national uprising was utterly unrealistic. To go into Spain, he needed authorization and, initially, he was out of contact with the main PCE leadership centers in both Latin America and Moscow. However, via Russian representatives in Algeria, he managed to inform Dolores Ibárruri—the Party's Secretary General—of his plan. She approved of the spirit behind it but was totally opposed to his participation in an incursion into southern Spain. Instead, since Paris had been liberated on August

PCE safe house in Toulouse, 1949. Back row: Enrique Lister (far left, sitting on wall) and the guerrilla leader Luis Fernández (far right, sitting on wall) Front row: Santiago Carrillo (centre) and Carmen de Pedro (right). Photo courtesy of Irène Tenèze.



25, 1944, she ordered him to go to France and establish links with the leadership of the PCE there. He claims that he stowed away on a French warship in order to reach Toulon. He then took a train to Paris. The emaciated and unshaven creature that showed up at the headquarters of the French Communist Party was unrecognizable as the previously chubby Carrillo. He claimed that he had lost much weight as a result of poor nutrition in Algeria and the lack of food during the days hiding on board the warship and the 15-hour train ride to Paris. It is not known exactly when he arrived in the French capital but it was certainly well before the second week of October. In his memoirs, he asserted that, on arrival in Paris, he was told by the French leadership that an invasion of Spain had begun through the Val d'Aran in the Pyrenees. In fact, the invasion did not begin until October 19 and his claim makes no sense other than as part of a retrospective fabrication of an heroic role for himself in what was about to take place.

It was understandable that thousands of Spanish *maquisards* who had been prominent in the French resistance had responded to progressive German collapse by moving towards the Spanish frontier, hopeful that Franco might be next. In his memoirs, Carrillo claimed that on his arrival at PCE headquarters in Toulouse he learned from Azcárate and Carmen de Pedro that the Agrupación de Guerrilleros Españoles had received orders for the attack through the Pyrenees from the Junta Suprema de Unión Nacional. Of the Junta, he would sneer 50 years later that it “existed only in the imagination of Monzón.” He forgot

that, at the time, it certainly existed in the imaginations of Pasionaria, Vicente Uribe, and the rest of the PCE politburo, including himself. Indeed, his ostensibly cordial correspondence with Monzón both before and after the invasion suggested that he also believed firmly in the Junta Suprema. [...].

In his memoirs and in reports to Pasionaria in 1945, Carrillo alleged that the Junta Suprema's orders were the only basis for the over-optimistic and inadequately prepared operation. It is true that, in late August 1944, Monzón had sent the delegation in France an order for an invasion, albeit without specifying where it should take place. Flushed with the success of Spanish guerrillas against German units and underestimating the considerable social support enjoyed by Franco, the PCE both in France and in Moscow received the idea enthusiastically. On September 20, Pasionaria herself had published a declaration hailing the guerrilla as the way to spark an uprising in Spain. Given his own contact with her, it is impossible that Carrillo could have been unaware of her enthusiasm for the guerrilla which, in any case, coincided with his own. Unsurprisingly, when Carmen de Pedro and Manuel Azcárate went to Paris in early September to discuss Monzón's order with the leaders of the French Communist Party, André Marty and Jacques Duclos, no objections had been raised.

Carrillo's later claim that he learned of the invasion only after it had started is false. Once Monzón's subordinates in France had decided on the venture, it was organized virtually as a conventional mili-

The depressed circumstances of the defeated Spanish left between 1939 and 1944 were hardly propitious for a revolutionary war.

tary operation with little by way of security. Its preparation was an open secret, with recruiting broadcasts by Radio Toulouse and Radio Pirenaica from Moscow. Before leaving for the south of France, some *guerrillero* units were the object of public tributes and large send-offs by the people of the French towns and cities where they had participated in the resistance. The PCE ordered its organizations in the interior of Spain to prepare for an immediate popular insurrection. The Franco regime was fully informed of what was imminent by its own agents as well as by the Communist press and broadcasts about “the reconquest of Spain.”

