

The Volunteer

FOUNDED IN 1937 BY THE VOLUNTEERS OF THE LINCOLN BRIGADE.
PUBLISHED BY THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE ARCHIVES (ALBA)

Teaching Antifascism in Barcelona

p 10



[NYU Digitizes Posters](#) p 12

[Freddie Martin Returns to Spain](#) p 6

[Wilfredo Lam at MoMA](#) p 19

Joseba Landa's class with muralist Roc Blackblock in Barcelona.

The Volunteer

Founded by the Veterans of the Abraham
Lincoln Brigade

239 W. 14th Street, Suite 2
New York, NY 10011 (212) 674-5398
www.alba-valb.org

Editor Print Edition
Sebastian Faber / James D. Fernández

Online Edition
www.albavolunteer.org

Editor Online Edition
Sebastian Faber

Associate Editor
Aaron B. Retish

Book Review Editor
Joshua Goode

Graphic Design
www.eyestormdesignstudio.com

Editorial Assistance
Phil Kavanaugh

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

Books for review may be sent to Joshua Goode
Claremont Graduate University
Blaisdell House, #5, 143 East 10th Street
Claremont, CA 91711

www.albavolunteer.org

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA) is an educational non-profit dedicated to promoting social activism and the defense of human rights. ALBA's work is inspired by the American volunteers of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who fought fascism in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). Drawing on the ALBA collections in New York University's Tamiment Library, and working to expand such collections, ALBA works to preserve the legacy of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as an inspiration for present and future generations.

IN THIS ISSUE

- p 3 ALBA News
- p 4 Watt Awards
- p 5 Spanish Citizenship
- p 6 Freddie Martin in Spain
- p 8 The Trial of José Antonio
- p 10 Teaching in Barcelona
- p 11 Letter to Editors
- p 12 NYU Posters
- p 13 The Spanish War in Hollywood
- p 16 Arkivo
- p 18 Book Review
- p 19 Wilfredo Lam
- p 20 Obituaries
- p 21 Contributions

Dear Friends,

As readers of *The Volunteer* know very well, the Spanish Civil War began in the early morning of July 18, 1936. The first US antifascist volunteers to join the fight left from New York just a few months later, on December 26. This year marks the 90th anniversary of those extraordinary events.

Ninety years is a particularly significant interval of time, as it matches, more or less, the limits of a human being's lifespan. The Spanish Civil War and its immediate aftermath will soon pass from memory to history. Soon, that is to say, not a single person with first-hand experiences and memories of that time will be with us. Then what?

Those of us who have spent a long time thinking and learning about the Spanish war and its aftermath have also been witnessing this slow but steady transition. How many of us still catch ourselves realizing from time to time, with terrible sadness and melancholy, that, to clarify a doubt, or to conduct a simple reality check, we can't just pick up the phone and call Moe Fishman, or zap an e-mail to Bill Susman or Abe Smorodin?

From its inception in 1937, *The Volunteer* has documented and embodied this transition, probably better than any other source. The current issue highlights recent work by ALBA, Tamiment Library, students, and educators to keep alive the memory and the values of the volunteers, as you can see in the news items on the next page, but also in our pieces on this year's George Watt Essay Award winners (page 4), an exciting new poster digitization project (page 12), and the inspiring report from a high school teacher in Barcelona.

As always, we memorialize friends and colleagues who passed this year (pp. 20-21). Gina Benavidez retraces the steps of Fredericka Martin in Spain (p. 6), and Pedro García-Caro explores the legal case put forward by the Second Republic against José Antonio Primo de Rivera (page 8). Chris Angel explores the resonance of the Spanish Civil War—or lack thereof—in Hollywood cinema (page 13), while Jo Labanyi writes about the Wilfredo Lam exhibition currently at the Met in NY (page 19). Mariia Guleva, in the recurring feature *Arkivo*, graphically illustrates how the Spanish Civil War resonated across the entire world (page 16). Our conversations with the US descendants of Lincoln volunteers who have availed themselves of Spain's offer of citizenship (page 5) are an example, heart-warming and chilling at once, of the many ways in which the past haunts our present—and how the border between history and memory is, in fact, quite blurry.

None of this would be possible without you—our loyal readers and supporters. If, more than a sprint completed once and for all in the past, the fight against fascism is viewed as an ongoing relay race, the distinction between memory and history becomes less interesting, and projects that exceed the lifespans of single individuals become possible, even necessary. You are all memory, history, and, perhaps, if we don't fumble the baton, legend. Thanks for your support.

¡Salud!



James D. Fernández,
Co-Editor



Sebastian Faber,
Co-Editor

THE VOLUNTEER NEEDS YOUR HELP!

Every three months, ALBA is pleased and proud to send you this publication. We know that so many of our readers treasure it, and we value your feedback, your encouraging words as well as your constructive criticism. We strive to make the publication a forum for the exchange of information and ideas of interest to the ALBA community.

Each edition of *The Volunteer* costs \$10,000 to publish. Would you consider donating at this amount to cover the cost of one edition? Your name would be prominently displayed (with your approval) in that edition, as the single donor who made that edition possible. We know this is a big "ask"! If you are able to consider a gift at this level, to sponsor an edition of *The Volunteer*, please contact Mark Wallem directly at mwallem@alba-valb.org.

Please know that we appreciate every gift, large or small, that comes our way. Thank you for your generosity and your support of *The Volunteer*.

ALBA NEWS

ALBA and Puffin Foundation Poised to Announce 2026 Human Rights Award

As this issue is going to print, ALBA's Human Rights Committee is hard at work finalizing the process of selecting this year's winner of the ALBA/Puffin Award for Human Rights Activism. Keep an eye on your email and social media for an announcement. Jack Mayerhofer, chair of ALBA's Human Rights Committee said, "We are pleased to say we have had a record number of applications this year. The committee has been working diligently to give the strongest consideration to all who applied. A decision is expected soon, and we look forward to bestowing this prestigious award on another worthy individual or organization working in human rights activism."

One of the largest monetary awards for human rights in the world, the ALBA/Puffin Award is a \$100,000 cash prize granted annually by ALBA and The Puffin Foundation to sustain the legacy of the experiences, aspirations, and idealism of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. It supports contemporary international activists and human rights causes. A philanthropist and visionary, the late Perry Rosenstein of The Puffin Foundation created and established an endowed fund for this award in 2010. Since then, the annual award has been granted 14 times. (See the inset for an overview of award winners.)

The award ceremony will be held in New York City in early May. Those interested in attending may contact the ALBA office at info@alba-valb.org.

ALBA/Puffin Award Winners

- 2011 Baltasar Garzón
- 2012 Kate Doyle and Fredy Peccerelli
- 2013 United We Dream
- 2014 Bryan Stevenson
- 2015 Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica
- 2016 Lydia Cacho and Jeremy Scahill
- 2017 Proactiva Open Arms
- 2018 The Coalition of Immokalee Workers
- 2019 The Immigration Justice Campaign
- 2020 No More Deaths
- 2021 My Brother's Keeper
- 2022 Life After Hate
- 2023 Indigenous Women Rising
- 2024 18By Vote
- 2025 Jews for Racial and Economic Justice Community

Grandchildren of Vets Share the Things They Carry

On Sunday, December 7, at a holiday gathering in NYC, descendants of veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, ALBA board members, and supporters gathered under the theme, "The Things We Carry." Brought together by familial ties and mission, descendants of ALB vets reflected on the artifacts and memories they carry on behalf of their parents, grandparents, and now great-grandparents who served in Spain.

Keynote speaker Shannon O'Neill, curator of the Tamiment-Wagner Collections at NYU (which hosts the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives) encouraged us to reflect on the emotional and physical effect of quotidian objects like passports, identification cards, and water flasks, imagining how their carriers might have felt as they used them. Audience members shared their own artifacts and memories. Jeremy Jorgensen, grandson of ALB vet Aris Georgiou, and Kendra Heisler, granddaughter of ALB vet Robert George Thompson, contributed to a conversation on what it means to be stewards of memories and objects. Max Bennett-Parker, grandson of ALB vet Max Parker, and Sue and Shantha Susman, descendants of ALB vet Bill Susman, led participants in song, carrying forward the inspiration of antifascist music.



Tim Parker.

Photos Alex Arbuckle.



Film Series Continues with Zinneman and Hollywood Documentary

On January 8, ALBA's popular series of online film discussions featured Linda Ehrlich, a renowned film scholar, along with ALBA's Sebastiaan Faber, for a productive dialogue on Fred Zinneman's 1964 classic *Behold a Pale Horse*. On February 5, the Catalan filmmaker Oriol Porta and Sebastiaan led a discussion about Porta's award-winning documentary on Hollywood's complicated relationship with the Spanish War, *Hollywood contra Franco*. The series will continue throughout 2026. As always, recordings from past events can be found on ALBA's YouTube channel.

ALBA Awards Six Watt Essay Prizes

By Aaron Retish

In another year of strong submissions from students across the United States and Europe, the jury of the Watt Essay prize was pleased to award prizes to six promising scholars.

Nina Szalecka meets with the jury.



This year, ALBA awards three students in the pre-collegiate category. Madison Vinsant penned a set of poems, “Letters Across the Trenches,” that one of the jurors called beautiful and profound. The collection imagines an exchange between a soldier and a nurse in the international brigade as they experience their first battles of the Spanish Civil War. Emilia Rodríguez created a moving diary of a young antifascist Basque woman living in the coastal town of Hondarribia. Writing in 1945, she looks back on the past nine years of her life, including the destruction of her town, starvation, the repression of Basque culture, and the lost hope that the Allied victory in Europe would bring freedom in Spain. Jahsean Meikle’s compelling essay “Racial Integration and Equality in the Lincoln Battalion,” finally, draws on memoirs and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives to explore the lasting significance of racial integration in the United States after the Spanish Civil War.

In the fall, the jury had the opportunity to meet with the three young scholars who won this year’s Watt award in the undergraduate and graduate categories. Hridoy Kundu of the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill discussed his essay on pirate radios and underground newspapers, a creative and well-researched piece that prompts us to reconsider the broadcast revolution of the 1930s. Nina Szalecka from the University of Leeds presented her work on Sylvia Pankhurst’s overlooked activism on the Spanish Civil War through her writings in contemporary newspapers like *The New Times and Ethiopia News*. Deeply researched and well-argued, her essay invites fellow scholars to rethink the life of Sylvia Pankhurst. (Leeds, the jury couldn’t help notice, has produced award-winning students for three of the last four years!)



Sylvia Pankhurst in 1911. Public domain.

Our graduate award went to Luke Michael Bowe for “Tarna: The (Re)Construction of a Contested Space,” an excerpt from the first chapter of the dissertation that he recently completed at New York University. In this interdisciplinary study, Bowe draws on archival records as well as film and literature to examine the impact of the Franco regime in the region in Asturias in northwestern

Spain. The chapter that he submitted for the award focuses on the village of Tarna, which was nearly destroyed in fall 1937, and which, after the war, Franco adopted and promised to reconstruct. Although the Franco regime tried to reconstruct the village into a Francoist social space, Bowe shows that its fitful efforts fell into a bureaucratic mess. The Francoist state never fully remade the village. Bowe’s crisp writing not only draws the reader into the cultural life of the village but also makes an important scholarly contribution to how social space was imagined and re-imagined in Francoist Spain.

