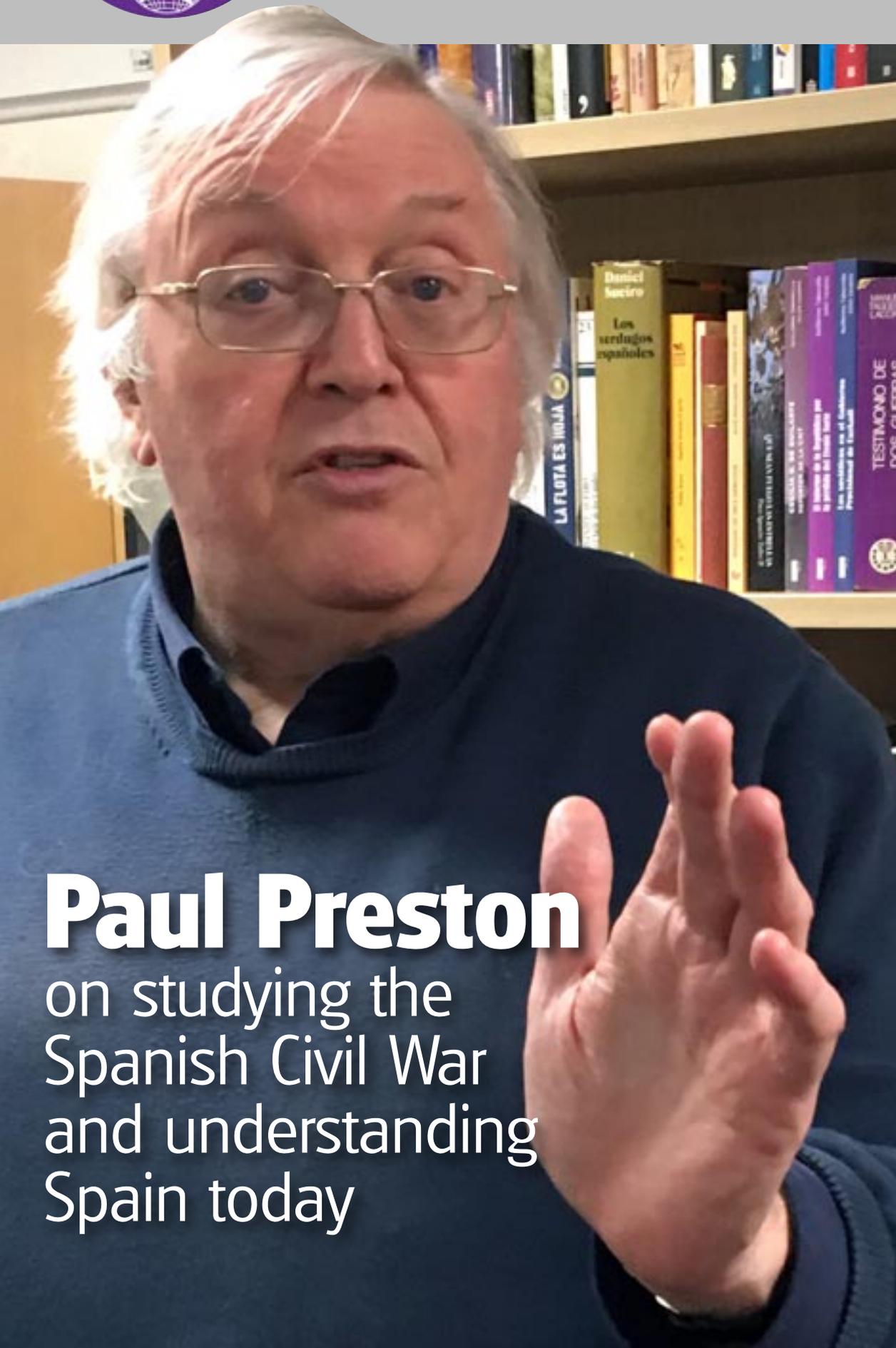




# ¡NO PASARÁN!

International Brigade Memorial Trust ● 2-2018 ● £5



## Paul Preston

on studying the Spanish Civil War and understanding Spain today



Meet the last survivor



Is this Gerda Taro?

At the IBMT lecture day





# International Brigade commemoration

**Saturday 7 July 2018 1pm-2pm**

**Music ● Speakers ● Remembrance**

**International Brigade Memorial  
Jubilee Gardens  
London Southbank**

Followed by an informal gathering at  
The Horse & Stables  
122-124 Westminster Bridge Road  
London SE1 7RW

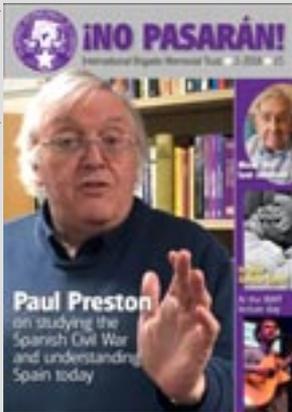
**International Brigade Memorial Trust**  
[www.international-brigades.org.uk](http://www.international-brigades.org.uk)

Andrew Wliard



Magazine of the International  
Brigade Memorial Trust  
No.48 ● 2-2018

Cover photo: Jim Jump



### 3 News

- Len Crome Memorial Conference
- 'Deathbed photo' of Gerda Taro
- Home town recognition for Douglas Jolly

### 8 Profile

- Geoffrey Servante: our last known veteran

### 10 Secretarial notes

- On Spaniards in the death camps, and volunteers fighting with the Kurds

### 12 Interview

- Paul Preston

### 18 Books and the arts

- Memories abstracted in art
- Books from Sebastiaan Faber and Jane Lazarre, and a chapter by Katharine Campbell

### 22 Final word

- Praise for 'insurrectionary commemoration'

iNO PASARÁN! (formerly the IBMT Magazine and the IBMT Newsletter) is published three times a year. Back numbers can be downloaded from the IBMT website. All content is the © copyright of the IBMT and credited contributors and cannot be reproduced without written permission.

**Editor** Jim Jump

IBMT, 37a Clerkenwell Green, London EC1R 0DU  
020 7253 8748

secretary@international-brigades.org.uk

**International Brigade Memorial Trust**

www.international-brigades.org.uk



La Comarca

▲ A memorial to the International Brigades was unveiled on 17 March in Caspe, Aragón, the scene of fierce clashes in March 1938 as Republican forces were pushed eastwards by a Francoist offensive down the Ebro valley. At least 13 members of the British Battalion were killed in the fighting, while many others were listed as missing in action in Aragón. The new memorial was inaugurated by Aragón's regional president, Javier Lambán, at a ceremony attended by visitors from Britain as well as Spain, France, Germany and the US.

## New memorial in Leicester



▲ IBMT President Marlene Sidaway unveils a new memorial plaque to the International Brigade volunteers from Leicester on 30 March in the city's Market Place. It names the three local men killed in



# NEWS

## At the IBMT lecture day

The International Brigade Memorial Trust keeps alive the memory and spirit of the men and women who volunteered to fight fascism and defend democracy in Spain from 1936 to 1939

### International Brigade Memorial Trust

37a Clerkenwell Green, London EC1R 0DU  
020 7253 8748  
enquiries@international-brigades.org.uk  
www.international-brigades.org.uk  
Registered charity no.1094928

### President Marlene Sidaway

president@international-brigades.org.uk

### Chair Richard Baxell

chair@international-brigades.org.uk

### Secretary Jim Jump

secretary@international-brigades.org.uk

### Treasurer Manuel Moreno

treasurer@international-brigades.org.uk

### Ireland Secretary Manus O'Riordan

mmanusoriordan@gmail.com

### Scotland Secretary Mike Arnott

scotland@international-brigades.org.uk

### Membership Secretary Mary Greening

memsec@international-brigades.org.uk

### Merchandise Officer Chris Hall

merchandise@international-brigades.org.uk

### Film Coordinator Marshall Mateer

film@international-brigades.org.uk

### Education Officer Richard Thorpe

media@international-brigades.org.uk

### Other Executive Committee members

Lisa Croft, Pauline Fraser, Alex Gordon,  
John Haywood

### Founding Chair Professor Paul Preston

**Patrons** Professor Peter Crome, Hywel Francis,  
Professor Helen Graham, Ken Livingstone,  
Len McCluskey, Christy Moore, Jack O'Connor,  
Maxine Peake, Baroness Royall of Blaisdon,  
Mick Whelan

facebook.com/groups/7123291063

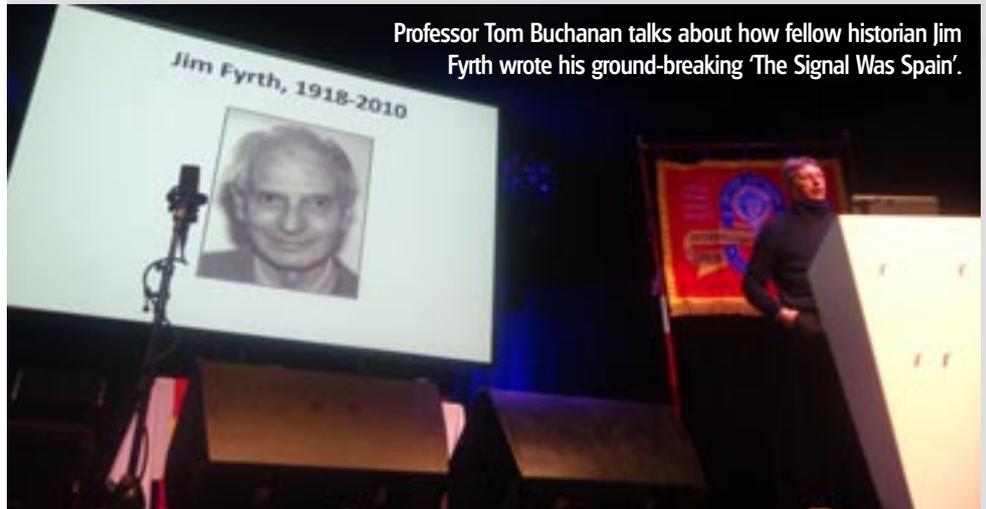
twitter.com/IBMT\_SCW

youtube.com/user/IBMTnews

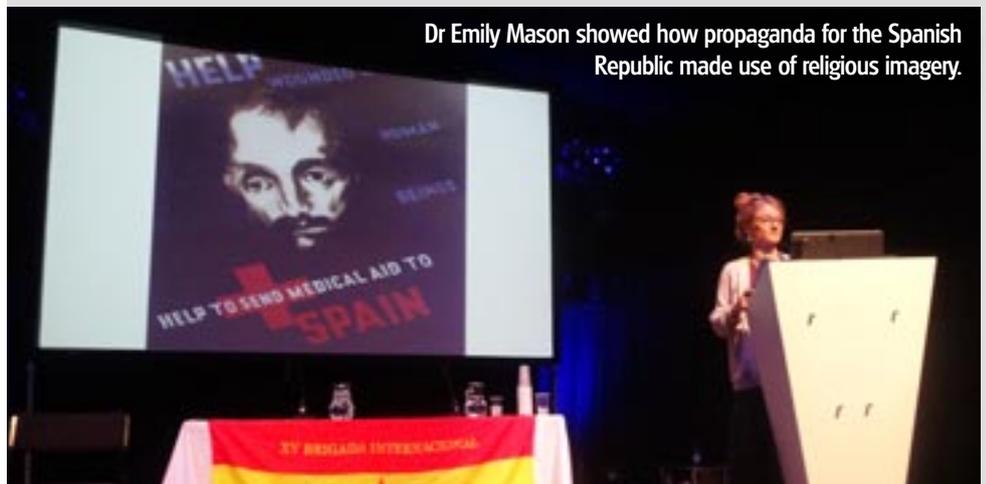
flickr.com/photos/ibmt

4 ¡NO PASARÁN!