Manuel Azcárate wrote later that, when Carrillo arrived in the south of France, “his intentions towards Monzón were malicious. He wanted to ensure at all costs that Monzón's indisputable achievements should not receive the credit that they deserved.” In fact, far from opposing Monzón's illusion that an incursion of *guerrilleros* would trigger a popular insurrection against Franco, Carrillo shared it.

Indeed, he hoped to take some, if not all, of the credit. [...] Monzón was far from alone in his readiness to risk the PCE's greatest asset, its thousands of battle-hardened *maquisards*, in a conventional military confrontation with Franco's forces. After all, with the Germans facing defeat, it was an attractive option. Carrillo, as his account of his preparations in Algeria suggested, may have also favored a strategy of starting a guerrilla war by sending small groups into Spain over a long period. Nevertheless, his fictionalized account of the origins of the Val d'Aran operation dramatically exaggerates the differences between himself and a supposedly out-of-control Monzón. As Pasionaria's response to Carrillo's own plans for a smaller-scale invasion from the south had indicated, the idea of a guerrilla war was approved by the PCE leadership in Moscow as well as by the delegation in France [...]. Carrillo's attitude towards Monzón can be understood only in terms of his own burning ambition.

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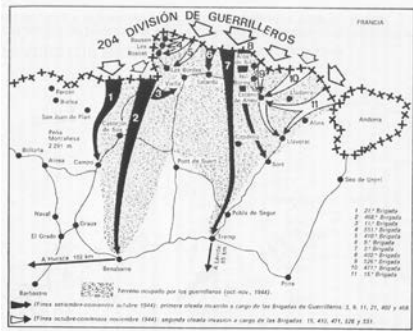
The detailed military planning of the invasion was the work of the Spanish heroes of the French resistance, Luis Fernández and Vicente López Tovar. Beginning on October 19, 1944, approximately 5,000 men of the invading army began to enter Spanish territory through the Pyrenees with the principal attack focused on the Val d’Aran. Snow-covered for most of the year and sparsely populated, it was an area of shepherds and woodcutters, a place barely appropriate as the base or *foco* of a popular uprising. Despite the ostentatious military structure set up by the Communist leaders of the *maquis*, the invasion was essentially improvised. It disregarded the obvious fact that a conventional military incursion played into the hands of Franco’s huge land forces. Nonetheless, over the next three weeks, the invaders chalked up a few successes, some units penetrating over 60 miles into the interior. In several individual actions, they roundly defeated units of the Spanish Army and held large numbers of prisoners for short periods. In the last resort, however, 40,000 Moroccan troops under the command of experienced Francoist generals [...] were too much for the relatively small army of *guerrilleros*. [...] The invaders’ hopes of triggering off an uprising were always tenuous. Deeply demoralized, the Spanish left inside Spain had still not recovered from the trauma of defeat, was ground down by fear of the daily repression and, finally and most importantly, was only distantly and vaguely aware of what was happening in France. The regime’s iron control of the press and the minuscule circulation within Spain, at least, of Monzón’s clandestine broadsheet *La Reconquista de España* ensured that the *guerrillero* invasion took place amid a deafening silence.

Carrillo claims that, when he heard of the operation in Toulouse, he drove frantically to the Val d’Aran to try to stop it but unfortunately found that the invasion had already started. He must have been one of the few people in France or indeed in the

Group of Spanish guerrillas in the Pyrenees.



PCE leadership in Moscow not to have heard about it, all the more so since he had been in France for several weeks before the attack was launched. It is much more likely that he went to Aran with the intention of sharing the glory if the operation were a success or being in a position to blame Monzón if it were a failure. In his fanciful reconstruction, acting on his own initiative he was able to persuade the leaders that he had been sent by the PCE leadership in Moscow to convince them that the entire operation was madness. There is little doubt that he was acting on his own initiative, and there is reason to suspect that his intention was not so much to prevent a failure as to undermine the position of Monzón. The enthusiastic cooperation of the French resistance ensured that the invading forces were initially well equipped with supplies of food, fuel, light arms, ammunition and vehicles, most supplied by the Allies. However, they were massively outnumbered and outgunned, especially once their ammunition began to run out. The *guerrilleros* of the invading force were



Operation Val D’Aran, Oct. 19-27, 1944.

already on the point of retreat and needed no persuasion from Carrillo.