The Watt award honors the memory of Abraham Lincoln Brigade veteran George Watt (1914-1994), a social worker, writer, and lifelong activist central to the creation of ALBA. The jury for the 2025 George Watt Memorial Essay was comprised of Angela Giral (Columbia University), Joshua Goode (Claremont Graduate University), Jo Labanyi (New York University), Aaron Retish (Wayne State University), Josephine Yurek (New York City Public Schools), Nancy Wallach (New York City Public Schools), and our newest member—Daniel Watt, George’s son. ▲

Aaron Retish, the chair of ALBA’s Board of Governors, teaches at Wayne State University.

“My Father Went to Spain to Fight Fascism—and Now I May Have to Go There to Escape It.”

LINCOLN DESCENDANTS APPROVED FOR SPANISH CITIZENSHIP

By Sebastiaan Faber



This past November 4, the Spanish government honored a promise made in the 2022 Law of Democratic Memory by approving the applications for Spanish citizenship for some 170 descendants of International Brigade volunteers. The group included thirty family members of the Lincolns.

“I have traveled to Spain many times,” says Nancy Wallach, daughter of Hy Wallach and longtime ALBA board member, “and what moves me most is seeing the appreciation the Spaniards have for the International Volunteers, telling us that their sacrifices were not in vain.” Wallach was among the first American descendants of the International Brigades to send in her application. “It was a way,” she says, “to honor my father, who did not live to take advantage of the offer of dual citizenship offered to Brigade members, although I know he would have wanted to, and all the other Lincolns. In 1938, after all, La Pasionaria invited them to return ‘when the olive tree of peace blossoms, intertwined with the laurels of victory of the Spanish Republic.’”

Janak Ramakrishnan, a grandson of Bill Susman, says that he has always held a “deep admiration for the bravery of the vets,” whose commitment to the cause of antifascism shows “that people can be truly selfless.” Concerned with the political situation in Spain, Ramakrishnan says he plans to vote in upcoming elections.

For his mother, Sue Susman, who was born in 1947, being the daughter of a Lincoln has always been a double-edged sword. There was “pride and fear,” she explains: “Pride that my father fought against fascism, but also fear, as he was blacklisted on coming home. Living through the McCarthy period, we were extremely careful about what we said on the phone or to people we didn’t know. When I had my first serious boyfriend, I finally dared to reveal that my father had fought in Spain. To my amazement, he knew nothing about the Spanish Civil War!”

Susman took advantage of the citizenship offer, she says, to honor her family’s “historical connection to Spain”—but also, in more practical terms, “to have an alternative, given this country’s turn toward fascism.” The irony is stark, she notes: “My father went there to fight fascism—but now it’s conceivable that I may go there to escape fascism.” That, too, is an unsettling prospect: “I am very much an American with hopes for this country and the survival of its constitution. I fear that my tie to Spain is mythical rather than real. But when I traveled there for a brief few weeks, that was a very emotional time for me.”

“George Cullinen, my grandfather, taught me that you must fight for what you believe in,” says Matthew Cullinen, who adds that he was impressed with the words of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez when he announced the citizenship measure. “Democ-

rac,” said Sánchez, “had to be wrested from the ground up. Freedom was not a gift; it was a conquest of the whole of society.” “This is just as true today as it was in 1937,” says Cullinen, “and like my grandfather I am proud to be an anti-fascist, even if my government labels me a subversive—or worse.” Deena Poll Goodman, too, applied “to honor the legacy of my grandfather and to be able to work and live in Spain.” She adds: “I learned so much more about my grandfather thanks to the Spanish and Russian archives and amazing people at the University of Barcelona and the historians I have met along the way.”

“Spain has been a key part of my life,” says Peter Hartzman. “For one, because my parents met in Benicàssim: my mother, May Levine Hartzman, was a nurse and my father, Jack Hartzman, an ambulance driver. We were always aware of why our parents went to Spain and why it was important to them. It was a touchstone for how we led our lives. In fact, a good part of my own life has been devoted to honoring the contributions of my parents and working for Spanish democracy.” Hartzman applied for citizenship in Spain for several reasons, he says: “to acknowledge my parents’ participation in the fight for democracy, out of pride in their contributions, and to formalize our family’s relationship to the Republic. But it also provides a potential escape valve given the state of democracy in the US right now.”

Paul Fitzgerald, son of Lincoln vet Daniel Fitzgerald, says that his father’s “commitment to the antifascist struggle in Spain has had an enduring impact on my life. His courage and commitment to the struggle in Spain and, afterwards, as a US combat soldier in WW2, set a very high standard for me. Over the years, as I continue to learn more about Spain and the Lincoln Brigade, my respect has only deepened.” To respond to Spain’s invitation, he says, “felt like an obligation.”

“I am very proud of my father, Gerald Cook,” says Catherine Cook. “His service in the Spanish Civil War has meant the world to me. For my part, I vow to defend Spanish democracy and support any effort to help the world know about the IB and the war they fought in which many brigadistas lost their lives.”

Many of the applicants relied on ALBA, Patricia Ure, and the Spanish Friends of the IB (AABI) for help in their application process. “I so appreciate the work of ALBA,” says Cullinen. “Patricia was invaluable in her dedication and support,” Wallach adds. For ongoing applications, ALBA continues to work with AABI. ▲

IN FREDDIE MARTIN'S FOOTSTEPS: AMERICAN NURSES IN REPUBLICAN SPAIN

By Gina Benavidez

Close to 35 years after serving as a head nurse in the Spanish Civil War, Fredericka Martin, by then an accomplished author, returned to Spain to revisit the hospital sites where she had her fellow volunteers had saved hundreds of lives. Another half century later, Gina Benavidez, a doctoral candidate, followed Martin's trail.

In 1972, Fredericka Martin, in her late sixties, walked up and down the cobblestoned streets of Murcia, a city in southeast Spain, looking for the locations of the former International Brigades (I.B.) hospital sites where a handful of her fellow American medical volunteers had worked on behalf of the Republic during the Spanish Civil War 35 years earlier. Martin, who had spent years researching the medical history of the international contribution to the Spanish Republic, only had a few days to spend in the town. As she walked through the city, armed with notes, she talked to anyone and everyone. Some were willing to help her, such as the University caretaker, who confirmed that the I.B.s had been there. Others were more reluctant. An ex-*carabinero*-turned-newspaper-seller begged her to stop asking questions about the war. "I suffered enough," he told her with trembling lips. Along with the University hospital, Martin was able to locate the former hospital on the *Trapería*, now a delightful pedestrian shopping street in the center of the city, as well as the "Pasionaria Hospital," which is now a school. After her trip, she wrote to at least one of her correspondents who had worked in Murcia during the war to confirm details of what she had seen.

Fifty-two years later, doing my dissertation research, I found myself walking down those same cobblestoned streets



in the rain, pushing my two-year-old son in a stroller next to my five-year-old daughter, embarking on the same task as Martin. Luckily, I had the advantage of what she had lacked—the power of the Internet at my fingertips. The university and the Pasionaria Hospital were easy to find, as well as the "Casa Roja" hospital located on the *Trapería*, thanks to the website developed by the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory (ARMH) of the Murcia region, which has a page devoted to the former hospital sites that includes current photos. After

our rainy stroll and a stop at the local cat café (the playgrounds were too wet), the kids and I returned to our temporary home base in Toledo.

From the fall of 2024 to the summer of 2025, Martin's personal notes—both from her time in Spain during the war and from her visit in 1972—guided me through dozens of small Spanish towns and villages. My dissertation examines the gendered experiences of women from the United States who served with the American Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy (AMB) during the war. About 70 women, most of them graduate nurses, went to Spain with the AMB between 1937 and 1938, spread across more than 50 hospital sites. During the year I spent in Spain visiting all the former hospital sites where the AMB women worked, my task was, in a way, to follow in Fredericka Martin's footsteps during both her trips to Spain—in the 1930s and the 1970s—and continue the investigation she had started. Initially, I had hoped to consult local archives, but I quickly learned that many of the hospital records were lost by Francoist forces during or immediately after the war. So, instead, most of my research involved finding the buildings, if they still existed, and noting the surroundings. For further details, I had to rely on Martin's extensive correspondence.

From the fall of 2024 to the summer of 2025, Martin's personal notes guided me through dozens of Spanish towns and villages.

Freddie (second from left) with friends on her 79th Birthday in 1984, and Freddie with daughter Tobyanne in 1979, Barbara Martin Collection.

The correspondence that Martin maintained with dozens of the former volunteers in the course of her years-long research is remarkable.

The Fredericka Martin Collection is a massive archive housed in the Tamiment Library at New York University: over 50 boxes containing thousands of pages of letters, drafts, notes, and other memorabilia documenting Martin's experience and research on the AMB and the war. Martin was part of the first AMB group to enter Spain, in late January 1937. As chief nurse, she led her team to support soldiers during the Battle of Jarama at their schoolhouse-turned-hospital in El Romeral. Next, she worked at two or three of the four hospitals in Tarancón before transferring to Villa Paz and Castillejo near Saelices. In February 1938, she returned to the United States and spoke publicly on behalf of the AMB and Republican forces. After the war, she moved to Alaska, where she continued working in hospitals, but eventually switched careers to become an author. After writing several books about her time in Alaska, she moved to Mexico in the 1950s and began working on a book about the AMB and other international medical volunteers. It was a massive project that would occupy her for the rest of her life.



was "carrying on as steadily as possible a correspondence with one or more veterans of Spain or Spanish refugees in 22 countries." Martin's letters rekindled friendships and awakened recollections of the war, an experience none of her correspondents forgot or seemed to regret.

For my trip to Spain, I consulted two boxes containing files on roughly 80 former hospital sites. In addition to the hospitals where the American volunteers worked, Martin had also gathered material on other installations, including the English hospital at Grañén and the Swedish-Norwegian hospital at Alcoy. I was surprised to learn how much interaction there had been among the other international medical staff and how often they were shuffled around "like cards," as one doctor recalled. Although the Americans arrived within their own units, they were under the jurisdiction of the International Brigades. This meant that doctors and nurses were often sent to hospital locations throughout Republican territory in response to the battle action. Most nurses worked in at least three or four hospitals, but some in as many as fifteen.

As I visited the sites, from cities like Albacete and Valencia to tiny mountain towns in Teruel province, I wondered how in the world ambulance drivers carrying crucial supplies along old roads with limited signage had managed. When I finally found the Romeral schoolhouse—the first hospital Martin and the AMB volunteers set up, I sat on the bench in front of the school and heard Freddie's voice in my head, narrating her time at the hospital, the patients, and their daily schedule.

During one of my last visits to the Tamiment before my trip, I came across a memorandum Martin wrote to her former fellow volunteers on December 18, 1979, titled "A Plea in a Minor Key," in which she asked them to share their memories with her. "If you do as I now ask," she wrote, "I predict people will listen to your voices and think of you with love, regret they didn't know you, perhaps name a child after one of you." (Fredericka herself named her daughter Tobyanne, after fellow nurses Toby Jensky and Anne Taft.)



A young Fredericka Martin (from the Fredericka Martin papers, Tamiment Library).

Although Martin did not finish her manuscript, her work and documentation remain a crucial contribution to our understanding of American women in the Spanish Civil War today. By following in Martin's footsteps, I hope to continue her life's work and share the voices of the AMB volunteers for generations to come. ▲

Gina Benavidez is a PhD Candidate at the University of New Mexico, where she is working on her dissertation about the American women volunteers in the Spanish Civil War.



The correspondence that Martin—fondly known as "Freddie"—maintained with dozens of the former volunteers in the course of her years-long research is remarkable. Many of them returned her greetings warmly and were happy to help by staying in touch, answering questions, and even sending Christmas cards for years after the initial contact. At one point, she told a friend that she

First group of American Medical Bureau Volunteers. Freddie Martin stands center.