Professor Tom Buchanan talks about how fellow historian Jim Fyrth wrote his ground-breaking 'The Signal Was Spain'.



Dr Emily Mason showed how propaganda for the Spanish Republic made use of religious imagery.



▼ TUC General Secretary Frances O'Grady (second from right) called by at the IBMT stall at the North West TUC conference in Southport on 24 March. Also pictured are (from left) TUC North West Regional Secretary Lynn Collins, IBMT Trustee Lisa Croft and (on right) IBMT member Paul Ward.





Ewan McLennan.



Amanda Boyd and David Nash.



The Red Notes.

◀ Over 100 people attended this year's Len Crome Memorial Conference in Bristol's Colston Hall. Held outside London or Manchester for the first time, the IBMT's annual lecture day on 24 March saw speakers and performers making contributions on the theme of the Aid Spain movement that mobilised support in Britain for the Republican cause during the Spanish Civil War.

The audience heard Professor Tom Buchanan talk about how historian Jim Fyrrh researched and wrote his book 'The Signal War Spain: The Aid Spain Movement in Britain 1936-39' (1986) and in doing so navigated through the complex political and personal issues of the day. Emily Dixon spoke about how the Christian socialist movement in Britain rallied to help the cause of the Spanish Republic.

IBMT Film Coordinator Marshall Mateer introduced the 1936 film 'The Defence of Madrid'. Produced by Ivor Montagu of the Progressive Film Institute, the film was widely shown around the country to raise funds for medical aid and humanitarian relief. Music was provided by award winning singer-songwriter Ewan McLennan, folk duo Amanda Boyd and David Nash and by Bristol socialist choir The Red Notes.

The Len Crome Memorial Conference is named after the Lancashire GP who became the chief medical officer of the Spanish Republic's XV Army Corps. This included the 35th Division, of which the mainly English-speaking 15th International Brigade was part. The day was introduced by Len Crome's son, Professor Peter Crome, who is an IBMT Patron.



▲ Some of the two dozen-strong contingent from Britain and Ireland who attended this year's commemoration of the Battle of Jarama. They are pictured next to the memorial to Charlie Donnelly, the Irish journalist and poet born in Dungannon in 1914, who was among the more than 150 British and Irish killed in the fighting south east of Madrid in February 1937. Organised by the Spanish AABI International Brigades friendship group, the commemoration attracted more than 600 people from Spain and around the world, who on 16 February trekked across the battlefield before many of them enjoyed a communal lunch laid on by the Rivas Vaciamadrid town council. On the day before, several participants attended a gathering at nearby Tarancón, where there is a memorial to the 39 Scots killed at Jarama.



▲ Jeremy Corbyn (left) said he was 'delighted' to welcome representatives from BCA'37UK, the association for the Basque refugee children who arrived in Britain in May 1937 during Franco's offensive in northern Spain. Carmen Kilner Sánchez (right) and Paco Robles (centre), one of the *niños* evacuated from Spain, were hosted at the House of Commons by the Labour leader on 21 February as his guests for Prime Minister's Question Time that day. Jeremy Corbyn has on several occasions made reference to the fact that his parents met at an Aid Spain meeting in London during the Spanish Civil War.



▲ Kiri Tunks (left), the incoming President of the NUT section of the NEU teachers' union, shows support for the IBMT at our stall at the NUT conference in Brighton over the Easter weekend. With her is IBMT Trustee Pauline Fraser.



# Gerda Taro's parting shot

By Jim Jump

Is this (left) a photo of renowned photographer Gerda Taro (pictured right) on her deathbed in Spain? The person tending her is undeniably Janos (John) Kiszely, a Hungarian International Brigade doctor who later settled in Britain. His son, retired British Army general Sir John Kiszely, tweeted the picture in January, sparking an online debate as to the identity of the patient.

Taro was accidentally run over by a Spanish Republican tank during the Battle of Brunete west of Madrid in the summer of 1937, suffering fatal abdominal injuries.

Her body was later taken to Paris, where tens of thousands attended her funeral on 1 August 1937.

In oral testimony in the archives of the Imperial War Museum, Dr John Kiszely recalled in 1992 that while working at a frontline hospital during the fighting at Brunete he had treated a severely injured woman. 'She was a reporter, a newspaperwoman but I did not have a clue who she was when somebody took a picture of me cleaning her up, the blood from her face, but I did not know who she was, nor did the person who took the photograph.' Only later was he told that she had been the 'wife of the famous wartime photographer Robert Capa'.

## Plaque honours medical pioneer (and Gerda Taro's doctor) in his New Zealand home town

By Mark Derby

A long process of historical rediscovery reached a significant milestone on 23 March this year. In his hometown of Cromwell, Central Otago, a plaque was unveiled to the battlefield surgeon Douglas Jolly, described by his British colleague, Dr Archie Cochrane, as 'the most valuable volunteer to come [to Spain] from the British Commonwealth'.

The plaque stands beside the front door of the former Grain & Seed Store, established by Jolly's Scottish-born grandfather in 1870 and now a popular café on the banks of Lake Dunstan in

Cromwell's historic precinct.

Born in 1904, Douglas Jolly gained a medical degree at Otago University, left for London to qualify as a surgeon and, shortly before graduating, went to Spain as part of a British universities medical unit. For the next two years, holding the rank of lieutenant in the Spanish Republican Army, he was posted to wherever the fighting was fiercest and greatly contributed to developing techniques and systems for treating the victims of an entirely new form of mechanised warfare.

Along with all other foreign volunteers, Jolly was withdrawn from Spain in late 1938. He



Marx Memorial Library

▲ Douglas Jolly (foreground, right) tending a patient in Spain.

continued to campaign for the Republican cause both in Britain and New Zealand, but the outbreak of the Second World War meant that he soon returned to the UK. At lightning speed he wrote a medical manual, 'Field Surgery in Total War', which summarised the lessons he and his colleagues had learned in Spain. It remained influential for the next 25 years.

Jolly spent the war as a

lieutenant-colonel with the Royal Army Medical Corps, earning a military OBE. A 1945 letter from his commanding officer indicates his contributions to battlefield surgery during the war:

*You have:*

- *Developed the two-stage concept of wound treatment to a truly astonishing level of success;*
- *Perfected the use of penicillin and established its role in the*



Though not married to Capa, Taro and Capa were lovers and both were deeply committed to the Republican cause in Spain, politically and professionally.

Gerda Taro's biographer Jane Rogoyska believes Kiszely's account – along with the obvious physical likeness with Gerda Taro – is 'persuasive evidence' in favour of the photograph being of the famous photographer.

Not everyone is convinced, however. Fellow Taro biographer Fernando Olmeda is more doubtful. He draws attention to inaccuracies in the caption on the back of Kiszely's copy of the photo, which identifies 'Mrs Frank [sic] Capa' in 'June 1937', when in fact Taro died on 26 July of that year.

The location on the handwritten caption is given as Torreلودones, where there was a medical reception unit. From there many of the injured were taken to the 'English Hospital' at El Escorial. This is what happened to Gerda Taro on the night of 25/26 June and she was operated on by New Zealand doctor Douglas Jolly before dying.

Confusingly, the same photo appeared in 2006 in a Spanish publication about the medical services of the International Brigades. The caption to that photo names Dr John Kiszely, but not his patient, and says it was taken at El Escorial.

If the photo had been taken at Torreلودones, says Olmeda, Taro's severe abdominal wounds would have been more apparent in the photo. He also thinks it odd that, given Taro's fame, such an apparently professionally taken photo should not have been published at the time. He also points out that no other eye-witnesses refer to a photographer being present at Torreلودones or El Escorial.

So, is this photo a remarkable discovery, as many people believe? The woman pictured certainly looks like Gerda Taro, but there are inconsistencies and gaps in the story of the photo itself. The debate will no doubt continue, and we will probably never know for sure. What isn't contested is that Gerda Taro, who died aged only 26 and who was, along with Robert Capa, an anti-fascist Jewish refugee from central Europe, remains one of the greatest ever war photographers.



▲ Dr John Kiszely (right) on a return visit to Spain with International Brigade nurse Thora Silverthorne (centre) and Moisés Broggi, a Catalan surgeon in the International Brigades medical services. The photo is believed to have been taken in Teruel in 1973 during the shooting of a documentary about the Spanish Civil War.



▲ Left: Jolly's International Brigade carnet and (right) the new plaque for him on the Grain & Seed Café in Cromwell.



*treatment of war wounds;*  
● *Reduced mortality and morbidity for most types of war wounds to a level rarely equaled and never surpassed in any campaign in history...*

*It will of course be for the historian to assess the worth of your contributions in relation to advances in all theatres of war but I am confident... that the record of your fine work will find a*

*prominent and permanent place in the archives of war surgery.*

That final prediction proved greatly premature. In the postwar period Jolly ceased practising surgery and his innovations in trauma treatment and rehabilitation were largely forgotten. He remained working in England, eventually as chief medical officer of Britain's largest limb-fitting hospital in

Roehampton, south London. He died in retirement in West Horsley, Surrey, in 1983.

Twenty years later, several factors contributed to the restoration of his status as an internationally significant medical pioneer and humanitarian. A retired orthopaedic surgeon, Patrick Medicott, began promoting the idea of a memorial to Jolly in his home town. Another New Zealand surgeon, David Lowe, discovered an extraordinary cache of his personal papers in the possession of his step-granddaughter, Bidida Jones, in Canberra, Australia.

These independent efforts resulted in the project to install the plaque. This was unveiled at a moving ceremony attended by local mayor Tim Cadogan, acting Spanish ambassador to New Zealand, Vicente Maz Taladriz, and many of Jolly's relatives from around the country.

Work continues to ensure that Douglas Jolly's contribution to military medicine and civilian

trauma care is fully recorded and recognised. A full-length biography commissioned by the University of Nebraska Press will draw on the lifelong personal archive preserved by Bidida Jones, supplemented by research in a number of countries.