When Azcárate and Carrillo arrived at the border on October 28, the *guerrilleros* had already been ordered to withdraw by Vicente López Tovar, the field commander. López Tovar stated later that Carrillo did not order the retreat but rather had to be convinced to approve what had already been decided. In any case, the evacuation could certainly not have been organized overnight. Carrillo’s claim that he personally had averted a disaster was an extreme fabrication. The number of casualties as a result of the fighting in the valley was relatively small, fewer than thirty. Nevertheless, at the end of the month, Carrillo sent a telegram to Pasionaria in which he claimed to have prevented the capture of 1,500 *guerrilleros*, stated that the preparation of the invasion had been defective and added that he planned to investigate those responsible. [...]

The rewriting of the Val d’Aran episode was the foundation stone of Carrillo’s efforts to establish himself in the eyes of most militants in France and Spain as the real representative of the Party leadership. Since Monzón had effectively rebuilt the PCE in both countries, with control of a substantial guerrilla force in France and with an enviable network of contacts with other groups inside Spain, this was no easy goal. Having ingratiated himself with the activists at Montrejeau, Carrillo now began the real witch-hunt against Monzón. Taking advantage of the absence of the senior exiled leaders, he seized the opportunity to replace Monzón’s subordinates with his own loyal followers who had enjoyed a comfortable war in Latin America [...]. The condemnation of Monzón, the only significant leader who had stayed behind, and the gradual elimination of the heroic militants who had kept the PCE alive in France helped mitigate their own discomfort about their own flight from Europe. In their eyes, those who had been in the German camps and in the guerrilla war were suspect. [...]

On February 6, 1945, Carrillo dispatched a report to Pasionaria in which malice and invention sat side by side. He described the PCE’s situation in such wildly optimistic terms as to make it seem that the overthrow of the regime was imminent. By implication, if this had not happened, it was Monzón’s fault for failing to link up the many groups all over Spain

Rafael Alberti y Santiago Carrillo en la clausura de la 1ª fiesta del PCE en la Casa de Campo de Madrid. 1978. CC BY-SA 3.0



allegedly ready to rise up. He claimed that the Junta Suprema was “continuing to grow in popularity and prestige.” He went on to give an entirely mendacious account of the Val d’Aran episode in which he claimed that the guerrilla leaders had not wanted to take part and did so only out of reluctant obedience to Monzón. He praised himself for avoiding a bloodbath. Because of Monzón’s poor preparation of the invasion, he claimed, three valuable months had been lost that could have been used to prepare a nationwide insurrection within Spain. He then accused Monzón of running the interior delegation in a tyrannical fashion in cahoots with Pilar Soler [a PC militant in Spain who had become Monzón’s lover] and [Gabriel León] Trilla [a veteran Party member and resistance fighter] and suggested that this group was close to acting against the Party.

Carrillo provided a long list of Monzón’s faults, ranging from underestimation of the role of the masses via excessive links with the right-wing opposition to lack of vigilance regarding agents provocateurs. Carrillo said that he was sending... [an order to] Monzón to come to France. The clear implication was that, if Monzón did not obey, he would have to be liquidated: “if he resists or produces excuses, I will tell him that this means confrontation with the Party leadership. In the event of him reaching such an extreme position, the comrades there will break off all contact with him and will leave him isolated. I hope that it will not be necessary to do this but we will not shy away from anything.”