THE TRIAL OF JOSÉ ANTONIO

Federico Enjuto Ferrán and the Republic's Legal Resistance to Fascism

By Pedro García-Caro

The Republic's fight against fascism was not limited to the trenches. There was also a quieter, though no less vital front—the judiciary—where the Republic fought to preserve legality, due process, and democratic norms.

In the fall of 1936, Federico Enjuto Ferrán, a 52-year-old Republican judge, instructed the case against José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of the Falange and one of the principal ideological instigators of the fascist uprising, who was sentenced to death and executed in November. The judge's memoirs, which will be published for the first time this year, offer a rare window into the legal and moral world of the Spanish Republic as it confronted the coup and worked, against all odds, to uphold the rule of law.

Enjuto's testimony shows that the Republic fought not only with rifles and militias, but also with judges, clerks, and legal institutions that refused to surrender their principles even as the country collapsed around them. The defense of democracy was not only a matter of armed resistance but also of insisting that justice, even in wartime, must be something more than vengeance or improvisation.

Federico Enjuto Ferrán was not a young jurist thrust prematurely into a crisis. Born in 1884, he was a third-generation magistrate whose family had served on the bench since the nineteenth century. His grandfather and father had both been magistrates in the Spanish Supreme Court—his father even serving in Havana and Puerto Rico during the final decades of Spanish colonial rule before the family returned to Spain in 1900. Thus, Enjuto inherited not only a profession but a tradition: a belief that the law was a craft, a discipline, and a public trust.

By the time he was appointed to instruct the case against José Antonio, he had spent decades in the Spanish legal system, moving through courts in Madrid, Barcelona, and the Balearic Islands, and participating in commissions for civil and penal reform. He was shaped by the slow, meticulous rhythms of judicial life, not political upheaval. It was this procedural temperament that the Republic needed in the summer and fall of 1936.

When the military uprising began in July, José Antonio Primo de Rivera was already in prison, arrested in March on charges of conspiracy and illegal possession of arms. As founder and leader of the Falange, an openly fascist movement that had been agitating for insurrection, he was a symbolic figure for both sides. For the rebels, he was a natural *caudillo*, the son of Miguel Primo de Rivera, who ruled Spain as a military dictator from 1923 to 1930—but also, potentially, a martyr-in-waiting. For the Republic, he was a dangerous conspirator whose political project aimed to destroy democratic institutions.



Into this volatile situation stepped Enjuto, tasked with instructing the case. He had to gather evidence, interrogate witnesses, evaluate documents, and determine whether the charges could be sustained in court. Under normal circumstances, this would have required technical precision and a steady hand. Under the conditions of civil war, it demanded something more: the composure of a man who understood that the Republic's credibility depended on the seriousness with which its judges continued their work.

The summer of 1936 was marked by killings on both sides. A mass shooting of right-wing prisoners taken from Madrid's Cárcel Modelo in August horrified the government and convinced its leaders that the Republic could not survive if violence continued to unfold outside the law. Mariano Gómez, President of the Supreme Court, crafted an ambitious emergency legal framework to bring conspirators, rebels, and suspected collaborators before so-called *tribunales populares*. These people's courts were hybrid: while career magistrates presided and guided the proceedings, a fourteen-member popular jury evaluated the evidence and delivered verdicts. The goal was to ensure that people were tried not for their political affiliation, but for their acts, and to channel the fury of a society under attack into a legal process that preserved the Republic's democratic legitimacy.

Enjuto's work as *instructor* in the Primo de Rivera case took place within this broader institutional effort. He was not acting alone or improvising under pressure; he was part of a deliberate policy to replace summary violence with judicial procedure, to transform the Republic's instinct for survival into a defense of legality. His memoirs show how seriously he took this mandate. He insisted on distinguishing between moral culpability and criminal proof, between ideological leadership and legal responsibility. José Antonio was, without question, a central figure in the coup's ideological architecture. His speeches, writings, and organizational leadership helped create the climate that enabled the uprising. But the legal question was narrower: could he be held *criminally responsible* for acts committed while he was in prison?



Enjuto approached this question with the discipline of a jurist who understood that the legitimacy of the Republic depended on its ability to distinguish between political judgment and legal judgment. He sifted through communications, testimonies, and organizational links, reconstructing the broader context of Falangist activity while also acknowledging the gaps—places where the chain of causality was incomplete or where the urgency of war prevented further investigation. His honesty about these limits is one of the memoir's most powerful features, revealing a Republic struggling to maintain its standards even as the world around it disintegrated.



The pressures on the judicial process were enormous. Changes in the prosecutor's office, political expectations, attempts to storm the prison cell, and the accelerating tempo of the war all shaped the environment in which Enjuto worked. He describes how deadlines were shortened; how new directives arrived from Madrid and, after the Republic's government fled the capital, from Valencia; and how the symbolic weight of the case threatened to crush its legal foundations. Yet he also shows how the judiciary resisted: judges insisted on proper documentation, demanded corroboration of testimony, and refused to accept political rhetoric as evidence. They maintained the distinction between the courtroom and the battlefield, even when the two seemed to be collapsing into one another.

This is not to romanticize the Republic's justice system, which was imperfect, strained, and sometimes inconsistent. Still, Enjuto's memoirs make clear that there was a real and deliberate effort to preserve legality, even when doing so was politically inconvenient. In this sense, the trial of José Antonio becomes a microcosm of the Republic's broader struggle: a fight to defend

democratic norms against a movement that sought to destroy them. While Franco's rebels executed thousands without trial, the Republic, even in its darkest hour, tried to build a case.

José Antonio was sentenced to death and executed in November 1936, guilty of conspiracy and military rebellion. His death

became a cornerstone of Francoist mythology, but only after a long, enforced silence of two years about the trial and execution on the Nationalist side, which promulgated the legend of the "absent one" (*el Ausente*). After the war, the dictatorship elevated him to the status of martyr, built monuments in his honor, and used his memory to legitimize its repression. What disappeared from view, meanwhile, was the story of the trial itself—the painstaking work of judges like

Enjuto, the debates over evidence, the procedural safeguards, and the attempt to maintain legality in the midst of chaos. Francoism had no interest in preserving that history. It needed a martyr, not a defendant who had been afforded due process by the Republican state.

Enjuto's memoirs restore that missing chapter. They show that the Republic did not rush to execute José Antonio out of vengeance or ideological hatred. It tried and judged him with a seriousness that stands in stark contrast to the summary executions carried out by the rebels. For readers of *The Volunteer*, this is a reminder that antifascist resistance took many forms.

After the war, Enjuto—like so many Republican intellectuals—was forced into exile. He eventually settled in Puerto Rico, where he had been born, and he became a respected law professor, editor, and cultural critic. His work there, especially his efforts to build institutions and promote public

culture, reflects the same procedural rigor and civic commitment that shaped his judicial career. Exile gave him the distance to reflect on the trial. His memoirs are a meditation on the fragility of institutions, the dangers of political fanaticism, and the responsibility of jurists in times of crisis. At a moment when authoritarian movements around the world seek to undermine legal norms, Enjuto reminds us that the rule of law is a practice sustained by individuals who choose integrity over expediency. ▲

Pedro García-Caro, Associate Professor of Spanish at the University of Oregon, studies how transnational encounters shape culture and politics. His work deals with postcolonialism, nationalism, authoritarianism, extractivism, power, and identity. Together with Cecilia Enjuto-Rangel, he has edited Judge Enjuto's memoirs, which will be published in Spanish by Comares.

TEACHING THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES: A REPORT FROM BARCELONA

By Ioseba Landa

What is it like for Spanish high school students to learn about the International Brigades today? History teacher Ioseba Landa reports from the trenches.



In my work with secondary school students in Barcelona over the years, I have sought to transform antifascist history into a living tool for learning, activism, and reflection. Teaching the history of the Spanish Civil War and the International Brigades in Spain and elsewhere amounts to much more than covering a historical period. It presents an opportunity to connect past and present, educate students in democratic values, and foster critical awareness in the face of contemporary global challenges.

These same goals have inspired “The Passage of the International Brigades through Barcelona,” in which students spend five weeks researching the International Brigades, culminating in the creation of a mural. I developed the unit in collaboration with the artist Roc Blackblock, who recovers historical memory through urban art, working with institutions such as the Catalan Association of Friends of the IB (ABIC) and the Resource Center of the University (CRAI) of Barcelona. (The CRAI also manages SIDBRINT, the world’s largest online International Brigades database.)

In my history classroom, I present the International Brigades as an extraordinary historical expression of international solidarity.

When my students hear about the thousands of volunteers from all over the world who chose to defend the Spanish Republic against the fascist threat, immediate questions come up: Why would someone leave their home to fight in a distant war? What values motivated them? What does international solidarity mean today?

Our classroom work is based on primary sources, including testimonies of brigadiers such as the Irishman Liam McGregor or the Dutchman Evert Ruivenkamp, speeches by figures like Juan Negrín or Dolores Ibárruri, “La Pasionaria,” and archival materials accessed through SIDBRINT. Sources like these humanize the conflict, allowing students to move beyond an abstract or simplified view of the Civil War. As they explore biographies, photographs, letters, and personal stories, the past stops feeling distant or foreign.

A central focus of the project is the diversity within the International Brigades. We specifically discuss the role of women as well as nurses, journalists, soldiers, translators, and activists from marginalized racial, social, and cultural backgrounds. The narratives that emerge challenge dominant historical accounts,

One of the murals defiled with fascist graffiti.



paving the way for a more inclusive account of the past. This perspective also connects directly with students' own concerns and daily life in a diverse and multicultural city.

The project's aim is not just to learn about the Civil War, but to think about it, debate it, and reinterpret it. Roc Blackblock's urban art serves as a key pedagogical tool, transforming public spaces into sites of memory. While Roc paints the mural with stencils based on historical photographs, the students research the historical meaning of the images and create informational content. As visual narratives, the murals engage the community, prompting questions among residents and passersby.

Joining in the process of artistic creation helps students understand that memory is neither neutral nor fixed; it is constructed and contested. Deciding what to represent, how, and why requires critical reflection on both past and present. Moreover, leaving a visible mark on their surroundings strengthens students' connection to local history, turning them into active agents of memory. Even experiencing vandalism—murals are regularly defaced by far-right graffiti—has helped heighten students' awareness of the continuing relevance of these historical issues—including the persistence of intolerance and fascism.

Indeed, a core aspect of our classroom work is focused on the present. The International Brigades serve as a springboard for discussing the rise of the far right, current armed conflicts, refugee movements, and new forms of international solidarity. Students are invited to consider to what extent the ethical values and commitment that motivated the brigadiers remain relevant today.

My public school, the Instituto Quatre Cantons in Poblenou, Barcelona, employs a project-based curriculum, providing significantly more time for projects like these—five weeks, to be precise—than schools following the standard curriculum. This is not to say we don't face limitations. Even for us, class time is often insufficient to fully develop all aspects of the project, and access to artistic or material resources is not always easy. Moreover, working on historical memory—still a sensitive topic in Spanish society today—can generate tensions. Still, these challenges are an integral part of the educational process and often present opportunities for debate and critical reflection.

Over the years, I've learned that analyzing the Spanish war with the International Brigades as a guiding thread has a profound

impact on students—not only in terms of historical knowledge but also in their understanding of democracy, social justice, and personal responsibility in the face of injustice. The historical empathy that is required to step into the shoes of a *brigadista* helps young people understand that history is made by ordinary people making decisions in extraordinary circumstances.