Several speakers at the unveiling noted disturbing similarities between present-day geopolitical conditions and those which led to the civil war, and urged those present to follow Douglas Jolly's example. He was a committed anti-fascist who said: 'My sympathies were completely with the [Spanish Republican] government; that was why I went to Spain, and I saw nothing there which altered my mind.'

● Mark Derby is a New Zealand historian and author of several books on New Zealanders in the Spanish Civil War. Information and contacts for Douglas Jolly's forthcoming biography are welcomed and should be emailed to David Lowe (david.lowe@svha.org.au).

## I heard on the radio that there were no more International Brigaders left, and I said to myself, 'Well, that's nonsense. There's still me.'

By Richard Baxell

Over the last few years, several announcements have mourned the passing of the last of the British volunteers in the Spanish Civil War. First there was David Lomon, then Philip Tammer and most recently Stan Hilton, all of whom were hailed as 'the last of the last'. In fact, none of them was. As a recent article by Carmelo García in *The Times* revealed, 98-year-old veteran Geoffrey Servante is alive and well, living in a nursing home in the Forest of Dean.

Geoffrey's Spanish adventure began in the summer of 1937. He was drinking in a Soho pub, when he overheard a man claiming that it was no longer possible to join the International Brigades, as the Spanish border had been closed. 'I bet I can join,' declared Geoffrey, impulsively. When the man insisted that there was 'no chance', Geoffrey refused to believe him, vowing: 'I'll bet you a hundred quid I can do it.'

Geoffrey was hardly a typical volunteer for the International Brigades. Brought up in London, he had been educated by Jesuits and had never joined a trade union nor a political party; 'I wasn't politically inclined at all,' he confessed. However, he had served briefly in the Royal Marines and his prior experience working on the Canadian Pacific line helped him secure passage on a boat to Spain.

When they docked in Valencia in June 1937, Geoffrey jumped ship and accosted a local, repeating the only Spanish phrase he possessed: '¡Internacional Brigadas!' Surprisingly, it was enough to land him a rail ticket to Albacete, the headquarters of the International Brigades. Interviewed there by a political commissar,

Geoffrey admitted that he was only 18 years old, and was consequently refused admission into the British Battalion, which was then being slaughtered on the Brunete battlefield. Instead, he was posted to a much less hazardous unit, an artillery battery currently in training in Almansa, some 70km east of Albacete.

The Anglo-American artillery unit, known as the John Brown Battery, was commanded by an Estonian-born American called Arthur Timpson, who had been trained in artillery in Moscow. Alongside Geoffrey were four other English volunteers, all under the watchful eye of their sergeant, David King, a Communist Party branch secretary and former Royal Marine from Skipton in Yorkshire. Initially posted to the Extremadura front in south-west Spain, the battery was transferred to Toledo in December 1937, where it remained for the duration of the war.

With ammunition extremely scarce, the men rarely did much more than take the occasional pot shot at the enemy lines. However, Geoffrey recalled that on one of the few occasions when they were called upon, the battery members had just taken the opportunity to polish off a barrel of local brandy.

Geoffrey, who was by his own admission utterly 'sozzled', did his valiant best to aim the gun, but the shell missed its target by miles. For this, Geoffrey was punished with six extra guard duties. 'It was a very lax discipline,' he laughed. Only later did he discover that he had inadvertently scored a direct hit on a fascist officer's car, blowing him, the car and his aide-camp to pieces.

When the majority of the International Brigades were withdrawn at the end of 1938, the battery members remained in place, seemingly forgotten. Only in early 1939 were they withdrawn to Valencia, then on to Barcelona. From there, a narrow gauge railway took them half-way to the frontier and they then had to walk the remaining 80km, harassed constantly by Nationalist aircraft. Safely across the frontier, Geoffrey and his comrades enjoyed a huge breakfast, courtesy of the International Red Cross, before they were repatriated via Paris and Dieppe.

Within a year, Geoffrey was back in uniform, having been called up into the British Army. He had a relatively good war, spending three years in Egypt with the Royal Army Ordnance Corps and the Royal

Electrical and Mechanical Engineers. After demobilisation, he worked for Marshalls, reconditioning military lorries, joining Vauxhall in 1957, where he remained until he took early retirement 20 years later.

Only in 2009 did Geoffrey discover via the radio that the Spanish government had offered citizenship to surviving veterans of the International Brigades. When his daughter Honor contacted the Spanish embassy, Geoffrey was invited to London to sign the declaration entitling him to his Spanish passport. He still retains an interest in Spanish affairs; he is a strong supporter of Catalan independence and voted in last year's referendum. Geoffrey remains extremely proud to have fought for Spanish democracy and has no regrets. Well, perhaps one. When he returned from Spain and triumphantly called into the pub to collect his winnings, Geoffrey was saddened – and perhaps a little disappointed – to discover that his fellow gambler had passed away. So he never did get to see his £100.

● Historian Richard Baxell is the IBMT Chair. He interviewed Geoffrey Servante at his retirement home in Gloucestershire (where he is pictured right) on 25 January 2018.



Geoffrey Servante in his youth, and (right) his Spanish Communist Party card.





Photo: Richard Baxell



▲ Anti-fascist Spaniards celebrate following liberation from the Mauthausen concentration camp in 1945.

## Republicans in the Nazi camps

Judging from coverage of this year's Holocaust Remembrance Day (27 January) in the Spanish media, there is a growing, if still inadequate, acknowledgement that many thousands of exiled Spanish Republicans were also sent to the Nazi slave and extermination camps during the Second World War.

The numbers of Spaniards who perished are tiny when compared with the millions of Jews, Soviet prisoners of war, Roma and others who were murdered or starved to death by the Nazis.

*'Through a hole in his pocket the International Brigader and Jewish communist David Szmulewski took photographs showing bodies being burned next to a crematorium.'*

But their presence in the camps as political prisoners is significant, not least because it undermines the myth, perpetrated by Franco and his apologists to this day, of Spanish neutrality during the Second World War.

Dig deeper, and it's interesting to note the role of these Spanish Republicans, together with International Brigaders, in the underground resistance movement inside the camps.

Their story was explored in an article published for Holocaust Memorial Day in Jacobin magazine in which Marcus Barnett details this important chapter in anti-fascist history. In the early days of the Auschwitz camp, for example, when it was used primarily for political prisoners, Spanish Republicans were a

sizable and distinct national grouping with clearly defined anti-fascist politics. The attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 motivated them to help create a resistance and solidarity organisation.

By 1943 Auschwitz was functioning as a death camp as well as a slave labour facility, writes Barnett. Early that year the Kampfgruppe Auschwitz (Combat Group Auschwitz, KGA) was formed among the forced labour prisoners and its committee absorbed Spaniards, Yugoslavs, French, Czechs, Romanians and Germans, including many individual Jewish socialists and communists.

The KGA attempted to save lives by altering work lists and sharing the meagre food and medical rations. It also organised clandestine Marxist discussion circles and shared treasured copies of smuggled literature. Crucially, it excelled at accumulating facts and figures of Nazi atrocities. One prisoner preserved 350 pieces of correspondence, and reports then reached London, containing statistics and information about the mass execution of Jews and others.

A KGA communiqué threatening the SS guards at Auschwitz was broadcast on the BBC, and several of them then changed their names. The KGA arranged cameras to be smuggled into the camp. Through a hole in his pocket the International Brigader and Jewish communist David Szmulewski took photographs showing bodies being burned next to a crematorium.

Barnett's full article can be read online on the Jacobin magazine's website ([www.jacobinmag.com/2017/01/holocaust-auschwitz-kga-prisoners-communists-resistance](http://www.jacobinmag.com/2017/01/holocaust-auschwitz-kga-prisoners-communists-resistance)).

## Go-ahead for closer ties with local groups

IBMT Trustees have agreed new guidelines to support the growing number of local and regional International Brigade commemorative groups.

The guidelines were drawn up at a meeting of the IBMT Executive Committee on 3 February, at which Trustees welcomed the creation of local groups and agreed it was important to help their work and campaigning activities.

Under the guidelines, independent groups will be encouraged to affiliate to the Trust. This will give them the benefits and rights of IBMT membership, as well as the facility to buy IBMT merchandise at discount prices for resale for their own fundraising.

The contact details of member groups can also be publicised by the IBMT and they will receive priority assistance in researching International Brigaders from their area.

As an alternative to establishing an independent group, activists can be convened by their regional IBMT Trustees to form a local IBMT supporters' group.

There are currently independent International Brigade groups in Belfast, Hull, North Lanarkshire, the North West, Oxford, Reading, Rotherham and Wales, with more informal groups of activists in other towns and cities.

See the link to the guidelines on the 'About' page of our website.



# Sympathy, but no support for Britons fighting Isis

News that two Britons who have taken up arms against Isis in Syria are being charged under terrorism legislation has once again invited comparisons between the International Brigades in Spain and those volunteers who fight on the side of various factions in the Middle East.

Earlier during the Syrian conflict the individuals most commonly likened to the International Brigades were the young British Muslims who joined Isis or other Saudi and Western-backed Islamic fundamentalist groups trying to topple the Syrian government. The IBMT repeatedly and vehemently rejected any such comparison.

The two who have now been charged are Londoner James Matthews and Aidan James, from Liverpool. Both enlisted in the



YPG, which is battling Isis and other forces in order to create a Kurdish statelet, called Rojava, in northern Syria. According to newspaper reports, British volunteers in the YPG are in the 'International Brigades of Rojava' – and have a unit named after former RMT union leader Bob Crow.

The latest casualty among them is Anna Campbell, from Lewes, Sussex, who died on 15 March, aged 26. She was the eighth Briton to be killed, and the first woman.

Fighting what some commentators call the clerical fascism of Isis, Anna and her comrades can arguably claim to be the closest in spirit to the volunteers who went to Spain, though many in the IBMT would still disagree – not least because our charitable status means we have to remain strictly neutral on contemporary conflicts.

This is the message we have conveyed to the family of James Matthews, who earlier this year approached the IBMT to support his case. In a letter to the family, IBMT Chair Richard Baxell explained that he hoped for a 'positive outcome' in the courts. But the IBMT 'is not in a position to make a public statement officially declaring support'.

He added: 'However, as you would expect, given the level of official prejudice against British veterans of the war in Spain, the plight of [James Matthews] and others who have been fighting against Isis drew much sympathy. A number [of Trustees] expressed their personal support and may well add their names to your petition and share it.'

## Please pay your 2018 IBMT subscriptions on time

If you haven't yet paid your IBMT membership subscriptions for 2018, please do so as soon as possible. Payment is due from 1 January and prompt renewal helps us continue our work of keeping alive the memory and spirit of the International Brigades. Remember too that if your membership lapses you'll no longer receive this magazine or our e-newsletter.

The annual rates are £1750 (unwaged etc), £25 (individual) and £30 (household). Send cheques to IBMT, 37a Clerkenwell Green, London EC1R 0DU. Also, please consider making a donation and paying your subs by Direct Debit.