Having had no reply from Monzón, Carrillo sent a cable to Moscow, reiterating his criticisms. He complained that Monzón refused to obey his instructions and was obstructing the functioning of the Party in the interior. Accordingly, he repeated that, if Monzón declined to come to France, he would be separated from the organization and the necessary measures would be taken. [...] Monzón finally set off for France accompanied by Pilar Soler. *En route*, he was obliged by illness to delay in Barcelona, where he was arrested on June 8, 1945 by the Francoist police as part of an operation that had been long in the making. With characteristic malice, Carrillo later suggested that Monzón had engineered his own detention in order to avoid having to explain the invasion. This was nonsense but may have reflected Carrillo’s concern that Monzón had turned himself in to avoid being murdered. Certainly, General Enrique Lister claimed that the person who was sent to guide Monzón over the Pyrenees had been ordered by Carrillo to kill him. Francoist versions have suggested that he was betrayed by the Party itself, which is also possible. Given Monzón’s record in Spain, once he was in custody the death sentence was hanging over him. It is thus significant that, despite his seniority in the PCE, the leadership failed to organize, as was normal in such cases, an international campaign of protest. [...]

Carrillo’s loyal team of hardened apparatchiks would play a key role in eliminating those who remained loyal to Monzón

and those who questioned Carrillo’s authority. [...] Meanwhile, the assault on Monzón’s reputation took another turn. His partner Pilar Soler had eluded arrest in Barcelona. She managed to get to France. In the words of the Party forger Domingo Malagón, “she appeared in a black dress, like a reproduction of Dolores [Ibárruri] only rather younger.” She was detained for three months in solitary confinement in a Party safe house. She was subjected to interrogation by Carrillo, Claudín, and Ormazábal and feared for her life. They demanded that she write a report on Monzón’s “deviations.” In fact, for security reasons, Monzón had told her little of his activities, and her work for him had largely been as a messenger (*correo*). When none of the versions that she produced met their needs, they forced her to sign a text that they had drawn up. [...] The information gathered was distorted and used to compile various reports accusing him of maintaining friendships with reactionaries, womanizing, homosexuality and sybaritic habits and alleging that, in prison, he was able to pay for a life of bourgeois luxury. Some of these farcical accusations were followed by faked signatures. They contained praise for Carrillo, who was thanked for apparently opening the eyes of the denouncer to Monzón’s infamy.

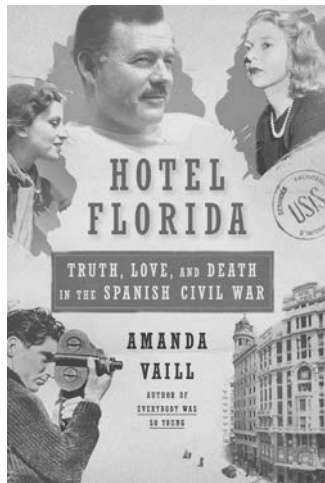
While Monzón was in prison awaiting trial, there was an attempt on his life by Communist prisoners. Shortly afterwards, he heard that he had been expelled from the PCE. After innumerable delays, he was tried on July 16, 1948 and sentenced to 30 years’ imprisonment. He escaped execution thanks to testimonies on his behalf by the Carlist leader Antonio Lizarza, whose life he had saved during the Civil War, by the Bishop of Pamplona Marcelino Olaechea and by the Captain General of Barcelona, José Solchaga, a Carlist friend of his parents. [...] Monzón was released in January 1959 and died in October 1973. According to Lister, Monzón’s crime in the eyes of Carrillo was not just that he stood in his way but also that he had displayed bravery in both Spain and France during World War II while Carrillo was in comfortable exile.

Paul Preston directs the Cañada Blanch Centre for Contemporary Spanish Studies at the London School of Economics. Footnotes to this excerpt are available online at albavolunteer.org.

Book reviews

Amanda Vaill. *Hotel Florida: Truth, Love, and Death in the Spanish Civil War*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014.