At a time when fascism is resurging in new forms and discourses, the memory of the International Brigades reminds us that solidarity among peoples is not an abstract idea, but a concrete practice embodied in real names, faces, and stories. Teaching this memory means committing to an education that not only explains the past but also helps build a more just, democratic, and compassionate future. ▲

Ioseba Landa is a history teacher at the Instituto Quatre Cantons in Poblenou (Barcelona) who holds a degree in Political Science and specializes in Contemporary History, including the Spanish war of 1936. Translated by Sebastian Faber.

To the Editors:

This year, I am dedicating my contribution to ALBA to my late father and friend, Juan Domínguez Pazos (1902–1984), a veteran of the Lincoln Brigade who was born and raised in A Pobra do Caramiñal, Galicia, Spain. After being wounded in battle, he recuperated and then returned to the frontlines. He even stayed on when the Internationals left Spain.

Toward the end of the war, Juan crossed the Pyrenees and ended up in a French internment camp. Later, he was able to embark on a ship for Mexico, from where he returned to the United States. He was treated for complications of his war injuries in Boston, where he also met my mother.

Juan had been living and working here in New York City when the Republic was threatened. His entire family in Spain supported the Republic; his brother-in-law was the Republican mayor of their town in Galicia. His father was imprisoned and later died from the mistreatment that he received in jail.

Juan was already in his mid-thirties when he decided to join the International Brigades. He was also living in the US undocumented. I admire him not just for going to Spain, risking his life as all the volunteers did, but also for being willing to risk his ability to re-enter the country in which he wanted to live. He finally was able to do so—and he eventually became a US citizen.

Juan was a kind and gentle person, an excellent friend to all who knew him, and a wonderful husband and father. He lived to be 82 and was in good health until the end of his life.

I especially want to thank all of you at ALBA for keeping alive the memories and historical facts around this fundamental struggle against fascism, racism, and hatred—a struggle so necessary in our country and in the world today.

Lola Pazos, New York City

“We Don’t Want Pristine Museum Pieces.”

NYU Is Digitizing ALBA’s Civil War Poster Collection

By Sebastiaan Faber

Lyndsey Tyne spent much of last summer carefully studying more than two hundred posters from the Spanish Civil War that were first brought to the United States by the surviving veterans of the Lincoln Brigade. “It was an incredibly educational experience,” she told me when we spoke in early January. “These posters represent an amazing moment in graphic design, but also in terms of printing techniques—despite the fact that they were produced under very challenging and urgent circumstances.”

Tyne, a paper conservator and the Conservation Librarian in the Barbara Goldsmith Preservation & Conservation Department at NYU Libraries, is coordinating a major, two-year project to conserve and digitize all the Spanish Civil War posters held at the Tamiment Library. The NYU collection, which comprises over 250 posters, is one of the largest held by any institution outside of Spain, more than twice the size of those at UC San Diego, Brandeis, the Library of Congress, or the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. (By comparison, the University of Barcelona has more than 1,100 posters, while the Spanish Civil War archive in Salamanca boasts more than 2,200.)

Exactly what posters are part of this project?

We’re limiting the scope to posters held at the Tamiment that were produced between 1936 and 1939, either in Spain or in other countries. Most of them were part of the original ALBA collection when it was transferred from Brandeis to NYU in 2000, but some were added later. Excluding duplicates, we’re talking about 230 unique titles that will now be available for physical and remote digital access.

Why conserve and digitize them now?

The main reason is the high level of interest. According to our reading room statistics, our poster collection is among the most heavily used collections. It’s also frequently featured in classroom instruction—plus, we recently sent some of the posters out on loan. In 2024, for example, three of them were featured in the *Francesc Tosquelles: Avant-Garde Psychiatry and the Birth of Art Brut* exhibit at the Folk Art Museum here in New York City.



Before any item can go out on loan, it comes through the Special Collections Conservation Unit, where we assess the item and perform any necessary conservation work. As it happened, I had the opportunity to conserve these three posters myself. Fortunately, they didn’t need major work, just some minor stabilization.

What’s the role of your unit in

this project?

Before our Digital Library Technology Services can start digitizing the posters, for which we fortunately have the equipment and expertise in-house, we have to conserve them. Honestly, that’s the most time-intensive part of the project. In fact, an anonymous donation has allowed us to hire a designated project conservator, Ana Sofia Drinovan. She started this past fall and will be working on the project for two years.

What draws you in personally?

I hope to learn more about the print technology used through the research we will be doing as part of this project. These posters were produced as offset lithographs. What that means is that all the drawings, paintings, text, and photos they include were transferred to printing plates. For multicolor images, moreover, each color had its own plate, which is mind-boggling if you consider how many colors some of these posters include.

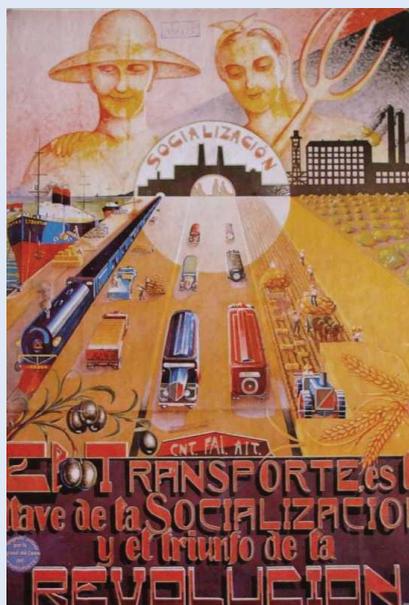
What shape is the collection in?

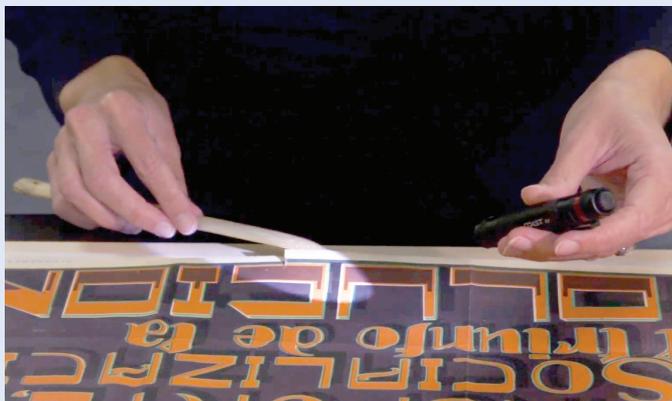
We haven’t finished assessing every poster yet, but I can tell you there is a huge range. I have seen some posters that are in extremely good condition and that just need minor work, such as mending a small tear. Others are in much worse shape: they are missing fragments, or they have broken into several

pieces. We shouldn’t forget that these posters were printed under wartime conditions and were meant to be ephemeral items for immediate use. The paper and ink used were not selected for their longevity or preservation!

As a paper conservator, what do you see when you handle objects like these?

I see paper that is machine-made—low-quality, short-fiber paper that, over time, has become discolored and brittle. That’s





a problem, especially given the size of these posters: they average about 30 by 40 inches, but some are double that size. Because short-fiber papers don't have a lot of internal mechanical strength, the posters' size makes them extremely susceptible to handling damage during routine access. The inks, on the other hand, are oil-based, which was the standard in lithography, and therefore relatively stable in comparison.

What is your conservation treatment philosophy?

Our goal is stabilization for long-term preservation. At the same time, we don't want to remove any evidence of these posters' history or use.

What do you mean?

I mean that we do not want to turn the posters into pristine museum pieces. Rather, we want them to read as whole items. How they were used in Spain and how they came to the United States is important information to us. That means we'll mend tears and losses, but we will not try to make the mends invisible—although if a tear is distracting, we might use some color to make it slightly less so. In some cases, we'll have to line posters with thin Japanese paper. But we won't do that unless the poster is so fractured or has so many tears that it really needs it.

All that sounds like a tricky balance to strike.

Absolutely. And we'll certainly be consulting with Shannon O'Neill, Curator for the Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, and other experts worldwide who have worked on collections like these. And of course, we'll carefully document every step of the process in writing and with photographs. All that said, the simplest but perhaps most important thing we are doing, as a final phase, is encasing the posters in polyester sleeves. That way, anyone handling them can pick them up without a high risk of causing damage.

When and how will the scans be available?

Michael Stasiak, our Digital Content Manager, is overseeing the digitization, which, as I said, will be done in-house. We aim to finish the project in the fall of 2027. The images will be made available on our website through the Spanish Civil War Poster Collection (ALBA.GRAPHICS.001) finding aid as high-resolution, interactive digital images with panning and zooming functions.

WHO IS AFRAID OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR?

Ninety Years Later, Hollywood Is Still Jittery about Tackling the Topic

By Christopher Angel

Major US films and series about the Spanish Civil War have been few and far between. Why has Hollywood shied away from a topic that, on the face of it, presents such a trove of compelling stories?



Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, major film studios in Los Angeles have spent many millions exploring the moral complexities of World War II—and especially America's entry into the conflict—in series such as *Band of Brothers* (2001), *The Pacific* (2010), and *Masters of the Air* (2024), or in feature films like *Schindler's List* (1993), *Inglorious Basterds* (2009), *The Monuments Men* (2014), and *Oppenheimer* (2023). By comparison, projects about the Spanish Civil War have been few and far between—as they were for most of the Cold War.

Why has Hollywood shied away from a topic that, on the face of it, presents such a trove of compelling stories? Are there no passionate screenwriters and filmmakers interested in telling them? In fact, there are plenty, as I discovered during my own development of a historical-fiction feature film about George Orwell's experiences in Spain. Yet, somehow, promising Hollywood projects on the Spanish war consistently run aground. Some recent examples:

- In 2018, David Simon—the creator and writer of what many consider the single best television series ever made, *The Wire* (2002)—announced to the Hollywood press that he was writing *A Dry Run*, about “a group of Americans who travel to

Spain to fight for the republic against Francisco Franco's Nationalists" in the "Abraham Lincoln and George Washington battalions". The "Spanish struggle against fascism," Simon told *Variety*, "and the misuse of capitalism as a bulwark to totalitarianism," are "the pre-eminent political narrative of the 20th century, and of our time still." Since then, however, public information about the project—a coproduction between HBO and the Spanish company Mediapro—has been scarce. In a 2022 interview with *Culture Magazine*, Simon mentioned that he was still researching and writing scripts. On the IMDB website, production has been listed as being "in development" for years, with two high-profile writers, George Pelecanos and Dennis Lehane, included in the team. Yet there is no sign that the series is any closer to production than it was seven years ago.

- Michael Mann, the Academy Award-nominated director of *Heat*, collaborated with Hollywood studio Columbia Pictures (owned by Sony) on the adaptation of Susana Fortes' novel *Waiting for Robert Capa* (2009), which tells the story of the romantic and professional relationship between Capa and Gerda Taro as war photographers in Spain. Although that project went as far as casting Andrew Garfield and Gemma Arterton as the two leads, it withered on the vine.
- Adam Hochschild confirmed to me that his book *Spain in Our Hearts* (2016), which also deals with the American volunteers, was optioned by a Hollywood television company—but it never advanced to production.
- My own *Orwell* feature film, set in Spain—which was once under development by the same company that produced *Blood Diamond*—has yet to be made. I have continued working on the project for years because I believe that Orwell's legacy and his experiences in Spain make for a thrilling story that has much to say to us today. (More recently, I have also been consulting with researcher Bernd Haber, who seeks to tell the story of his great uncle, Hans Maslowski, a volunteer with the International Brigades.)

Why have none of these projects made it to the screen?