Full details of our rates, including those for non-UK residents in sterling, euros and US dollars are available on our website ([www.international-brigades.org.uk/content/new-membership-subscription-rates](http://www.international-brigades.org.uk/content/new-membership-subscription-rates)). If you're unsure whether you are paid-up, email [admin@international-brigades.org.uk](mailto:admin@international-brigades.org.uk) to check.

## Support the International Brigade Memorial Trust

- Join the IBMT by completing the membership form or go to [www.international-brigades.org.uk/catalog/membership](http://www.international-brigades.org.uk/catalog/membership) to join online.
- Make a donation to the IBMT (and sign the Gift Aid declaration below) or go to [www.international-brigades.org.uk](http://www.international-brigades.org.uk) and click the donate button.

### Full name

Up to three more names (for household membership)\*

1

2

3

### Address

Postcode

### Email\*

Additional email(s) for household membership\*

### Phone\*

### Membership: tick category (annual rates)

- £25 Individual
- £1750 Concessionary (unwaged/on benefits/minimum wage)
- £30 Household
- £..... Affiliate: union/etc branches under 500 members: £30; over 500 members: £50; for national and regional unions and other organisations, see rates online ([www.international-brigades.org.uk/membership](http://www.international-brigades.org.uk/membership)).

\*Optional; members with email receive a regular IBMT e-newsletter.

### Donation

- £5  £10  £25  £50  £100  £250
- other (please state amount) £.....

**Gift Aid declaration** Please complete if you are a UK taxpayer: I wish this and all subsequent payments to the IBMT to be treated as Gift Aid donations.

### Signature

### Date

Send completed form to: IBMT, 37a Clerkenwell Green, London EC1R 0DU. Make cheques payable to the IBMT.

# INTERVIEW



**Paul Preston** (left) is recognised as the world's foremost historian of the Spanish Civil War. His prolific output of books, stretching back over four decades, has played an important role in raising and reshaping public perceptions of the war and 20th century Spain. In this exclusive interview for the IBMT, he talks at length about his personal commitment to unearthing and explaining what happened before, during and after the civil war and why those events still cast such a shadow over modern Spain.



Born in Liverpool in 1946, Paul Preston is Professor of Spanish History at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), where he is the director of the Cañada Blanch Centre for Contemporary Spanish Studies. He is also the Founding Chair of the IBMT, having chaired the initial meetings in 2000 that brought together International Brigade veterans, families, friends and historians to create the International Brigade Memorial Trust.



His latest book is 'The Last Days of the Spanish Republic' (2017). Among others are 'The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain' (2012), 'We Saw Spain Die: Foreign Correspondents in the Spanish Civil War' (2008), 'The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge' (2006), 'Doves of War: Four Women of Spain' (2002), '¡Comrades! Portraits from the Spanish Civil War' (1999), 'A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War' (1996) and 'The Coming of the Spanish Civil War: Reform, Reaction and Revolution in the Second Republic 1931-1936' (1978). He is also the author of two major biographies, 'Juan Carlos: A People's King' (2004) and 'Franco: A Biography' (1993).

Paul Preston is interviewed here by **Jim Jump**. The interview took place at the LSE on 8 March 2018.

# MAKING HISTORY

**You've never shied away from taking a partisan view of the Spanish Civil War and make no secret of your support for the Spanish Republic. Has that fundamental view changed at all over more than 40 years of scholarship?**

First of all I would dispute that thinking the Spanish Republic was in the right and the Francoists were in the wrong is partisan. No-one, for example, would dream of accusing anyone of being partisan for writing in a way that was critical of Hitler. Yet, amazingly, to be critical of Franco can still invite accusations of bias. The reasons are obvious. They are about the way his reputation was enhanced during the Cold War. This meant he always enjoyed a good press, obviously in Spain, but also in Britain. But there is nothing much that has altered my view of Franco over all those years.

In terms of the origins of the war, I can see more clearly now that the Republican politicians made mistakes. That was to be expected. They came into power facing horrendous problems, with no experience whatsoever.

As for the internal politics of the Republic, there are all kinds of nuances that have shifted on my part. The idea that the POUM [Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista] were hard-done-by victims doesn't last very long the more you read. While I'm deeply aware of the way that the POUM were smeared, I'm also aware that they did things that could very easily be construed as sabotage: pulling troops back from the front and so on. Last week I had an amazing three hours with a young Spaniard who is doing research on the Fifth Column of Franco supporters in the Republican zone, and the information he has on links between the POUM and the Fifth Column is just hair-raising. I'm looking forward to his PhD.

I've also become much more critical of the anarchists and specifically of the *chequistas* who carried out extra-judicial executions, torture

and imprisonment. They did immense damage to the Republic in terms of its possibility of securing foreign aid. Obviously the anarchists' view that they should be allowed to make their revolution is nuts. Short of being able to say to Franco: 'Can you just hold on for another five to six years until we've made the revolution and then we will go back to war?', it was just utterly unrealistic; ditto for the POUM.

As far as certain individuals are concerned, if you take my book '¡Comrades!', which has portraits of various people, the person who comes out best is the socialist Indalecio Prieto. But now I've arrived at a different conclusion. Prieto was wonderful for the Republic until he got the hump for being excluded from the

*'No-one would dream of accusing anyone of being partisan for writing in a way that was critical of Hitler. Yet, amazingly, to be critical of Franco can still invite accusations of bias.'*

government in April 1938 when Prime Minister Juan Negrín took the not unreasonable view that he could not have a defeatist as his Minister of War. Prieto never forgave Negrín and accused him of being a puppet of the communists and so on. I've come to see that what Prieto was doing was preparing for a future following a Franco victory when you were never going to be able to survive in exile if you were known to be pro-communist.

It didn't take me very long to reach the conclusion that Negrín's predecessor, Largo

Caballero, was a total disaster, that he was an appallingly bad war leader. By contrast, over time my admiration for Juan Negrín has just grown and grown.

So, within the Republic, my views are now much more nuanced, much more critical, especially regarding the atrocities, even though these crimes are often unfairly pinned on the Republican authorities. No, they took place within the Republican zone where law and order had broken down. The idea that they were countenanced let alone encouraged by the Republican authorities is absolute nonsense.

Overall, looking at both sides in the war, I'm also much more ready to see good and bad on both sides. Not everyone on the Republican side was an angel; nor was everyone on the Francoist side a villain.

**What about the International Brigades? When they came back from Spain they were denigrated and regarded with great suspicion. Now they're generally admired. Do you think historians like yourself have had any role in that transformation?**

I would take no credit for any of that. I think that Richard Baxell is the person who should be taking credit or Angela Jackson, Linda Palfreeman and other people who have done hard research. I have to say also that I'm amazed and full of admiration for what the IBMT has achieved.

My 'A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War' is dedicated to the International Brigades and that goes back to my friendship with people like Bill Alexander and Dave Marshall. I knew lots of them and had a wide-eyed, fan-like admiration for them. I always thought the whole idea of the International Brigades and their sacrifices and so on were just amazing, and of course I've tried to express that in my books.

There's still an awful lack of understanding of the Brigades as well. I'm thinking of people who want to say: 'They're just like the foreign jihadis.' Rubbish like that, along with some of the American research about the 'Comintern Army', has to be combated.

I'm not a military historian, but the Brigades seem to have been used like shock troops that could be easily sacrificed, in much the same way as the Francoists used the Moors. As the war went on it became more difficult to rotate troops. But the International Brigades were harder done by than almost any other unit – taken out after a month in the field, told they'd have a week off and then two hours later they're back, that kind of thing. It makes me wonder what exactly was the attitude of the

CONTINUED OVERLEAF

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

general staff of the Republic to them. I can't get a clear view of that, though they were clearly seen as dependable and politically committed.

## What drew you to becoming a historian and to take a special interest in Spain and 20th century history?

I think it goes back to the fact that I was born in 1946 in Liverpool, which had been a target during the Blitz. The surrounding areas had been badly bombed, including the house that I was brought up in by my grandparents. Luckily no-one was killed – it just so happened to be one night when they were all in an air-raid shelter. Growing up in the late 40s, the Blitz and the Second World War were on everybody's lips. As kids our games would be British versus Germans and we would all be running up and down the street being Spitfires and Messerschmitts. When I was about 10 or 11, I began making Airfix airplane model kits. I got really hooked on the Second World War and started to read quite serious books about it.

Then I was lucky enough to get a scholarship to Oxford. Being a scum of the earth working-class Scouser in Oxford wasn't

*'With the Spanish Civil War you don't have to choose. You get everything: Stalinism, Trotskyism, fascism, communism, Hitler, Mussolini. It's fabulous – and here I am nearly 50 years on and I still think that.'*

very common in those days and it was actually a horrible experience. There are lots of wonderful things about Oxford. It's a lovely place to be, and the libraries are mind-boggling. You could go to lectures by some pretty amazing people – Isaiah Berlin was absolutely fantastic. But the teaching overall was diabolical. Also, there was hardly any contemporary history taught. There was enormous stress on Anglo-Saxon, medieval and British history and very little 20th century or European history. The nearest to what I wanted to do, which would have been the origins of the Second World War, was the origins of the First World War.

## How did you begin studying the Spanish Civil War in particular?

After Oxford I did an MA at Reading University. It comprised two options. I did left-wing literature of the interwar period and the Spanish Civil War. The left-wing literature part was a doddle for me, because it was basically about books that I had been devouring for years. I was manically obsessed with the likes of John Steinbeck and his contemporaries.

The Spanish Civil War was taught by Hugh Thomas, who in 1961 had written 'The Spanish Civil War'. I'd read a couple of books, but didn't really understand anything. Thomas was, in his way, a brilliant teacher. He didn't really give a hoot, but was eccentric and amusing and there were only four of us on the course. It was a great experience, not least because of all the people Thomas knew and brought into the classes to talk to us.

Thomas encouraged us especially to read the left-wing books. We were pushed into answering the basic question on the left – war or revolution. The book that had the biggest impact on me was Gerald Brenan's 'The Spanish Labyrinth', which I still think is a fabulous book. Subsequent research has questioned much of it, but it remains amazingly perceptive. Thomas' book too has many qualities. There are things in it that I would dispute. But every time I take it off the shelf I'm always tickled by the way he writes – it's very colourful – and I still think, despite the fact that much of it is from an English middle-class perspective, that it's a great book.

There was never any question about which side to be on, the Spanish Republic versus Franco – it was obvious who were the goodies and the baddies. That was not a question, even for Thomas. But there was an issue about whether the goodies were the anarchists and the Trotskyists and the baddies were the communists. That was the standard view at the time. So I read Gaston Leval and a whole pile of stuff on anarchists, collectivism, quite a lot on the POUM and so on. 'The Grand Camouflage' by Burnett Bolloten was a big influence.