Reviewed by Katherine Ozzie Stafford



In 1923, French writer and intellectual André Malraux, hoping to offset his recent losses in the stock market, traveled to Cambodia to steal some bas-reliefs from the ancient Khmer temple Banteay Srei. He was eventually caught and spent a year in jail. Years later, Malraux wrote a book about the experiences and the injustices he faced. In 1936 he would become involved in the Spanish Civil War, where he also told a story about his

efforts, writing a novel, directing a movie, and making himself famous in many circles.

The history of the Spanish Civil War has quite a few characters and adventurers who at some level, like Malraux, exploited the conflict for their own gain by telling stories. Amanda Vaill's *Hotel Florida: Truth, Love, and Death in the Spanish Civil War* chronicles the lives of six journalists who could fit this description: Ernest Hemingway, Martha Gellhorn, Robert Capa, Gerda Taro, Arturo Barea, and Ilsa Kulcsar. The title refers to a hotel in Madrid where many intellectuals, writers, and politicians congregated during the conflict. A carefully researched reconstruction of these six figures based on letters, diaries, biographies, photographs and film, *Hotel Florida* explores how each individual approached the issue of “truth” and personal integrity during war.

Arturo Barea, Madrid's chief press officer, and Ilsa Kulcsar, his assistant, worked tirelessly and valiantly for the Republic, trying to tell the truth about the war in the conviction that the truth (not propaganda) would ultimately speak to the outside world. They were met with much resistance from the Republican bureaucracy, and towards the end of the war, Ilsa received death threats. Writers Ernest Hemingway and Martha Gellhorn, by far the most entertaining of the characters described in *Hotel Florida*, fare the worst in terms of the author's censure. The man who explained his writing by saying “All you have to do is write one true sentence,” appar-

ently also wrote a lot of propaganda in his journalistic pieces about the war, and constantly exaggerated his feats of killing of bears in hunting excursions and dodging bullets in battle. Martha Gellhorn, his blonde mistress, who Hemingway once said he wanted to marry (and later did) because “she's got the longest, smoothest, straightest legs in the world” went fur shopping on days when there was nothing to do, and wrote in her journal: “Come what may, one washes one's hair, has one's nails tended, sends out the laundry.” Amanda Vaill presents photographers Robert Capa (Endre Friedmann) and Gerda Taro (Gerta Pohorylle) as young, energetic, fearless individuals, who managed to leave their past behind and become famous and known through their original up-close photographs of the Spanish Civil War. The book also suggests that perhaps they did not fully comprehend the gravity of what they were doing until the very end.

All of the six felt called to Spain because they longed to be involved in something bigger than themselves, and to have something worthwhile to write about or photograph. Some of them had additional motives of fame, adventure, or escape. One gets a fuller picture of how Spain became a popular international venue for intellectuals and artists to spout and show-off their moral fortitude and bravery as well as their talents, and the book is replete with anecdotal descriptions of these characters and their friends gathering in the cafes and bars until the wee hours of the night, drinking, discussing, and eating the last rations of sardines. Vaill also manages a careful and unique balance between hope and realism. The real heroes presented in this book are not the self-absorbed Hemingways and Malrauxs of the war, but rather the ordinary Spanish people and members of the International Brigades who were fighting selflessly for a better future for their country with no hope of fame. The author manages to convey the idiosyncrasies and complexities of politics and human nature. In this sense, Vaill manages, without idealizing or becoming overly cynical, to create an engaging, inspiring, and poignant narrative about one of the great tragedies of the 20th century.

Katherine Stafford teaches Spanish literature at Lafayette College in Easton PA.

John Kedzie Jacobs, *The Stranger in the Attic: Finding a Lost Brother in His Letters Home* (Lexington, KY: Jacobs, 2013).

Reviewed by Chris Brooks



At the end of his physical strength, the Lincoln volunteer Edward Deyo Jacobs was too exhausted to continue running away from the encircling enemy armies during the Retreats of March 1938. His close friend and fellow artist Doug Taylor elected to stay with him. They were both swept up by the advancing Nationalists and neither was ever heard from again.

