

Vol. XXXI, No. 1

March 2014

# The Volunteer

FOUNDED BY THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

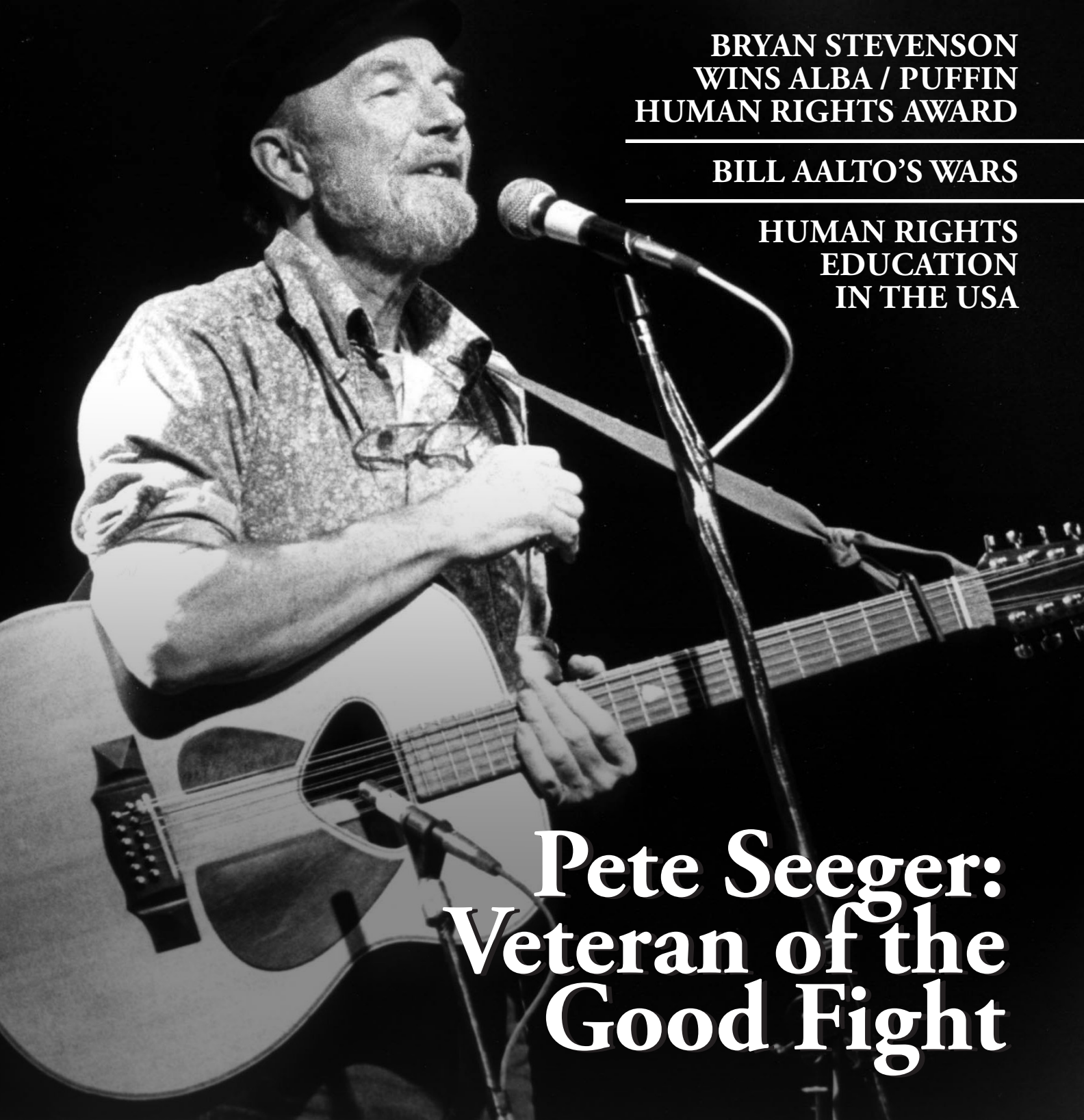
**BRYAN STEVENSON  
WINS ALBA / PUFFIN  
HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD**

---

**BILL AALTO'S WARS**

---

**HUMAN RIGHTS  
EDUCATION  
IN THE USA**



**Pete Seeger:  
Veteran of the  
Good Fight**

799 Broadway, Suite 341 New York,  
NY 10003 (212) 674-5398  
[www.alba-valb.org](http://www.alba-valb.org)

Editor Print Edition  
Peter N. Carroll

Editor Online Edition  
[www.albavolunteer.org](http://www.albavolunteer.org)  
Sebastiaan Faber

Associate Editor  
Aaron B. Retish

Book Review Editor  
Gina Herrmann

Graphic Design  
[www.eyestormonline.com](http://www.eyestormonline.com)

Editorial Assistance  
Phil Kavanaugh

Manuscripts, inquiries, and letters to the  
editor may be sent by email to  
[info@alba-valb.org](mailto:info@alba-valb.org)  
The editors reserve the right to modify texts  
for length and style.

Books for review may be sent to  
Gina Herrmann, 102 Friendly Hall, 1233  
University of Oregon, University of Oregon,  
Eugene OR 97403-1233

[www.albavolunteer.org](http://www.albavolunteer.org)

## IN THIS ISSUE

- p 3* 78th Reunion
- p 4* Stevenson Wins Award
- p 5* The Lincolns and Racial Justice
- p 6* Human Rights Film Festival
- p 7* Teaching the ALBA Curriculum
- p 9* Human Rights Column
- p 12* Pete Seeger
- p 14* Bill Aalto's Wars
- p 18* Goodbye Barcelona
- p 19* Book Reviews
- p 23* Contributions

## Dear Friends,

As we bring this issue to press, we've learned that our great friend, Pete Seeger, has passed. His loyalty to the Lincoln Brigade and to ALBA is unsurpassed. He sang innumerable times at VALB and ALBA benefits and helped to create the classic albums, *Songs of the Spanish Civil War*, which brought that music not only to American audiences but even to Spaniards who listened to bootleg copies during the dark years of the Franco dictatorship. (See p. 12.)

Pete's passing underscores our tenuous connections to the progressive past that included the veterans and friends of the Lincoln Brigade. The same history continues to inspire ALBA's new educational projects and cultural programs that stress the importance of social justice.

In that spirit of commitment to justice, we're particularly proud to announce the winner of this year's ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism—anti-capital punishment advocate Bryan Stevenson. His life's work continues the tradition that inspired people like Pete Seeger and the Lincoln Brigade to demand equal rights for all. Bryan Stevenson is the founder and Executive Director of the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), a non-profit organization headquartered in Montgomery, Alabama. As an attorney for capital defendants and death row prisoners, Bryan seeks nothing less than the eradication of economic and racial bias within the U.S. criminal justice system. (See p. 4.)

It's because of each of you, *our community*, that we are able to succeed in our mission to promote social activism and defend human rights as the legacy of the Lincoln Brigade.

This work, of course, requires us all to renew our commitments.

There are many ways to do this. Some are as easy as introducing a friend to the *Volunteer*, liking us on Facebook, or following us on Twitter. We invite you to host a home screening of a film about the Brigade; or volunteering at one of our events; or donating material to the Archives.

If you are able to make a one-time or recurring gift; or a stock donation or direct support for your favorite program, now is a good time to honor people who have inspired you to be a progressive. You can help ensure that ALBA's work continues into the future by making a legacy gift that will live on after you through a bequest to ALBA in your will or living trust.

Each and every way you choose to support ALBA is an invaluable contribution to our effort to preserve the legacy of the Brigade and preserve its memory as a symbol of resistance to exploitation and oppression. We thank you all for being a part of the ALBA community.

¡Salud!



*Sebastiaan Faber*  
Chair of the Board  
of Governors



*Marina Garde*  
Executive Director

P.S. Don't forget that ALBA's teaching programs are reaching more educators and students than ever before. Each contribution you make will bring real benefits in our classrooms!

# ALBA Reunion on April 27 Honors Pete Seeger, Bryan Stevenson



**The 78<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of the ALBA** community will be held on Sunday, April 27 at the auditorium of The New School in New York City to honor the memory Pete Seeger and to bestow the 2014 ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism upon Bryan Stevenson, head of the Equal Justice Initiative.

The main event starts at 2:30pm, featuring a series of musical tributes to Seeger's Spanish Civil War repertoire, followed by the Human Rights award ceremony. A smaller pre-event, starting at noon, will include a public conversation with Mr. Stevenson about the challenges facing those fighting for social and racial justice today.

The New School for Social Research, at 66 West 12<sup>th</sup> Street, is a fitting location for this event. In the 1930s it served as a refuge for European intellectuals fleeing fascist oppression. It was also at the New School that Robert Capa organized one of the first photo exhibits of the Spanish Civil War aimed at raising funds for the Spanish Republic, resulting in his book *Death in the Making*.

The pre-event takes place in the Orozco Room, whose walls are covered with revolutionary images painted in 1931 by Mexican muralist José Clemente Orozco (1883-1949). Orozco's inclusion of an African-American seated at the head of the *Table of Universal Brotherhood* was considered controversial at the time; and during the McCarthy years, the school's administration covered the figures of Lenin and Stalin with a yellow curtain, which it was forced to remove after intense protests.

## **TICKET INFORMATION:**

**For ticket orders/information go to:**  
**[www.alba-valb.org](http://www.alba-valb.org)**  
**[info@alba-valb.org](mailto:info@alba-valb.org)**  
**Tel. 212 674 5398**

**Sunday, April 27 2014**

**Pre-event: 12:00pm - 2:00pm**

**Celebration: 2:30pm - 4:30pm**

## **Reception to Follow**

**The New School**  
**66 W. 12th St**  
**New York, NY 10011**



# EQUAL JUSTICE LAWYER BRYAN STEVENSON WINS 2014 ALBA/ PUFFIN AWARD



Bryan Stevenson at Ted in 2012. Photo James Duncan Davidson. (CC BY-SA 3.0)

**Bryan Stevenson, the founder and Executive Director of the Equal Justice Initiative, will accept the fourth ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism award at ALBA's annual event in New York on April 27.**

**B**RYAN STEVENSON has dedicated his adult life to fighting injustice, particularly in the U.S. criminal justice system. Born in Delaware, he graduated from the Harvard Law School and Kennedy School of Government and worked for the Southern Center for Human Rights in Atlanta representing capital defendants as director of the Alabama Capital Representation Resource Center.

In 1995 he founded the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI, [www.eji.org](http://www.eji.org)), a private, nonprofit organization that provides legal assistance to indigent defendants and prisoners who have been denied fair and just treatment by the legal system. The EJI litigates on behalf of condemned prisoners, juvenile offenders, people wrongly convicted or charged with violent crimes; poor people denied effective representation; and

others whose trials are marked by racial bias or prosecutorial misconduct.

Based in Montgomery, Alabama, with a staff of more than forty, the EJI works in four distinct areas: children in adult prisons (seeking to abolish life sentences without parole for 13- and 14-year-olds); prisons and sentencing reform (spearheading litigation in 19 states to get a fair review of sentencing and parole-eligible re-sentencing); race and poverty; and the death penalty. (Stevenson has been instrumental in the reversals and reduced sentences in more than 75 death penalty cases).

In addition to working directly with defendants and inmates, the EJI has developed educational programs to raise public knowledge and awareness about the history of racial bias in the United States and its continuing legacy. "A deeper understanding about our nation's history of racial injustice," Stevenson says, "is important to addressing contemporary questions of social justice and equality."

EJI's *Calendar of Racial Injustice*, first published in 2013, combines striking images with historical entries and short essays about American racial history. Last December, the *New York Times* featured Stevenson in a front-page story about the EJI's victory in a long-time fight in Montgomery for the placement of three historical markers explaining the city's considerable role in the slave trade. The Alabama Historical Association, which resisted the initiative, did not deny the accuracy of the markers (which included the family names of prominent slave traders) but was wary of "the potential for controversy." In the end it was Stevenson who personally persuaded the city's mayor to give the green light.