## Is this when you realised that researching and writing about the Spanish Civil War might become your life's work?

There came a point, probably after about a term at Reading when I thought, this is great. I'd spent ages in Oxford thinking what the hell to do next, what to choose. But with the Spanish Civil War you don't have to choose. You get everything: Stalinism, Trotskyism, fascism, communism, Hitler, Mussolini. It's fabulous – and here I am nearly 50 years on and I still think that.

At Reading I also realised that I had to learn Spanish and I set about doing it in the daftest



▲ Paul Preston (second from left) in Madrid in 1978 with Felipe González (right), leader of the PSOE socialist party and the future prime minister of Spain.

way possible, which was to read a book that I had to read, an unspeakable book, by Santiago Galindo, very pro-Franco. I read it with a dictionary and of course learnt a lot of Spanish along the way; not how to pronounce it, but I combined that with going out drinking with Colombian students in the bar and bit by bit I began to speak a few words. Then in 1969, I think it was the Easter holidays, I went to Spain for the first time, to a village called Arroyo de la Miel. By then I was hooked. My friends would go into Torremolinos for a rave, and I would go into the local village. In those days it was rare for a foreigner to learn Spanish, so a crowd would gather, and I would be trying to order things and saying 'tengo sed' [I'm thirsty] and I'd go back to the bar the next day for a coffee and by then I could say 'tengo hambre' [I'm hungry].

I decided I wanted to do a PhD and I went back to Oxford, supposedly to be supervised by Raymond Carr. I had read Carr's 'Spain 1808–1939', which I found very hard going and even now find pretty knotty. But he was in America most of the time. Carr let me down in many ways. I had this awful contretemps with him because I wanted to work on the direct origins of the civil war. I saw him before he went off and he told me: 'No, you can't do that.' He always got his students to study what he was interested in, and at the time he wanted someone to work on the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, which I started. I went to Madrid and began doing research, but I never got the hang of it. Funnily enough it's a topic that I'm now writing about,



▲ Paul Preston (seventh from left) on 28 October 2000 at the meeting in London, which he chaired, at which it was agreed to create the International Brigade Memorial Trust. Pictured with him are several International Brigade veterans, along with family members, historians and representatives of the Marx Memorial Library, where the meeting was held.



▲ With Santiago Carrillo (centre), leader of the PCE Spanish Communist Party, and Nicolás Belmonte.



▲ Addressing the IBMT's annual commemoration on London's Southbank in 2016.

but there is a lot of material available now that wasn't then. I decided that what I wanted to write about were the right-wing conspirators, the people behind the conspiracy that led to the civil war. I did some quite useful work on them and then Carr came back and, in a very insensitive manner, says: 'You can't do that, find something else.' So I began looking at a group called the *mauristas*, the followers of Antonio Maura, who were key to the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. But I couldn't find my way around the archives. Then in 1971 there came a point, away from Carr, when I thought, to hell with this, I'm going to do what I want to do and started to study the Second Republic and that became my thesis and my first book.

By now I was way behind in my PhD and my grant had run out. I was having to earn a living in Madrid, but absolutely loving it. I was doing all kinds of things. I was a film extra in 'Nicholas and Alexandra' and taught American students. In 1973 Hugh Thomas went on sabbatical and I had two years as a temporary lecturer at Reading as his replacement. Then in 1975 I was lucky enough to get a lectureship at Queen Mary College, University of London, on condition that I finished my PhD within a year. It was published as 'The Coming of the Spanish Civil War' in 1978 and got a rave review by Carr in The Observer, which, I don't know, might even have been an apology of sorts.

**'Homage to Catalonia', which takes the side of 'revolution' over 'war', as you put it, and paints the Spanish Civil War as a conflict between two unappealing extremes who between them crush a noble people's revolution. Do you think Orwell's views, which tend to remove the Spanish Civil War from the context of the wider world war against fascism, are a factor in why the war in Spain is so rarely or poorly taught in schools?**

I don't think that is much to do with Orwell. The dominant figures in the historiography of the interwar period tend to be either British, American or German scholars and there is this notion that what's important is a line that goes from London to Paris with a bit of a dip to Rome and then to Berlin and Moscow. Spain doesn't even come into it. That is partly because these people aren't specialists. Just to cope with the hard detail of British foreign policy, German foreign policy, French, Italian, Russian foreign policy is a monumental task. Yet the Spanish Civil War is effectively the first battle in the Second World War, and appalling mistakes were made in British foreign policy at the time.

As I put it in 'A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War', the British ruling classes put their class prejudices ahead of their strategic interests. It was Churchill who went from class prejudice to strategic interests. He kept changing his mind and ended up, from having been a fervent Franco supporter,

CONTINUED OVERLEAF

**One of the books you must have read early on in your studies is George Orwell's**

Andrew Wiaard

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

to being a supporter of the Republic.

That failure on the part of the ruling classes might explain something about how British historians see the war in Spain. But for the most part they're not really that interested.

You need to be a historian of Spain to start seeing it and particularly to be a historian of the international dimension of the Spanish Civil War. For instance, the conventional wisdom is that the Germans and Italians intervened in Spain because of ideological solidarity and in order to try out weaponry. I don't think that's true. What they were doing is seeing how far they could challenge British and French hegemony and change the international balance of power. This comes out at a meeting early in the war between Franco, Göring and Mussolini,

*'My main argument against the film, as well as with Orwell's book, is that, if you knew nothing about the Spanish war, you would come away from the film thinking the Republic was somehow defeated by Stalin and not by Franco, Hitler, Mussolini and the British establishment.'*

when Göring effectively says to Mussolini: 'Come on, we've got to hurry up. There is no way the British and French are going to carry on letting us do this.'

**You've recently published couple of very strong critiques of 'Homage to Catalonia'. What's the reason for this?**

One of my constant beefs is that people read one book, usually 'Homage to Catalonia', and think they have the right to pontificate about the Spanish Civil War. Yet Orwell is only in Spain for six months. The idea that he's totally honest isn't sustained by a detailed reading of his book. He says himself that his Spanish was appalling and his Catalan was non-existent, yet he relates in detail conversations that he could only have had in Catalan.

What he actually witnessed and describes, the excrement in the trenches, the rusty cans, the lack of food, the wasted bread, the mud in your boots, all of that is brilliant, absolutely superb reporting. What it was actually like to be on the streets of Barcelona during the May Days is also great.

The political interpretation, however, is utterly inappropriate in many ways. Orwell leaves Spain in June 1937 and his book is published the following year. In it he's saying things which are taken by readers to explain why the Republic loses the war nearly two years after Orwell left Spain. That's simply not valid.

What I've discovered recently is that in 1940 Orwell, as a journalist, is introduced to Juan Negrín, who is in exile in London, and they have a long series of conversations. But Orwell doesn't mention his links with the POUM. He keeps that quiet and years later when Negrín finds out he is shocked. Negrín is a very reasonable person, but he ends up saying that, if Orwell had been honest with him, their relations might have been different. However, in 1943 Orwell writes this long article, 'Looking Back on the Spanish Civil War', which is actually very good – and very different to his book. It clearly reflects his conversations with Negrín.

Another discovery I've made is a letter in December 1938 from Orwell to Frank Jellinek, an Austrian sociologist who had been in Spain. Orwell confesses that most of what he wrote in 'Homage to Catalonia' about the POUM he didn't believe. He thought they were wrong at the time and he thinks they are wrong now, but he felt he had to write what he did in the spirit of fair play.

After the Second World War, Orwell becomes very anti-communist and he writes 'Animal Farm' and '1984'. He also corrects 'Homage to Catalonia', but surprisingly, given what he has learnt from Negrín and what he really thinks about the POUM, he only makes relatively small changes. One of my conclusions is that, even though Orwell knows he was wrong about many things in 'Homage to Catalonia', he doesn't make the necessary corrections because those things he wrote in 1938 have by now aligned themselves with what his anti-communist readers are thinking during the Cold War.

**Do you regard the film 'Land and Freedom' in much the same way as Orwell's memoir?**

If you know nothing about the Spanish Civil War, the Ken Loach film is a great movie. I can remember seeing it in Spain after it first came out in 1995 in a cinema full of Spaniards who were weeping with emotion. They don't tend to

do this in Britain, but the audience stood up at the end and clapped for about 10 minutes. There are some wonderful scenes in the film, for instance when Loach gets real village small-holders to pretend what it would be like at the time and to act out the issues of land reform; that is absolutely brilliant cinema. The film captures something very important and the framing of it is stunning, with at the start the old man, who is this hero of humanity, dying in Thatcherite Britain and then at the end the Spanish earth being tossed on his coffin.

But there are things that I'm not so sure about: the American who shows up in jackboots is shocking, even though I accept there were some International Brigaders used as internal police in the Republic's army; also, the depiction of the POUM volunteers as a group of really groovy, beautiful people. I wrote once, and this made some people upset, that this is Cliff Richard's 'We're all going on a summer holiday' meets the Spanish Civil War. But my main argument against the film, as well as with Orwell's book, is that, if you knew nothing about the Spanish war, you would come away from the film thinking the Republic was somehow defeated by Stalin and not by Franco, Hitler, Mussolini and the British establishment.

**The Spanish Civil War continues to cast a long shadow over Spanish society. Yet other countries suffered a comparable collapse in the 20th century and all seem to have recovered better than Spain. What is it about the Spanish experience that is so different?**

That's a really easy question to answer. In Germany, Italy, Japan and other countries the fascist or the extreme rightist experience is brought to an end by external defeat. In countries like France, once the occupation had come to an end, they could go back to the sort of democracy they had had before. In Germany there is a very serious government-sponsored process of de-Nazification, overseen by the occupying powers. The same is true of Italy and Japan.

That doesn't happen in Spain. Franco literally gets away with murder during and after the Second World War because the eyes of the world are on other things. Franco's links with the Axis are quietly forgotten. During the Cold War, when it's believed that Western Europe is at any minute about to be invaded by the Soviet Union, Franco becomes a better bet than wanting the Republic back. After all, the Republicans are allegedly the puppets of Moscow. This is done even though there is a degree of distaste on the part of much of the British establishment, and of course the

Labour Party doesn't cover itself with glory vis-a-vis Franco, because Ernest Bevin as Foreign Secretary goes along with the establishment line.

Franco has, from 1937 in those areas where he's already in charge and from 1939 in all of Spain, total control of essentially a terrorist regime. There is a huge investment in terror, a viciously repressive state apparatus and total control of the education system and the media. Until his death there is a great national brain-washing.

He dies in 1975 and there's a very complex process until elections in June 1977. In those 18 months, and even indeed for a long time after, no-one wants to rock the boat. There is fear of another civil war or another dictatorship. The left goes easy and doesn't push for historical memory and recognition of what went on under Franco. The October 1977 Amnesty Law prevents any judicial proceedings against the perpetrators. There is also the fact that over those 40 years of dictatorship there are nearly three generations of people who've been taught that Franco was a wonderful man, that he saved Spain from the bloodthirsty hordes of Moscow. That doesn't go away when Franco dies; nor does it go away when there are democratic elections that bring in a very conservative and limited democracy. The transition is a miracle under the circumstances, but the new democracy and the early governments are made up of Francoists. They're not going to start a process of counter brain-washing; that never happens. To this day there are many Spaniards brought up thinking Franco was a good thing, that the Republic was responsible for the civil war and so on.