The Spanish Civil War has long been a challenging and complex subject for Hollywood films. Even in 1938, during the conflict, the feature film *Blockade* was met with protest by the American Catholic Church and banned in some American cities, despite the fact that it pulled its punches and never even mentioned Spain, let alone the enemy to the Republican cause. In *The Fallen Sparrow* (1943), the hero, played by John Garfield, suffers from the trauma of being tortured as a fighter in Spain, although German Nazis emerge as the true enemy in the World War II plot. The biggest success story was the film version of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1943), based on the Ernest Hemingway novel. It earned a hefty profit and was nominated for nine Academy Awards. Released as it was after the attack on Pearl Harbor, it struck a chord with audiences as the US was fighting fascism on multiple fronts.

The situation is different today. In Hollywood, there are usually two reasons why promising films are not produced. The first is business-related. Historical fiction films or TV series, also known as period pieces, are typically expensive to make, given the cost of creating historically accurate sets, costumes, and props. War stories are even more expensive due to the large numbers of soldiers and visual effects needed to portray battle scenes convincingly. Recreating a visually stunning and accurate film version of the Spanish Civil War, in other words, would almost inevitably require a large budget. One way Hollywood has attempted to mitigate risky financial outlays is by seeking out popular books that can serve as the basis for a project—and as proof that an interested audience exists. (*Schindler's List*, for example, was based on the book *Schindler's Ark* by Thomas Keneally, and *Oppenheimer* on the biography *American Prometheus* by Kai Bird and Martin J. Sherwin.) Moreover, many Hollywood executives are concerned that the complexities of the Spanish Civil War will deter the audience, although predicting box office is notoriously difficult. The challenging, dramatic film *Oppenheimer*, about a scientist involved in a controversial historical subject (and, incidentally, married to the widow of a Spanish Civil War veteran), was predicted to underperform. Instead, it became a runaway success, grossing almost a billion dollars worldwide. *Oppenheimer* shows that cinema audiences often respond to original stories and are eager for new experiences.

The second major make-or-break factor in Hollywood is the subjective, "creative" analysis of a project by the studio leadership. How good is the script? Is it attractive to top actors? Does it have a shot at major festival prizes, or even an Academy Award? The Republican side of the Spanish war—especially the international volunteers who left their countries and sacrificed so much to fight against totalitarianism and for ideals of freedom, democracy, and equality—would seem to fit the bill: they provide powerful, thought-provoking stories, inviting nuanced, powerful acting performances. In a world where authoritarianism is on the rise and democracy imperiled, many potential moviegoers would recognize these stories as vitally important.

And yet this is precisely what scares the Hollywood studio execs, whose conventional wisdom on the Spanish War is that any portrayal of Republicans by necessity has to address Communism, Socialism, and Anarchism. However much creatives tend to claim that "controversy sells," the corporate ecosystem of Hollywood has little appetite to stake a large financial risk on a story about revolutionary antifascists. When so much money is riding on a single project, funders are less likely to embrace a topic that, inevitably, will be read as a critique of late-stage capitalism—challenging or even angering a sizable share of the American audience, not to mention the political and corporate stakeholders of Hollywood studios.

One relatively recent exception to this trend was Philip Kaufman's HBO-produced TV movie *Hemingway & Gellhorn* (2012). According to press reports at the time, the fame of Ernest Hemingway—and the casting of Clive Owen and Nicole

Kidman in the starring roles—convinced HBO (then owned by Time-Warner) to greenlight the film at a budget of \$15-18 million. Although we see Hemingway working on *The Spanish Earth* while Martha Gellhorn discovers her passion for war reporting, the film glosses over the politics of the Spanish war, reducing it to the backdrop of a love story and, at most, presenting it as a precursor to World War II. In the end, it was an opportunity lost—all the more so considering that a subscription-only network like HBO allowed their shows to be more edgy and independent than any theatrical release.

Since Trump’s second electoral victory, the political climate in Hollywood has only chilled further. The temporary removal of Jimmy Kimmel’s talk show from the air illustrates how a consideration that was once kept behind closed doors has become public policy. In the last issue of *The Volunteer*, historian Kirsten Weld argued that some of the intellectual roots of American ethnonationalism can be traced back to the reactionary traditions that inspired Franco’s regime. In this context, any film about the Spanish war featuring the Republicans would likely be seen as too risky a threat.

But fortunately, Hollywood is not the only game in town. The projects on the Spanish war that have made it to the theaters over the past 35 years have generally been small and independent. Ken Loach’s feature film *Land and Freedom* (1995), loosely inspired by Orwell’s *Homage to Catalonia*, had a reported budget of US\$3.8 million. Academy Award winner Roland Joffé’s *There Be Dragons* (2011), which depicts both sides of the conflict, was largely financed by Opus Dei, since it featured Josemaría Escrivá, the founder of that religious order, as its main character.

Of course, there have also been plenty of Spanish (co-)productions that grapple with the war and the Franco years. Best known in North America are two films by Mexico’s Guillermo Del Toro: *The Devil’s Backbone* (2001) and *Pan’s Labyrinth* (2006). Other, more recent films such as *The Endless Trench* (2019), *While at War* (2019), and *The Teacher Who Promised the Sea* (2023), show that the war continues to inspire Spanish filmmakers.

In Hollywood, industry concerns could continue to hinder the production of films about the Spanish Civil War. At the same time that the box office revenue for dramatic, complex feature films in the United States is steadily declining, the golden era of “peak TV,” when complicated characters and dark subjects were widely explored in cable and streaming series, is no

longer seen as financially viable. Meanwhile, a new wave of media consolidation, including the proposed sale of Warner Bros. to Netflix, will further discourage the production of controversial projects—and even theatrical films altogether.

If the jitters about the Spanish war are primarily a Los Angeles problem, the steady decline of Hollywood hegemony is a source of hope. Of course, major studio productions still command a far higher production and marketing budget, not to mention guaranteed distribution, increasing their odds of creating a global cultural moment. However, as current trends in film financing and production are eroding the traditional lines of demarcation between Hollywood and the rest of the world, new opportunities may be emerging for English-language films or series set in Spain. For example, Spain has developed a robust film industry, supported by government tax credits and excellent crews. (Artificial Intelligence is also, controversially, projected to bring down the costs of special

effects such as those used to replace modern objects and buildings, or create the visual world of a battle scene.)

Like with so many projects in Hollywood and elsewhere, if brave and determined trailblazers dare to show the way and succeed, then others will follow. It will likely take the full-throated support of a well-known actor or director for any project on the Spanish war to make it to production. Such support is perhaps likelier now than in recent years. Today, a powerful film or series about the Spanish fight against fascism could inform and inspire many.

Christopher Angel is a filmmaker and screenwriter based in Los Angeles. A graduate of Yale and the University of Southern California School of Cinema, he won a student Academy Award, was nominated for an Emmy, and has directed five feature films. He is adapting William Abrahams and Peter Stansky’s Orwell: The Transformation for the screen.



ARKIVO

The World of Strings

Maria Guleva



Image: Weng Xingqing 翁興慶, “The World of Strings 線的世界”, *Shidai Manhua* 時代漫畫 no. 33 (December 1936), back cover.

China, like most of the world, was entangled in multiple local and global crises when this image was published in December 1936, on the back cover of a Shanghai-based magazine titled *Shidai Manhua* 時代漫畫, or *Modern Sketch*. Although power in China was formally held by the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, Guomindang, 國民黨,) headed by Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887–1975), the Communist party (Gongchandang, 共產黨) vied for the minds and hearts of people—as well as for territories to control and taxes to collect. Other political parties and factions existed beside and within the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. In December 1936, as the Japanese threatened to invade, Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped in the old capital city, Xi'an, to be forced into cooperation with the Communists. Numerous local rulers, former warlords, accepted the rule of Kuomintang to varying degrees, while parts of the former Qing empire aspired to independence. Cities like Shanghai were cosmopolitan, with a notable foreign presence and rich international culture, but alongside luxury and affluence there was widespread poverty and hunger. Electricity, telegraph, and automobiles coexisted with coolie labor in ports and ancient agricultural practices in the countryside. Although daily life was relatively peaceful, the news brought tidings of wars and strife from across the globe—including China's own northeast, Manchuria, which in 1931 had been turned into a Japanese puppet state, Manchukuo, formally ruled by Puyi 溥儀 (1906–1967), the child-emperor of Qing empire (1644–1912). China would plunge into its own massive tragic war soon after the publication of the image reproduced here: July 1937 saw the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, the opening salvo of what would be World War II, ending only in September 1945.

December 1936, in other words, was not an easy, light-hearted time for China. Yet Shanghai found a space for various forms of entertainment serving different tastes and incomes. *Shidai Manhua* aimed to appeal to middle-class, educated urbanites. Although it wasn't left leaning or not overtly political at its start, the magazine grew increasingly engaged in the public debates over domestic politics and the international situation. Its contributors wrote about the Italo-Ethiopian war; Japanese encroachment in China's northeast and Nationalist government's non-resistance policy; the rise of fascism in Europe and the worldwide spread of communism; the clash between those two ideologies; the passivity and neutrality of the League of Nations; and, of course, the Spanish Civil War.

This stunningly colorful and dynamic drawing, “The world of strings” (*Xian de shijie* 線的世界), was made by Weng Xingqing 翁興慶. The first image to strike the viewer is the red swastika-like twirl in the lower half of the composition. The black “strings” crisscrossing the surface also jump out, especially the thick black diagonal line that divides the drawing into halves and on which three human silhouettes march to the lower left. The first of them carries a flag with characters “zhongli

中立” (neutrality); the second one seems to carry something in his hand—possibly a dove of peace. The path of this faceless group is obstructed by two intersecting ropes, one going from top left to bottom right, from a human figure in a red bubble with caption “SPA[IN]” and “*Renmin zhanxian* 人民戰綫”, Popular Front, to another human figure with a skull and crossed bones emblem on his shoulder, placed on a blue rectangle. Yet another rope stretches from a blue bubble in the upper central part of the composition, inscribed “WAR”, to one of the red lines in the swastika.

Even if the “neutrality” procession manages to pass through those ropes on their finely balanced march, they still need to face the rotating figures of Hitler (recognizable by moustache, hairstyle, and a black swastika on his shoulder) and Mussolini (depicted with a familiar heavy chin and hat). Thinner strings connect a nondescript bubble in the upper right corner to two smaller figures in the bottom left and center: one, wearing glasses and a blue robe, is almost certainly Puyi, while the other appears to be just a soldier without individualized traits. Both are puppets controlled by the strings. What does this drawing show?

War looms large, fascism is on the march, battles erupt between irreconcilable enemies, and the peace faction attempts an almost impossible balancing act of maintaining neutrality amidst the whirlwind of world conflicts. The Spanish Civil War is prominent in the composition, not only in the significantly positioned figures in the upper left and lower right corners, but also in the clearly visible inscriptions in two languages. These would most likely be familiar to the readers of *Shidai Manhua*, given that the war and Popular Front were recurring subjects in Shanghai's and other Chinese newspapers. The passive stance of the League of Nations regarding Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the inaction of Western powers in Mussolini's war against Abyssinia, and the insufficient help Republican forces received from the USSR and Western countries compared to Hitler's support for Franco were perceived and depicted by Chinese manhua artists as interrelated tragic trends leading to the impending larger war. The neutrality of the Western powers and the inadequate diplomatic support for the victims of aggression such as China (in the eyes of its press) and for the defenders of the righteous cause such as the Republican fighters in Spain thus tied into a tightly woven narrative of impending doom for the whole planet, visualized in Chinese cartoons (*manhua*). ▲

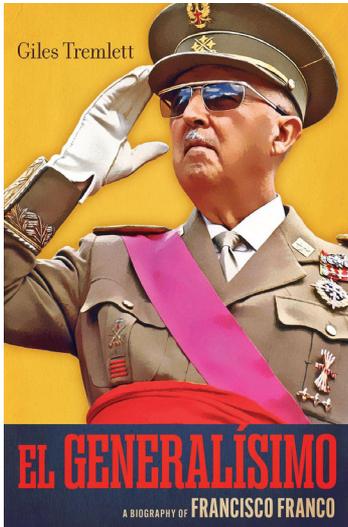
Mariia Guleva is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Sinology at Charles University (Prague). She defended her PhD thesis on Manhua magazine in March 2025, and she also studied visual depictions of Russia and the West in Chinese cartooning practices in the 1930s.