Veteran Arthur Landis authored an article on Jacobs that was published in *The Volunteer* and is reproduced in this new book. He concluded the article by noting, “These few paragraphs, plus the accompanying artwork falls far short of being the story of Deyo Jacobs. His background data, the milieu from which he came is missing.”

Now, in *The Stranger in the Attic*, John Kedzie Jacobs, Edward's older brother, provides the previously missing story behind the story, using a framework based on letters John Jacobs found in the attic of his family home. These letters written by and to Edward, include those from his friends and family beginning during his childhood in upstate New York and continuing until shortly before his death. John Jacobs does an exceptional job interweaving family history and the letters.

After graduating from high school, Edward enrolled in the Art Students League in Manhattan. He grew into a talented artist who signed his work Deyo. Jacobs's letters from New York deal with diverse subjects, including learning about art, life, and making a living during the Great Depression. In 1935, he and Doug Taylor rode the rails to Salt Lake City. The same year he joined the Communist Party.

Edward Jacobs volunteered when the Spanish Civil War broke out and the Communist Party began to recruit volunteers for the International Brigades. He arrived in Spain in early March 1937. Jacobs served on the Jarama Front, at Fuentes de Ebro, Teruel, and the Retreats. His roles were varied and included those of rifleman, staff artist, and topographer. While Jacobs's letters from Spain make up only a small portion of *The Stranger in the Attic*, they provide greater insight into his service in Spain. When family and friends ceased to receive letters, their hope gradually turned to grief.

The Stranger in the Attic is a powerful addition to the growing library on Spanish Civil War volunteers. It is both a celebration of life and a poignant reflection of an older brother lost in a foreign war and the subsequent impact on his family.

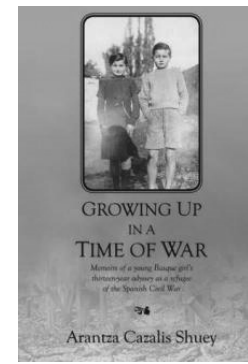
Chris Brooks, a longtime Board member, directs ALBA's biographical dictionary project.

Memories of Basque Exile

Arantza Cazalis Shuey, *Growing Up in a Time of War. Memoirs of a Young Basque girl's thirteen-year Odyssey as a refugee of the Spanish Civil War*. Third Place Press, 2011.

Reviewed by Nagore Sedano

In her memoirs of her experiences as a Basque refugee of the Spanish Civil War, Arantza Cazalis Shuey presents the reader with a wrenching and nostalgia-provoking episode of Spanish history: the plight of *los niños de la guerra* (war children). This is the story of the Gernika generation—some 25,000 Basque children who escaped war-torn Spain in the late 1930s.



Chronologically divided into nine chapters, Cazalis's saga recounts her journey from Spain to the United States, via France and the Caribbean. The memoir opens with a detailed depiction of her native Ermua, an industrial Basque town which like the neighboring Eibar, was deeply impacted by the armed conflict. Through a description of her family's genealogy, the author offers a vivid portrait of the idiosyncrasies of the Basque people,

their language and their traditions.

Life in Ermua changed drastically with Franco's coup. Arantza's world crumbled in 1936 when her region became a stage for resistance against the rebel troops. Within a year, Arantza, now on a French train returning to Spain, had crisscrossed northern Spain and France seeking refuge and mourning the loss of her mother, killed by a bomb in Caranza. Shortly after her arrival in Barcelona, the 9-year-old Arantza lost her older brother Imanol, although she was, by this point, already so traumatized by the war that, “[she does not] remember crying.”

When World War II broke out in 1939, Arantza's family was able to obtain visas for Trujillo's Dominican Republic and left Bordeaux aboard the ship *La Salle*, disembarking on Caribbean soil on December 21, 1939. Arantza portrays the embodiment of “her new culture” (the rich gastronomy, sensual landscape and traditions of the Dominican Republic) as her family moved from Ciudad Trujillo (Santo Domingo) to the rural town Constanza to begin farming, supported by the plot of tillable land that the government granted to refugee families.