In the mid 1970s there were still many people who remembered the war. The women whose husbands, fathers, brothers and sons died in the war or were murdered are not going to say anything because they have lived in terror. Their children have been brought up in silence and they are told: 'Whatever you do, don't mention that we were Republicans,' or 'Don't speak Catalan in school.'

What might be a bit more difficult to explain is why this has gone on for so long. I can remember being asked in the late 1980s by a Spanish journalist how long the hatred would continue and I said confidently that it was all a matter of time and that time would heal everything. It has taken a hell of a lot longer. Perhaps it's not as burning an issue as it was when the Law of Historical Memory, for all its huge limitations, was passed in 2007. But I think part of that is because of the economic crisis that followed. It's not really until the end of the 20th century when the grandchildren start

asking questions and you get the movement for the recovery of historical memory and the push to find where the bodies of Franco's victims are buried. But there are problems. People are dying out. DNA testing costs a fortune, as do the excavations, and the new law makes no provision for any of that. Many municipalities are opposed to it and say that in any case they can't afford it. With the economic crisis and

*'To this day there are many Spaniards brought up thinking Franco was a good thing, that the Republic was responsible for the civil war and so on.'*

massive unemployment, people have more immediate problems.

**You've always been a defender of the transition, saying just now that it was a miracle under the circumstances. But do you think that *el pacto del olvido* [the pact of forgetting] and other shortcomings you've just alluded to have anything to do with some of Spain's current problems – the constitutional crisis centred on Catalonia, the political corruption scandals and the ongoing memory wars?**

The way those three issues intertwine is very complicated. For instance, there are people on the left who would be fervent advocates of exposing more of the crimes of Franco, but who are equally strong supporters of Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy for his hard line over Catalonia. That's not about the Spanish Civil War. Why is that? First of all there is a historic anti-Catalanism which has been stoked up by the government and the extreme right over the past 10 years. Some of the things you hear people saying in this regard are truly appalling. The generating of anti-Catalan sentiment is partly about masking corruption, but it's a two-way street, because there has also been massive corruption in Catalonia.

Where does the corruption come from? That's one of the things I'm struggling with at the moment. Corruption in Spanish politics goes back centuries. There is a notion, which used to be the case in Britain – but is less so all the time – that you go into public service for the public good. But you've only got to read the

novels of Pérez Galdós to see that in Spain there is a huge tradition of corruption, that you go into public service for private gain. It's one of the ways in which you can survive.

The corruption under Franco was rampant and actually a lot of recent research has shown how Franco was personally involved. If you'd asked me about this when I was writing my biography of him I would have said: 'Well, overall, Franco wasn't corrupt,' although I would have added: 'He didn't need to steal, because he thought it was all his anyway.' But now we know he was stealing as well.

There were also mistakes made by the post-Franco democratic regime. There are specific legal issues, such as the law that allows the status of land to be changed and the powers that local mayors have been given to do that – which can lead to backhanders.

**Given what you've just said, and what we saw with the independence referendum in Catalonia last October and the very heavy-handed response from Madrid, do you think Spain can be regarded as a mature democracy?**

I don't think it's easy to make comparisons. Just think about the antics of politicians in this country over Brexit. Don't get me wrong – I am absolutely appalled by the things that have gone on in Spain, but I am absolutely appalled too by the things that are going on here. I always used to say when talking to Spaniards that the difference between Spain and Britain was that we have this concept of being able to agree to disagree. That simply does not exist in Spain. Spaniards are Manichean: those who are not with me are against me. But that's true here now because of Brexit. I am an absolutely fervent remainer, but I could also rant and rave for some time about the faults of the European Union, which is a fat bureaucracy that doesn't listen to people, and that's part of the problem.

I'm writing a book at the moment, which is supposedly a history of Spain from 1874 to the present day. I don't want simply to do a resumé of everything I've written, so, after much thought, I've come up with what I see as the three themes of Spanish history during that period. They are corruption, the incompetence of the political class, and the consequential breakdown in social cohesion. The title is 'A People Betrayed'. I'm not half way through, but sometimes I feel I'm writing an editorial for The Guardian. It's exactly what we're living through here.

Just to go back to your question, if we start trying to compare Spain with other democracies within the European Union, then what about Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary or Poland? Spain

CONTINUED OVERLEAF

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

has monumental problems, but name me a country that hasn't.

**Finally, given that the Spanish Civil War saw the agonising defeat of the Spanish Republic, terrible repression and four decades of brutal dictatorship, has there been any emotional cost to you personally from your scholarship? Has it affected your view of humanity, or can you detach yourself from all of the horrors that you've studied?**

That's a really good question. It's certainly the case, for instance, to think of an extreme case, when I was writing 'The Spanish Holocaust', Gabrielle, my wife, on numerous occasions would come home and I would literally be weeping. I mean that book is horrific. How the

*'I still get very angry. I'm absolutely fierce on the mistakes of British foreign policy...'*

hell can people do such things? I don't know how I wrote it. I do not know how people can read it.

I only put stuff in the book that I could prove, as it were, but I had many people writing to me at the time. To take one example, a woman wrote to me and she said: 'When I was three, the Falangists came and they threw us all out of the house and then they put my parents and my older brother back and they set fire to the house and left me on the street to watch.' Can you imagine?

When 'The Spanish Holocaust' was shortlisted for the Samuel Johnson Prize and the papers were talking about which book was likely to win, the other book along with mine that was

considered one of the favourites was one by Steven Pinker, arguing that humanity is just getting nicer and nicer and I'm thinking: 'How could you possibly think that?'

I still get very angry. I'm absolutely fierce on the mistakes of British foreign policy and I learnt a lot while writing 'The Last Days of the Spanish Republic'. One of the things that I really can't get over is that any general book on the Spanish Civil War sees General Casado, who led the coup against Negrín at the end of war, as a good thing because he supposedly heroically stopped the communists from taking over. That's nonsense. The invariably cited source for this is Casado's memoirs, which are completely made up – just like the fake books of Walter Krivitsky and Alexander Orlov. As I tried to show, Casado's motivation was much more selfish. He was hoping to be able to stay in Spain, to keep his rank, keep his pension and so on. At the end of the war what happens is the anarchists, who are part of Casado's junta, do absolutely nothing to facilitate evacuations and save lives. But Casado and his friends all get away to England, including the anarchist *chequistas* who were responsible for murdering hundreds if not thousands of people in Madrid. The British government lets them in, though they didn't want Negrín, an internationally respected physiologist, a man who speaks eight languages, who is as cultured as it is possible to imagine. I've found documents from Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax basically saying: 'We don't want that hooligan Negrín here,' yet they allowed in these killers and set them up. One even gets a restaurant in Regent Street. It just leaves you frothing at the mouth with indignation.

So, has all this had an emotional impact? It's probably driven me into reading detective stories and watching sit-coms on TV. After the horrors of my work I don't have much emotional room for anything but light entertainment, so that's an impact. I've also learnt a lot about politics and about relationships, but as a historian your career should teach you about life.

Alicia Monedero is a London-based Spanish artist, teacher and tutor. Her main interest is in trans-generational memory and the role that family and events play in our lives. Her latest project is to create an exhibition expressing her gratitude to the British volunteers for their participation in the Spanish Civil War. She has already started to create a body of work for the exhibition, which she hopes will help remind future generations of the generosity and solidarity of the International Brigades. Central to the project, she says, is her focus on those families whose relatives took part in the conflict in whatever capacity.

'These families' values have often been shaped by the war in Spain and the experiences and sacrifices of their family members who took part,' she explains. 'So to pay tribute to their memory and continue spreading the word – not just about the Spanish Civil War and the role of British volunteers – but also the resurgence of fascism today – I would like to meet or talk with the descendants of those volunteers.'

She continues: 'At various IBMT events I have seen how some people are overcome with emotion remembering what happened in Spain 80 years ago and it always touches me. I believe our relatives' memories and experiences, whether we know much about them or not, become also ours and stay with us throughout our life.'

'My grandfather fought on the Madrid front when he was only 17 and survived. Other families were not so lucky. In Spain

## Many fronts in the battle for history

**'Memory Battles of the Spanish Civil War: History, Fiction, Photography' by Sebastiaan Faber (Vanderbilt University Press, 2018, £33.50).**



# Inspired by memories

Exhibition to pay tribute to spirit of the volunteers



▲ 'NUWM Hawick' (2018, digital print) pays tribute to those workers in Hawick who brought a mill back to life to send scarves, gloves and blankets to Spain.

◀ 'Journey' (2017, ink and embroidery) is inspired by the British volunteers who undertook the difficult journey across the Pyrenees to reach Spain.

today there are many families whose stories are still unresolved. For me, highlighting who was on the side of justice and made the conflict their cause it is very important.'

Alicia would like to create pieces of work that reflect an aspect of each volunteer or their relatives. She is looking for people who would like to share their memories and experiences through conversation or by exchanging correspondence (email [aliciamonedero@hotmail.com](mailto:aliciamonedero@hotmail.com)). Also, personal

objects or letters from relatives could form part of the exhibition or inspire an artwork.

For her art, Monedero uses different forms of drawing, with media such as graphite and inks deployed either in isolation or with over-printed material to produce her images.

She says she is especially interested in what has been forgotten or hidden and, by 'investigating the relationship between photography methods and drawing', bringing such memories 'back to the surface' of her art.



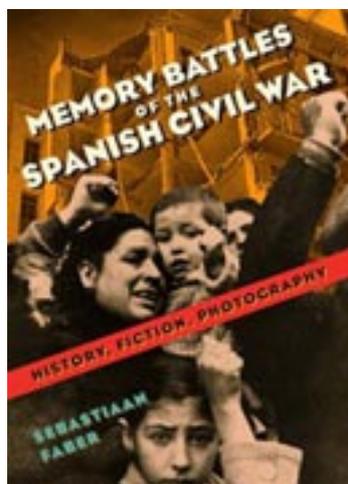
## With The Young'uns

The Young'uns met up with IBMT activist Duncan Longstaff (second from left) in Bath on 21 March during their nationwide 'Ballad on Johnny Longstaff' tour named after Duncan's father. Johnny Longstaff, from Stockton-on-Tees, fought in the International Brigades and was also a veteran of the anti-fascist Battle of Cable Street in London in October 1936. Pictured with Duncan are: Sean Cooney (left) and (from right) Michael Hughes and David Eagle.

The trio's latest album, 'Strangers' (Hereteu Records), has won the 2018 BBC Radio 2 folk music award for album of the year. It includes 'Cable Street', a song written by Sean Cooney about Johnny Longstaff. Another Cooney composition, 'Bob Cooney's Miracle', is based on an episode in the life of one the leaders of the British Battalion during the Battle of the Ebro in 1938.