In a TED talk from March 2012, which received the strongest standing ovation ever seen at TED and has been viewed by more than 1.5 million people, Stevenson called on the United States to come to terms with the "dark and difficult" chapters of its past. A lack of historical memory, he said, blinds the U.S. to the outrageous ways in which it treats large segments of its own population. "What would it feel like to be living in a world where Germany was executing people, especially if they were disproportionately Jewish? I couldn't bear it. It would be unconscionable. And yet, in this country, in the states of the Old South, we execute people: You're 11 times more likely to get the death penalty if the victim is white than if the victim is black, and 22 times more likely to get it if the defendant is black and the victim is white, in the very states where there are buried in the ground the bodies of people who were lynched."

"I can't think of anyone more worthy of this honor," says Sebastiaan Faber, chair of ALBA. "Not only because the volunteers of the Lincoln Brigade fought on the front lines in the struggle against racism and for social justice and civil rights, but also because the Equal Justice Initiative, like ALBA, believes that injustice is rooted in lack of education and that teaching the United States about the dark chapters in its own history is an absolute necessity as we work toward a better Union."

ALBA and the Puffin Foundation are not the first to recognize Stevenson for his groundbreaking work. His awards include a MacArthur Fellowship, the Reebok Human Rights Award, the ACLU National Medal of Liberty, the American Bar Association Wisdom Award, the Thurgood Marshall Medal of Justice, the Olof Palme Prize, the Gruber Prize for Justice, and, most recently, the 2013 Brennan Legacy Award.

The \$100,000 ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism, one of the largest human rights awards in the world, is given jointly by ALBA and the Puffin Foundation, which provides an endowed fund exclusively for this annual honor. “The award is designed,” said Puffin Foundation President Perry Rosenstein, “to give public recognition, support, and encouragement to individuals or groups whose work has an exceptionally positive impact on the advancement and/or defense of human rights. It is intended to help educate students and the general public about the importance of defending human rights against arbitrary powers that violate democratic principles.”

The ALBA/Puffin Award is part of a program connecting the inspiring legacy of the International Brigades—the 35,000 volunteers who helped fight fascism during the Spanish Civil War—to international activist causes of today. Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzón received the first ALBA/Puffin Award in 2011. Other previous winners include Kate Doyle and Freddy Peccerelli, who work on violations of human rights in Guatemala, and United We Dream, a national network of youth-led immigrant activist organizations that fight for the rights of millions of undocumented immigrants in the United States. ▲



Abraham Lewis (r) of the Brigade Commissariat, with Chief of Auto Park Louis Secundy, Dec. 1937 (Tamiment Library, NYU, 15th IB Photo Collection, Photo # 11-1010)

stopping fascism in the United States too, without a great battle there.”

Some African American recruits brought unusual skills to the fight against fascism. In 1937 when the United States only had five licensed African American pilots, two of them, James Peck and Paul Williams, volunteered to challenge the fascists in the air. In the United States they held commercial licenses but found their careers frustrated. In Spain they found action. Another African American, Dr. Arnold Donowa, a Harvard graduate and noted dental surgeon, brought his surgical skills. As head of the Medical Corps’ Oral Surgery Unit, he often operated without “a drop of Novocain” and “a lack of instruments and supplies needed for adequate jaw surgery. And frequently we had not even enough gauze and bandages to dress the wounds of the men.” Albert Chisholm, arrived in Spain from Washington where he had drawn political cartoons for the Northwest Enterprise, a Seattle African American newspaper. Chisholm gladly contributed his work to the International Brigade newsletter, *Our Fight*. Burt Jackson was a skilled mapmaker at Fifteenth Brigade headquarters. From Harlem hospital in New York, Nurse Salaria Kea joined 70 other American women who volunteered to serve in the American Medical Bureau.

In Spain, African Americans served equally at all levels. Oliver Law and Walter Garland were the first black officers in U.S. history to command white soldiers in battle. And like other nationality groups in the International Brigades, African Americans sacrificed their lives in this first fight against fascism.

During World War II, African American Lincoln veterans also enlisted in the U.S. Army. There they discovered the enduring discrimination of Jim Crow policies. Even the Red Cross segregated “colored” blood from “white” blood. Many Lincoln veterans, white and black, protested such military policies, contrasting their second-class status in America to the equality they had found in Spain.

After World War II, Lincoln veterans participated in the civil rights protests throughout the south and north. Lincoln brigadistas were prominent in the notorious 1950s cases of Willie McGee and the Trenton Six in which black men were falsely accused of raping white women. Some like Abe Osheroff and Ruth Davidow joined the Mississippi Freedom Summer project of 1964. Many marched in the streets of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles—indeed, wherever they saw racial discrimination. And many of their children and grandchildren joined in those campaigns and remain advocates for racial justice today. ▲

# The Lincoln Brigade and Racial Justice: A Tradition

The Editors

“I had read Hitler’s book, knew about the Nuremberg laws,” recalled Vaughn Love, a volunteer from Harlem in New York, “and I knew if the Jews weren’t going to be allowed to live, then certainly I knew the Negroes would not escape and that we would be at the top of the list. I also knew that the Negro community throughout the United States would be doing what I was doing if they had the chance.”

When Mussolini’s troops joined Franco’s side in Spain, African Americans saw an opportunity to strike back. In Chicago, James Yates and his friend Alonzo Watson concluded “Ethiopia and Spain are our fight” and prepared to leave for Spain. For Vaughn Love, “fascism is the enemy of all black aspirations” and he could not wait to “get to the front and kill these fascists.” In Spain, Oliver Law told a journalist, “We came to wipe out the fascists; some of us must die doing that job. But we’ll do it here in Spain, maybe



IMPUNING IMPUGNITY:

# ALBA Hosts Human Rights Films

By Igor Moreno

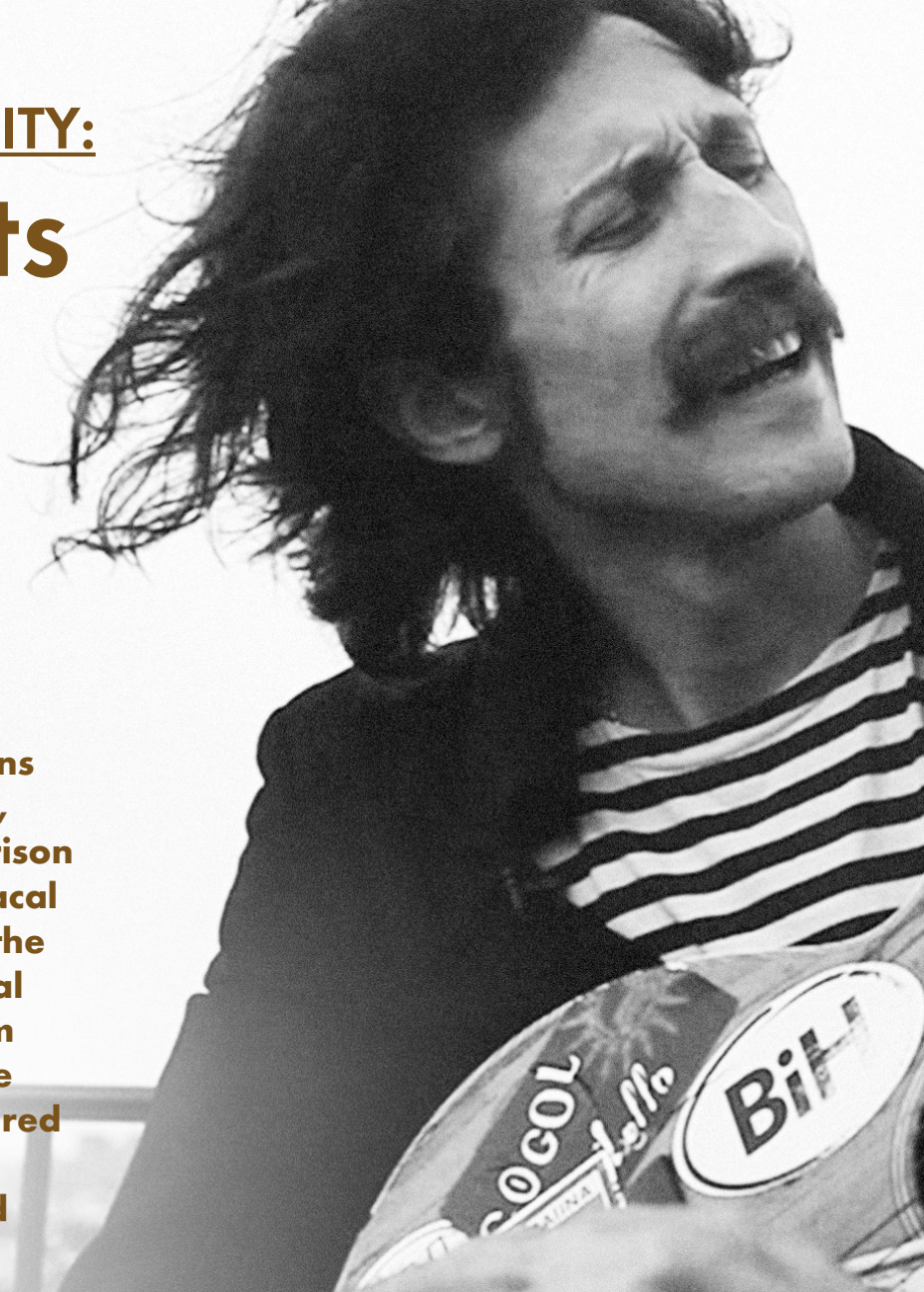
**From bone-dry Afghan mountains to fertile Salvadorian highlands, from the hell of Guantánamo prison to Texas deserts, from paradisiacal Pacific islands to battlefields of the Spanish Civil War, ALBA's annual Human Rights Documentary Film Series, held in New York at Pace University last November, featured seven films depicting stories of struggle against oppression and injustice.**

**C**URATED BY ALBA'S EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MARINA GARDE, the series sparked dialogue on human rights issues through the presentation of acclaimed documentaries exploring such topics as governmental abuse of power, historical memory, civil rights and racial inequality. Each movie shares a common link: telling the untold stories typically silenced by history's revisionist winners.

The screenings opened with the Sundance Film Festival award winning documentary, *Dirty Wars* directed by Richard Rowley, which has since been nominated for a Hollywood Academy Award. Revelations of US secret military operations overseas left audiences with a haunting question: why is the most powerful government in the world so keen to perpetuate this war, which is kept secret from the public? The documentary was a provocative start to the festival, implicating American viewers as witnesses to a formally hidden reality.

From a political landscape close to home, the festival's second day included stories in the international arena. *The Tiniest Place*,

sponsored by Ambulante, focuses on a community rebuilding and reinventing itself after tragedy. Directed by Tatiana Huezo, the film recounts a massacre in Cinquera, a village wiped off the map during El Salvador's 12-year civil war. A different type of film depicted the life of Lincoln vet Abe Osheroff in *American Renegade: Confessions of a Radical Humanist*, directed by Scott Garren, and brought the frontlines of 20<sup>th</sup> century social activism into focus. Another eye-opening film was *ISN 310: Djamel Ameziane's Decade in Guantanamo* directed by Mark Casebow and produced by the Center for Constitutional Rights. This film tells the story of Djamel Ameziane, an Algerian citizen, who after fleeing from a bloody Algerian Civil War ended imprisoned in Guantánamo without being charged for more than 10 years. Despite formally requesting he not be sent back to Algeria (fearing persecution if repatriated), Djamel was transferred to Algeria a few days after this screening. The last film that day was *A Class Apart*, a revealing documentary by Carlos Sandoval and Peter Miller, about a landmark Supreme Court case addressing discrimination suffered by Mexican-Americans in Texas during the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.