The chapters that focus on the life of Basque exiles living under the Trujillo regime represent a fascinating and, to date, still unstudied snapshot of the Republican exile story. This memoir thus presents a rarely explored geographical destination in Basque children's exile as well as the larger cultural, linguistic, and social implications of Basque-Caribbean transculturation. Once in the rural town Costanza, a mountain region whose institutions reflect the repression of Trujillo's regime, the new family's *baserri* (Basque word for the traditional farm) becomes a collage of Basque and Caribbean styles of farming, gardening, and urban traditions. While the conventional Basque repertoire of house animals is increased by the addition of Caribbean fauna such as parrots, in the *baratz* (vegetable garden) the family plants potatoes along with “sweet lemon trees” and other native plants of the island.

Once established in the village, Arantza returns to school, and her story recounts her coming-of-age sexual experiences and her first friendships with local girls. The town also became a place where Arantza and her family could reconnect with Basque and other Spanish refugees, portrayed in episodes recounting a visit by a Basque priest and her memories of a Spanish family-owned hotel.

At the end of World War II, the family moved again “with the hope of finding a boat that would take us to Mexico.” Crossing the Caribbean would not prove easy: the war had frozen all maritime activities. Just as the family was

about to lose hope of leaving the island, they managed to fly to Cuba and from there, to travel to their final destination in a fishing boat.

Arantza was 16 years old when she saw Mexico City for the first time. Her memoir closes with her arrival in Idaho to reach a Spanish conversation course in December 1948. Her journey had lasted almost 13 years.

Like Basque-American Mirim Isasi’s memoir in *Basque Girl* (1940), Cazalis Shuey’s traces the Basque-American diaspora. Nevertheless, *Growing Up in a Time of War* is a unique literary piece that acknowledges the Basque influx in a country that, second to Mexico, hosted the greatest number of Basque refugees, and that housed one delegation of the Basque Government-in-exile from 1940. By departing from the most recurrent destinations (France, Belgium, England and Mexico) portrayed in works dealing with the Gernika generation, Cazalis’s volume reveals a new dimension of the Basque children exile experience waiting to be discovered by readers and researched by scholars.

Originally from the Basque Country, Nagore Sedano is a Ph.D. student in Romance Languages and Literature at the University of Oregon.



IN MEMORY OF PAUL SIGEL (1915-1938)

ALBA is deeply honored by our donors’ confidence and profoundly grateful for their generosity.

Special thanks to Paul Friedlander for establishing a fund in memory of his uncle, volunteer Paul Sigel. The fund is intended to support ALBA’s Teaching Institutes.

Leonard Levenson, Paul Sigel, Emanuel Mandel, Elkan Wendkos, and Paul MacEachron at Azaila, Spain, Oct. ’37. ALBA Photo 011, 11_0729. Tamiment Library

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Correction: We should have indicated in the last issue that the generous \$1000 contribution from Hilda and Gerry Fein was in memory of Steve Nelson.

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NEWS



ALBA's executive director, Marina Garde, visited with Del Berg and his wife June last October. On the cusp of his 99th birthday, Del continues in good health and spirits.

Photo Rodolfo Graziano.



2014

End of Year Benefit for ALBA

Wednesday, December 3

[Doors open at 5:30pm]

An evening of cabaret and tapas
featuring the screening
of the 1990 Carlos Saura's
Award-winning film *¡Ay Carmela!*

Sangria and tapas included
Advanced tickets:
\$45 / at the door: \$50
Family packs:
three tickets for \$120

Aragón, Spain, 1938. Carmela and her two companions quit their posts as entertainers for the Republican troops in search for a better fortune. By mistake, they cross over to the Nationalist zone, get arrested and are given the chance to perform for their freedom.

Spanish Benevolent Society
239 West 14th Street, 2nd Fl.
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