When General Franco died in November 1975, he was convinced that his regime would continue after him, that 'everything is tied down and well tied down' (*todo está atado y bien atado*). Yet within three years Spain had – surprisingly peacefully – been transformed into a democracy. This transition, however, demanded a huge sacrifice from the victims of Francoism, asking them to set aside their grievances and sign up to *el pacto del olvido*, the pact of forgetting.

Fearful of sliding back into dictatorship, Spaniards kept the pact, though two generations later the consensus has essentially broken down. Grandchildren of the



victims, far removed from the years of civil war and dictatorship, are proving to be less restrained than their parents and are demanding answers.

For them, difficult and painful memories, like the thousands of unmarked graves by Spanish roadsides, are something to be unearthed, not forgotten.

Unsurprisingly, efforts to establish the truth behind the murder and persecution of thousands of Spaniards have encountered considerable resistance from certain quarters. Consequently battles over very different historical interpretations, the so-called 'memory wars', are currently being heatedly fought out within Spanish culture and society. It is onto this battlefield that Sebastiaan Faber, co-editor of ALBA's excellent magazine, *The Volunteer*, and author of 'Anglo-American Hispanists of the Spanish

Civil War' has bravely ventured.

Laid out in five main sections, 'Memory Battles of the Spanish Civil War' is an attempt to find answers to three key questions: How have fiction and photography shaped memory? How has democratic Spain dealt with the legacy of the civil war, the dictatorship and the transition? How have media producers and academics engaged with the process of ensuring that Spain progresses as a unified functioning democracy?

Sebastiaan begins an erudite, wide-ranging and thought-provoking discussion with a re-examination of the work and impact of Robert Capa, Gerda Taró

CONTINUED OVERLEAF

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

and David Seymour ('Chim'), and the great Catalan photographer Agustí Centelles. He amply demonstrates how the meaning of an image changed dramatically during the war, depending on its use and its context within a photographic montage. However, the author is no doubt correct when he argues that, fascinating though they are, the images are unlikely to actually change historians' views of the civil war.

The second section of the book tackles the central theme of historical memory and the conflicting narratives that exist in Spain, the argument between the value of recovering historical memory and the dangers of reopening old wounds. As the author states, witnesses to the past, including historians, can also be witnesses in a trial of Francoism. Books such as Paul Preston's 'The Spanish Holocaust' certainly provide ample evidence for the prosecution.

Alongside Helen Graham, Ángel Viñas, Gabriel Jackson, and Pablo Sánchez León, Paul Preston appears in the third section, an examination of how current historians are interpreting, or

*Javier Cercas offers good advice, noting that "the first thing to do when reading a novel is to distrust the narrator." The same could be said of history itself...'*

'reframing' the past. As you'd expect from this stellar collection of voices, there's much of interest here. Ángel Viñas is in typically bombastic form and I enjoyed Helen Graham's optimistic assertion that history 'is the ultimate antidote to any kind of over-simplification'. While all historians choose the stories they want to write about, that doesn't necessarily prevent them from doing so fairly and – relatively – objectively.

After a discussion of the contribution of three Spanish intellectuals, the book's final section examines the role of fiction. It concludes with a look at some of the work of Javier Cercas, who has been widely translated into

English. Cercas offers good advice, noting that 'the first thing to do when reading a novel is to distrust the narrator.' The same could be said of history itself, of course, where the eminent EH Carr famously advised students to 'study the historian before you begin to study the facts'.

This book should prove to be of great interest to anyone interested in the historiography of Spain and provides ample evidence that artists and writers are not neutral bystanders in these contemporary 'memory wars'. It also asks intelligent questions of historians and academics. What is their role in all of this? Should they just comment from afar? Or should they positively engage?

Sebastian Faber's involvement with the Contratiempo collective and the open-access Universidad del Barrio in Madrid show his views clearly enough and will, I suspect, chime with many members of the IBMT. As the author states, 'fields like history and politics are not just too important to leave to the experts; they are fields that should be of interest to everyone because they are everyone's concern.'

**RICHARD BAXELL**

## Following in her father's footsteps

**'The Communist and the Communist's Daughter: A Memoir' by Jane Lazarre (Duke University Press, 2017, £22.99).**

Jane Lazarre here weaves a complex and fascinating memoir of her father, the lifelong communist, party organiser and Spanish Civil War veteran, William Lazarre/Bill Lawrence. She does it in the form of an inter-generational dialogue.

Her father came to the United States at the beginning of the 20th century, to escape the pogroms in Tsarist Russia. Already enthused by the ideals of communism, he joins the US Communist Party and becomes a full-time organiser.

He volunteers for Spain in December 1936, leaving New York harbour on the SS Normandie bound for Le Havre. Arriving in Spain, he becomes a commissar with the Lincoln Battalion. Almost a year later, in October 1937, 'Bill

## Donald Hutchison: An unusual man

**'A Cherry Dress' by Peter Bild and Irene Messinger (eds.), (V&R unipress, Göttingen, 2018, €40).**

The convoluted and mysterious life of British volunteer Donald Gabriel Hutchison Douglas (1915-1981) is told in this newly published book about his first wife, Anita Bild, a Jewish refugee from Vienna whom he married five days before the outbreak of the Second World War. Donald (pictured right) was gay, but wedlock saved Anita from deportation to Europe and Nazi persecution.

His story is told by Dr Katharine Campbell, who in an aptly titled chapter, 'An Unusual Man', gives an

intriguing overview of her uncle's shadowy life. There is more to come, Katharine has told the IBMT, as she is also working on a full biography of the family member who was one of the first Britons to volunteer to fight the fascists following Franco's military revolt in the summer of 1936. She hopes to include some 'juicier details' of a life that took Uncle Donald from London to Madrid, Berlin, Warsaw and Geneva.

Born in Ilfracombe, Devon, Donald arrived in Spain in August 1936. His studies at Cambridge University had been cut short. He was already a communist with an anti-fascist record, having been arrested in December 1933 at a

protest against Hitler outside the German embassy in London and jailed for one month. From then on his movements and activities were monitored by the British secret services.

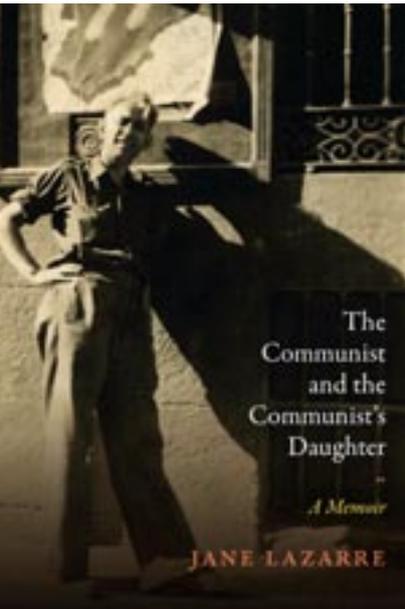
In Spain he was known as Donald Hutchison. In 'Boadilla' Esmond Romilly remembers 'Dan' as a 'cheerful and good-natured' Londoner. He first flew as a machine-gunner in the Republic's airforce, before transferring to the Fifth Regiment and then to the Thälmann Battalion, when he suffered a serious hand injury in fighting in the Casa de Campo, Madrid, in December 1936.

Coincidentally, his injured hand was dressed by Austrian communist



volunteer Renée Durrmeyer, a cousin of his wife-to-be, Anita Bild.

Following a brief stay in England, Donald returned to Spain in July 1937 and worked with Jim Ruskin in the signals section of the British Battalion, before being repatriated in May 1938. In London



Lawrence, the popular and hardworking American Political Commissar of the International Brigades base' left Spain after months of 'unstinting and fruitful activity'.

Once back in the US he continued working for the Spanish cause and, in early 1938, still hoping for victory, he wrote 'Democracy's Stake in Spain'. Here, he recounts stories of individual soldiers, most of them involving heroic deaths, sacrificing themselves to save others and he

describes the profound friendships formed between men who knew nothing of each other before Spain.

The author, his daughter, visits Spain in 2013 to retrace her father's footsteps, curious to know how modern-day Spaniards reflect on the civil war, if at all, and what their attitudes are. For her, it is also an attempt to relive history and gain a deeper sense of what Spain meant to her father. The Spanish Civil War, she writes, 'had its mythic place in our childhood'.

Back in the US, Bill Lawrence would spend time in prison as a result of his activism and, in the 1950s, he falls foul of the McCarthy witch-hunts and is threatened with deportation for refusing to testify against his comrades.

The postwar splits in the US Communist Party and the later Khrushchev revelations cause him great heartache as well as the loss of friends. To compound his woes, his wife dies of cancer when their two daughters are quite small, leaving Bill to bring them up by himself.

Jane, his elder daughter, has grown up surrounded by

communists and their ideas. She has experienced the elation and comradeship, but also ostracism and a sense of being different to other children, of learning to lie to the FBI agents arriving on the doorstep looking for her father.

*'For her, it is also an attempt to relive history and gain a deeper sense of what Spain meant to her father. The Spanish Civil War, she writes, "had its mythic place in our childhood".'*

She writes movingly of her turbulent relationship with her father, of her rebellion during her teenage years, but also of his unstinting love for her. This book is an attempt to discover who her father really was, the significance of his life and his contribution as a communist to US society.

The author also attempts to come to terms with her teenage rejection of her father, when she

blamed him, unfairly, for her mother's death. She peels away the hurt and then reveals the layers of misunderstanding, exploring his life and her own relationship with him and his politics. In a meticulous, elliptical way, she builds up a fascinating interlace between the personal web and the political warp of both their lives, and in doing so creates a fitting monument to a selfless and heroic US communist.

When she visits modern-day Spain to retrace her father's footsteps she finds those battles of the 1930s still resonating today. Into this rich fabric of his East European Jewish heritage and deeply-held communist beliefs, she introduces an Afro-American element through her marriage to a black American from the deep south and bringing up two mixed-race children.

This is a memoir rich in intelligent reflection of an aspect of US political history that receives little airing; an elegantly written and moving account.

**JOHN GREEN**

● A shorter version of this review appeared in the Morning Star on 15 January 2018.

he worked for the Czechoslovak Refugee Trust, while raising funds for Republican Spain.

During the Second World War he served briefly in the RAF but was forced to leave, possibly because of his Communist Party membership. Then, as a merchant navy deckhand, he was suspected by the British secret services to be acting as a communist courier.

The war over, Donald pops up in Berlin in 1946, while en route to Warsaw. In the occupied German city he is arrested in undisclosed circumstances and only released following an appeal to his brother, who happened to be the military governor of the British zone.

His links in London to the pro-communist Friends of Democratic Poland had already attracted the attention of MI5. Once in Poland



he works for various German and Polish communist publications and applies to become a Polish citizen.