In this occasional feature of *The Volunteer*, whose title is the Esperanto word for “archive,” we present, translate, and contextualize iconic foreign language documents related to the anti-fascist struggle in Spain. If you have a favorite document in a language other than English, let us know!

Book Review

Giles Tremlett, *El Generalísimo: a Biography of Francisco Franco*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2025. 528pp.

Review by Joshua Goode



The dictator-biography business has always been good. In 2006, one scholar estimated that there were about 106,000 biographies of Adolf Hitler. If we add the thousand works on Benito Mussolini and an additional 100 or so on Francisco Franco, one cannot help but wonder what more there is to say.

But history does not work that way. Historians and biographers extract from the past infinite lessons, not

just from new sources—which always appear—or from new approaches. They also write for their own historical moment. Today, the rise of dictators during the 1930s and 1940s is calling our attention once again, with the promise of an explanation that might help us make sense of our current predicament. Do countries have the leaders they deserve? The ones they ask for? Or do dictators simply force their way onto the stage through vile talent, exploiting a distracted or disaffected public? As one scholar once said about biographies of Mussolini, one can describe the Duce's rise in two ways: either he was an exemplar of his age, or he was just lucky.

It is into this breach that Giles Tremlett's new biography of Francisco Franco leaps. What do we learn from it? The subject is certainly challenging. Franco's gift as a leader was to remain isolated, keep his own counsel, and use enigma as a tool. Most Franco biographers present a figure who cared little for external assessments. Even close confidants did not often feel they truly had his ear. Infamous for delivering rambling, chaotic, and disconnected rants in public and private, he chronically avoided taking positions—especially in moments where action was demanded, or he felt put under pressure by those around him. In July 1936, he dithered so much before joining the military coup against the Republic that his comrades began referring to him as “Miss Canary Islands.” The sexist sobriquet was the product of their frustration: Franco seemingly required what Tremlett calls “intense wooing” to help overthrow a government of which he had been deeply critical.

Most efforts to sum up Franco have focused on his contradictions, his ability to sow confusion, his obfuscation, and his ideological opacity. He combined a rabid form of anti-communism with a consistent antisemitism that sometimes veered into philo-sephardism. Adding to the mix was an idiosyncratic,

almost fanatical hatred of freemasonry, a villain whose contours are curiously hard to make out.

Franco skillfully controlled and manipulated a collection of right-wing parties—a coalition that Tremlett anachronistically calls “far right,” and among which he presumes more unity than there was—that included Spain's fascist party. But the Falange had to add “traditionalist” to its name to fit into the Francoist coalition, much to the consternation of the various “new men and women” who saw fascism as a break with all traditions.

During the thirty-six years that Franco ruled Spain after declaring victory in 1939, he continued to defy categorization ideologically, psychologically, and diplomatically. Because he kept the motives and core values driving his behavior inscrutable to analysts and the general public, Franco was unpredictable for political opponents and supporters alike. Ruthless and greedy, he was widely reviled and ostracized. Yet all his biographers agree that when it came to decision-making, he cared very little about the hatred he might incite. Perhaps the lesson is that a dictator's true source of power is his shamelessness. Tremlett agrees with Paul Preston and others that what defined Franco at his core was the arrogant conviction he and only he could lead the childlike Spaniards into the future.

Tremlett's efficient biography guides the reader quickly through the contexts of Francoist and post-Franco politics, corruption, regionalism, and terrorism. The result, however, is a portrait like others. Franco's early life, with a distant, philandering father, a devout mother, a more famous brother, an unenviable stature, and a nasally voice, led to a military career of unconstrained violence and dehumanization of the enemy in his colonial experiences in Africa. Combined, these experiences instilled in Franco a basic sense that cruelty was a political act—in fact, the only truly effective one. His legacy was to believe that politics was a ruthless battle. Beating the enemy required brutality and viciousness as both a tool and an example.

In light of Tremlett's earlier work, which includes the extraordinary *The Ghosts of Spain* (2006), it is surprising how little he says in this book about Franco's lasting effects on Spanish society, including its culture, art, and media. Still, his most interesting contribution to our understanding of Franco is his epilogue, which juxtaposes the dictator's funeral in 1975 with his disinterment from the Basilica at the Valley of the Fallen in 2019. By buttressing the post-Franco period with these two events, Tremlett offers the kind of thought-provoking lesson on Franco and his legacy that the rest of the 404-page biography shies away from. The book's final line could be a good opening sentence for the book one craves in the current moment: “For those seeking excuses for autocracy or tyranny, Francisco Franco will always provide a role model.” ▲

Joshua Goode is the Book Review Editor of The Volunteer. He is a Professor of History and Cultural Studies at Claremont Graduate University in Claremont, California. His own attempt at a biography of Franco appears in Europe Since 1914: Encyclopedia of the Age of War and Reconstruction, edited by Jay Winter and John Merriman (2006).

Art as Weapon: Wifredo Lam at MoMA

By Jo Labanyi

The painter Wifredo Lam (1902-1982), whose work is on display in a long-overdue MoMA retrospective, spent his formative years in Spain—where in 1936 he joined the defense of the Second Republic.

In 1945, when New York's Museum of Modern Art purchased *The Jungle* (1943), Wifredo Lam's first major painting to explore Afro-Cuban belief systems, the curators inexplicably chose to display it in the museum lobby, next to the coat check. In a way, MoMA's stunning retrospective of the African-Chinese-Cuban painter, on display until April 11, makes amends for that decades-long slight. Curated by Beverly Adams, the exhibit offers a rare opportunity to appreciate Lam's magnificently transcultural version of modernism.



Born in 1902 to a Chinese father and a Congolese-Spanish mother in Sagua la Grande on Cuba's north coast, Lam moved to Spain in 1923 to study artistic technique. He'd live in Europe until 1941, when the rise of fascism drove him back to Cuba, where he re-established contact with his cultural roots. He worked closely with Lydia Cabrera, an ethnologist of Afro-Cuban culture, and illustrated texts by Martinican decolonial theorists Aimé Césaire and Édouard Glissant. Forced to leave by Batista's military coup in 1952, he spent the years following moving between Europe (mainly Paris and Italy) and the Americas.

Yet it was Republican Spain, where Lam frequented left-wing circles and read Marxist literature, which first politicized the painter. Lam rejected the Eurocentric primitivism of much modernist art, which he denounced for commodifying non-European cultures as objects of curiosity. In Lam's paintings, Afro-Cuban culture speaks back. Toward the end of his life, he described his work as "an act of decolonization."

Lam initially made no connection between his artistic aspirations and his ethnically diverse background. (Lam's godmother was a respected Lucumi priestess; we know less about his Chinese cultural heritage.) In the 1920s, however, he discovered prehistoric and African art at Madrid's Archeological Museum. In 1933, also in Madrid, he met the Paris-based Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier, who had gone into exile from the Machado regime in Cuba and who that year published his first novel, *Ecué-Yamba-O*, a pioneering exploration of Afro-Cuban culture.

After the military uprising against the Spanish Republic in July 1936, Lam joined the Fifth Regiment, the informal name given to the Communist Party's militarized unit—also known as the "Talent Battalion" because it attracted many writers and artists.

He designed several posters for the Republican Propaganda Ministry, none of which seem to have survived. Information about his participation in the defense of Madrid against Franco's November 1936 assault is vague. From October 1936 to March 1937, he worked in a munitions factory, where he supervised the manufacture of anti-tank bombs. After contracting chemical poisoning, he was sent to a sanatorium at Caldes de Montbui, north of Barcelona. On the way, in Valencia, he met the sculptor Timoteo Pérez Rubio, who happened

to chair the committee selecting artworks for the Republic's Spanish Pavilion at the 1937 Paris World's Fair. Pérez Rubio encouraged Lam to submit a painting. The result—which Lam did not complete in time for the Paris exhibition—was *The Civil War*, the first painting to feature his distinctive style.

Painted in blues and grays with strong black brush strokes on wrapping paper (he couldn't afford canvas), and measuring just under 7 x 8 feet, *La Guerra Civil* depicts a jumble of suffering bodies compressed into a contorted mass by a tank advancing from the top right, with a civil guard's three-cornered hat visible in the top left. Arms are prominent; two of them brandish a sickle and a red flag. Faces are mask-like. Like Picasso's *Guernica*, painted for the same Paris exhibition, the painting is hard to decipher but is a clear depiction of pain.

In May 1938, Lam left Spain for Paris, where Picasso took him under his wing, and where he painted *Douleur de l'Espagne* (*The Sorrow of Spain*), with two geometric female figures crossing their hands over their chest and face respectively. The one visible face is a mask. This is the only other painting by Lam that references the Spanish war.

Still, the conflict left a lasting impact on his work. In a later interview, Lam stated that his experience of the war in Spain turned his art into a weapon. In 1981, a year before his death in Paris, the Cuban government awarded him the Internationalist Combatant Medal for his participation in the defense of the Spanish Republic. ▲

Jo Labanyi is Professor Emerita of Spanish at New York University. MoMA's retrospective "Wifredo Lam: When I Don't Sleep, I Dream" continues through April 11, 2026.

In Memory of Peter Davis (1933-2025)

By Alex Vernon



The filmmaker Peter Davis, who died in Vancouver this past December, was born in 1933 near London, where he lived through World War II. He studied English at Oxford with J.R.R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis and lived in Sweden before emigrating to North America to work in television and film. With his own production company,

*Villon Films, he produced dozens of political documentaries. An activist filmmaker in the school of Joris Ivens, he fought against South African apartheid and was involved in the global fight against HIV/AIDS. In 2017, he released *Digging the Spanish Earth*, a film about The Spanish Earth, the 1937 documentary by Ivens and Hemingway. Alex Vernon, who worked with him on the project, remembers.*

In September 2012, I received an unexpected email from Peter Davis, with whom I had been in contact a few years earlier about my research on *The Spanish Earth*. In the 1980s, Peter had started a project about the Spanish Civil War, for which he had filmed interviews with two war correspondents, Martha Gellhorn and George Seldes, and with Helen van Dongen, the editor of Ivens's film. Peter told me that he had decided to "revive" the project and politely asked: "Do you retain an interest in the subject, or have you moved on to other things?"

Thus began my small contribution to *Digging the Spanish Earth*. The highlight of that experience, and the source of some of its footage, was the week I spent in central Spain, in June 2013, with Peter and Almudena Cros, an art historian, Madrid tour guide extraordinaire, and president of the Asociación de Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales. In a *Cineaste* review, Thomas Waugh called Peter's film a "rich and illuminating hybrid." He continued: "Most refreshing, perhaps, is the meandering tour of the twenty-first-century Spanish earth over which the other elements are layered, a survey of the original geography of the conflict and the documentary—and even a few surviving local dramatic personae."