Eugene Hütz, frontman of the Gypsy punk band Gogol Bordello, featured in *Let Fury Have the Hour*



*The Land of Eb*, the only non-documentary included in the series and filmmaker Andrew Williamson's debut, is based on a true story on the radioactive fall-out on a native people. The film follows a Marshallese immigrant in Hawaii who struggles with the after-effects of Cold War nuclear testing; he must cope with his illness while struggling to provide for his family. Last in the series, *Let Fury Have the Hour* directed by Antonino D'Ambrosio, presented artists and musicians from around the world who were inspired to their creative work as a form of protest against the politics of the 1980's. The producer's grandfather was Jack Bjoze, a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

This third edition of *Impugning Impunity* was sponsored by the Puffin Foundation, Veterans for Peace, the Center for Constitutional Rights, The New Press, and Icarus Films, among others. It reminds viewers that Human Rights activism is timeless, not merely a notion of the past. As one of the farmers in *The Tiniest Place* says, "A people that has memory is a people that is more difficult to be subdued." ▲

Igor Moreno Unanua is a Spanish journalist based in New York. He currently collaborates with Democracy Now! en Español focusing on social issues, history and community radio.

## Late news:

**ALBA has been awarded a grant by the Lower Manhattan Cultural Council and the Decentralization Program of the New York State Council for our 2014 "Impugning Impunity: A Human Rights Documentary Film Series."**

## TEACHING THE ALBA CURRICULUM

# The Spanish Civil War in AP European History

By Sebastiaan Faber

Tracy Blake teaches Social Studies at Olmsted Falls High School in northeastern Ohio. Born and raised in Oregon, he has been in the classroom for more than 20 years. He has participated in two ALBA teacher institutes and is one of the co-authors of ALBA's Social Studies lesson plans available on the newly launched website for teachers ([resources.alba-valb.org](http://resources.alba-valb.org)). For the past five years, Tracy has dedicated a yearly three-day Spanish Civil War unit to his AP European History class.

### *Why include the Spanish Civil War? What do your students get out of it?*

One of the great things about the topic is its sheer complexity. It is a great lesson about that fact that in life there often are no easy ways to categorize things, to take sides, or to identify good and bad. The Spanish Civil War is not as clear-cut as World War II. People supporting the Republic did so from a wide range of positions. The fact that some of them were Communists, for example, complicates things from a U.S. perspective. On the other side, the Nationalists supported a status quo that we as Americans would not necessarily appreciate. But then you look at the position of the Catholic Church—and there are a lot of Catholics in my classes—and at the fact that American Catholics reacted to the war in Spain in many different ways. In other words, there are no easy answers.

The other great thing about teaching the Spanish Civil War in a European history class is its incredible wealth of documents. You have these wonderful images, for instance. Think about the basics of teaching young people: high-energy, high-power high school students respond differently to different presentations. Some students really engage with the propaganda posters, while others get more out of the letters.

Tracy Blake (Photo Quincy Blake)





# *In the Spanish Civil War, there are no easy answers.*

It's a great way to get all kinds of learners involved. My students in the AP class are also expected to read primary documents very carefully, spotting subtle differences. This is exactly what the Spanish Civil War materials allow for. It's one thing for a U.S. volunteer to write to his mother and another to write to his girlfriend. Analyzing the different ways that one person speaks to different audiences on the same topic allows students to speculate about that volunteer's deeper reasons for supporting the Spanish Republic.

*Ohio, like most states in the country, is adopting the Common Core State Standards. How has that affected your life as a teacher?*

For me personally the jury is still out whether the Common Core is going to be a good thing. I like the effort to focus less on memorization of facts and more on writing and reading. There are no Common Core Standards for social studies, by the way, but the English Language Arts standards can be a part of teaching students to become more critical thinkers. The Spanish Civil War plays really well in that area. As a topic, it allows me to reach my objectives.

That said, I'm never happy with top-down mandates. We teachers take our job really seriously. I hate to be arrogant about it, but I think I know better how and what to teach my students than the people writing the standards. Most aggravating about the Common Core is that the tests are written not to measure how well the students are doing, but how well we teachers are doing. It's not at all clear that the tests actually measure that in any accurate way—I see lawsuits waiting to happen. But regardless it still forces us to teach to the test. We often feel that the people writing the standards don't understand what we do. We are a high-performing district but ironically the standards make it harder for us to teach well. That causes a great deal of frustration.

*Tell me about your experience in the ALBA institutes.*

A lot of the professional development activities that public-school teachers are asked—or rather told—to attend focus on how to deliver information. Most of that is very dry and uninteresting. ALBA institutes, on the other hand, are great because they put the content first. Social Studies teachers love their craft, and they love it for the subject matter. It's an absolute pleasure at the ALBA institutes to be ensconced in all this wonderful content, much of which we have never really seen before—or even heard of. It's a brand new world to dive into. For me personally, the ALBA institutes have been a great motivator, giving me new energy and ideas to bring to the classroom.

*What were your biggest challenges when writing the lesson plans for the ALBA website?*

We started from the premise—and I do believe in this—that if we are going to create a broad appeal for the Spanish Civil War in Social Studies we are going to have to use the standards. Teachers simply cannot afford to ignore them. So I felt it would be in everyone's best interest if I worked hard to align all the lessons I wrote with the standards. The challenge was not only to find documents that would be interesting to both teachers and students, but also ones that would allow the teacher to justify their use. In the end, everything we teach has to follow the standards.

The other big challenge was to match different sources together under common themes. Of course the themes we have are marvelous: how people deal with conflict, how they respond to diversity, how they deal with age-old problems like racism and sexism. But it was not always easy to flesh those out from primary sources in ways that teachers would find useful. I spent a lot of time trying to find good hooks, too. Teachers want to be brought in quickly. We don't have a lot of time.▲

*Tracy's lesson plans can be found at <http://resources.alba-valb.org/subject-area-page-social-studies/>*

*Sebastiaan Faber is chair of ALBA's board.*



## ALBA BOARD OF GOVERNORS

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Sebastiaan Faber, Chair  
James D. Fernández, Vice-Chair  
Fraser Ottanelli, Vice-Chair  
Freda Weiss, Vice-Chair  
Ellyn Polshek, Secretary  
Joan Levenson-Cohen, Treasurer  
Peter N. Carroll, Chairman Emeritus  
Kevin Dyer  
Anthony L. Geist  
Gina Herrmann  
Nancy Yanofsky

### BOARD

Christopher Brooks  
Mónica Cantero  
Robert Coale  
Burton Cohen  
Dan Czitrom  
Soledad Fox  
Peter Glazer  
Jeanne Houck  
Jo Labanyi  
Josephine Nelson-Yurek  
Julia Newman  
Aaron Retish  
Nancy Wallach

### HONORARY BOARD

Larry Cox  
Henry Foner  
Meyer Gunther  
Gabriel Jackson  
Robin D.G. Kelley  
Howard Lurie  
Judy Montell  
Antonio Muñoz Molina  
Cary Nelson  
Michael Ratner  
John Sayles  
James Skillman



## HUMAN RIGHTS COLUMN

# HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION IN THE USA: PROSPECTS AND POSSIBILITIES

By William R. Fernekes

**Human Rights Education has been around for some thirty years. How can we give students a deeper understanding of human rights and the skills they need to pursue positive social change? Thoughts from a veteran in the field.**

**R**OOTED IN THE PRINCIPLES AND VALUES embodied in the United Nations Charter as well as the philosophical framework of the U.S. government, human rights education (HRE) has constituted an emerging emphasis in U. S. educational theory and practice since the late 1980s. As a subject of study, HRE represents both an expanding body of knowledge and a dynamic set of educational practices. Its core is interdisciplinary, drawing upon a wide range of content and subject fields.

The broadly defined norms set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent international agreements address not only civil and political rights, but also social,

economic and cultural rights. For example, the 54 articles of the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child include rights to freedom of expression, to a nationality, health and well-being, protection from abuse, and access to information. Fields of study informing these rights and their implementation would logically include political science, law, history, sociology, medicine, public health, journalism, mass communications and many others.

The pedagogy and resources used to implement HRE in educational settings emphasize active learner engagement, along with a critical approach to the selection and organization of content. Drawing on the work of John Dewey, Paolo Freire



---

## *Human Rights Education can pose difficult challenges for teachers in settings with authoritarian management and leadership structures.*

---

and other progressive theorists, HRE ideally represents both a deepening of student understanding about the content of human rights (historic and contemporary), and a set of skills that can inspire learners to pursue positive social change. These skills can pose difficult challenges for teachers in educational settings with authoritarian management and leadership structures. HRE supports the democratic engagement of stakeholders—students and teachers as well as administrators—in decision-making and school governance.

Based on research conducted by social studies scholar Dennis Banks, 35 states in the USA currently include content about international human rights in their social studies curriculum standards. This statistic is deceptive, however, since the degree to which human rights content and concepts are incorporated within the required social studies curriculum varies significantly. In New Jersey, the state's long-standing commitment to Holocaust and genocide education established a foundation for the inclusion of human rights as a central element in one of the four thematic strands that frame the content for social studies standards. In contrast, Texas social studies standards adopted for the 2011-2012 school year only mention human rights within the curricular framework of world history, specifically requiring students to "identify the influence of ideas such as separation of powers, checks and balances, liberty, equality, democracy, popular sovereignty, human rights, constitutionalism, and nationalism on political revolutions" and to "assess the degree to which American ideals have advanced human rights and democratic ideas throughout the world." Even with specific mention of human rights in content standards, the actual inclusion of such materials and HRE pedagogy is dependent upon the commitment of individual classroom teachers and department supervisors to embrace HRE and make it a priority in the curricula.

To implement and sustain a program of human rights education, one must develop a strong curricular rationale and a program of study that places human rights at the center rather than at the periphery of knowledge and education. I served over 24 years as the supervisor of social studies in a New Jersey regional high school (Hunterdon County, NJ), where we successfully developed a three year required sequence that used human rights as a key organizing theme for course content. From 1990 through 2010, every student in grades 9 and 10 examined such topics as the evolving U.S. Constitution, the Progressive Movement, the New Deal, the civil rights movement in the U. S., and the response to the Holocaust and genocides, feminism and the women's movement from a human rights perspective.

In grade 11, all students took a thematic course entitled "Comparative World Studies" where a 9-week unit on International Human Rights introduced students to basic human rights documents as well as the development of human rights concepts and ideas. These included historical and contemporary examples of rights in conflict, and contemporary human rights issues, including the rights of children, human trafficking, torture, disappearances, and efforts to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice.

We provided training for classroom teachers in the content of human rights, emphasizing the use of learning strategies that enabled students to discuss, debate, and solve problems, promoted student engagement of human rights issues in the community, and developed a comprehensive library of human rights resources. Additionally, we regularly invited guest speakers to share their experiences issues with students and faculty so that global concerns could be made comprehensible through the lens of personal testimony. Among the speakers were Craig Kielburger, founder of Free the Children, Veronica Denegri of Amnesty International, a number of former prisoners of conscience who gained their freedom through the work of Amnesty International, and Joyce Horman, the widow of Charles Horman, the U. S. journalist whose murder in Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship was the subject of the Costa-Gavras film *Missing*.

During the twenty years this program was in place, over 10,000 students studied the curriculum. One can reasonably conclude that their understanding of international human rights is more advanced than that of their contemporaries. At the same time, while the program had considerable strengths, it also had limitations, notably in the capacity of students to translate their content understanding and empathy for victims of human rights violations into concrete strategies for action.