But, as his niece recounts, the Polish authorities were suspicious. 'In his interview for citizenship,

Donald had cited the benefits of the communist system in Poland, and his disillusionment with the Labour government in Britain that had "begun, step by step, to submit its foreign policy, defence plans and its economic policy to the United States, that is, to a small group of multimillionaires' families who rule the United States".'

However, with 'typical paranoia', writes Katharine, the Polish state security service mistrusted him, saying he was very articulate in using communist vocabulary, but they were unsure of his intentions. He was suspected of spying, partly due to his contacts with George Scott, the British consul in Katowice.

Spurned by both sides in the Cold War, Donald left Poland in December 1951. After interludes in

France and England, in 1960 he eventually settles in Geneva, making a living as a freelance interpreter with the United Nations. There he lived for the rest of his life, bringing up two adopted Ethiopian brothers, Girma and Moges. He married briefly again in 1975, this time to an American woman wanting residency in the UK.

In 2014, Katharine managed to track down her adopted African cousins. One is now a corporate jet pilot, the other an economist with the International Labour Organisation. They both recalled that Donald spoke to them about two things in particular: Poland and the Spanish Civil War – underlining yet again the powerful and lasting impact that the Spanish Civil War had on so many lives.

**JIM JUMP**

By Pete Morgan

February this year saw the 75th anniversary of the Soviet victory at Stalingrad – widely recognised as the decisive moment in the defeat of Adolf Hitler and his allies. Despite its importance, the anniversary passed without any notice here.

This overlooking of the Soviet contribution to the Second World War is pretty routine in Britain. It's a contemptible oversight, not least in how hypocritical it is.

From Downing Street to my street in south Manchester, we Brits tend to explain our commemoration of those who fought against the Nazis and the other Axis powers by saying they 'fought for our freedom'. We're right to do this. Bringing the fascists down was a noble fight and it ennobled those who took part in it.

Why then do official commemorative acts in Britain only properly recognise the service of Her Majesty's Armed Forces?

If the worthiness of these men and women is truly derived from their having contributed to the defeat of Hitler and his gangsters, then Red Army troops are no less deserving – likewise Greek partisans, Chinese soldiers, African-American pilots, and millions more.

The same is, obviously, true of the International Brigades of the Spanish Civil War: men and women who marched to Spain to fight on the first frontline against fascism.

These soldiers get no more official recognition in Britain than the Red Army. And in this case, the (superficial) excuse of 'they're not British' does not work. Britain was one of the top 10 nationalities represented in the Brigades, with

*'The IBMT keeps in view the women and men of the Brigades, whose memory would otherwise be dimmed...'*

2,500 troops from our shores fighting Franco and his allies Hitler and Mussolini.

There's a lesson for us in this official silence toward our heroic *Brigadistas*. We cannot afford to delegate the organisation of our practices of remembrance to the state; especially to a state so dominated by conservative forces as ours is.

Why is the British state so bad at commemoration? Because it has historically had a particular set of political priorities concerned with self-protection and legitimisation, which mould how it deals with the past.

Oftentimes, the result of this 'moulding' is silence. The Soviet role in fighting Hitler finds no



▲ Local hero: Albert Charlesworth.



Pete Morgan as an undergraduate at Wadham College, Oxford, with a display he created to mark last year's 80th anniversary of the Battle of Jarama.

In praise of the IBMT's act of...

## INSURRECTIONARY COMMEMORATION

place in Britain's commemorative routines because of the pressure of subsequent Anglo-Russian rivalry both during and after the Cold War, for example. Russia could not and cannot be represented as good. But why have the International Brigades received this same cold-shoulder from British officialdom?

There are several reasons why the volunteers as history, memory, and symbols deter the British state. For one thing, they ruin the congratulatory story Westminster tells itself that Neville Chamberlain's government was the first to take a stand against fascism when on 3 September 1939 he declared war on Germany for invading Poland. Before the USSR, before the USA, Great Britain stepped into the breach.

The existence of the International Brigades spoils this picture. Volunteers began moving toward Spain as early as the summer of 1936. With Franco marching on Madrid, thousands answered the plea of the Republican government.

One was the 21-year-old Albert Charlesworth of Manchester, who sailed to Spain motivated by the notion that 'the whole thing was absolutely unjust for a military man to try and overthrow the legal government, and especially when that legal government was a government of the people.'

But while legions of its citizens were taking action, the British government resolutely did nothing but appeal for 'non-intervention'. It was one of the worst excesses of the Tories' appeasement of fascism in the 1930s.

The International Brigades, then, not only

refute the idea that the British state was the first to stand up to fascism, but their history draws attention to the inconvenient fact that, before Britain stood up to the Axis, it spent several years doing everything but.

That's why, if we leave collective remembrance to the state, the International Brigade volunteers would fade away. They make the state look bad and – even though they show the very best of the British people – that's too high a price to pay for Whitehall functionaries.

This is the cardinal virtue of the International Brigade Memorial Trust. Operating in the field of civil society, totally independent of the government, it is performing an act of insurrectionary commemoration. It keeps in view the women and men of the Brigades, whose memory would otherwise be dimmed, their legacy uncherished and unknown.

Not unlike the volunteers themselves, the Trust sees the British government doing conspicuously nothing and so takes matters into its own hands. Where those *Brigadistas* who fought Franco saw fascists advancing and declared 'they shall not pass', the Trust sees them getting more and more distant in time and declares 'they shall not pass from memory.' As an outsider, this is why I'm grateful for the work the IBMT does.

● Pete Morgan is a graduate history student at University College London. He also blogs for the Radical Tea Towel Company.

# Merchandise from the IBMT

Proceeds help fund the commemorative, educational and publicity work of the International Brigade Memorial Trust.

Free postage & packing on goods totalling £30 or more.

Send orders, including your name and address, a size and colour where appropriate, and a cheque payable to the IBMT to: IBMT Merchandise, 37a Clerkenwell Green, London EC1R 0DU.

For multiple orders in the UK up to a value of £30 (excluding p&p) calculate total p&p by taking the highest p&p among items ordered, halving the p&p of the remaining items and adding them together.

For orders outside the UK or to pay by credit card or PayPal, go to our website: [www.international-brigades.org.uk/merchandise.php](http://www.international-brigades.org.uk/merchandise.php) where there are also other items listed for sale.



**Keyring in colours of the Spanish Republic:** Large badge size (5.5cms diameter). £3.99 plus £2.99 p&p.



**Mug:** On one side the International Brigades three-pointed star and on the reverse the words of La Pasionaria: 'You are legend'. £9.99 plus £3.99 p&p.



**Brooch in colours of the Spanish Republic:** Bespoke perspex laser-cut brooch designed for the IBMT in art deco style. 6cms x 4.5cms. £9.99 plus £3.99 p&p.



**Three-pointed star International Brigade brooch:** Bespoke perspex laser-cut brooch designed for the IBMT. 4.5cms x 6cms. £8.99 plus £3.99 p&p.



**International Brigades keyring:** In Spanish Republican colours. £3.99 plus £2.99 p&p.



**Women's t-shirt:** Fitted t-shirt featuring names of British nurses who served in Spain. Made for the IBMT by t-shirt specialists Philosophy Football from ethically sourced cotton. 'International Brigade Memorial Trust' on sleeve. Available in **XXL** (size 18); **XL** (size 16); **L** (size 14); **M** (size 12). £15.99 plus £4.99 p&p.



**British Battalion t-shirt:** In red or grey and made for the IBMT by t-shirt specialists Philosophy Football from ethically sourced cotton. British Battalion banner on front and 'International Brigade Memorial Trust' on sleeve. Available in: **S** (36inch/90cms chest); **M** (40inch/100cms); **L** (44inch/110cms); **XL** (48inch/120cms); **XXL** (52inch/130cms); **fitted women's** (34-36inch/70-90cms). £15.99 plus £4.99 p&p.



**15th International Brigade t-shirt:** With flag of 15th International Brigade, which included British, Irish, American, Canadian and Commonwealth volunteers. 'International Brigade Memorial Trust' on sleeve. Available in **S, M, L, XL, XXL** and **fitted women's** size (see British Battalion t-shirt for size details). **SPECIAL OFFER:** £13.50 plus £4.99 p&p.



**International Brigade flag:** Replica of the flag of the mainly English-speaking 15th International Brigade, which included the British Battalion. Based on the flag of the Spanish Republic. 150cms x 87cms. £10 plus £3.99 p&p.



**¡No Pasarán! bag:** Ethically sourced jute bag (30cms square, 18cms across). One side printed, other blank. Robust, useful for any shopping trip and a great way to show support for anti-fascism and the IBMT. £4.99 plus £2.99 p&p.



**Volunteers for Liberty plate:** Highly decorative commemorative plate made in Staffordshire by Heraldic Pottery exclusively for the IBMT. Fine bone china. 26.5cms diameter. Re-issue of the much sought after 50th anniversary plate produced by International Brigade veteran Lou Kenton. Includes mount for wall display. **SPECIAL OFFER:** £19.99 plus £5.99 p&p.



**Three-pointed star International Brigade earrings:** Bespoke perspex laser-cut earrings designed for the IBMT. 2.5cms x 3.5cms. £7.99 plus £3.99 p&p.



**IBMT badge:** Solid metal badge with International Brigade medal in centre and 'International Brigade Memorial Trust' around the edge. £3 plus £2.99 p&p.



**Tin-plated badge:** Shows image of La Pasionaria and in the background the medal given to International Brigaders when they left Spain. In Spanish Republican colours. £1.99 plus £2.99 p&p.



**Clenched fist sculpture:** Life-sized sculpture in specially treated concrete. Based on the clenched fist created by sculptor Betty Rae for the top of the pole of the original British Battalion banner. 23cms high. The clenched fist was the iconic salute of the Popular Front and is still used by anti-fascists around the world. £29.99 plus £7.99 p&p.



**Earrings in colours of the Spanish Republic:** Bespoke perspex laser-cut earrings designed for the IBMT in art deco style. 3cms x 2.25cms. £8.99 plus £3.99 p&p.



# International Brigade Memorial Trust

Keeping alive the memory and spirit of the volunteers who fought fascism and defended democracy in Spain from 1936 to 1939

Help us inspire new generations with the story of the International Brigades

- To give a donation go to [www.international-brigades.org.uk](http://www.international-brigades.org.uk) and click the donate button
- To become a member go to [www.international-brigades.org.uk/catalog/membership](http://www.international-brigades.org.uk/catalog/membership)

**International Brigade Memorial Trust**  
37a Clerkenwell Green, London EC1R 0DU  
020 7253 8748  
[enquiries@international-brigades.org.uk](mailto:enquiries@international-brigades.org.uk)  
[www.international-brigades.org.uk](http://www.international-brigades.org.uk)

## SAVE THE DATE

The IBMT's Annual General Meeting will this year be held in Hull on Saturday 13 October. All members are invited to attend and to enjoy a weekend of commemorative and social activities.

**¡No pasarán!**  
**They shall not**