What an astonishing, exhilarating week it was! Since this was only my second time in Spain with the war on my mind, I was learning far more than I was consulting. The three of us discovered much along the way. As I reported in an article for *The Hemingway Review*, we found the gravestone put up by the Nationalists after the war alongside a road into Fuentidueña de Tajo for the priest murdered in August 1936. We visited the village's present-day "fascist"

bakery. We located the meeting hall where Ivens and John Fernhout had filmed a rally for the formation of the People's Army, featuring speeches by Enrique Lister, Gustav Regler, "Carlos" (the war moniker of Vittorio Vidali), José Díaz, and La Pasionaria.

Spain that summer was HOT. Peter was seventy-nine years old, slight of frame, yet oversized in energy and curiosity—go, go, go, nonstop—while also gracious, cheerful, and witty. Whereas he had had a lifetime's worth of such filming adventures, it was my first and only—yet he treated me and Almu as peers.

When he and I first communicated over email, he felt obliged to tell me that he wasn't *that* Peter Davis, whose film *Hearts and Minds* (1974), about the war in Vietnam, won an Academy Award for Best Documentary. I knew a little about Peter's career from a few minutes of internet sleuthing, and he shared a few stories during our time in Spain, but when I read his obituary, I realized how much more modest and humble a man he actually was. And his adoration of his wife, Joy, and their family shone.

Any factual errors in *Digging the Spanish Earth* are mine. I regret that I did not help enough in post-production. Ever the gentleman, Peter invited my feedback but did not complain about my lapses. More than that, I regret that I did not find other occasions to interact with this amazing, creative, passionate, kind, and lively man. To know him was to be enriched.

Alex Vernon is the M.E. and Ima Graves Peace Distinguished Professor of English at Hendrix College outside Little Rock. More at alex-vernon.squarespace.com.

See our online edition at albvollunteer.org for additional memories of Peter Davis.

Victor Grossman (1928-2025)



Victor Grossman, who died in Berlin on December 17, 2025, at 97, was a lifelong communist, journalist, and bridge-builder between the United States and the socialist world. Born Stephen Wechsler in New York City on March 11, 1928, to a Jewish family that had fled tsarist pogroms, he came of age amid the Great Depression and gravitated early toward the Communist movement, joining the Young Communist League in 1942 and the CPUSA in 1945. After studying economics at Harvard and

graduating with honors in 1949, he followed the party's call into industrial work in Buffalo, organizing steelworkers and learning to "speak the workers' language."

Drafted into the U.S. Army during the Korean War and stationed in Bavaria, Wechsler faced court-martial and prison for concealing his party membership. On August 12, 1952, he made the fateful decision to desert, swimming across the Danube near Linz into the Soviet zone of Austria. After interrogation, he was sent to the newly founded German Democratic Republic, where he took the name Victor Grossman to protect his family from persecution. He worked in industry, and then studied journalism at Karl Marx University in Leipzig, eventually building a life as a journalist, editor, and commentator in East Berlin.

In the GDR, Grossman became a key mediator of "the other America," promoting progressive U.S. culture and figures like Paul Robeson and Pete Seeger. He edited and wrote for English-language outlets such as Seven Seas Publishers, the *German Democratic Report*, and Radio Berlin International, and later worked as director of the Paul Robeson Archive at the GDR Academy of Arts. His liner notes, articles, and radio series introduced GDR audiences to American folk music and political song, culminating in his role as interpreter and guide during Seeger's triumphant 1967 visit to East Berlin, which helped inspire a new political song movement and the later Festival of Political Song.

Grossman felt a deep connection to the memory of the Spanish Civil War and its international volunteers. In 1961, he served as interpreter for Abraham Lincoln Brigade veterans such as Bill Bailey, Milton Wolff, Moe Fishman, and Ruth Davidow during their visit to East Berlin. In the GDR and, after 1990, in unified Germany, he was active in the Association of Fighters and Friends of the Spanish Republic, helping keep alive the antifascist legacy of the International Brigades after the last German fighter died in 2012. His German-language history of the war, *Madrid Du Wunderbare* (2006), linked the struggles of the 1930s to later fights against fascism, war, and reaction.

Even after the fall of the GDR, Grossman remained committed to socialism, joining Die Linke's Communist Platform and turning his Karl-Marx-Allee apartment into a hub of tenants' organizing and peace activism. He wrote widely for left publications, including his memoir *Crossing the River* and the newsletter *Berlin Bulletin*, always insisting on a critical but loyal defense of the GDR's antifascist aspirations.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED FROM 11/1/2025 TO 1/31/2026

BENEFACTOR (\$5,000 AND ABOVE)

- The Puffin Foundation • Open Horizon Foundation
• Steve Birnbaum • Martha Daura in memory of Pierre Daura
• Cynthia Young

SPONSOR (\$1,000-\$4,999)

- Paul Blanc in memory of Mike Nussbaum • John & Jane Brickman • Allison Burnett • Bonnie Burt & Mark Liss in memory of Ben Konfesky • Burton J. Cohen • Daniel J. Czitrom & Meryl Fingrut in memory of Joe Gordon, Leo Gordon, & Ben Barsky. • Anthony Geist in honor of Emil and Wally Geist
• Peter & Amy Glazer in honor of Charles and Yolanda Hall
• Maria Hernandez-Ojeda in memory of Peter N. Carroll
• Paul Kranz • Josephine M. Labanyi • Mark Landesman
• Jack Mayerhofer • Karen Nussbaum in memory of Mike Nussbaum • Rachel Perelson in memory of Eugene & Gertrude Reich • Robert Prosser in honor of Robert Coale • Ellen Schwartz
• Len & Nancy Tsou in memory of Jaui-Sau Tchang Kin-Tien Liou

SUPPORTER (\$250-\$999)

- Kathie Amatniek Sarachild in memory of Ernest Amatniek
• Joan E. Balter in memory of Morris Kornblum aka Martin K. Balter • Joshua Barnett • Rebecca Freeman & William Bemis in memory of Herb & Jack Freeman • Alda Blanco • Jonathan & Kathy Block in memory of Harry Fisher, Helen Feinberg, & Al Weinerman • Maggie Block in memory of Harry Fisher • Richard & Joanne Bogart • David Bortz • Ida Brier • Christine Carsman
• Stephen Dinnen • Katherine Doyle in memory of Peter N. Carroll • David Elsila • Elizabeth Favaro • Ellen L. Ferguson
• Maura Fitzgerald in memory of Daniel Fitzgerald • Robert A. Fitzgerald in memory of Daniel Fitzgerald • Kate Fogarty
• Joshua Freeman • Enrique & Suzanne Skorich • Sherna Gluck
• Joshua Goode in memory of Belle Granich Wishik
• Anne Gordon in memory of Louis Gordon • Albert Gorn
• William Hedrick • Karen Mittleman & Neil Hendrickson in memory of George & Rosalind Hendrickson • Elaine Herman
• Gina Herrmann • Adam Hochschild • Leslie Hsu • Cristina Jimenez • Jeffrey Kauffman in memory of Charlie Keith • Steven Klapper in memory of Milt Wolff • Aaron Kreuter • Linda & Steve Lustig in memory of Peter N. Carroll • Marc Mauer
• Matt & Lisa McGurrin in memory of Vincent Lossowski • Peter Miller • Robert Nelson & Marguerite Renner in memory of Steve Nelson • Adele & Nick Niederman • Rita O. Keeffe in honor of Dr. Robin W. Briehl • Lola Pazos in memory of Juan Dominguez Pazos • Curtis Puddicombe • Aaron Retish • Paul & Esther Retish

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED FROM 11/1/2025 TO 1/31/2026

- Maria Cristina Rodriguez • Michael Rosen in memory of Peter N. Carroll • Richard Rothman • Harry Salzberg in memory of Murray M. Salzberg • Aric & Mady Schichor • Mardge Cohen & Gordon Schiff • Julie Starobin in memory of Irving Starobin
- Karen Sullivan • Cindy Shamban & Marge Sussman in memory of Joseph Luftig • Anne Taibleson in memory of Susan Nussbaum
- Todd Trescott in honor of John "Johnnie Tricks" Trcka • Nancy Wallach in memory of Hy Wallach • Jeri Wellman & Nick Bryan in memory of Jerry Weinberg & Saul Wellman • Josephine & Henry Yurek in memory of Steve Nelson

CONTRIBUTOR (\$100-\$249)