In learning environments that today are increasingly focused on preparation for testing and college admission, the challenges in developing programs that emphasize active student participation involving global problems are daunting. But our experience demonstrates clearly that such challenges can be met, and with an increasing number of educators nationwide taking an interest in human rights education through participation in networks such as Human Rights Educators USA and the newly-formed Human Rights Education Community of the National Council for the Social Studies, I am cautiously optimistic that HRE's future will be a bright one indeed. ▲

*William R. Fernekes teaches in the Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University and serves on the steering committee of Human Rights Educators USA.*

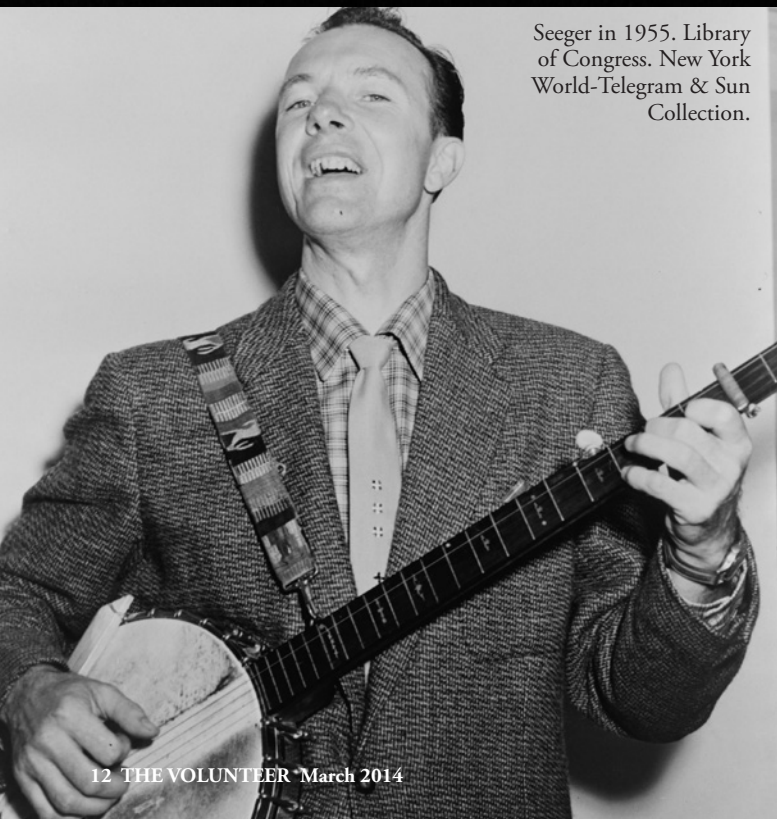
According to Human Rights Educators USA, HRE is defined as "a lifelong process of teaching and learning that helps individuals develop the knowledge, skills, and values to fully exercise and protect the human rights of themselves and others; to fulfill their responsibilities in the context of internationally agreed upon human rights principles; and to achieve justice and peace in our world." For more information about Human Rights Educators USA, contact [www.hreusa.net](http://www.hreusa.net). To learn about the activities of the Human Rights Education Community of Interest in the National Council for the Social Studies, contact [www.socialstudies.org](http://www.socialstudies.org)

*Seeger has performed at more events celebrating the volunteers' activism and celebrating their history than any other performer.*

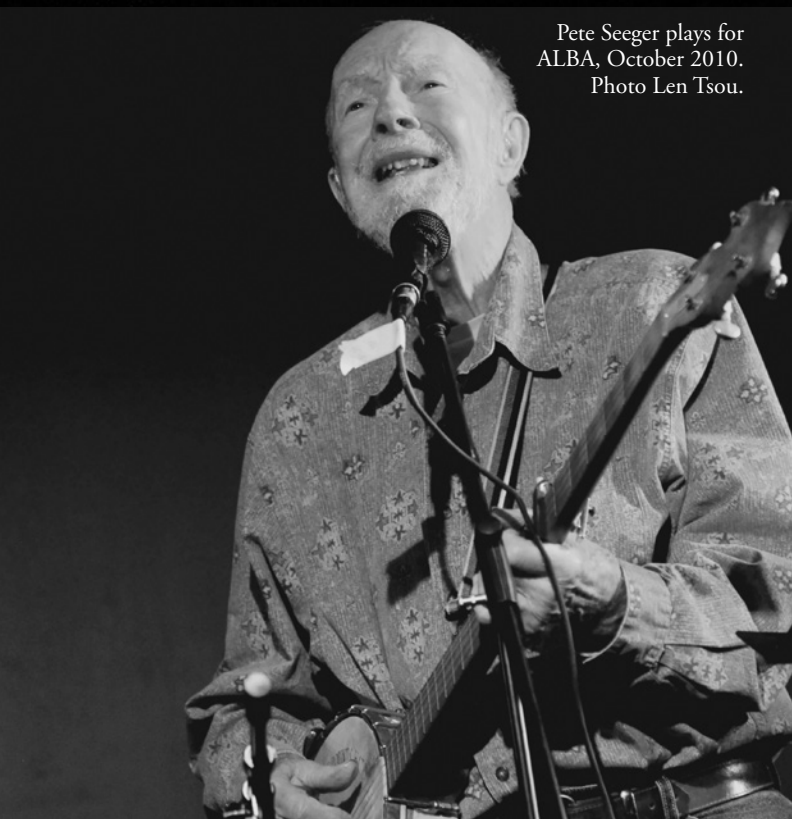
# Pete Seeger and the Lincoln Brigade: A Long Affair

By Peter Glazer

Pete Seeger leading the crowd in "When We March into Berlin" at the opening of the Washington labor canteen, sponsored by the United Federal Workers of American, Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Photo Joseph A. Horne.



Seeger in 1955. Library of Congress. New York World-Telegram & Sun Collection.



Pete Seeger plays for ALBA, October 2010. Photo Len Tsou.





**Pete Seeger, who died in January, was a faithful friend of VALB and ALBA for sixty years. His legendary *Songs of the Lincoln Battalion* came out in 1944. “As long as I live,” he said in 1981, “I may never make such a good recording.”**

PETE SEEGER, the most important progressive musician of his generation, and the most revered, died of natural causes on January 28. He was 94. At his 90<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration at a sold out Madison Square Garden in May 2009, he remained a vital and charismatic presence. Pete lived a long, almost epic life, and though it would be hard to say he went before his time, his passing still seems a surprise. Many thousands grew up with his exhortatory tenor voice and long neck banjo cajoling them to make a better world. For almost seven decades, progressives and folk music fans have depended upon his musicianship, honesty, inspiration, and courage.

Jon Pareles’s comprehensive obituary in the *New York Times* honors Pete’s many accomplishments, but doesn’t refer to his 60-year friendship with the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives, and his long affiliation with songs of the Spanish Civil War. Seeger has performed at more events celebrating the volunteers’ activism and celebrating their history than any other performer. And it all began with his two passions: music and progressive politics.

“After the war was over I learned some of these songs from the returning Lincoln Vets,” he told an audience at NYU in the 1981. “I was 19, 20, 21 years old. I didn’t pronounce the Spanish right, but I was tremendously impressed by the heroism of the people that went to fight in Spain from different countries, the Internationalist spirit.” One such veteran was Bill Gresham. “He dropped round to Almanac house,” Pete recalled, referring to the home of a loose knit group of folk musicians, including Seeger and Woody Guthrie, famous for sending regular shots of adrenaline to the US Labor movement. “[Gresham] told me stories about Spain, and it might be that [it was] Bill Gresham who actually gave me the feeling for some of the songs.” Seeger taught the songs to the other Almanacs, “although they were dubious, even more dubious than I was, of being able to pronounce Spanish. Woody Guthrie used to call it ‘Viva La Kwincy Lada’ [‘Viva La Quince Brigada’]”. But the Almanacs did start performing some of the songs, “even though the war in Spain had been lost at least for the moment, but



the fight against fascism was now worldwide.” That’s vintage Seeger—the war in Spain had only been lost “for the moment.”

In mastering this music, Seeger took advantage of another resource. Keynote Records tried to follow the success of their German 78s, *Six Songs For Democracy*, by recording a group of Spanish expatriate musicians in New York after the war ended in 1939. Seeger recalled those sessions in an interview: “They had a very good flamenco singer, guitar player, who’d left Spain when Franco took over and they had some singers, but they somehow weren’t able to get it all together, there was temperament here and misunderstandings there. However, I was present at some of the sessions when they were rehearsing.” He paid attention.

In 1944, when Moe Asch asked Pete to gather some musicians to record the 78s that would become the revered *Songs of the Lincoln Battalion*, he was prepared. That recording, re-released by Folkways in 1961, and soon to see another release on Smithsonian Folkways, remains in the collections of many a radical. “When I found out Moe was willing to record it, I probably wrote to the Lincoln vets and said, ‘Hey, send me all the words to these songs so I can do ‘em.’ He called Bess Lomax, Baldwin Hawes, and Tom Glazer (my father) and they joined the project, rehearsing on a Saturday, and taping on a Sunday while Seeger was on furlough from the US Army.

“As long as I live,” he said in 1981, “I may never make such a good recording.” The 1944 album was played through loudspeakers for 500 guests at the VALB reunion in New York City that same year. As reported in the *Volunteer for Liberty*: “Even Gabby Klein’s strident voice was hushed when everyone listened spellbound to the new recordings of the songs we sang in Spain.” Thirty-five years later, Seeger gave one of his many performances at a VALB event honoring black veterans. “To our pleasant surprise,” the *Volunteer* reported, “he brought with him two of the group which (sic) first recorded *Songs of the Lincoln Brigade*, so many years ago. . . . Before long he had a great sing-along going. Nostalgia took hold, and in that short spell we could feel the beauty and passion of Spain’s epic struggle for freedom.”

Pete Seeger never shied from epic struggles, and proved that music could help us see them through. His songs, spirit, and consummate artistry will always remind us of the beauty and passion that defined this remarkable man. Our memories of Pete will be with us when we need them the most. ▲

*Peter Glazer is a playwright, director, and Associate Professor of Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies at UC Berkeley. He interviewed Pete Seeger for his book Radical Nostalgia: Spanish Civil War Commemoration in America.*

# The Wars of Bill Aalto Guerrilla Soldier in Spain, 1937-39

By Helen Graham



Bill Aalto's brief, intense life (1915-1958) spanned the turbulent mid-20th century. He was an intelligent, street-wise Finnish-American boy from New York who in Spain became a Republican guerrilla fighter and a poet. After Spain, he found himself burned, betrayed, and persecuted.

William Aalto, *Meidän Poikamme Espanjassa* (*Our Boys in Spain*).

*Nothing is free, whatever  
you charge shall be paid /  
That these days of exotic  
splendour may stand out /  
In each lifetime like marble /  
Mileposts in an alluvial  
land.*

—W.H. Auden

**B**ILL AALTO WAS 21 when he left for Spain. His general profile seemed unremarkable among the American volunteers who would form the Abraham Lincoln Battalion of the International Brigades: a young communist, a child of European immigrants, impelled by the desire to make a mark on an impervious and unforgiving world, and pushed by the ravages of the economic crash. Like most of the volunteers, Bill vested his own hopes in the dream of the Spanish Republic. But for him the feeling was magnified by his particular family

background, where the hopes, fears, and tensions between the old and new worlds stood out in sharp relief.

When Bill sailed from New York in February 1937 aboard the *SS Paris*, bound for Le Havre, France, he was making the reverse transatlantic journey his own mother had made 30 years earlier, at virtually the same age. Elsa Akkola, bright and well-educated, from a once affluent landowning family in southern Finland, had come to New York with high hopes. By the time she gave birth to Bill eight years later, a single mother in 1915, she had been worn down by the experience of domestic service, with its daily slights and sometimes more substantial humiliations. Bill's early life was marked by her straitened circumstances and even more by her frustration and sense of isolation, learned in encounters with the hard-edged realities of social hierarchy in the city. Elsa gravitated to Finnish communist circles in New York, and remained staunch in those beliefs throughout her life with all the fervor that her Protestant upbringing had instilled in her.

Elsa was determined that Bill should stay on at school. Enabling this was likely part of the reason why in 1927

she married a fellow Finnish migrant, the more comfortably-off—and more conservative—Otto Aalto. They moved to what was, in the 1920s and 30s, the relative comfort of the Bronx, and Otto adopted 12-year-old Bill. But relations between stepfather and son worsened as Bill grew to be a bright and educated teenager. He stayed at school, but also went his own way—which was in some ways his mother's too. He ran with the Harlem Proletarians, a Finnish youth club, and joined the Bronx Young Communist League. A politically literate streetwise boy, a voracious reader with writerly talent and a social conscience, he was already looking for a place in the world when the depression struck, followed rapidly by a personal and family tragedy—the death of Bill's young half-brother, Henry. This family crisis catalyzed Elsa's estrangement from Otto, deepened by their very different worldviews and politics. It also intensified Bill's conflict with his stepfather—a conflict that would worsen over the years, eventually with irrevocable consequences. In 1935, when he was 18, Bill left home—and school—earning his living in casual jobs, before making the decision to go to Spain.





Just back from a mission behind Franco's lines, probably late 1937.  
From left to right: Bill Aalto, a Spanish guerrilla fighter, Alex Kunstlich, and Irv Goff.

On his arrival, Bill was recruited immediately as a guerrilla soldier at the International Brigade (IB) collection point in Albacete—one of a tiny number of North Americans (and of only a relatively small number of International Brigaders overall) who fought in the Republican irregular forces, carrying out sabotage behind enemy lines. By late 1937 these irregular forces would be brought together—Spanish and IBers alike—as a single corps, the Fourteenth, of the Republican army. But when Bill arrived in the second half of February, everything was far more fragmented, as a result of the July 1936 military coup which had almost completely destroyed the coherence of the Republican armed forces.

This fragmentation meant that sabotage and demolition missions were planned and implemented autonomously in the early months of the war by individual military commanders, and were usually undertaken by Spanish soldiers. Simultaneously within the IBs, Soviet military advisers were also putting together guerrilla units. These advisers, who came mainly from army military intelligence (GRU), had arrived in October 1936 as part of the USSR's

response to Nazi and Fascist military support for the rebellion. They were keen to demonstrate the efficacy of irregular warfare methods to the hard-pressed Spanish Republican high command. In the early months, the GRU advisers also depended on supplies and men from local Republican army commanders, who frequently proved uncooperative. To resolve the shortage of manpower, Soviet advisers recruited International Brigaders. Among the nationalities recruited were several Finns (from Finland and North America, who were seen as hardy and resilient. Bill made the selection: he was big—approximately 6' 2"—strong, fit and athletic. He also had a good knowledge of Spanish very well, having studied it previously, which set him apart from most other IBers

Joining the guerrilla unit was Bill's own preference, an opportunity to fight the war more effectively, also with better odds for himself. Looking back from 1942, he described, with characteristic acuity, his dreaded image of war: "going over the top, getting ripped by bayonet and mowed down by machine gun and hanging on barbed wire. I became a guerrilla and stalked, saw no bayonets, met very little machine gun fire, cut the

barbed wire." Irregular warfare suited him—the close-knit group dependent on each other, the creative edge of danger that gave it meaning, but also the sense of a calculated risk and an opportunity to carry out more intricate forms of soldiering.

Recruited along with Bill was another tough, intelligent and charismatic American volunteer: the college-educated, New York Longshoremen's union organiser Alex Kunstlich (aka Kunstlicht or sometimes Kunslich), who was seven years Bill's senior. Shortly after finishing their training (at a demolitions school set up by GRU advisers near Jaén in southern Spain), Bill and Alex teamed up with another New-York volunteer-turned-guerrilla, the tough Brooklynite Irving Goff. From a family of Russian-Jewish origins, Goff had earned his living as a acrobat before becoming a Communist party organizer. Under Kunstlich's command the other two served in a guerrilla group, one of many composed of International Brigaders and Spanish soldiers, operating mainly on the southern front, in the countryside of Cordoba and Granada. Bill did participate in some guerrilla operations in the northeast, on the Teruel front.

But he was not part of the Albarracín bridge-blowing operation in which Goff and Kunstlich were involved and which was fictionalized in Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Goff never actually met Hemingway and it is highly improbable that Bill did either. Their later responses to the possibility that they may have served as a model for Hemingway's hero Robert Jordan illustrate their very different personalities. While the idea played to Goff's ego, Bill had a nice line in ironic quips about Hemingway. (These appear, for example, in the always shrewd and often witty responses Bill gave to the famous U.S.- government-commissioned "Fear in Battle" study, which Yale sociologist John Dollard carried out in 1942. Dollard asked his testing subjects for responses to different soldierly scenarios and emotions. To the phrase "expects to be afraid in battle and tries to get ready for it," Aalto retorted: "Hemingway should be kept out of this [study]"; to Dollard's phrase "wonders 'if he can take it,'" Aalto replied: "Give him *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.")

By late 1937, as guerrilla operations on the southern front expanded, Kunstlich came to command much larger numbers in a unit in which Bill served as his operations officer and second-in-command. Bill was responsible for all the logistics, supply, and strategic planning of Kunstlich's operations. He also drove the truck taking operations groups to their rendezvous points. Their work remained overwhelmingly that of demolitions—especially the destruction of transport and infrastructure (railways, roads and bridges). While some guerrillas were involved in partisan activities behind Francoist lines, these were a minority, and even then this activity was limited to temporary incursions. Such limits reflected the Republic's military weakness, crippled by Non-Intervention, and the lack of arms to equip even its troops, let alone the peasantry in the Francoist southern rear guard.

Bill loved the intricacies of soldiering, perhaps for the pleasure of control it gave after the powerlessness of the depression and the irresolvable emotional tensions at home. In his quiet concentration on detail, he was much closer in temperament to Alex Kunstlich than to his other comrade, Goff. Bill was technically a very good soldier and was promoted rapidly—and ahead of Goff, his senior by 15 years.

In May 1938 Bill became a lieutenant

but lost his comrade Kunstlich: Alex was captured and executed near Granada, after a spectacular lapse in his usual meticulous approach to operations—provoked in part by the calamitous effect of the great retreats of March 1938. As the Francoist armies surged down Aragón to the sea, they cut the Republican zone into two in early April. To try to restore Republican morale in the wake of this debacle, military authorities planned a daring action in which both Bill and Goff would participate. In what would be the only commando raid ever undertaken in Spanish military history, a Republican force of some 30 men freed 300 Republican prisoners-of-war held in a beach fortress on the southern coast of



Bill's mother Elsa.  
Photo courtesy of John Aalto.

Spain, situated just behind the Francoist front line. The mission was a success, but it almost cost Bill and Goff their lives. They were cut off by Francoist troops and had to swim out to sea to reach Republican territory, skirting a hostile, sentry-encrusted coast. The Spaniards who were with them drowned. Bill and Goff survived largely because they were both champion swimmers. (In Bill's case, this was courtesy of his time in the Harlem Proletarians.)

Bill was promoted to captain in June 1938. But 17 months of service had taken their toll. Well before the formal withdrawal of the Brigades was announced in September 1938, both

Bill and Goff had become exhausted. Between July and November 1938, Bill spent three periods in the hospital with fever, colitis and what was by now chronic malaria. He wrote repeatedly to the Brigade authorities on behalf of himself and Goff arguing that they were no longer serving any useful purpose and would be better off returning to the United States to support Republican Spain on the publicity front. Bill also worried that his passport would cease to be valid if he remained abroad for more than two years continuously, a concern to him particularly because of financial responsibilities for his mother and young half-brother, John (Jusse), then aged 8. The wheels moved slowly—November before they were sent to a demobilization unit in Valencia; mid-January 1939 when they arrived by boat in Barcelona; early February before Bill sailed into New York. He had been gone exactly two years.

## Crossing the lines

Bill came out of the war with the highest commendation of any awarded to the Lincoln brigaders, but he never told war stories afterwards. His sensibility was too attuned to the contradiction between the justice of a cause and the unspeakable violence that war demanded. (Demolitions work, too, involves causing mass death; nor was it always "clean" or certain to affect only military personnel.) In contrast, Goff loved to give the gory details of horrible experiences. When he did so, as other Lincolns later recalled, Bill would go quiet and walk away. Bill's silence was evidence, too, of an interior change working upon him. As he later wrote, "the war is breaking us, but also remaking us." He continued to be active with the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB), speaking on behalf of the Spanish Republican cause and its refugees and prisoners. As paid jobs were hard to come by, he was moving around New York and Connecticut to earn his living from short-term jobs. One was as a general laborer on the U.S. army base at Ansonia. It's unclear whether Bill's work for the army had any bearing on the fateful decision of his stepfather Otto to denounce Bill to the FBI, which he did by visiting its New York field office in March 1941. He showed the agents the *New York Times* of January 20, 1939 which referred to Bill as a partisan leader and head of the returning Lincolns, and



## “I’m on the FBI shit-list,” Bill complained to a fellow Lincoln, “or else the Army’s own blacklist.”

declared that his stepson constituted a danger to the United States because of his political views and because he’d been in Spain. Otto’s motives were doubtless a complex tangle of anger and revenge, directed also against Elsa, from whom he had recently separated. Otto’s political views were antithetical to Bill’s, but he may also have been perturbed about a perceived danger to his own status as a naturalized citizen. While the Lincolns were already under FBI scrutiny, it was Otto’s action that triggered the opening of a file on Bill. In light of his guerrilla corps service, the FBI recommended him for custodial detention. The detention was postponed when, a few months later, Bill volunteered for service in the U.S. army. The authorities decided that military service was an alternative mode of surveillance for Lincoln veterans. Like many other vets, once enlisted Bill found himself detailed to menial tasks. “I’m on the FBI shit-list,” he complained to a fellow Lincoln, “or else the Army’s own blacklist.” In his case it was both.

To escape what he saw as a waste of his talents, Aalto, like a handful of other Lincolns, seized an opportunity in early 1942 to be recruited to a newly created elite special force, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Its task was to parachute operatives into Europe to liaise with the resistance movements in the partisan war behind the lines. It was the only capacity in which the U.S. authorities were prepared to use the Lincolns’ experience and contacts from Spain. But despite Bill’s exceptional guerrilla expertise, he would never make it back into active service in Europe. In 1943 his world quite literally blew up, physically and psychologically, as the result of a second betrayal—this time by his comrades. The instigator was Irving Goff.

Not long after their return from Spain, Bill had told Irv in confidence of his sexual preference for men. Goff now stirred up fear and unease among the small group of Lincoln veterans in the OSS that Bill’s sexual difference would mean a permanent security risk for them all. The implication was that Bill’s difference made him a weak link, an easy prey for turning—not by enemy agents, but by the U.S. political establishment. In other words, the Lincolns’ reaction to Goff’s broadside against Bill was strongly

influenced by the climate of suspicion against them in the OSS. Still, a current of subconscious machismo and social prejudice was likely part of the picture too. Goff’s own motives were probably more complicated. An intensely competitive individual and rather self-important, he was irked by Bill’s rising military star and promotion ahead of him, first during the civil war and afterwards in the OSS. But there is no doubt that what finally sealed Bill’s fate in the OSS was the nature of the political



Bill (I) and his brother Henry.  
Photo courtesy of John Aalto.

times and the sense of vulnerability it inspired in the other Lincolns.

Although the OSS commander would have preferred to keep Bill on board, he acquiesced to the veterans’ collective request, transferring him out of his active service to a military training camp in Maryland. There Bill’s job was to train new officer recruits who outranked him but who lacked combat experience and military expertise. He instructed them in sabotage and demolition techniques. In the course of a training session, in September 1943, an officer-recruit dropped an unprimed live grenade. Bill seized it, but before he could throw it, it exploded, blowing off

his right hand and part of his forearm. He was invalided out of the service with a disability pension.

The accident led Bill to confront full-square the things that made him different. He couldn’t belong any more in an unselfconscious way to the world of his comrades, to the “good fight,” as they would always call the battle in Spain. In the accident’s aftermath Bill’s remaking of himself, a process already underway, further accelerated. He did not renege on his political beliefs or reject his comrades—to the contrary, he remained fiercely loyal, despite the OSS incident, and at increasing cost to himself. Instead of rejecting his past, he simply walked away. He left behind the war hero persona, the political soldier, the discipline of the Communist party, and went in search of something else.

In the remaining decade-and-a-half of his short life, he would cross worlds on a singular journey of the spirit and mind. The questions he came to ask had their roots in the seismic effects of war. Many of these questions would later become increasingly mainstream from the 1960s on—even though Bill would not live to see these social changes. Of the many scattered literary epitaphs to Bill Aalto, the most resonant can be found in the work of W.H. Auden, who became a friend in early 1940s New York and remained a kind and loyal one thereafter, continuing to help Bill in many practical ways, even when the pressure of external events made him quite unbearable to be around. It was Auden’s retreat on Forio d’Ischia (Italy), where Bill lived for a time in 1948 and 1949, which is recalled in the lines quoted in this article’s epigraph. But through the haze of a tranquil summer day on a Mediterranean island, they evoke something else too—the life-breaking history of the mid-20th century. ▲

*Helen Graham teaches European History at Royal Holloway, University of London. The research for this article has involved work over many years on multiple continents. Aalto’s is one of five lives featured in Graham’s forthcoming book After the Wars in Spain: Lives Salvaged from the Dark Twentieth Century, to be published next year.*

SPANISH CIVIL WAR MUSICAL SCREENED IN NEW YORK

# GOODBYE BARCELONA

A musical written by Judith Johnson & K.S. Lewkowicz  
and directed by Karen Rabinowitz. 2011.