Lisa Brier Rose & Howard Rose in memory of Morris Brier • Catherine Karrass & Margo George • David Abramson • Barbara Abrash
• Frederick & Ann Adams • Esther Adler in memory of Joseph Adler • Louis Agre in memory of Lewis Kaufman • Anita Altman
• Jan Amundson • Michael Apple • Jean Barish in honor of Peter Glazer • Michael Batinski • Catherine Blair & Steve Becker • Nancy Berke • Lawrence Bilick in memory of Norman Finkelstein • Fred Blair in memory of John & Harriet Blair • Amy Bloom in memory of Jules & Florence Bloom • Robert Bordiga in memory of Milt Felsen • John & Irene Bush in memory of Max Schwartz • Margaret Butz Shelleda in memory of Mike Nussbaum • David & Suzanne Cane in memory of Dr. Pedro Gonzalez-Porque & Lawrence Cane
• Natasha Carroll-Ferrary in memory of Peter N. Carroll • Peter Cass • Robert Chick • Judith Cisneros in memory of Saul Birnbaum
• Ken Cloke in honor of Richard Cloke • Charlie & Nancy Clough in memory of Barton Carter • Joyce Cole in memory of Robert R. Cole aka Robert R. Cohen • Sarah Connolly in honor of Karen Nussbaum • Martha Copleman • Matthew Cullinen in honor of George Cullinen • Emily Davis • Belen Delgado • Vincent Doogan • Norman Dorland in memory of Norman E. Dorland • Paulette Dubetz in memory of Charlie Nusser • Elaine Elinson in memory of Milt Wolff • Samuela A. Evans • Jeannette Ferrary in memory of Peter N. Carroll • Charles Firke • Paul V. Fitzgerald in memory of Daniel Fitzgerald • Richard Flacks • Sarah Flynn in memory of Marcus Mordechai Alper • Peggy Foner • Jenny Fong in memory of Peter N. Carroll • Jeanne T. Friedman • Hillary Gardner
• Dominick Garnica • Paula Gellman in memory of Isaiah Gellman • Frances Ginsberg • Alan J. Goldman in memory of Ernest & Rita Goldman • Paul Goldstein • Andres A. Gonzales • Francisco Gonzalez in memory of Martin Maki • Lawrence Granader
• Michael Grossman in memory of Henry Grossman VALB • Ellen Grunblatt in memory of Jacques Grunblatt MD • Bernd Haber in memory of Hans Maslowski • Jeff Hackett • Edmund Haffmans • Isabel Halpern in memory of Joseph Siegel • Chia Hamilton in memory of Edwin Rolfe • Susan Hanna in memory of Jack Penrod • Donald & Kate Harris • William A. Hazen • Birry Heagle in memory of Ned Golomb • Jan Hinson • Ann F. Hoffman • Paula Hollowell-Dhar • Jack Holmgren • Joyce Horman • Dmitri Jarocki in memory of Leonard E. Olson • Martha Olson Jarocki in memory of Leonard E. Olson • Lisa Jensky in memory of Toby Jensky
• Andrew Johnson in memory of Arthur S. Johnson • Corlan Johnson • Cecily Kahn in memory of Goldie Kahn • Anne Kaufman
• Roger & Carol Keeran • David Kerns in memory of Saul Wellman • Aloha Keylor in honor of Howard Keylor • Michael Kihntopf
• Lawrence Klein • David Kreuter in honor of the Kreuter Family • Tammy Krogmann • Thomas S. Larson • Burt Lazarin • John Lee • Esperanza Leon in memory of Alexander S. Leon • Virginia Leonard • Alan D. Levine • Susan Linn in memory of Sidney Linn
• Bill Lowell-Britt • David Lyons • Eliezer T. Margolis • Roberto & Madelaine Marquez • Jay Laefer & Sara Matlin in memory of Margaret & Arnold Matlin • Timothy Michel • John Miller • Paul B. Mitchell • James Moore • Lydia Kann Nettle • Barry Nitzberg in memory of Leo Rosenthal Nitzberg • Coral Norris in honor of Jack Freeman • Toni Novak • Shaun O'Connell in memory of Harry Quick • Michael J. Organek • Ira Oser • Marilyn & Peter Oswald • James Papien • Phil Parker in memory of Max Parker
• Duna Penn in memory of Ted & Olga Penn • Lewis Pepper & Moria Cunningham • Ivette Perfecto • Walter J. Philips in honor of all anti-fascist fighters • Robert Portune • John Purdy • Sally Rainer in memory of Abe Osheroff • Maurice Rehm • Brian A. Reynolds
• Joanne & August Ricca • Bill Roller in memory of Milt, Dan, & Bruce • William & Sandra Rosen • Susan Rosenberg in memory of Eve & Dave Rosenberg • Michael Rosenthal in memory of Peter N. Carroll • Vicente Rubio-Pueyo • Carlota Santana • Patricia Schechter in memory of Maria del Carmen Gomez-Becerra • Paul Schechter • Daniel Schiller • Peter Schiller in memory of Morris Starsus • Stuart M. Schmidt • Peter Schneider in memory of John Wallach • Joseph & Beverly Schraibman in honor of Elvireta & Manolo Millares • Anuncia Escala & Paul Semonin • Andrew Sessions • Marc Shanker • Steve Tarzynski & Kathleen Sheldon
• Fred Siegel in memory of Joseph Siegel • Leni Siegel in memory of Joseph Isaac Siegel • Alan & Sonia Silber • Morrie Silvert in memory of Henry M. Silvert • Carole & Henry Slucki • Henry & Beth Sommer • Samuel Stark & Kae Halonen in memory of Oiva Halonen • Louise Katz Sullivan in memory of Sylvia & Bob Thompson • Paul Susman in memory of Bill Susman • Margo Szermeta in memory of Dolores Wine • Theodore Tapper MD • Paul & Valerie Taylor in memory of Robert M. Taylor • Kathe Trilling in memory of Terry Trilling-Josephson • Susan Wuchinich in memory of Steve Nelson • David Waitzman in memory of Samuel Waitzman • Constanca Warren in honor of Alvin Warren, Maury Colow, & Arthur Munday • Frederick Warren in memory of Alvin Warren Maury Colow & Arthur Munday • Nicholas Wellington • John Wilborn • James Williams in memory of Matti Mattson
• C.D. Wilson in memory of Nicholas E. Shubin • Cynthia Wright • Samuel Yoder • Sandra Zagarell in memory of Eugene Wollman
• Kenneth Zak • Peter Zanger in memory of Henry M. Silvert • Robert Zimmerman

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED FROM 11/1/2025 TO 1/31/2026

FRIEND (\$1-\$99)

Allen Sherman & Marion Nelson • Jean-Christophe Agnew • John & Peggy Ahlback • Everett Aison in memory of Irving Fajans
• Julia M. Allen • Sascha Alper • Anthony S. Alpert Esq. in memory of Victor Strukl • Ann Ambia • Dexter Arnold • Mark Asquino in
memory of Albert Lahue • David Bacon • Mary Lee Baranger in honor of Lini De Vries • William Barry • Dale Baum • Paul Beach
• Gregory T. Bell • Blaine Benedict in memory of Yale Stuart & Emil Meersand • Philip Bereano in memory of Leon P. Bereano
• Nancy Berlin • Judith Berlowitz • Tom Berry in memory of Hilda & Bud Berry • Tim Bessie • Margaret Bethge • Sydney Bevineau
• Michael Bichko • Shula Bien • Megan Bierman • Elizabeth Blum • Scott Boehm • Magda Bogin in memory of Bill Susman • Sonia
Bragado in memory of Emilio Delgado • Stuart Brewster • David & Patricia Brodsky • Nancy Hall Brooks in memory of Chuck &
Bobby Hall • Marion Burns in memory of Harry Randall • Rich Cairn • James Cameron in memory of John Evans • Anita Caref in
memory of Morris Tobman • Harry Clark • Ted Cloak • Geoffrey Cobden • Jerry Robinson & Diana Cohen • Martin Comack in
memory of Ciprino Mera • Martha Coons • David Warren & Susan Crawford in honor of Alvin Warren, Maury Colow, & Arthur
Munday • Erica Curtis in memory of Max Parker • Thomas Davis • Nina B. De Fels • Dydia Delyser in memory of Abe Osheroff
• Sean Dixon-Gumm in memory of Lorraine E. Scripture • Robert Egelko in memory of Edward Egelko • Jonathan Ehrlich • Benedict
Ellis • Hugh Ellis in memory of Michael Ellis • Brian Flaherty in memory of Francis Feingersh • Elaine Fondiller & Daniel Rosenblum
in memory of Anna N. Friedlander • Madeleine Frank in memory of Lillian Fischler • Paul Friedlander • Jacob Fund • Michael Funke
• Irma Garcia Rose • Paul Georgiou • Gretchen Gibbs • Paul L. & Joanne Gittelsohn in honor of the Gittelsohn Family • Edward Gogol
• Deborah Gold • Sheila Goldmacher in memory of Rob & Michelle Reiner • Edward Goldman • Ruth Goldway • Francisca
Gonzalez-Arias • Luke Gordon in memory of Lois Gordon • Marlene Gottlieb in memory of Dr. Rodney Rodriguez • Paul Gottlieb
• Dan Gould • Rick Goulet • Rachel Halfant • Angela Halonen • Annette & Ronald Halpern in memory of Joseph Siegel • Adam
Harris in honor of Sydney Harris & Eddie Belchowski • Paul Harris in honor of Sydney Harris • Les Hartzman • Kendra Heisler in
memory of Robert Thompson • Eleanor Hershberg in memory of Anna Goldman • Thomas Hidalgo • Victoria Hilkevitch in memory
of Dr. Aaron A. Hilkevitch • Larry Horvath • Eric Howard • Brian Howell • Rachel Ithen • Heather Janas • Steven Jonas MD in
memory of Dr. Edward Barsky • Sheldon E. Jones in honor of Sheldon S. Jones • Emile Jorgensen • Henry Kahn • Eugene Kaplan in
memory of George Watt • Sidney Kardon & Rebecca Naghski • Sanford Kelson • Lee Kennedy-Shaffer • Kavita Khory in memory of
Peter N. Carroll • Dorothy Kidd • Marilyn & Joshua Koral • John Kraljic • Fran Krieger-Lowitz • Barbara J. LaMonica in memory
of Ralph Fasanella • Steven LaVigne • Heinz Lackner • Rob Lerman • Laurie Levinger in memory of Sam Levinger • Cecilia London
in memory of Harold David London • Blas Ruiz & Lorena Gonzalez • Collin Makamson • Gene Marchi • Paul Margolis • Fernando
D. Marrero • Dan Martin • Richard Martin • James Massarello • Milton Masur • Joanne & Bruce McBirney in memory of Milton
Stillman • Elizabeth Melara • Bob Miller • David Miller • Kenneth Miller in memory of Dorothy Fontaine Mardfin • Daniel Millstone
• Ruth Misheloff • Michael Morin in memory of Marilyn Morin Sherry • Theresa Mueller • Michael Mulcahy • Michael Nagler
• Dr. José-Manuel & Mrs. Maryann B. Navarro • Martha Nencioli • Susan Nobel • Michael O'Connor • Estella Habal & Hilton
Obenzinger • Ian Ocx • Deborah & Stan Organek • David & Lisa Pansegrouw • Christopher Paskoff • Edward Passman • Lynda Paull
in memory of Sidney Linn • Ronald D. Perrone • Ruth Persky • Peter Persoff • Sara Joy & Ricardo Pocasangre • Sandy Polishuk in
honor of Dr. Gina Herrmann • Louise Popkin • Nieves & Manuel Pousada • Martha Pyle • Dorri Raskin • David Ravenscroft • Marci
Reaven Tanis • Gerald A. Regan • Alan Reich • Ted Reich in memory of Verina Reich • Alan Rendina in memory of Irma C. Redina
• Margery Resnick • Arthur & Harriet Rhine • Frank Rico • Suzanne & Alan Jay Rom • Constancia Romilly • Sharon Rose • Bruce
Rosen • Josie Yanguas & Carl Rosen • Miki Rosen • Judith Rosenbaum in memory of all the vets • Gail & Stephen Rosenbloom in
memory of Morris Tobman • Judith Ross in memory of Milton White • Margaret Rossoff • Jaime Axel Ruiz • Susan P. Saiz • Eric
Sandoval • Joel Schaffer in memory of Felix & Helen Kusman • Ann Schneider • Keith Schnell • Kraig Schwartz in memory of Bob
Reed • Shannon Shair • Georgina Shanley • Susan Shender • Francis Nash & Sherron R. Biddle • Michael Silver in memory of Nathan
Silver • Thomas Silverstein • Bill Sloan • David C. Sloan • Beverly Smith • Brian Smith • Harvey L. Smith • Patricia Smith in memory
of William Thomas • George Snook • Irwin & Elizabeth Sollinger • Adrienne Sosin • Janet Stecher • Laura Stevens • Weir Strange
• Emily Stuart in memory of Yale Stuart • Leslie Sturtz • Margaret Tanttila • Scott J Thomas • Michael Tobman • Ellen Tucker
• Merry Tucker in memory of Steve Zeluck • Michael Ugartem in honor of Artemio Precioso Ugarte • Nathanaël Uhl • Kathrine Unger
• Kathleen Vernon • Carlo Vogel • Alan Wald in memory of Edwin Rolfe • Roger Walke • Ada Wallach • Mark Wallem • Katie &
Andy Whitman in memory of William Harry Preston • Joan Wider • Harrie Wiersema • Thomas Wineholt • Adam Winkel • Wendy
Wynberg • Susan Yanow • Bob Young in memory of Bessie Mleczyk • Janet Zandy • Michael Zielinski • Phil & Shari Zisman in memory
of Manny Mandel

The Volunteer

c/o Abraham Lincoln Brigades Archives
239 W. 14th Street, Suite 2
New York, NY 10011

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



Visit our online edition at albavolunteer.org for additional images, videos, articles, and reviews. Our March edition features "How Did Vernon Selby Die?" by Alfonso López Borgeño, and memories of Peter Davis by Almudena Cros.

MAKE ANTI-FASCISM PART OF 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 joining the Jarama Society by including ALBA in your will or living trust or naming us as a beneficiary of your estate. ALBA accepts legacy gifts in any amount. Help us to continue and expand our educational mission of teaching future generations about the sacrifices made by the Lincoln Brigade in their fight against the global threat of fascism. Your gift to ALBA will help ensure that today's young people learn about the experiences of volunteers in Spain, as well as their broader dedication to social justice at home.

If you have questions or would like to discuss your options, please contact ALBA's Executive Director Mark Wallem at 212 674 5398 or mwallem@alba-valb.org.