Reviewed by Mia Jozwick



*GOODBYE BARCELONA*, a new Spanish Civil War musical that was screened by ALBA at the Spanish Benevolent Society in New York last December, emerges as an engaging narrative of the personal impact of war. Like tethers wrapped around a pole, the play intertwines the lives of two English citizens who volunteer to aid the Spanish Republic with a diverse group of volunteer soldiers and civilians. A story that longs to free the oppressed and the outnumbered, *Goodbye Barcelona* captures an element of the human spirit that wants to save, that wants to believe in the power of good over evil. Accompanied by a pleasurable score from composer K. S. Lewkowicz, the play is fluid and full of intent.

The premise of *Goodbye Barcelona* could have worked solely as a play. However, the narrative strays away from being a history lesson and rather adapts the love story to the war—a story told in song. The characters are ordinary, familiar individuals, challenging existential questions of life and purpose. The intensity of the play's context continually builds and finds a release through vocal performance. The lyrics of the songs in *Goodbye Barcelona* arguably lack a complex composition—for example, "We will always remember. We will never forget" is taken from La Pasionaria's farewell address—it is the musical score and vocal performances that carry the production. By including La Pasionaria as a fixture of promise, the audience is treated to two stellar solo performances, physically arranged to convey a radio broadcast. The intention of *Goodbye Barcelona* is evident in these moments when the power of the human voice is enough to captivate the audience.

The props and set are minimalistic and well calculated. The façade of theater requires an agreement of components, and for this production, an almost nonexistent display of material goods adds to the credibility of the soldiers and supporters of the Republic. Using sheets as a backdrop for barracks and a simple arrangement of furniture to illustrate the interior structure, the negative space speaks loudly of their impoverished state. The audience absorbs the sparse conditions. The costumes are neutral, except for Pilar's red blouse, a sultry distinction from the rest of the cast. The overall drab wardrobe, props, and set prime *Goodbye Barcelona* for the gray outlook of its circumstance. The effect is still powerful and successful.

While the conflict between Nationalists and Republicans is the backdrop to the play, the real conflict occurs on a more personal level for the characters. The audience sees what lies under the gun smoke. These characters are losing their stability and adapting to a new point of view. The majority of the main characters are not represented as bitter or stubborn. In fact, they adjust to their circumstances rather quickly. This sense of survival is key to the purpose of *Goodbye Barcelona*.

Jack, one of the men in Sammy's brigade, is the antithesis of the other characters' spirit. A veteran of World War I, Jack is

a disgruntled leader of his team, jaded by his experience, and resentful of his circumstance. He is a strong contrast to the innocent Sammy, providing a realistic account of what to expect from war: loss and destruction. In the most poignant scene, Sammy and Jack are under siege from a surprise attack by fascist soldiers. The two men speak to one another candidly, offering words that wouldn't be shared without death staring back at them. Both men run into a line of fire hoping to reach the nearby trench. As they fall, and the lights go out on stage, we expect that one man has not survived.

How did Judith Johnson decide who to save? Both men symbolize powerful forces: Sammy is the innocent, the instinct that wants to bring justice for the abused and downtrodden. Jack is the inevitable, the disagreeable reality confronting everyone at every turn. He is war and he survives. Watching Jack emerge onstage, during the score "Goodbye Barcelona," the audience knows Sammy will not be coming back. Although Republican forces fought selflessly, they were outnumbered and ultimately couldn't keep the enemy at bay.

*Goodbye Barcelona*, with its musical structure and love narrative, offers a familiar entry into the Spanish Civil War. Even if audiences don't have a thorough understanding of Spain's circumstance in the 1930's, they will recognize the themes of oppression and the spirit of the underdog. While the content of both the dialogue and lyrics could be more developed, the score of this musical successfully captures the characters' emotions as well as the emotions of the audience. *Goodbye Barcelona* has enough of a mainstream appeal to have a successful showing on the main stages of London, Barcelona, and perhaps even one day, New York. ▲

Mia Jozwick is a graduate student in English Literature at The City College of New York.



## Del Berg Turns 98

One of the two last reported living veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Delmer Berg, turned 98 on December 20. We invited you to send your birthday greetings were been

completely overwhelmed by the response. You can read a sampling online at [www.albavolunteer.org/2013/12/happy-birthday-del/](http://www.albavolunteer.org/2013/12/happy-birthday-del/) where you can also see part of a recent video interview with Del.

Del Berg at his home in California. Photo Nelson G.



# Book reviews

## Franco's Toxic Legacy

*Shoot the Messenger? Spanish Democracy and the Crimes of Francoism: From the Pact of Silence to the Trial of Baltasar Garzón.* By Francisco Espinosa Maestre. Translated by Richard Barker. (East Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2013).

Reviewed by Richard Ryan



coup of 1936. His objective is “to reveal a series of conflicts, isolated and generally unknown, created precisely by the refusal to admit and recognize what took place in Spain as a consequence of the military coup.”

That objective focuses on the increasing blurring of the boundaries between judge and historian. It is an issue given emphasis by the role that the Spanish judiciary played in the consolidation of the Franco dictatorship. Constructed through a vast judicial system utilized as an instrument of terror, the central message of the dictatorship and its version of the civil war was that atrocities had been suffered only by supporters of the Franco regime, and that such atrocities had been committed only by the Republic and its supporters. As Espinosa-Maestre makes clear, those narratives were allowed to survive across the transition to democracy in the late 1970s, an afterlife of violence that was the product of a political brokerage driven by reformist Francoism in return for an amnesty law and a “pact of forgetting.” The 13 cases show the results of those decisions. Francoism’s victims remain the

As Francisco Espinosa-Maestre illuminates in this newly translated and updated version of the Spanish original, the toxic mythologies of Francoism continue to reverberate in Spain long after the end of the dictatorship. In 13 case studies from 1981 to 2012, Espinosa-Maestre examines the record of the Spanish judiciary in dealing with investigations into the mass killing of civilians by the supporters of the military

*Espinosa-Maestre emphatically challenges the long-accepted narrative of Spain’s transition to democracy as an exemplary success.*

silenced and “defeated,” while victims of violence perpetrated in the wartime Republic had already been named, celebrated, and commemorated by the Franco regime itself. It is a state of affairs that emphatically challenges the long-accepted narrative of Spain’s transition to democracy as an exemplary success.

Emblematic of the silence imposed upon Franco’s victims across the transition stands the catastrophic reaction to Fernando Ruiz Vergara’s 1981 film *Rocío* from sectors of Spain’s political and social elite. *Rocío* was the first documentary on the Francoist repression that named those responsible for extrajudicial killing—specifically what had occurred in the small town of Almonte in the immediate aftermath of the military coup in July 1936. Despite ministerial and critical acclaim, a case was filed against Ruiz Vergara by the family of those his film had named as leading Francoist vigilantes. The court found in favor of the plaintiffs, leaving the filmmaker heavily fined and professionally ruined. At no point in any of the repeated court cases and appeals did anyone dispute that nearly 100 people in the village had been murdered by vigilantes. As Espinosa-Maestre shows, this was a warning to all those investigating the repression, an exemplary case that revealed the enduring influence of the Francoist establishment across the transition to demand that its version of the past was the only one that could be heard in public in the new democracy.

In the Ruiz Vergara case, the “right to honor” focused intensively on the denial of oral history as a legitimate historical source. And so in the series of court cases examined here against Ruiz Vergara, Isidoro Sánchez Baena, Marta Capín, Santiago Macías, Dionisio Pereira, José Casado Montado, and Ramón Garrido Vidal, the central issue involved the rejection of the personal testimony of those who lived through or otherwise experienced the repression that occurred in military-rebel-controlled territory. In various ways, attempts to name those responsible were silenced by these court cases, or more accurately, by the fact that Spanish judges trained and shaped by the Franco dictatorship supported the plaintiffs’ claims over the rights of those seeking to open the past. But as each of these examples of enforced silence illustrates, this was not about removing the civil war and dictatorship from public discourse altogether, but something more subversive: it constituted the active (re)filling of that vacuum of historical knowledge produced by Francoism with a highly selective version of the past.

In this way, the contemporary political Right in Spain—spurred by the rise of conservative nationalism across Europe—continued to propagate the myths of the dictatorship, ensuring that the rhetoric of Francoism never left Spanish society. While Pío Moa stands as resurgent Francoism’s best seller, the work of apologists for the regime continues across Spain. The vicious accusations that emerged from Zamora in 2004/2005 and the attempts to distort historical reality of the incarceration and extrajudicial execution of Amparo Barayón in 1936 revealed how deeply Francoism inhabits people at all levels of Spanish society. Those involved in the

posthumous assault on Barayón included the town's official chronicler, indicating that historians too could be guilty of consolidating Francoist myths. Shortly after the publication of Espinosa-Maestre's book, the newspaper *La Opinión de Zamora* returned to the story of Amparo Barayón, publishing details of the fate of the man responsible for her murder in what could widely be seen as an attempt to put the story to rest, a claim to "carry out the duty of historians" by revealing once and for all what happened to Amparo's executioner. But as Espinosa-Maestre makes clear, this focus on the individual biography of "the murderer" diverts attention from the bigger picture of a military-sanctioned process of lethal "social cleansing" that saw certain categories of people targeted, including many women, who, like the young mother Amparo Barayón were killed for being independent modern women and for "having ideas" fundamentally at odds with Zamora's conservative society. What the newspaper revealed in 2013 as in 2004/2005 was the Right's continued efforts to secure its own version of the past instead of pointing a finger directly at those who were responsible for thousands of murders carried out in Zamora and elsewhere.

These 13 cases also illustrate that beneath the accumulated myths of Francoism, memory at the grassroots is consolidating new dimensions of democratic action, empowered by efforts of an expansive civic network. This work is embodied by Emilio Silva and Santiago Macías who, following the location and excavation of Silva's executed republican grandfather, created the Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica (ARMH). Founded in 2000, the ARMH is now recognized at the forefront of initiatives to rediscover the civil war.

Despite some legal successes, the work of deconstructing the myths of Francoism remains the domain of a politically marginalized civic memory movement facing powerful obstacles: resistance across the political spectrum within the state apparatus and from a formidable Francoism that opposes the recovery of the memory of the dictatorship's victims. In this battle Espinosa-Maestre points to small gains: Violeta Freedman, eventually successful in her challenge to the Belgian Nazi Léon Degrelle, resident in Spain; journalist Dolores Genovés and her documentary *Sumarísim 477* (1994) that named those who served as witnesses for the prosecution in the court martial of the democratic, Catalan Catholic politician Manuel Carrasco i Formiguera in 1938. The case against Genovés was dismissed by a Constitutional Tribunal with a verdict that stands at odds with what is still happening in Spain's courts.

In 2005, Judge Baltasar Garzón declared—in a foretelling of the case that would be brought against him—that "when someone breaks this chain of falsehoods and inter-related interests he is accused of destabilizing the 'new democratic reality' so beneficial for all." Garzón's challenge is that Spain is *not* different: the disappeared and killed of Francoism are no different from those in Chile and elsewhere beyond Europe. They too must be identified and named by the successor democratic state if the toxic mythology of Francoism is to be destroyed. Since Garzón's efforts to initiate a judicial investigation into the crimes of Francoism, the judge has seen his career in the Spanish judiciary destroyed. With the formal call from the UN in 2008 to investigate human rights abuses committed by the dictatorship also met with silence, the assault on Garzón demonstrates the widespread agreement

within the post-Francoism political class not to expose the violence of the past.

Espinosa-Maestre offers a readable and closely analyzed introduction to Spain's memory wars and the problematic place of the judiciary within these conflicts. The result is an important contribution to understanding the trajectory of historical memory in Spain, opening up events that have long been occluded by the European historiographical mainstream. Illustrating the stranglehold of Francoism on Spain's future as well as its past and present, it is clear that only in the destruction of the "pact of silence" can democracy fully take root in Spain. Only a recuperation of historical memory will overcome the toxic mythologies of Francoism that the transition allowed to survive. ▲

*Richard Ryan is a PhD student at Royal Holloway, University of London where he also teaches courses on twentieth century Spain.*

## Orwell and the Brits in Spain

***I Am Spain: The Spanish Civil War and the Men and Women Who Went to Fight Fascism.* By David Boyd Haycock. (Brecon: Old Street Publishing Ltd, 2012).**

***George Orwell's Commander in Spain: The Enigma of Georges Kopp.* By Marc Wildemeersch. (London, Thames River Press, 2013).**

***In Spain with Orwell: George Orwell and the Independent Labour Party in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939.* By Christopher Hall. (Perth, Tippermuir Books, 2013)**

**Reviewed by Peter Stansky**



Three recent books remind us once again of the non-Spaniards who fought for the Republic against the rebellion led by Franco. War is a great paradox, a truly horrible experience and deeply destructive but it seems to be something that human kind cannot do without. It plays a significant part in the history of the world. At the individual level, it frequently is the most memorable part of one's life both in terms of horror and glory, enmity and comradeship.

Certainly war proved to be the transforming experience in George Orwell's life, a central figure in Haycock's study as well as an integral focus of the other books under review.



Haycock takes his title from W.H. Auden's poem, *Spain*. The stanza is worth quoting as it sums up what the war meant to many foreign volunteers. "What's your proposal? To build the just city? I will./ I agree. Or is it the suicide pact, the romantic/ Death? Very well, I accept, for/ I am your choice, your decision. Yes I am Spain." Little is known about Auden's own trip to Spain other than it was brief, disillusioning, and marked his turn towards the right. Although his poem included the famous phrase "the necessary murder" which Orwell so hated claiming it was said by someone who wasn't there when the trigger was pulled, one of Auden's chief memories was being disconcerted by the burning of churches and the killing of priests. *Spain* is a powerful long poem, published as a pamphlet on behalf of Spanish Medical Aid but Auden later partially disowned it. Many of those who went to Spain had the experience of illusion, reality and disillusion although the war maintained its status as a great cause worth fighting for.

Haycock's text tells the story vividly but is more accurately understood as a portrait of "some" men and women who fought fascism. It is mostly the story of the British and Americans who went to Spain, though there are some exceptions such as Robert Capa and Gerda Taro. And quite a few, such as Capa and Taro (although she was killed at the battle of Brunete) were not actual fighters but obvious supporters of the cause. A great deal of attention is paid to Ernest Hemingway and to a lesser extent to other non-fighters such as Stephen Spender, Martha Gellhorn and less iconic figures such as Kitty Bowler, the American lover of the English captain, Tom Wintringham.

The story is set within the context of the war itself, its battles, political developments, and the growing power of the communists. Haycock seems to offer no new interpretation of the significance of foreign participants, their idealism, experience, and frequent frustrations. Much is familiar to readers of this publication. However, there is some new material, such as quotations from the unpublished autobiography of Kenneth Sinclair-Loutitt of Spanish Medical Aid. But this points to the leading defect of this study. Although listed in the bibliography, there is no indication where to find the autobiography. And this is just one example of the difficulty. There are extensive and interesting quotations from participants but no notes whatsoever.

There is a fair amount of attention to the central Orwell story but Haycock's work is incomplete about Orwell's actions on behalf of his commander, Georges Kopp, when he was in prison. He tells us that Orwell visited him there but nothing more. In fact, Orwell went bravely to see the officer in his headquarters who was supposed to have received a letter on Kopp's behalf. That visit may have been crucial in saving Kopp's life even though he remained in prison for a year and a half. My theory has always been that it was a sense of assurance as an English gentleman that helped prevent his arrest while acting on behalf of his POUM commander. Would a foreigner dare to arrest an Estonian? Thanks to Marc Wildemeersch we now know far more about Kopp, perhaps sadly so. It seems likely that he had a brief affair with Eileen, Orwell's wife, while she was in Barcelona and George was at the front, although she was never going to leave him.

In *Homage to Catalonia* Kopp is a deeply attractive figure. In real life he was far less so. What is intriguing about Wildemeersch's book is that it doesn't make clear is

why Kopp decided to take part in the Spanish Civil War. As the title suggests, he was something of an enigma. Born in Russia in 1902, he moved to Belgium, causing most to assume that was his nationality. Kopp was a trained engineer, who held various jobs. He seems to have been something of a con man, making various claims that may not have been true. Nevertheless, his military rank continued to rise. After escaping from Spain, he served in the French Foreign Legion and worked for Vichy. Kopp claimed he was attempting to undermine the organization's work. He had contacts with MI5, got himself to England during the war, reestablished contact with George and Eileen and stayed with her sister-in-law, Gwen. He then became a member of the family when he married Gwen's half-sister. He became a gentleman farmer living in a manor house thanks to his wife's money. He never made much of himself despite some of his inventions being potential successes. Before his death in France in 1951 (his health had been damaged by imprisonment) he was embroiled in complications over the purchase of a French estate. In *Homage to Catalonia* Orwell depicted him at his most heroic. Now we have better information.

Hall's *In Spain with Orwell* has a misleadingly title. Orwell is an important figure, to be sure, but in fact he is but one of many characters in the story. This recent work is a revised and expanded version of *Not Just Orwell* published in 2009. Orwell fought with the ILP group in Spain and presumably the message of the earlier title was that there were others with him. The new title implies the reverse, that he was the central figure. 2013 was the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of Orwell's classic, *Homage to Catalonia* that immortalized those who fought with him. This is less a book about Orwell than the 40 or so mostly British who fought with him on the Aragon front.

It seems that they didn't have the opportunity to fight very much. Orwell effectively led the group of 15 he commanded in a skirmish which appears to be the only fighting they did. These men were sponsored by the British Independent Labour Party which had only about 4,000 members. Its Spanish equivalent was the POUM, the semi-Trotskyist Spanish party which believed that revolution and war went together, a position disapproved of in Spain by the increasingly powerful Communists. The ILP was energized by the war, providing medical aid, an ambulance, volunteers, and a home for Basque refugee children. It was almost by chance that Orwell, rejected by Harry Pollitt, the head of the British Communist party, then affiliated with the ILP. When he went to Barcelona both to report on the war and to fight for the cause, he enlisted in the POUM militia via the ILP office run by John McNair. The POUM militia had serious problems, both energized and impeded functionally by its belief that military decisions needed to be discussed and not much attention should be paid to rank. It also was poorly armed and trained. As a former policeman, Orwell had some military skills and in the evocative photographs of him in this book he towers over his colleagues.

Orwell's first few months in Spain were the most important in his life, I believe. They encapsulated his vision: the possibility of how wonderful a socialist world could be and how almost inevitably it was betrayed in the internecine fighting of the May Days in Barcelona. Hall describes the ILP volunteers with little analysis. The book's most original parts are biographies of those in the group, although by presenting

them separately there is much repetition. One worries about the book's accuracy. For instance, Hall's account of Kopp differs in crucial particulars from that presented by Wildemeersch. Hall also cites details of Kopp's life which are presented differently in Michael Shelden's life of Orwell which is consistent with Wildemeersch's. He forgoes the historian's fundamental obligation of deciding which one is likely to be correct. There are also brief biographies of three Non Commissioned Officers, and then of various lengths of the 38 others, British and Irish but a few others, including one prominent woman, Sybil Wingate, and one American, Harry Milton. The most important sketches, other than Orwell's, are Bob Edwards, the senior ILP figure who also served in the British Parliament, Frank Frankford or Frankfurt who wrote a notorious article in the *Daily Worker* claiming that the POUM consorted with the enemy on the front, and Stafford Cottman who was a friend of Orwell's. Straight forward biographical accounts are valuable, but they could have been more efficiently presented. This book celebrates those who fought for the Spanish Republic and against Fascism so many years ago.▲

*Peter Stansky has written about Englishmen and the Spanish Civil War in Journey to the Frontier, Orwell: The Transformation, and Julian Bell: From Bloomsbury to the Spanish Civil War.*

For more book reviews, see the Volunteer's online edition at [www.albavolunteer.org](http://www.albavolunteer.org)



## CREATE YOUR LEGACY

What you leave to friends and loved ones and the causes you champion are ways of expressing your hopes and dreams for the future. As you make your plans, please consider including ALBA in your will or living trust, or naming us as a beneficiary of your estate. ALBA can accept legacy gifts in any amount, large or small. Please help us to continue to expand our horizons, and your beliefs, and help us to carry our shared legacy to the next generation and beyond.

If you have additional questions or would like to discuss your choices, please call **212 674-5398** or email [info@alba-valb.org](mailto:info@alba-valb.org)

Special thanks to Ms. Stephanie Fein for her stock donation to ALBA and to Ralph Czitrom for direct program support in memory of his parents, Lou and Betty Barsky Czitrom.

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives carries on the legacy of the American volunteers who challenged complacency and isolationism. Now you can continue their "good fight" by offering a legacy gift to ALBA.



# CONTRIBUTIONS

## 10/16/2013 to 1/15/2014:

### **Benefactor (\$5,000-\$14,999)**

The Puffin Foundationm LTD • Ralph Czitrom & Karen Marcus in memory of Lou & Beth Barsky Czitrom

### **Sponsor (\$1,000-\$4,999)**

Christopher Brooks • Claire Carsman in memory of Sam Carsman, and what he gave me to carry on the struggle • Sebastiaan Faber • Stephanie Fein • Bernard and Louise Lown • Judy Nahman • Jaime Nahman • Alan Nahman • David Nahman • Harry Parsons • James and Ellyn Polshek • Michael Ratner and Karen Ranucci • Tamaara Tabb • Nancy Yanofsky

### **Supporter (\$250-\$999)**

Joan Amatniek in memory of Ernest Amatniek • Margarita Asencio-Lopez in memory of Roque Gallars Romero • Paul Blanc in honor of Peter Stansky • David & Suzanne Cane in memory of Lawrence Cane, VALB • Burton J. Cohen • Hugh Cosman in memory of my parents, CM Cosman & Tania Cosman-Wahl • Wendy Doniger • Soledad Fox • Sherna Gluck • Adam Hochschild • Jeanne Houck in memory of Matti Mattson • Josephine M. Labanyi • Glenn Lindfors in memory of Vic Lindfors and Kenneth and Clarence Forester • Dmitri Thoro

### **Contributor (\$100-\$249)**

Frederick & Ann Adams • Grace B. Anderson • Joshua Barnett • Bernice Bass in memory of George Sossenkeno • Catherine Blair & Steve Becker • Joe Bilota • Nancy S. Bishop • Richard & Joanne Bogart • Robert Bordiga in memory of Milt Felsen • Jorgia Bordofsky in memory of Joseph Siegel • Judy Botwin in memory of Lou Bortz • Bonnie Burt • John & Irene Bush in memory of Max Schwartz • Peter Carroll • Larry & Christine Carsman • Peter Cass in memory of Saul Shapiro & Sol Lerner • Gabrielle Chadowitz in honor of Leonard Cahn • Charlie & Nancy Clough • Barry & Naomi Cooper • Rita Delespara • Jeron & Marjorie Donalds • Pearl M. Drabkin • Daniel Drake • Judith H. Edelman • Joshua Freeman • Herbert Freeman in memory of Jack Freeman & Abe Smorodin • Elvira Garcia in memory of William F. Garcia • James Geiser in memory of Carl Geiser • Paula Gellman in memory of Isaiah Gellman • Margo George • Mark & Sandra Haasis in memory of Abe Osheroff • Robert Hamburger in memory of Jacob & Ruth Epstein • Joseph & Sandra Harris • Hershl Hartman • Birry Heagle in memory of Ned Golomb • Douglas J. Hill • Emily Mason Kahn • John Lamperti • Virginia Leonard • Jack Levine • Barbara Lilley • Susan Linn in memory of Sidney Linn • Gail Lopez-Henriquez • Peter Lotto in memory of Ralph Fasanella • Roger Lowenstein • Kara & Arthur Lutz in memory of Tillie & Jack Olsen • Vickie Wellman & Ian MacGregor • Anne Maron in memory of Florence Ross • Ilona Mattson in memory of Matti Mattson & Joe Hartaniemi • Kit Gage & Steven Metalitz • Gerald Meyer in memory of Carl Marzani • Judy & Roy Nakadegawa • Francis Nash • Dr. José-Manuel and Maryann Navarro • Julia Newman • Ralph & Marta Nicholas • Marc Nowakowski • Michael J. Organek • Edith Oxfield • Lola Pazos in honor of Juan Dominguez Pazos • Aaron Retish • Nina Rivkind in memory of Eugene Raleigh • Diana Cohen Robinson • Maria Cristina Rodriguez • Gail & Stephen Rosenbloom in memory of Morris Tobman • Marvin E. Schulman in memory of Anita Risdon • David Gates & Judith Seid • Michael Sennett in memory of Bill Sennett, VALB • Thomas Silverstein in memory of Milt Felsen • Marcus Singer • Anne K. Smithson • Samuel Stark in memory of Oiva Halonen • Louise Katz Sullivan in memory of Sylvia & Bob Thompson • Carlyn Syvanen in memory of Carl Syvanen • Nancy Wallach in memory of Hy Wallach • Constanica Warren in memory of Alvin Warren, Maury Colow & Arthur Munday • David Weinraub • Shauna Haines & Mark Wieder • John Wilborn • Peter Wolff in memory of Milton Wolff • Chic Wolk • Josephine & Henry Yurek • Sandra Zagarell in memory of Milton & Olivia Abelson

### **Friend (\$1-\$99)**

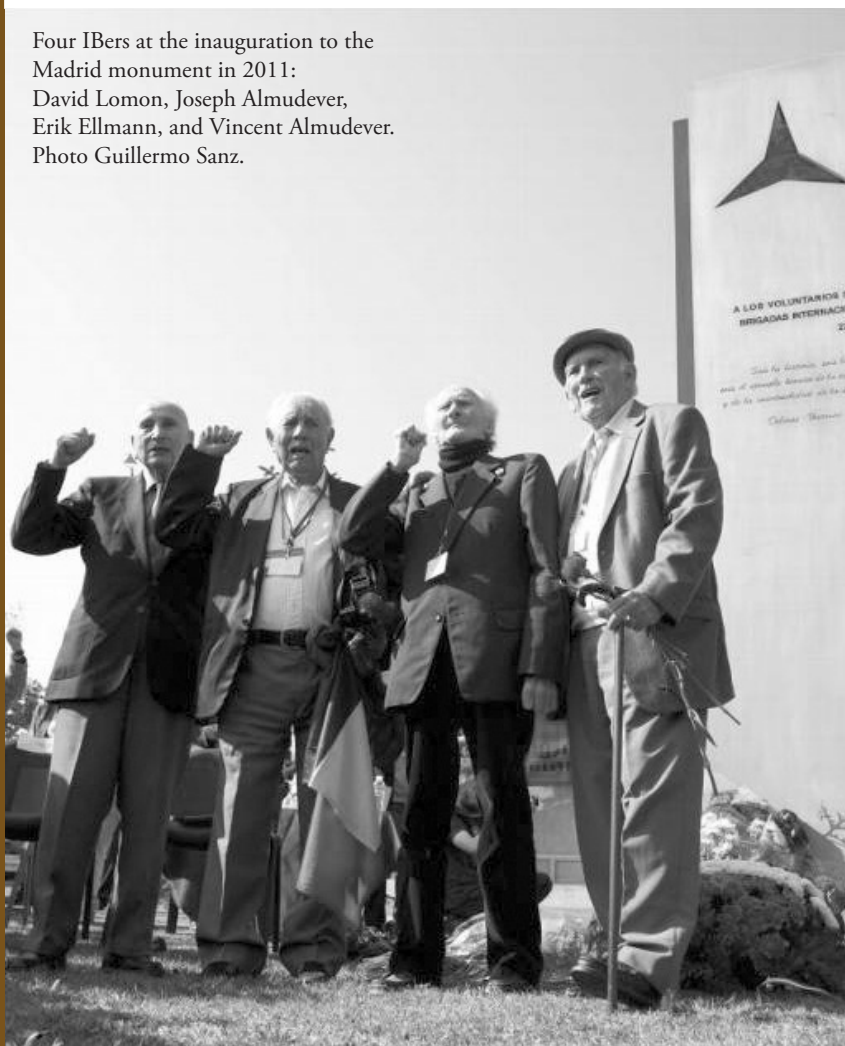
Joseph & Esther Adler • Everett Alison in memory of Irving Fajans • Dan Albert • Evelyn Alloy • Florence & Peter Ariessohn in memory of Abe Osheroff & Bob Reed • Dexter Arnold in memory of Clarence Kaillin • Dolores Arond in memory of Norm Pearlman • Brenda Balanda • Pearl Baley • Phillip Bannowsky • Maria & Enzo Bard • Eugene & Evelyn Baron in memory of Saul Wellman & all the others from Detroit • Frank Battaglia, PhD • Carolyn and Daniel Berger • Gay & John Beverly • Geraldine Bichovsky • Lawrence Bilick • Maggie Block in memory of Michael Block • Elizabeth Blum in memory of Gladys & Tippy Blum • Judith Lorne Bly • Martin Boksenbaum • John Eric Bond • Dorothy Bracey in memory of Eileen Rowland • Thompson Bradley in memory of William Gandall • Paula Braverman • James Brodie Kahn • Nancy Hall Brooks in memory of Charles Hall • Vera Brooks in honor of Marina Garde • Mrs. Betty Brown • Orval Buck • Paul Bundy • Wendy Cadden • Anita Castleman • Estelle F. Charles • Norah Chase • Daniel & Susan Cohen • Martin Comack in memory of Augustin Souchy • James Compton • Sarah Connolly • Carol Cope in memory of George & Albert Foucek • Leslie Correll • Paul Cox • Nina B. De Fels • Joni Dibrell in memory of Charlie Nusser • Linda & Jim Donovan in memory of Saul Wellman • Lewis & Edith Drabkin • Ruth Dropkin • Walter Efron • Freda Egnal • Barbara Engel in memory of Estelle Engel Katz • Miles & Amy Epstein • Al Filreis in memory of Jack Lucid • Victor Fuentes • Kate Gandall • Marina Garde in memory of mis abuelos • Frieda Gardner • Richard & Sandra Gellar in memory of Morris Balter • Isolina Gerona • Frances Ginsberg • Deborah Gold • Edward Goldman • Marc Goldstein in memory of Maynard Goldstein • Luke Gordon in memory of Louis Gordon • Ina Gordon • Tom Graff • Matilda Graff in memory of Saul Wellman & the McKenzie-Papineau Battalion • Julio Granda in memory of Luis & Maria Granda • Nicolas Granich • Jay & Judy Greenfield in memory of Hy Greenfield • Michael Grossman in memory of Henry Grossman, VALB • Carol Wells & Theodore Hajjar • Susan Hanna in memory of Jack Penrod and his friends from Johnstown, PA • Richard W. Hannon • Gina Herrmann • Alexander Hillekevitch, M.D. • Isidore & Sharon Hofferma • Suzanne Hosein in memory of Hy Wallach • Richard Hudgins • Steven Itzkowitz • Gabriel Jackson • John L. Kailin • Ruth E. Kavesh in honor of Ellyn Polshek • Dorothy Keller, Esq. • Marlin R. Keshishian • Ervine Kimerling • Manfred Kirchheimer • Ethel and Keith Kirk in memory of Hilda Roberts, nurse in Spain and WWII • Dorothy Koppelman • Pearl & Martin Kornberg in memory of Morris Tobman • Elissa Krauss • Mark Landesman • Burt Lazarin • John Leis • Milton Lessner • Eugene & Elizabeth Levenson in memory of Jacob & Florence Levenson • David J. Lichter • Kenneth & Else Lipner • Marlene Litwin • Henry Lowendorf • Dennis Mar • Richard Martin • Pedro Martinez • Milton Masur, MD • Andrew W. McKibben • Anne E. McLaughlin in memory of Virginia Malbin • Mel Mendelssohn in memory of Wilfred Mendelson • Daniel Merer in memory of Esther & Harry Merer • Herbert Molin • Bill Montross • Laura S. Murra • Irwin Nack • Jane Nadel in memory of Paul Funt • Geraldine Nichols & Andres Avellaneda • Ann M. Niederkorn • Francisco Rodriguez & Mary Ann Nikl • Hilton Obenzinger • Harry W. O'Brien • Shaun O'Connell • Michael O'Connor • Florence Orbach • Michael Ozol • Dr. Jack & Mary Paradise • Fredric Parsons • Tom Pinkson in memory of Fred Soloway • Nancy Kline Piore • David & Adele Politzer • Yvette Pollack • Adele and Henry Pollard • Louise Popkin • Nieves & Manuel Pousada • Paul Preuss • Jack Purdy • Alicia Putney • Paula Rabinowitz in honor of Rae Bernstein • Dorri Raskin • Marci Reaven • Mike Reece in memory of Milt Wolff • Alan Reich • Judith Reynolds • Brian A. Reynolds • Vicki Rhea in memory of Florence Z. Cohen • Arthur & Harriet Rhine • Suzanne & Alan Rom in memory of my uncle Samuel S. Schiff • Josie Yanguas & Carl Rosen • Mikki Rosen • Judith Rosenbaum in honor of all the vets, living and dead • Naomi Rosenblum • Herb & Sandy Rosenblum • Arthur Read & Cindy Rosenthal • Leona Ross in memory of Sam Ross • Herbert Rubenstein • Marie M. Runyon • Rollene Saal • Stuart M. Schmidt • Peter Schneider in memory of John Wallach • Ellen Schwartz • Judy Schwartz • Richard Seeley • Nadrian Seeman • Robert Shaffer in memory of Donald Shaffer • Allen Sherman • Daniel Shively • Maria Arantzazu Shuey • Eugenia Shulman • Katherine & William Sloan • Carole & Henry Slucki • Gar Smith • Theron Snell • Henry & Beth Sommer in memory of Harry Nobel • Lynn Sonfield • Martha Sonneborn • Rita Spiller • Susan St. Aubin • Annabelle Staber in memory of Alex Staber • Roslyn Stein • Oliver Steinberg in memory of Cong. John T. Bernard • L&B Strieb • Oriol Pi Sunyer • Robert Supansic in memory of Robert G. Colodny • Paul Susman • Theodore Tapper, MD • Martin Tiersten • Merry Tucker • Alan C. Van Fleet • William Vandenberg • S.C. Volinsky • Ada Wallach in memory of my husband Harry Wallach • Frederick Warren • Joel Weisberg • Stephanie Weissman in memory of Irving Weissman • Robert Welch • Peter Yarrow • Pearl Zeitz in memory of Bill Bailey • Jack Ziebel in memory of Bebe • Michael Zieliwski • Robert Zimmerman

## The Volunteer

c/o Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives  
799 Broadway, Suite 341  
New York, NY 10003

NON PROFIT ORG  
US POSTAGE  
PAID  
SAN FRANCISCO, CA  
PERMIT NO. 1577

Four IBers at the inauguration to the  
Madrid monument in 2011:  
David Lomon, Joseph Almudever,  
Erik Ellmann, and Vincent Almudever.  
Photo Guillermo Sanz.



## LAST MEN STANDING

There are currently nine or ten veterans of the International Brigades alive, according to the Madrid-based AABI, the association of friends of the IBs:

- Joseph Almudéver (France)
- Delmer Berg (USA)
- César Covo (France)
- Karel Dufek (Czech Republic)
- Stanley Hilton (Great Britain)
- Gert Hoffmann (Austria)
- John Hovan (USA)
- Hans Landauer (Austria)
- Juan Miguel de Mora (Mexico)
- Luis Alberto Quesada (Argentina)

Subscribe to the ALBA mailing list to stay informed about these and other events:  
**[info@alba-valb.org](mailto:info@alba-valb.org)**

Read *The Volunteer* and the ALBA blog at **[www.albavolunteer.org](http://www.albavolunteer.org)**